UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Second Line: A (Re)Conceptualization of the New Orleans Brass Band Tradition

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Ethnomusicology

by

Marc Timothy Gaspard Bolin

2021

© Copyright by

Marc Timothy Gaspard Bolin

2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Second Line: A (Re)Conceptualization of the New Orleans Brass Band Tradition

by

Marc Timothy Gaspard Bolin

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Cheryl L. Keyes, Chair

In New Orleans, Louisiana, nearly every occasion is marked with a celebratory parade, most famously the Mardi Gras processions that seemingly take over the city during Carnival Time. But throughout the year, there are jazz funerals and parades known as "second lines" that fill the Backatown neighborhoods of New Orleans, with the jubilant sounds of brass band music. These peripatetic parades and their accompanying brass bands have become symbolic of New Orleans and its association with social norm-breaking and hedonistic behavior. The second line constitutes cultural practice and group identification for practitioners serving as a site for spiritual practice and renewal. In Los Angeles, California, practitioners are transposing the second line, out of which comes new modes of expression, identities, meanings, and theology.

Drawing from nearly seven years of ethnomusicological fieldwork and archival research in two vastly different urban landscapes, this dissertation explores the brass band milieu and its central ritual, the second line, through an examination of the communities that sustain them in New

Orleans and Los Angeles. This dissertation argues that the second line is a deeply rooted, multi-faceted, and community-based tradition, from which practitioners gain strength, healing, and spiritual renewal that transcends the mundane and crosses the boundaries of time, space, culture, and domain.

The brass band is largely lacking in jazz scholarship. This dissertation represents a critique of the existing literature that perpetuates European hegemony, obfuscates the presence and importance of non-Europeans within jazz, discounts the collective beliefs of New Orleans community members in favor of data-driven research, and fails to recognize brass band as a living, *continuing* jazz tradition.

Because the brass band is so firmly rooted in the visual, sonic, and narrative stereotypes of amateurism, essentialized notions, and poverty, I utilize filmmaking throughout my dissertation as an integral component and sensorial mode of inquiry as a means to construct new visual and sensory ways of knowing second line culture.

The dissertation of Marc T. Gaspard Bolin is approved.

Mark L. Kligman

Ali J. Racy

Aparna Sharma

Cheryl L. Keyes, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

To the memory of Raymond G. Bogart, James Samuel Pilafian, Gilbert Ronald Pumphry, and Judith Lee Jurisich.

Table of Contents

Abstract of the Dissertation	ii
List of Figures	x
List of Examples	xiv
Acknowledgements	xv
Vita	xix
Introduction Part I: The Study	1
Setting the Scene	1
The Study	15
Literature Review	17
Early Jazz and Brass Band Studies	18
Jazz Historiography	19
Louisiana and New Orleans-Specific Histories	22
Community Scholarship	24
Second Line Ethnographies	30
Culture as Process: Adaptive Cultural Strategy	31
Religion	34
Brass Band, Street Culture, and Black Mardi Gras Indian Film Studies	35
Original Contribution and Organization of the Dissertation	38
Introduction Part II: Methodological and Theoretical Approaches	41
Research and Expanding My Methodological Toolkit	42
Fieldwork in My Backyard: Los Angeles	42
New Fieldwork and Sensory Ethnography	49
Participant-Observation and Co-Participation	50
Personal Interviews	51
Notetaking	52
Filmmaking Practices: Sensory Ethnography	53
The Thin Line	57
New Orleans	59
Co-Participation in New Orleans	64
Interviewing Techniques in New Orleans	64
Notetaking in New Orleans: Technological Advancements	66
Filmmaking in New Orleans	67
Theoretical Approaches	68
The Use of Film in My Study	69
Gilroy's Black Atlantic and Keyes' "Reversioning"	72
The Second Line as Secular Religion	72
Prelude: Revisionist Histories: Black Mardi Gras Indians, Gens de Couleur Libres, and the Brass Band	75
Chapter 1: Black Mardi Gras Indians: Their History, Musical Influence, and Audio Legacy	82

Early Cultures in the Lower Meshassepi Valley Region 85
Native American Enslavement 88
Abducted Africans Introduced to Louisiana 90
Marronage and Resistance 94
Mardi Gras Indians 97
Colonial Notions of Race in Louisiana 97
Mardi Gras 100
Origins of the Mardi Gras Indians 102
Mardi Gras Indian Musical Practices 105
Gumbo: Intersectionality and Musicocultural Expressions of Congo Square 110
The Ring Shout 113
The Common Culture of Congo Square 115
Mardi Gras Indian Musical Influence and Audio Legacy 118
Contemporary Collaborations: Mardi Gras Indians and Brass Bands 130
To Be Continued 131
Wrap Up 138

Chapter 2: The Public Music-Making of People of Color in Early New Orleans 141
The Musical Environment of New Orleans in the Antebellum 143
Congo Square 143
Origins of the Myth of Congo Square 145
Locating Congo Square 148
Musical Activities Beyond Congo Square 157
Creole Musicking in the Antebellum 158
Militias and Early Brass Band Formations 161
Benevolent Societies and Leisure Spaces 167
Sites of Leisure 168
The "Promenade Concert" of 1864 172
Postbellum Musical Environment 174
Wrap Up 176

Interlude I: My Brother's Keeper 178
Filmmaking and the New Orleans Second Line 178
Sensory Ethnography: Filmmaking 179
Production, Collaboration, and Postproduction 183
An Invitation to Film 186

Chapter 3: The Brief Précis of the New Orleans Brass Band 191
The Role of the Black Church in NOLA 193
Benevolent Associations and Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs 197
The Effect of Jim Crow Laws 201
The Early 20th Century 203
The Golden Age of Brass Bands 203
The Embrace of Ragtime and the Popularization of Black Improvised Music 206
New Orleans Jazz 210
The Jazz Age and Early Brass Band Recordings 216
The Young Tuxedo Brass Band, 1958 222

Ambassadors: Preservation Hall and the Olympia Brass Band 228
Fairview Baptist Church Marching Band 233
A New Generation 236
The Hurricane Brass Band 236
The Tornado Brass Band 239
The Dirty Dozen Brass Band 240
The Brass Band Renaissance 242
Rebirth 242
The Soul Rebels Brass Band 247
Contemporary Brass Bands 249
Chapter Conclusions 251

Interlude II: Can't Take Our Spirit 254
Filmmaking and the Los Angeles Second Line 254
Nine Years in the Making 256

Chapter 4: From New Orleans to Los Angeles 259
Setting the Scene 262
Critical Brass 265
The Krewe of Grandview 268
The Mudbug Brass Band 273
Events in Los Angeles 276
Jazz Funerals 276
Jazz Weddings 279
Community Second Lines in Los Angeles 279
Crawfish Boils, Fund Raisers, and Corporate Events 282
Clubs and Restaurants 283
Industry Gigs 285
Television Appearances 286
Mardi Gras Parades 287
The Second Line as Secular Religion 289
Conversion 290
Baptism 292
Commitment and Proselytization 292
The Constitutive Role of Common Symbols and Ritual 296
The Structural Elements of the Second Line 297
Second Line Music in LA: How Music Brings It All Together 299
Original/Hybrid Music-Making 302
Wrap Up 311

Epilogue: Traversing the Boundaries of Time, Space, and Domain 313
Conclusions 313
Future Implications of the Second Line 318
Final Thoughts 321

Appendix I: Brief Overview of Ethnography 322
Appendix II: Common Drum Pattern Transcriptions 326
Appendix III: "Sustain the Chain (buck it)," Lyrics 329
Appendix IV: "Are You with Me," Lyrics 331
Works Cited 332

List of Figures

Introduction Part I

Figure 0.1.1	Dirty Dozen Brass Band at the Independent, San Francisco, CA. Foreground; left to right: Efrem Townes, Kevin Harris, Roger Lewis, Jamie McLean. Background; left to right: Kirk Joseph, Terence Higgins. Photo courtesy of Bill "Swerbo" Swerbenski, a.k.a., BayTaper.	6
Figure 0.1.2	Co-founders of the Krewe of Grandview, Johann Stein (far left), and Miss Jessica Long (center), at the 2014 Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade.	9
Figure 0.1.3	Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock and Alvin "Lil Al" Coco at the Original CTC Steppers Social Aid & Pleasure Club Second Line Parade, Sunday, February 10, 2019.	13

Introduction Part II

Figure 0.2.1	Facebook post, October 19, 2018, 11:59 A.M.	63
Figure 0.2.2	My first Sunday second line as a co-participant, performing with an ad-hoc brass band for the Lower Nine Steppers Social Aid and Pleasure Club at the Big Nine Second Line Parade, Sunday, December 16, 2018. Background; left to right: Marc Francis (trombone), Marc T. Bolin (sousaphone), Daimon Kenard Thomas (trombone), a tired Mosiah "Mosi" Chartok (trombone), Seth Bailin (tenor saxophone), Emanuel Mitchell (trumpet, white hoodie), Blake McCarter (sousaphone, only bell is visible). Center: unknown member, Lower Nine Steppers Social Aid and Pleasure Club. Photo courtesy of Jonas Chartok.	65
Figure 0.2.3	Brenard "Bunny" Adams playing my sousaphone at a recording session, TBC Brass band, December 17, 2018. Brenard "Bunny" Adams, sousaphone.	69

Chapter 1

Figure 1.1	Flag Boy, Golden Eagles, Super Sunday, March 30, 2018.	86
Figure 1.2	Closeup of "Wildman" Byron Vallery's intricate beadwork, left arm panel, Super Sunday, March 30, 2018.	104
Figure 1.3	Spy Boy Floyd Edwards of the Golden Eagles, Super Sunday, March 30, 2018.	106
Figure 1.4	Chief Scout Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock, Mardi Gras Day, Tuesday, March 5, 2019.	107

Figure 1.5 J'Wan Boudreaux of the Golden Eagles and Cha Wa rehearsing "M B K," TBC recording session, December 17, 2018. 135

Chapter 2
Figure 2.1 Plan de la Nouvelle Orleans, 1722. 149

Figure 2.2 Plan of New Orleans, 1770. 152

Figure 2.3-4 Top: The Common or La Place Publique: Area highlighted in Red, above. Bottom: "Parade," also known as Place d'Armes, Plaza de Armas, now Jackson Square: Area highlighted in blue above. 153

Interlude I
Figure 2-1.1 Screenshot from *My Brother's Keeper*. 178

Figure 2-1.2 The author filming Efrem Towns giving a young trumpeter an impromptu lesson in music and life. Candlelight Lounge, New Orleans, LA, March 10, 2019. Photo courtesy of Michael Alford. 184

Figure 2-1.3 The Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club 24th Annual Second Line Parade, Sunday, March 17, 2019. Single Men SAPC's parade route with stops (see legend below). Map and route courtesy of UptownMessenger.com, March 15, 2019. 189

Chapter 3
Figure 3.1-2 Top: The Promise of Justice Initiative's Secondline [sic] for Equal Justice and Rally, November 3, 2018. Bottom: Inmates of the New Orleans Central Lockup seen holding up their hands in solidarity with protestors of the Promise of Justice Initiative's Secondline [sic.] for Equal Justice and Rally, November 3, 2018. 204

Figure 3.3 John Casimir's Young Tuxedo Brass Band records its first full-length LP for Atlantic Records; Jazz Begins, 1959, front jacket cover. 225

Figure 3.4 Figure 3.4. *Jazz* Begins, 1959, entire jacket cover (back jacket, left-side of image; front jacket, right-side of image). Digital reproduction of entire cover art, Morton Roberts "A Perfect Death," from "Jazz: America's Own Music in Its Lusty Youth," by Morton and LIFE's editors. 226

Interlude II

Figure 3-1.1 Screenshot from *Can't Take Our Spirit*, Venice, CA, February 15, 2020. Foreground: center (with feather fans), Electrik Kar; far-right, Todd Von Hoffman (founder of the Windward Krewe). 254

Figure 3-1.2 The author filming Assaf Igell at the 18th Annual Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade. Venice, CA. February 15, 2020. Photo courtesy of Jim Ezell. 257

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1 Critical Brass; left to right: Reverend Bill Earner, Rafi Loiederman, Gabriel Zeke Loiederman, Marvin Otero, "Schwee" Miguel Schwartz, I Timothy Moynahan, Robby Marshall, Mike Bolger, Ben McIntosh, and Beston Barnett. 268

Figure 4.2 The 2014 Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade. 269

Figure 4.3 Co-founders of the Krewe of Grandview, Miss Jessica Long and Johann Stein, at the 2014 Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade. 271

Figure 4.4 Mural by Henry Lipkis, Navy Blue Apartment Building, 120 Navy St., Venice, CA. Top; left to right: Deborah Daly; Dillon Ginsky; Hailey Gawboy; Henry Lipkis, artist; Mira Gonzales; Isaac Watts; Maggie Lally, circus performer; Bottom; left to right: Millie Mims, food activist; fictional character picnicking; Xaime Shekere, shekere; Junior, Djembe drummer; fictional character drumming; Miss Jessica Long; Mike Bravo, frame drummer; Mike Sr., drummer. Commissioned by Venice Community Housing (VCH) in 2020. Artist: Henry Lipkis. 272

Figure 4.5 Mudbug Brass Band at the FiveOFour, LA. Foreground; left to right: Dan Weinstein, Matthew DeMerritt, Mike Cottone, and Jamelle Yahya Adisa (né, Jamelle Williams.) Background; left to right: Marc Bolin, John Montgomery, Tim Ganard, and Johann Stein. Photo courtesy of Lisa Marie Bolin. 274

Figure 4.6-7 Top: Mudbug Brass Band on the balcony at Sassafras Saloon, LA. Foreground; left to right: Johann Stein, Jamelle Yahya Adisa, Matthew DeMerritt, and Dan Weinstein. Background; left to right: Tim Ganard, John Montgomery, and Marc Bolin. Photo courtesy of Hojoon Kim.) Bottom: View from the balcony at Sassafras Saloon. 284

Figure 4.8 Mardi Gras celebration of 1935 at Venice Beach showing four young ladies on the beach wearing giant paper mâché heads created by Arthur Reese, which were worn in the parade. Circa 1935. Security Pacific National Bank Collection. Photo courtesy of the Tessa Digit Collections of the Los Angeles Public Library. 288

Figure 4.9	Mudbug Brass Band bass drum, painted by Tim Ganard. Photo courtesy of Tim Ganard.	294
Figure 4.10	The Hollywood High Steppers Ensemble at the Silverlake Conservatory, Hollywood, CA. Foreground; left to right: Olivia Luat Young, Charles Favors, Joe Braun, Anthony Serrano III. Middle-ground; left to right: Caroline "Pinky" Luat Young, Chloe Haack, Assaf Igell, Alexander Killingstad. Background; left to right: Mike Bolger. January 29, 2020.	295

List of Examples

Introduction
Example 0.1 Bass line vamp, "Blackbird Special," Dirty Dozen Brass Band. 5

Chapter 1
Example 1.1 The tresillo or bamboula rhythm. 119

Chapter 4
Example 4.1 Bamboula derived groove from "Sustain the Chain." The circle outlines the embedded bamboula rhythm. 304

Example 4.2 Hip hop groove from "Sustain the Chain." 304

Example 4.3 "Joe Avery Call." 305

Example 4.4 The "bamboula" rhythm. 307

Example 4.5 "6th Ward" rhythm and variations. The circle outlines the embedded bamboula rhythm. 308

Example 4.6 "Are You with Me," as recorded by the Mudbug Brass Band. The circle outlines the embedded bamboula rhythm. 309

Acknowledgments

The Ethnomusicology Department at UCLA acknowledges the Gabrielino/Tongva peoples as the traditional land caretakers of Tovaangar (the Los Angeles basin and So. Channel Islands). As a land grant institution, we pay our respects to the Honuukvetam (Ancestors), ‘Ahiihirom (Elders) and ‘Eyoohiinkem (our relatives/relations) past, present and emerging.

I began working on this project nearly seven years ago. Without the help and support of several individuals, it most certainly would never have become the dissertation it is today. While no words of thanks will ever be enough, I would like to express my most sincere gratitude to the individuals who made this project possible.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my wife, Sherrijon. You have accompanied me every step on this wild ride, providing encouragement, patience, loving support, and a detailed eye throughout this project. Thank you for being the first person to read each draft and for listening to my long hours of verbal spit-balling and theorizing. I cannot express in words how happy I am to have met you. I can't wait to spend the rest of my life with you. I would also like to thank my family—Ma, Dad, Rick, Troy, Michelle, Tiffany, Daniel, and my brothers- and sisters-in-law, Matthew, Justin, and Kara—for their love, support, and encouragement.

I am exceedingly grateful to my adviser Dr. Cheryl L. Keyes, for her guidance through this arduous process. I want to express my deepest appreciation to the other members of my committee, Drs. Mark Kligman, A.J. Racy, and Aparna Sharma, for your belief in this project and willingness to support me throughout the dissertation process. And to Dr. Aparna Sharma, who was a source of inspiration for the filmic portion of my research. What's more, through your tutelage, I gained the skills and confidence to film in the field. I would also like to thank Drs. James Newton and Christopher Waterman for their time, energies, and guidance along the way. Your mentorship will

not be forgotten. I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to Ginger Chulack, Dan Weinstein, and Dr. Ryan Koons, for your immense editorial help to me as I wrote this dissertation. Thank you all so very much.

In developing the ideas presented here, I have received helpful input from all of my collaborators. Without you, this study would lack substance and be void of meaning. In New Orleans, Louisiana, I owe enormous gratitude to the community of musicians and friends who supported my research: Brenard "Bunny" Adams, Glen Andrews, Glen "Budda" Finister Andrews, Glen David Andrews, James "12" Andrews, Revert "Peanut" Andrews, Tyreek Andrews, Lucien Barbarain, Aaron "Arab" Brooks (also known as "Green-Eyed Monster"), Jerel Brown, Tyrone Brown, Dwayne "Big D" Burns, Jaz Butler, Paul Oroszlan Chéenne, Jonas Chartock, Samuel Cyrus, Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock, Eliseanne Coco, Alvin "Lil Al" Coco, Brandon "Bee" Franklin (Rest In Peace),Terry Gibson, Jr., Steven Glenn, Shannon Haynes, Corey Henry, Jeffrey Hills, Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle, Terrence "Huck" Hilliard Sr., Edward "Juicy" Jackson III, Pableaux Johnson, Jerome "Bay Bay" Jones, Sean King, Francois "Dee-Three" LAST, Russel and Shay Levine, Marc Lewis, Patrick Mackey, Joseph Maize, Jr., James Martin, Blake McCarter, Malcolm Morris, Tyrone "Tuffy" Nelson, Chad NOLA, Michael Sean Roberts, Tommy Ryan and Judy Jurisich, Dewon "Itchy" Scott, Derrick "Spodie" Shezbie (also known as "Kabuki"), Mark "Tuba" Smith, Reginald Stewart, Pastor Chris Sylvain, Kenneth Terry, Daimon Kenard Thomas, Darren Towns, Efrem Towns, and Devin Vance

Special thanks go to Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle for taking the time to teach me the intricacies of good bass drum technique and teaching me how to fabricate a marching bass drum and beater. To my young friends Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock and Alvin "Lil Al" Coco and their parents, Jonas Chartock and Eliseanne Coco, it has been such a pleasure seeing you grow as both musicians and

humans. If ever I was tired or didn't feel like going out to a second line, I'd ask, "What would Mosi and Lil Al do?" And I'd get my things together and head on out. You both serve as a role model for us all. Thank you. I'd also like to extend my gratitude to Pableaux Johnson for sharing his dinner table and his talent with my wife and me. From a chance meeting on the street, to study trips, to dinner parties and Mardi Gras parades, I'd like to thank Tommy Ryan and Judy Jurisich and your family—Shane Ryan Levy and husband Dr. Russell Levy—for welcoming us into your lives.

This study would not have been possible without the support and nurturing of my collaborators in Los Angeles, California: Mike Bolger, Clinton Cameron, Michael Anthony Cottone, Matthew "Matty D" DeMerritt, Hilarion Domingue, Ryan Dragon, Charles "Gator Boy" Favors, Todd von Hoffmann, the Hollywood High Steppers, Sebastian Leger, Jesus "Chuy" Martinez, John Montgomery, I Timothy "Tim I" Moynahan, Shaunté Palmer, Isaac Smith, Greg Sonnier, Johann Stein, Michael Rocha, Michael "Scwee" Schwartz, Marc William Sloan, Caesar Ventura, Michelle Van Vliet, and Dan Weinstein—you were there from the beginning. And a special thanks to Tim Ganard for your patience in fielding the many questions I had regarding the rhythmic practices of New Orleans brass band drummers; John Montgomery for your aid in snare drum technique; Johann Stein and Jessica Long for your part in creating a welcoming environment in the Krewe of Grandview and your support of the LA second line scene; and Jamelle Adisa for your support and encouragement of me and my research—even when I drop a bridge.

I also had the great pleasure of working with the members of the Critical Brass Band, the Glen David Andrews Band, the Free Spirit Brass Band, the Jackson Square All Stars, the James Martin Band, the Mudbug Brass Band, and the To Be Continued Brass Band, with whom I spent countless hours with, performing, talking, and occasional rabble-rousing. You have all made me a better musician, person, and scholar.

I want to extend my sincere appreciation to the members of the Hollywood High Steppers, the Krewe of Kinney, the Krewe of Grandview, My Brother's Keeper, the To Be Continued Brass Band, the Tulane Alumni Krewe, and the Windward Krewe for graciously allowing me to film your parades.

I would like to express my gratitude to Jens Lindemann, Member of the Order of Canada, for inviting me to come and study at UCLA. I am also grateful to Aubrey Foard, Fritz Kaenzig, Patrick Sheridan, and James Miller, who not only inspired me as a performing tubist but supported my decision to become an ethnomusicologist and gave me much needed advice on how to balance research and performing.

I'd be remiss if I didn't mention the Morning Zoom and the Motley Zoom Crüe and Evening Writing Groups, organized by Alicia Mastromonaco and Elaine Sullivan, respectively. The people in these groups helped lift me out of a funk brought on by the pervasive killing of unarmed Black men and women and the COVID-19 pandemic. Together, we chipped away at our work, little by little, in silent camaraderie. Dan Abbe, Ann Braubach, Rebecca Dirksen, Cory Gundlach, Mana Hayakawa, Sunaina Kale, Perrin Lathrop, Jenny Lee, Talia Lieber, Mika Lior, Dana Marterella, Liza Munk, Alicia Mastomonaco, Alyssa Matthias, Maya Nadkarni, Janet Purdy, Matt Rarey, CedarBough Saeji, Pallavi Sriram, Otto Stuparitz, Elaine Sullivan, Aniko Szucs, Lauren Taylor, Vivek Virani, Kristen Windmuller-Luna, and Rebecca Wolff.

Finally, the research for his dissertation was made possible through the generous financial support of the UCLA Graduate Division and the Herb Alpert School of Music, the UCLA Department of Ethnomusicology, without which the present study could not have been completed.

Vita

EDUCATION

2018 M.A., Ethnomusicology, University of California, Los Angeles

2014 M.M., Tuba Performance, University of California, Los Angeles

2012 B.M., Tuba and Trombone Performance, University of California, Los Angeles

LECTURER EXPERIENCE

Instructor Experience

2021 Adjunct Instructor, Longy School of Music of Bard College, Los Angeles, CA
5-week Social Justice MRP Module/Ethnomusicology for the Longy Master of Arts in Teaching in Music Program

2019 Professor of Record, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA
Jazz in American Culture I

2018 Professor of Record, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA
Jazz in American Culture I

2017 Professor of Record, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA
Jazz in American Culture I
Jazz in American Culture II

2017 Principal Lecturer, Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA
Ellingtonia

Invited Lectures

2019 "African American Music: From the Middle Passage through the Civil Rights Era," Music Appreciation, Pierce College

2018 "The New Orleans Second Line as a Site for Analysis of Globalization," Theories of Culture, World Arts and Cultures, UCLA

2017 "The Jazz Funeral: Second Line, Ritual, and the Spectacle of New Orleans in Los Angeles," Music, Religion, and Popular Culture, Ethnomusicology, UCLA

2017 "Jug Band, Old-Time, and Bluegrass Musics," for Sphere Project, Monk Institute, Los Angeles

2014-2018 Music Cultures of the World Europe and the Americas, Ethnomusicology 20 Series, UCLA:
"New Orleans Second Line Culture"
"Brass Band Culture of New Orleans"
"Music of New Orleans"

"Duke Ellington's Queenie Pie: A Folk Opera"

2012 "A Brass Band Turns Silver!," lecture-demo for American Pop and Its Silver Lining, Fowler Museum, UCLA

2012 "The Jug: An Offbeat Oddity," lecture-demo for Music for Our Mothers: A Bluegrass Tribute, Fowler Museum, Los Angeles
Other Instructor Experience

Teaching Assistant Experience

2020 Teaching Fellow, Music Department, UCLA
Global Pop (online)
Teaching Assistant Consultant/Training (online)

2019 Teaching Fellow, Music Department, UCLA
Jazz in American Culture I
African American Musical Tradition I

2017 Teaching Fellow, Music Department, UCLA
Music of Latin America: Mexico, Central America, and Caribbean Isles

2016 Teaching Associate, Music Department, UCLA
African American Musical Tradition I and II
Jazz in American Culture I

2013-2015 Teaching Assistant, Music Department, UCLA
African American Musical Tradition I and II
Jazz in American Culture I and II Wind Ensemble

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

2017 "Angeleno Brass Bands and New Orleans Identity: Representations of New Orleans in Los Angeles," Annual Meeting of the Society of Ethnomusicology Southern California and Hawaii Chapter, Irvine, CA. February 18-19.

2009 "Realizing the Duke," Echoes of Ellington Conference, University of Texas, Austin, TX, April 16-19.

Introduction Part I

I am *Jelly Roll Morton*. *I* am *Mahalia Jackson*. *I* am *Louis Armstrong*.
—Jamelle Yaya Adisa[1]

Setting the Scene

Inspiration for this study can be traced to a series of events beginning in 1998 when I was engaged to perform with the Guy Lombardo Orchestra, my first of many paddlewheel riverboat excursions. The American Queen Steamboat Company contracted the orchestra to perform nightly concerts on their flagship vessel, the American Queen, heralded as the largest river steamboat ever built. At nearly four-hundred feet long, American Queen holds hour-hundred and twenty-two passengers and is equipped with telescoping stacks and the world's largest calliope.[2] Peddling nostalgia and Americana, the American Queen Steamboat Company offers cruises on the Mississippi River and its surrounding tributaries and stop-overs in Memphis, TN, Natchez, MS, and New Orleans, LA.[3] On this riverboat excursion, I heard traditional jazz and brass band music for the first time.

Among the many things to do on the ship, I spent much of my time drinking coffee or listening to the house band on the riverboat deck or in the Engine Room Bar. The Steamboat Syncopators were a six-piece band made up of trumpet, clarinet, trombone, banjo, tuba, and drums. They played traditional jazz, a jazz style that emphasizes improvisation and collective improvisation

---

[1] Moving to LA in 2010, Jamelle Yaya Adisa is trumpet player, "born and raised" in New Orleans, LA. Adisa, Jamelle Yaya. Native New Orleanian and trumpet player. September 15, 2015, Los Angeles, California.

[2] Merriam-Webster defines a calliope as "a keyboard musical instrument resembling an organ and consisting of a series of whistles sounded by steam or compressed air." Merriam-Webster, s.v."calliope," accessed December 10, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/calliope.

[3] The American Queen Steamboat Company was one of a small number of riverboat companies that offered extended excursions along the Mississippi River in the 1990s and early 2000s. These companies proffered in relaxation and nostalgia in "the fulfillment of Mark Twain's dreams." These companies proffered in relaxation and nostalgia in "the fulfillment of Mark Twain's dreams." https://tinyurl.com/ybz66rnt.

over a swinging, two-beat rhythm and easily discernable harmonies and song structures.[4] I was mesmerized by the talent of the musicians in the band.

Then one hot and muggy day late July, the riverboat docked in Natchez, approximately 168 miles up-river from New Orleans, for a brief sojourn. The Syncopaters performed on the deck for disembarking passengers. I stayed aboard to perform a dinner-set for the few remaining passengers that didn't go into town. After my performance and anxious to get off the boat, I asked several crew members what they were doing. They relayed they were going to a bar just a few hundred feet up the hill from where the riverboat was docked. I followed suit, and we all disembarked for a few hours out on the town. Loud, brash horns and drums blared from the open door and windows as we approached the bar. Inside the club, people crowded the make-shift stage area, dripping wet with sweat from dancing. We pushed past the dancing crowd and bellied up to the bar. I ordered a beer and asked the bartender the band's name, to which she replied, "a brass band from New Orleans called Rebirth Brass Band."

As the band played, I nearly forgot that I was there with a group of friends. Rebirth had my full attention. I listened and danced for a couple of hours before returning to the boat before it pushed off. Rebirth played one long set—sans breaks—so I couldn't talk with any band members before leaving.

I made my way back to my small cabin on the riverboat, sat down on the edge of the bed, and reflected upon the music that evening. Employing my mind's ear, I toggled back and forth between the Syncopators and Rebirth. Without understanding the subtlety in variation, several

[4] Traditional jazz is known by many, outside of New Orleans, as dixieland jazz. In this dissertation, I differentiate between dixieland and traditional jazz—also known as "early jazz, "classic jazz," or simply "trad" jazz. For my collaborators, "dixieland" has become a pejorative term, conjuring images of older men in striped tests wearing straw hats playing prearranged music to create a sense of nostalgia. "Trad jazz," on the other hand, implies roots in the performance styles of the jazz masters of the early 20th Century, such as King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, "Jelly Roll" Morton, and Sydney Bechet and is viewed as a living tradition, one that continues to this day.

things become clear. While retaining many elements of traditional jazz, the band's performance style exhibited clear signs of change: the influences of hip hop, funk, and R&B were evident; as too was the use of a sousaphone in place of a tuba, with it's aggressive and bouncing bass-lines (as opposed to the plodding bass-lines of previous generations) and two drummers (snare and bass drum), replacing the drum set; funk-infused horn riffs that make use of bebop inspired passing-tones; call-and-response; and unison singing (White 2001:87).[5] Rebirth represented a combination of traditional music with contemporary musical elements. Put another way, an intersection of past and present (I will discuss Rebirth at length later in this dissertation).

The music I heard while on that excursion ignited my curiosity in a way that I had not experienced before. I began learning the repertoire and researching jazz history. When I moved from my hometown of Cincinnati, Ohio, to San Francisco, CA, in 1999, I began seeking out bands performing this music in the nascent brass band scene developing there.[6]

I received a phone call in February 2006, just months after Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans, LA. On that day, I sat in my 10'x12' practice room looking out over the Red Morton Community Park, a large park in Redwood City, CA, with multiple ball fields and an open green space where people read, walked their dogs, and tossed frisbee. I was preparing for a couple of upcoming tours, as that year was shaping up to be a busy one for me in which I'd be performing traditional jazz. With headphones dangling off-kilter to one side of my head, making it easier to hear

---

[5] A *riff* is a short, catchy, repeated phrase in popular music and jazz, typically used as an introduction or refrain in a song. Often based on a blues scale or style. Like the tuba, the sousaphone is an aerophone typically made of brass. It is a near relative of the more widely known tuba. Invented around 1893 by J.W. Pepper at the direction of American bandleader John Philip Sousa (the instrument's namesake), it was designed to be easier to play than the tuba, which sits upon the musician's lap, and for better projection of sound. Unlike the tuba, the sousaphone conforms to the musician, coiling around the body of the musician; with a large flaring bell that is pointed forward, the sound of the instrument is thus projected above the heads of the band ahead of the player. Because of its ease of carrying and the direction of sound, it is widely employed in high school, college, and military marching bands, bandas, brass bands, and other musical genres.

[6] St. Gabriel's Celestial Brass Band, Brass Monkey, and Cell Block 7 were the bands that made up the scene at the time.
Red Sea Jazz Festival (Ambassadors of New Orleans Jazz); State Tour of China (Cell Block 7).

myself play, I was practicing with Jamey Aebersold's early jazz "play-along" CD, *St. Louis Blues: Traditional Dixieland Classics.*[7] Before long, I heard the phone ring in the living room.

I answered the phone and was greeted with a warm, soft-spoken voice: "Hello, Marc? Kirk Joseph, here." I was surprised and somewhat befuddled. Kirk was the famous sousaphone player for the Dirty Dozen Brass Band (DDBB). Why was he calling me? He went on to relay that SF Bay Area trombonist, Mike Rinta, had referred him to me, the DDBB was on tour, and his sousaphone "didn't make the trip." Soundcheck for the gig was only a few hours away, and he was in urgent need of a sousaphone to play. Kirk Joseph was asking *me* if he could borrow my horn! I was honored that he had called me and more than willing to loan him my sousaphone. Still, as I was predominantly a trombonist and relatively new to the tuba, I had only recently picked up a very used York E-flat (Eb) sousaphone, which didn't work for Kirk. So, in the end, I was unable to help. We exchanged pleasantries; he invited me to their show that evening and politely ended the call.

I happened to have a Friday evening free of any gigs, as the San Francisco music scene was flourishing at the time. I parked on Fulton St. near Alamo Square, which I often did when performing at the club. The Independent sits on the corner of Divisidero and Fulton Streets. As I turned the corner, I saw a crowd of people at the door with IDs in hand to present to the doorman. A long line of people had formed behind them, leading down the block and pressed up against the buildings immediately adjacent to the Independent. The doorman recognized me and motioned me over, offered me entry into the club without having to wait my turn in the queue. I entered the club,

---

[7] A *play-along* is another term for *backing track*, a recorded musical accompaniment, for, typically jazz, musicians to play or sing along with. Wilton Jameson "Jamey" Aebersold (born July 21, 1939) is an American publisher, educator, and jazz saxophonist. His Play-A-Long series of instructional books and CDs, using the chord-scale system, the first of which was released in 1967, are an internationally renowned resource for jazz education. His summer workshops have educated students of all ages since the 1960s.He was not the first to do so, but has certainly become a leader in the industry. *St. Louis blues: traditional Dixieland classics.* Jamey Aebersold Jazz (Series); v. 100. New Albany, IN: Jamey Aebersold Jazz, 2004. WorldCat.org.

purchased a beer at the bar, found my favored spot against the wall just to the left of the stage, and waited for the band to come onto the stage.

As the rhythm section mounted the stage (Jamie McLean, guitar; Terence Higgins, drum set; and Kirk Joseph, sousaphone), a relatively understated voice boomed through the sound system, echoing throughout the club: "Give it up. Dirty Dozen." Higgins' drum set nearly exploded as he began playing a driving and highly syncopated groove. A descending glissando bellowed from Joseph's sousaphone, signaling the start of a well-known DDBB original, "Blackbird Special"—a crowd favorite and frequent show opener (see Example 0.1.1).[8] McLean launched into a howling, blues-inspired improvisation, as the rest of the band moved casually onto the stage: Efrem Townes, trumpet; Kevin Harris, tenor saxophone; Roger Lewis, baritone saxophone and cofounder; Jamie McLean; Terence Higgins; and Kirk Joseph; sousaphone and cofounder (see Example 0.1.1).

Example 0.1. Bass line vamp, "Blackbird Special," Dirty Dozen Brass Band.

The band performed two sets of original material: traditional New Orleans jazz tunes and "cover" or tribute songs, which paid homage to several New Orleans, Louisiana (NOLA) brass bands and popular music icons, such as the New Birth brass band, the Neville Brothers, Bill Withers, Prince,

[8] Glissando is a term that, when used by a New Orleans brass band musician, refers to a continuous slide upward or downward. It is closely associated to the term "whoop," which is common in NOLA brass band music, that functions as a signal or rhythmic interjection by the tubist. The whoop, here, is perhaps associated with the "oral-aural musical celebration" tradition of *whooping* in the Black Church; the act of bellowing, or other type of exaltation, made in excitement or manifestation of the Spirit. For more on the Whooping tradition, see Brooks, Kyle. "The Sound of Celebration: Digital Interventions in the Black Church Whooping Tradition." *Fire!!!* 6, no. 1 (2020): 17-44

Figure 0.1.1. Dirty Dozen Brass Band at the Independent, San Francisco, CA. Foreground; left to right: Efrem Townes, Kevin Harris, Roger Lewis, Jamie McLean. Background; left to right: Kirk Joseph, Terence Higgins. Photo courtesy of Bill "Swerbo" Swerbenski, a.k.a., BayTaper.[9]

and P-Funk.[10] The DDBB embraced the local community, too, by inviting several guests to perform with them. Among those that *sat in* with the band was Shawn Amos (a.k.a.) Reverend Shawn Amos). Efrem asked all the musical guests to join the band on the stage. Moments later, the band began the evening's last tune, an impromptu *jam*.[11]

---

[9] Unless otherwise noted, all photographs taken by the author.

[10] A *cover song* refers to a new performance or recording of a previously recorded, commercially released song by someone other than the original artist or composer. I use the term *tribute* here to reference a song, or set of songs, to show admiration and respect for and artist. I confirmed the set list as my friend Bill "Swerbo" Swerbinski, known as BayTaper, recorded the event and provided me access to the audio files of show in its entirety on 9/24/2020. Swerbo also sent along a video recording of "Oh When the Saints Go Marching In," from he gave his consent to grab a still image from the video footage. Swerbo is a stalwart of the "taper" community in San Francisco. A *taper* is a person who records musical events often from a hand-held microphone or device, recorded from the audience perspective, and for the benefit of the musical group's fan-base. "Taping" grew out of the Grateful Dead sub-culture of the late 1960s and early 1970s by fans of the Grateful Dead. Swerbo's interest lie in the San Francisco Bay Area's "underground jazz and creative music scene"—always with permission—such as Jazz Mafia bands (Realistic, Realistic Orchestra, Brass Bows & Beats, the Classical Revolution, Nefasha Ayer, Marcus Shelby ensembles (Trio, Quartet, and Big Band), and many others. Swerbo's website serves as an archive of sorts, helping to promote bands to a wider audience. I was fortunate to perform with many of the musicians and bands documented in his archive. For more on BayTaper, see http://www.baytaper.com/.

[11] Jam, as used here, references a collective improvisation.

The evening's final tribute was a *medley* of three songs that began with a brief improvisation that was mellow and introspective.[12] Roger Lewis announced the concluding moments of the improvisation playing the last eight bars of the traditional jazz number, "I'll Fly Away"—a familiar method of introducing songs in NOLA and trad jazz circles. After several verses of the tune, the band collectively inserted Prince's well-known chorus to "Purple Rain" (1984), which the crowd immediately recognized.[13] With arms waving from side to side, audience members accompanied the band, singing in unison.

After a long *fermata*, McLean led the band into a spirited *shout*; every musician joined in collective improvisation. As the tempo and volume increased, the musicians' excitement was evident and made palpable with the audience part Iicipation, which looked more like a mosh pit at a punk rock concert than a brass band show. Higgens signaled the jam's end with a loud drum roll culminating with a raucous *flam* followed by an abrupt pause. With his drum sticks, Higgins conducted the concluding note.[14] The crowd cheered as Townes held his trumpet high above his head and bellowed, "Peace and love, y'all!" The other band members smiled and motioned as if to say "thank you" to the crowd. As the crowd dispersed, I made my way to the left side of the stage (stage right), where the band was exiting. I greeted Kirk as he descended from the stage, and we spoke briefly. I congratulated him on a job well done and made my way home.

---

[12] The term *medley* is a collection of different tunes or songs that are played one after the other as a single piece of music. Medley is closely associated to the term *mash up*, contemporary music, that describes the merging of two or more pre-recorded songs, usually superimposing the vocal track of one song over the instrumental track of another.

[13] "Purple Rain" was also the hit single from Prince's *Purpe Rain* 1984 musical drama film and soundtrack album of the same name. "Purple Rain" the fourth track on Side Two of album. "Purple Rain" was also the hit single from Prince's Purple Rain 1984 musical drama film and soundtrack album of the same name. Purple Rain the fourth track on Side Two of the album. Purple Rain. Burbank, CA: Warner Bros., 1984.

[14] The term *shout* refers to the ecstatic—and exceedingly energetic—expressive practice in the Black Church where music, dance, and praise act synchronously to both bring on and sustain ecstasy. Here, both Jamie McLean and Kirk Joseph play the scale degrees 1 3 4 sharp-4 5 6 flat-7 7 8 that correspond to the simplified chord progression I7 IV7 I7. The term *fermata* is defined as a pause, or prolongation, of unspecified length upon a note or rest.

Hearing Kirk play at the Independent helped solidify within me a determination to play the sousaphone. Not just in a typical manner—*oom pah*, or marching band tradition—but as what I've termed, *windbass*—taking the place of the typically positioned electric bass player in popular music. Toward this end, I moved to Los Angeles in 2008, where I began studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

In 2012, I was called upon to play sousaphone with a brass band for the Krewe of Grandview's annual Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade (established in 2002; see Figure 0.1.2). The Krewe of Grandview (KoG) is an "affinity community," a community that celebrates, converses with, and pays homage to New Orleans's most recognizable musical tradition.[15] The KoG had hired the *ad-hock* band that Johann Stein (cofounder of the KoG) had performed with previously in 2011. This band would later become known as the Mudbug Brass Band. The call came in last-minute fashion–which is common in the brass band world—as the tuba player they had hired, Dan Weinstein, had taken a higher paying gig. I knew a few songs but followed my ear and made it through the gig relatively unscathed.[16]

I began playing with the Mudbug Brass Band (MBB) full time. The first couple of years with them corresponding with my studies toward a master's degree at UCLA. In my free time, I was busy learning and transcribing tunes via audio recordings, reading historical treatises, talking with native New Orleanians, and watching music videos, oral histories, documentaries, and masterclasses on YouTube—otherwise known as research. In late 2014, I decided to apply for admission to the

[15] In her article "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music," ethnomusicologist Kay Shelemay defines an affinity community as one that emerges from individual preferences and a desire for association with others who share the same affinities (Shelemay 2011:16-17). See Shelemay, Kay Kaufman. 2011. "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64 (2): 349–90.

[16] To *play by ear,* a musician must have the ability of performing to reproduce a music, whether it be an entire piece of music, a rhythm, or a riff, they have heard, without having seen it notated in any form of sheet music. Many songs within an idiom share similar harmonic structures. Thus, "You'll hear it" refers to listening to the form or melody one time through, then performing along with the other musician or musicians, thereafter. "You'll hear it" is a common phrase in jazz.

Figure 0.1.2. Cofounders of the Krewe of Grandview, Johann Stein (far left), and Miss Jessica Long (center), at the 2014 Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade.

Ethnomusicology Department and was accepted. The first two years of study involved taking courses on music related to society and culture, the cultural significance of music and performance in the context of a community, the history of ethnomusicology, and how "to do" fieldwork. At this juncture, the research for this project began. For my first fieldwork assignment, I interviewed fellow musicians and audience members in LA, Krewe members, and several LA-based NOLA natives and collected repertoire via oral transmission and recordings. Through this experience, I was introduced to a community of Louisiana emigres in Los Angeles, their friends and family, and the players that

would come to make up the Mudbug Brass Band (MBB)—a band with which I have performed hundreds of *gigs*.[17]

In my MA paper, I explored how LA-based brass band musicians and affinity communities of the Krewe of Grandview, Critical Brass, and the MBB engage the real and imagined communities in LA, investigating themes of diaspora, transplanted, and local reinterpretation, and representations of New Orleans brass band music. While dialoguing directly with the New Orleans tradition, LA-based brass band musicians are creating original music that simultaneously projects New Orleans, critiques racial violence, and reflects the LA environ in which they live. These musicians are agents in the public sphere who utilize instruments as technologies for producing culture, subjectivity, and identity (Sakakeeny 2013:6). The three case studies of the study, The Krewe of Grandview, Critical Brass, and the MBB nurture a welcoming environment that projects a very tangible image of the homeland, constituting a basis of group identification and cultural practice connecting with the broader LA community. This image allows for negotiating differences and social change while producing and reproducing themselves, creating a robust hybrid culture. As a result of my research, I found that NOLA diasporic and affinity communities share spaces and make music together, which provides a powerful mechanism for galvanizing these communities.

At the suggestion of Dr. Cheryl Keyes, my mentor and dissertation Committee Chair, I engaged in ethnographic fieldwork in NOLA to better understand what, if anything, was different in LA from that of the "homeland" NOLA. In 2017 and early-2018, I made three relatively short but insightful trips to NOLA (October 2017, January 2018, March 2018). While fruitful, I just came up with more questions than answers. Moreover, I didn't have the time to develop trusting relationships that long-term fieldwork allows. I needed more time.

[17] *Gig* is a colloquial term for a live and typically paid, musical performance or other engagement of a musician or ensemble.

Consequently, I relocated to NOLA to engage in long-term ethnographic fieldwork (October 2018-June 2019). By mid-December (2018), I was logging up ten hours of co-participation, every single day, performing with brass bands throughout the city. Types of performances included playing for tips (*busking*; on Jackson Square and/or Frenchman Street with the Jackson Square Allstars and the Free Spirit Brass Band), leading second line parades, and playing club dates and private parties (To Be Continued and Free Spirit brass bands).[18] And in January (2019), I joined the Glen David Andrews Band and the Andrews Family Brass Bands, with whom I performed several times a week. When I wasn't busking or at a gig (co-participation), I engaged in participant-observation or other research forms, including archival research, interviews, and musical transcription.

While in NOLA, I learned that the brass band tradition there is both community-based and multi-functional. It emerged from the everyday, communal aspect of music-making and community-life in NOLA that has existed for more than a century. This tradition is most often manifest in what is known today as the second line. In New Orleans, the term *second line* is used broadly to represent a complete social subculture, denoting a parade, funeral, music, and dance. Second lines parades have now been disembodied from the jazz funeral from which it originates—only adding to its complexity. The second line derives from the funeral rite known as the *jazz funeral*, where practitioners celebrate life at the moment of death. The jazz funeral has two discernable segments—the first line (or mainline), made up of the deceased's family and invited guests, and the second line, the portion of a jazz funeral parade set in binary opposition with the "mainline"/revelers (White 2001:69). This portion of the parade is symbolic of the deceased's transition from this life to the next and transitions from dirges to up-tempo music that is the hallmark of the traditional funeral.

[18] *Busking* is defined as the act performing for tips.

Coming out of the funeral-with-music tradition, second line parades can be viewed as reenactments and manifestations of cultural memories and a part of the everyday life of New Orleans, and as I will demonstrate, takes on special meaning outside of New Orleans, as well. In this dissertation, I argue that the second line is a contemporary expression of the ring shout, retaining its vitality not through preservation but through constant modification and adaptation—each generation adapting the tradition to make it resonate with their experience.

Like Alvin "Lil Al" Coco (age 7) and Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock (age 5), many jazz practitioners come up performing in brass bands from a very young age (see Figure 0.1.3). To these practitioners in NOLA, jazz is an intensely history-conscious and living tradition. New Orleanian musicians *live* the history of New Orleans, actively engaging with their past, evoking their forebearers and musical ancestors' names, and communing with their spirits. Through their actions, this is all made manifest in the music.

On a set break in March 2019, drummer Jaz Butler and I sat outside of the Royal Frenchman Hotel talking and smoking cigarettes, where we were performing with the Glen David Andrews Band. Jaz asserted, "I can feel 'em with me when I play. They speak *through* me, through my hands. They dictatin' what I play." She continued, "[that's] what makes our music so unique, it's embedded in the rhythms, its beats, and how we perform." Thus, practitioners not only maintain the jazz tradition, but they also embody it. Furthermore, the jazz tradition—often associated with yesteryear's musical culture outside of NOLA—is exemplified in the NOLA second line's contemporary expressions.

In the Summer of 2019, I returned to LA to conclude my fieldwork and teach a course on jazz in American culture at UCLA. I took some time to myself—a much-needed break—before I began the writing process in late October, but by mid-March of 2020, things came to a grinding

Figure 0.1.3. Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock and Alvin "Lil Al" Coco at the Original CTC Steppers Social Aid & Pleasure Club Second Line Parade, Sunday, February 10, 2019.

halt. In early January 2020, reports of the transmission of COVID-19, a novel strain of the coronavirus, were just starting to appear in the United States. By January 25, an Orange County (CA) resident became the third confirmed case in the US.[19] The spread of COVID-19 had become a pandemic by mid-March, growing out of control in many parts of the world. During which time, President Donald J. Trump had declared a national emergency, schools shut their doors, and California Governor Gavin Newsom issued a statewide shelter-in-place that lasted through the summer.

As this happened, three killings of African Americans gained national attention—two at the hands of police officers, and one committed by civilians: Ahmaud Arbery, an unarmed 25-year-old Black male, was fatally shot by two civilians while jogging in Glynn County, Georgia; Breonna Taylor, a 26-year-old Black EMT, was shot by three white plain-clothed police officers eight times

[19] The novel strain of the coronavirus, also known as COVID-19 which surfaced in a Chinese seafood and poultry market early January 2020.

when executing a no-knock search warrant of her apartment while she was sleeping next to her boyfriend (the "subject"), Kenneth Walker, in Louisville, Kentucky; and the world watched George Floyd struggle for breath as a white police officer knelt on his neck. As protestors took to the streets, news outlets began reporting on the disproportionate effect of police brutality and COVID-19, acknowledging the need to confront racial indignities suffered by people of color and the issue of systemic racism in the US.[20]

While on a catch-up call with Tim Ganard (bass drummer and bandleader for the MBB) in September 2020, we lamented the current state of affairs, highlighted the importance of staying in touch with friends and families during these trying times, and reflected nostalgically upon the days when we were playing together. I mentioned to Tim that I had discovered that a Bay Area friend of mine, Bill "Swerbo" Swerbinsky, had "taped" the 2006 Dirty Dozen Brass Band performance at the Independent, San Francisco, CA, and archived it, online. I went on to say that I called several of the musicians that performance that night and asked them about it; I came to know some of these musicians as collaborators and friends. I relayed how surprised I was at how much I learned from revisiting the performance all these years later. Many details of the concert had simply gone over my head: how band members paid homage and honored those who had come before them, and the embeddedness of the second line tradition and aesthetic, including musical form, rhythmic gesture, and religious associations. I was most excited to relay that I had discovered Reverend Shawn Amos, who would later record a track featuring the MBB, had sat in that night, playing the harmonica. To compound my excitement, I learned that Amos was then the vice president of artists & repertoire at Shout! Factory and had co-produced the DDBB's remake of Marvin Gaye's 1971 album, *What's Going On.* Ganard was not surprised by any of what I called *serendipity*, testifying, "Yeah, man. Call it

[20] *Fatal Force: Police shootings database.* Washington Post. (2020, January 22). Retrieved November 25, 2020, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/investigations/police-shootings-database/.

phenomena, religion, science, whatever you wanna call it. The whole cosmic connection regarding music, brass band, it's just insane. It's no coincidence. It all came to you."

The above allegory exemplifies how I arrived at the starting questions for this study, the topics I would address, my methodologies, as well as this dissertation's form. But, this dissertation is not about me. Instead, it is about New Orleans brass band practitioners' living culture and history, from NOLA to LALA. The resulting manuscript represents my findings.

The Study

In New Orleans, Louisiana, the Black brass band parade is revered as the most distinctive local tradition in a city of many musical traditions. This parade, known as the second line, is a deeply rooted, community-based institution that has persisted for nearly 150 years as indigenous, multi-functional music. Second line parades are derived from the funeral-with-music tradition, known as the jazz funeral, and can be viewed as reenactments and manifestations of cultural memories. The second line is a part of the everyday life of New Orleans (NOLA). Its aesthetics—"groundbeat of feet on the street," poly-rhythmic quality, call-and-response patterns, and emphasis on collective improvisation—engendered a multitude of popular genres, including jazz, funk, and bounce (Berry 2009:102). In the increasingly secularized world, the ritual character of the second line has changed. In NOLA, today, second lines are often disembodied from the funeral rites ritual from which they originate. Outside of NOLA, the secularization of the second line is further amplified.

When individuals relocate, they carry with them many of the aspects of NOLA culture. For these migrants, the second line is a profound expression of New Orleans. For others, NOLA exists in the imaginary, shaped by a variety of media and technologies, creating a virtual experience of the city's culture for viewers in which brass band music and Mardi Gras festivities are iconic. In Los

Angeles (LA), the second line has become a signifier of a NOLA-style and custom, affiliated with its Mardi Gras street parades, jazz weddings and funerals, and NOLA-themed events.

This growing secular and predominantly non-native New Orleanian audience in Los Angeles (LA) is participating in the second line ritual—without the religious element. Thus, as Angelenos gain a greater awareness of NOLA, they transpose the second line ritual and music in LA, out of which comes new meanings, new identities, and new theology. Within this theology, the sacred and the secular are interacting in unique ways, where multiple modes of hybridity take the place of clearly defined practices, allowing for new modes of expression to appear.

In this musical ethnography, I will explore the contemporary expressions of the second line in two vastly different urban landscapes—New Orleans and Los Angeles—revealing the dynamic relationships between history, music, and religion. Additionally, I am interested in uncovering the interlinked development of the second line parade, jazz, and the Black brass band tradition as a reflection of New Orleanian identity. I will analyze the sociocultural and historical contexts in which NOLA and LA brass band musicians and audiences live and are situated, how they maintain and represent elements of NOLA life, and how they negotiate tradition. Much like the *Misi-ziibi*—the name given to the river now known as the Mississippi—with its nearly two-hundred and fifty tributaries, there are many musical streams that feed into second line culture, many of which are not known to the general public.[21] In weaving together the musical and sociopolitical histories of Black New Orleans, I will touch on several of these themes, from the gatherings at Congo Square, Mardi Gras Indians, the influence of Caribbean musical cultures (known as the *Latin Tinge*), and Creole brass bands.

[21] The name Mississippi comes from the French "Messipi" - the French rendering of the Anishinaabe (Ojibwe or Algonquin) name for the river, "Misi-ziibi," meaning "Great River."

Literature Review

In exploring the second line's past and present, explicating its sociopolitical significance, and revealing the dynamic relationships between history, music, and religion, found within it, I draw upon substantial bodies of existing scholarship. The following section is organized thematically to reflect the structure of my dissertation better. In the first part of the literature review, I survey scholarship for a variety of disciplines, such as anthropology, history, jazz, and ethnomusicology, as well as grassroots, community-based scholarship that pertain to jazz, brass band, or second line, while highlighting NOLA community scholars' work and ethnographic case studies of second line culture.

While this study is ethnomusicological in approach, I devote nearly as much space to history as I do ethnography. My historical focus is inspired partly by the fact that practitioners of the second line are profoundly aware of their history. Therefore, the second line itself is a sort of performative encounter with history. Since the early 1960s, scholars have critiqued early jazz histories for their blind acceptance of falsehoods and its tendency to racialize, essentialize, and exoticize jazz's progenitors. What I seek to do herein is to synthesize the now termed *new jazz studies* critiques with the studies of NOLA community scholars—who have contributed significantly to our understanding of Congo Square, the influence of Mardi Gras Indians and Creole musicians, and local recreational spots where musicians entertained the mostly white public—to situate the second line within a broader perspective of cultural histories and analytical lineage of jazz studies.

Next, I highlight the works that informed my understanding of culture as a process, from which I am able to place brass band and the second line within a continuum of Black expression. I am influenced here by Amiri Baraka, Mellonee V. Burnim, Paul Gilroy, Cheryl L. Keyes, Lawrence W. Levine, and Olly Wilson, all scholars who center African American expressive traditions as an adaptive cultural strategy.

Finally, I will review the relevant literature from within the multidisciplinary fields of religion, brass band, street culture, and Black Mardi Gras Indian focused film studies, from which I draw. Not only do these studies intersect with my interests in the NOLA brass band tradition, but they add context and nuance to this study. In this study, I hope to provide a broader, more holistic interpretation than current—and increasingly myopic—jazz studies offer, which draw from within disciplinary boundaries.

Early Jazz and Brass Band Studies

My initial exploration into the music and culture of NOLA brass bands were with two important books on early Black brass bands in New Orleans: William J. Schafer's *Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz* (1977) and Richard H. Knowles, *Fallen Heroes: A History of New Orleans Brass Band* (1996). In *Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz,* William Schafer discusses the popularity of New Orleans brass bands and the music they played, from the late-nineteenth century through the early-1970s. He provides insight into the practice of performing different repertoires for differing social contexts (e.g., secular, sacred, and festival) as well as the musical mechanics that musicians employ to direct the mood, energy, and participation of the participants of a second line procession (e.g., increased syncopation, stop-time figures, and call-and-response).

Knowles' book focuses largely on profiles of important bands and musicians, providing a detailed history of the tradition up to 1996, the year of its publication. Knowles categorizes the history of New Orleans brass bands in four loosely defined periods: Pre-Twentieth century, 1900 to World War I, Post-War to World War II, and 1960s through 1996. He also offers insight into the roles of particular instruments in a traditional brass band lineup, discusses the processes of learning and transmission enacted through the practices and performances of brass bands, and considers the

brass band's involvement with the recording and film industries. The works of Schafer and Knowles provided fundamental insights into the cultural developments of brass bands throughout history

Jazz Historiography

Historiography is not the study of history. Instead, it is the study of historical writing. The past itself does not change, but the way that people interpret it does. The writer chooses which elements to emphasize or downplay, assigning value judgments reflecting the writer's own personal and cultural biases. Therefore, how individuals *write* history reveals as much about the documentarian as it does about the topic. Early writings of jazz are filled with racist claims, link jazz immediately to slavery and Africa, and exclude any claim to jazz as a serious musical genre.

Early writings on jazz often attempted to demonize Black subjects. For example, in a *Literary Digest* article, "The Appeal of Primitive Jazz" (1917), the critic likens and reduces the "colored" jazz musician to "witch-doctors and medicine-men" and "savages," that are "infected with the virus that they try to instill as a stimulus in others" (26). Most of these early writing were bolstered by America's fascination and fetishization with Black American culture, jazz critiques, and historical writings, *en masse*, are laden with essentialist tropes and scholarly neglect.[22]

Since 1966, scholars have critiqued the narrow perspectives and overt racism found within early jazz scholarship (Kmen 1966, 1972; Collins 1976). Historians Connie Zeanah Atkinson, R. Collins, and Henry A. Kmen have written "corrective" histories of New Orleans' musical life in the 19th century and provide vital details about the musical activities of free and enslaved people of color beyond Congo Square, in the woefully-documented antebellum era. They critique jazz scholarship, which often exoticize, essentialize, mythicize, and racialize the jazz progenitors in

[22] For more on racism and jazz, see Maureen Anderson. "The White Reception of Jazz in America." *African American Review* 38, no. 1 (2004): 135-45.

NOLA. Both R. Collins and Henry A. Kmen problematize the "myth" of Congo Square, noting that the historical recollection that the activities at Congo Square went uninterrupted until the Civil War is false, citing that the Sunday gatherings at Congo Square were outlawed in 1845. Collins further argues that the Congo Square myth is a product of the "racial prejudice of the slave and Jim Crow societies," and is a continuation of socio-musical, Darwinist theory of American music's African origins (Collins 1996:21). Historian Connie Zeanah Atkinson argues that these narratives relating to jazz' origins not only subvert the talent and expertise of local musicians, they "[exoticize] in a way that denies intelligence and agency" (Atkinson 2006: 132).

This form of scholarship—now termed *new jazz studies*—gained thrust with Scott DeVeaux's article "Constructing the Jazz Tradition" (1991). His essay aimed to achieve a more nuanced rendering of jazz historiography by exploring such themes as race, gender, and identity politics (1998). Among these scholars are Farah Jasmine Griffith (2004), Travis A. Jackson (2004, 2012), Robin D. G. Kelley (2004), Ingrid Monson (1991, 2000, 2007), Robert G. O'Meally (2004), Eric Porter (2002), and Sherry Tucker (2000). New jazz studies scholars began addressing the overt racism, lack of musical knowledge, and canonical presentation of the defining features of each sub-style of jazz, the pantheon of great innovators, and recorded "masterpieces." Within this scholarship, viewing itself, largely an anti-canonical project, decentering New Orleans as the crucible for its creation is a foregone conclusion. Still, the myths live on in our collective consciousness.

DeVeaux questions the "official version" of jazz historiography, attempting to (re)write jazz history and uncover the erased histories of a subjugated people: the African Americans in the creation of this improvisatory music (1991). Political scientist Charles Hersch's *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* is a significant contribution to jazz scholarship. Hersch presents a case for the understanding of jazz in its formative years as a powerful mechanism for the resistance

of racial segregation, arguing that jazz was "musically enacting and abetting [Homer] Plessy's assault on white purity" (2007:5). He also mentions the importance of the Church to the African American community during the Jim Crow era, which not only served as a "counter-public sphere" but provided an aesthetic and emotional indoctrination from which many early jazz musicians drew.[23]

Despite the rapidly growing body of well-researched and well-meaning literature, the data-driven accounts of new jazz studies scholars often neglect the NOLA community's collective beliefs. They remain excluded from jazz history courses the world over in favor of a single text that provides an "easier read" for undergraduate students. The resulting texts provide incomplete surveys that do little to correct previously held assumptions about jazz and are now deeply embedded within American culture, serving as an indoctrinating canon that limits the brass band's role and its practitioners within the jazz tradition. Those scholars that do mention brass bands—past or present—spend little time discussing them.

The overwhelming majority of jazz history texts present New Orleans as the birthplace of jazz as well as sections pertaining to its rhythmic "Old World Roots" (Africa) and European influences, all in the span of three pages—including images and sidebars (Hasse 2012:29-31). Additionally, these texts rarely discuss the impact of Native American cultures that led to the formation of the Black Mardi Gras Indian culture in New Orleans. They also focus on one urban environment: Storyville. Describing it as the site where Black musicians, regardless of decent or

[23] Charles Hersch's related notion of a black "counter-public" sphere is an extension of Mark Anthony Neal's conception of the Black public sphere—respectable spaces of worship (the "church"); and disreputable spaces of leisure and vice (the "jook")—to consider how Black social institutions and organizations in NOLA responded to Jim Crow through both creative expression and political action (Neal 1999:4-6). See Neal, Mark Anthony. 1999. *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture.* New York: Routledge. See also Charles Hersch's expansion of Neal's ideas (Black "counter-public" sphere") in Charles Hersch, *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) and "Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans." American Historical Review 113, no. 5 (2008): 1555. Charles Hersch is not to be confused with Arnold R. Hirsch, influential historian of urban segregation who taught at the University of New Orleans—whom I will cite later in this dissertation. New York: Routledge, 1999. See also Charles Hirsch's expansion of Neal's ideas (Black "counter-public" sphere: Anderson, I. "Charles Hersch. Subversive Sounds: In addition to the Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans." American Historical Review 113, no. 5 (2008): 1555.

education, performed together. Nor do they discuss the militia bands—and the individuals that made them up—that were so integral to the development of jazz. With near surgical precision, and the use of past tense, jazz historians have relegated second line culture to the dust bin of history, extirpation of a tradition that was not only seminal to jazz, but one that continues to this day.

Louisiana and New Orleans-Specific Histories

Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, Peyton McCrary, and Ned Sublette's works were crucial in understanding the cultural and sociopolitical history of early Louisiana and New Orleans, each providing insight in profoundly different ways (Hall 1992; McCrary 1976; and Sublette (1978). In *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (XXX)*,* Hall explores the origins of Louisiana's distinct local Black culture, detailing how constantly shifting race and class hierarchies affected Black lives, at the same time exploring the forms of organized resistance Black New Orleanians mounted in response. Based upon a thorough review of colonial records and ship logs, Hall examines the origin of enslaved people in Louisiana and what specific aspects of their home cultures remained in the colony, and why, detailing how enslaved people originating from the Senegambian region of Africa shaped the culture and society of NOLA. Hall asserts that the flexible social organization of Bambara society established communities and organized revolts in collaboration with both the Indigenous peoples and the Louisiana colony's white underclass. Her interpretation of the Creole culture as a cross-racial mobilization of Louisiana's enslaved and working greatly influenced *political scientist* Charles Hersch (2007).

In *Abraham Lincoln and Reconstruction: The Louisiana Experiment* (1978), Peyton McCrary draws on extensive research in unpublished manuscripts, party records, and newspapers to explore the social and political upheavals in Louisiana, set against the background of the revolutionary

dimensions of the Civil War party system, offering a significant revision of earlier interpretations of Lincoln's reconstruction policies. Peyton reveals how Louisiana became the test case for President Abraham Lincoln's model for reconstruction. His comprehensive account of the political situation in Louisiana in the Civil War and Reconstruction eras provided the impetus for me to research the relationship between then Commander of the Department of the Gulf, General Nathaniel P. Banks and Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore Bandmaster-General in charge of military music in occupied Louisiana, and the role of military bands of the mid-19th century in NOLA that exceed the present scholarship

In *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square* (2008), composer, musician, and historian, Ned Sublette offers a unique history that is not viewed through a musical lens, per se, in as much as the ways he utilizes music to weave a sort of interstitial web of connective tissue, to define parameters, explain contexts, and center those Black, Brown, and Indigenous peoples, that have been sidelined from conversations of relating to the "discovery" of Louisiana, claimed for the French Crown by explorer Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle in 1682, and the "founding" of La Nouvelle-Orleans by Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville in 1718; the role of the Caribbean colonies of Haiti and Cuba in the development of the fledgling city; the role and uniqueness of the slave trade in the city; the importance of music and religion to the mostly enslaved, peoples of the fledgling colony, mostly Senegambian, who brought with them distinct forms of dancing, drums and music; and the colony's early musical environment. While Sublette's manuscript is far from comprehensive, focusing on some cultural elements and not on others, he reveals connections previously overlooked or not situated within a broader telling or historical treatment. Sublette inspired my approach to this study.

Community Scholarship

Community scholarship—scholarship that comes from within the community and also those studies that which is actively engaged *with* the in a mutually beneficial way—is essential, not only because they center the voices of those from within the culture, but to ensure a more complete telling of a culture's history, as well as a better understanding of the present. I draw heavily from several prominent community scholars' work: Freddi Evans, Jerah Johnson, and Michael P. Smith.

Sociologist Jack V. Buerkle and musician, founder of the Fairview Baptist Church Marching Band, and member of the Barbarin musical family, Danny Barker's *Bourbon Street Black* (1973), is the first major sociological study of Black musicians in New Orleans. In a self-reflective, narrative tone, Buerkle and Barker detail how Black musicians in New Orleans learn the jazz tradition; through processes of enculturation rather than formal instruction. Through enculturation, Buerkle and Barker claim that Black musicians in New Orleans have internalized much of the elements of jazz and brass band as performative elements of the culture by the time they are old enough to pursue formal instruction. Barker draws on his extensive involvement with the brass band community.

During this brass band "renaissance" of the 1960s and early 1970s, Barker, along with Doc Paulin, began mentoring young high school-aged boys in the jazz tradition, training them in "old ways," teaching them jazz, and grooming them for a profession in music. Barker's Fairview Baptist Church Marching Band (FBCMB)—along with Doc Paulin's Dixieland Jazz Band—became vital, not only to the teens that Barker counseled and kept from delinquency as they moved toward manhood, but to the community as a whole, as the FBCMB participated in local events, such as second lines, Mardi Gras parades, funerals and memorials, and civic events. Along with the FBCMB was Doc Paulin's Dixieland Jazz Band and later Olympia Brass Band's Young Olympians, all proved to be a fertile training grounds for young musicians and the bands that comprise what are now called "new wave" brass ensembles, including the Chosen Few, Hurricane Brass Band, Dirty Dozen Brass

Band, Rebirth Brass Band, Soul Rebels, Deff Generation, the Hot 8 Brass Band, Stooges, and To Be Continued Brass Band (known simply as TBC), among others.

Buerkle and Barker's work inspired me to critique the accepted view that the "new wave" of contemporary brass bands *broke* with tradition. Instead, I propose an alternative theory. These musicians are participating in a long tradition of negotiation, hybridity, and resilience. They are also are creating music that is not only enjoyable on its own terms but is functional. It serves to unite the community, retaining its vitality not through preservation, but through constant modification and adaptation—each generation adapting the tradition to make it resonate with their experience.

Investigating the realities of Congo Square and the notion that NOLA's nature and character was, and is, different than any other urban center in the US, Louisiana scholar Jerah Johnson unpacks several myths about the formation of the city's jazz tradition. Johnson expands upon Kmen's research, attempting to correct the falsehoods that have "crept into" scholarly works concerning jazz's origins (Johnson 2001:243).[24]

In Johnson's article "Congo Square: La Place Publique" (1991), he revealed that enslaved people of color in NOLA were given much more latitude in terms of the types of activities in which they were permitted to engage in, on the Sabbath, emphasizing that the enslaved population in NOLA could "use their free time virtually as they saw fit, with little or no supervision."[25] Johnson argues the activities in Congo Square did not end abruptly in 1845, as some writers have alleged, "but gradually, crowded out by the physical growth and the Americanization of New Orleans"

[24] Johnson, Jerah. "Jim Crow Laws of the 1890s and the Origins of New Orleans Jazz: Correction of an Error" *Popular Music* 19, no. 2 (April 2000): 243 – 251; "Congo Square: La Place Publique" *64 Parishes* (Winter 1997); and "New Orleans's Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-American Culture Formation" *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 32, no. 2 (1991):117-157.

[25] Johnson, Jerah. "Congo Square: La Place Publique" *64 Parishes* (Winter 1997); See also, White, Michael G. "The New Orleans Brass Band: A Cultural Tradition," in Ferdinand Jones and Arthur C. Jones, *The Triumph of the Soul: Cultural and Psychological Aspects of African American Music*. 1st ed. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001, 69:96.

(64Parishes). Accordingly, what made French Louisiana unique was *where* these individuals gathered and *what* they did.

In addition, Johnson's descriptions of the area of the Common that was subsumed by the extension of the wall fortifications, *La Place Publique*, or Congo Square, played an important role in fomenting my conception of what I term Congo Square Ideology; the cultural expressions of Congo Square performed during Sunday second lines, where participants engage in the very same activities and cultural expressions documented by early observers that took place on the levee, in the Common, and in back yards in the "skirts" or "rear" of the city, that continues in the United States to the present day (see Chapters 1 and 2).

Photographer and community scholar Michael Proctor Smith is the author of five photo collections that, in totality, provide a valuable visual record of New Orleans's brass bands, social aid and pleasure club parades, jazz funerals, neighborhood Mardi Gras celebrations, and spiritual churches.[26] Smith's article "Behind the Lines: The Black Mardi Gras Indians and the New Orleans Second Line" (1994) in the *Black Music Research Journal* is especially notable. In "Behind the Lines," Smith argues that the Mardi Gras Indians are the vestiges of Maroon cultures from the Lower Mississippi Delta region and New Orleans, tracing their origins as far back as the 1780s—making it older than jazz—but Indian oral tradition is insistent that it reaches farther back, stressing the continuity to Congo Square, which in turn connects to the legacies of Saint-Domingue and of Africa.[27] Smith's

---

[26] Now Haiti, Saint-Domingue is the former French colony 1659-1804) on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola. Michael P. White, *New Orleans Jazz Fest: A Pictorial History* (Gretna: Pelican Pub, 1991); *Spirit World: Pattern in the Expressive Folk Culture of African-American New Orleans* (New Orleans, New Orleans Urban Folklife Society: 1984); *A Joyful Noise: Celebration of New Orleans Music* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Co.: 1990); and "Behind the Lines: The Black Mardi Gras Indians and the New Orleans Second Line," *Black Music Research Journal* 14, no. 1 (1994):43-73; are an important resources for students of New Orleans jazz and brass band culture. Smith photographed each New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival from 1970 until 2004.

[27] For more information regarding Black Mardi Gras Indians, see *The Black Mardi Gras Indians of New* Orleans, directed by Maurice Martinez and James E. Hinton (DoorKnobFilms, 20.n.d.,.first shot 1976) DVD.; Michael P. Smith, "Behind the Lines: The Black Mardi Gras Indians and the New Orleans Second Line," *Black Music Research Journal* 14, no. 1 (1994):57); Richard B. Turner, "Mardi Gras Indians and Second Lines/Sequin Artists and Rara Bands: Street Festivals and Performances in New Orleans and Haiti," *Journal of Haitian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003): 124-156; and *Jazz Religion, the Second Line and Black New Orleans* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009); Joseph R. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance.* (New York:

subject, here, is the Black Mardi Gras Indian culture in NOLA, but he interprets the second line in a manner that is so often missed by jazz scholars, asserting:

> In African consciousness the sacred and the secular are often inseparable. Just as jazz combines disparate elements into a harmonious whole, jazz funerals merge church life with street life. They are rites of passage with profound spiritual resonances: more than just burying the dead and celebrating eternal freedom, they serve as a ritual of community affirmation.
>
> The second line is characterized by unrestrained expressions of African-American dance and song and a rejection of the "destiny" of the white establishment to govern black society. As ritual African-American celebrations, second-line parades remain distinctly different in character from white parades in New Orleans-as far as I know, from any other parades in North America (49).

NOLA community scholar Freddi Williams Evans provides a descriptive and detailed historical analysis of the making of an African diaspora in NOLA: Congo Square. Evans proposes that the bamboula may refer to a drum, a dance, dancers, or a rhythm. This term can be found in numerous parts of the West Indies, including Trinidad, St. Lucia, Guadalupe, Haiti, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, and may have made its way to New Orleans via Haitian immigrants and the Black Mardi Gras Indians (Evans 2011:102). Citing art historian Robert Farris Thompson, Evans traced the etymology of the word "bamboula" to the Congo region of Africa and found that the Kikongo translation for bamboula is "to remember" (ibid.). Thus, the bamboula exemplifies this "cultural memory" and provides the basis from which many of the NOLA brass band drum patterns derive.

In *The New Orleans Jazz Scene 1970-2000: A Personal Retrospective* (2014), political scientist and jazz writer Thomas W. Jacobsen provides a detailed history of New Orleans traditional jazz from

Columbia University Press, 1996); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

1970-2000 but neglects much of the contemporary or "new wave" histories. Also, he speaks toward the opportunity for monetary gain made possible by institutions like the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival (JazzFest), the film and television industry, and sporting events. Still, he misses the opportunity to make broader connections, such as the effects of tourism on jazz musicians' music and lives that the industries and institutions cited above proffer.

Several other community scholars have contributed to the understanding of early jazz and brass band in NOLA. Among these scholars are Karl Koenig, Bruce Boyd Raeburn, Jr., and Dr. Michael White. Karl Koenig has written numerous articles on topics related to Louisiana brass bands, including early string and brass band formation, teachers of the early brass band musicians, and jazz venues.[28] While researching the nearly 1500 taped oral histories housed at the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane University, Koenig created *The Jazz Map* as a reference of more than 800 locations connected to the history of NOLA's musical culture of the early-20th century that were cited by the jazz practitioners. *The Jazz Map* includes locations and information of long-gone clubs, cabarets, dance halls, residences of legendary jazz pioneers, and outdoor facilities and resorts, where jazz musicians entertained audiences and honed their craft. Presented in a "tour narrative" format that provides directions and relative histories of many of the locations cited*, The Jazz Map* is an indexed, road-sized map that guides jazz tourists through the sometimes-discombobulating streets of NOLA.

Bruce Boyd Raeburn was curator of the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive—a position he held from 1989 until his retirement on January 1, 2018. He has written on such subjects as early jazz in the theater, Hurricane Katrina's effect on the lives of NOLA musicians and culture, how the

[28] See Karl Koenig "Louisiana Brass Bands and Their History in Relation to Jazz History." *New Orleans, Jazz Club: the Second Line* (1983); Koenig, Karl. "Professor Hingle and the Sweet Sixteen Brass Band of Point a La Hache." *New Orleans, Jazz Club; the Second Line* (1983); and Koenig, Karl. *Jazz Map of New Orleans*. Covington, LA: Basin Street Press, 1991.

writings of jazz aficionados, collectors, and literati have shaped the conceptualization of jazz history.[29] Dr. Michael White is a New Orleans-based clarinetist and bandleader, Professor of Spanish at Xavier University, and jazz historian. White is an active musician and prolific recording artist. He began his musical career under Doc Paulin and Danny Barker's tutelage, performing with Doc Paulin's Brass Band, Danny Barker's Fairview Baptist Church Marching Band, and the Young Tuxedo Brass Band. As an adult, he has recorded nine albums under his name and appears on Wynton Marsalis's *The Majesty of the Blues* (1989), among many others. As a scholar, his self-reflective writing style is as informative as it is easily digestible to the lay audience.[30] White's scholarly work is especially helpful in understanding the role of the brass band and other social formations (e.g., social aid and pleasure clubs, and benevolent societies in NOLA) from the 1920s to the mid-1970s.[31]

Koenig, Raeburn, and White have all contributed to two important periodicals: *The Second Line* magazine and *The Jazz Archivist: A Newsletter of the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive*. *The Second Line* is an invaluable resource for scholars of the brass band tradition. With over 50 years of publication, *The Second Line* is the quarterly magazine of the New Orleans Jazz Club; a group of preservationists whose goals are to preserve, stimulate, encourage and retain New Orleans jazz" (from the club's inaugural publication).[32] Before the advent of the internet, it *The Second Line* was *the*

---

[29] See Bruce Boyd Raeburn, "Early New Orleans Jazz in Theaters*," Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 43, no. 1 (2002): 41-52; "'They're Tryin' to Wash Us Away": New Orleans Musicians Surviving Katrina." *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 3 (2007): 812-19; *New Orleans Style and the Writing of American Jazz History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009); Raeburn, Bruce Boyd. "Into the Between: Interstitial Soundscapes in Early New Orleans Jazz." In *Sweet Spots: In-Between Spaces in New Orleans*, edited by Toulouse Teresa A. and Barbara C. Ewell, 195-208. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018.

[30] White, Michael G. 2001. "The New Orleans Brass Brand: A Cultural Tradition." In *The Triumph of the Soul: Cultural and Psychological Aspects of African American Music*, edited by Jones, Ferdinand and Arthur C Jones, 69-96. Westport, Conn.: Praeger; "Reflections of an Authentic Jazz Life in Pre-Katrina New Orleans." *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 3 (2007): 820-27.

[31] White is exceedingly critical of the "contemporary" brass bands—those that followed the Dirty Dozen Brass Band (founded in 1977), who reinvented brass band tradition, incorporating elements of be-bop, R&B, rock and roll, funk, and eventually hip hop and New Orleans bounce—stating "The once reverent and respectful jazz funeral has become a pale shadow of its original character." See White, Michael G. 2001. "The New Orleans Brass Brand: A Cultural Tradition." In *The Triumph of the Soul: Cultural and Psychological Aspects of African American Music*, edited by Jones, Ferdinand and Arthur C Jones, 69-96.

[32] Souchon, Edmund. "EDITORIAL: 'Quo VadIs?' [sic]" New Orleans, Jazz Club; *the Second Line,* Vol. 1, No. 1 New Orleans Jazz Club April 11, 1950. *Quō vādis* is a Latin phrase meaning "Where are you going?", but here, we might make a looser translation to

source of public scholarship and local "goings-on" relating to traditional jazz, brass bands, and tangentially, social aid and pleasure clubs.[33] *The Jazz Archivist: A Newsletter of the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive*, published annually in the Fall, provides a platform for scholarship concerning jazz and related musical genres.

Second Line Ethnographies

I am not the first scholar to conduct an ethnography of the second line community. Matt Sakakeeny's work, *Roll with It: Bands in the Streets of New Orleans* (2013), is the first critical project to chronicle NOLA's contemporary brass band scene. He explores the often-precarious position of Black brass band musicians and the ways they respond to challenges within the post-industrial city and the local tourist economy, notably race relations, negative stereotypes, and socio-economic pressures. Sakakeeny maintains an online archive of that shares its title with his manuscript.[34] Archived on the website are short biographies, historical accounts, videos, pictures, and audio stories that correspond to a reading guide in his printed manuscript.

Other important second line ethnographies include Julie Raimondi's "Space, Place and Music in New Orleans" (2012), which examines the agency of individual NOLA brass band musicians and the way in which they (re)create social and geographic space and explores the awakening memories and emotions connected to those spaces; Rachel Carrico's "Footwork!" (2015) which conceives the second line as a "bodily discourse of dissenting mobility" enacted by second line practitioners against

"Where are you *marching*?". A complete archive of *The Second Line* is housed at the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, at Tulane University. For a free, yet incomplete, archive of *The Second Line,* see http://www.nojazzclub.org.

[33] The herculean task of planning a museum to commemorate New Orleans jazz began in 1949 by New Orleans Jazz Club. The entire collection of the New Orleans Jazz Museum was donated to the people of Louisiana in September 1977, and in 1981, became the basis for the Louisiana State Museum's Jazz Collection exhibit, which opened at Old U.S. Mint building on 400 Esplanade Avenue, where it permanently resides. Karl Koenig was the musical consultant for the new Jazz Museum Housed in the historic Old U.S. Mint building, which opened to the public in 1981.

[34] Matt Sakakeeny – www.mattsakakeeny.com

state violence, displacement, and repression; Ben Doleac's *"We Made It Through That Water": Rhythm, Dance, and Resistance in the New Orleans Second Line* (2018) which explores the past and present of the second line, its rhythms and its participants, and how second line participants utilize the tradition as an expressive form of resistance; and Kyle DeCoste's article "Street Queens: New Orleans Brass Bands and the Problem of Intersectionality" (2017) explores how the members of the all-female Original Pinettes Brass Band contest the male domination of the New Orleans brass band scene;[35] and *Can't Be Faded: Twenty Years in the New Orleans Brass Band Game* (2020) is a collaboration between members of the Stooges Brass Band, both past and present, and ethnomusicologist Kyle DeCoste. *Can't Be Faded* not only documents the Stooges' history, members' careers, and local club and event histories but is also a story of NOLA musical life, community, and brotherhood, revealing the difficulties young Black men faced in NOLA at the turn of the twenty-first century.

Culture as Process: Adaptive Cultural Strategy

In *Blues People* (1963), Amiri Baraka argues that one cannot correctly evaluate African Americans' cultural output without a deep understanding of their historical predicament. Vying for a holistic understanding of African American's expressive traditions, positing that African American music must be understood as the African diaspora's articulation of, and response to, its experience in

[35] Women are woefully under-represented in brass band scholarship. The available scholarship has thus far focused almost exclusively on racial identity and the figurative *move* from military band to civilian band that were utilized primarily for entertainment, in the post-bellum era. In NOLA, today, young women brass band musicians in NOLA face a number of obstacles: a lack of representation and access due to the due to the relative absence of women in brass bands; unconscious gender bias, both in the "workplace" (or streets) and due to the male-gendered perception of the instruments they perform on; and the overt objectification and sexualization of women in NOLA culture, among them. Things are changing for the better—slowly. The all-female Original Pinettes Brass Band host a weekly residency at the Bullet's Sports Bar on A.P. Tureaud Ave. Taking its name from the bar's proprietor, Rollin "Bullet" Garcia, who survived being shot after accidentally stumbling upon a robbery-in-progress when he was 18 years of age, Bullet's maintains a special place in the hearts of local, mostly Black, residents of the 7th Ward. Its location is significant, as well. Named after Alexander Pierre Tureaud, a major figure of the Black community in New Orleans. As an attorney, he constructed legal strategies used to vigorously challenge the constitutionality of segregation in twentieth-century Louisiana. It is common to see alto saxophonist, Utopia François sitting in with a brass band at a Sunday second line. François is niece of Phil and Keith Frazier, co-founders of the Rebirth Brass Band, and Kerwin James, tubist for the New Birth Brass Band, known for his brass band arrangement of New Orleans rapper Kilo's "Who Dat Called the Police?" and his composition, "A.P. Tureaud."

the US. Baraka additionally argues that African American culture is not merely a continuation of African traditions or antecedents but is a new, adaptive practice developed in response to chattel slavery.[36] Expanding Baraka's approach, Olly Wilson and Mellonee V. Burnim analyzed musical elements, searching for common characteristics and aesthetic principles that might link African and African diasporic musics. Olly Wilson's "Black Music as an Art Form" (1974) and Mellonee V. Burnim's "The Black Music Gospel Tradition" (1980) detail fundamental traits and practices found not only in African American music but throughout the African diaspora that serve to reinforce community through performance.

In *The Black Atlantic*, literary scholar Paul Gilroy argues for an understanding of the African Diaspora in circum-Atlantic countries as one geo-political and cultural-political space, which he calls the Black Atlantic. This hybrid space is not specifically African, American, Caribbean, or British, nor is it African and American, or British and Caribbean; it is a hybrid fusion of all of these at once (Gilroy 1993). This hybridization is an ongoing process where Black identity and culture are continually made and remade through travel and exchange across the Atlantic. Extending Gilroy's circular model, ethnomusicologist Cheryl L. Keyes utilizes her theory of *cultural reversioning* to theorize the conscious and unconscious foregrounding of African centered concepts and African American music (Keyes 2002:21-38). Keyes argues that enslaved Africans brought to the New World "transformed the new and alien culture and language of the Western world through an African prism," creatively adapting to their new environments (ibid.).

As a student and a teaching assistant for Dr. Cheryl L. Keyes, I often heard her state that, "Culture is a process. It's not static." Viewing jazz from this perspective is reminiscent of the definition of culture Lawrence W. Levine derived from his thoughtful and careful analysis of African

[36] Amiri Baraka, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: Morrow Quill, 1963), 27.

American culture in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (1978). From his lush presentation and careful analysis of early African American culture in the transition to freedom, Levine derives an understanding of the nature of culture in which the gumbo metaphor fits nicely:

> "Culture is not a fixed condition but a process: the product of interaction between the past and present. Its toughness and resiliency are determined not by a culture's ability to withstand change, which indeed may be a sign of stagnation not life, but by *its ability to react creatively and responsively to the realities of a new situation*" [emphasis my own] (Levine 1978:5).

In his examination of folk spirituals, Levine expands Baraka's approach by suggesting that far from being destroyed psychologically by their White enslavers, enslaved Africans in the US, resultant of adverse circumstances, spontaneously created a deeply felt and widely shared sacred community.

These approaches suggest that enslaved Africans did not leave their culture behind and start anew, as many would like us to believe.[37] It continued to develop and change, adapting European-American religion and music and reinterpreting both through an African cultural lens. Despite being forcibly removed from their cultures, and surrounded by European music and customs, abducted Africans not only retained their African cultural roots in a foreign land, they adapted and signified upon, even sometimes mocked, some European musical customs to suit their own cultural aesthetic.[38]

---

[37] Anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits had a longstanding debate with sociologist E. Franklin Frazier about African cultural influences on African descendants in the Americas. In 1943, Herskovitz published "The Negro in Bahia, Brazil: A Problem in Method" a rebuttal to Frazier's article, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil" (Frazier 1942; Herskovits 1943). Herskovits refutes the notion that African descendant peoples lost all traces of their past during the Middle Passage and determined that "race" was a sociological concept, not a biological one. Frazier explored the concept of adaptation, whereas Herskovitz was interested in showing elements of continuity from African cultures into present communities. For more, see Frazier, E. Franklin. "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil." American Sociological Review, 1942; Melville J. Herskovits, "The Negro in Bahia, Brazil: A Problem in Method," American Sociological Review 8, no. 4 (1943): 395; Platt, Tony. "E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered." Social Justice 16, no. 4 (38) (1989): 186-95. Accessed May 8, 2021; Stewart Diakité, Dianne M., and Tracey E. Hucks. "Africana Religious Studies: Toward a Transdisciplinary Agenda in an Emerging Field." Journal of Africana Religions 1, no. 1 (2013): 28-77; Vernon J. Williams, Jr. "E. Franklin Frazier: Revisited." *Spectrum: A Journal on Black Men* 1, no. 1 (2012): 31-46. Accessed May 8, 2021.

38 For "Signifying" see Henry L. Gates Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); For African retention of culture, see Cheryl L. Keyes, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness. Music in*

The history of the second line provides a salient model of this adaptive cultural strategy. Based upon an African American reinterpretation of European musical practice, the second line continues in a long tradition of negotiation and hybridity that is not only enjoyable on its own terms but is functional, serving to unite the community. The second line—with its musical and dance-step improvisations, costumes, and pulsing bass drum patterns—is replete with signs and symbols that carry encoded meanings in which a rich vocabulary is rooted in historical and cultural memory, where the "poetics of the street revolve around a vernacular of jazz" (Jason Berry 1988:3).

Religion

Sterling Stuckey's Slave Culture (1987) and Samuel L Floyd's The Power of Black Music (1995) are two significant works that both expound upon and elucidate the "ring shout"—a "multifaceted African religious observance" that served as "a symbol of a new community in the making" that takes its name from its circular form—and asserts that African religious and expressive forms have historically served as a coping mechanism, a form of resistance, and vehicle of transcendence for African Americans (Floyd 1995; 266; Murphy 1994:174). Stuckey describes the ring shout as the fundamental organizing principle of what he termed "slave culture." An early religious ritual consisting of rhythmic clapping, call-and-response singing, leaping, jumping, fanning movements, the waving hanker-chiefs, and most notably, counterclockwise shuffling and dancing in a circular-formation, or ring, the ring shout functioned as a powerful religiopolitical expression, connecting the multi-cultural practitioners to the spirits of their ancestors and gods and symbolized

---

American Life (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Mellonee V. Burnim and Portia K. Maultsby, eds., *African American Music: An Introduction*, 2nd ed., (New York: Routledge, 2015); Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 3rd ed., (New York: Norton; 1997); Joseph E. Holloway, *Africanisms in American Culture*, *2nd ed: Blacks in the Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, Second Beacon Paperback ed. (Boston: Beacon Press; 1990);and Olly Wilson, "The Significance of the Relationship between Afro-American Music and West African Music," *The Black Perspective in Music* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1974): 3-22.

African unity (Stuckey 2013:11, 15). The aesthetics linked to the Ring Shout encapsulate what Samuel A. Floyd, Jr. describes as the foundational elements of African American music: calls, cries, and hollers; call-and-response devices; interjections and punctuations; off-beat melodic phrasings; constant repetition of rhythmic and melodic figures and phrases; timbral distortions of various kinds; musical individuality within collectivity; game rivalry; hand-clapping, and foot patting, among others, in improvisatory fashion (Floyd 1995:6). Therefore, participants of this contemporary manifestation of the ring shout, perform a sort of call-and-response between past and present, engaging in communion with the past, between the living and the spirit world, through "dance, drum, and song" (Floyd 1991:6). In NOLA, the human architecture of the ring shout been rearranged, opening up, and straightening out into long sinuous lines, known today as the second line (Jason Berry 1995:102; Floyd 1995: 267-268).

Brass Band, Street Culture, and Black Mardi Gras Indian Film Studies

Two important documentaries detailing the lives of musicians in the early brass bands and the traditions in which they participated are David M. Jones' *New Orleans Jazz Funerals: From the Inside* (1995) and Barry Martyn's *Sing on: A Film of New Orleans Brass Bands* (2000). *New Orleans Jazz Funerals from the Inside* is a film narrated by Milton Batiste, trumpeter, and later, Dejan's Olympia Brass Band's bandleader. Batiste delivers a first-hand account of the history and development of the jazz funeral and the ritual's role in, and importance to, the community. Batiste provides fascinating insights into the Olympia Brass Band, one of the most prominent bands in New Orleans from the 1960s to the 1980s and is partially responsible for the "modernization" of the brass band musical aesthetics and relaxed dress, highlighting key moments and describing how brass bands in NOLA have changed over the years. Martyn's *Sing On* documents brass bands from 1914 through the 1960s, presenting rare footage, photographs, and early sound recordings of New Orleans' most celebrated brass bands

from the past 100 years. Appearing in the documentary, either within archival footage or as an interviewee, are brass band luminaries such as George Lewis and John Casimir, Percy Humphrey, Albert Warner, Sunny Henry, and Wilbert Tillman.[39]

Of the growing number of films concerning NOLA street culture and Black Mardi Gras Indians in NOLA, three stand out, notably Maurice Martinez's *The Black Indians of New Orleans*, Royce Osborn's *All on a Mardi Gras Day* (2003), and Lily Keber's *Buckjumping* (2018).[40] New Orleans-born poet, musician, historian, and filmmaker Maurice Martinez gave us the first comprehensive sociocultural history of the Black Mardi Gras Indians in his 1976 documentary, *The Black Indians of New Orleans*. This film focuses on two tribes: the Yellow Pocahontas, led by Big Chief Allison "Tootie" Montana, and the White Eagles, led by Big Chief Gerald "Jake" Milon. The film reveals many of the Black Indian tribes' ritual practices along with their music, dance, costume preparation, organization, and social practices. It includes riveting street footage—from sun up to sun down—of the ceremonial procession and "battles" that take place on Mardi Gras Day.

Lily Keber's *Buckjumping* (2018), a comparatively recent film, captures New Orleans dance culture and demonstrates how dance is utilized to help aid in forming racial identity and pride.[41] Employing new, relatively compact film technologies and four camera technicians, Keber is

---

[39] John Casimir led the Young Tuxedo Brass Band, who in in 1958, recorded a full-length LP for Atlantic Records named *Jazz Begins.* While the album retains many elements of tradition NOLA jazz, the band's performance style signaled clear signs of change. The influences of swing, bebop, and R&B are evident throughout the recording. For more information, see Chapter 3.

[40] There is an abundance of studies, both text- and film-based studies dealing with the aftermath of Katrina that attempt to close the gap in understanding the contemporary expressive cultures, and music in particular, in post-Katrina New Orleans. Among them: Brice Anthony Miller. "Feet don't fail me now: brass bands in post-Katrina New Orleans." PhD Diss., University of Alabama, 2014; and Lily Kuber's *New Orleans Here and Now* segment "Everything Is To Be Continued" – http://www.lilykeber.com/new-page-1. Accessed May 8, 2021.

[41] Buckjumping is an extremely vigorous dance form second line dance. It also refers to the excitement level of the dancer. To my knowledge, the etymology of the term *buckjumping* is unknown, but it dates back to at least 1941, when Fats Waller used to term as the title of his composition, "Buck Jumpin'." It may go further back, still. In Jacqui Malone's "Steppin' on the Blues" (1996), Malone discusses the virtuaosic "'trick' dances' of Black minstrels (55), and the "black stylization" of dances in the 18th and 19th century, such as the "buck dance" (41). For more on Black *choreometrics*, see Malone, Jacqui. Steppin' on the Blues : The Visible Rhythms of African American Dance. Folklore and Society. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996.

permitted access to film the Second Line Steppers and Nine Times Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs, the Creole Indians and the Golden Sioux Gang (Black Mardi Gras Indians), the dance team of Edna Karr High School as it prepares for Carnival parades, several bounce clubs, and a jazz funeral procession. Also, Keber interweaves street footage, event preparation, and conversation about the role of dance in society, sexualization and empowerment, the abolitionist origins of Mardi Gras Indians, and living in NOLA.

Jason DaSilva and Colleen O'Halloran's *From the Mouthpiece on Back* (2008) and Brett Henderson's *Song of the Streets -- Brass Band Documentary* (2011) are two other documentaries that deserve mentioning. *From the Mouthpiece on Back* is a feature-length documentary about To Be Continued Brass Band (TBC), their history, their unique style of performance, and their separation and return to New Orleans after the devastation of Hurricane Katrina. The TBC Brass Band was formed in 2001 by a group of young men that grew up together in the 7th and 9th Wards of NOLA—utilizing musical expression as an alternative to drugs and violence. Performing on borrowed instruments from Carver Senior High School, TBC has established itself as an integral institution of the New Orleans second line community in the decade after the storm.

Brett Henderson's *Songs of the Streets* is a student-produced documentary that offers a brilliant, cursory introduction to brass band culture and its role in the city. The film features interviews of Aldo Andrews, James Andrews, Jason Berry, Ben Jaffe, Leroy Jones, Kirk Joseph, Roger Lewis, Reginald W. Lewis, and Gregg Stafford.[42]

[42] *Songs of the Streets* is only available on YouTube. See Brett Henderson. "Song of the Streets -- Brass Band Documentary." YouTube. YouTube, July 29, 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T2mWoAAUGuk. Accessed May 12, 2021.

Original Contribution and Organization of the Dissertation

In this interdisciplinary and multimodal ethnography, I aim to contribute to the fields of African American studies, anthropology, ethnomusicology, and jazz and religious studies. I aim to enrich the scholarship by presenting new historical insights and exploring the contemporary expressions of the second line in two vastly different urban landscapes—New Orleans and Los Angeles—revealing the dynamic relationships between history, music, and religion in second line culture.

I have organized the chapters and films of this dissertation to provide a clear picture of the past and present of the second line tradition, revealing its sociopolitical significance and the embedded significances tradition and religion found within it. In my pursuit of a deeper contextual representation of my collaborators and the subjects discussed herein—as well as a presentation that would allow for a more profound understating of the culture than is possible through text and musical analysis alone—I utilize two methodologies that I argue are under-utilized in the field of ethnomusicology: observer-performer and filmmaking. Introduction Part II focuses on research methods and theoretical approaches I utilize in this interdisciplinary and multimodal ethnography. Chapters 1-3 and *My Brother's Keeper* establish a sociohistorical context for jazz and brass band culture. I will show that the accepted narratives related to jazz and brass bands' origins and histories perpetuate European hegemony and obfuscates the reality of the presence and importance of non-European cultures that created the unique musical culture that continues to the day.[43] By providing the historical contexts from which the justifications for the emergence of jazz occurred, Chapters 1 and 2 will reveal the complexities of the rarely discussed histories of Mardi Gras Indians and *gens de colour*, respectively, within the context of jazz and brass band culture in New Orleans. In Chapter 3, I

[43] I do not intend to contradict "new jazz studies" scholars, rather, it is my sincerest hope that this dissertation will add to the existing literature and bring together historical and ethnographic data to create a larger picture.

critique the narrative that the "new wave" brass bands and musicians have *broken* from the tradition. Proposing an alternative view, I contend that through constant modification and adaptation, these musicians participate in a long tradition of negotiation, hybridity, and resilience and create music that is not only enjoyable on its own terms but is functional, serving to unite the community.

Since filmmaking provides an opportunity to transmit knowledge experienced by those who "embody it and re-create it for themselves," *My Brother's Keeper* conveys how culture is lived by those who live it. Thus, offsetting the seemingly one-dimensional representation of many music-centered ethnographies (MacDougall 1998:62). In *My Brother's Keeper*, I explore the embodied practices of group dynamics and behavior within the ritual of the second line and how musicians build meaningful relationships through the social practices of *musicking* in New Orleans.[44]

In the final portions of this dissertation (*Can't Take Our Spirit* and Chapter 4), I explore how and why brass band musicians and members of voluntary associations in LA are transposing the NOLA second line ritual. In it, I will present a multimodal analysis of the music of contemporary brass bands in both NOLA and LA. Many view traditional jazz and the music of new wave brass bands as two distinct styles with a wildly different musical aesthetic. I will engage with these styles in a comparative, multimodal analysis. I will show that the connections outweigh the differences. Brass band musicians, regardless of era or location, are musicking, not only as a means of expression but to create music through a ritualized activity that resonates with the contemporary audience of their time, both in its potential for carrying deep spiritual and emotional meaning and for some, serve as a strategy of resistance, connecting to larger sociopolitical narratives and protest.

Can't Take Our Spirit is a film study that reveals the embodied practices of brass band musicians and members of voluntary associations in LA that provide the settings for social

[44] Coined by the musicologist Christopher Small (1998), the term *musicking* is used to denote any activity involving or related to music performance, such as performing, listening, rehearsing, or composing.

interactions through ritual and music for Southern Louisiana migrant and affinity communities. A detailed discussion of the brass band culture in LA is set forth in Chapter 4. Drawing on theories of cultural transmission, representation, and imagined communities, I discuss the cultural practices of brass band musicians and members of voluntary associations in LA and how the second line has become a signifier of a NOLA-style and customs that are affiliated with its Mardi Gras street parades, jazz weddings and funerals, and NOLA-themed events.

In Los Angeles (LA), there is a growing secular and mostly non-native audience for brass band music at jazz funerals and NOLA-themed events. A detailed discussion of how the religious ritual of the jazz funeral has become secularized and aestheticized in LA is set forth in Chapter 4. I discuss how LA musicians are entering into musical conversations with the New Orleans brass band tradition, creating new music, and projecting an image of New Orleans, out of which comes new meanings, new identities, and a new theology. In this chapter, I will argue that brass band musicians and members of voluntary associations are practitioners of a secular religion, utilizing second line ritual as a platform for the proselytization of an imagined NOLA.

Taken together, these four chapters and two short films address this dissertation's central concerns regarding the representation, secularization, transmission, and transposition of second line culture, both in and out of the city of New Orleans. All are grounded in my own jazz practice and deeply informed by my collaborators. As a conclusion, I will offer my summary and conclusions, and implications for further study.

Introduction Part II

Methodological and Theoretical Approaches

Ethnomusicologists study the full range of music from all the world's peoples in order to understand the human experience better and explore why and how humans are musical while treating all people and cultures equitably and with respect (Rice 2014:8-10).[1] What makes ethnomusicological research unique among other music disciplines is its requisite "time in the field," or *fieldwork*, where researchers immerse themselves in the culture about which they write, thus positioning themselves as social actors within the very cultural phenomena they study (Timothy J. Cooley and Gregory Barz 2008:4). Through a qualitative method typically known by the hypernym, *ethnography*, researchers gain first-hand knowledge of a musical culture.[2]

While in the field, ethnomusicologists employ a wide range of ethnographic research methods to further their understanding of music in relation to society and culture. Ethnography typically involves living within a community; participating in and observing musical events (participant-observation); interviewing musicians, audience members, and other community members; and may include learning to sing or play an instrument under a culture bearer's tutelage.[3] These techniques are the most common and can be adapted to fit specific research projects and their participants' individual needs or requests. Therefore, there is no standard way of *doing* ethnography that is universally practiced. Furthermore, methodological considerations are rarely discussed in detail, let alone analyzed. In this portion of this dissertation, and at the risk of presenting a candid

[1] That's not to say that we are beyond racist and primitivist notions. Many early ethnomusicological studies bore ideas that framed their subject(s) within narrowly defined terms that subordinated the subject's voice and privilege literacy over orality, virtually excluding oral cultures, with the exception of those that are studied through a Western ethnographic gaze.

[2] Broadly speaking, ethnography is a qualitative method where researchers observe and/or interact with a study's participants in their cultural or social setting.

[3] Culture bearers are those individuals who embody a culture, thus carrying indigenous knowledge.

self-portrait, I will: describe and examine my own explorations of second line culture; incorporate who I am as a field researcher; what I signify to the people with whom I work; and how and why I utilized some research methods and theoretical approaches over others.

Research and Expanding My Methodological Toolkit

Fieldwork in My Backyard: Los Angeles[4]

I am an ethnographer of brass band musical culture, but began as a brass band musician first. The relationship between my two identifications is sometimes uncomfortable because I did not begin playing brass band music in search of a research project. In this research, performance came first. I first heard New Orleans musicians while performing New Orleans (NOLA) music in the late 1990s when hired under contract with the American Queen Steamboat Company. They performed a wide range of African American improvised music, which fell roughly under the broad stylistic term, jazz. I had a powerful, unequivocally visceral response to the music. In part, I was drawn to it because it was loud and visually exciting, but more than that, it energized me. It ignited a curiosity within me and made me want to move my body. Put another way, this music provided positive multi-sensory feedback and triggered physiological responses within my body that made me "feel" good.

Nearly fifteen years later (2012), I was afforded an opportunity to play sousaphone regularly with the Mudbug Brass Band, an eight-piece music ensemble that is dedicated to the NOLA second line tradition. Having performed over three hundred appearances to date, MBB occasionally maintains summer-long residencies, provides musical solace and celebration, and serves as a cultural signifier at jazz funerals, weddings, crawfish boils, and Mardi Gras Parades. To keep up with the

[4] Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

other musicians in the band—some of who are native to Louisiana and NOLA, while others are well-seasoned jazz musicians—I began learning everything I could relating to NOLA jazz and brass band music. I learned and transcribed tunes via audio recordings, read historical treatises, talked with native New Orleanians, and watched music videos, oral histories, documentaries, and masterclasses on YouTube and other video-sharing platforms. Performing with this band provided my entry into the LA brass band scene and second line community.

I entered the doctoral program in the Ethnomusicology Department at UCLA in the Fall of 2014. While undergoing training to become an ethnomusicologist, I studied music as culture, the history of ethnomusicology, ethnographic fieldwork techniques, and so forth. In two seminars, Theory and Ethnography and Field and Lab, I was required "to do" fieldwork. It was at this juncture, the research for this project began. My first fieldwork assignment involved choosing a topic, engaging in ethnographic fieldwork, and completing an end-of-term write-up of my findings. With the Krewe of Grandview (KoG) and the Mudbug Brass Band (MBB) and Critical Brass (CB) bands as my case studies, I interviewed fellow musicians and audience members in LA, Krewe members, and several LA-based NOLA natives, collected repertoire via oral transmission and recordings, and read everything I could acquire, pertaining to jazz and brass band music.

I continued my studies at UCLA, all the while performing with the MBB, but, as luck would have it, an unexpected and timely opportunity came my way. In 2015, Michael "Schwee" Schwartz, asked me to join the Critical Brass band as their permanent sousaphonist (at the collaborator's request, Michael Schwartz will be referred to as Schwee for the remainder of the dissertation). The nascent CB began in 2000 when Schwee and several other musicians met up on weekends to perform with the Drum Circle musicians on the Venice Beach Boardwalk. In 2003, the KoG asked CB to lead their Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade in Venice, California (for more on the Krewe of

Grandview, see Chapter 4).[5] But, it wasn't until after the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, often referred to as 9/11, that Schwee realized the band's potential. Harkening back to his time in NOLA and the healing that the jazz funeral provided the community, there, Schwee saw an opportunity to utilize the second line in LA to publicly celebrate the lives lost in the attack on the Twin Towers while mourning their loss. Around this time, Mardi Gras Indian Big Chief Alvin Harrison—of the NOLA Mardi Gras Indian Tribe, the Creole Wild West—joined CB.[6] The band performed their first paid gig at the Cultural Center in Chinatown, followed by gigs at the Los Angeles (LA) Knitting Factory, the Conga Room, and the House of Blues, followed by a three-year residency at the Temple Bar; their home venue from 2003-2005. CB has since become integral to the LA second line culture. Through my involvement with the KoG and the CB and MBB bands, I gained a deeper understanding of second line culture in LA; the brass band scene, there; the breadth and devotion of the voluntary associations in LA and Southern California; and was made aware of the Black Mardi Gras Indian culture of NOLA.

I continued to perform full time with the MBB and CB bands. Also, I served in the role of substitute sousaphonist with many greater-LA area brass bands and those brass bands that functioned as holiday/seasonal/event bands.[7] During my time in the field, in LA, I was inspired by the diligence, and conscientiousness brass band musicians studied the NOLA tradition, the veneration they endowed upon it, and the earnestness in which they honed their craft; they are exceedingly talented and have an insatiable appetite for knowledge pertaining to jazz and brass band

[5] CB continued to lead the Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade until 2012.

[6] Big Chief Alvin Harrison had recently immigrated to Long Beach from NOLA in the early 2000s and performed regularly with CB during until his death in 2006.

[7] LA-area brass bands I subbed with were: the California Feetwarmers, LALA Brass Band, Red Light Brass Band, Sazerac Steppers Brass Band, and the Sea Funk Brass Band Brass Band. Holiday, seasonal, and event bands I performed with were: The Downtown Horns, who performed daily from Thanksgiving through New Year's Day (2013-2014) known as The Grove and Aloe Blacc's brass band, which he formed for Interscope record's "Introducing Interscope" YouTube series. There are other greater LA-based brass bands that I have not performed with, of course, such as the Bayou Bump, the Bear Brass Band, the New Orleans Traditional Brass Band, and the Tin & Copper Brass Band. In addition, there are two San Francisco Bay Area brass bands that perform occasionally in LA, with whom I have performed: Brass Monkey Brass Band and Saint Gabriel's Celestial Brass Band.

history and culture. In the five years I studied jazz and brass band, up to 2017, I gained a considerable understanding of brass band history and accumulated a sizeable repertoire of traditional jazz and contemporary brass band tunes. But, it seemed as though the more I learned, the less I knew. As an outsider, it seemed as if I was only getting half of the story. Like observing a photo negative, my mind interpreted the image, but in reverse, failing to recognize the meanings and associations of real-world events and social cues that shared life experience provides. In *How Musical is Man?*, John Blacking conveys a similar analogy when, only after learning to play Nsenga *kalimba* and *ndimba mbiras* and performing with Zambian musicians, did he acquire the "musical and extramusical information" to understand "what was 'in the notes'" (Blacking 1973:19).

I spoke to my mentor and dissertation Committee Chair, Dr. Cheryl L. Keyes, a Louisiana native and Xavier University of Louisiana (New Orleans) alum who had performed and recorded with jazz educator and clarinetist Alvin Batiste of New Orleans. She suggested that I go to NOLA and engage in ethnographic fieldwork there to ascertain what differentiates LA's NOLA jazz and brass band scene from that of the "homeland:" NOLA. Accordingly, I made three relatively short but insightful trips to NOLA (three days to two weeks) in 2017 and early-2018, to engage in ethnographic research. During my first trip (October 2017), I documented several performances of the all-female Original Pinettes Brass Band and attended my first Sunday second line.[8] In the following trips to NOLA (January 2018, March 2018), I engaged in ethnographic fieldwork at two more Sunday second lines, observed the Soul Rebels' performance with Papa John Gros at Rock n'

[8] The three Original Pinettes performances I documented were as follows: performance at Bullet's Bar on A.P. Tureaud Ave in the 7th Ward, where they host a weekly residency at the Bullet's Sports Bar; performance at the Preservation Hall jazz club where they accompanied Mia X, the famed local bounce artist; and a "staged" second line performance in the French Quarter, where they recorded for the American Idol reboot trailer, "A MAD New Orleans Welcome!" It was an immense honor to be permitted to film and photograph the performance at Preservation Hall. There are large signs on every wall of the Hall, "NO PHOTGRAPHY PERMITTED." When I returned to LA, I edited the photographs and footage and made them available for the band to use s they saw fit. To view the American Idol Season 1 trailer, visit: "American Idol Intro: A MAD New Orleans Welcome! | American Idol 2018," https://youtu.be/fdH5OMzzigU.

Bowl, two busking performances by the Hundreds Brass Band in near the French Market, two French Quarter second lines by the Jaywalkers Brass Band and Fun Brass Band, and a performance by the To Be Continued brass band (TBC) at Celebration Hall, and logged twenty-four hours researching at the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, at Tulane University. Upon reflection of my early research attempts in NOLA, several things stood out to me: the ubiquity of jazz and brass bands; the musicality of the musicians; and the communality of the second line.

The number of musicians and brass bands performing in bars and coffee houses and on the streets of NOLA (both contracted to work and busking for tips) is incalculable. In NOLA, a brass band—sometimes two, or even three—is employed to mark nearly every occasion from life-cycle events (anniversaries, weddings, birthdays, and funerals) to annual social aid and pleasure club parades, corporate conferences, and political assemblies. Tourists often contract brass bands to perform impromptu second lines through the French Quarter—a financial boon for those musicians lucky enough to network into those circles. Nearly every event employs a brass band to mark the occasion. These performances often create quite the spectacle, drawing crowds that seemingly grow in number by the second.

Adding to my amazement at the ubiquity of jazz and brass bands, I was blown away (pun intended) by the musical expressiveness, the technical prowess, and the undying stamina with which NOLA musicians perform—performing for hours at a time, often while marching. It seems as if they don't get tired, but if they do, you'd never know it. It's simply astonishing. NOLA musicians draw on a shared musical vocabulary and rhythmic feel; their performance style is expressive and distinctively decorated. Reaching beyond boundaries, they paraphrase popular melodies and sample riffs, or entire sections of songs, from other music genres. They challenge each other in real-time, trying to "outdo" each other and standing out as unique among a crowd of exceptional musicians.

Perhaps most notably was the palpable sense of collective that demonstrates the strength of place attachment, identity, and dependence upon the community. While each parade is special—a celebration of someone, a social group, or some*thing*—and treated as such, it is an age-old tradition, made new with each iteration.

From these very short yet illuminating fieldwork trips to NOLA, I gleaned several vital insights into brass band culture, drew parallels and contrasts, and became aware of the dynamic relationship between music, history, and religion in both NOLA and LA. For my MA paper, "Angeleno Brass Bands and New Orleans Identity: Re-interpretations and Representations of New Orleans in Los Angeles," I adapted and expanded my earlier course projects exploring how LA-based brass band musicians and affinity communities of the KoG, CB, and the MBB negotiate both real and "imagined communities" in Los Angeles. Investigating themes of native and non-native, and transplanted and local reinterpretations and representations of New Orleans brass band music, I found that the KoG, CB, and MBB nurture a welcoming environment that projects a very tangible image of homeland that constitutes the basis of group identification and cultural practice, while connecting with the larger LA community. Furthermore, LA brass band musicians are dialoguing directly with the NOLA tradition, creating original music that not only reflects the NOLA brass band tradition but critiques racial violence and reflects the LA environ in which they live. Moreover, these musicians are agents in the public sphere who utilize instruments as technologies for producing culture, subjectivity, and identity (Sakakeeny 2013:6). Together, the members of this community create a robust hybrid culture.

After completing my thesis, I reflected upon the study; both whether to continue this line of questioning and the methodological choices I made. Feeling that I had merely explored "the tip of the iceberg," I decided to expand my study of the LA second line community and include NOLA as a second site for my dissertation project. That was easy. Method, on the other hand, was another

story and necessitated a rethinking of my research methods. I had to come to terms with the methods I utilized for my MA project and how I executed them.

Living and working in LA—had its advantages, but it was not without its challenges. My primary methods, at first and in a formal sense, involved participant-observation and the directive interview.[9] Participant-observation is an ethnographic method wherein the researcher *participates* in and *observes* a cultural phenomenon alongside culture bearers in order to share *an* interpretation of the activity or event. I also utilized formal, directive interview techniques to interview collaborators, which involved sitting down with them and posing specific questions. Maybe it was my anxiousness about asking questions that felt all too often awkward and rehearsed or my inexperience with the audio/visual technologies I was using to document the performances and interviews—as I spent much too much time fiddling with equipment—but mostly, I struggled.[10] In retrospect, I simply lacked research experience. I had not spent enough time in the community as a researcher to comprehend what methods worked best for my collaborators and my research environment. As a result, relationships with some musicians changed. While some were enthusiastic about my study, I inferred a kind of resistance from others that hadn't existed before. And as local demand for my "expertise" grew, the state of my research became more tenuousness, for I had interjected a second identity; that of the researcher.[11]

---

[9] The term *directive interview* refers to an approach to interviewing where one poses questions to the interviewee that are previously decided upon. In contrast, the *non-directive* approach is a casual and spontaneous approach. The non-directive approach allows either the interviewer or interviewee lead the discussion—sometimes both. Today, I prefer the non-directive approach. It has the potential to arm me with what is important to my collaborator. I learned about these approaches from my advisor, Dr. Cheryl L. Keyes. For more about the directive and non-directive approaches to interviewing, see Cheryl L Keyes. 1991. "Rappin' to the Beat: Rap Music as Street Culture Among African-Americans." PhD diss., Indiana University. 14-15.

[10] I utilized a ZOOM H1n audio recorder with a lanyard microphone to document formal interviews.

[11] By no means do I claim to be an expert. Rather, I just happened to be one of a handful of LA-based tubist that knew traditional and contemporary jazz and brass band music. I purchased an Olympus OM-D E-M10 mark ii, in 2015, to document second line culture in LA, but due to poor image quality of the camera in low-light conditions, and the poor audio quality of the camera, I quickly moved to the Sony A7s with a RØDE VideoMic Pro external microphone, which I placed a tripod for stability (when stationary) or monopod (when mobility was needed).

New Fieldwork and Sensory Ethnography

Around this time, I read the second edition of Timothy J. Cooley, Katherine Meizel, and Nasir Syed's edited volume *Shadows in the Field: New Prospectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (2008). In the second edition of *Shadows in the Field*, the authors address emerging field methods and technologies—both physical and virtual—situated within a new and increasingly globalized landscape. They propose that we (ethnomusicologists) "toss out older assumptions about fieldwork" (classic model) "in order to adjust our expectations" (*new fieldwork*) (13). Standardized by Franz Boas, Radcliffe-Brown, Bronislaw Malinowski, Lévi-Strauss, and others in the mid-twentieth century, the classic model for fieldwork required the researcher to travel to some remote locale to study a culture—to which the researcher did not belong—for a minimum of twelve months. Ethnographers across a broad spectrum of academic disciplines adhered to this model until the late-1980s, when scholars began to push beyond the limitations of the classic model: redefining the fieldwork experience by studying the world's less "exotic" traditions (e.g., "Western" art music, online communities);[12] traveling to the field more frequently and extending our time "in the field" digitally;[13] and broadening ethnographic research methodology to include embodied practice and closer attention to all of the human senses (sensory ethnography).[14]

As a neophyte ethnomusicologist, I often resisted those methodological approaches that lay outside of well-established and commonly used ethnographic methods. Consequently, I consulted with my advisor, who suggested that my collaborators and research environment dictate my research methods. In an effort to realize "thick" description and objective analysis of second line culture in

[12] See Henry Kingsbury. Music, Talent, and Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); and Kay Kaufman Shelemay. "Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Early Music Movement: Thoughts on Bridging Disciplines and Musical Worlds." Ethnomusicology 45, no. 1 (2001): 1-29.

[13] For examples of virtual participation/observation with research communities, see: René T. A. Lysloff. ''Musical Community on the Internet: An On-Line Ethnography.'' Cultural Anthropology 18, no. 2 (2003): 233–63.; and Kiri Miller, ''Jacking the Dial: Radio, Race, and Place in 'Grand Theft Auto.''' Ethnomusicology 51, no. 3 (2007): 402–38.

[14] See Sarah Pink. Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media, and Representation in Research (London: Sage Publications, 2007).

LA, I considered my position as musician-scholar in the LA brass band community and how best to modify my methods (Geertz 1973).[15] With my advisor's encouragement, I went with the flow. What evolved was a combination of methods that proved most illuminating: coparticipation; personal interviews; an adapted style of notetaking; and mobile filmic documentation.

Participant-Observation and Co-Participation

Participant-observation is a research method where the researcher *observes* while *participating* in a cultural activity or event, such as participant-observation of a second line, a club performance, or a wedding. The participant-observer role was typically employed at parades and other brass band performances held at neighborhoods, bars, and music venues in the greater LA area and at times on fairgrounds and theme parks. In general, participant-observation allowed me to discover the meaning behind the community's behaviors, rules, and norms. But as MBB's reputation grew and I began performing with CB and other brass bands, coparticipation became my primary research method.

Borrowed from Richard C. Jankowsky, *co-participation* is a performance-based research method that expands upon Mantle Hood's "bi-musicality" model (a form of gaining expertise about a musical practice) that includes one's own music-making experiences (Hood 1960).[16] Learning through musicking, and my ability to play at a professional level, provided the opportunity for me to attend to the basic needs of the gig without distraction, such as both the implicit and explicit musical

[15] The aim of Geertz's model is to construct a "thick description" of the phenomenon under study, which describes its complexity and internally constructed meaning. See Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays (New York, Basic Books, 1973).

[16] I borrow the term from Richard C. Jankowsky, who states co-participation "blurs the boundary between learning about the Other and learning from the Other, and swings the pendulum towards the latter. It emphasizes what connects us as humans, rather than what sets us apart as social actors." See Richard C. Jankowsky. "Music, Spirit Possession and the In-between: Ethnomusicological Inquiry and the Challenge of Trance." Ethnomusicology Forum 16, no. 2 (2007):185-208.; and Richard C. Jankowsky, Stambeli: Music, Trance, And Alterity in Tunisia.(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010) 7; and Johannes Fabian, Power and Performance : Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theater in Shaba, Zaire. New Directions in Anthropological Writing. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

demands of performance, e.g., being creative, physical coordination, and listening—an often over-looked aspect of music-making; the *mostly* cognitive aspects of music-making, e.g., melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic skills required to perform;[17] the unspoken, interpersonal communication that happens within a musical group; and kinesthetic awareness required while marching and/or entertaining. Through my role as co-participant, I became an integral part of second line culture in LA and its associated rituals. Moreover, holding my own, or "hanging," as a professional musician in professional musical settings, communicated confidence and credibility, and contributed to an environment of equal competitive conditions for all actors involved.[18]

Personal Interviews

Personal interviews consisted of a mixture of directive and non-directive questions and were conducted in several contexts: public brass band performances; private homes and recording sessions; coffee shops, restaurants, and bars; performance halls; and by email or telephone. They typically occurred before and after performances and during short set breaks that involved casually conversing with fellow musicians, brides and grooms, bartenders, and audience members. Still, they sometimes took place at my collaborator's home. Casual (conversational), non-directive interviews such as brief encounters and discussions at gigs, conversations while at dinner or carpooling to gigs, or celebrating holidays, lasted from several minutes to several hours and were typically not recorded.

---

[17] I use the term "mostly," here, because, for musicians, there is a connection between the ear, mind, body (e.g., vocal cords, lips, arms, hands, and fingers; any part of the body that is used in aid of communicating musical thoughts), and spirit.

[18] "Hanging" can also refer to one's participation at a "hang:" a common, colloquial term in the jazz community, where musicians create a space which is utilized for networking, socializing, shop talk, bombast or "trash talk," and the exchange of ideas, as well as to make themselves visible. Ingrid Monson discusses "public visibility" in her definition of "[jazz] scene" – See Monson, Ingrid T. 1991. "Musical Interaction in Modern Jazz: An Ethnomusicological Perspective" (PhD diss., University of New York), 357. For more on this aspect of the jazz scene, Monson, Ingrid T. 1991. "Musical Interaction in Modern Jazz: An Ethnomusicological Perspective" (PhD diss., University of New York); Travis Jackson Blowin' the Blues Away: Performance and Meaning on the New York Jazz Scene (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2012); and Alex W. Rodriguez "Making the Hang in Chile at Thelonious, Lugar De Jazz." Jazz & Culture 3, no. 1 (2020): 45-70. For more on "hanging out," see Paul F. Berliner, Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Whereas more formal, non-directive interviews lasted from thirty minutes to several hours and were recorded.

While the directive approach involved posing specific questions to interviewees, the non-directive approach initiated a spontaneous and informal conversation between the interviewee and interviewer. I found the directive approach helpful, but in most instances, the non-directive approach proved more significant and interviewee responses more substantive. I attribute this to the spontaneous context settings in which the interviews occurred and that I chose only to document those things I feared I might forget before inscribing them in my fieldnotes. Thus, contributing to the interviewee's relaxation (fellow musicians, brides and grooms, bartenders, and audience members), as they were in a familiar environment.

Notetaking

At first, I carried a pocket-sized Moleskine notepad (3.5 " x 5.5") and a 3" ballpoint pen to record the observations I made at musical events. Among the data recorded were the date, place, time, and relative length of musical events; listings of the musicians present and the songs played; the record of conversations with audience members to a musical event; and my impressions and evaluations. During musical events, I produced handwritten *inscriptions*, or "scratch notes" that, combined with my recollections and "abbreviated jottings," I later reconstructed in the process of *description*, typically upon arrival home, before going to sleep or, when that was not feasible, upon awakening the next day (see Sanjek 1990; Ottenberg 1990; for more on inscription and description, see James Clifford 1986).[19] In my descriptions, I attempted to detail as complete a picture from what

[19] Roger Sanjek's "scratch-notes-to-writing act" is analogous to James Clifford's model "from inscription to interpretive description." See James Clifford and George E. Marcus, Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography : a School of

I remembered but had not written down, fusing my immediate commentary with interpretation and assessment.[20]

Notetaking during personal interviews was often challenging, as I didn't want to interrupt the organic unfolding or flow of events. I didn't make notes during conversations—making only the most abbreviated jottings when the interviewee relayed something that I thought I would forget. Otherwise, I made scratch notes immediately after the conversation concluded. My fieldnotes also contain records of phone numbers, other contact information, and other information made both at and away from musical events.

Filmmaking Practices: Sensory Ethnography

My interest in documentary filmmaking began in 2014 when I read ethnomusicologist Scott Linford's online article, "Historical Narratives of the Akonting and Banjo" (2014). Linford's illustrated essay served as a paradigm for presenting, in a blog-style musical ethnography. Utilizing a variety of storytelling tools, including text, photography, video, audio, and graphic illustrations that serve to support and highlight salient points, Linford conveys knowledge in ways that an essay published traditionally (e.g., a peer-reviewed journal or manuscript) would not allow. At that time, I was struggling with this seemingly one-dimensional representation of many music-centered ethnographies. Consequently, to gain a deeper understanding of second line through the engagement of multiple modes of communicating knowledge, I considered documentary film as a methodological approach in which to conduct my research.

American Research Advanced Seminar (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and Roger Sanjek, "Urban Anthropology in the 1980's: A World View" Annual Review of Anthropology 19, (1990): 96-97, 151-186.

[20] For more of the process of note taking as part of the interpretive process, see Gregory F. Barz. "Confronting the Field(Note) In and Out of the Field" in Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology, eds. Barz, Gregory F, and Timothy J Cooley New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 45-62.

There are many ways humans share knowledge; writing is but one of them. For instance, jazz musicians share stories and photographs, engage in listening parties where they enjoy, analyze, and critique others' music, attend concerts and lectures, and share a bandstand or performance space with others. On the other hand, many scholars are prone to text-based analysis, privileging text over visual, aural, and embodied modes of communicating knowledge, which is further complicated in studies in which music and dance are central. Offering experiential and interpretive possibilities rather than explanations and definite statements, observational cinema is a mode of social inquiry that provides an opportunity to counteract the problems of authoritative representation, encourages collaboration, and offers a practice of ethical stance (MacDougall 1998:84). Observational cinema is also a means to convey how culture is lived by those who live it. Filmmaking, then, provides an opportunity to transmit knowledge experienced by those who "embody it and re-create it for themselves," rather than extrapolating a generalized meaning from data (MacDougall 1998:62). It is also "linked to a different epistemology and aesthetic"—ways of knowing the world—as linked to theoretical discourse and ways of seeing the world, which privileges a multi-sensory presentation and interpretation, grounded in the ethnographic encounter itself (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2009:4; Sharma 2015).[21] As their aesthetic and filmic grammar, observational filmmakers rely on minimal editing, preserving the spatial and temporal continuities of the fieldwork experience, as well as privileging the voice of those observed.

The publication of *Writing Culture* in 1986 (Clifford and Marcus 1986) marked an important turn in anthropology. "Objective" ethnographies were replaced by more ethnically conceived and

---

[21] For MacDougall, "aesthetics" does not refer to judgements of beauty or art (in a Kantian sense), "but rather with a much wider range of culturally patterned sensory experiences"—and are social fact(s) that must be taken seriously alongside other facts – See David MacDougall, The Corporeal Image: Film, Ethnography, and the Senses (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006) 98. Aparna Sharma utilizes the term "aesthetic(s)" to mean "the approaches to documentary practice, say verité, observational or poetic, and the intricacies of film forms or vocabularies through which documentary meanings and interventions are constructed with a degree of coherence" - See Aparna K. Sharma Documentary Films in India: Critical Aesthetics at Work (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) 9. She adopted the term "realist aesthetic" to encapsulate this approach.

more nuanced ethnographies that considered questions of reflexivity, collaboration, and fieldwork ethics, as well as visual, sensory, and experiential knowledge production.[22] Even though this volume was highly criticized for its near exclusion of women's voices in the shifting paradigm of ethnography, its publication, nonetheless reflects a critical reflection point in anthropology and the role of ethnography in general.

In an increasingly globalized and postcolonial world, ethnographies have become more collaborative, and research materials more accessible and ideally more useful to the subjects. David MacDougall argues that observational cinema can aid in solving problems of misrepresentation, the interpretive method, and objectification (MacDougall 1998). Along with these considerations, scholars have produced new approaches to conducting fieldwork that explores alternative modes of engagement, documentation, and communication of knowledge between audiences.

While the use of visual media as a methodological approach is nothing new, scholars are increasingly interested in alternative forms of ethnographic knowledge production. Lucien Castaing-Taylor argues, from a phenomenological perspective, that visual and multimedia approaches can transmit certain kinds of knowledge, such as embodied knowledge and meaning, that is difficult or impossible to convey through text alone (Barbash and Taylor 1997; Grimshaw and Ravetz 2009; MacDougall 2006, 1998; Pink 2009). Filmmaker and theorist David MacDougall critiques the bulk of anthropological discourse when he argues that film must be considered "a way of thinking through the body" (MacDougall 1998:49). He continues by arguing that film contributes to a new field of phenomenological studies in anthropology—the study of the actualization of social

[22] For more on feminist arguments for the inclusion of women's issues and perspectives in the ethnographic method and ways of better understanding of how gendered differences influence and are influenced by sociopolitical contexts, see Abu'Lughod, Lila. 1990. "Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography?" Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory 5(1): 7-27; Michelle Rosaldo, "Woman, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview," in Woman, Culture, and Society, ed. by Joan Bamberger, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974:7-27; and Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?", in Woman, Culture, and Society, ed. Joan Bamberger, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974:68-87.

knowledge—which he classifies as an "anthropology of consciousness" (272). Advancing MacDougall and Young's arguments, Anna Grimshaw and Amanda Ravetz identify observational cinema as a distinctive mode of inquiry aligning with a sensuous scholarship, which Sarah Pink has termed "sensory ethnography" (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2009; Pink 2009:8).

Documentary filmmakers, such as the MacDougall's, Grimshaw, Pink, Barbash, and Taylor, exemplify a critical move beyond the objective-scientific and narrative-oriented (re)presentations of expository, impressionistic, and early observational ("fly-on-the-wall") films. Instead, they adopt an approach that foregrounds "subjectivit[ies] and subjective experiences as socio-historically and culturally constructed" (Sharma 2015:5-6). This approach was non-interventionalist. They aimed to film lived experience rather than summarizing or reporting on it. Ethnographic filmmakers are increasingly self-conscious or self-reflective, foregrounding the relationships between filmmaker and subject, filmmaker-subject-spectator (intersubjectivities), which can be traced to Russian filmmaker Dziga Vertov (The Man with a Movie Camera, 1929) and championed by ethnographic filmmakers David and Judith McDougall, and Sarah Pink.

David MacDougall coined the term "deep reflexivity," asserting the filmmaker's position is subjective and elastic and is laid bare visually, through a complex and continually evolving relationship to the subject (MacDougall 1998). The approaches to documentary filmmaking to which these scholars adhere "stems from a deep understanding that documentary films are mediated texts, not simply passive, objective, or total records of reality" (Sharma 2015:6). Sarah Pink has adopted a methodological approach that not only conveys the theoretical and ethical considerations that underpin her work but is a reflexive and experiential process through which understanding and knowledge are produced (Pink 2009).

According to Pink, sensory ethnography is a "reflexive and experiential process through which understanding, knowing and (academic) knowledge are produced" (Pink 2009:8). It was

increasingly critical that my audience hear my collaborators' voices as authoritative and infer my voice as but one interpretation of the presented material. I adopted deep reflexivity as a guiding principle, requiring the viewing and reading audience to "read the position of the author in the very construction of the work" (*MacDougall 1998:* 89). By positioning myself within the work, I intended to present an account that is both self-explanatory and a faithful representation of the various voices, forms of knowledge, and relationships that form it.

I began utilizing an action camera to document performances instead of the stationary assembly for my camera and microphone I used previously: first, at the Venice Beach Mardi Gras parade, in February 2016, then regularly after that. I often attached a GoPro HERO4 to my sousaphone bell and performed, as per the norm. Occasionally, I outfitted lead-trumpeter and singer for the MBB Jamelle Yaya Adisa's microphone stand with a GoPro, as well. This technology provided an extraordinarily mobile and discrete means to document the second line ritual and other performances from *within* the action and while "on the move." Ultimately, I didn't include these studies in my MA paper, but I was inspired to study documentary filmmaking with filmmaker and film theorist Dr. Aparna Sharma at UCLA.

The Thin Line

My path took me from performance to traditional ethnography to *new fieldwork* and sensory ethnography (Cooley, Meizel, and Syed 2008:90). Along the way, I expanded my methodological toolkit, which, together—and over time—created a powerful ethnographic practice. And through the use of the abovementioned methods, achieving a balance between performer and scholar. Not only did I study under "master" musicians— those who possess exceptional control, knowledge, and understanding of their craft—and culture bearers, but I worked alongside them. As implied above, I was accepted by the brass band community in LA, due in part, I believe, to my earnest study of the

culture, as well as my ability to grasp musical ideas quickly. This relatively immediate acceptance facilitated greater access to people, venues, and information, than otherwise possible. And by casually engaging with participants and utilizing discrete notetaking and filmmaking equipment, I was able to document activities and ask questions without interrupting the flow of the event or conversation.

The one glaring pitfall of the methods I chose to utilize is that the line between performer and researcher was, at times, imperceptible. From my perspective, I realize that I, far too often, separated fieldwork from fieldplay" (Timothy Rice in Timothy J. Cooley, Katherine Meizel, and Nasir Syed 2008:48). It is all too easy to get *lost* in the moment; in the *flow* of the musical performance; in the *enthusiasm* of a good conversation; and in the *spirit* of communal celebration. To complicate the matter, I chose to study a culture in my own backyard (LA). For audience members and other individuals I had recently met, they were often surprised when I told them I was an ethnomusicologist researching brass band culture. While I always made it clear the I was a researcher; it wasn't how I led a conversation. I didn't hide it, but I didn't wear it on my sleeve.

While doing fieldwork in LA, and in the manner I chose, had its challenges to overcome, it also provided numerous advantages not available to most ethnomusicologists. My position as a comparative outsider who is not, and never will be, "at home." The awareness of my position in this community has allowed me to overcome the research challenges typical to ethnography. I argue that, while never attaining "insider" status, my research methods facilitated a perspective that was neither emic nor etic. I believe that through this balance of my collaborators' emic experiences and my etic observations, I achieved a mediation between the two theoretical categories that rendered research easier and revealed important and little-understood facets of the second line culture in LA.[23] But,

[23] In short, etic is the "outsider's" perspective. Emic is the "insider's" perspective.

now that my dissertation project had become a dual-site ethnographic study, I considered whether my field methods still suited the project's needs and my point of *entrée* into this closely-knit community.

New Orleans

In NOLA, the social world surrounding the second line parade is much less porous than in LA. Deriving from West African forms of social organization and kinship, Black mutual-aid societies, known as Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs, formed the basis of second line culture in NOLA. Sponsored by Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs, the second line emerged as a regular Sunday tradition by the late-19th century. The band and the dancing members of the sponsoring club taking part in weekly neighborhood second lines have grown up together; many of the performing musicians established those very bands while in middle or high school. It is an extremely tightly knit community; rarely are outsiders—and rarer, still, white individuals—offered access. Thus, carrying a camera around in this environment was a challenge. Pastor Chris Sylvain explains what it was like for photographers from "outside" attempting to document neighborhood parades in the early-1970s:

> We had two parades. You had the, whatever you were paid for parades (This wasn't for the churches, but, say like, social aid and pleasure clubs: that was the, for everybody.) OK? But, for many of the parades, you had the neighborhood parade, where we would turn off and go deep into the neighborhood—leave the main streets. And they told everybody that wasn't within that set; Now, I actually won't even say color, 'cause some white folk could come. But the folk that were gawkers, watching: they couldn't come. They tell 'em [as he wagged a finger back-and-forth] shoo, shoo, shoo. Boom. 'You cannot come in here.' This was sacred, in a sense. This was: this is us. It's what we do. You know what I mean? Did it have a racial connotation? Obviously, numbers-wise, yeah. But there were some white folk that were able to come right along, 'cause they were cool. Like, 'Alright, he's cool.' 'That photographer: bring him in.' You know what I mean? They'd let 'em know. Boom. They'd tell him: 'Nah, He's cool.' Alright? But everybody else: 'y'all stay away. 'Cause y'all in it for the money. Y'all watchin' us. We don't need nobody watchin' us.'[24]

[24] Sylvain, Chris. Native New Orleanian and drummer. April 17, 2019, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Today, cell phones are pervasive at neighborhood second line parades. Individuals hold them high in the air to capture their lived experience to post on Facebook or Instagram; nearly everyone has one. But large cameras and recording equipment? That's something else altogether. Documenting a second line is a privilege conferred to very few from outside of the immediate community. This sentiment also resonates beyond the parade environment. I have seen posts on social media—such as, "photographers stay the fuck away or I'll destroy your camera. Pableaux' cool."[25] Because of this, there was an awareness—on my part—that I was not welcome to document events. Every time I held a camera in my hands—regardless of whether at a second line or other performance—I was self-conscious. Was I perceived as a "thirdliner?"—those, mainly white, journalists and anthropologists there to take all they can from the culture and not give back to it (Joseph Roach 1996:279).

During my third brief "pre-fieldwork," or what Timothy J. Cooley and Gregory Barz term "feasibility trip," to NOLA in March 2018, I told a musician, with whom I was newly acquainted, that I was an ethnomusicologist, to which he replied, "Oh, you culture vulture, huh?" I was taken aback. He laughed and replied, "Maaaaan, the look on your face!" I had never heard the term before, but I understood the implication: I was obliged to understand my position and, through my actions, assure the community of my good intentions.

In recent years, New Orleanians have replaced the term thirdliner with the term *culture vulture*. A culture vulture is associated with the gentrification that has so radically changed the post-Katrina NOLA landscape: describing the mostly white, middle-aged individuals who purchased devastated properties in the most distressed of NOLA wards—and awarded tax incentives to do so.[26] To

---

[25] The verbiage of this post is altered slightly to maintain anonymity. The only two photographers from "outside" of the immediate community—that I am aware of—are New Orleans-based photographer and food and lifestyle writer Pableaux Johnson and Tibetan exile currently living in NOLA Tenzin Dolker.

[26] Gentrification is a buzzword that is used to describe the process by which the character of an urban area is changed by people moving into the area, typically displacing the usually Black and Brown inhabitants in the process.

complicate the matter—for me—gentrifiers are often assumed to be Californian—I identify as all three assumed designations: white, middle-aged, and Californian.

Given this situation, I did not know how the NOLA community would receive me, but since I had formed several budding friendships with NOLA musicians (sousaphonist Brenard "Bunny" Adams, tenor saxophonist Paul Chéene, and trombonist Edward "Juicy" Jackson of the TBC; sousaphonist Steven Glenn of the James Martin Band and the Jaywalkers Brass Band; and sousaphonist Darrell Soniat of the Hundreds Brass Band), I began my extended fieldwork at home in front of my computer: I kept up with them via Facebook and Instagram, viewed videos posted to YouTube, Vimeo, and other video streaming platforms; listened to and transcribing music via Spotify, Apple Music, and YouTube Music; interacted on social media platforms, e.g., Facebook and Instagram; researched via online journals, blogs, and archives; and communicated via phone, email, and Facetime—all technologies that, Timothy J. Cooley, Katherine Meizel, and Nasir Syed include under the rubric "virtual fieldwork" (Cooley, Meizel, and Syed 2008:90).

I relocated to NOLA to engage in long-term ethnographic fieldwork in October 2018. On my first night out in NOLA, I met up with my friend and former tuba instructor, Patrick Sheridan. We went to the Bourbon Maison Jazz Club to hear Danny Rubio, a world-class tubist and pianist, perform with his Catahoula Music Company, a traditional jazz band. Danny Rubio & The Catahoula Music Company holds a residency at the Bourbon Maison, performing five nights a week: Tuesday-Saturday; he plays piano on Thursdays and Saturdays. Danny invited me up to play on a couple of tunes, which I obliged. I played a few tunes with the band, and they were well received. Danny liked my playing and recommended that I stop by the Bourbon O Bar, the hotel bar at the Bourbon Orleans Hotel (717 Orleans St.), where Doyle Cooper played traditional jazz every Friday evening.

A few days later, my partner (Sherrijon Gaspard) and I went to the Bourbon O Bar to hear the Doyle Cooper Jazz Band perform. We entered the club while the band was on a set break.

Danny was standing with a young man who was at the bar. Danny, Sherrijon, and I greeted each other, and Danny relayed that he played tuba with the band, which was a pleasant surprise. Danny introduced the young man he was with as Wes Smith, the trombonist with the Dukes of Dixieland. Danny returned to the stage, and Sherrijon and I took a seat next to Wes Anderson.[27] We engaged in light conversation and talked about traditional jazz. Wes lamented that "not a lot of cats are playing trad jazz these days." Wes asked, "How many songs do you know?"[28] to which I replied, "I know a fair amount." He countered rapidly, "Which ones?" After a moment of deliberation, I rattled off some tunes: "Basin Street Blues"; "Ice Cream"; "I'll Fly Away"; "Just a Closer Walk with Thee"; "Milenberg Joys"; "Royal Garden Blues"; "South Rampart Street"; and "When You're Smiling." Unimpressed, he retorted, "Do you know any that aren't in B-flat or E-flat?!"[29] I thought, *Wow, this guy is grilling me right now.* Before I could answer, Wes smiled and turned to listen as the band began to play.

After a few tunes, Doyle's voice boomed through the house speakers, "Marc Bolin, can you come up and play a couple [tunes] with us?" We played "Struttin' with Some BBQ" (Lillian Hardin Armstrong) and "Dinah" (Harry Akst)—as luck would have it, they weren't in B-flat. Doyle turned to me and asked if I'd like to play another, to which I responded, "Sure." He asked, "You know 'My Bucket's It a Hole in It?'" to which I replied, "No." Doyle rattled off instructions, "It's a B-flat blues…[it] starts on the IV chord." Without further ado, he placed the trumpet to his mouth. With the first few notes of the melody serving as an introduction, we were up and running.

At the close of the tune, I thanked the band and stepped off the stage. Doyle had thrown solos my way on each of the tunes, and I felt that I represented myself well, but I had no idea how

[27] I later found out is the son of the well-known jazz artist, Wessell "Warm Daddy" Anderson of the Jazz at Lincoln Center Orchestra, led by Wynton Marsalis. Wes is a member of the Dukes of Dixieland (2017-present).27

[28] In this paper, I use the term "tune," or "tunes" generally, without consideration of lyric, style, or form.

[29] In Western music theory, a "key," is the group of pitches, or scale, that forms the foundation of a musical composition. B-flat (Bb) and E-flat (Eb) are two common keys for brass band songs. Wes was testing my knowledge of jazz and brass band repertoire.

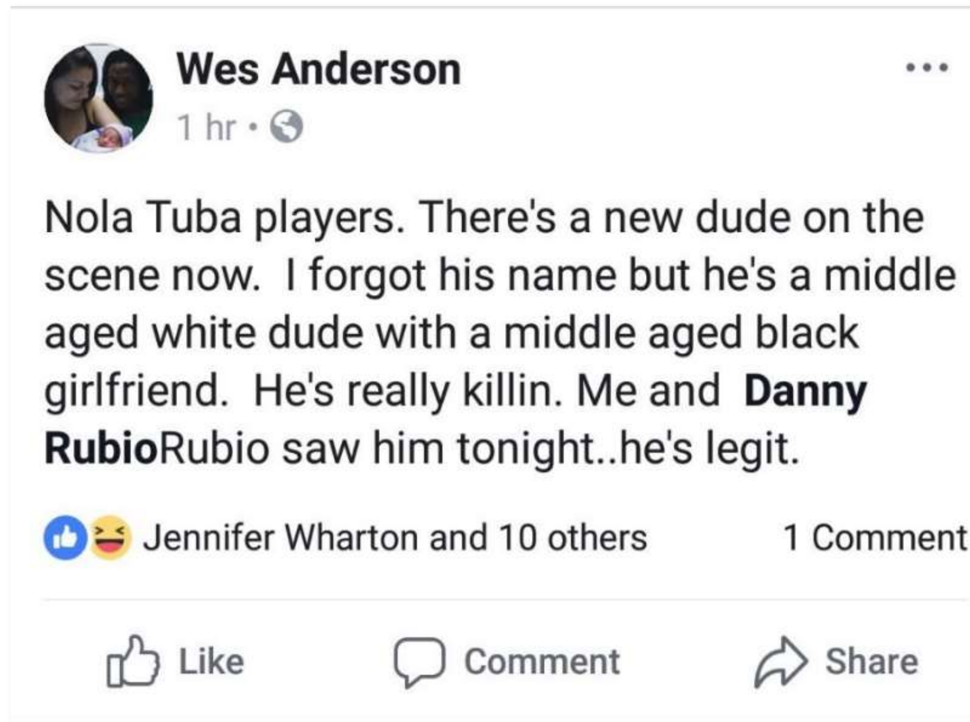


Figure 0.2.1. Facebook post, October 19, 2018, 11:59 A.M.

the musicians received me. When I returned to my seat, Wes met me with an understated, "Yeaaaah, man," accompanied by a subtle nod of affirmation. Early the next morning, Wes had posted about a white, middle-aged white man that he met the previous evening (see Figure 0.2.1). I became aware of the post because Doyle "tagged" me in the post's comment section. Wes was talking about me!

I continued to sit in at the Maison Bourbon and the Bourbon O—even filling in for Danny when he needed me to sub for him. I performed in other French Quarter haunts, but since second line culture was my focus, I spent most of my time getting to know the musicians in that circle—although there is some overlap between these two worlds. By mid-December, I spent nearly ten hours per day engaged in participant-performance. Types of performances included busking on Jackson Square with either the Jackson Square Allstars or the Free Spirit Brass Band and on the street at the intersections of Bourbon and Iberville Streets and Frenchman and Royal Streets with the Free Spirit Brass Band and the Young Fellas, respectively—even though I was thirty-two years

older than the youngest Young Fella; performing at second line parades, club dates, private parties, and festivals with the Andrews Family Brass Band, Free Spirit Brass Band, Glen David Andrews, and TBC (see Figure 0.2.2).[30] And in January, I joined the Glen David Andrews Band and the Andrews Family Brass Bands, with whom I performed several times a week. When I wasn't engaged in coparticipation, I engaged in participant-observation or other research forms, including archival research, interviews, musical transcription, and filming.

Co-Participation in New Orleans

Participant-performing was not only my entrée into the NOLA brass band community of NOLA writ large but was my primary methodological approach during this research period. Being a skilled musician helped immensely in my establishing relationships with both musicians and non-musicians. Consequently, perceptions of me were based upon me as a musician, not as a researcher. Much more, the musical experiences I shared with musicians and audience participants not only facilitated introductions to future collaborators but sanctioned my acceptance within the community. As a co-participant, I was able to maneuver within this closely-knit community *through* music. As Helen Myers so eloquently opines, "There is no substitute in ethnomusicological fieldwork for intimacy born of shared musical experience" (Myers 1992:31).

Interviewing Techniques in New Orleans

Like in LA, personal interviews in NOLA consisted of a mixture of directive and non-directive questions and were conducted in very much the same manner. They occurred any place, typically on the street, in music venues or private homes, and at any time, though typically

[30] Busking is defined as the act performing for tips.

Figure 0.2.2. My first Sunday second line as a co-participant, performing with an ad-hoc brass band for the Lower Nine Steppers Social Aid and Pleasure Club at the Big Nine Second Line Parade, Sunday, December 16, 2018. Background; left to right: Marc Francis (trombone), Marc T. Bolin (sousaphone), Daimon Kenard Thomas (trombone), a tired Mosiah "Mosi" Chartok (trombone), Seth Bailin (tenor saxophone), Emanuel Mitchell (trumpet, white hoodie), Blake McCarter (sousaphone, only bell is visible). Center: unknown member, Lower Nine Steppers Social Aid and Pleasure Club. Photo courtesy of Jonas Chartok.[31]

[31] To view a video "wrap up" of the 2018-2019 second line season, in NOLA, see NOLa Vibe's, "This Is Secondline Sunday in New Orleans (The Official 2018 - 2019 Wrap Up)." Posted May 26, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1U36sDUofc. 9:48. You can see me playing my first Sunday second line parade at minute marker 4:02. At minute marker 5:34-5:36, a young man speaks to the camera, saying "I'm from LA. We don't got this in LA."

before and after performances, or during short set breaks, and involved casually conversing with fellow musicians, tourists, bartenders, and audience members. Casual (conversational), non-directive interviews such as brief encounters at gigs, conversations while at dinner, carpooling on the way to gigs, or hanging lasted from several minutes to several hours and were typically not recorded. Whereas more formal, non-directive interviews took place in private homes, coffee shops, or restaurants and lasted from thirty minutes to several hours and were recorded.

Again, the directive approach involved posing specific questions to interviewees, and the non-directive approach initiated a spontaneous and informal conversation between the interviewee and interviewer. The overwhelming majority of my interviews were non-directive and casual and proved most significant.

Notetaking in New Orleans: Technological Advancements

I often considered how I might improve my "scratch-notes-to-writing" capabilities and streamline my workflow. After all, one can utilize their cellphone to type notes, take pictures and videos, and embed geographical metadata within them.[32] Moreover, one can now easily download applications to their cellphone, such as Evernote, Google Photos, OneNote, and Samsung Notes, where audio recordings, visual documentation, and notes—along with the corresponding metadata—are seamlessly integrated and backed up to the cloud. So, shortly before leaving for NOLA, I purchased a Samsung Galaxy Note 10. The Note 10 would become the primary vehicle for notetaking in several important ways: because the phone's dimensions were roughly equal to

[32] This embedded information is called a "geotag." Geotagging is the process of attaching location information in the form of geographical metadata to digital media like web sites, videos, and photographs. The location-specific information included in a geotag may include place coordinates (latitude and longitude), bearings, and altitude.

those of my notepad and it is outfitted with a special stylus (S Pen), it allowed me to write notes "by hand," as I would with my ballpoint pen and notepad; the phone's built-in camera allowed me to openly document events (photographs and short videos); the notetaking software I had downloaded onto my cell phone facilitated the integration of data (correspondence, audio, pictures, and video—with accompanying metadata, and songs with hyperlinks to available recordings and YouTube videos) into one platform or note, which allowed for a better reconstruction of my notes; and making use of "split screen" and "earbud" technologies, the act of transcribing songs became simpler.[33] Moreover, all this content was remotely and automatically uploaded and stored in the cloud, providing a secure "backup" of my fieldnotes, which could be accessed if my cell phone was lost or damaged.

Filmmaking in New Orleans

When I relocated to NOLA, I didn't know how I would begin filming. By Late-November, I was sitting in frequently with TBC. Then, in mid-December, TBC had scheduled to record two tracks to be included in their forthcoming full-length album, *To Be Continued II* (2019). Bunny asked if he could borrow my sousaphone since his sousaphone was in constant need of repair. He invited me to attend the session and "hang," if I wanted, as well. I replied affirmatively and asked if he would mind if I bring my camera along. He was amenable to the proposal, and on December 17, 2018, I documented the event utilizing still photo and video technologies (see Figure 0.2.3). The band recorded "Nasty" and "MBK" (the initials for My Brother's Keeper Social Aid and Pleasure

[33] Split screen divides the screen into two parts, allowing two software applications to be viewed, and used, simultaneously. Also known as "in-ear headphones," ear buds are inserted in the ear canal. Transcribing is the process of learning a song by listening to it and writing it down. It is a pedagogical tool utilized by jazz educators and musicians to deepen one's understanding of the music and the artistic decisions that went into its creation. Ideally, the transcriber will absorb that understanding to develop their own unique musical palate.

Club). "MBK" was written spontaneously at the Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club second line in March of 2018 when TBC marched along with the MBK as the second auxiliary. The recorded version features Mardi Gras Indian J'wan Boudreaux (grandson of Big Chief Monk Boudreaux and Spyboy of the Golden Eagles on vocals) and Derrick "Spodie" Shezbie (also known as Kabuki, Kabuky, or Khabuky; a former member of the Rebirth Brass Band and current member of TBC). Fortuitously, I was invited to film the MBK Social Aid and Pleasure Club at the Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club as they marched in the Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club second line in March of 2019. The material from that second line forms the basis for *My Brother's Keeper,* a short film, in this dissertation.

Theoretical Approaches

I didn't go to the field to prove a theory. Instead, I listened to my collaborators, allowing them to steer the ship, if you will, guiding my study, revealing, over time, what was significant to them. As a result of nearly six years in the field and hundreds of conversations with my collaborators, the dynamic relationships between history, music, and religion in second line culture were made evident. Furthermore, my collaborators revealed that they are actively and intensely history-conscious; their identities are intimately bound to the brass band tradition. And through their actions, this is all made manifest in the music. Studying the second line's contemporary expressions in two vastly different urban landscapes required a multipronged approach in terms of method (addressed above) and theoretical framework. Below, I address the theoretical approaches that underpin this study.

The Use of Film in My Study

Observational cinema came about in the 1960s, taking advantage of the more portable (mobile) technological advancements of sync sound. These technical advancements provided a means for filmmakers to film "on the move," allowing them to follow the action. Sarah Pink advises that:

> [. . .] contemporary ethnographers also need to account for the mobility of their informants. As Vared Amit has pointed out, "the people whom they [ethnographers] are trying to study are increasingly likely to be as mobile if not more so than the ethnographers trying to keep up with them" (cited in Pink 2007: 28).

One challenge to studying second line culture is that the second line is continuously moving. While filming second line, I have become so engaged with the subjects—through the use of the camera from *within* the action—that the camera acted as a catalyst for my own sense of trance. Jean Roach

Figure 0.2.3. Brenard "Bunny" Adams playing my sousaphone at a recording session, TBC Brass band, December 17, 2018. Brenard "Bunny" Adams, sousaphone.

likens this altered-state while filmmaking as being "possessed by a spirit emanating from [the subject or subjects]" (cited in McDougall 1998: 113).

The second line is a complex socio-historically and culturally constructed event, where procession, dance, music, gestures, and relations carry multiple, layered meanings shared by hundreds of participants simultaneously. Given the multi-layered and often multi-sensory ways people experience meaning through art, I realized I could use film as a powerful medium to study the way sensory experiences of musicking shape and inform our perception of the world. Sensuous ethnography provides me an opportunity to: follow the subject for the entire duration of the second line (typically four hours); simultaneously present the multiple meanings embedded in the second line, which are enacted by the participants; and to more accurately convey the settings of the neighborhood(s) in which a second line takes place. Film can allow for a more sensorial and ethical representation within the multimodal context of second line.

In my pursuit for a more in-depth contextual representation of my subjects, as well as a presentation that would allow for a more profound understating of the subject than is possible through text and musical analysis alone, I proposed filmmaking as a rich methodological approach to studying the complexities of the second line: the multi-layered and multi-sensory ways people experience meaning through music and dance; system(s) of symbols; and the inter-personal interactions (social and sociomusical).

Inspired by documentary filmmakers David and Judith MacDougall, Frederick Wiseman, Lucien Castaing-Taylor, Sarah Pink, and Aparna Sharma, I am committed to framing the subjects of my study as agents who embody knowledge, reasonings, and experiences. Film provides a platform for exploring and articulating the "evolving, intersubjective dynamics shared between all documentary actors," within which I include myself (Sharma 2015:4). Alongside more traditional

forms of ethnographic writing, I utilize filmmaking as an integral component and sensorial mode of inquiry to construct new visual and sensory ways of knowing second line culture. I intend to show the second line as an unfolding and living tradition, or ritual, not a single event designated as a historical practice located in the past.

Visual representation can more easily express external/visual cues, behavior, and emotion that written descriptions can miss, or only "teeteringly attempt" (MacDougall 1998:257). Thus, textual and visual descriptions "not only tell us things differently, they tell us different things" (MacDougall 1998:257 in Grimshaw 2011:257). Therefore, the principal difference between the two being the different ways of constructing meaning, rather than their ontological differences (MacDougall 1998:68). MacDougall argues writing allows the author to represent a culture from *within* and visual representation, such as film, represents a culture from *without,* emphasizing social agency and interaction.

As a means of offsetting the seemingly one-dimensional representation of many music-centered ethnographies, I offer two film studies (*My Brother's Keeper* and *Can't Take Our Spirit*) to convey how culture is lived by those who live it. I do not intend for these films to contextualize my dissertation. Instead, I situate the films within the dissertation in such a way as to provide a space for my collaborators' voices and presence to be heard, felt, and seen. For me, filmmaking provides the platform for exploring and articulating ever-shifting, "intersubjective dynamics shared between all documentary actors," within which I include myself (Sharma 2015:4). Filmmaking for me is a tool for producing alternative forms of sensory knowledge about second line musicking practices. While in the field, I utilized filmmaking as an integral component and sensorial mode of inquiry to construct new visual and sensory ways of knowing second line culture. In my films, I aimed to frame my collaborators as agents who embody knowledge, reasonings, and experiences.

Gilroy's Black Atlantic and Keyes' "Reversioning"

In *The Black Atlantic*, literary scholar Paul Gilroy argues for an understanding of the African Diaspora in circum-Atlantic countries as one geo-political and cultural-political space, which he calls the Black Atlantic. This hybrid space is not specifically African, American, Caribbean, or British, nor is it African and American, or British and Caribbean; it is a hybrid fusion of all of these at once (Gilroy 1993). This hybridization is an ongoing process where Black identity and culture are continually made and remade through travel and exchange across the Atlantic. Extending Gilroy's circular model, ethnomusicologist Cheryl L. Keyes utilizes her theory of *cultural reversioning* to theorize the conscious and unconscious foregrounding of African centered concepts in African American music practice (Keyes 2002:21-38). Keyes argues that enslaved Africans brought to the New World "transformed the new and alien culture and language of the Western world through an African prism," as a process by which to creatively adapt to their new environments (21).

Throughout this dissertation, I utilize Gilroy's circular model to understand cultural flows in the Black Atlantic and Keyes' cultural reversioning to aid in understanding the musical manifestations of these flows in the United States. I will analyze brass band music in NOLA as "international cross-cultural fusions" within a larger framework of the Black Atlantic, where the bamboula rhythm, buckjumpin', and other performance styles second line parades belong to a larger "hemispheric Carnival complex (Smith 1994:57).

The Second Line as Secular Religion

My interest in secular religion and ritual sprang from a class I took in Spring 2017 with Dr. Mark Kligman, Music and Religion in Popular Culture. That same year, I was awarded the Graduate Research Mentorship (GRM) to further explore these topics with Dr. Kligman. I was explicitly concerned with the secularization of the jazz funeral in New Orleans, and the ritualized

activities in Los Angeles that serve as a secular religion to brass band musicians and other practitioners here. During my GRM period, I came to an understanding of the term *ritual* to mean the symbolic fusion of ethos and world view that shape the spiritual consciousness of the members of the second line community in Los Angeles, how they reclaim public space, occupying auditory space at the same time as their bodies occupy physical space, imposing on the rhythm of everyday life another different rhythm, thus affording them the opportunity to proselytize the NOLA tradition.

In much of the 20th century, the study of rituals was a preoccupation of structuralist-functionalist anthropologists and religious scholars: Mircea; van Gennep; Gertz, and chief among them, Victor Turner, whose study of the women's cults of Ndembu is acclaimed. Turner sees the ritual as the key to understanding the essential nature, or structure, of human societies. He critiques Lévi-Strauss that the properties of symbols are not merely cognitive, but that "the whole person is existentially involved in the life or death issues" with rich the rituals are concerned. In *Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Turner expands Arnold van Gannep's "liminal" and "liminoid" and Émile Durkheim's *communitas* to define ritual as transformative, rather than confirmatory. It is from this theoretical grounding that I explore the second line as ritual.

Since the late 1970s, an increasing number of religious scholars are focusing on secular religion (Chidester; Jindra; Moore; Myerhoff; Da Matta). Religious scholars David Chidester and Michael Jindra speak toward understanding secular religion by way of two disparate and unlikely case studies: baseball; and Star Trek Fandom. David Chidester provides a framework to understand better how an event or an industry, such as baseball, can generate genuine enthusiasm and affective nature that can positively affect the real-world. Michael Jindra argues that in many cultures, religion

is not articulated as *belief* but is understood to be an ongoing experience that is "lived out" (Jindra 1994:162).

In Chapter 4, I will discuss how some Angelenos celebrate, converse with, and pay homage to the NOLA's most recognizable musical tradition, albeit in unique ways.[34] I will demonstrate that this growing secular and predominantly non-native audience transposes the second line ritual and music in LA, arguing that the second line ritual has become a sort of secular religion, out of which comes new meanings, new identities, and new theology. Within this theology, the sacred and the secular are interacting in unique ways. However, the second line still functions in "religious ways," its music providing a powerful mechanism to galvanize these communities from which they derive strength.

Most scholarly analyses have focused on one specific aspect of the parade and have lacked methodological miscellany; those studies have inevitably yielded incomplete, singularly focused representations of a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon. I make no claims to present a definitive overview of second line culture herein. Furthermore, as a cultural outsider, there are many aspects of the second line that I will never understand on its native practitioners' level. However, I hope to demonstrate a more holistic model for the study of brass band culture within the broader jazz lineage, and African American music, in general.

[34] In her article "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music," ethnomusicologist Kay Shelemay defines an affinity community as one that emerges from individual preferences and a desire for association with others who share the same affinities (Shelemay 2011:16-17).

Prelude

Revisionist Histories: Black Mardi Gras Indians, Gens de Couleur Libres, and the Brass Band

New Orleans is the birthplace of jazz, a special place where African and European mixed creating the unique cultural expression known as jazz. So, the story goes. This well-worn story has been told and retold through the years, known by some as the "creation myth."[1] I cannot tell you how many times I have heard the same explanations as to why New Orleans (NOLA) is unique and gave rise to jazz. The reasons for each perpetuation of the birthplace narrative are slightly different, depending on ones' demographic particulars and how much knowledge they have of the topic. But most will convey the same handful of racialized and essentialized generalizations as to what led to the creation of a unique musical culture known today as jazz. Adding subtlety and dimension to the lore, those especially well-informed cite one or more of the following arguments: the *laissez-faire* approach to slavery in colonial Louisiana helped give rise to jazz;[2] Caribbean musical culture was freely infused with the music of African Americans in New Orleans; the Black Codes, after the Civil War, forced the "Creole of color" community—people of mixed African and European blood—and formerly enslaved peoples to live and work closely together (conventional prejudices between the groups notwithstanding), facilitated cultural interaction; and Congo Square—the place where

---

[1] The creation myth is a colloquial term that has gained currency in recent years. For more on the jazz creation myth, see: Terry Teachout's article "All That (White) Jazz: A Well-Regarded Historian Has Changed His Mind about the 'Creation Myth' of America's Most Distinctive Popular Music; Will Anyone Follow?" Commentary Magazine. Commentary, September 3, 2015. https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/terry-teachout/all-that-white-jazz/; See also, Randy Sandke's provocative manuscript, Where the Dark and the Light Folks Meet: Race and the Mythology, Politics, and Business of Jazz. Studies in Jazz; 60. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010.

[2] The term laissez-faire, here, is commonly used to refer to the comparatively loose regulatory environment established by the French and Spanish in regard to the enslaved in the Louisiana Territory. In "Congo Square: La Place Publique The African American culture nurtured in New Orleans' Congo Square, Jerah Johnson asserts that the enslaved population in New Orleans "were recognized early on as having the right to use their free time virtually as they saw fit, with little or no supervision."

enslaved peoples were allowed to gather every Sunday, to trade, sing, worship, dance and play music—led to the birth of jazz.

Contemplating the many discussions I have had throughout the years with my interlocutors (referred to as *collaborators* for the remainder of the dissertation), scholars, and aficionados brings to mind the adage and Facebook relationship status option, "it's complicated." All the above claims hold truths but are oversimplified reductions of a larger, multi-layered discussion. One such argument points toward the Catholic religious culture of colonial Louisiana, which oscillated between the Spanish and the French. Accordingly, the colonists treated the enslaved there with more leniency, resulting in a laissez-faire environment that offered an unrestricted mixing of cultures.

Another is that New Orleans' geographic situation made the city an indispensable part of the fledgling colony's economic development, even though early NOLA was—for the most part—boggy and underwater for several months of the year. Governor Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville understood "it is not the site that makes a city great, but its situation" (Campanella 2008:113). Its key benefits being that the city was relatively isolated, held easy access to three large bodies of water (Lake Pontchartrain to the north, Lake Borgne to the east, and the Gulf of Mexico to the south), and its close proximity and easy access to both the Caribbean and Latin America. The accessibility to the Caribbean from NOLA offered easy access to Cuba, Jamaica, and Haiti, facilitating commerce and cultural exchange. This cultural exchange became known as the "Latin Tinge," and includes the presence of Caribbean rhythms in jazz and the influence of Mexican musical traits—in song and musical styling—after the influential appearance of the Mexican 8th Cavalry Regimental Band, who performed at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, in 1884."[3]

[3] For more on the contribution of Caribbean musicoculture to the development of jazz see, most notably, John Storm Roberts' The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999; and

Yet, another argument points toward the passing of vagrancy laws, or further extensions of the Black Codes (1865-1866), when free people of color and formerly enslaved people were forced to live together, out of which jazz emerged (Lowe 2008:271).[4] This trope is often extended to the brothels of Storyville, the infamous, early 20th-century red-light district of New Orleans. According to the lore, Storyville became the laboratory for the two cultures—free people of color (*gens de couleur libres*, or Creoles), with their "fine craftsmanship" (read European musical aesthetics), and formerly enslaved people, with their "passionate modes of musical expression" (read Black or pan-African musical aesthetics)—to experiment together and freely synthesize their styles (ibid.).[5]

The most pervasive myth, though, comes by way of Congo Square: an area located in the Tremé neighborhood of NOLA, just across Rampart Street, north of the French Quarter, now known as Louis Armstrong Park. Congo Square, it is argued, was the only place in the U.S. where the enslaved were permitted to gather every Sunday to trade, sing, dance, worship, and play music, from which a single African American culture arose. Unique to the antebellum South, the cultural milieu surrounding Congo Square has led many scholars to believe it as a kind of "missing link," serving as "the place where African music survived intact and was passed on to the first generation of jazz musicians" (first observed in Kmen 1972:6; see also Sandke 2010:44-48; I will discuss the complexities of Congo Square throughout this dissertation).

Indeed, these claims add subtlety and nuance to a complicated story but, in no way do they represent *the* (singular) *key* to the seemingly mysterious origins of jazz, as they are often touted. Moreover, they elude a far more complex and extensive history. Well-worn and perpetuated by

---

Christopher Washburn's "The Clave of Jazz: A Caribbean Contribution to the Rhythmic Foundation of an African-American Music." Black Music Research Journal 17, no. 1 (1997): 59–80.

[4] Black Codes were designed to prevent African Americans from achieving political and economic autonomy.

[5] For the most exhaustive history of Storyville, see Russell Levy's influential thesis "Of Bards and Bawds: New Orleans Sporting Life before and during the Storyville Era, 1897-1917," 1967. WorldCat.org. As relayed to me by Levy himself, his thesis includes primary sources that were destroyed in the wake of Hurricane Katrina.

musicians, tourists, and scholars alike, these justifications amount to a creation myth of the jazz phenomena.

In New Orleans, jazz is a rich, living tradition with many facets. Several schools have successful music programs with large marching bands and a proven track record. Students learn to read music, but while music notation does provide a starting place, it only conveys a small quotient of information. The majority of the jazz musicians in New Orleans learn their craft via oral tradition, participating in communal *musicking*: Second line parades, community music ensembles, bands created by friends of similar age, or family bands.[6] Brass band practitioners in New Orleans participate in a tradition that can be traced back to Africa and actively honor those who have come before them. However, outside of New Orleans, jazz history is typically taught and learned via historical treatises and solo transcriptions. So, what is the emphasis of current jazz texts? What is missing, and why are we missing it? The reasons lie within jazz *historiography*, defined by Sherry Tucker as "the assumptions and methodological approaches that inform the crafting of historical narratives about jazz."[7] While interpreting the *facts,* the writer chooses which elements to emphasize or downplay, assigning value judgments and their own personal and cultural biases: revealing as much about the documentarian as it does about the topic. Early accounts are filled with racist claims and essentialist notions.

For example, in a *Literary Digest* article, "The Appeal of Primitive Jazz" (1917), the critic

---

[6] Christopher Small proposes a reconceptualization of the dimensions surrounding musical performance, which involves, not just the somatic activity of performing music, but also composing, listening, and even the abstractive nature of music, in and of itself. Small conceptualizes music not only as a noun, but as a verb. In Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening, Christopher Small coins the term "musicking," or "to music," and provides the following definition: "to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing" (Small 1998:3). For more on musicking, see Christopher Small. 1998. Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening. Music/Culture. Hanover: University Press of New England.
[7] Tucker, S. (2003). Historiography, jazz. Retrieved January 27, 2021, from https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-2000591400.

likens and reduces the "colored" jazz musician to "witch-doctors and medicine-men" and "savages," that are "infected with the virus that they try to instill as a stimulus in others" (26). The author, instead of demonstrating how jazz, slavery, and Africa are interwoven, s/he launches into a polemic diatribe linking jazz immediately to slavery by way of Africa, excluding any claim to jazz as a serious musical genre. Bolstered by America's fascination and fetishization with Black American culture, jazz critiques, and historical writings, *en masse*, are laden with essentialist tropes and scholarly neglect.[8] Compounding the issue, they have found their way into early jazz literature and persist to this day.[9] For far too long, jazz scholars have neglected the influence of Native American cultures that succored self-emancipated individuals of African descent forge new lives and cultures throughout the U.S., and in Southern Louisiana, in particular, that led to the formation of the Black Mardi Gras Indian culture in New Orleans and contributed to jazz and brass band culture;[10] the militia bands—and the individuals that made them up—that were so integral to the development of jazz;[11] the urban environments where Black musicians, regardless of decent or education, performed together and the recreational activities that made up the culture of New Orleans providing unique opportunities for African Americans to actively express their culture in ways that other Black

[8] Most jazz early jazz scholarship is transparently racist. Moreover, the music industry is structurally racist—from the non-equitable nature of pay for performance labor, to copyright, to critical review, and so on—which creates an uneven playing field for non-white jazz musicians. For more on racism and jazz, see Maureen Anderson. "The White Reception of Jazz in America." African American Review 38, no. 1 (2004): 135-45.

[9] For more on "new jazz studies," see the introduction to this dissertation.

[10] To my knowledge, Michael P. Smith's article in the Black Music Research Journal, "Behind the Lines: The Black Mardi Gras Indians and the New Orleans Second Line," is the single exception. For more information on Smith, Michael P. "Behind the Lines: The Black Mardi Gras Indians and the New Orleans Second Line." Black Music Research Journal 14, no. 1 (1994): 43-73.

[11] With the exception of Karl Koenig and William J. Schafer, whom address the Creole militia bands of the 19th century, but do not make the leap to connecting them to the urban environments in which the militia band members flourished. See also Karl Koenig, "Louisiana Brass Bands and Their History in Relation to Jazz History." New Orleans, Jazz Club; the Second Line (1983); and William J. Schafer, Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1977).

Americans could not;[12] the collective beliefs of the New Orleans community;[13] and the New Orleans brass band as a continuing jazz tradition.

Chapters 1-3 and *My Brother's Keeper* represent a critique of the existing narratives in jazz historiography. By privileging the often silenced African American, Latin American, and Native Americans cultures—and the hybrid cultures that are a result of subjugation, enslavement, terror, and mutual resistance—over those Eurocentric tropes and official histories that actively position European musical forms, structures, and harmonies that predominate the literature, I will attempt to show that previous scholarship has perpetuated European hegemony, obfuscated the reality of the presence, and negated the significant contributions of non-European cultures that created the unique musical culture that we know as jazz today. I have no intention of contradicting "new jazz studies" scholars. Instead, I intend to add to this growing body of work by bringing together historical and ethnographically informed data to create a larger, more nuanced picture of early New Orleans and its Black musical culture that gave rise to second line culture—and jazz as we know it today.

In Chapters 1 and 2, I will discuss the complexities of race and ethnicity of the rarely discussed histories of Black Mardi Gras Indians and *gens de couleur libres*, respectively, within the context of Black music in New Orleans and their ongoing influence upon the New Orleans brass band tradition. I will look beyond the familiar tropes of musicians, aficionados, and scholars alike, flushing out the histories and reasonings behind the stereotyped responses to provide a more nuanced understanding of the emergence of brass band culture in New Orleans; a culture that continues, to this day, as a thriving, living tradition. In Chapter 3, I critique the narrative that the

[12] Storyville is the one exception. Scholars have pointed to Storyville as a space of racial mixing and musical experimentation.
[13] In Chapter 1-3, I draw heavily on my collaborators as well as several prominent community scholars' work: Freddi Evans, Jerah Johnson, and Michael P. Smith.

"new wave" brass bands and musicians have *broken* from the tradition. Proposing an alternative view, I contend that through constant modification and adaptation, these musicians participate in a long tradition of negotiation, hybridity, and resilience and create music that is not only enjoyable on its own terms but is functional, serving to unite the community. And finally, in *My Brother's Keeper*, New Orleans brass band practitioners convey how culture is lived or experienced by those who live it, thus offsetting the seemingly one-dimensional representation of many music-centered ethnographies (MacDougall 1998:62). Therein, I explore the embodied practices of group dynamics and behavior within the ritual of the second line and how musicians build meaningful relationships through the social practices of musicking in the urban settings of New Orleans.

Chapter 1

Black Mardi Gras Indians: Their History, Musical Influence, and Audio Legacy

[. . .] the Indians really begin before the beginning of time.
When Columbus come over here and discovered America,
there was Indians, ya understand.
—Joe DeGrait of the 2nd Ward Hunters[1]

Their [Black Mardi Gras Indians] present-day cultural manifestations, costumes, rituals, and dances have strong roots in the most certain intermarriage of their oppressed and isolated forebears: Indians and Africans. Early slave trade of Indians and Africans by the French brought these two people together. They shared their beliefs, customs, and songs. They made the children of "mixed blood" who in later years found "legitimate" opportunities in vehicles such as Mardi Gras to practice and display their cultural heritage.

—New Orleans-born poet and historian Maurice M. Martinez, Jr.[2]

For the early Indigenous cultures of Louisiana, the primary means of transmitting and understanding history was through the oral tradition and performative ways of knowing. What is most widely known about these cultures is a result of research and interpretation of the archaeological record (material culture, burial sites, human and architectural remains) by non-Native scholars and largely disregards the oral histories of Native peoples of the region. Euro-American

---

[1] Joe DeGrait of the 2nd Ward Hunters in an interview with Samuel Charters in 1956. A portion of the interview is published in *Music of New Orleans. Vol. 1: The Music of the Streets [and] The Music of Mardi Gras*. *Music of New Orleans. Vol. 1, The Music of the Streets [and] The Music of Mardi Gras.* Smithsonian Folkways Archival. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 2007.

[2] Maurice M. Martinez, Jr., "Two Islands: The Black Indians of Haiti and New Orleans," *Arts Quarterly* 1, no. 7 (July/August/September 1979): 6. For information on the African-Native American connection in other locations see: Ned Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square (*Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2008), 180; Michael P. Smith, "Behind the Lines: The Black Mardi Gras Indians and the New Orleans Second Line," *Black Music Research Journal* 14, no. 1 (1984):57-67; Benjamin H. Latrobe, *Impressions respecting New Orleans* (New York: Columbia University Pres, 1951) 49-51; Edward H. Durell, *New Orleans As I Found It,* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1845) 34-36; Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage through the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New-Orleans: Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808; Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles: With Maps and Plates* (1810) 197; Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); William L. Katz, *Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage* (New York: Atheneum, 1996); David F. Littlefield, *Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977); and Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas.* 2nd ed.. A Johns Hopkins Paperback. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979).

conceptions of history are quite different. For academic scholars, the primary means of transmitting and understanding history is through the written narrative and placed in a chronological framework for validation and verification.

Rarely is Native American history communicated from this perspective. Moreover, it is often impossible to employ Western means of corroborating sources.[3] The result is a written history that begins with European colonial exploration and occupation and crawls backward through time, excising Native American presence, perspectives, and profound influence from it, which Native peoples regard as another form of oppression and continued colonization.[4] This manner of documenting and conveying history creates a skewed mythology, bolstering misunderstandings and racist stereotypes of Native peoples as "primitive," confirming that their oral histories are dependent upon the frailties of human memory and viewed as untrustworthy and reinforcing dominant power and authority structures.

Colonists prioritize their own interests and history, utilizing the written record in order to disenfranchise Indigenous People and their sovereignty. The lack of Native presence in the written record, then, supports the common misconception that Native people are "people without history."[5] Scholars echoed this argument throughout the 20th century. In 1952, the British social anthropologist, Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, most widely known for his theory of structural functionalism, wrote that "In the primitive societies studied by social anthropology there are no

---

[3] Angela C. Wilson, "Educating America: The Historian's Responsibility to Native Americans and the Public: Perspectives on History," *American Historical Association*, (May 1, 2000), accessed December 27, 2020, https:// www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2000/educating-america-thehistorians-responsibility-to-native-americans-and-the-public.

[4] The neglect to incorporate Indigenous histories (erasure) in writing is often referred to as "Paper genocide" or "documentary genocide" in Native circles. See Ruth W. Herndon and Ella W. Sekatau, 1997. "The Right to a Name: The Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era." In *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England.* Reencounters with Colonialism—New Perspectives on the Americas, edited by Colin G. Calloway, 114-143. Hanover: Dartmouth Press.

[5] Wolf, Eric. *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

historical records" (in Rosaldo 1980:25). Since the 1970s, both Native and non-Native communities and scholars have pushed back on this narrative, challenging the inharmoniousness of oral and literate histories in such studies as Gordon Day's article, "Oral Tradition as Complement," David Henige's *Oral Historiography*, Jan Vansina's *Oral Tradition as History*, and Donald L. Fixico's "Oral Tradition and Language" (Shawnee, Sac and Fox, Muscogee Creek, and Seminole), to name a few (Day 1972; Henige 1982; Vansina 1985; Fixico 2013).[6] Moreover, American Indian communities have begun documenting their histories and cultivating tribal archives, usually housed at tribal government headquarters.[7] According to Donald L. Fixico, much of the collected holdings consist of research by non-Indians. Still, the tribal archives make concerted attempts to collect oral history interviews and Native writings.

In Southern Louisiana, Native Americans significantly impacted New Orleans' social and musical milieu. Native Americans there aided abducted Africans in their efforts toward self-emancipation. Over the course of a century, the African and Native American cultures mixed, creating a new hybrid culture, known today as Black Mardi Gras Indians (referred to as Mardi Gras Indians for the remainder of this dissertation). Coming out of a history of shared oppression and marginality, Indian tribes (sometimes referred to as *gangs*) are the vestiges of maroon communities from NOLA's lower-river settlements, whose layered, multi-sensorial spiritual and

---

[6] The centuries-old debate of between orality and the written-word dates at least as far back as John Sergeant's polemical work Sure-Footing in Christianity, Or, Rational Discourses On the Rule of Faith (1665), which documents the debate between the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches concerning Scripture vs. oral tradition as the "Rule of Faith." See John Sergeant, *Sure Footing in Christianity or Rational Discourses on the Rule of Faith: With Short Animadversions on Dr. Pierce's Sermon; Also on Some Passages in Mr. Whitby and Mr. Stillingfleet, Which Concern That Rule*, (London, 1665). See also Walter Ong's foundational study of orality; Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982).

7 The American Indian Studies Institute at the University of South Dakota, which houses the largest American Indian oral history collection; the Native American History Project at the University of Florida, Gainsville; the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland, California; the Native American Services Education College in Chicago; the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library in Chicago; several archives funded by the Doris Duke family are housed around the country (the University of South Dakota, Vermillion; Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma; University of Utah; University of Illinois; California State University, Fullerton).

musical expressions, material arts, are manifest in street performances—a form of sacred theater. Best known, perhaps, for their ritual meetings on the street at Carnival time, when they turn out *en masse* donning fantastic ceremonial apparel (known as *suits*) on Saint Joseph's Day, Super Sunday, and Mardi Gras Day, arguably, their most far-reaching contribution to the NOLA cultural milieu is their music (see Figure 1.1).[8] Herein, I will discuss the sociopolitical environment from which the Mardi Gras Indian culture originates and show how the African and Native American drumming traditions carried on within NOLA's Indian tribes combined with the brass marching band traditions in NOLA to help shape jazz and were later recast and incorporated into popular music idioms, such as rhythm and blues (R&B), hip hop, and bounce.

Early Cultures in the Lower Meshassepi Valley Region

Beginning roughly 3,000 years ago, Indigenous peoples inhabited much of what would become known as Louisiana. The earliest cultures inhabiting the region were the Tchefuncte, which inhabited the Lower Meshassepi Valley region from roughly 1000 BCE—100 CE. The Tchefuncte gave way to the Marksville peoples (100 BCE—400 CE), which led to the Baytown (300—700 CE) and Troyville (400—700 CE) peoples, and later the Coles Creek (700—1000 CE) and Plum Bayou (650—1050 CE) peoples. The Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana is arguably the only Louisiana tribe living on a section of their original homeland, with a reservation near Charenton, approximately two hours from New Orleans.

[8] The term *gang* is not only used throughout the literature but is how many Mardi Gras Indians refer to their tribe or local group. The term should not be confused with a criminal organization.

Figure 1.1. Flag Boy, Golden Eagles. Super Sunday, March 30, 2018.

Spaniards were the first colonial power to venture into the Meshassepi River region.[9] Hernando de Soto's expedition in 1542 was the first European to claim discovery of a waterway that allowed access far into the interior of the southern territory of the North American continent. The hostile climate, geography, and wildlife were more than the group was willing to take on, and combined with de Soto's skepticism of the region's profitability, de Soto looked elsewhere for precious metals and fertile soils. By the time native peoples made contact with Europeans, the area was a patchwork of first nation tribes who often worked together to navigate the sometimes-unhospitable terrain.[10] The swamps, bayous, and prairies provided refuge for Indigenous peoples in

[9] The name "Mississippi" means "great river" and comes from the Ojibwa Native American tribe.

[10] Such as the Alabama and the Coushatta peoples, who, fleeing from European encroachment, relocated to area now known as Louisiana in the late-18th and early 19th centuries. The two groups formed the Muscogee Creek Confederacy. https://64parishes.org/entry/coushatta-tribe-of-louisiana.

the territory, where the Addai Caddo, Chitimacha, Choctaw, Koasati (Coushatta), Houma, Natchez, and Tunica clung tenaciously to their cultural identities and traditions.[11]

After de Soto abandoned his colonizing project of the territory, colonial powers ignored Louisiana for nearly a century and a half until King Louis XIV of France encouraged exploration of the region. In 1682, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, the first European to travel the entire length of the Meshassepi River, claimed possession of the vast region, encompassing the entirety of the Meshassepi watershed—for France and named it *Louisiane*, or Louis' land. Then, in 1699, Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville (Iberville), with his younger brother Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville (Bienville) led an expedition to fulfill Cavelier's failed assignment to colonize the lower Meshassepi Valley.

His party reached the mouth of the river, just sixty miles directly south of New Orleans, on Shrove Tuesday—and in true NOLA fashion—they named the plot of land Pointe du Mardi Gras and celebrated with a mass that was accompanied by sacred music and hymns.[12] Iberville chose to establish a permanent settlement on the Gulf of Mexico's coast rather than on the river for fear that large ships would get stuck in the muddy sentiment at the mouth of the river. Iberville made several voyages back to France for additional provisions and settlers. Then in 1702, Bienville left his younger brother to develop the Louisiana colony and explore the Meshassepi River. It would be another sixteen years before Bienville established a permanent settlement on the lower Meshassepi River.

---

[11] Fred B. Kniffen, Hiram F. Gregory, and George A. Stokes. *The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana: From 1542 to the Present* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

[12] They named the connecting tributary memorializing the occasion, as well: Bayou Mardi Gras.

Native American Enslavement

Initially, the Louisiana colonists cultivated working relationships with local American Indian cultures from whom they learned how to cultivate the land and navigate the peculiar environment. Some went on to form social bonds, while others formed familial kinships. But, European colonial expansion had taken its toll, both economically and in terms of human resources, and throughout the first few decades of French control, the territory was horribly unprofitable. The colony's failure to produce precious metals and other materials only compounded France's growing financial crisis, and the King's pressure to despoil the area mounted, resulting in the exploitation and enslavement of Indigenous peoples there.[13]

Before the importation of abducted Africans to the territory, those enslaved by the French were predominantly Chitimacha and Natchez.[14] Indigenous people were enslaved in great numbers, representing about one-third of the colony's forced labor population in the first decade of the 18th century. According to Indigenous studies scholar Leila K. Blackbird (Mescalero Apache/Cherokee [ᏣᎳᎩ]), of those enslaved, the Natchez suffered one of the most significant impacts (Blackbird 2018:44).[15] Natchez lands (the Lower Mississippi Valley) were tactically desirable for both controlling the Native populations and intercolonial expansion. Applying Michel Foucault's "panopticon" model to both slavery and colonialism, Blackbird describes the tactical desire on the

[13] The cost of colonization was great and nearly depleted France's treasury and credit that shipments, causing supply shipments and communiques to cease. After 1704, only three supply ships made the voyage across the Atlantic: 1706, 1708, and 1711 – See Ned Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square (*Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2008), 41.
[14] The Chitimacha were a large confederation of clans whose delineation was based on matrilineal descent. They inhabited a vast region radiating outward from the Mississippi river, westward to Texas, and eastward to Florida. The Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana is the only tribe in Louisiana to still occupy a portion of their autochthonous homeland, retaining a reservation adjacent to the town of Charenton, in St. Mary Parish, Louisiana http://www.chitimacha.gov/history-culture/tribal-history.
[15] The numbers fluctuated greatly—as low as ~170 in 1722, to nearly two thousand by 1728. For mor information on Native American enslavement in Louisiana, see Blackbird, Leila K. 2018. "Entwined Threads of Red and Black: The Hidden History of Indigenous Enslavement in Louisiana, 1699-1824." PhD diss., University of New Orleans.

part of the French to control the area as Machiavellian in nature (ibid.).[16] French settlements enclosed Natchez villages, offering a practical advantage for the French, leaving the Natchez open to subjugation and disease.[17]

As a response to slave raids and French aggressions, a group of Chitimacha retaliated (1706), killing Jean-François Buisson de Saint-Cosme, a Canadian missionary to the post, and several other missionaries to the Natchez Tribe. Bienville declared war on the Chitimacha and ordered them to deliver the warriors responsible for punishment. The Chitimacha refused. Bienville organized an expedition to wage war on the eastern Chitimacha during March of 1707. Fighters from the Acolapissa, Bayougoula, Biloxi, Chawasha (typically Chitimacha allies), Choctaw, Houma, Natchitoches, Pascagoula, and Taensa joined the coalition. By 1708, two-hundred and seventy-eight persons made up the entire population of French settlements in Louisiana, including eighty enslaved Native Americans (Hall 1992:3). The war lasted for twelve years, when in 1718, the Chitimacha signed a treaty, thus ending the twelve years of conflict. During the war, many Chitimacha were forced into slavery, making up the majority of the enslaved population.

In 1709, Governor Antoine de Lamothem Sieur de Cadillac reported that Bienville and Pierre D'Artaguiette, the military commander of Upper Louisiana and governor of Louisiana (1710-1716 or 1717), respectively, sent a ship *la Vierge du Grace* to Saint-Domingue under the auspices of searching for gunpowder. During a stop in Havanah, D'Artaguiette acquired and embarked several Black slaves and brought them to the colony (Governor Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac cited in Hall

---

[16] Designed by the English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham in the 18th century (1791), the *panopticon* is both an architectural form and a disciplinary concept intended as a disciplinary mechanism. Its circular structure would provide a prison's overseers with an "all-seeing" perspective of a prison's inmates. The concept was taken up by Michel Foucault in 1975 as metaphor to illustrate the proclivity of disciplinary societies subjugate its citizens. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish (*Vintage Books, 1975).

[17] By the mid-1720s, over half of the Natchez population had been lost to disease. See Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 66.

1992:57-58).[18] The relevance of this report is two-fold: Firstly, it places African slaves in the colony before 1710, previously considered to be the first known African slaves in the Louisiana territory (Hall 1992:57);[19] and second, it allows for the possibility of Latin-Caribbean influence long before accepted dates (Roberts 1999:4; Sublette 2007; Washburne 1997:64).[20]

After twelve long years of bloodshed, Great Britain successfully outmaneuvered France and Spain; Queen Anne's War ended with the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). As a result, France was driven from the Spanish Netherlands, ceded Newfoundland and Nova Scotia (mainland Acadia) to Great Britain, recognized the British claim to the Hudson Bay territory, and halted its expansion into South America. Additionally, the coveted *asiento*—the exclusive license issued by the Spanish crown to trade in human flesh—was granted to Great Britain, resulting in a monopoly and steady escalation of the slave trade in the Spanish colonies.

Abducted Africans Introduced to Louisiana

Enter John Law, a Scottish economist and son of a wealthy Edinburgh goldsmith who had a penchant for gambling. Akin to modern-day bankers, goldsmiths were influential financiers in the 17th century, exchanging notes in lieu of gold. Their notes are recognized today as critical instruments in the early history of banking. Stemming from his musings on the topic of extending

---

[18] Saint-Domingue is the colonial name for the territory that became the Republic of Haiti on January 1, 1804. See Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992) 57-58.

[19] During the War of Spanish Succession in 1710, six people of African descent were captured by the French army. See National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Historical Park, Louisiana, "Slavery at Magnolia," National Park Service, https://home.nps.gov/cari/learn/historyculture/upload/Slavery-at-Magnolia-current.pdf. Accessed December 11, 2020; and David P. Rider, "Slavery in Louisiana," http://www.dickshovel.com/slavery.html. Accessed December 11, 2020.

[20] Washburne asserts, rather broadly, that French, San Dominguens, and enslaved Africans "mixed [. . .] through miscegenation during the 1700s", leaping directly to the 1790s, when the Haitian revolution began, many of these "mixed blood[s]" fled to Cuba and remained for ten years before immigrating to New Orleans – see Christopher Washburne, "The Clave of Jazz: A Caribbean Contribution to the Rhythmic Foundation of an African-American Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 17, no. 1 (1997): 64.

the life, or frequency at which one could exchange notes, Law worked out a theory of banking, known today as central banking. Law distinguished money, a means of exchange, from national wealth dependent on trade. His theory was three-fold: 1) notes were merely a means of exchange and did not constitute wealth in and of itself; 2) it was not necessary to back up 100% of issued notes, but only a fraction of the paper money with real capital (precious metals and property); 3) control of the platform would be maintained by a national, or central bank. Law wrote a letter to Phillipe II, Duke of Orléans, the debauched amateur composer, gourmet, and festive night owl. In it, Law pointed to the success of the Bank of England's power of credit, which had been a significant factor in England's triumph of the War of Succession. He argued that the new territory (and its spoils)—which had yet to produce anything of real value—coupled with a fast-circulating supply of paper currency, would expand commerce and bring prosperity to the heavily indebted colonial power—and those involved with its success (Sublette 2008:47-50).

John Law organized the *Compagnie d'Occindent* (Company of the West), and in August 1717, was awarded a charter and proprietary rights to Louisiana for twenty-five years, as well as control of trade between France, Louisiana, and its Canadian colonies, whose chief export was beaver pelts (Sublettte 2008:50).[21] Shortly after, the Company of the West passed a resolution to establish *Nouvelle-Orléans* (New Orleans). It would be named *Nouvelle-Orléans* (New Orleans) in honor of the project's royal sponsor and ruling regent, the Duc d'Orléans—without whom Law's venture would not have been possible. Choosing a site about one-hundred miles upriver for its geographic advantages (access from either the river or Lake Pontchartrain via Bayou St. John), rather than its disadvantages (flooding, shallow water bayous, and swamp regions which made navigating ships and

[21] Louis XIV turned to the kingdom's wealthiest financier, Antoine Crozat, to aid in the exploration and establishment of the new colony. In return for his financial support, Crozat was named financial administrator of the territory, along with Sieur de Cadillac. Within the five years before Law took over the role, Cadillac lost nearly 1.2 livres!

transporting goods difficult). Law envisioned that the city would serve as the territorial profit center and export hub for the Company, a continental base of operations for French commerce, connecting a large circuit of waterborne commerce.[22]

A stipulation of the charter required the Company to transport six thousand white persons to help populate the territory and three thousand Black captives as a labor force. The charter further stipulated that the individuals were not to be brought from another French colony (Dunbar-Nelson 1916:363).[23] Consequently, the Company began recruiting French and German immigrants, some of which were criminals (both civilian and military), and began the transshipment of abducted Africans to the colony.[24] The first ships of many to arrive from West Africa landed at the French settlements along the Gulf Coast in 1719, marking the beginning of the slave trade in Louisiana. The ships embarked with four hundred captives from Ouidah, known today as the Bight of Benin (Hall 1992:60; Sublette 2008:57).[25] However, the mortality rate among enslaved Africans once in Louisiana was extremely high. According to census data, by 1721, nearly ≈63% of the enslaved Africans brought into the colony by that point had died.[26] Within three years, enslaved Africans totaled ≈30% of the population of New Orleans and, by the end of the 1700s, made up more than half the city's population. The overwhelming majority of the enslaved Africans in the territory (from the Bight of

---

[22] Washburne asserts, rather broadly, that French, San Dominguens, and enslaved Africans "mixed [. . .] through miscegenation during the 1700s", leaping directly to the 1790s, when the Haitian revolution began, many of these "mixed blood[s]" fled to Cuba and remained for ten years before immigrating to New Orleans – see Christopher Washburne, "The Clave of Jazz: A Caribbean Contribution to the Rhythmic Foundation of an African-American Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 17, no. 1 (1997): 64.
[23] African captives were to be "sold" to those inhabitants who had resided in the colony for two years.
[24] The verb *transship* means the transfer or transportation of "goods," here abducted Africans, from one place to another. It also implies multiple destinations along the transshipment route.
[25] Bight of Benin. is the curve of the western coast of Africa that extends eastward for about four-hundred miles from Ghana) to the Nigeria, and is bordered by southeastern Ghana, Togo, Benin, and southwestern Nigeria. See Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992) 29.
[26] "The New Orleans Prosperity Index: Tricentennial Edition: Measuring New Orleans' Progress Toward Prosperity, April 2018" http://tinyurl.com/5bdnde46. "The African American Experience in Louisiana" http://tinyurl.com/1shp3szm. Accessed

Benin and greater Senegambia) had shared cultural histories and mutually intelligible languages (Sereer, Wolof, Pulaar, and to some extent, Malinke) (Hall 1992:29).[27]

As the population of enslaved Africans grew, so did the colony's reliance on them. The enslaved became the most vital part of the city's economy. Many of the white colonists—many of whom were exiles—either lacked the experience or skill required for managing urbanization projects or categorically refused to work with the enslaved, resulting in an increasing number of desertions from the colony. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's research provides us with an interesting insight into the colonists' psyche at the time via records from the Company of the West Indies. Citing a report to the Superior Council of the Company of the West Indies, Hall purports the entire colony was anxious for captives to arrive (Hall 1992:70-71). The missive reads, in part:

> "Lack of blacks disgust the colonies, who all ask to return to France. Blacks must be sent if one wishes to keep them in the colony, The country will produce indigo and tobacco provided there is labor with which to do so [. . .] blacks are needed to establish cultivation."[28]

As a result, the Company of the West Indies obtained exclusive trading rights in Senegambia and began abducting Senegambian people (Hall 1992:34). Senegambians were selected for their skill and experience with the agricultural technology needed to cultivate rice, tobacco, and indigo, as the topography of the colony was similar to that of their homeland. The crops grown by these enslaved Senegambians in southern Louisiana would become the primary export for the colony. Consequently, seven more slave ships delivered their cargo of abducted Africans. According to census data, nearly 60% of the abducted that had been brought into the colony to that point had

[27] "The Islamic empire, which overthrew the Ghana empire and united Spain, North Africa, and Senegambia under its political dominance, was founded during the eleventh century on an island in the Senegal River. The trans-Shahara trade featuring gold from sub-Sahara Africa linked the West African, Iberian, and Mediterranean worlds of medieval Islam" - see Gwendolyn Midlo Hall. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992) 29.

[28] The directors of the Company of the West Indies [to the Senegal Beareau], Paris, May 20, 1725, cited in Hall 1992:71.

died.[29] Within three years, enslaved Africans totaled 30% of the population of New Orleans and, by the end of the 18th century, made up more than half the city's population. These enslaved people literally built New Orleans, doing the millwork, constructing levees, excavation, and other urbanization efforts, as well as plantation agriculture, from which an elite socioeconomic class emerged.[30]

Marronage and Resistance

Native Americans and abducted Africans resisted colonial oppression by means of *marronage* and active resistance along the bayous. Marronage is a process of self-emancipation or extricating oneself from slavery. The term *maroon* refers to a self-emancipated individual (formerly enslaved) who successfully escaped from slavery to freedom. The maroons in southern Louisiana formed alliances with individuals and groups (both Native Americans and other maroons) who had mutual needs and interests, learning how to live in a new environment, and in some cases, established sustainable societies. These maroons would often return to their former site of enslavement to aid in other individuals' emancipation, resulting in a variety of "escapes," from individual liberation to plantation-wide breakouts or even colony-wide rebellions. Especially prevalent in areas such as Brazil, Jamaica, and Suriname, maroon societies existed throughout the Black Atlantic, and to a lesser extent, the Americas.

[29] https://tinyurl.com/y6oqmvpu. Accessed May 11, 2021.

[30] The Carondelet Canal, later came to be known as the Old Basin Canal, was a canal operating from 1794 into the 1920s. Construction was accomplished by the forced labor of convicts and slaves. The nearly two miles of waterway connected with Lake Pontchartrain to an area just west of the "Square," known today as the French Quarter. The canal inspired the naming of Canal St. (rue du canal) and Basin St. (Rue Bassin) in New Orleans, which still retain those names. Basin Street was named for the 80,000-square-foot turning basin at the head of Canal St. Around 1870, Basin St. would become a red-light district that developed into the fabled Storyville.

Shortly after the first French colonists arrived in *Louisiane*, a native informant reported to Bienville that there were free Black Spanish-speaking *cimarrónes* (the Spanish equivalent of maroons) living in the area (Sublette 2008:39).[31] Contrary to the majority of scholarly research and popular narratives, Bienville's testimony both locates Black communities in the Louisiana territory nearly two decades before the French began importing abducted Africans to the colony and centers the agency of those individuals who escaped the terror of chattel slavery (Hall 1992: 35, 60; Sublette 2008:39).

To prevent the French from encroaching further into their lands and possibly protest the French's cruelty towards Blacks, the Natchez Indians conspired with several enslaved Africans to stage a revolt against the French. Maroons utilized the area's unique geography to their advantage. C*yprieres*, the spaces between the city's boundaries and nearby plantations, were dense cypress swamps and marshes that made tracking escapees impractical. Utilizing other Indian partnerships, the French retaliated. In the end, nearly two hundred and thirty people were killed, the conspirators were captured and returned to their enslavers, and many of the Natchez were sold into slavery in the Caribbean while others were sent to other tribes. The revolt came to be known as the Natchez Revolt of 1729 and remains one of the earliest recorded incidents of slave rebellion in the U.S.

French authorities attempted to prevent further association between the Blacks and Native Americans to thwart future revolt. In practice, this had a negligible practical effect in reducing rebellion. In fact, the spirit of resistance grew stronger still. Native Americans and maroons continued to encourage the enslaved to join forces with local Indians in the region and aid in their

---

[31] The term *cimarrón* derives from the Spanish term meaning "wild" or "untamed." which referred to the abducted and enslaved Africans who had self-emancipated (escaped) from their Spanish enslavers. These people created communities in the hinterlands throughout the Americas and Circum-Caribbean. The term was widely used Dutch Guyana or Jamaica and other West Indies islands in the late 17th century. The history of marronage in the U.S. is meager, at best. Even before the founding of Jamestown in 1607, the British attempted exploration and settlement along the eastern seaboard of the continent. Queen Elizabeth granted Sir Walter Raleigh permissions to explore and settle in North America and to sell and purchase slaves. Queen Elizabeth also granted Raleigh a marker to wage piracy against the Spanish. Raleigh was known to maroon slaves along the continent's east coast, bringing abducted Africans to North America long before 1619.

escape from bondage (Hall 1992:115). But for those that didn't attempt to escape or take up arms against their oppressors, religion served as an outlet for their rebellious thoughts (Berry, Foose, and Jones 2009:230; see Congo Square below).

Former Natchez Revolt conspirators continued to resist and encourage others among the slave population to rise up in rebellion. Together, in 1731, they organized a conspiracy to kill the colonists, assume their leadership posts, and take control of the region. They were discovered and arrested before it could occur, but their efforts would lead to the demise of the Company of the West (Hall 1992:86).

In the swamps surrounding New Orleans, Native Americans, formerly enslaved Africans, and their offspring lived free. They also stole food and livestock from their former enslavers and other plantation owners. Maroons became such a problem for the colonists that a Superior Council member reported that maroons were entering the city at night, raiding and causing general mayhem (Sublette 2008:84). As a result, Commandant General Etienne Perier offered *rewards to Indians* for the *capture* of *African* runaways. Again, this effort had little effect. Due to the maroons' actions, an increasing number of desertions, and weaning potential for commercial projects of the colony, the Company of the West returned Louisiana to the French Crown (Hall 1992:86).[32]

The maroons proved to be more than the French could control on their own. By the mid-1740s, the lower-river settlements, a region reaching from Pointe Coupee Parish (126 miles northwest of New Orleans) to the south-eastern portion of Jefferson Parish (just below New

[32] The Company of the Indies, exclusive trading rights in Senegambia during the 1920s. see Gwendolyn M. Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992) 34.

Orleans), had become a haven for maroon communities (Hall 1992:115). It is believed that from these very maroon communities that the Mardi Gras Indian culture arose.[33]

Mardi Gras Indians

Colonial Notions of Race in Louisiana

How people of color were perceived—both socially and legally—fluctuated greatly and was a matter of frequent debate in the 18th and 19th centuries throughout the world's colonial regimes. In Louisiana, this debate would result in a sociopolitical class of free people of color, which came to be known in Louisiana as *Creoles*, *gens de couleur libres, or petit gens (all French terms applied to people of mixed European and—depending upon location and era—African or Native descent)*. This free Black population was documented in New Orleans as early as 1722, many of whom held professional positions (Dunbar-Nelson 1916:364). Creoles were a new and growing population. Yet, there were no formal regulations to regulate the relations between slaves and colonists. The term *Creole* is most likely derived from the Portuguese word *criar*, "to raise," and as proposed by Ned Sublette, probably originated with the Portuguese, as they initiated the slave trade (Sublette 2008:79). *Criollo*, *cruoulo*, or *Creole,* referred to a person born in the colonies or "native to a region." Often educated in France, Louisiana Creoles maintained their French culture. The Creoles of New Orleans commonly

[33] There are two schools of thought pertaining to the origins of Mardi Gras Indians. For the argument that the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show (1884-1885) served as the spark of inspiration for the Mardi Gras Indian performance traditions in New Orleans, see Smith 1994:96; Michael P. Smith and Alan B. Govenar, *Mardi Gras Indians* (Gretna: Pelican Publications, 1994). For the argument for an organic hybrid culture tracing back much further than 1884, see Maurice M. Martinez Jr., "Two Islands: The Black Indians of Haiti and New Orleans," *Arts Quarterly* 1, no. 7 (July/August/September 1979): 6; Joseph R. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. The Social Foundations of Aesthetic Forms (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Richard B. Turner, "Mardi Gras Indians and Second Lines/Sequin Artists and Rara Bands: Street Festivals and Performances in New Orleans and Haiti," *Journal of Haitian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003): 124-156. See "Allison 'Tootie' Montana: https://64parishes.org/entry/tootie-montana. Big Chief Becate Batiste was Tootie's great-uncle. Tootie served as Big Chief of the Yellow Pocahontas Mardi Gras Indian tribe from the 1920s until 1941. He took up the position again in In the late 1950s, which he held until 1998, when his son, Darryl Montana, replaced him.

maintained ties with France and the Caribbean. Drawing on what Charles Hersch Hirsch calls a "transatlantic network of prominent individuals and families—both black and white—who maintain close connections with New Orleans, and moved freely between France and America, as though the two 'colonies' constituted a single cultural realm" (Hirsch 2007: 20).

In *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz*, Charles Hersch correlates the role of race in jazz in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, New Orleans, to the *Plaçage* system of assessing degrees of lightness or darkness of skin tone, which began in the Caribbean and was later adopted in New Orleans by the French (Hersch 2009:17-21). [34] To stave off the increasing miscegeny in the New France colonies, the term Creole was employed to differentiate between slaves born in Africa and those born in the French colonies. Eventually, though, Creole took on a new meaning, describing the people of mixed ethnic heritage, with British, French, Portuguese, Spanish (European colonial powers), and African and/or Indigenous. Increasingly, the term connoted the offspring between Anglos and people of color, implied a skin tone—much like the term *mestizo,* used throughout the Spanish colonies—and reflected the colonists' prejudices and fear of the growing enslaved population.[35]

Based on King Louis XIV's *Code Noir* of 1685, the Louisiana *Code Noir* of 1724: forbade religious practices other than Catholicism; required that slaves be baptized Catholic; regulated

---

[34] Historian Arnold R. Hersch should not be confused with jazz scholar Charles B. Hirsch. Creole culture in New Orleans had a marked effect on jazz practitioners, after the Plessy v. Ferguson decision of 1896. This topic is outside the scope of this dissertation. For more information, Louisiana Creoles and the development of jazz, see Charles Hersch, *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and Gary Giddins and Scott K. DeVeaux, *Jazz*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009). For more general discussions of Creole musicians and Creole/Black relations, see Mellonee V. Burnim and Portia K. Maultsby, *African American Music: An Introduction.* 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2015). For a discussion on reading vs. ear musicians see Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy, *Jazz* (London: Quartet Books, 1977).

[35] Used by the Spanish in Mexico and other Central and Southern American Colonies to refer to a person of European and Amerindian descent. For more on racial hierarchy in the Americas, see Vidal Cécile, *Louisiana: Crossroads of the Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014). For a study on racial hierarchy and the exoticization of mixed-race free women of color in the Americas, see Emily Clark, *The Strange History of the American Quadroon: Free Women of Color in the Revolutionary Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

miscegeny; prescribed punishment for "runaways"; provided for the expulsion of Jewish people; proscribed any participation in civil or criminal suits or give testimony.[36] The latter proviso would have a lasting effect in New Orleans (see Congo Square, below). The *Code Noir* effectively established a class hierarchy, or three-tiered racial structure in Louisiana, analogous to other New France colonies: Free (White, top), Creole (free with limitations, perceived as White, middle), and enslaved (Black, bottom)—note, this system excludes Jewish people (Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon 1992; Hirsch 2007; Sublette 2008).

As time went on, not only did the color lines between the populations remain, but new socially constructed racial designations were established between people of color, such as *nègro*, *mulatto*, *mulatto-rouge, grif*, *mulatto-grif*, *métis*, *octoroon*, *quadroon*, and linguistic variations thereof. This social system remained steadfastly hierarchical—with the white population maintaining the superior position. Moreover, through this system of anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity, Native Americans and their mixed-race Black-Native descendants were not only controlled and exploited but were also effectively excised from the narrative—something we are still struggling to correct today. According to Blackbird, who poured over the slave records compiled in Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's *Databases of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy*, the *Plaçage* system "hid enslaved Native Americans within a social order that negated their existence, demonstrating how the social construction of race contributed to the obfuscation and continuation of this enslavement over time" (Blackbird 2018:7-8).

While the emancipation of the slaves in 1861 promised freedom for the enslaved population of the U.S., it produced little effect on notions of race in the Jim Crow era and the construction of

[36] The Code Noir of 1724 demanded punishment and prescribed the penalties for those whom escaped enslavement: Any slave who was captured would suffered the penalty of having his ears cut off and being branded on his shoulder with a fleur-de-lis; For a second offence the penalty was to "hamstring" the fugitive and brand him on the other shoulder; For the third such offence, s/he suffered death , see Alice Dunbar-Wilson, "People of Color in Louisiana: Part I," *The Journal of Negro History* 1, no. 4 (1916): 364.

racial designations of the postbellum South and failed to erase the established class lines within the Black community.[37]

Mardi Gras

There is a parade in NOLA for nearly every occasion: life-cycle events (funerals and weddings), "big game day" celebrations, Catholic and National holidays, and Mardi Gras; Mardi Gras being the most revered and grandiose. Mardi Gras (the French term meaning "Fat Tuesday") is colloquial for Shrove Tuesday, the day of the Catholic liturgical calendar immediately preceding Ash Wednesday; the first day of *Lent*, the six and a half weeks of solemn observance and preparation for the celebration of the death and resurrection of Jesus at Easter. In contrast to the restrictive religious behaviors imposed during the penance season (Lent), Mardi Gras is a secular celebration filled with all manner of hedonistic pleasures. We can trace Mardi Gras celebrations in Louisiana back to 1699, when Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville (Iberville), with his younger brother Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville (Bienville), reached the mouth of the river, just sixty miles directly south of modern-day New Orleans. There, they celebrated with a mass accompanied by sacred music and hymns and named the plot of land Pointe du Mardi Gras.[38] In New Orleans today, Mardi Gras refers not only to Fat Tuesday but also to the entire season preceding lent. Beginning on January 6 (Twelfth Night), or twelve days after the observance of Christmas, Carnival Time is the period between Twelfth Night and Mardi Gras Day. It is the focal point for the majority of social activities in the city—a parade accompanies most.

[37] Although a color-lines still exists between the whites and people of color in New Orleans, there is increasing interaction between the races—these barriers are slowly dissolving.
[38] They named the connecting tributary memorializing the occasion, as well: Bayou Mardi Gras.

Mardi Gras parades are typically organized by local Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs, or "krewes," featuring large decorated floats, ornately decorated costumes, people wearing masks, brass bands and high school marching bands, dance troops, and numerous walking krewes. A krewe is a voluntary association, or shared interest group, that organizes parades and events, such as the King's Ball, and is closely associated with the New Orleans Mardi Gras. Some krewes engage in charitable activities throughout the year to engage with and to help those in need. There are Krewes scattered across the State of Louisiana, in large cities such as Alexandria, Baton Rouge, Jefferson Parish, Lafayette, Lake Charles, Shreveport, and New Orleans; there are over one hundred and twenty Krewes documented in New Orleans today. Participants of these parades interact with the stationary parade watchers by dispersing coveted "throws" such as beads, hats, plastic cups, toys, or other souvenirs. It is in these parades that we abundantly see the cultural expressions of New Orleans people.

In its modern form, Mardi Gras debuts in 1857 with the establishment of the upper-class, Anglo-American parading organization called the Mistick Krewe of Comus. The Mistick Krewe of Comus, with its formal balls and street parades—accompanied by lavishly adorned floats and expensive souvenir throws—provided a template for Carnival engagement thereafter. As such, social status is a significant motivation for members of these groups. The extent to which they engage in Mardi Gras activates is dependent upon and in direct proportion to the membership's financial resources, thus providing a public statement of the social structure in New Orleans.

During the nineteenth century, Mardi Gras provided the space for reaffirming white dominance and efforts to suppress Black rights. Nowhere was this more evident than in the Krewe of Rex Mardi Gras celebrations (Rex is Latin for "King"). Founded in 1872, the Krewe of Rex is the oldest Mardi Gras krewe—organization that stages parades and other carnival celebrations. Rex was made up of wealthy, prominent "citizens" (read white) of New Orleans. However, in 1909, a group

of African Americans founded the Zulu Social Aid and Pleasure Club. Taking inspiration from the minstrel song "There Never Was and Never Will Be a King Like Me," club members wore blackface with white greasepaint around their eyes and mouth and dressed in exaggeratedly tattered clothes or grass skirts (later including more elaborate, ornate headgear) and joined the Mardi Gras Day procession (Roach 1996:19). According to Joseph Roach, this subversive, revolutionary gesture:

> "[turned] Rex not so much upside down as inside out. The white greasepaint under his blackface, discloses an acute reflexivity in the way Zulu, laughing behind the mask of apparent self-deprecation, reproduces a kind of Africa by mocking absurd Eurocentric stereotypes of divine kingship" (ibid.).

In so doing, Zulu, and other Black krewes that followed, created a space of belonging and resistance during the era's racial politics. But they weren't the only group to perform such "revolutionary" gestures.

Origins of the Mardi Gras Indians

First documented in the late nineteenth-century New Orleans press and reported to be a carnival performance tradition, Mardi Gras Indians have paraded through NOLA's streets since at least the 1880s. Seen at Sunday evening practices at neighborhood bars where tribes gather to practice their music, Indians are perhaps, best known for their ritual meetings on the street during Carnival time, when they turn out en masse donning fantastic ceremonial apparel (known as *suits*) on Saint Joseph's Day, Super Sunday, and Mardi Gras Day, when they *mask* Indian—wear elaborately hand-beaded and feathered ritual garments known as "suits" (Doleac 2018:48-49; see Figure 1.2).[39]

[39] Sunday evening gatherings at neighborhood bars is a tradition that that traces back to at least 1809. These suits represent a "staggering investment of time and money, as well as creative ability to sew feathers and beads in unique patterns and distinctive color schemes" – see Matt Sakakeeny, "Mardi Gras Indians," 64 Parishes, accessed January 3, 2021, https://64parishes.org/entry/mardi-gras-indians. The style of suit construction falls within two distinct styles, divided by the bifurcation of New Orleans: Uptown (beaded story-panels) and Downtown (three-dimensional geometric designs).

In the fall, tribes gather at neighborhood bars to practice their music on Sunday evenings, where upwards to fifty friends, family, and locals may be in attendance (Smith 1984:89-91).

Tracing back at least to Congo Square, these ritualistic practices are deemed "religious in nature" and "provide a necessary environment for bringing up the young ones" (ibid.). New Orleans folklife scholar and photographer Michael P. Smith refers to the Indian tribes as "outlaws" since they refuse to register their activities with the police or subjugate themselves to the prevailing order, which they consider to be largely racist and hostile to their traditional culture (Smith 1994:45). Traditional social and pleasure clubs, by contrast, are usually incorporated and abide strictly by the rules of the dominant society (ibid.). Both hierarchical and territorial, Mardi Gras Indian tribes are simultaneously a secretive association, a social club, and a mutual aid organization.

The precise origins of the Mardi Gras Indians are often disputed. Some Indians and researchers claim the history begins during the antebellum when Indigenous tribes succored escaped slaves, offering them sanctuary in the swamplands surrounding New Orleans. Others link the tradition to Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows in the late 19th century (1884–85). Yet, others still trace their origins to the 1780s when Louisiana territory was under Spanish rule—corresponding with the establishment of the first Black mutual aid society in New Orleans, Perseverance Benevolent and Mutual Aid Association (1783). And still, others argue it is an art form created from the imaginations of maroon slaves who "masked" as Native Americans to escape plantations, traveling up the Bayou to join other maroons who eventually integrated into life with Indian tribes.

There is scant documentation of Mardi Gras Indians tribes before 1880 when Big Chief Becate Batiste founded the Creole Wild West. Still, both oral histories and scholarly research confirm that Indians are the vestiges of maroon communities from the lower-river settlements of

Figure 1.2. Closeup of "Wildman" Byron Vallery's intricate beadwork, left arm panel, Super Sunday, March 30, 2018.

New Orleans. Mardi Gras Indians are an oral culture and continue to pass knowledge from one generation to the next by word-of-mouth. Accordingly, not only do the members of the tribes descend "spiritually and culturally [. . .] by direct ancestry from these renegade, under-class groups in French and Spanish colonial New Orleans," but also to Africa (Smith 1994:45).[40]

During a long drive to Bogalusa, where we were to attend his daughter's middle school graduation, collaborator Jerel Brown of the Uptown Warriors (and bass drummer and bandleader of the Free Spirit Brass Band) exclaimed, "We been doin' this forever! It's not just Indian. It's African."[41] In these three short statements, Brown connects the Indians to the Native Americans

[40] While I cannot document the descendancy claimed, here, oral histories have passed on much of this knowledge, and DNA testing and ancestry and genealogy websites, such as Ancestry, MyHeritage, and 23andMe are providing documentary proof of this descendancy. Also I have talked informally, late at night in their practice bars and out in the streets at second lines, with several Indians who contend that their own ancestors were maroons from the colonial period.

[41] Brown, Jerel. Mardi Gras Indian and musician. May 2019, New Orleans, Louisiana.

and maroons of Southern Louisiana and Africa. Seen in this light, we can situate the Mardi Gras Indian tradition within a broader framework of other ceremonial and musical masquerading traditions among African diasporic communities seen throughout the Afro-Caribbean and South American cultures (or hemispheric Carnival complex), such as the *calinda* in Martinique, the *calendas* in Haiti, and the Junkanoo (Jonkonnu), and Carnival parades throughout the Caribbean and Brazil (Sublette 2008:180; Smith 1993:45 and 1994:57-67; Latrobe 1951, 49-51; Durell 1845, 34-36; Schultz 1810, 197; see Figure 1.3).

The members of the Mardi Gras Indian groups I have spoken with maintain that anyone who wishes to join one of the groups may do so with the approval of the tribal leader. While kinship factors may carry weight, they typically have minimal influence on membership in these groups.

Mardi Gras Indian Musical Practices

The members of the Mardi Gras Indian groups I have spoken with maintain that anyone who wishes to join one of the groups may do so with the approval of the tribal leader. While kinship factors may carry weight, they typically have minimal influence on membership in these groups. Collectively, Indians today are an ethnically diverse group—many of whom claim Native American descent—made up of working-class individuals that identify as African American, who, through their masking tradition, in street performances throughout the Backatown (or Back o' Town) neighborhoods of New Orleans, celebrate the special relationships that were forged over a century ago between Native Americans and maroons.[42] Each tribe has positions among its members such as Big Chief (the tribal leader and central authority for the group), Big Queen, Second Chief, Flag Boy,

[42] As New Orleans expanded "up the river" (Uptown), "down the river" (toward Faubourg Marigny down to St. Bernard Parish), and then back from the river to Lake Pontchartrain. Backatown (the local rendering of "Back of town"), is a term that invites one

Figure 1.3. Spy Boy Floyd Edwards of the Golden Eagles, Super Sunday, March 30, 2018.

Medicine Man, Spy Boy, Trail Chief, Wild Man, and Scouts, the lowest ranking position, often held by young men in their late teens or early twenties Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock (Black Hawk Hunters; trombone; see Figure 1.4); each position holding an individual responsibility within the tribe. The tribes are typically named according to geographic marker (a street), a municipality (ward), in honor of a Native American nation with whom they are descendant or otherwise inspired—such as the 7th Ward Hunters, the 9th Ward Hunters, the Algiers Warriors 1.5, the Black Feather Mardi Gras Indian Tribe, the Golden Feather Hunters, the Uptown Warriors, the White Eagles, the Wild Magnolias, the Wild Tchoupitoulas, and the Yellow Pocahontas—yet, other times, Indians gain inspiration from other sources— such as the Burning Spears, Creole Wild West, or the Congo Nation Afro-New Orleans Cultural Group. Mardi Gras Indians that hold a title sew a new suit each year that is

to visualize New Orleans as front and back. The front being the streets and neighborhoods directly along the Mississippi River, starting with the Vieux Carré (French for "Old Square," known today as the "French Quarter," or "Quarters").

Figure 1.4. Chief Scout Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock, Mardi Gras Day, Tuesday, March 5, 2019.

unveiled on Mardi Gras morning. During a parade, each ranking member has the responsibility to facilitate a progression that is multiple streets in length. Their coded language and elaborate system of signals, dances, calls, and hand signals are unique to each tribe and enable them to communicate with the Big Chief during the spectacle.

Indian singing and sewing practices culminate on Mardi Gras day, when tribes, donning their fantastic ceremonial apparel, parade from daybreak to evening through Backatown. Along the tribe's unannounced, peripatetic parade route, Indian tribes meet each other in ceremonial, mock "battle," creating a dramatic and symbolic ritualistic space known as the "battlefield." In the past, these battles

could end in violence.[43] Putting down their knives and weapons, battles today are metaphorical, judged by one's musical ability and the "prettiness"— observed skill and craftsmanship displayed— of their suit, thereby replacing violence with aesthetic competition in song, dance, and costuming.

Those Indians engaged in battle—both figuratively and literally—sang traditional songs and chants that "praise the prowess and beauty of the tribe and disparage rivals" (Vanspanckeren 1990:43). Black Indian songs are performed in an antiphonal or call-and-response fashion, with the Chief improvising a solo vocal line and the tribe responding with a repeated chant. Each individual is expected to contribute their own responses and interjections, which creates a heterophonic texture, increasing the song's affect. The vocal lines are often pentatonic and ride atop an underling rhythmic cell, with a heavy accent falling on the fourth beat of a four-beat measure and utilize repetition as a compositional device.

A group of musicians, typically drummers—but sometimes an entire brass band—follow the tribes immediately behind Chief, glorifying the tribe and keeping the beat (Smith 95). Mardi Gras Indian music rests on a foundation of percussion. Typically, bass and tom-tom drums (or snare drums with the snares disengaged) provide the music's signifying pulse. At the same time, tambourines and cowbells fill out the beat—but I have also seen gourds and conga and djembe drums, as well as *ad ho*c, or "found" instruments, such as bucket drums and beer or wine bottles beat with sticks.

According to David Elliot Draper, the percussive instrumentation, overlapping call-and-response singing style, and off-beat phrasing show close ties to other masking traditions found across the Black Atlantic and other African diasporic musical traditions (Draper 1973:229).

---

[43] The Times Picayune, "'Negro Indians' Go on Warpath" from 1923, which recounts "two bands of negroes costumed as Indians" engaged in a bloody gunshot battle, wounding two persons, "one a white girl" – see Cynthia Becker, "New Orleans Mardi Gras Indians: Mediating Racial Politics from the Backstreets to Main Street," *African Arts* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 36-49.

Moreover, not only do the singing style and performative rhythms "fit" neatly into the aesthetics of jazz and brass band music, it points toward the assumption that Mardi Gras Indian aesthetics were integral to the concept of the "Big Four" in NOLA jazz. This common descriptive phrase describes "the syncopation that represented the first departure from the standard march beat, freeing up the rhythm and providing a springboard for jazz improvisation to emerge."[44] Thus, contemporary Mardi Gras Indians not only display identifiable linkages between African, Native American, Caribbean, and West African dance and music expressions, they also deploy observable signs that are believed to be the catalyst for early jazz, R&B, Funk, and is a crucial influence on the current style of brass bands in New Orleans.

It's hard to imagine a second line parade in New Orleans without a group of percussionists following immediately behind the band, playing cowbells, tambourines, beer bottles, and shakers—the majority of which are Mardi Gras Indian. When asked about the phenomena, collaborator Jerel Brown replied, "It's what we do."[45] Together, with the band, they contribute to music by making a rich, polyrhythmic texture that propels the participants of the parade along, encouraging them to sing and dance, as the sinuous column of the second line presses on, winding its way through the Backatown neighborhoods for at least four hours. I asked Brown to explain if he thought I would ever truly *hear* this history that is embedded in the music, to which he replied, "You hear me play bass drum?" To which I laughed. Of course, I had—as I became the regular tubist for Brown's

---

[44] The Big Four beat also encapsulates the Afro-Cuban 2-3 clave. See Benjamin G. Doleac, "Strictly Second Line: Funk, Jazz, and the New Orleans Beat," *Ethnomusicology Review* 18, (2013). Accessed January 4, 2021. https://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/journal/volume/18/piece/6999. Also David Draper's dissertation, *The Mardi Gras Indians,* remains the most complete source of song texts and musical transcriptions. See, Draper, David E., 1973. "The Mardi Gras Indians: The Ethnomusicology Of Black Associations In New Orleans" (PhD diss., Tulane University of Louisiana). For more on "heroic" nature of the traditional Mardi Gras Indian song cycle, see Kathryn Van Spanckeren, "The Mardi Gras Indian Song Cycle: A Heroic Tradition," *Melus* 16, no. 4 (1989): 41-56; and Benjamin G. Doleac, "Strictly Second Line: Funk, Jazz, and the New Orleans Beat," *Ethnomusicology Review* 18, (2013). Accessed January 4, 2021. https://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/journal/volume/18/piece/6999.

[45] Brown, Jerel. Mardi Gras Indian and musician. December 2018, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Free Spirit Brass Band in December 2018—but I began to think more deeply upon the feel of the music, how the rhythmic texture itself conveys cultural memory, and how I might articulate it.

I spoke with Glen David Andrews about my discussion with Brown, to which he replied, "It's a gumbo, man. It's Indian, Cuban, African, American. It's everything."[46] Glen's seemingly banal response is reflective of the larger "melting pot" narrative, for sure, but it adds quite a bit of complexity to the matter. Moreover, it led me down the path of culinary discovery and spaces of intersectionality between Indigenous cultures and the enslaved and maroon cultures of Southern Louisiana.

Gumbo: Intersectionality and Musicocultural Expressions of Congo Square

In NOLA, "It's a gumbo" is a phrase commonly utilized by jazz musicians, scholars, and aficionados alike, that serves as a descriptive metaphor, generally referring to hybrid character of jazz that is an amalgamation of various elements from different cultures that, coupled with the harsh and dehumanizing conditions enslaved peoples endured, providing the necessary ingredients for jazz to emerge.[47] The phrase "different cultures" above typically stands for African and European (French and Spanish) cultures. But rarely are Native American cultures included in the allegory.

Gumbo, the quintessential stew of Louisiana, is a variant of West African okra soups from which the dish receives its name. Deriving from the words *gonmbo,* or *kingombo*, *quingombo*, of West African origin, meaning okra (in English), "gumbo," is a popular ingredient of the iconized New

[46] Andrews, Glen David. Musician. January 2019, New Orleans, Louisiana. I will discuss the term gumbo several times throughout this dissertation (please read on). For see the gumbo narrative propped up, yet unsupported, see in O'Meally 1998.
[47] An additional meaning is exacerbated by the term "gumbo ya ya," which is both the manner in which gumbo is served (gumbo over rice), and "everything together" or "everybody talking at once" (Walter 1961:35) – see Walter, Eugene. "The Gumbo Cult." The Transatlantic Review, no. 8 (1961): 34-46. The latter is apropos when discussing the style of New Orleans jazz when all the members of the group improvise simultaneously, known as collective improvisation.

Orleans dish. Okra is the edible green seed pod of the okra flowering plant that is often used to impart a slickness to the gumbo and serves as a thickening agent. Throughout the U.S., the enslaved population of New Orleans created gumbo out of hardship, utilizing readily available ingredients to create something from nothing. Unfortunately, before the advent of refrigeration and freezers, okra was only available during the growing season. Using a technique learned from the Choctaw Indians of the North Shore of Lake Pontchartrain, of drying and grinding the leaves of a sassafras tree, African Americans adopted the use of *filé* in their gumbo as a spice and thickening agent (Mitcham 1978:32-39). Much like the filé added to a gumbo, Mardi Gras Indian musical aesthetics permeate brass band milieu and serves "to thicken," or add dimension and depth, to its musical culture.

Furthermore, gumbo is a big and casual food for large get-togethers with family and friends. For New Orleanians, it is a staple of familial and community gatherings; the recipes are passed down from one generation to the next. It reveals the union of eating and religion in the process of forging community and forming a collective identity in African American life in Louisiana. In "An Unusual Feast," Hicks frames his exploration of gumbo as an African American tradition that shares a common link to religious culture, and, like music, they "originate in those spaces of coming to terms with the reality of social degradation [. . .] providing a space for uplifting members of the community" (Hicks 2014:141). The most researched space for communal uplift in NOLA is Congo Square: the site where slaves gathered "on Sundays, their day off, to sing, beat drums, sell home-made goods, and celebrate" and is widely recognized for its substantial role in the development of jazz.[48] Community scholar, Freddie Evans, refers to Congo Square as "the gathering place" (Evans 2011:9). Before the War of Insurrection (Civil War), this gathering place was in the vicinity of the

---

[48] From the official website of the City of New Orleans, nola.com: "Parks and Parkways - Parks & Squares - Congo Square-Louis Armstrong Park - City of New Orleans." Nola.com, August 27, 2019. https://www.nola.gov/parks-and-parkways/parks-squares/congo-square-louis-armstrong-park/. Accessed December 15, 2020.

portage Quinipissa, Acolapissa, Ouma (Houma), Chitimachas, Tunicas, and Bayooulas, among others, utilized this large tract of land behind the old city as a fishing and hunting station as well as a transportation route between the Meshassepi River and Bayou *Choupic* (later named Bayou Metairie).[49] These Indigenous Nations revered the tract of land as holy ground. There, they participated in the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC), hosting annual corn feasts or *Busk* ceremonies, also known as Green Corn Busk (Evans 2011:9).

As previously discussed, Native Americans willingly integrated marrons into their tribes. In addition to their shared plight of oppression and marginality, they shared cultural bonds growing out of their similar worldviews: religious and spiritual concepts; and multi-species relationships (humans, animals, plants, and land). For instance, the Busks, mentioned above, represent a multi-ceremony cycle held during the summer at the height of the new crop season and take place at other times throughout the year (Koons 99). Not only was this festival was a crucial ceremony of the day, but it is maintained by numerous tribal communities today.

Ceremonial activities that comprise the ritual are dancing and stomping in circular formations that move in a counterclockwise fashion. Participants may wear turtle shell shakers, but the ceremonies are always accompanied by the drumming, singing, and rattling of calabashes (Koons 103).[50] The Feather Dance—accompanied by men playing drums, singing, and rattling calabashes—and the Stomp Dance—where both men and women dance in circle formations, wear ritual apparel,

---

[49] The Meshassepi River was given the French designation "River Saint Louis," and was later referred to as the Mississippi River. The Bayou Choupic was filled-in during the late 19th century and early 20th centuries.

[50] Feather Dance, accompanied by men playing drums, singing, and rattling calabashes; Stomp Dance, social dance, both men and women dance in circle formations, wear their finest apparel and turtle shell shakers (Koons 103). I should also mention that these descriptions apply to the busk as practiced by only one tribal town in one tribe; other tribal traditions of busk look different—sometimes quite different. In "Dancing Breath: Ceremonial Performance Practice, Environment, and Personhood in a Muskogee Creek Community," Ryan Abel Koons locates these descriptions in his study of the Tvlwv Pvlvcekolv, a Muskogee Creek Native American community. It is but one example of the busk – see Koons, Ryan A, 2016. "Dancing Breath: Ceremonial Performance Practice, Environment, and Personhood in a Muskogee Creek Community" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles) 103.

and employ turtle shell shakers, especially resonated with those of African descent (ibid.). Both of these dances are celebrated socially and religiously.

But, as the enslaved African population grew increasingly larger, so did the sightings of "blacks in great masses" behind the old city by early observers increase (John Watson, quoted in Kmen 1972:8). Beginning in the late 1750s, early travelers noted their surprise upon seeing crowds of slaves, racially mixed free people of color, and Native Americans gathering every Sunday for communal trading, recreation, and worshiping. As time went on, this area became known as *Place des Nègres*, and eventually, Congo Square; an important site for the public performance of African dances, such as the bamboula, calinda, and pilé chactas—related to the Vodou rites carried to the U.S. by the Bambara, Mandigo, Wolof, Fulbe, Fon, and Yoruba peoples.[51]

The Ring Shout

The dances mentioned above make up the appreciable number of early observations concerning early musicking, dancing, and religious practice in early New Orleans' life and are important sites of intersectionality and shared cultural expression between the cultures gathered there. Of those expressions, the music, dancing, and celebration of slaves in large rings were those activities most documented by early observers of Congo Square; participants arranged themselves into a circle, often surrounding a prominent individual or group of individuals, to highlight their enthusiasm and skill. These activities were accompanied by forms of musicocultural expressions universally accepted by scholars as part and parcel of the African diasporic ritual: the Ring Shout.

---

[51] See Richard Brent Turner, *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009); Jerah Johnson and Louisiana Landmarks Society. *Congo Square in New Orleans.* (New Orleans: Samuel Wilson, Jr. Publications Fund of the Louisiana Landmarks Society, 1995) 9-11; Carolyn M. Long*, Spiritual Merchants: Religion, Magic, and Commerce* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 21; George W. Cable, "The Dance in Place Congo & Creole Slave Songs," *Century Magazine* 31, (1886) 517-532; Michel S. Laguerre, "Voodoo as Religious and Revolutionary Ideology," in *Freeing the Spirit* 4 (1971) 2.

The ring shout was an early religious ritual or "holy dance" consisting of rhythmic clapping, call-and-response singing, leaping, jumping, fanning movements, the waving hanker-chiefs, and most notably, counterclockwise shuffling and dancing in a circular formation or ring.[52] The aesthetics associated with the Ring Shout not only share a remarkable resemblance to Busk ritual dances but encapsulate what Floyd terms "all of the defining elements of black music," and include "call-and-response devices; additive rhythms and polyrhythms; timbral distortions of various kinds; musical individuality within collectivity; and the metronomic foundational pulse that underlies all Afro-American music" (Floyd 1991, 267-268; for more on African American musical aesthetics and styles of performance in the second line, see *My Brother's Keeper* and Chapter 3 of this dissertation). Moreover, they provide the framework for scholarly analysis of both performance practices and styles of performance of subsequent African American musical development, such as spirituals, hymns, blues, jazz, rhythm and blues, soul, funk, and hip hop (Wilson 1974; Walser 1985; Roberts 1991; Berry 1994; Forman 1994; Rose 1994; Floyd 1995; Niesel 1997; Jackson 2002; Keyes 2002; Burnim & Maultsby 2006, 2015).[53]

---

[52] Much has been documented concerning the Ring Shout. For more on its history in the Americas, see Joseph M. Murphy, *Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African Diaspora* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994); Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*. Twenty-fifth anniversary ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[53] Slave Songs of the United States, published in 1867, was the first collection of Negro spirituals ever to be published. The compilers, William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison, all graduates of Harvard University, were appointed by the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission (1863) as part of a larger charge to investigate the status of the formerly enslaved population of the United States. Utilizing an ethnographic approach, Allen, Ware, and McKim Garrison spent several years collecting African-American spirituals throughout the southeastern United States Their work, is significant in that it attempts to accurately document the unique musical expressions of a marginalized peoples within the United States, acknowledging the overall complexity of the repertoire, due in part to the distinctive African retentions that were maintained via oral transmission. This compilation is uniquely situated in the study of African American music in that it is the first of its kind. The work thrust African American artistic expression to the fore and highlighted the necessity understanding, acceptance, and analysis, all scholars, whether primitivist (Wallaschek, White, Johnson, or Jackson), essentialist (Krehbiel, Johnson and Johnson), Black radical intellectuals (Locke, W.E.B. DuBois, Burleigh, Hurston, Hughes, Baraka), mid-century syncretists (Herskovitz, Waterman, Lomax, Wescott, Tallmadge, Epstein, and Garst), or contemporary scholars (Berliner, Burnham, Maultsby, Monson, O'Neill, Kelly, Keyes, Raymond) must engage with this material. In addition, Allen, Ware, and McKim Garrison allude to a confluence of sacred and secular meanings within the text and music. This confluence will come to be known as the blues: see Houston A. Baker, *Blues Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); James H. Cone, *The Spirituals and the Blues: An Interpretation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991); Amiri Baraka, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* (New York: Morrow Quill, 1963); Angela Y. Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday* (New York: Vintage, 1999). For the link theology and aesthetics since the early 60s, see Andrew Bartlett, "Airshafts, Loudspeakers, and the Hip Hop Sample: Contexts and African American Musical Aesthetics,"

In *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*, historian Sterling Stuckey characterizes the Ring Shout as the fundamental organizing principle of what he termed "slave culture" (Stuckey 2013). According to Stuckey, the Ring Shout was a powerful religiopolitical expression that connected the multi-cultural practitioners to their ancestors and gods' spirits and symbolized African unity (Stuckey 2013:11, 15). In short, the Ring Shout provided the framework for transplanted Africans from many different ethnic backgrounds to realize solidarity and achieve "cultural oneness" in the U.S. (Stuckey 2013:11, 24). Summarizing the work of Floyd, Murphy, and Stuckey, the circularity of the Ring Shout was a shared cultural memory of a common African ceremonial style where music and dance came together in a single, distinctive cultural ritual, a "multifaceted African religious observance," that served as "a symbol of a new community in the making" (Floyd 1991; 266; Murphy 1994:174). Perhaps Floyd said it best when he stated, "In the equidistance and ahistoricism of the ring, a common culture could be wrought" (Floyd 1991: 266).

The Common Culture of Congo Square

> *A musicianer could be playing it in London or Tunis, in Paris, in Germany. But no matter where it's played, you gotta hear it starting way behind you. There's the drum beating from Congo Square and there's the song starting in a field just over the trees. The good musicianer, he's playing with it, and he's playing after it. He's finishing something. No matter what he's playing, it's the long song that started back there in the South*
>
> –Sidney Bechet 2020

African American Review 28, no. 4 (1994): 639-652; Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1994); Mtume ya Salaam "The Aesthetics of Rap", *African American Review* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 303-315; Greg Dimitriadis "Hip hop: From live performance to mediated narrative.]," Popular Music 15, no. 2 1996: 179-194; and a continuation of this topic, vis-à-vis "mind vs. soul" trope in the analysis of jazz see Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Constituting what Mark Anthony Neal conceives as a "Black Public Sphere," Congo Square provided the public space for Black New Orleanians to gather, worship, trade, hire themselves out for wages, share ideas, and participate in social activities (Neal 1999). In *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture*, Neal argues for an understanding of public spaces that afforded Black Americans whose voices were silenced in mainstream White America as "alternative or even counter to the dominant or mainstream American Public Sphere [that] represents the congregation of numerous blacks at any given time in a communal setting, but still removed by force and ultimately choice from the mainstream" (Neal 1999:4).[54]

Neal divides the Black Public Sphere into two particular spaces central to African Americans throughout U.S. history: respectable spaces of worship (the "church"); and disreputable spaces of leisure and vice (the "jook") (Neal 1999:4). These spaces serve a similar function: to "provide a spiritual catharsis" or "transcendence" for those marginalized from the mainstream (Neal 1999:6).[55] In addition to the communal expression and collaborative performance Congo Square offered the

[54] Neal argues that Black public spheres emerged during reconstruction, yet, as I will demonstrate, Congo Square gatherings—including those that occurred in other places throughout NOLA—took place long before the Reconstruction era. I posit that Congo Square be understood as a Black public sphere because of the "hidden transcripts" embedded in the musical and spiritual practices of people of Black New Orleanians that observing whites could not decode. In his influential book, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts,* James C. Scott idea of "hidden transcripts" can be utilized for a more nuanced understanding of power relationships (Scott 1990). Consequently, "hidden transcripts" became a "new way of understanding resistance to domination" (1990:xii). See, Mark A. Neal, *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture*, (New York: Routledge, 1999). See also Charles Hersch's expansion of Neal's ideas (black "counter-public" sphere: Iain Anderson, "Charles Hersch. Subversive Sounds: In addition to the Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (2008): 15-55. And for more on "hidden transcripts, see James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); James C. Scott, "Rituals of Resistance: A Critique of the Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance: Reply," *Latin American Perspectives* 20, no. 2, (1993), 93-94; and James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
[66]Charles Hersch continues Neal's line of thinking with his concept of the Black "Counter-public" Sphere. With the Black "Counter-public" Sphere, Hersch expands Neal's conception of the Black Public Sphere to incorporate both overt and covert forms of activism and resistance. See Charles Hersch, *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
[55] Charles Hersch's related notion of a black "counter-public" sphere is an extension of Mark Anthony Neal's conception of the Black public sphere—respectable spaces of worship (the "church"); and disreputable spaces of leisure and vice (the "jook")—to consider how Black social institutions and organizations in NOLA responded to Jim Crow through both creative expression and political action (Neal 1999:4-6). See Neal, Mark Anthony. 1999. *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture.* New York: Routledge. See also Charles Hersch's expansion of Neal's ideas (Black "counter-public" sphere") in Charles Hersch, *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) and "Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans." American Historical Review 113, no. 5 (2008): 1555.

Black community in New Orleans, an environment where its membership felt valued and a sense of belonging (Doleac 2018:65). From this perspective, Congo Square "inspired black pride, self-confidence, and self-determination, unity or 'oneness'" (Stuckey 2013:11).

In New Orleans, the Ring Shout became an essential part of African American burial ceremonies. Here, the morning and celebration of the participants are "expressed through song, dance, and priestly communication with the ancestors" (Stuckey 1987, 23). By necessity, the ring straightened out to reflect the encroachment of the modern urban environment, becoming the second line of what is referred to as the jazz funeral (Floyd 1991, 267-268). In Jason Berry's work, *The Spirit of Blackhawk*, Berry states that in the second line:

> [. . .] the human architecture of the ring dances at Congo Square [now Louis Armstrong Park] was rearranged—dancers in long sinuous lines opened the ring, stretching it out, coursing ahead, moving African polyrhythmic sensibility on a more linear path of melody. The joy-shouts of parade people and the ground beat of feet on the street surged with call-and-response patterns of the horns and woodwinds, playing off the rhythm and roll of drum syncopations (Jason Berry 1995:102).

Moreover, the Ring Shout provided a mechanism by which both free and abducted peoples—Africans and Native Americans alike—created social bonds and identities that continue to have a tremendous impact on social and musical practices in New Orleans.

Congo Square has taken on mythic proportions in today's collective consciousness and holds special meaning for Black New Orleanian musicians who trace their musical roots to the site. Congo Square provided a space where a myriad of cultural expressions—deriving from West African and Native American religious ritual and festive activities—came together in a syncretic hybridization of cultural ideals and expressions, both sacred and secular, of abducted Africans that gathered at Congo Square (Kmen 1972; Collins 1976; Roach 1996; Ardencie Hall 1998; Turner 2009:19; Evans 2011; Gioia 2011; Doleac 2018; Walker 2004). Thus, the second line's contemporary performance

expressions build upon the cultural memory of Congo Square and point to the continuing impact of the African cultural past from which scholars trace its origins (Burnim 2015:55-56).

Mardi Gras Indian Musical Influence and Audio Legacy

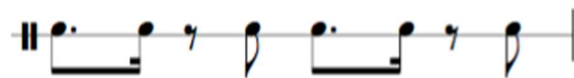
While it's impossible to discern just how much influence Mardi Gras Indian music had upon the early music of NOLA, we can trace the reciprocality between Mardi Gras Indian, jazz, R&B, and other popular forms of music from the second quarter of the 20th century, when interpretations of Mardi Gras Indian tunes began making their way onto wax. Louis Dumaine's 1927 instrumental "To-Wa-Bac-A-Wa" (Louis Dumaine's Jazzola Eight; Victor Records) is one such example. "To-Wa-Bac-A-Wa" introduced the well-known Mardi Gras Indian phrase "tu way pocky way"—which translates from Creole into something akin to "get out of the way."

Then, in 1947, G.H.B Records (founded by George H. Buck, Jr. in 1949) released an album entitled, *The Baby Dodds Trio: Jazz á la Creole*. The title features Baby Dodds predominantly but is misleading, at best, as guitarist and vocalist Danny Barker was the bandleader for the second half of the album.[56] *Jazz á la Creole* features Barker's vocals on six Creole standards and four jump-blues renditions of Mardi Gras Indian songs ("Chocko Me Feendo Hey," "Tootie Ma Is a Big Fine Thing," "My Indian Red," and "Corinne Died on the Battlefield"). Moreover, the tambourine player

[56] NOLA luminary and founder of the Fairview Baptist Church Marching Band in the late-1960s. Several songs have become integrated into the brass band repertoire, such as "Chocko Me Feendo Hey," "Tootie Ma Is A Big Fine Thing," and "Indian Red"—recorded here as "My Indian Red" (for more on Danny Barker, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation). The title of the album can be confusing, judging by the title *Baby Dodds Trio – Jazz A' La Creole*. But the second half of the album is of a group led by Barker. Danny Barker. *Baby Dodds Trio – Jazz A' La Creole.* G.H.B., BCD-50. 2000, CD. Notable alumni of the Fairview Baptist Church Marching Band include Sylvain, a drummer, along with clarinetist and community scholar Dr. Michael White, drummers Shannon Powell, and Herlin Riley, saxophonists Darryl "Lil Jazz" Adams and Branford Marsalis, trombonist Lucien Barbarin, trumpeters Leroy Jones, Gregory Stafford, and Wynton Marsalis, and tubists Charles Joseph Kirk Joseph and Anthony "Tuba Fats" Lacen. The FBCMB was seminal to what would come to be known as the "new wave" of brass bands, spawning the Hurricane Brass Band, the Chosen Few, and the Dirty Dozen Brass Band, which featured many of the alumni mentioned above.

for the session was a Mardi Gras Indian. The young seventeen-year-old Williams grew up in the Mardi Gras Indian culture and later became Big Chief of the Apache Hunters. Therefore, *Jazz á la Creole* not only represents the first recording of Mardi Gras Indian traditional songs for commercial release but is perhaps the first known recording of a Mardi Gras Indian performing Mardi Gras Indian repertoire.

In the 1950s, we begin to see recordings that utilize Mardi Gras Indian titles, lyrics, or musical elements, such as melodies and rhythms, serving as fodder for R&B, soul, and funk lyrics. Dave Bartholomew's 1950 Imperial release, "Carnival Day," is the first pop-idiom song to make use of Mardi Gras Indian chants (e.g., "Two Way Pak E Way") and to incorporate the multi-layered, polyrhythmic, and dance-oriented drum grooves of the second line (e.g., *tresillo* or *bamboula;* long-long-short; see Example 1.1), which has come to signify New Orleans music en masse.[57]



Example 1.1. The tresillo or bamboula rhythm.

Lyrically, Bartholomew offers a rare glimpse into the African American cultural experience of the Mardi Gras—for the time, anyway, as Mardi Gras has taken on mythic proportions in the decades after its recording: e.g., Mardi Gras Indian-style call-and-response patterns, Mardi Gras Indian phrases, and the naming of Big Chief Brother Tillman, the well-known Chief of the Creole Wild West, and Carnival royalty (Rex and Zulu). Though Carnival Day never made the national Billboard charts, it was a huge regional hit whose popularity not only cemented its inclusion within

[57] "Carnival Day" layers a 3-2 *clave* atop Palmer's drum groove. Dave Bartholomew. "Dave Bartholomew - Carnival Day." Jan 15, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=63ykZ47NBDo.

the Carnival songbook and local playlists after that. Moreover, it serves as a vital progenitor of what we now know as funk.[58]

Then, in 1954, Sugar Boy and his Cane Cutters recorded James "Sugar Boy" Crawford's "Jock-A-Mo" for Checker records.[59] The song describes an encounter between two Mardi Gras Indian tribes on Mardi Gras Day. The Spyboy from one tribe confronts the Spyboy from another tribe and threatens to set his flag on fire. The song centers the Mardi Gras Indian chants, "Iko, iko," "Iko iko an de," "Jock-a-mo fee na ney," and "Jock-a-mo fee lo an da de," performed in a pseudo-call-and-response fashion. Crawford described his use of the Mardi Gras Indian chants in a 2002 *OffBeat* magazine interview:

> It came from two Indian chants that I put music to. 'Iko Iko' was like a victory chant that the Indians would shout. 'Jock-A-Mo' was a chant that was called when the Indians went into battle. I just put them together and made a song out of them. I was just trying to write a catchy song.[60]

"Jock-A-Mo" is "catchy," indeed, but it failed to make the national charts. Twelve years later, in 1964, the all-female group, The Dixie Cups, remade "Jock-A-Mo" as a follow up to their first hit single, "Chapel of Love," the year before.[61] The Dixie Cups adapted the song for a national audience, gender-bending the song's content to represent women characters (Grand Mothers) and renaming it, taking its name from the first words of the chorus: "Iko Iko." The song reached #20 on the national Billboard Top 100 chart in 1965. However, the most familiar version of the song was released with the same name—"Iko Iko"—in 1972 by well-known New Orleans native Dr. John (né

---

[58] Doleac, Benjamin. "Strictly Second Line: Funk, Jazz, and the New Orleans Beat." *Ethnomusicology Review,* Vol.18, 2013. Smith, Michael P. "Behind the Lines: The Black Mardi Gras Indians and the New Orleans Second Line." Black Music Research Journal 14, no. 1 (1994): 43–73.
[59] Crawford, James "Sugar Boy." "Jock-A-Mo." Checker, 787. 1954, Single vinyl disc; James "Sugar Boy" Crawford. "James 'Sugar Boy' Crawford - Jock-A-Mo (Checker 787) 1953." September 22, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PgOrIar_qGk. 2:30.
[60] New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park article, "Iko Iko": http://tinyurl.com/2qd83htz.
[61] The Dixie Cups. "Iko Iko," In *Chapel of Love*. Red Bird, RB 20-100. 1964, LP. Dixie Cups. "Iko Iko – Original." October 8, 2013. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OuC519ni1aE. 2:03.

Malcolm John Rebennack) on his album entitled, "Dr. John's Gumbo."[62] Since then, "Iko Iko" has become iconic, representing NOLA and Louisianan culture en masse. DJs often use its catchy melody line during performances. For example, Bounce DJ, DJ Jubilee (né Jerome Temple) utilized the melody line of "Iko Iko" in his song, "Hot Girlz on Fire," which featured Kasey "K.C. Redd" Segue, in 1998.[63]

In 1956, Folkways Records released a series dedicated to New Orleans's music, *The Music of New Orleans*. In Volume 1 of the series, *Music of New Orleans: The Music of the Streets; The Music of Mardi Gras*, **n**oted historian, poet, and novelist Samuel Charters documented an unusual collaboration between members of the 2nd Ward Hunters, Pocohantus (sic.), 3rd Ward Terrors, and White Eagles Indian tribes.[64] This album represents the first documentation of Mardi Gras Indians making their own music and speaking for themselves.

Charters field recordings make up the entirety of the album, where on Mardi Gras Day, February 14, 1956, he documented a group of Mardi Gras Indians made up of Mardi Gras Indians from several tribes as they walked along Burgundy Street in New Orleans' 2nd Ward.[65] During one

---

[62] Dr. John. "Iko Iko," In Dr. John's Gumbo. ATCO Records, SD 7006. 1972 LP; Dr. John. "Dr. John- Iko Iko (Live at Montreaux 1995)." Posted May 14, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=50yEQQB2OVE. 9:01.

[63] DJ Jubilee. "Iko Iko," in *Take It To The St. Thomas*. Take Fo' Records, TFP-206. 1998, LP; DJ Jubilee. "Hot Girlz on Fire." Posted April 15, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sXUzkoaiRXc. 5:09.

[64] I utilize the term *unusual*, here, because at that time, tribes were not known for collaboration, and have only recently begun to collaborate. In the late-1980s, some leaders feared the masking culture was dying. As a result, the Mardi Gras Indian Council (Bertrand Butler is the council's executive director) was created to organize the Uptown Super Sunday event in A.L. Davis Park and now owns two properties, there, that serve as a "cultural campus" (now named the Mardi Gras Indian Cultural Campus) to document and teach about the masking tradition—such as the history and the art of sewing. For more information regarding the Mardi Gras Indian Council and Cultural Campus, see: tinyurl.com/2tkvwtz7. To listen to this collaboration, see 2nd Ward Hunters, Pocohantus, 3rd Ward Terrors, and White Eagles Indian tribes. 2nd Ward Hunters, Pocohantus, 3rd Ward Terrors, and White Eagles Indian Tribes. "To-wa-bac-a-way," in *The Music Of New Orleans Volume One.* Folkways Records, FA 2461. 1959, LP; 2nd Ward Hunters, Pocohantus, 3rd Ward Terrors, and White Eagles Indian Tribes. "Red White and Blue Got the Golden Band," in *The Music Of New Orleans Volume One.* Folkways Records, FA 2461. 1959, LP. "To-wa-bac-a-way." Posted May 24, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OjXO8JKEB08&list=OLAK5uy_mf-U7EDhjNiT2LwXytDdYR05-suicTkJ4&index=10. 3:38. See also, 2nd Ward Hunters, Pocohantus, 3rd Ward Terrors, and White Eagles Indian Tribes. "Red White and Blue Got the Golden Band." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q5BVztlMfFQ&list=OLAK5uy_mf-U7EDhjNiT2LwXytDdYR05-suicTkJ4&index=11. 5:12.

[65] Some of those Mardi Gras Indians recorded are: Joe DeGrait (principal singer) and Jerome Payne, 2nd Ward Hunters; Newton Brown, Pocohantus, Louis Wilson, and William Harris, 3rd Ward Terrors; Simon Reddix, White Eagles; and other Indians singing and/or playing various percussion instruments.

interview, Joe DeGrait of the 2nd Ward Hunters asserts, "Indians really begin before the beginning of time. When Columbus come over here and discovered America, there was Indians. Y'understand?" This declaration, followed by a short question, is met with the collective affirmations of the other Mardi Gras Indian in attendance, "yeah, yeah" (*Music of New Orleans* [1956] 2007). Still, it would be a quarter of a century later that Mardi Gras Indians would produce their own commercial recordings.

In the mid-1950s, Huey "Piano" Smith was cutting his teeth in NOLA studios. Smith's bands were made up of an ever-changing group of musicians which included future luminaries, such as James Booker (James Carroll Booker III; also known as "the Black Liberace"; pianist), Earl Palmer (drummer; noted for his syncopated, second line-oriented dance grooves; performed on Fats Domino's early recordings and recorded nearly all of Little Richard's hits),[66] Earl King (né Earl Silas Johnson IV, who wrote hit songs for Fats Domino, Professor Longhair ["Big Chief"]; the gifted vocalist and longtime collaborator of Allen Toussaint's, Lee Dorsey; and Mardi Gras Indian, John "Scarface" Williams (Big Chief of the Apache Hunters)—whose influence here was likely more significant than previously acknowledged. In 1958 Huey "Piano" Smith with His Clowns released his Mardi Gras Indian vernacular-filled song, "Don't You Know Yockomo," for Vin Records, a subsidiary of Ace Records.[67]

In "Don't You Know Yockomo," Smith replicates Mardi Gras Indian aesthetics: pentatonic melodic structure, heterophonic texture, and repetition as a compositional device. Sadly, Williams' voice is inaudible on the recording. By utilizing the chant "Tu way pocky way" and other chant-like

[66] Earl Palmer went on to perform many recording artists, such as Frank Sinatra, Phil Spector, Ray Charles, Sam Cooke, the Beach Boys, Dizzy Gillespie, Count Basie, and B. B. King.

[67] Huey "Piano" Smith with His Clowns. "Don't You Know Yockomo." Ace Records, (3) – 553. 1958, LP.
Huey "Piano" Smith. "HUEY 'PIANO' SMITH Don't You Know Yockomo APR '59." Posted November 20, 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VVym48CbgEU. 2:28.

renderings such as "Koom-ba-lay-ley," "Hey-dee hey-dee hey-dee *ho,"* Ling-ting-ting," and "Yay-ay-oh," and inviting the listener to "Do a boogie-woogie in the middle of the street" and "Come on everybody let's do the stroll," Smith and His Clowns invoke the second line street celebrations that are immediately recognizable to New Orleanians.

In the mid-1960s, Professor Longhair recorded Earl King's "Big Chief" for Watch Records (1964).[68] Professor Longhair (né Henry Roeland "Roy" Byrd), affectionately known in New Orleans as "Fess," began performing in the 1940s. His performance style—a mélange of boogie-woogie, New Orleans parade beats, and Caribbean rhythms—incorporated much of what Jelly Roll Morton described as "the Spanish tinge"—Afro-Caribbean musical influences. Featuring a whistled first chorus by King, himself, and lyrics written in a pseudo-Mardi Gras Indian vernacular, Fess, via King, present the braggadocious calls of a Big Chief on Madi Gras Day:

> Me got fire, can't put it out
> Heap fire water gonna make me shout
> I'm goin' down an a get my squaw
> Me might buy a great big car
> I'm gonna do everything I could
> Me Big Chief, I'm feeling good
>
> Me Big Chief, I got 'em tribe
> Got my squaw right by my side
> My Flagboy, he just went by
> My Spyboy, he's full of fire
> Me whole tribe is havin' fun
> We gonna dance 'til mornin' come[69]

Despite the considerable recording effort, "Big Chief" didn't make the U.S. charts. Nor did Fess receive much exposure outside of Louisiana. Nonetheless, "Big Chief" became a Mardi Gras staple

---

[68] Professor Longhair. "Big Chief: Part 1." Watch Records, 45-1900. 1964, LP; Professor Longhair; "Big Chief: Part 2." Watch Records, 45-1900. 1964, LP; Professor Longhair. "Professor Longhair - Big Chief - Part 1 [Watch Records] 1964 Funk Breaks 45." Posted May 24, 2016. May 24, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7aYDI9UUkKo&t=2s. 2:21. Professor Longhair. Professor Longhair "Big Chief - Part 2" from 1964 on WATCH #45-1900." Posted January 11, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ij8AWPyLg2U&t=31s. 2:28.

[69] The term *squaw* is a pejoratively term used—more often in the recent past—to describe Indigenous North American women.

since its first release in 1965, and Fess's infectious, rhythmic grooves influenced every NOLA musician that followed, regardless of style.

As we have seen, Mardi Gras Indian tunes were making their way into popular music, these recordings—while fascinating scholars and aficionados—were never widely distributed or gained a national audience. Therefore, the widespread influence of Mardi Gras Indian music was minimal. Moreover, outside of Charters' recordings—captured in the field—and *Jazz á la Creole,* none were performed by masking Mardi Gras Indians themselves. But, five years later, Mardi Gras Indians begin producing records of their own.

In 1970, Big Chief Gerard "Little Bo" Dollis and the Wild Magnolias would become the first Mardi Gras Indians to break into the commercial market when they released their first 45rpm single, *Handa Wanda,* on Crescent City Records. *Handa Wanda* was recorded in two parts (Pt. 1 and Pt. 2; each "side" of an LP, respectively) and quickly became a New Orleans jukebox classic.[70] That year they also performed at the first New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (along with Monk Boudreaux and the Golden Eagles), signed with Barclay Records, and secured distribution of their albums in the U.S. with Polydor Records, and toured the United States and France. Two full-length albums followed: *The Wild Magnolias* for Get on Down/Traffic Entertainment Group (1974) on one side—attaining #74 in the Billboard Black Singles chart—and "Iko Iko," on the other; followed by *They Call Us Wild* for Polydor (1975).

Two songs of which have had a tremendous impact on the brass band culture of NOLA: "(Somebody Got) Soul, Soul, Soul," track 5 of *The Wild Magnolias*; and "Fire Water," track 4 of *They*

[70] Big Chief Gerard "Little Bo" Dollis and the Wild Magnolias. "Honda Wanda." November 7, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-iF_WXAH5iI. 3:15.

Call Us Wild.[71] Both songs are performed and recorded in part (background "licks" and/or repeated unison choruses) or in entirety by nearly every brass band in NOLA. With these recordings, the Wild Magnolias single-handedly spawned a genre of music known as "Indian funk."

In 1976, George "Big Chief Jolly" Landry and the Wild Tchoupitoulas tribe released the self-titled album *Wild Tchoupitoulas*.[72] On the album, the tribe was accompanied by New Orleans' most acclaimed funk group, The Meters—which included Landry's nephew, Art Neville. Other artists on the album included Landry's other nephews, Charles, Cyril, and Aaron Neville.[73] The Wild Magnolias transformed the traditional street performances of Mardi Gras Indians into the electric funk and R&B realms of popular music. The Wild Tchoupitoulas further expanded upon those innovations by incorporating Caribbean and Afro-Cuban elements, such as reggae, calypso, and *clave*. The Nevilles create an additional layer of complexity to the music with their four-part harmony vocals.

With the Wild Magnolias and the Wild Tchoupitoulas serving as inspiration, others followed suit, including Big Chief Monk Boudreaux's 1988 *Lightnin' and Thunder* with his Golden Eagles Indian tribe; the Flaming Arrows 1997 release of *Here Come the Indians Now!*; Champion Jack Dupree's 1991 *Yella Pocahontas*; Ch'Ching's *Indians of the Nation*; Big Chief Donald Harrison's 1992 release entitled *Indian Blues*, which features Dr. John and the Guardians of the Flame (led by Big Chief Donald Harrison, Sr.); and Bo "Bo Junior" Dollis, Jr.'s 2013 release of *New Kind of Funk*, which

---

[71] The Wild Magnolias With The New Orleans Project. "(Somebody Got) Soul, Soul, Soul," in *The Wild Magnolias*. Polydor, PD 6026, 2391 131. 1974, LP; The Wild Magnolias. "Fire Water," in *They Call Us Wild.* Barclay, XBLY 90 033, 1975, LP; The Wild Magnolias. "The Wild Magnolias - They Call Us Wild." January 21, 2010. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EK05JYkF09s. 3:15. Wild Magnolias. "Fire Water." March 11, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I0F7-Mu77oI. 3:43.

[72] The Wild Tchoupitoulas. "Brother John," in *The Wild Tchoupitoulas.* Island Records, ILPS-9360. 1976, LP; Wild Tchoupitoulas. "The Wild Tchoupitoulas - Brother John (1976)." Posted February 2, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YvMofiuaW98&list=PL67BsbChrEdpgUGK4Y4IxDxnQkAqwvVu0&index=1. 3:35.

[73] Art, Charles, Cyril, and Aaron Neville, playing together here for the first time, represented the soon-to-be-formed Neville Brothers.

marks the transition of power from Theodore Emile "Bo" Dollis to Bo Dollis, Jr. and the reclamation of The Wild Magnolias' trademark after a nearly decade-long dispute between former manager Glenn Gaines and members of the Mardi Gras Indian tribe.[74] Bo Dollis, Sr., led the Wild Magnolias from 1964 until just before he died in 2015.[75]

In recent years, two Spy Boys from two different Mardi Gras Indian tribes have taken over the mantle with their horn-heavy and sousaphone driving music: Spy Boy J'Wan Boudreaux and Spy Boy Eric "Bogie" Gordon. Continuing in his grandfather's footsteps (Big Chief Monk Boudreaux, who founded the tribe in 1977), Spy Boy Joseph "J'Wan" Boudreaux Jr. of the Golden Eagles fronts the enormously popular Cha Wa band.[76] Cha Wa has released two albums, *Funk n Feathers* (2015) and the Grammy-nominated *Spyboy* (2018). Most recently, New Orleans trumpeter and Spy Boy of the Golden Comanches, Eric "Bogie" Gordon, follows in the footsteps of his ancestors with his "Golden Signal" YouTube release on Super Bowl Sunday (2020), which features the chanting and singing of Big Chief Juan Pardo of the Golden Comanches.[77]

---

[74] Swenson, John. "Big Chief Bo Dollis Reclaims Wild Magnolias Totem," October 8, 2012. https://www.offbeat.com/news/big-chief-bo-dollis-reclaims-wild-magnolias-totem/.

[75] Big Chief Monk Boudreaux. "Lightning and Thunder," in *Won't Bow Down*. Rounder Records. 1988, LP; Big Chief Monk Boudreaux. "Lightning and Thunder." Posted September 6, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FKWqiGi_gVs. 3:01. Flaming Arrows. "Here Come the Indians Now!" Mardi Gras Records, MG 1036. 1997, CD; Flaming Arrows. "Here Come the Indians Now." Posted March 21, 2015.https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2y8ALbvlDY&list=PLovmASZNDoVtBKxoQLPsW5RvEnHDeYK7X . 3:15. Champion Jack Dupree. "Yella Pocahontas," in *Forever And Ever*. Bullseye Blues, C BB 9512. 1991, cassette; Champion Jack Dupree. "Yella Pocahontas." Posted October 26, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F49BkjN1LeQ. 4:49; Donald Harrison Jr. with Dr. John. *Indian Blues*. Candid, CCD79514 and P+O Pallas, 11494. 1992, CD. Donald Harrison Jr. with Dr. John." "Indian Blues." Posted October 15, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pjBRpcSKbZs. 4:43.

[76] Cha Wa is a slang phrase used by Mardi Gras Indian tribes, meaning "we're comin' for ya" or "here we come". Cha Wa. *Funk "n" Feathers*. [New Orleans, Louisiana]: UPT Music, 2015; and Cha Wa. *Spyboy*. [New Orleans, Louisiana]: UPT Music, 2018.

[77] Eric Gordon is the original trumpeter for Cha Wa. Gordon left in late 2018 and was replaced by Aurélien Barnes. Tribal Gold is a band formed in collaboration of Big Chief Juan Pardo's Golden Comanche Mardi Gras Indian tribe and the New Orleans Suspects. Tribal Gold. "Golden Signal (feat. Juan Pardo)." Posted January 29, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1LOjuz1yY2Y. 4:36.

[77] New Orleans Suspects began playing together in 2009 as a pick-up band at the Maple Leaf in New Orleans. Comprised of some of the most seasoned, highly respected players in NOLA, the group called themselves The Unusual Suspects. Renaming the band in 2011 (Eddie Christmas, drums, and I played together on the Blues Tent Stage at the 2019 JazzFest). Big Chief Juan Pardo, Written by Big Chief Jan Pardo of the Golden Comanches in 2019, published by this informative tale of unique New Orleans traditions brings all the excitement of Mardi Gras day to life. Illustrated by Vernon Smith. Pardo, Juan, and Vernon Smith. 2019. *When the Morning Comes: A Mardi Gras Indian Story*. Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company.

Since the early 20th century—and arguably much earlier—many influential jazz and brass band musicians today are either Mardi Gras Indian or are otherwise inspired by their culture. And through collaboration and incorporation of Mardi Gras Indian musical aesthetics en mass, a unique, local musical aesthetic emerged. There are numerous examples of well-known and influential players who mask, including Spy Boy Ferdinand Jelly Roll Morton (unknown tribe),[78] Wildman Henry "Booker T" Glass (Yellow Pocahontas; bass drum, Eureka Brass Band), Jenell "Chi-Lite" Marshall (White Eagles; snare drum, Dirty Dozen Brass Band), Chief Edward Richardson (Wild Squatoolas; trumpet, Onward Brass Band), and Wildman Anthony "Tuba Fats" Lacen (Wild Magnolias; tuba, Young Tuxedo, Onward, Tremé, and Olympia Brass Bands; bandleader, the Chosen Few Brass Band); among others.

Wildman Anthony "Tuba Fats" Lacen is an especially significant figure in the brass band lineage. Moreover, he stood at the intersections of Mardi Gras Indian culture, traditional jazz, and the more "modern" sounds of the contemporary brass band scene. As a young member of the Fairview Baptist Church Band in the 1960s, Tuba Fats was tutored by jazz Danny Barker in the late-1960s. Known for his innovative approach to music-making, Tuba was instrumental in changing the tuba's role in the brass band (more on Tuba Fats in Chapters 1 and 3 of this dissertation). By combining Black college marching band and traditional jazz aesthetics with those of modern jazz and Indian funk, Tuba Fats created new bass line variations for existing tunes as well as original bass lines from which new songs were created, thus adapting the tradition to make it resonate with the contemporary African American experience.

By the late-1980s, Tuba Fats' sound was instantly identifiable in the streets, and tuba players throughout the city were effusively integrating Tuba Fats' style of performance. In 1983,

---

[78] Various. *The Music Of New Orleans Volume One*. Folkways Records, FA 2461. 1959, LP.

sousaphonist Philip "Tuba Phil" Frazier, trumpeter, Kermit Ruffins, and other classmates from Joseph S. Clark Senior High School formed the ReBirth Jazz Band (now known as Rebirth Brass Band). Rebirth incorporated Tuba Fats' signature riff in their first release—known thereafter as "Tuba Fats"—within their "Mardi Gras Medley."[79] However, not only did Tuba Fats influence generations of traditional jazz and brass band musicians, but his influence resonated throughout the city**.** So much so, Tuba Fats' signature riff was memorialized in the Crescent City rap classic, "Buck Jump Time," by Gregory "D" and DJ Mannie Fresh in 1989.[80] In "Buck Jump Time," Gregory "D" asserts locals should already recognize the bass line's origin:

> Aw yeah! You know the bassline in the background, baby!
> New Orleans, you know what time it is?
> (Buck jump time!) [81]

That same year (1989), Rebirth Brass Band released their second album, *Feel like Funkin' It Up*, followed shortly by their third, "Do Whatcha Wanna" for Mardi Gras Records (), several songs from the album becoming perennial favorites of the Carnival songbook: a remake of Earl King's "Big Chief," and "Feel like Funkin' It Up" (1989), and "Do Whatcha Wanna (Part 2; 1991)"—the latter two were original songs.[82] With the steady increase of DJ-centered entertainment at local clubs

---

[79] ReBirth Jazz Band. "Mardi Gras Medley," in *New Orleans: ReBirth Jazz Band; Here To Stay!* Arhoolie Records. 1984, LP. *Here to Stay!* was the first of fifteen albums the band has released. They recorded it again in 2004 for their *Rebirth for Life* album. Rebirth Brass Band. "Tuba Fats," in *Rebirth for Life.* Tipitina's Records. 2004, MP3. Rebirth Brass Band. "Mardi Gras Melody." Posted April 19, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oxYPsjAi2us&t=293s . 18:45.

[80] Gregory "D"* And DJ Mannie Fresh*. "Buck Jump Time," in *"D" Rules The Nation*. Yo! Records, X-101. 1989, CD; Gregory D & Dj Mannie Fresh. "GREGORY D & DJ MANNIE FRESH 'Buck Jump Time' (ORIGINAL)." Posted April 13, 2009. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBPKx4GZI_U&t=12s . 3:30.

[81] Gregory "D" and Mannie Fresh. "Buck Jump Time" *D Rules the Nation*. Dallas, TX: Yo Records, 1989. Buckjumping is an extremely vigorous dance form second line dance. It also refers to the excitement level of the dancer. To my knowledge, the etymology of the term *buckjumping* is unknown, but it dates back to at least 1941, when Fats Waller used to term as the title of his composition, "Buck Jumpin'."

[82] Rebirth Brass Band. "Big Chief," in *Feel Like Funkin' It Up.* Rounder Records, 2093. 1989, LP; Rebirth Brass Band; Rebirth Brass Band. "Big Chief." Posted July 30, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wq5h63uuw5M&list=OLAK5uy_kcVFkl0KixLv9bLpeLJLn-Cz96lYR_slQ&index=3. 4.25; Rebirth Brass Band. *Feel Like Funkin' It Up.* Rounder Records, 2093. 1989, LP. Rebirth Brass Band; "Feel Like Funkin' It Up." Posted July 30, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r0atwclqGfM&list=OLAK5uy_kcVFkl0KixLv9bLpeLJLn-Cz96lYR_slQ&index=4. 5:05; *Do Whatcha Wanna*. Mardi Gras Records, MG 1003. 1991, CD. Rebirth Brass Band. *Do Whatcha Wanna (Pt. 2).* Maison De Soul, 45-

in the 1980s, Rebirth gained momentum when DJs began spinning their songs for the young, late-night crowd. With their funky tuba bass lines, loud and energetic horns, and Mardi Gras Indian chant-like choruses "shouts," Rebirth came to represent a shifting—and young—urban audience.

As hip hop artists from other urban centers around the U.S. began taking the nation by storm, so did rappers and DJs begin sampling and spinning Mardi Gras Indians' music.[83] The Wild Magnolia's "Soul, Soul, Soul" (1974) was sampled by two wildly successful artists of the late-1980s: "Saturday Night" by Schoolly D (1986) and "Straight Out the Jungle" by Jungle Brothers (1988).[84] While sampling different portions of the song (Schooly D sampled the guitar "wah;" Jungle Brothers sampled portions of the vocal tracks), both utilized the powerful and syncopated cowbell sample. These independent releases show the growing popularity of Mardi Gras Indians throughout popular culture, but especially within the street cultures among African Americans of urban centers outside of NOLA.

In the decades that followed, hip hop and bounce artists—a style of New Orleans hip hop music—and brass band musicians continued to sample and record Mardi Gras Indian songs, collaborate with Mardi Gras Indians, and incorporate their musical aesthetics. As artists get picked up by Black commercial radio in NOLA, it became increasingly common to hear a mélange of

---

1060. 1989, LP; Rebirth Brass Band. "Do Whatcha Wanna, Pt. 2." Posted July 30, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G1E8f9_u1nE&list=OLAK5uy_kcVFkl0KixLv9bLpeLJLn-Cz96lYR_slQ. 6:17.

[83] For more on hip hop and street consciousness, see Cheryl Lynette Keyes. *Rap Music and Street Consciousness*. Music in American Life. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002. *Sampling* is the reuse of a portion of a sound recording to aid in the formation of another's song.

[84] Schooly D (Jesse Weaver) hails from Philadelphia, PA) is known for his influence on West Coast gangsta rap artists, including Ice-T (Tracy Lauren Marrow). Schoolly D. "Saturday Night," in *Saturday Night! - The Album*. Schoolly-D Records, SD-117. 1986, LP. The rap trio, Jungle Brothers, are Mike Gee (Michael Small), Afrika Baby Bam (Nathaniel Hall), and DJ Sammy B (Sammy Burwell), hail from New York, NY and are known for their "fusion"-style that laid the groundwork for artists such as De La Soul and Tribe Called Quest, among others. Jungle Brothers. "Straight Out the Jungle," in *Straight Out The Jungle*. Warlock Records, WAR2704. 1988, LP. Wild Magnolias. "THE WILD MAGNOLIAS - (Somebody Got) Soul, Soul, Soul (1974)." Posted August 1, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qrzizxXx_6A. 6:09.
Schoolly D. "Schoolly D - Saturday Night." Posted January 24, 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6_Wyt7Pf8U. 5:20.
Jungle Brothers. "Jungle Brothers- Straight out the Jungle." Posted April 17, 2011. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nOO2iwpED5o. 4:00.

Mardi Gras Indian, brass band, and hip hop music blasting from car stereos and front porches all over the city—the infectious bass and guitar groove of the Wild Magnolias "Corey Died on the Battlefield" (1974) was sampled by 3rd Bass (1990) and Geto Boys (1991); Rebirth Brass Bands iconic *Feel Like Funin' It Up,* has been performed, covered, and sampled numerous times, including Da' Sha Ra's "Bootin' Up" (1992) and Ricky B's "Y'all Holla: Shake It Fo Ya" (1995), and the Miami Bass, hip hop group from Jacksonville Florida, 69 Boyz "Get on Your Feet" (1998).[85]

In 1990, Bo Dollis and the Wild Magnolias released *I'm Back at Carnival Time* for Rounder Records (1990), which featured the Rebirth Brass Band on several tracks. And, in addition to backing the Wild Magnolias, Rebirth recorded the Mardi Gras Indian songs "Ooh Nah Nay" (Rebirth Records, 1999) and "Let's Go Get 'Em" (2011)—uptempo Mardi Gras Indian songs that are commonly played by brass bands as a parade is about to reach its last stop or when traversing across Uptown/Downtown boundaries). [86]

Contemporary Collaborations: Mardi Gras Indians and Brass Bands

Whether sitting in with a brass band at a stage performance, augmenting a band's rhythm section on a second line parade, or impromptu jam sessions during "stops" along a second line

---

[85] The Wild Magnolias With The New Orleans Project. "Corey died on the battlefield," in The Wild Magnolias. Polydor, PD 6026, 2391 131. 1974, LP; Wild Magnolias. "The Wild Magnolias Corey died on the battlefield." Posted January 13, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6j7IIVmCJe0. 4:59. Da' Sha Ra'. *Bootin' Up*. Take Fo' Records, TFP-102. 1993, LP; Da' Sha Ra'. "Da Shara - Bootin Up - New Orleans Bounce Rebirth Brass Band." Posted June 10, 2008. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xs09H5kJEdQ. 4:37.
Ricky B. "Ya Holla." Posted March 23, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pkaok9iOk0Y. 3:34. 69Boyz. "Get on Your Feet," in *The Wait Is Over*. Atlantic, Big Beat, QuadraSound, 83031-2. 1998, LP; 69 Boyz. "Get on Your Feet." Posted August 24, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UKBBsA06xoE. 5:47.

[86] Rebirth Brass Band. "The Main Event, a. Tornado Special, b. Waterfalls, c. Ooh Nah Nay, d. Rebirth on Fire," in *The Main Event*. Mardi Gras Records, MG 1090. 2004, CD; Rebirth Brass Band. "Let's Go Get 'Em," in *Rebirth Of New Orleans*. Basin Street Records, BSR 1202-2. 2011, CD. None of Rebirth's recordings feature "Ooh Nah Nay;" it is evident that the song appears in title only. Although, it is common practice for Rebirth to perform the song at live performances. Rebirth Brass Band. "ReBirth Brass Band – Let's Go Get 'Em." Posted October 27, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rf8m3Ww-Unk. 5:47.

parade route, Mardi Gras Indians are pervasive throughout NOLA's brass band milieu. Today, nearly fifty Mardi Gras Indians tribes are documented throughout the city, and many of their members are associated with brass bands in some form or fashion. Some of NOLA's most respected brass band musicians are masking Mardi Gras Indian, such as Chief Benny Jones ("2nd Line Tambourine Gang" for the White Eagles; founding member of the Dirty Dozen Brass Band, bass drum, and the Tremé Brass band, snare drum; Smith 1984[1992]:103), Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle (Yellow Pocahontas; bass drum and bandleader, New Birth Brass Band), Spy Boy Stafford "Lil D" Agee (Black Feather Tribe; trombone, Rebirth Brass Band), Jerel Brown (Uptown Warriors; bass drum and bandleader, Free Spirit Brass Band), Flag Boy Travis Carter (Uptown Warriors; tuba, DaTruth Brass Band), and Spy Boy Eric "Bogie" Gordon, (Golden Comanches; trumpet, Stooges Brass Band and Big 6 Brass Band), Walter Ramsey (Black Feather Tribe; trombone, tuba, and bandleader, Stooges Brass Band), and Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock (Black Hawk Hunters; trombone), among others. During my fieldwork period in NOLA, I was fortunate enough to have established collaborative relationships with many of the Mardi Gras Indians mentioned above.

To Be Continued

Utilizing musical expression as an alternative to drugs and violence, the To Be Continued brass band (TBC) was formed in 2001 by a group of young men while still attending high school in the 7th and 9th Wards of NOLA (George Washington Carver and John F. Kennedy High Schools).[87] Performing on borrowed instruments from Carver Senior High School, TBC quickly established itself as an integral institution of the New Orleans second line community. The band maintains two weekly residencies (Wednesday nights at Celebration Hall and Sunday nights at the Mother-in-Law

[87] Due to school and neighborhood rivalries, this type of intra-Ward collaboration was unusual at the time.

Lounge) and performs most Sunday afternoons with various Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs for the clubs' annual parades (Sunday Second Line). Through collaboration with Mardi Gras Indians and the integration of Indian aesthetics along with R&B, hip hop, reggae, and other popular genres, the To Be Continued Brass Band (TBC) has created a unique style all their own.[88]

TBC's Mardi Gras Indian connections run deep. Joseph Maize, Jr. trombonist for both TBC and Cha Wa, is integral to the band's musical sound. Moreover, Spy Boy J'Wan Boudreaux of the Golden Eagles and Cha Wa frequently performs with TBC, singing with them at Celebration Hall, playing cowbell and the band's rhythm section, and at impromptu jam sessions during "stops" along a second line parade route. Additionally, TBC has covered Mardi Gras Indian songs, often jam along with Mardi Gras Indian tribes in the streets—marrying their unique style with those of the Mardi Gras Indians—and recorded originals that not only harken back to the Wild Magnolias—incorporating Indian chant and background horn and vocal riffs—but display clear signs of innovation.[89] It was through my association with TBC that I became acquainted with Mardi Gras Indian culture.

I began attending TBC's performances in mid-October 2018.[90] The band's members were incredibly gracious, kind, and accepting of me. On multiple occasions, the band's tubist, Brenard "Bunny" Adams, asked when I would sit in, to which I would reply something like, "Man, I just

---

[88] For an example of TBC's integration of Indian aesthetics, see the following YouTube video (filmed and posted by John Shaw) that shows Flag Boy Travis Carter (Uptown Warriors; tuba, DaTruth Brass Band), and Spy Boy J'Wan Boudreaux of the Golden Eagles and Cha Wa chanting with TBC at a break during the Dumaine Street Gang second line. See, To Be Continued Brass Band with Mardi Gras Indians Travis Carter and J'wan Boudreaux. "002 TBC Brass Band "Sew Sew Sew" Live at Dumaine Street Gang 2019." Posted December 4, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kh8VmfSeMvk. 3:07.
[89] TBC covered "Hey Pocky Way" on their 2009 Blue Train Production release, *Modern Times*; To Be Continued Brass Band. "Hey Pocky Way," in *Modern Times*. Blue Train. 2009, CD. The originals that TBC recorded featuring Indian musical aesthetics are "Wylde Magnolia," featuring Glen David Andrews, "M B K," and "Fiya Water," which both feature J'Wan Boudreaux (TBC, independent release, 2019, New Orleans, LA).
[90] To date, I have attended twenty-six of TBC's regular Wednesday evening performances at the Celebration Hall, and twenty-seven of their regular Sunday evening performances at Kermit Ruffins' Mother-in-Law Lounge, which occur after the weekly second line and after Saints football games. From December 2018 forward, I performed with them most Wednesdays and Sundays in a co-participant role.

want to hear y'all do your thing." But, on Wednesday, November 7, 2018, Bunny insisted that I bring my horn the following Wednesday. So, I obliged, and on Wednesday, November 14, I sat in with TBC for the first time—functioning as the second tubist for the entire gig nearly every Wednesday and Sunday for the remainder of the fieldwork period. Standing outside the club before the gig—which is where the musicians hung before and after the show and between sets—Bunny told me, "There's a bass drummer here to check you out. I'll introduce ya. Make sure and get his info."[91] The man he was referring to was Jerel Brown, bass drummer, and bandleader of the Free Spirit Brass Band.

The Free Spirit Brass Band was one of several bands that regularly busked in Jackson Square: the Jackson Square All Stars, the Young Fellaz, the Free Spirit Brass Band.[92] The Jackson Square All Stars (previously discussed) played on the west side of the entrance to St. Louis Cathedral; the other—younger—bands occupied the other. Much like TBC, Free Spirit grew up on Rebirth and the Soul Rebels' fusions of brass band music and hip hop, share like musical stylings and dress style, and a deep awareness and understanding of their musical heritage.

Bunny introduced Jerel and me outside of the club. We conversed for a bit. Jerel told me that Free Spirit's tubist, Blake McCarter (a senior at Edna Karr High School in the Algiers, just six miles east, across the Mississippi River), was about to head off to study Music Education at Talladega College. He asked if I was interested in filling that role with the group, to which I replied in the affirmative. Several weeks past and on Sunday, December 9, 2018, I played the first of several regular Sunday performances at the Candlelight Lounge in the Tremé and began regularly busking

---

[91] Brenard "Bunny" Adams. Musician. November 2018, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[92] Drummer, tubist, and bandleader of the Young Fellaz Brass Band, Sam A. Jackson, is a member of the Black Feather Mardi Gras Indian Tribe.

on Jackson Square and Bourbon and Frenchman Streets. I found out, later, that Jerel was a Mardi Gras Indian who masked with the Uptown Warriors.

Several days after my first Candlelight performance with Free Spirit, Bunny asked if he could borrow my sousaphone for a recording session—as his sousaphone was in constant need of repair—that TBC had scheduled to record two tracks for their upcoming album, *To Be Continued II* (2019). Spy Boy J'Wan Boudreaux of the Golden Eagles and Cha Wa was to be featured on the songs "M.B.K." and "Fiya Water" (see Figure 1.5).[93] Bunny invited me to attend the session and "hang," if I wanted, as well. I replied affirmatively and asked if he would mind if I bring my camera along. He was amenable to the proposal, and on December 17, 2018, I documented the session utilizing still photo and video technologies.

"M.B.K."—one of my favorites of TBC's songs—was written spontaneously at the Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club second line in March of 2018 when TBC marched along with the M.B.K. as the second auxiliary.[94] The song's recorded form features J'wan and Derrick "Spodie" Shezbie (also known as Young Spodie, Kabuki, Kabuky, or Khabuky; a former member of the Rebirth Brass Band and current member of TBC). As previously mentioned, I had seen J'wan perform with TBC before, but this occasion was special. This opportunity provided a behind-the-scenes look at a Mardi Gras Indian improvising chant lyrics and making split-second decisions about how to convey his message best. Below are the lyrics for J'wan's first pass (heard in the video):

[93] To Be Continued Brass Band. "M B K." Posted May 27, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEFeynYlats. 5:02.
To Be Continued Brass Band. "Fiya Water." Posted May 27, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DsNezWGTUoQ. 4:04.
[94] Fortuitously, I was invited to film the MBK Social Aid and Pleasure Club at the Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club as they marched in the Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club second line in March of 2019. The material from that second line forms the basis for *My Brother's Keeper* in this dissertation.

Figure 1.5. J'Wan Boudreaux of the Golden Eagles and Cha Wa rehearsing "M B K," TBC recording session, December 17, 2018.

(vocal chaorus) TBC got soul, soul, soul
I got soul that morning say dressed to kill
TBC got soul, soul, soul
I'm a little bitty boy and I'm in [it] for real

TBC got soul, soul, soul
Hooray that morning say let 'em come
TBC got soul, soul, soul
I was jumpin' that morning. I was havin' fun

TBC got soul, soul, soul
Hooray, say what they know
TBC got soul, soul, soul
We be rockin' and rollin' everywhere we go

TBC got soul, soul, soul
We got soul that morning from left to right
TBC got soul, soul, soul
Say TBC, and we do it nice

(horns replace vocal riff)
Say Spy Boy J and TBC
(horns)
We be rockin' and rollin'. Sick rockin' streets
(horns)
Tooray, say let 'em come
(horns)
I was jumpin' that mornin', and I was havin' fun

In this chant, J'wan draws from a long tradition of Mardi Gras Indians that came before him. Most Mardi Gras Indian songs are chanted and make liberal use of the call-and-response tradition. The formulae follow a standard rhymed couplet pattern that is rooted in the oral tradition—two-line stanzas with the "AA" rhyme scheme, which often appears as AA BB CC, etc.—each accompanied with a "response." Mardi Gras Indian or Creole patois is often utilized in Mardi Gras Indian chants and is braggadocious and insulting in kind. In *The Mardi Gras Indians: The Ethnomusicology Of Black Associations In New Orleans*, ethnomusicologist David Elliot Draper associates the Mardi Gras Indian chant formulas to those employed by young African American men in the verbal combat known as the "dozens" (Draper 1973:118). African Studies scholar Amuzie Chimezie defines the dozens as "an Afro-American contest game in which two contestants, in the presence of a spurring audience of peers, try to best each other in casting aspersions on each other or each other's relatives, particularly the mother" (1976:401). I see a further parallel in the impromptu "battles" or performative challenges between bands on the street that typically occurs when two bands are within close proximity of each other.[95]

[95] For more on street "battles," see Benjamin Doleac's dissertation Doleac, Benjamin Grant, Keyes, Cheryl L1, and Doleac, Benjamin Grant. "'We Made It through That Water': Rhythm, Dance, and Resistance in the New Orleans Second Line." Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2018:234-236; and Kyle DeCoste's article (pages 198-199) "Street Queens: New Orleans Brass Bands and the Problem of Intersectionality." Ethnomusicology 61, no. 2 (2017): 181–206.

J'wan's lyrics "morning say dressed to kill," "say what they know," "jumpin' that morning, I was havin' fun," "rockin' and rollin'," and "havin' fun" are not only reflective of his mood and the vibe of the session but point toward the seriousness to which he and the band apply to their musical endeavors and the pleasure they take from their musicking. The unison response, "TBC got soul, soul, soul," pays homage to the Mardi Gras Indian's traditional song "Sew, Sew, Sew," but, while situated within the tradition, TBC and J'wan reverse the order of the call-and-response, placing what is typically a group response to a call sung in unison, before the call. In his final, recorded version of the chant, J'wan continues to deliver confident and boisterous lyrics and includes the Mardi Gras Indian/Creole patois "jockomo feena," which Jerel translates as "don't fuck with us":

TBC got soul, soul, soul
    I got soul say all night long
TBC got soul, soul, soul
    Say hoopin' and hollerin' goin' carry on
TBC got soul, soul, soul
We got soul that morning from left to right
TBC got soul, soul, soul
    Say TBC, and we'll do it nice
TBC got soul, soul, soul
    I Spy Boy J say that's my name
TBC got soul, soul, soul
    I went ta hoopin' and a hollerin' with tha rest the same
TBC got soul, soul, soul
    Hooray, say what they know
TBC got soul, soul, soul
    We got soul that . . . t'go
(horns replace vocal riff)
    Say jockomo feena fo' hole in tha ground
(horns)
    We was jumpin' that mornin' all over town
(horns)
    Say jockomo feena tell'em what I say
(horns)
    I was jumpin' that mornin' for the holiday

TBC is but one example of the collaborative formations between Mardi Gras Indians and musicians of different schools, Wards (Uptown/Downtown), and races that symbolize innovation

within an existing tradition. And, as the name implies, TBC's story is not finished. If we look to brass bands that came before them as a model, such as Dirty Dozen, Olympia, Rebirth, the Stooges, Tremé—among others—they are just getting started.

Wrap Up

In the late-19th and early-twentieth centuries, Mardi Gras Indians' musical aesthetics combined with NOLA brass band to help shape jazz. Later, Mardi Gras Indians became vital members of NOLA's music scene. Their music played an essential role in creating a "local" NOLA sound that was popularized in the early- and mid-20th century by the likes of Louis Dumaine, Baby Dodds, Danny Barker, Dave Bartholomew, James "Sugar Boy" Crawford, The Dixie Cups, and Professor Longhair. These recordings helped create a musical "image" of NOLA that is inextricably linked to the carnivalesque and exists to this very day.

While the 1956 Folkways release of *Music of New Orleans: The Music of the Streets; The Music of Mardi Gras* represents the first documentation of Mardi Gras Indians making their own music and speaking for themselves, it wasn't until 1970 that Mardi Gras Indians began recording their own music. With their 1970 release, *Handa Wanda,* Big Chief Gerard "Little Bo" Dollis, and the Wild Magnolias would become the first Mardi Gras Indian tribe to break into the commercial market. *Handa Wanda* spawned a series of recordings by other Mardi Gras Indian tribes, such as the Wild Tchoupitoulas, Golden Eagles, Flaming Arrows, Yella Pocahontas, Indians of the Nation, and the Guardians of the Flame, among others. Together, these tribes transformed the traditional street performances of Mardi Gras Indians into the hybrid, traditional/electric funk/R&B style of music known as Indian Funk.

Like the Wild Magnolias, some further expanded upon those innovations by incorporating Caribbean and Afro-Cuban elements, such as reggae, calypso, and *clave*. Indian Funk was not only

incorporated into brass band music but, through collaborative approaches to music-making, helped bolster the brass band renaissance (see Chapter 3). By the late-1980s and early 1990s, hip hop and bounce DJs began incorporating Mardi Gras Indian recordings by way of sampling and collaboration—sometimes tangentially via the use of brass bands that have either recorded Mardi Gras Indian songs and aesthetics. Mardi Gras Indians have formed their own brass bands in recent years, such as Spy Boy J'Wan Boudreaux' Cha Wa and Spy Boy Eric "Bogie" Gordon's Golden Signal.

This chapter explores Black Mardi Gras Indians' origins, musical output, and profound and ongoing influence on the musical culture of New Orleans. Tracing their origins as far back as the 1780s, I demonstrate herein that Mardi Gras Indians not only carry on the African and Native American drumming traditions of their forebearers but play an integral role in the development of new and hybrid musics. While community scholars Michael Proctor Smith and Freddi Williams Evans have written on the Mardi Gras Indians within NOLA's Black culture, this study stands as the first study to implicate Mardi Gras Indians as an integral part of second line musical culture.

I make no claims to have presented a definitive overview of Native American and Mardi Gras Indian cultures and their influence within the context of Black music in New Orleans and jazz and brass band culture in particular herein. Admittedly, I fear that in covering such a large swath of calendrical time, numerous intersecting social constructions of race, and performative conventions that constitute these cultures, I have not represented any one aspect as carefully or in as much detail as it deserves. And as a cultural outsider, there are many aspects of the second line that I will never understand on its native practitioners' level. Nevertheless, I hope to have provided a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of the emergence of brass band culture in New Orleans, whose partitioners participate in a tradition that can be traced back to Africa, actively honor those who

came before them, and include those Native Americans that provided refuge to runaway slaves in the antebellum. This culture continues, to this day, as a thriving, living tradition.

Chapter 2

The Public Music-Making of People of Color in Early New Orleans

Throughout the world's colonial history, the manner in which people of color were socially and legally cast was a matter of frequent debate. Based on King Louis XIV's *Code Noir* of 1685, implemented in Haiti for the regulation of the slave trade, the Louisiana Code Noir of 1724: forbade religious practices other than Catholicism; required that slaves be baptized Catholic; regulated miscegeny; prescribed punishment for "runaways"; provided for the expulsion of Jewish people; proscribed any participation in civil or criminal suits or give testimony.[1] The *Code Noir* effectively established a class hierarchy, or three-tiered racial structure in Louisiana, analogous to other New France colonies: Free (White, top), Creole (free with limitations, perceived as white, middle), and enslaved (Black, bottom)—note, this system excludes Jewish people (Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon 1992; Hirsch 2007; Sublette 2008). This three-tiered racial structure became known as *plaçage,* a system of assessing degrees of lightness or darkness of skin tone, which began in the Caribbean and was later adopted in New Orleans by the French (Hersch 2009:17-21).[2] For nearly two centuries, the plaçage system remained steadfastly hierarchical—with the white population maintaining the superior position.

---

[1] The Code Noir of 1724 demanded punishment and prescribed the penalties for those who escaped enslavement: Any slave who was captured would suffer the penalty of having his ears cut off and being branded on his shoulder with a fleur-de-lis; For a second offence the penalty was to "hamstring" the fugitive and brand him on the other shoulder; For the third such offence, s/he suffered death- see Alice Dunbar-Wilson, "People of Color in Louisiana: Part I," *The Journal of Negro History* 1, no. 4 (1916): 364.

[2] Creole culture in New Orleans had a marked effect on jazz practitioners, after the Plessy v. Ferguson decision of 1896. This topic is outside the scope of this dissertation. For more information, Louisiana Creoles and the development of jazz, see Charles Hersch, *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) and Gary Giddins and Scott K. DeVeaux, *Jazz*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009). For more general discussions of Creole musicians and Creole/Black relations, see Mellonee V. Burnim and Portia K. Maultsby*, African American Music: An Introduction.* 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2015). For a discussion on reading vs. ear musicians Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy, *Jazz* (London: Quartet Books, 1977).

Until the 20th century, when writers began reminiscing of Africans dancing in Congo Square or commenting on the musical happenings of the now fabled brothels of Storyville, Black and Creole musical environments in early NOLA were widely unknown. Unique to the antebellum South, the cultural milieu surrounding Congo Square has led many scholars to believe it as a kind of "missing link," serving as "the place where African music survived intact and was passed on to the first generation of jazz musicians" (Kmen 1972:6; see also Sandke 2010:44-48).[3] And, according to the lore, Storyville—the infamous red-light district of New Orleans (1897-1917)—became *the* laboratory for Creoles and formerly enslaved peoples to experiment together and freely synthesize their musical styles, leading to the creation of jazz (ibid.).[4] Timely as they were, the above narratives helped perpetuate racist and essentialized understandings of African Americans within the "melting pot" assimilation model, which centered on the issue of immigration in the early 20th century.[5] But, long before Storyville, Black musicians contributed to NOLA's increasingly vibrant musical community regardless of class.

New Orleans is now known as the crucible of American music-making, and of the music made there, the brass band has come to represent the distinctiveness of the Crescent City. Though,

---

[3] The site was given a number of names throughout history: Place des Nègres, Place Congo, Place Publique, Circus, Circus Square, and later Congo Square. For jazz scholarship echoing the importance of Congo Square, see Henry A. Kmen, "The Roots of Jazz and the Dance in Place Congo: A Re-Appraisal," *Anuario Interamericano De Investigacion Musical* 8: 5-16; Joseph R. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. The Social Foundations of Aesthetic Forms (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996; Hall, Ardencie. 1998. "New Orleans Jazz Funerals: Transition to the Ancestors" (PhD diss., New York University), 8; Richard B. Turner, *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009) 19; Freddi W. Evans, *Congo Square: African Roots in New Orleans* (Lafayette: University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press, 2011); Ted Gioia. *The History of Jazz.* Second ed. (New York: Oxford University Press); Doleac, Benjamin G. 2018. "'We Made It through That Water': Rhythm, Dance, and Resistance in the New Orleans Second Line." (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles): 43; among many others.

[4] The common trope being Creoles, with their "fine craftsmanship" (read European musical aesthetics), and formerly enslaved people, with their "passionate modes of musical expression" (read Black or pan-African musical aesthetics). For the most exhaustive history of Storyville, see Levy, Russell. 1967. "Of Bards and Bawds: New Orleans Sporting Life before and during the Storyville Era, 1897-1917" (M.A. diss., Tulane University of Louisiana). As relayed to me by Levy himself, his thesis includes primary sources that were destroyed in the wake of Hurricane Katrina.

[5] The "Melting pot" metaphor describes the different elements (heterogeneous society) *melting* together to form a common (homogeneous American) culture.

the understanding of this history is predicated upon the racist and essentialized historiography that created a romantic understanding of NOLA in the Nation's imagination. Early travelers, journalists, and scholars reduced the complex and multifaceted history of the 18th and 19th century musical environments into several easily identifiable and romanticized tropes that have become fundamental to the jazz creation myth.

Since 1966, scholars have critiqued these narrow perspectives and overt racism found within early jazz scholarship (Kmen 1966, 1972; DeVeaux 1998; Atkinson 1997, 2004; Collins 1996; O'Meally, Edwards, and Griffin, 2004). As a result of their work, we now know much more about the musical activities of free and enslaved people of color in early New Orleans than ever before. However, due in part to the siloed perspectives and specific demands of disciplinary research, this growing body of scholarship has yet to be incorporated into jazz history texts or the larger understanding of jazz and brass band culture.

In this chapter, I will discuss the socioeconomic context and musical environments from which early formations of brass bands in New Orleans arose. In doing so, I will show that the early musical environs within which Black musicians musicked provided numerous sites for both free and enslaved people of color in NOLA to disrupt and challenge the structural dynamics of colonial dispossession, displacement, and disposal within the ever-shifting social order and understandings of race in NOLA that were imposed upon them.

The Musical Environment of New Orleans in the Antebellum

Congo Square

Beginning with *Jazzmen* (1939), the first published manuscript dedicated to the history of jazz in the US, Ramsey and Smith open with the following romantic description of jazz's inception:

> In New Orleans you could still hear the bamboula on Congo Square when Buddy Bolden cut his first chorus on cornet (Ramsey and Smith 1939:5).

This statement, while seemingly benign, simultaneously exoticizes, essentializes, and racializes jazz's origins into a narrow understanding of non-white musicality in early New Orleans. In utilizing the term bamboula, citing the now revered innovator of jazz, Buddy Bolden, and locating jazz within the specific parameters of Congo Square, Ramsey and Smith leveraged the repeated falsehoods and misunderstandings of writers that are traced back to early travelers.

Congo Square was, at the time, not well-known outside of New Orleans. Still, the narrative of Congo Square as the site for the creation of jazz can be traced to two late-nineteenth-century musings by Lafcadio Hearn (*Century Magazine,* 1883) and George Washington Cable (*Century Magazine,* 1886), who propelled Congo Square into the cultural consciousness. Overwhelmingly scholars, professional writers, amateur bloggers, and jazz musicians have echoed this romanticized, "missing link" narrative, perpetuating a romantic reimagining of jazz's origins. It is from these reimaginings that the overwhelming majority of jazz scholarship is based.

As it turns out, both Hearn's and Cable's articles contained falsehoods—Cable's article, in particular, was found to be a pure fabrication—leading scholars Henry Kmen (1972), Jerah Johnson (1995), and Randall Sandke (2010) to search for the "truth" of Congo Square. As a result of their cumulative work, we learned that the activities in Congo Square began around 1817 and were "discontinued" by 1835—with "a brief revival in 1845 which seems to have been primarily aimed at getting the slaves to stop roaming all over town on Sundays" (Kmen 1972:14). Moreover, they question the purity of the African cultural expressions witnessed at Congo Square during the nineteenth century, citing the representation of the music and instruments of other New Orleans cultures—but, I argue, they are the missing point. While looking for the truth of Congo Square,

Kmen, Johnson, and Sandke utilized too focused a lens for their analysis of the "evidence"—time (definitive dates recorded in newsprint media and *mémoires*) and place (a single location; now known as Louis Armstrong Park)—perpetuating hegemonical modes of analysis and description. Their findings are not *untrue*; rather, their interpretation is skewed.

Origins of the Myth of Congo Square

Telegraphic communication was introduced to New Orleans with the completion of the line that connected New Orleans to other large cities throughout the U.S. (July of 1848). This technological innovation was closely followed by rail travel expansion northward and westward from New Orleans in 1851 and 1854, respectively.[6] An unintended outcome of introducing new communication technologies and modes of transportation was its impact on the literary imaginations of authors, poets, and travelers. New Orleans has long fascinated both writers and readers alike. In the popular imagination, images of the city as an exotic place full of sin and temptation, Voudou, and decadence coalesce with those of a mighty winding river, swamps, endless cypress forests, orange groves, plantation houses, magnolias, and, not least, "blacks in great masses" dancing in what would become known as Congo Square (John Fanning Watson Watson, quoted in Kmen 1972:8).

Early travelers to New Orleans noted their surprise upon seeing crowds of enslaved Africans and Native Americans dancing in open spaces. Though slave gatherings had taken place throughout the city since at least 1799, it was at this point that the growing reputation of Black New Orleanians

[6] The northward expansion began construction in 1851 by the Jackson and Great Northern railway. The westward expansion construction began in 1854 by the Southern Pacific railroad.

musicking, dancing, and practicing religious rites became associated with the site known today as Congo Square.

The first written account of enslaved Africans engaging in activities to have been incorporated into the mythology of Congo Square was in 1799, when Fortesque Cuming, a self-described "Englishman of culture and refinement," off-handedly remarks:

> Sunday, Feb. 24. [. . .] And here I must remark, that there is no distinction or difference made by the inhabitants between a Sabbath and any other day of the week [. . .] After dinner, Dr. Lacassigne called on me and we took a walk around the skirts of the city. On our way to the upper fort we *saw vast numbers of negro slaves, men, women, and children, assembled together on the levee, drumming, fifing and dancing in large rings* [emphasis added].

Without further ado or intrigue, Cuming continues:

> Passing by the taverns or coffee houses, you may discover gentlemen playing at billiards, and as these tables are all exposed to publick [sic] view by reason of the large wide doors being left open, no one need be at the trouble of entering in to satisfy his curiosity. We traversed roundj [sic] the whole city, which afforded me much amusement (Cuming 1810:333-334).[7]

Quoting without citation or contextual information surrounding the phrase, authors reference the portion of Cuming's observation that is emphasized above. Cuming's observation deserves greater reflection than has been afforded to it, as his is the first mention of large assemblies of enslaved Africans gathering in New Orleans taking place on a levee. Suffice it to say, it is significant.

Cuming traveled extensively throughout the West Indies, France, Switzerland, Italy, and North America. His travels through Western portions of U.S. territory and the Spanish territory of West Florida were by foot, horseback, and riverboat. Cuming's manner of delivering his observation

[7] See Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western country, through the States of Ohio and Kentucky: A Voyage Down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and a Trip through the Mississippi Territory, and Part of West Florida, commenced at Philadelphia in the winter of 1807, and concluded in 1809.* Early American Imprints. Second Series; 6566434 No. 1990 2. (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum, 1810).

is curious, as "vast numbers" of enslaved people gathering were a reasonably common occurrence. Beyond those regulations metioned above, King Louis the XIV's *Code Noir* of 1685 outlawed work on holy days—but allowed market assemblies, establishing Sundays as a day of rest. The implementation of the Code was subsequently executed throughout the Spanish colonies.

Cuming's observation is not the sole account of this kind among travelers of the time. Five years later, John Fanning Watson, a businessman who also served as a clerk in the United States War Department from 1800-1804 under Thomas Jefferson, reported having seen "blacks in great masses on the levee on Sundays," singing and dancing (*ibid.*)—followed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe. The latter, in 1819, saw five to six hundred Blacks gathered.[8] We know that Louisiana was not unique in allowing enslaved Africans to gather on the Sabbath to worship (Sundays for Christians), sell wares, hire themselves out for wages, or otherwise participate in social activities. The Sabbath was respected as a non-workday for the enslaved throughout the Southern US. If these types of gatherings were common in the early history of the U.S., how did NOLA stand apart? According to Jerah Johnson, enslaved there were given much more latitude regarding activities they were permitted to engage in on the Sabbath. Johnson asserts that the enslaved population in New Orleans "were recognized early on as having the right to use their free time virtually as they saw fit, with little or no supervision."[9] Thus, what made French Louisiana unique was *what* activities these individuals were engaged in and *where* they were gathered.

---

[8] Kmen, Henry A. "The Roots of Jazz and the Dance in Place Congo: A Re-Appraisal." Anuario Interamericano De Investigacion Musical 8 (1972): 5-16.
Cohen, Robin, and Olivia Sheringham. Encountering Difference: Diasporic Traces, Creolizing Spaces. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2016. Watson continues "and the chief audience is formed of mulâtresses and negresses," which complicates the issue. That the "church" was filled with Black women (both presumably free and enslaved) flies in the face of the patriarchal Church that dominated at the time. Further study is needed.

[9] "The African American culture nurtured in New Orleans' Congo Square was, and is, unlike any other." - See Jerah Johnson, "Congo Square: La Place Publique," *64 Parishes* (Winter 1997). https://64parishes.org/congo-square-la-place-publique.

Locating Congo Square

The entire Mississippi River Delta lay just above sea level, ranging from a few inches along the peripheral coastal region to over a dozen feet high at the crest of the Mississippi River's natural levee. While Native peoples adapted to the River Delta's natural flux, colonists, on the other hand, did not adjust. As colonists encroached upon the area, they introduced permanent structures, imposing engineered rigidity on the soft, wet landscape. The driest portion of the early colony laid directly along the eastern bank of the Mississippi River. There, the French began to build.

In its first few decades, New Orleans was, for all accounts, a failed colonial project. The shallow waters, shifting sandbars, and frequent floods of the Mississippi watershed made it difficult to navigate the sodden soil of the marshes, bayous, and swamps and proved irreconcilable with the forms of agriculture and ship commerce methods of the French. Moreover, endemic waterborne disease, combined with the lack of food and supplies, affected the colonists' morale. Utilizing the majority of the one thousand European criminals and contract laborers, the Company of the West attempted to fortify New Orleans's natural levees, dig drainage ditches, clear forests, and prepare timber for the building of boats and houses. Many of those died of disease and starvation, resulting in a heightened demand for laborers. It was not long before the company undertook to import African captives (Fussell 2007:848).

The first significant urbanization effort began in 1721, when Le Blond de la Tour and his assistant, Adrien de Pauger, and engineer and cartographer, surveyed a six-by-eleven block grid, an area now known as the French Quarter (*Vieux Carré*, or colloquially as "the Quarters"), surrounding the institutions of church and state (see Figure 2.1). The plan's principal component was a fortification wall with ramparts and bastions and included residences, storefronts, churches, streets,

public spaces, cemeteries, and administrative buildings. The ambitious project was frequently stalled by a paltry workforce and seasonal overbank floods. To anneal the boggy areas and control flooding de la Tour and de Pauger began plans to build an earthen embankment to constrain the river, as there was no stone to be quarried within at least one-hundred miles. It was not until 1727 that a viable solution was realized. A substantial eighteen-foot-wide, three-foot-high levee, accompanied by a parallel ditch to collect seepage, was constructed, making it the first human-made levee system in Louisiana.

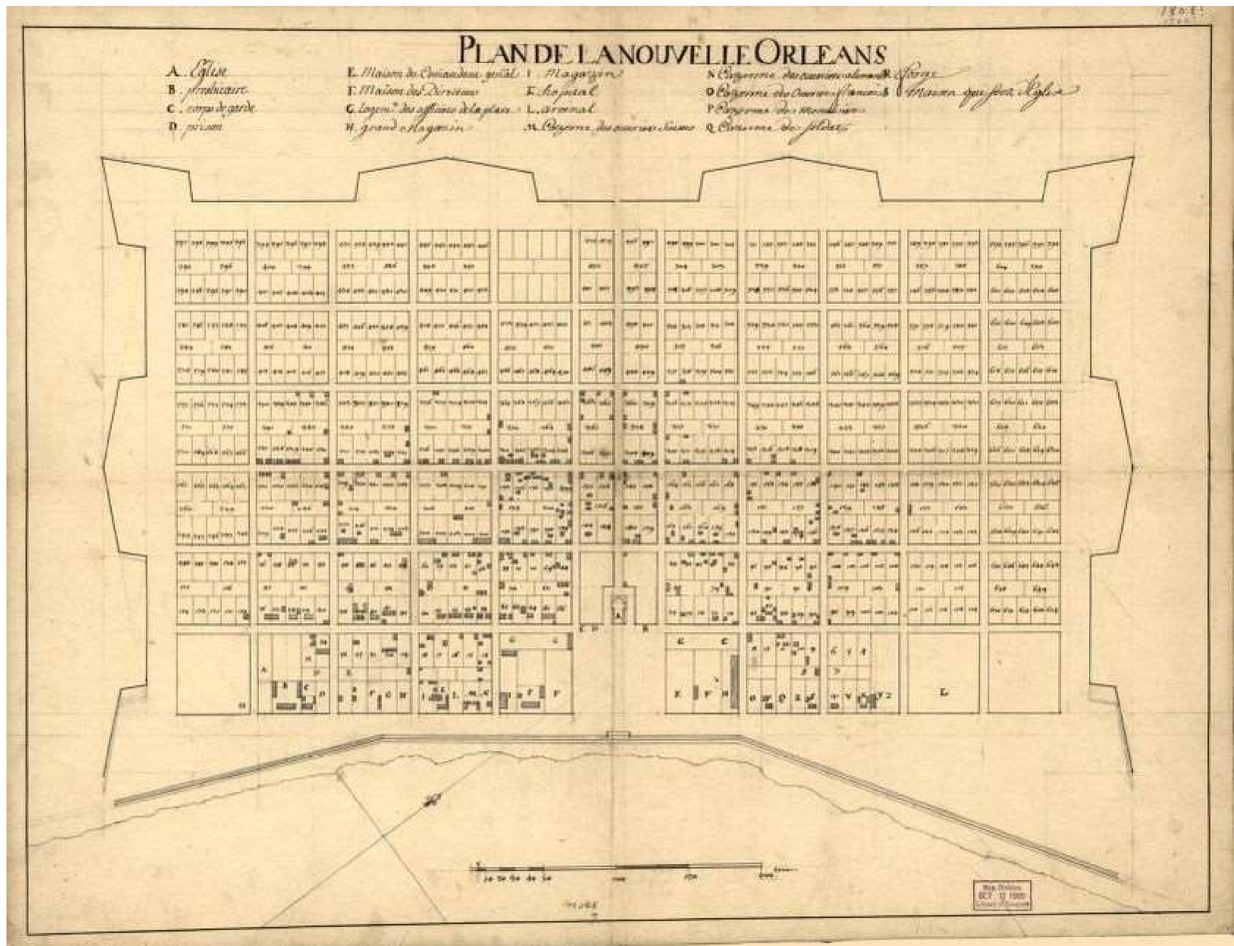


Figure 2.1. *Plan de la Nouvelle Orleans*, 1722.[10]

[10] Plan de la Nouvelle Orleans. [1722] Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/2003623130/>.

The first official buildings—the Parish Church, the royal warehouse, the military hospital, a series of buildings to house soldiers and workers, a prison, and several private residences—were wooden frame structures of two to three stories each.[11] The building method of this period reflected the fashion of other French colonies, especially those of Québec and Normandy: steeply-pitched roof-tops, wooden foundations that laid flush with the ground, and brick-between-posts wall construction, with a porridge-like installation of mud and Spanish moss called *bousillage*—a low-tree hanging epiphyte that clings upon larger trees in tropical and subtropical climates. With the establishment of the new brickyard on the old Indian portage, between the headwaters of Bayou St. John (known to the Chitimacha as Bayouk, or Bayuk, Choupique) and the Mississippi River, settlers began utilizing brick to fortify permanent structures and raise foundations to prevent flood damage. Settlers developed a process of creating lime from the areas of numerous Indian oyster-shell middens to develop a lime that could be used as mortar and to plaster exposed surfaces to create a barrier from the elements as exposed soft brick provided inadequate protection against the elements. Few early buildings survived beyond a decade.[12]

Cuming, Watson, and Latrobe's written observations depict enslaved Africans gathering and dancing in large numbers on levees. While not explicit on what area of town they observed these assemblies—as the Mississippi's natural levees extend its entire length of the town's area, running parallel to the city's walls and along the "rear of the city"—we can deduce the gatherings occurred

11 The one exception to this rule was the prison that stood adjacent to the Parish Church on the main square, which was made of brick.

[12] For more on the early architectural style in Louisiana and its failure to withstand the elements, see Lawrence N. Powell, *The Accidental City: Improvising New Orleans,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012) 65.
2012:65; Samuel Wilson and Louisiana State Museum, *Bienville's New Orleans: A French Colonial Capital 1718-1768,* (New Orleans: Friends of the Cabildo, 1968) 4 -12; James Marston Fitch, "Creole Architecture 1718-1860: The Rise and Fall of a Great Tradition," In *The Past As Prelude; New Orleans, 1718-1968,* edited by Hodding Carter, 75-76, (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1968); Tristram R. Kidder, "Inevitable Native Americans and the Geography of New Orleans," in *Transforming New Orleans and Its Environs: Centuries of Change*, edited by Craig E. Colton (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), 16 ("oyster middens").

outside of the city proper. Latrobe left us a clue as to where these events were taking place; in an area known as the Common, about one mile northeast of the site now associated with Congo Square (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3).[13]

The Common encompassed the area known today as the Tremé neighborhood, surrounding the intersection of North Claiborne Ave. at St. Bernard Ave., just beyond the city's limits and primitive defense line where a bare open ground in the otherwise lushly overgrown outskirts of the city lie, known as the "back-of-town" side of the city (known colloquially as Backatown). If one were to visualize New Orleans from front to back: "front" represents the streets and neighborhoods directly along the Mississippi River; "back" represents the Quarters' backside or behind the fortifications. In short, Backatown was any area outside of the boundary wall.

With food stores depleted, illness reached the height of an epidemic. In 1757, a French supply ship brought supplies to the colony—though it would be the last. To compound matters, an outbreak of syphilis spread amongst the French soldiers sent to fight the British, many of whom were exiled to the colonies as punishment for misconduct. Also, the British had enacted a naval blockade of the Gulf of Mexico, cutting of the colony of much-needed supplies and personnel. In 1758, an English slaver out of Angola on its way to Virginia was seized. The ship's cargo contained goods and abducted Africans, of which one-third was allocated for auction in New Orleans, including one-hundred and twenty-two Congo people. This transit marks the first large consignment of enslaved Africans from outside of the Senegambian culture group in Louisiana.[14] The British

[13] For a brief time after the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the Common was officially designated La Place Publique.

[14] There is documentation of "a few" Congo being enslaved in 1721. See Thomas Ingersoll, Thomas N., "The Slave Trade and the Ethnic Diversity of Louisiana's Slave Community," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 37, no. 2 (1996): 140.

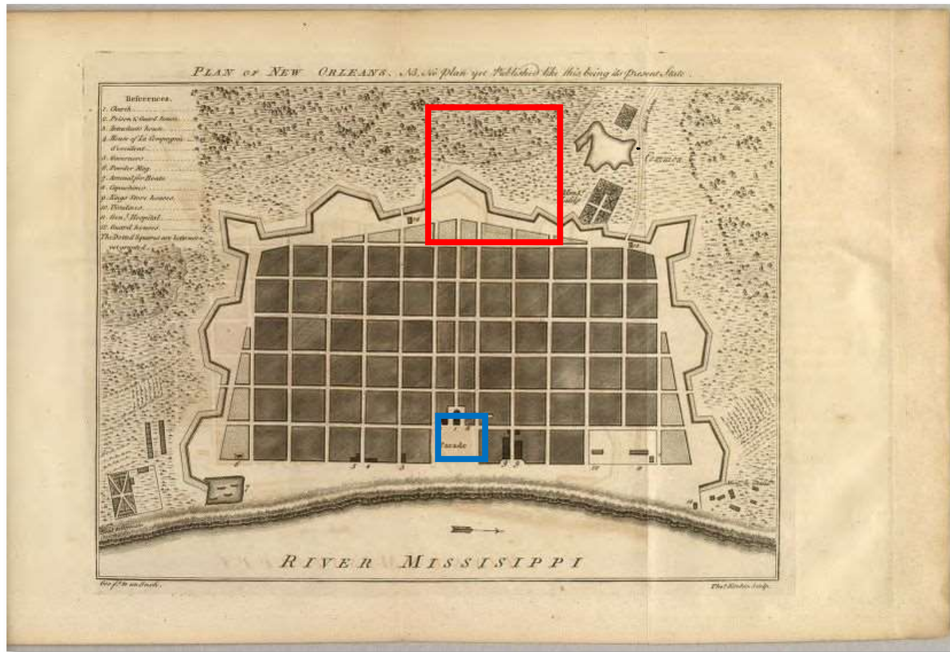


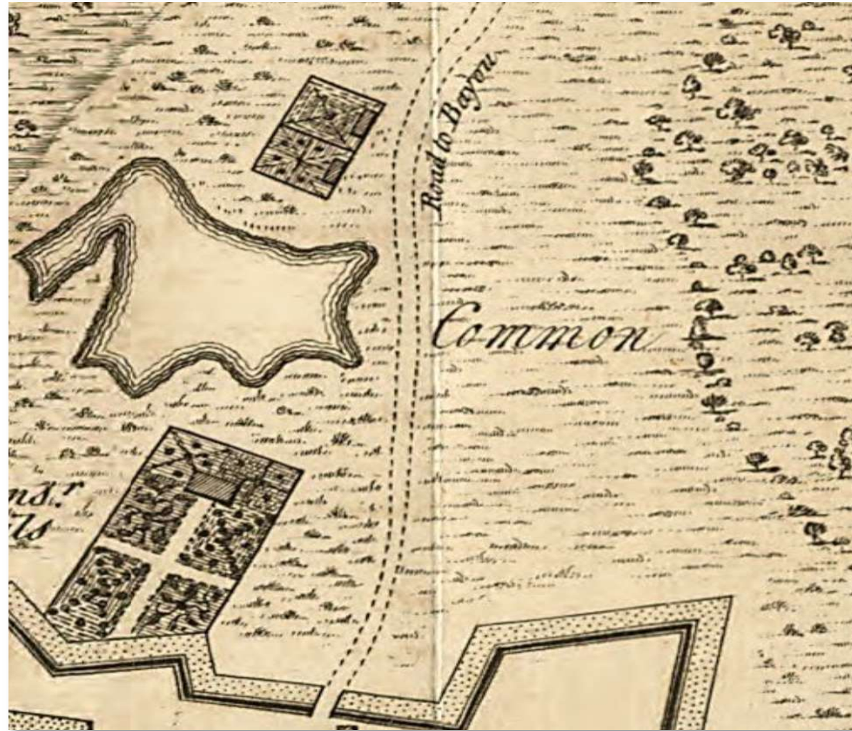
Figure 2.2. Plan of New Orleans, 1770.[15]

began trading in Congo abductees in the Caribbean and sold thousands of Congo people in Havana (Ingersoll 1996:140-141).

By the early-1760s, the enslaved people of New Orleans' trading activities had become a significant feature of New Orleans's mercantile life. It was on this open ground in the rear of the city, the Common, where enslaved peoples gathered. Here, enslaved vendors spread their wares and set up their make-shift markets stalls, along with the occasional illicit tavern that fronted for the fencing of stolen goods.[16] Although the city's plan of 1722 (see Figure 2.1) depicts elaborate fortifications, the wall functioned as a simple ditch until about 1760, midway through the French and Indian War, when fear of British attack prompted the French to improve the system. Military

[15] Pittman, Philip, Captain. Plan of New Orleans. London, Printed for J. Nourse, 1770. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/2003627090/>.

[16] In 1763, Attorney General Nicolas Chauvin de la Frénière (one of the instigators of the Louisiana Rebellion of 1768) wrote the Superior Council of New Orleans of his frustration with the "numbers of men without occupation" in the "rear of the city" – see Ned Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2009) 87-88.



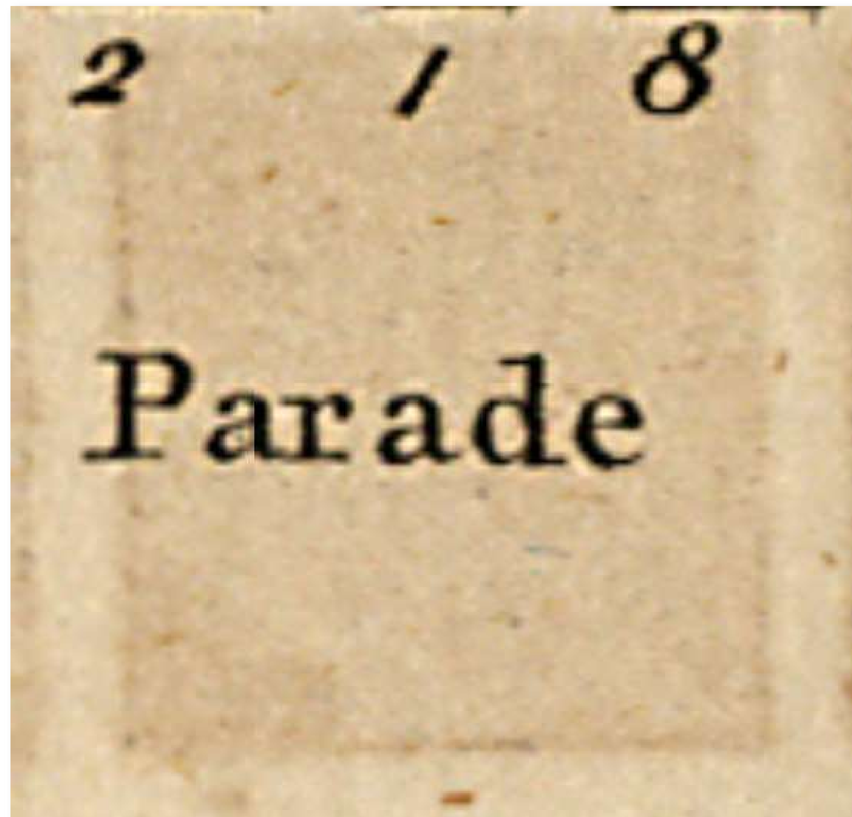


Figure 2.3-4. Top: The Common or La Place Publique: Area highlighted in Red, above. Bottom: "Parade," also known as Place d'Armes, Plaza de Armas, now Jackson Square: Area highlighted in blue above.

engineers moved the entire defense wall several hundred feet into the Commons and completely redesigned the simple, low, straight-line breastworks with higher mounds, a deepened moat, and a palisade wall atop the breastwork.

In March 1762, the British dealt a severe blow to Spain. British forces attacked Havana and occupied the port city until 1763. Havana's occupation afforded the British to make deep inroads into the Caribbean's commerce that endured well beyond the war. In February 1763, France lost the Seven-Year War with England. With the Treaty of Fontainebleau and the subsequent Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, France was required to relinquish her colonies. It was left in economic distress, as France had depleted its treasury and amassed heavy war debt. Spain lost Florida but regained control of its remaining colonies and was awarded New Orleans and the now-former French colony of Louisiana, west of the Mississippi River. The transition of power from French to Spanish rule revealed a dysfunctional system of governance by the French and initial limitations of Spain's occupation policy. When Spain acquired the territory from France, it became an administrative district of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, Antonio de Ulloa, serving King Charles III, and was subsequently renamed *la Luisiana* (Spanish).[17]

Ulloa never proclaimed Spanish sovereignty over la Luisiana and allowed the French flag to be flown over the *Place d'Armes*, the traditional "town square" where military reviews and parades, speeches, and community gatherings were held.[18] Ulloa was governing the entirety of the Spanish colonial empire. Consequently, he left the administration of la Luisiana to the extant French government. Spain implemented rigid trade regulations (1866 and 1868), which restricted colonists' customary commercial practices, opening up space for illegal trading activities. During

[17] New Spain covered a large swath of the globe that included territories in North America, South America, Asia and Oceania.
[18] Known today as Jackson Square.

this time, the activities on the Common exploded. The enslaved population traded amongst themselves and participated in worship and other social activities. Before long, local retail merchants petitioned the local *procurador,* or attorney general, to be given exception to the law to trade with the enslaved before and after divine services on the Sabbath in the market on Place d'Armes.

In 1786, Auxiliary Bishop Cyrillo Sieni—a Spanish Capuchin friar—denounced the activities taking place in Congo Square, as it was disturbing his Vesper services:

> "the wicked custom of the negros, who, at the hour of Vespers, assemble in a green expanse called *Place Congo* [sic] to dance the bamboula and perform hideous gyrations."

Sublette questions the assumption, as it's hard to believe that these gatherings were happening no more than six long blocks behind the church. Both Sublette and Kimberly Hanger argue for a more nuanced understanding of the issue, contending that these activities occurred at the market just outside the cathedral doors, on the *Plaza de Armas* (formerly known as Place d'Armes, now known as Jackson Square; see Figures 2.2 and 2.4). A section of that market was reserved for African Americans and was generically referred to as *la Conga* (Sublette 2009: 120-121). The slave vendors suffered little from the competition with the complex of centralized market facilities the Spanish constructed in three stages between 1779 and 1784 and rebuilt a number of times afterward, finally achieving its present form, a strip of land now known as the French Market, just north-east of Jackson Square.

The fortifications were in a state of constant disrepair until the 1790s, when the Spanish governor Baron de Carondelet, fearing attack by the Americans, added a series of five more permanent bastions and extended the old short streets with a long, well-groomed one, Rampart, where the old breastworks had run. The area of the Common that was subsumed by the new wall

was reserved for military purposes but remained mostly unused for the remainder of the French period. This strengthening of New Orleans' defenses altered the physical relationship of the Common—and its market—to the city. Geographically, this wall and levee system established the boundary dividing the "town" and "back-of-town" areas of the colony. Backatown was the area where the city's African American population, both free and enslaved, was relegated. Symbolically, the wall marked the separation between White and non-White and signified the city's safety and sanctity from the hazards of the hostile natural environment.

After 1816, the area of the Common that was subsumed by the extension of the wall fortifications, La Place Publique, became colloquially referred to as "Congo Circus," named for the outdoor theatrical performances that Signore Gaetano of Havana organized. Attractions included exotic animals, such as monkeys, a bear, and a tiger, as well as a man who stood upright while atop a galloping horse while drinking a glass of champagne. Ironically, only whites could attend Signore's Congo Circus (Jerah Johnson 1997:33, Sanke 2010:47). The city ordinance of October 15, 1817, reserved Sunday as the appointed day for Black assemblies and festivities but prohibited dancing after sunset. It further required that dances be held under police supervision and only in the La Place Publique (Sandke 47).[19]

[19] Numerous names, both official and unofficial, identified this location over the years: Beauregard Square, Circus Park, Circus Place, Circus Square, Congo Circus, Congo Park, Congo Plains, Congo Square, Place Congo, Place d' Armes, Place Publique, Place des Nègres, and most recently, Louis Armstrong Park. Travelers often referred to the area as Congo ground, Congo Green, the green expanse, and the commons. In 1893, the city named the square in honor of civic leader and former Confederate General, P. G. T. Beauregard. The name remained until the 1970s with the development of the Louis Armstrong Park complex (designed by architect and urban designer Robin Riley), within which a portion of the park is named Congo Square. However, Black residents had always referred to the area as Congo Square, which appears on New Orleans maps during the 1880s, although no city ordinance had made it official.

Musical Activities Beyond Congo Square

While Congo Square likely serves as the most critical site in NOLA—if not the entirety of the fledgling U.S. during the antebellum—in terms of African American musicking, it was far from the only site where people of color made music, participated in musical events, and developed new traditions during the 18th and 19th centuries. During this time, people of color were involved in nearly all aspects of the city's musical life.

Because of the Catholic heritage of colonial Louisiana, which oscillated between the Spanish and the French, NOLA was less restrictive toward the mixing of races. Moreover, NOLA society was more open to dancing as a leisure activity than other cities in the U.S., which due to its Protestant heritage, linked the activity to sin. French colonists in the region retained the French musical culture they brought with them. The elite class of administrators and plantation barons emulated the fashionable dances and extravagant state dinners, masquerade balls, and lavish parties of pre-revolutionary Versailles (Lichtenstein & Grace 1993:16; Hardie 2004:153; Sublette 2008: 46-47).[20] What's more, these events were ubiquitous throughout the city and across all segments of society. According to Charles E. Kinzer, "virtually all avenues of contact with European music [including dance music, martial music, and opera] were open to Negroes [sic.]" (Kinzer 1992:358). But this meant that to participate, free people of color in antebellum Louisiana forsook any conscious retention of African musical traditions, choosing to perform exclusively in the European style (Kinzer 1992:358; Kmen 1972:232-33).

While social activities throughout the U.S. at the time were segregated, people of color in NOLA provided the musical accompaniment for much of the city's social life. Despite the official legal restrictions prohibiting people of color from attending these events, they were often frequented

[20] The celebratory parades in the weeks leading up to Lent, known today in New Orleans—and nearby Mobile—as Mardi Gras, were established by the governor, Pierre Cavagnal de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, territorial governor from 1742-1753).

by both enslaved Blacks and whites, despite occasional raids by the authorities (Kmen 1966:230). Moreover, bands made up of people of color were often employed to entertain the predominantly white crowds.

Creole Musicking in the Antebellum

Free people of color in Louisiana came to be known as *Creoles*, *gens de couleur libres, or petit gens*. This free Black population was documented in New Orleans as early as 1722, many of whom held professional positions (Dunbar-Nelson 1916:364). Creoles were a new and growing population. Yet, there were no formal regulations to regulate the relations between slaves and colonists. The term Creole is most likely derived from the Portuguese word *criar*, "to raise," and as proposed by Ned Sublette, probably originated with the Portuguese, as they initiated the slave trade (Sublette 2008:79). Depending on the region, the term *criollo*, *cruoulo*, or *Creole,* referred to a person born in the colonies or "native to a region" or differentiated between slaves born in Africa and those born in the French colonies. Eventually, though, Creole took on a new meaning, describing the people of mixed ethnic heritage, with British, French, Portuguese, Spanish (European colonial powers), and African and Indigenous. Increasingly, the term connoted the offspring between Anglos and people of color, implied a skin tone—much like the term *mestizo,* used throughout the Spanish colonies—and reflected the colonists' prejudices and fear of the growing enslaved population.[21]

As time went on, not only did the color-lines between the populations remain, but new socially constructed racial designations were established between free people of color, such as *nègro*, *mulatto*, *mulatto-rouge, grif*, *mulatto-grif*, *métis*, *octoroon*, *quadroon*, and linguistic variations thereof. Often educated in France, Louisiana Creoles maintained a "transatlantic network" of close connections

[21] Used by the Spanish in Mexico and other Central and Southern American Colonies to refer to a person of European and Amerindian descent.

with prominent individuals and families—both Black and white—that moved freely between the U.S., the Continent, and French colonies throughout the Caribbean (Hirsch 2007: 20). Thus, Creoles held a unique position within the cultural realm of New Orleans as both French and American.

Between 1791 and 1809, large numbers of Haitians migrated to Louisiana, many of whom were former slaves of African descent. The war ended in 1804, and the result was the establishment of the second independent nation in the Western Hemisphere and the world's first Black-led republic. After the war, nearly ten-thousand white, free people of color and formerly enslaved people fled to New Orleans, doubling the city's population by 1810.[22] Although, many of the formerly enslaved were returned to slavery upon arrival to the U.S.

Slaveholders' anxieties increased and a new series of statutes were implemented to isolate Louisiana from the spread of revolution. Census records show that in that year, the city's population was divided into three roughly equal tiers of about one-third white, one-third free people of color (notated as "all others"), and one-third enslaved people of African descent (Lachance 1988: 109-41). The 1809 migration brought 2,731 whites, 3,102 free persons of African descent, and 3,226 enslaved refugees to the city. Sixty-three percent of New Orleans inhabitants were now Black, the highest percentage of people of African descent in the nation.[23]

The massive influx of Haitian emigres had a lasting effect on the culture of early-nineteenth-century New Orleans. The city's character changed as Haitian immigrants and their descendants influenced the culture in many ways. Not only did they influence the city's music, cuisine, religious life, speech patterns, and architecture, but they ensured the retention of West African culture.

[22] Due in part by the passing of the US Nonintercourse Act, in 1809. The Act reaffirmed the embargo (Embargo Act 1807) of commerce with France and Britain but allowed for trade with other countries.
[23] Followed by Charleston, South Carolina, which had 53%.

Moreover, they reinforced the tripartite racial order that enhanced the social and economic mobility of free people of color. It was during this time that the Caribbean character of New Orleans came to match its climate, to which the inundation of West Indian refugees complimented. Jazz scholar Henry Kmen notes that:

> One should recall here that early New Orleans was essentially a Gulf and Caribbean city, and that during the first ten years of the nineteenth century it was engulfed with West Indian refugees-black and white. The population thus doubled in the four years from 1806 to 1810, and Afro-West Indian influence was at its height (Kmen 1972:14)

Reminders of their Creole influence are found throughout the city, in the French Quarter, the Faubourg Marigny, the Faubourg Tremé, and other city neighborhoods.

The impact of the victory of unarmed slaves against their oppressors, an army of 60,000 men, would reverberate throughout the slave societies of the Atlantic, being particularly impactful in New Orleans, where free people of color and enslaved alike would influence and alter political imaginings, religion, and musical culture. In Louisiana, it sparked a confrontation at Bayou La Fourche, where W.C.C. Claiborne, who would become Louisiana's first non-colonial governor, wrote that twelve Haitians threatened him "with many insulting and menacing expressions" and "spoke of eating human flesh and in general demonstrated great Savageness of character, boasting of what they had seen and done in the horrors of St. Domingo [Saint Domingue]" (W.C.C. Claiborne, quoted in Hunt 1988:113).

According to Joseph Roach, Andry's Rebellion of 1811, also known as the German Coast Uprising, was the largest and "best organized" servile uprising in U.S. history (Roach 1996:252). Led by a Saint-Dominican-born slave named Charles Deslondes, the revolt was said to have been inspired by Haitian revolutionary ideas, such as freedom, liberty, and brotherhood. At its peak, it involved approximately four-hundred men and women (and, by some estimates, as many as 500). By the end of the uprising, two white men and nearly one hundred rebels were slain. In response

to the rebellion, eighteen conspirators were executed, their decapitated heads displayed on pikes to ward off future attacks. Authorities also restricted the activities of unaccompanied slaves, which included assembly on Sundays to locations designated by the mayor (Doleac 2018:43-44; Evans 2011:25).

As seen above, Louisiana maintained a three-tiered class system that was supported and regulated by colonial-era slave codes. This system afforded the free people of color living in Louisiana a tremendous amount of autonomy. The *hommes de couleur libre* were educated, were public servants, and served in the military. Moreover, they owned land, businesses, and even slaves. They created a niche for themselves in the colony's multicultural makeup and became essential to Louisiana's defense. While maintaining their own militia units, they served in several of the Indian wars against the British during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.

Militias and Early Brass Band Formations

A constitutional convention was convened in New Orleans on November 4, 1811, and on January 22, 1812, the delegates signed Louisiana's first state constitution. President James Madison conveyed the proceedings and constitution to Congress on March 4, 1812, and on April 30, 1812, Louisiana was admitted to the Union, becoming the 18th state to be admitted. Louisiana's constitution expressly restricted the right to vote to white male property owners, proscribing the Indigenous population, free people of color, women, and the enslaved. Free men of color could still own property and serve in the militia, but they could not hold public office or vote.

Later that year, Louisiana Governor William C.C. Clairborne approved legislation authorizing the organization of a militia of infantry troops, comprising, in part, of free people of color placed under the charge of Lieutenant Colonel Michel Fortier (a wealthy white merchant)

(Kinzer 1992:348; Kinzer 1993:43).[24] The four companies of free people of color (sixty-four men each) were restricted to those who had for two years been the owners of property worth at least $300 and paid state taxes on it (Kinzer 1992:348-349). In addition to the formation of infantry troops, the legislation authorized military band attachments to provide for "field music" to accompany the troops (fife-and-drum signals were necessary to the logistics of drill and battle). Accordingly, each company carried with it a drummer and a fifer (Driscoll 2012:15; Kinzer 1992:350; Kinzer 1993:46-47; Sterx, 183).[25] In addition to providing martial music at formal musters, change of commands, and reviews of troops, they may well have been called to perform at officer's social functions, especially terpsichorean events (Kinzer 1992:355).

Before this, there were no regulations regarding military bands in the territory. The headquarters staff included a drum major and fife major who would oversee the instruction and coordination of the company musicians.[26] Musicologist Charles E. Kinzer notes that of the musicians listed for the headquarters company of the First Battalion, the second-largest music ensemble, were eleven musicians: three "Senior Musicians," Louis Hazeur, Barthelemi Campanell, and Etienne Larrieu; one of whom most likely served as bandmaster; and eight "musicians," Elie

[24] Acts passed at the first session of the First Legislature of the State of Louisiana

[25] Fife and drum bands are still active today. Alan Lomax first documented the phenomena in 1942 near Sledge, Mississippi.[25] Fife and drum bands consist of a cane fife, two snares, and a bass drum, and proliferate the hill country of Mississippi (Tate, Panola, Marshall and Lafayette Counties, in northern Mississippi just to the east of the Delta lowlands). David Evan, George Mitchell, and Bengt Olsson's document fife and drum bands in Tennessee (Fayette, Shelby, and Lauderdale Counties, just across the Mississippi state line) and Georgia (near Columbus, Missouri in the western part of the state), as well, proving a wider distribution than once believed (Evan 1972; George Mitchell 1968, cited in Evan 1972; Bengt Olsson 1971, cited in Evan 1972). See Alan Lomax, Archive of Folk Song, Library of Congress, are listed under Sid Hemphill in John Godrich and Robert M. W. Dixon, Blues and Gospel Records: 1902-1942 (London, 1969), p. 827; and David Evan, Black Fife and Drum Music in Mississippi (Folkstreams, A National Preserve of American Folklore Films, 1972) http://www.folkstreams.net/film-context.php?id=86.

[26] Kinzer suggests that it is highly probable that the operations of these music ensembles were financed by the officers in charge of their units, a common practice of the day – see Charles E. Kinzer, "The Band of Music of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color and the Siege of New Orleans, 1814-1815," *American Music* 10, no. 3 (1992): 350.

Beroché, Celestin Bizot, Louis Chariot, Michel Debergue, Raymond Gaillard, Emelian Larrieu, Emile Tremé, and Felix Tremé (Kinzer 1992:349).[27]

As the theater of war shifted from the northern states to the Gulf of Mexico in the latter half of 1814, Commanding General Andrew Jackson, recognizing an attack on New Orleans was imminent, ordered troops to organize in New Orleans to halt any British efforts to gain control of the critical American port. Upon Claiborne's suggestion, Jackson sent off a request to Joseph Savary, a veteran of the French loyalists in the Haitian Revolution, to raise a battalion of free people of color (all Haitian immigrants) for incorporation into the service of the U.S. against the British.[28] The number of militiamen was bolstered throughout that Fall by Governor Claiborne's recruiting efforts and included two battalions of free men of color: the First and Second Battalions of Free Men of Color of the Louisiana Militia. Jackson reviewed the troops at the Place d'Armes, in New Orleans, on December 2, 1814, by the state militia.[29]

In the time leading up to the Battle of New Orleans (December 17, 1814 - January 8, 1815), the troops, now under General Jackson's command, were preparing for a large-scale British attack. During this time, the band's primary function would have been to provide music to lift the soldier's spirits (Kinzer 1992:355). From colonial times, even during Spanish rule, nearly every aspect of social life in New Orleans was influenced by French cultural traditions; music was no exception. Kinzer proposes that since the overwhelming majority of militia units were staffed with settlers of French ancestry, their music units were most likely modeled after those of France, consisting of eight to twelve pieces (Kinzer 1992:352).

---

[27] The largest music ensemble was attached to Major Jean Baptiste Plauché's "Battalion d'Orléans," the regular (white) militia unit of the city, and it consisted of about twenty musicians – see Charles E. Kinzer, "The Band of Music of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color and the Siege of New Orleans, 1814-1815," *American Music* 10, no. 3 (1992): 349.

[28] These soldiers remained committed to the ideals of freedom and equality, and even offered aid to independent republics in Latin America and Mexican revolutionaries in Texas in their struggle for independence.

[29] The pass in review, or review, is a long-standing military tradition wherein a newly assigned commander to inspect his troops.

During the 1700s, military bands of this size in Europe were made up of pairs of wind instruments, including oboes, clarinets, horns, and bassoons. The occasional serpent played the lower parts.[30] These *harmonie ensembles* were expanded in the late-18th century, with the addition of Janissary percussion instruments, including bass drums, cymbals, and triangles (Farmer 1912:84; Kinzer 1992:353). Due to the arduous nautical journey from France to the territory—what limited space onboard supply ships was reserved for human cargo and other supplies for trade—military bands that typically accompanied troops were nonexistent in the colony until this time.

Complimenting the dances and extravagant state dinners, masquerade balls, and lavish parties of the Elite class were small groups of musicians that would perform *allemandes, courantes, gavottes, gigues, minuets, polkas*, *quadrilles, sarabandes*, *schottisches*, and waltzes—the most popular dances of the day—as well and marches and quicksteps (Kinzer 1992:357-361; Kmen 1966:208; Kmen, 1972:202). It is likely that the militiamen bandsmen held degrees from prestigious European conservatories, could read Western music notation, and were adept at performing those European musical styles mentioned above. These all-Black militia units, with shiny new bugles, mark a plausible start of the brass band tradition in New Orleans (Driscoll 2012:16; Kmen, 1972:202; Ellison 2005:627).

On December 24, 1814, Great Britain and the U.S. signed a treaty in Ghent, Belgium, that effectively ended the War of 1812. And, like all other news in New Orleans, it did not arrive in time to prevent one of the bloodiest and most decisive battles of the war. General Jackson allowed a parade to celebrate the New Year on January 1, 1815 (Kinzer 1992:356). However, the celebration was halted by the eruption of British artillery fire, bringing the celebration to a premature close. A

[30] The serpent is a 7 to 8 feet, conical bore, bass wind instrument (of increasing inside diameter) made of wood that is roughly shaped in a like a serpent, from which it takes its name. The serpent superseded the ophicleide and eventually the tuba in the 18th century. The ophicleide is a conical-bore, keyed brass instrument belonging to the bugle family whose bell points over-the-shoulder.

newspaper article was published in 1830 commemorating the event, reported free people of color playing both Yankee Doodle and The Marseillaise (the French National Anthem), accompanied by a dancing crowd (Kinzer 1992:356; Kmen 1972:5-16; Driscoll 2012:15).[31] By mid-day, Jackson's troops were engaged in battle. For eight days of intense fighting, the U.S. forces emerged victorious (January 8, 1815). In the bloody engagement, Black militiamen of the Second Battalion participated in General Andrew Jackson's successful defense of the city of New Orleans against a British attack, helping to inflict nearly two thousand British casualties.

On January 21, Jackson permitted the militia units to return to the city. Although the militiamen were surely taking part in the extensive celebrations taking place in New Orleans, they were under orders to drill once daily, until the official festivities on January 23, where they performed for a parade and formal ceremony at the Place d'Armes under a specially built triumphal arch (Kinzer 1992:367). Celebrations continued as news of the treaty spread, culminating in February, when Congress ratified the agreement on February 16, 1815, and the War of 1812 came to an official end.[32]

In the years immediately following the Battle of New Orleans, brass instruments were ever more pervasive. With the invention of keyed bugles, militia bands begin implementing brass instruments to augment the higher winds. Keyed bugles are soprano wind instruments made of brass with six holes and keys similar to a clarinet or saxophone. They became popular shortly after their creation in 1810 when Joseph Halliday patented the Royal Kent bugle. In 1820, a posting circulated

---

[31] La Marseillaise, French national anthem, composed by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle in 1792. Adopted by the French National Convention in 1795. Originally entitled "Chant de guerre de l'armée du Rhin" ("War Song of the Army of the Rhine"), the anthem acquired the nickname "La Marseillaise" after being sung by revolutionaries in Marseille.

[32] Due in part to their accomplishments during the Battle of New Orleans, the reputation of the militia companies—and their musicians—grew and by 1838, three thousand free Black men were uniformed, each accompanied by their own military bands – see Driscoll, Matthew T. 2012. "New Orleans Brass Band Traditions and Popular Music: Elements of Style in the Music of Mama Digdown's Brass Band and Youngblood Brass Band." (D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa), 15-16 and Henry A. Kmen, "The Roots of Jazz and the Dance in Place Congo: A Re-Appraisal," *Anuario Interamericano De Investigacion Musical* 8, (1972): 5-16.

by the New Orleans Independent Rifle Company, offering men of color free lessons on keyed bugles in exchange for joining the military (Driscoll 2012:16; Kmen, 1972:202; Ellison 2005:627). They flourished for several decades until brass bands took up piston-valved instruments in the U.S.[33]

The rise in popularity of valved instruments was multifaceted. Innovations in mass production in the 18th century provided a faster and more cost-effective means of production. Moreover, valved instruments offered the musician greater technique, flexibility, and a wider range of *timbres*.[34] Also, these instruments were more durable and easier for non-musicians to learn how to play, causing an increase in the demand for brass instruments on the whole (Koenig 1983:4-11).

In the coming years, brass bands became integral to the display of U.S. military power the world over. According to Henry Kmen, there were ten military parades in NOLA on a single Sunday in 1833 (Kmen 1966:205). These parades attracted large crowds made up of not only whites but of people of color, too. One observer noted on February 8, 1837, "Boys, negroes, fruit women, and whatnot followed the procession—shouting and bawling, and apparently delighted" (205). So much so that in 1838, the *Picayune*, a New Orleans circulation, reported that "a passion for horns and trumpets [had] reached a real mania" (Kmen in Carter 1968:210).

Because the few surviving descriptions of musical performances of people of color in the antebellum period—free or otherwise—refer to any of the musicians by name, it is impossible to know if any perused music in their civilian lives. What we do know is that the bandsmen of this time, is that they were: proud of their multifaceted heritage and active in the French-dominated culture; steeped in the European musical traditions prevalent in the colonies at the time, including

[33] See also Karl Koenig, "Louisiana Brass Bands and Their History in Relation to Jazz History." New Orleans, Jazz Club; the Second Line (1983); and William J. Schafer, Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1977). Piston-valved brass instruments were invented by François Périnet, a Parisian instrument maker and inventor, in 1838, which he patented in 1839.
[34] In music, timbre, refers to the perceived sound quality of a musical note, sound or tone; also known as tone color or tone quality.

operatic overtures and arias, eighteenth-century dance music, and patriotic martial music; and were accomplished musicians who had attained a relatively high degree of proficiency (Kinzer 1992:361).

Benevolent Societies and Leisure Spaces

In the years following the Battle of New Orleans, several significant societies for free people of color in New Orleans were established: the *Société des Artisans* (Society of Artisans, 1834); the *Société d'Economie et d'Assistance Mutuelle* (Society for Economy and Mutual Assistance, and later Economy and Mutual Aid Association, 1836); and the musical society, the *Société Philharmonique* (Philharmonic Society, also known as the Negroe Philharmonic Society, in the late 1830s).[35] Two of the aforementioned societies played crucial roles in the development of Black culture in the mid-to-late 19th century and beyond.

In 1837, the Société d'Economie et d'Assistance Mutuelle, opened the renowned Economy Hall on 1422 Ursuline Street. Economy Hall is in the *Tremé neighborhood of New Orleans,* bordering on Storyville and the French Quarter. The Hall served as the location for concerts, balls, fundraisers, and *tableaux vivants*.[36] Although the membership was restricted to free persons of color, the public events following the Civil War were welcoming of all peoples. In 1865, the *Tribune*, a New Orleans-based newspaper, published an invitation from the Société d'Economie that read:

> "There was a time when these exhibitions were exclusively in the hands of white men. Let us patronize every gentleman of every ability and talent without discrimination of color. Our friends of all classes are invited to attend" (Shaik 2021:8).

---

[35] See John H. Baron, *Concert Life in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: A Comprehensive Reference* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013). See also, Randy Sandke, *Where the Dark and the Light Folks Meet Race and the Mythology, Politics, and Business of Jazz*, Studies in Jazz, 60. (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010).

[36] From the French, "living picture," tableaux are static scenes where the actors or models pose silently with props and/or scenery to create a picturesque or graphic description (staging), used to dramatize important historical events or literary scenes in order to educate and inform.

Many of New Orleans' most recognized jazz musicians "cut their teeth" in the funeral parades, celebrations, and concerts sponsored by the Economic and Mutual Aid Association. Trombonist Kid Ory, cornetist Joe Oliver, and his young *protegé* Louis Armstrong, among many others, cultivated jazz improvisation at these events (see Chapter 3 of this dissertation).

The Théâtre de la Renaissance in New Orleans opened in 1840 as a playhouse and performance space designed for the sole purpose of providing Creole artisans with a space to perform and to provide entertainment for the free Black population of New Orleans but was open to all social classes. The Théâtre was the second Black theater of record in the U.S., after The African Grove, in New York, NY. The Société Philharmonique, under the baton of "Monsieur Constantin," gave concerts at the Théâtre, as did productions with all Black casts, producers, and directors (Kinzer 1992:362).[37] All manner of theater and music was performed there, including plays, concerts, and variety shows (ibid.).

Sites of Leisure

As elsewhere in the U.S., the growth of transportation technologies and the creation of mass, "public" transit systems (connecting the town center with the hinterlands, enabling commuters to live out in the "country"), the interest in recreational and leisure activities (including baseball), the increased affluence among residents, and the ever-expanding community, led to the creation of new "public" recreational venues. Prior to the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed segregation, or Storyville, the red-light district of the fin-de-siècle, where all races mingled,

---

[37] Jacques Constantin Debergue (1799-1861), was a member of the *Société d'Economie et d'Assistance Mutuelle,* became a well-known "professor of music," and conducted the *Société Philharmonique* under the stage name "Monsieur Constantin" at the Theatre de la Renaissance in 1840. See Henry A. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans, the Formative Years 1791-1841, by Henry A. Kmen (*Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966)*;* Sybil Kein. *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Charles E. Kinzer,"The Band of Music of the First Battalion of Free Men of Color and the Siege of New Orleans, 1814-1815," *American Music* 10, no. 3 (1992): 348-369.

Lakeshore resorts and amusement parks, public parks, and hinterland commerce areas provided opportunities for musicians to perform for patrons seeking retreat and entertainment.[38] In the 18th and 19th centuries, promenade concerts were extremely popular in England. The term derives from the French *se promener*, "to walk." As the U.S. became more industrialized and urbanized, people sought retreat and refuge from the "daily grind" of the city. In the fledgling nation, city commissions and entrepreneurs modeled concerts after those in London, where the audience would stroll about while listening to the music. Pleasure gardens and amusement parks often levied a small entrance fee and provided a variety of entertainment.

Performing at these events were, according to the *Times Picayune,* August 22, 1840, musicians that were "all favorably known to the public."[39] They go on to state that the promenade concerts were "proposed during each evening, among the other entertainments." Music was provided from outdoor stages or bandstands and was of the popular variety: ballroom dances, quadrilles, "instrumental solo players on the violin, trombone, horn, flute, violoncello, Etc. [sic.]," and "effective band and orchestras, for accompaniments, marches, overtures & national airs" (ibid.) "Other entertainments" included vaudeville performances, masquerades, acrobatics, and even fireworks (see below). Such locations as Spanish Fort, New Lake End, Milneburg, and Audubon Park were among the venues providing patrons with music as concert entertainment as well as

---

[38] Storyville as a red-light district established in 1900, by Sidney Story. His "district" concept was modeled after those in port cities such as Amsterdam in the Netherlands. Prostitution was legal within the district's borders (bounded by Rue Iberville, Iberville, Basin, St. Louis, and North Robertson streets, located next to two major transportation focal points in the city: the turning basin at the end of the Carondelet Canal; and the tracks leading to the Southern Railway's Canal Street terminal), and the brothels in this district were monitored, and prostitution was discouraged in neighborhoods outside the defined district. On any given day, or night, any race, color, creed, or station would be seen "rubbing shoulders"—or other body parts—in "The District." Businesses in Storyville, both upstanding and suspect, nurtured music and its performers. Charles "Buddy Bolden," Manuel "Fess" Manetta, Ferdinand Joseph LaMothe (known professionally as "Jelly Roll Morton"), and Joe "King" Oliver all performed there. For the most in-depth study of Storyville, see Russell Levy's 1967 master's thesis: Levy, Russell. 1967. "Of Bards and Bawds: New Orleans Sporting Life before and during the Storyville Era, 1897-1917" (M.A. diss., Tulane University of Louisiana).

[39] See "Times Picayune - August 22, 1840 - Carrollton Gardens," http://basinstreet.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/52-Carrollton-Jaegers-Beyer-Gunther-Gardens.pdf.

accompaniment for dancers and gamblers alike. Black musicians were permitted to participate in the merry-making, not typically as patrons but as performers.

Spanish Fort, once the home of the Marksville Indians late Marksville period 300-400 A.D.), was an amusement park erected over the foundations of the French *Fort St. Jean* (erected in 1701) and later, the Spanish *Fuerte de San Juan del Bayou*, which protected the Lake Pontchartrain entrance of Bayou St. John.[40] The Fort was decommissioned in 1823 and sold to developer Harvey Elkins in 1823, who built the Pontchartrain Hotel on the site, transforming it into a resort and amusement area that included a casino, live music, rides, and other attractions. The Pontchartrain Hotel operated successfully from 1823 to 1878, when Moses Schwartz purchased the property. He expanded the site to create a large complex of amusements, including an amusement park, a casino, a theatre, a dancing pavilion, and several fine dining establishments. A steam railway, and later an electric streetcar system, connected the lakeside resort with the city center and added to the resort's popularity, which later became known as the "Coney Island of the South" (Conlin 2013:170).

New Lake End was a resort built in 1835. Its name was changed to West End in 1878 with the addition of a hotel, restaurant, and an amusement park built on piers over Lake Pontchartrain Rail service was extended to West End, connecting the park to the city center. West End added to New Orleans' national reputation in literary and musical terms. New Lake End served as a popular music venue, where jazz musicians of the late 19th and early 20th centuries honed their skills.[41]

Famous for the part it played in nurturing New Orleans jazz, Milneburg an area along the shore of Lake Pontchartrain where present-day Elysian Fields Avenue ends. Like most of the areas

---

[40] This Marksville Indian site represents "some of the only intact prehistoric remains of its kind south of Lake Pontchartrain:" FEMA Release, February 20, 2013. https://www.fema.gov/news-release/2013/02/20/fema-archaeologists-discover-one-oldest-nativeamerican-artifacts-south-lake.

[41] Joe "King" Oliver composed the multi-strain tune, twelve-bar blues "West End Blues," made famous with Louis Armstrong's Hot Five recording (June 28, 1928), is one of the most famous jazz recordings of the 1920s. West End has also appeared in the works of renown authors, such as Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* and Kate Chopin's novel *The Awakening*.

surrounding New Orleans, the site at Elysian Fields and the Lakefront was swampland when the French established the city. Seeing little value in the land, the Spanish colonial government sold the property to Scottish entrepreneur Alexander Milne. Milne, emigrated from Scotland in 1776, when he started a brick manufacturing business. His products were in high demand after the fires of 1788 and 1794. Many of his bricks were used to rebuild the city. Soon, a village sprang up as Milne worked to develop his lakefront property, and by 1830, a port facility developed along the lakefront at Milneburg and was tendered by the Pontchartrain Railroad. Pontchartrain Beach opened in Milneburg in 1939, providing opportunities for Black musicians to busk for tips. Milneburg was immortalized in Jelly Roll Morton's famous recording of "Milneburg Joys," made for the Garnett label in 1923.

Once home to Native Americans, the area that would become Audubon Park was the site of the nation's first commercial sugar plantation founded by New Orleans' first mayor, Etienne de Boré. Boré granulated the sugar grown there through a process invented by Norbert Rillieux, a local free man of color. The land became public grounds in 1850 when it was willed to the city. It was utilized somewhat haphazardly as "public space" until site improvements were made in 1883 and 1884, which laid the foundation for the Upper City Park (later becoming Audubon Park, in 1866). The nascent park would become significant in several ways: it provided a venue for diverse audiences to enjoy music concerts throughout much of the 19th century; was the site of the activation of six all-Black cavalry and infantry regiments, the most famous being the 9th Calvary, the "Buffalo Soldiers," who were enlisted to support and defend the 19th-century movement of settlers into the American West (born from the idea of "manifest destiny"); and, most significant to brass band culture in New Orleans and the development of early jazz, was the site of the 1884 World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, where the Mexican 8th Cavalry Regimental Band performed.

These sites represent an active effort of the city's planning commission to engage in a public-transit venture that included leisure space as a commercial attraction.[42] And, while affording a plethora of opportunities for Creoles and other people of color to perform and earn income, white society exploited the people of color's talent while relegating them to the background. The leisure activities afforded to whites during this time were provided by the labor of people of color, both free and enslaved, to those in the upper echelons of society—white individuals or those Creoles that passed as white—to pursue the life of the mind. But, things were slowly changing.

The "Promenade Concert" of 1864

Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, an Irish immigrant, hailed from Boston, where his success as the prestigious Boston Brass Band leader and later, conductor of the Gilmore's Grand Boston Band, and later Patrick Gilmore's Band, would propel him to stardom. He would become known as the Father of Brass Band Music in America; his band's instrumentation—featuring two woodwinds to each brass instrument—serving as a model for what would become the modern concert band. In 1861, Gilmore enlisted his band in the Union Army with the 24th Massachusetts Volunteers. Shortly afterward, Governor Andrews of Massachusetts tasked him with training and organizing all Massachusetts Militia bands—twenty in all.

Then, in 1864, General Nathaniel P. Banks, the newly named Commander of the Department of the Gulf, elevated Gilmore to Bandmaster-General in charge of military music in occupied Louisiana, where he was put in charge of organizing bands for the Union Army. He organized more than three hundred bands for the Union.

[42] For more on leisure space and city planning, see Douglas, Lake. *Public Spaces, Private Gardens: A History of Designed Landscapes in New Orleans*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011.

One of the brass bands was made up of thirty-two African American musicians that, upon the behest of General Banks, traveled from Boston to the then-occupied New Orleans in 1864 to perform. For two months, this band, identified in the press as Gilmore's Famous Band, paraded in the streets and provided both scheduled and impromptu concerts to the general public—both Black and white. On one auspicious occasion (January 26, 1864), the band presented a "Promenade Concert" at the *Théâtre de l'Opéra* (French Opera House), performing, among other things, Gilmore's composition "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again."

Most public performances, in the mid-century, were accompanied by brass band performances. The overwhelming preponderance of those were the European American bands, such as Charles Bothe's Brass Band, Charley Jaeger's Silver Cornet Band, Frank Gunther's Silver Cornet and Germania Cornet Bands, and Carl Beyer's German Military Band. The musicians that made up these bands were either immigrants or sons of German or Alsace immigrant parents and were militiamen dedicated to the Confederate cause. It is easy to imagine that the mere presence of African Americans performing on the stage of the City's most impressive and revered cultural centers, for a diverse group of attendees, made quite an impression on NOLA's populace, regardless of color, albeit it in different ways. Is possible that President Lincoln and General Banks employed Gilmore and the thirty-two African American musicians of Gilmore's Famous Band and their music as a social balm to assuage the fears of the Southern Unionist in NOLA, instill confidence in the Republican agenda, and provide assurance that someday soon, things would get better? Or were these musicians employed for political advantage, intimidation, and musical saber-rattling? I posit that it is both.

The "Promenade Concert" was perhaps the first time that a diverse audience attended an event in NOLA as invited guests (Murphy 2016:125). In fact, this concert marks a psychological

turn, both politically and culturally, in NOLA. Just a little over a year after Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863), and six months after the Battle of Gettysburg, the decisive battle that enabled the Union to turn its attention to the Southern theater, the "Promenade Concert" not only promoted the ideals of the Union—the guarantee of freedom and equality for all—but established a model for Lincolns' ideal society.

Postbellum Musical Environment

After the Civil War, we see the rise of anti-Black violence, the passing of repressive segregation laws, and increasing discrimination toward people of color. This further entrenchment of white supremacy in New Orleans resulted in eliminating the special status previously afforded Creoles. During this time, known as the Reconstruction Era, Black expressive traditions and cultural institutions flourished and began to take their present form. Like the *Société des Artisans* (Society of Artisans, 1834) and the *Société d'Economie et d'Assistance Mutuelle* (Society for Economy and Mutual Assistance, and later Economy and Mutual Aid Association, 1836), benevolent societies, and later, social aid and pleasure clubs, were formed. First established as literary organizations, then as "quasi-political" institutions, these organizations played a crucial role in informing the Black public and offering aid to a subjugated community (Kinzer 1992:361).[43]

By offering a variety of social services to its members, these organizations filled the Black community's needs in New Orleans, which lacked access to social and municipal services and

[43] Ardencie Hall draws parallels between Black mutual aid societies in New Orleans and Dahomean groups (of Benin) known as *gbé*. Gbé fall into two categories (social societies and mutual-aid societies) that are directly reciprocal to the social aid and pleasure clubs and benevolent societies of New Orleans. Similar societies began to emerge around the same time throughout the northern U.S., such as the Free African Society and the Benevolent Daughters of Africa in Philadelphia, the African Union Society of Newport, RI, and the Black Masonic lodges of the Northeast. For more information, see Hall, Ardencie. 1998. "New Orleans Jazz Funerals: Transition to the Ancestors" (PhD diss., New York University).

protections that white residents enjoyed at the time (Kinzer 1992:361-362; Doleac 2018:37). And, modeled after the 18th century French craft societies, these organizations created journeymen "families," foregrounding "African Ancestry and open-mindedness" (Fatima Shaik 2021:8). These organizations provided access to medicine, sick pensions, and health and life insurance. They also provided burial and funeral services for their membership—with a full brass band complement. They also sponsored a variety of social activities involving music and dance, such as balls, parades, picnics, and baseball games—the new team sport that took the U.S. by storm in the early 18th century. What is especially important to us here is that these brass bands were an integral part of benevolent societies' services and, later, social aid and pleasure clubs.

These organizations created a public space for Black New Orleanians to share ideas, support one another, stay informed of local, national, and global sociopolitical developments, constituting what Mark Anthony Neal conceives of as "black public spheres." In his book *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture*, Neal describes the Black public sphere as:

> alternative or even counter to the dominant or mainstream American Public Sphere [that] represents the congregation of numerous blacks at any given time in a communal setting, but still removed by force and ultimately choice from the mainstream (Neal 1999:4). [44]

Neal then provides for an understanding of the Black public sphere, which is divided into two particular spaces central to African American culture throughout U.S. history: respectable spaces of worship (the "church"); and disreputable spaces of leisure and vice (the "jook") (*ibid.*). These spaces serve a similar function: to "provide a spiritual catharsis" or "transcendence" for those that had been "removed by force and ultimately choice from the mainstream" (6). In addition to the communal

[44] See Mark A. Neal, *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999). See also Charles Hersch's expansion of Neal's ideas (black "counter-public" sphere: Iain Anderson, "Charles Hersch. Subversive Sounds: In addition to the Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (2008): 1555.

expression and collaborative performance that these spaces afforded the Black community in New Orleans, benevolent societies and social aid and pleasure clubs offered an environment where its membership felt valued and a sense of belonging (Doleac 2018:65). It is in these spaces, in the coming years, that jazz was nurtured.

Wrap Up

Early reports suggest, like the Creole militia bands before the Civil War, that benevolent societies' brass bands were modeled after their Anglo-American counterparts in regard to uniform, drill formations, and musical arrangement (Schafer 1977:24). Where Black community brass bands differed from their Anglo-American counterparts is in function. The Black brass band was a crucial element to a member's funeral. Its form would come to serve as the model for the jazz funeral, and what we now call the second line parade: a celebration of life where we see the cultural expressions of Congo Square performed during Sunday second lines, today, where participants engage in the very same activities and cultural expressions documented by early observers that took place on the levee, in the Common, and in back yards in the "skirts" or "rear" of the city (Cuming 1810:333; Latrobe 1905:179; see also Chapter 3 of this dissertation).[45]

More than a precise location where religiocorporeal musicking took place and vendors sold their wares, Congo Square provided a framework for communal expression within a system of hierarchy, inequity, and oppression that was not only extant at the time of colonial occupation but continues in the United States to the present day. Furthermore, it has become an ideology within which culture bearers actively participate in thriving cultural practices, not constrained to a particular time or place in the early 19th century where enslaved Africans clutched to their fading culture(s) in

45 I have recently been considering the term religiocorporeal musicking to describe the combinative modes of expression encapsulated in the second line.

song and dance (see Chapter 3 and *My Brother's Keeper* of this dissertation). In short, Congo Square *is* not *was*. To quote Ned Sublette, none of the scrutiny placed on the variety of locations or the timeframe in which gatherings actually took place "takes away from the importance of that spot across Rampart Street today remembered by the English name Congo Square" (Sublette 2009: 121). Instead, it shifts the emphasis to the activities themselves and the tradition derived from them that is carried on to this very day.

Although the surviving evidence of music-making on the part of free and enslaved Black people in New Orleans is scant, it is clear that music was an integral part of NOLA culture in the antebellum. Not only are the musicians of the 1st Battalion of Free Men of Color among the earliest known band musicians of any race in the city's history, but their blending cultures were instrumental in the shaping of a distinct and autonomous tradition of music-making that extends into the twenty-first century.

Interlude I

My Brother's Keeper

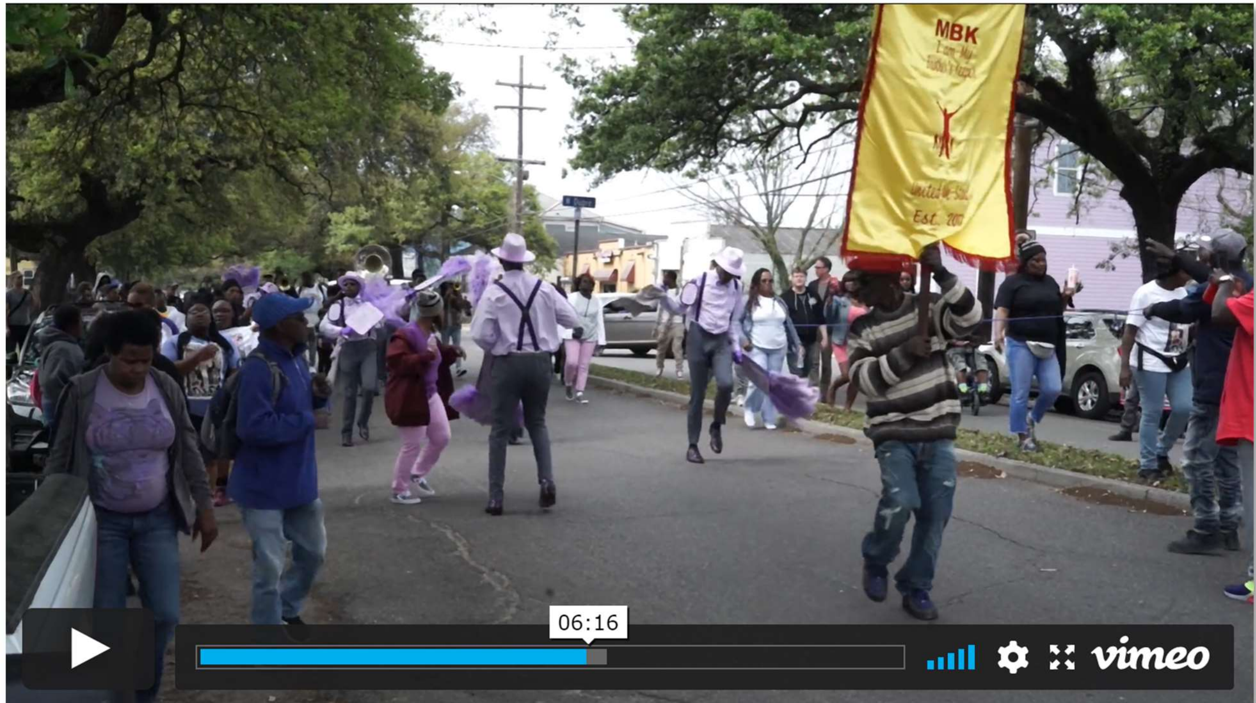


Figure 2-1.1. Screenshot from *My Brother's Keeper*.

Filmmaking and the New Orleans Second Line

My embrace of multi-modal ethnographic inquiry and research presentation developed over about five years. As an ethnomusicologist at UCLA, I was trained—more or less—in the "traditional" sense: on music as it relates to society and culture; the cultural significance of music and performance in the context of a community; the history of ethnomusicology; and how "to do" fieldwork. The Ethnomusicology Department at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), stands out among other renowned departments from around the world in that they espouse Mantle

Hood's "bi-musicality" model for research (a form of gaining expertise about a musical practice) that includes one's own music-making experiences.[1]

As a professional musician of nearly fifteen years, by then, this model "made sense" to me. Learning through musicking, and my ability to play at a professional level, provided the opportunity for me to attend to the basic needs of the gig without distraction, such as both the implicit and explicit musical demands of performance (e.g., being creative, physical coordination, and listening—an often over-looked aspect of music-making); the *mostly* cognitive aspects of music-making, e.g., melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic skills required to perform;[2] the unspoken, interpersonal communication that happens within a musical group; and the kinesthetic awareness required while performing. Through my role as co-participant (tubist)—a term I borrow from Richard C. Jankowsky—I gained entrée into the brass band scene in LA, and later, NOLA. Moreover, co-participation became my primary methodological approach during fieldwork. Being a skilled musician helped immensely in my establishing relationships with both musicians and non-musicians.

Sensory Ethnography: Filmmaking

My interest in documentary filmmaking began in 2014 when I read ethnomusicologist Scott Linford's online article, "Historical Narratives of the Akonting and Banjo" (2014). He utilized a variety of storytelling tools, including text, photography, video, audio, and graphic illustrations that served to support and highlight salient points, conveying knowledge in ways that a "traditionally" published essay (e.g., a peer-reviewed journal or manuscript) would not allow. For me, Linford's *illustrated essay* served as a model for presenting a musical ethnography. Consequently, to gain a

[1] Mantle Hood founded the Institute of Ethnomusicology in 1960. In 1989, it became an independent department, called the Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology.

[2] I use the term "mostly," here, because, for musicians, there is a connection between the ear, mind, body (e.g., vocal cords, lips, arms, hands, and fingers; any part of the body that is used in aid of communicating musical thoughts), and spirit.

deeper understanding of the second line through the engagement of multiple modes of communicating knowledge, I considered documentary filmmaking as a methodological approach in which to conduct my research.

I purchased an Olympus OM-D E-M10 mark ii to aid in y research. Though the second line ritual is not a static activity—it is inherently dynamic and "on the move." Accordingly, I began utilizing a GoPro HERO4 action camera to document performances: first, at the Venice Beach Mardi Gras parade, in February 2016, then regularly after that. I often attached the GoPro to my sousaphone bell and performed, as usual. Occasionally, I outfitted lead-trumpeter, singer, and collaborator Jamelle Yaya Adisa's microphone stand with a second GoPro, as well. This technology provided an extraordinarily mobile and discrete means to document the second line ritual and other performances from within the action and on the move. Ultimately, I did not include these studies in my MA paper due to my lack of experience and knowledge of the craft of filmmaking. But, I was inspired to delve deeper into filmmaking and began studying documentary filmmaking with filmmaker and film theorist Dr. Aparna Sharma at UCLA.

From my study with Dr. Sharma, I learned that there are many ways humans share knowledge; writing is but one of them. Observational cinema is a mode of social inquiry that provides an opportunity to counteract the problems of authoritative representation, encourages collaboration, and offers a practice of ethical stance (MacDougall 1998:84). Also, it offers experiential and interpretive possibilities rather than explanations and definite statements. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity to transmit knowledge experienced by those who "embody it and re-create it for themselves," rather than extrapolating a generalized meaning from data (MacDougall 1998:62). Moreover, it is "linked to a different epistemology and aesthetic"—ways of knowing the world—as linked to theoretical discourse and ways of seeing the world, which privileges a multi-sensory presentation and interpretation, grounded in the ethnographic encounter

itself (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2009:4; Sharma 2015).[3] As their aesthetic and filmic grammar, observational filmmakers rely on minimal editing, preserving the spatial and temporal continuities of the fieldwork experience, as well as privileging the voice of those observed.

Filmmaker and theorist David MacDougall argues that film must be understood as "a way of thinking through the body" (MacDougall 1998:49). Expanding on MacDougall's argument, Anna Grimshaw and Amanda Ravetz identify observational cinema as a distinctive mode of inquiry aligning with a sensuous scholarship, which Sarah Pink has termed "sensory ethnography" (Grimshaw and Ravetz 2009; Pink 2009:8). Documentary filmmakers, such as the MacDougalls (David and Judith), Grimshaw, Pink, Barbash, and Taylor, exemplify a critical move beyond the objective-scientific and narrative-oriented (re)presentations of expository, impressionistic, and early observational ("fly-on-the-wall") films. Instead, they adopt an approach that foregrounds "subjectivit[ies] and subjective experiences as socio-historically and culturally constructed" (Sharma 2015:5-6). This approach was non-interventionalist. They aimed to film lived experience rather than summarizing or reporting on it. Ethnographic filmmakers are increasingly self-conscious or self-reflective, foregrounding the relationships between filmmaker and subject, filmmaker-subject-spectator (intersubjectivities), which can be traced to Russian filmmaker Dziga Vertov (The Man with a Movie Camera, 1929) and championed by ethnographic filmmakers David and Judith McDougall, and Sarah Pink.

Pink has adopted a methodological approach that not only conveys the theoretical and ethical considerations that underpin her work but is a reflexive and experiential process through

[3] For MacDougall, "aesthetics" does not refer to judgements of beauty or art (in a Kantian sense), "but rather with a much wider range of culturally patterned sensory experiences"—and are social fact(s) that must be taken seriously alongside other facts (McDougall 2006:98). Aparna Sharma utilizes the term "aesthetic(s)" to mean "the approaches to documentary practice, say verité, observational or poetic, and the intricacies of film forms or vocabularies through which documentary meanings and interventions are constructed with a degree of coherence" (Aparna 2015:9). She adopted the term "realist aesthetic" to encapsulate this approach.

which understanding and knowledge are produced (Pink 2009). Inspired by documentary filmmakers MacDougalls, Frederick Wiseman, Lucien Castaing-Taylor, Sarah Pink, and Aparna Sharma, it became critical that my audience hear my collaborators' voices as authoritative and *infer* my voice as but one interpretation of the presented material.

According to Sarah Pink, sensory ethnography is a "reflexive and experiential process through which understanding, knowing and (academic) knowledge are produced" (Pink 2009:8). In his essay in the 1992 book *Film as Ethnography,* Peter Crawford outlines three approaches to ethnographic filmmaking: the more traditional observational "fly-on-the-wall" approach (observational methods), the experiential and participatory "fly-in-the-soup" approach (active, participatory, and reflexive use of the camera), and the more evocative and experimental "fly-in-the-I/eye approach (where reflexivity becomes paramount; Crawford 1992: 67 and 78-79). The latter two metaphors emerged as responses to the "invisible" and "objective" approach to ethnographic filmmaking. These metaphors refer to larger debates in anthropological writing and ethnographic filmmaking in general, post-*Writing Culture* or "crisis of representation" surrounding how filmmakers interact—or don't—with the subjects and environments they film (Clifford and Marcus 1986). I attempt to bring reflexivity and subjective positionality into the films I make by allowing my subjects to interact with the cameras directly—the "fly-in-the-soup method."

I adopted deep reflexivity as a guiding principle, requiring the viewing and reading audience to "read the position of the author in the very construction of the work" (*MacDougall 1998:* 89). By positioning myself within the work, I intended to present an account that is both self-explanatory and a faithful representation of the various voices, forms of knowledge, and relationships that form it. Alongside more traditional forms of ethnographic writing, I utilize filmmaking as an integral component and sensorial mode of inquiry to construct new visual and sensory ways of knowing

second line culture to encourage alternative forms of sensory knowledge about second line musicking practice (for a more extended discussion of my methods, see Introduction Part II of this dissertation).

Production, Collaboration, and Postproduction

Because of the widely-varied types of situations I shot—daytime, nighttime, and moving parades—I shot all of my work on the Sony A7s; a full-frame, mirrorless camera designed for both stills and video. It provides high-quality 1080p video and records internally. The "S" in the camera's name denotes "sensitivity," making it possible to document in otherwise impossibly dark situations.[4] I equipped my A7s with an RØDE VideoMic Pro external microphone, allowing me to record a clearer and more balanced audio recording that is attached and synced internally to the moving image captured by the camera. And because my collaborators were nearly always moving, I utilized monopod—a single leg support on which mounted my camera, that easily collapse—in two ways: to provide my arms, shoulders, and back, brief relief from holding up my "rig;" and as a make-shift stabilizer to aid in creating smooth movements when walking—and at times, dancing. For backup, I mounted a ZOOM Q8, an HD video recorder that simultaneously captures high-quality audio, to the hot shoe of my camera.[5] To ensure that I had enough battery life for continuous shooting, I attached an Anker PowerCore 26800 Portable Charger to run all of my equipment—a whopping 26800mAh battery with three USB Ports; enough "juice" to last the entire parade, and then some.

I used two lenses, a Vario-Tessar T* FE 24-70mm f/4 ZA OSS zoom lens and a FE 50mm f/1.8 from Sony fixed focal length lens, both from Sony. The zoom lens provided me with the

[4] International Organization for Standardization (ISO) range of 200--102,400, extendible to 409,600. In stills it offers ISO 100-102,400, extendible to an ISO 50-409,600 range.
[5] A hot shoe metal bracket with electrical contacts to trigger a flash.

potential to film various situations from wide-angle to short telephoto perspectives. With its constant f/4 aperture, it offered a consistent "brightness" throughout its range. I utilized this lens when outside or when I anticipated a dynamic shooting environment. In contrast, I used the FE 50mm f/1.8 when in low-light and "static" situations, like a nighttime club performance. Its fast f/1.8 maximum aperture allowed me to shoot in low-light conditions and gave me control over the depth of field—for selective focus imagery—over the zoom lens. While the Sony a7s was my preferred rig, I still utilized my cell phone at times when I did not have my camera with me. As the old adage goes, "the best camera is the one you have with you" (see Figure 2-1.2).

From conceptualization to planning strategy to editing, the films I make are made by me: a

Figure 2-1.2. The author filming Efrem Towns giving a young trumpeter an impromptu lesson in music and life. Candlelight Lounge, New Orleans, LA, March 10, 2019. Photo courtesy of Michael Alford.

North American ethnomusicologist, jazz scholar, filmmaker, musician, and brass band devotee. Also, I do not typically film alongside colleagues or as part of a working team. In addition, the films I make are not collaborative in the traditional sense of the word. They are, however, collaborative in that I have lived and worked alongside my collaborators in the field, experiencing depicted events physically and emotionally alongside them. They are collaborative in that my collaborators often asked that I "bring [my] camera" to capture special moments or to help out with a shoot. Scenarios such as those were also a way that I was able to give back to the communities with whom I engaged. For me, filmmaking is a collaborative process of knowledge production with my collaborators. It is also a product of my commitment to the community.

In the "editing room," I aimed to faithfully frame the event and my collaborators in such a way that centered their experiences in such a way that explores and articulates the "evolving, intersubjective dynamics shared between all documentary actors," within which I include myself (Sharma 2015:4). All the while making the films accessible to both cultural "insiders" and cultural "outsiders" alike.

Editing the films was perhaps the most challenging endeavor of this dissertation process. I found that the second line's most accessible element proved to make structuring the whole—the entirety of the event, not just what can be seen within the frame—around significant time-slices to demonstrate the continuity of the second line. The film length was a consideration, too. How long can I demand a viewer's attention? How long is "just long enough?" Editing a distilled—and truncated representation of a long, sensorially rich, and emotionally charged ritual proved incredibly difficult. Each of these films seeks to evoke some of the different elements of second line culture discussed in this dissertation. They are both profoundly interrelated, evoking the sensory experiences of music-making in both NOLA and LALA. I did not set out to create two separate films. Instead, I had planned on making one film about the second line in LA. But, as I learned more of the potential

of sensory ethnography and filmmaking—to convey something that would be difficult to communicate with words alone—it became an integral part of my methodology. Consequently, I present here two short films (*My Brother's Keeper*, 11:19 minutes; and *Can't Take Our Spirit,* 9:34 minutes) that I hope to illuminate the subtle layers of the second line and reveal the dynamic relationships between history, music, religion, tourism, and second line practitioners.

An Invitation to Film

In NOLA today, cell phones are pervasive at neighborhood second line parades. Individuals hold them high in the air to capture their lived experience to post on Facebook or Instagram; nearly everyone has one. But large cameras and recording equipment are "discouraged"—sometimes violently. Documenting a second line is a privilege conferred to very few from outside of the immediate community. This sentiment also resonates beyond the parade environment. Aware of my position, I, over time, built a rapport with the community and assured them, through my actions, of my good intentions.

When I relocated to NOLA, I didn't know how I would begin filming. By Late-November, I was sitting in frequently with the To Be Continued Brass Band (TBC). In December 2018, I Brenard "Bunny" Adams (tubist and bandleader of TBC) asked if he could borrow my sousaphone since his sousaphone was in constant need of repair. He invited me to attend the session and "hang," if I wished. I replied affirmatively and asked if he would mind if I bring my camera along. He was amenable to the proposal, and on December 17, 2018, I documented the event utilizing still photo and video technologies. The band recorded "Nasty" and "MBK" (the initials for My Brother's Keeper Social Aid and Pleasure Club). "MBK" was written spontaneously at the Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club second line in March of 2018 when TBC marched along with the MBK as the second auxiliary. Fortuitously, I was invited to film the MBK Social Aid and Pleasure Club at the

Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club as they marched in the Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club second line in March of 2019. The material from that second line forms the basis for my short film, *My Brother's Keeper*.

Through the camera, I sought to highlight not just the visual "elements" of the second line ritual, but also the human relationships that are central to the social aesthetics of the street; the acoustic environment of the street on which it takes place; and the spontaneous performances that happen before and after the second line, and at "stops" along the parade route.

The 23rd Annual Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club Second Line took place on Sunday, March 17, 2019. It started in the Mid-City neighborhood and traveled through the Tulane-Gravier, B. W. Cooper, Broadmoor, and Central City neighborhoods, and ended in the Milan neighborhood of NOLA (see Figure 2-1.3 and *Legend*, below). Featured were the Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club with the Stooges Brass Band, and special guests Woody's Social Aid and Pleasure Club with DaTruth Brass Band, and My Brother's Keeper with TBC.

I see *My Brother's Keeper* and *Can't Take Our Spirit* "doing" the theoretical work I espouse in several significant ways: the films are non-scripted; I actively position myself within the filmed environment; and the representation of sensorial experiences of the subjects that are conveyed to the viewer. By the time I began filming in the field, I had been in NOLA for nearly six months and had a good understanding of a typical Sunday second line, e.g., its structure, ways of moving through the streets, and order of events. Consequently, I avoided using a preconceived filming script. Instead, I focused on different ethnographic moments that spoke specifically to my research questions, allowing my collaborators to guide the filming process—in the moment. For example, in *My Brother's Keeper*, Tyrone "Tuffy" Nelson takes an active role in the film's direction (5:02). Here, Nelson prompts me to situate him within the frame so he can boast, "I'm the greatest! You'll never see this stuff again. Ever! EVER! I'm the greatest of all time."

This acknowledgment and acceptance of the role of "director" reflect the rapport between my collaborators and me. This ethnographic moment also depicts my own subjectivity (reflexivity) within the film. Other, less "directorial" acknowledgment of my presence can be seen when TBC trumpeter Michael Sean Roberts smiles and waves at me (1:50), Derrick "Spodie" Shezbie addresses me directly as Nelson "performs" incapacitation (7:10–7:19), "MBK" Larry—MBK's founder—brags "This is *my* band" (9:39-9:59) and Woody of Woody's SAPC boasts "9th Ward[s] better" (10:01–10:10).[6] My participation is also manifest *through* the camera as an embodied and sensory response towards the moving bodies of my collaborators. I aimed to insert the viewer within the action as much as possible and communicate a sense of continuous movement representing the sinuous, ever-changing nature of the event—my moving camera following the momentum of my collaborator's movements within their setting.

Also, I attempted to document as much of the sensorial experiences of my collaborators as possible. While editing, I incorporate those experiences into the edited film in an effort to transport the viewer to NOLA; to *hear* the horns soaring over the sounds of communal celebration; to *smell* the gumbo in the air (00:40-00:43); and to *feel* the pounding of the bass drum in your chest, the heat, and the excitement of the moment (6:30–6:56).

In *My Brother's Keeper*, viewers can also see the close proximity and interactions between practitioners and other attendees, the intimate connections between them, and the cultural transmission that happens on NOLA's streets. Nowhere is this more evidenced than in a clip near the end of *My Brother's Keeper* (8:31-8:59) when the father and son duo (Joseph "Joe" Maize II and Joseph "JoJoe" Maize III) exchange solo breaks.

---

[6] I utilize the term "performing incapacitation" here to refer to the manner in which Tyrone "Tuffy" Nelson lays on the ground as if debilitated, harmed, asleep, or even dead. This type of performance functions in two overlapping ways: as a public display of how much effort have put into their choreography; and as a strategy to recoup expended energy.

Figure 2-1.3. The Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club 24th Annual Second Line Parade, Sunday, March 17, 2019. Single Men SAPC's parade route with stops (see legend below). Map and route courtesy of UptownMessenger.com, March 15, 2019.[7]

Legend: The Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club 24th Annual Second Line Parade Published Route

> *START: 2901 Conti St. (Good Times II Bar)*
> *Proceed down N. Dupre St.*
> *Left on Bienville St.*
> *Right on N. Broad St.*
> *Left on Louisiana Pkwy.*
> *Left on Saratoga St.*
> *Right on Washington Ave.*
> *Right on St. Charles Ave.*
> *Right on Delachaise St.*
> *Right on Dryades St.*

[7] UptownMessenger.com. "Single Men to Second-Line through Central City on Super Sunday." Uptown Messenger, March 15, 2019. https://uptownmessenger.com/2019/03/single-men-to-second-line-through-central-city-on-super-sunday/.

END: 3435 Dryades St. (Gladstone Lounge)[8]

Because of the prolonged duration of this ritual—over four hours(!)—I utilize montage editing to help produce a kind of knowledge that writing cannot.[9] I think this film does a particularly effective job of conveying how culture is lived by those who live it and illustrating the intimacy born of the second line ritual in NOLA.

---

[8] UptownMessenger.com. "Single Men to Second-Line through Central City on Super Sunday." Uptown Messenger, March 15, 2019. https://uptownmessenger.com/2019/03/single-men-to-second-line-through-central-city-on-super-sunday/.

[9] Montage is a form of editing that layers longer moments in time that, when edited, convey complex sensory experiences and communicate a large amount of information to an audience over a shorter span of time.

Chapter 3

The Brief Précis of the New Orleans Brass Band

In New Orleans, nearly every occasion is marked with a celebratory parade, most famously the Mardi Gras processions that seemingly take over the city during Carnival Time. But throughout the year, there are jazz funerals and parades known as "second lines" that fill the Backatown neighborhoods of NOLA with the celebratory sounds of brass band music. On any given Sunday—except for the hottest weeks of the summer—the Black community turns out to parade through streets, decked out in a wardrobe of brightly colored suits, sashes, hats and bonnets, parasols, and banners to celebrate life. These peripatetic parades, led by one or several brass bands, "have become symbolic of New Orleans (NOLA) and its association with festivity and pleasure."[1]

With its improvised dance-step movements, costumes, and pulsing bass drum patterns, the second line is replete with signs and symbols that carry with them encoded meanings. This rich vocabulary is rooted in historical and cultural memory, where the "poetics of the street revolve around a vernacular of jazz" (Jason Berry 1988:3). Roots of this celebratory style of funeral parade, including its performance traditions accompanied by the bobbing of highly decorated parasols and the waving of handkerchiefs, are traced back to the burial traditions of Cuba, Haiti, and West Africa, where individuals and communities celebrate life at the moment of death through music (Turner 2009:9). Brass bands emerge from this everyday/communal aspect of music-making and community-life in NOLA.

[1] The second line season opens around Labor Day with the Valley of the Silent Men SAPC and ends in June with the Uptown Swingers SAPC. Above quote see Matt Sakakeeny, "Funerals and Parades," Matt Sakakeeny: Roll With It, accessed January 3, 2021, https://mattsakakeeny.com/roll-with-it/funerals-and-parades . Accessed May 11, 2021.

In 1819, architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe witnessed a continuance of this tradition at a Black funeral in an area known as the Common, about one mile northeast of the site now associated with Congo Square in the Tremé. Gathered in collective mourning, the nearly two hundred participants began the ritual with "very loud lamentations" and ended in "noise and laughter" (Latrobe 1905:230-231.) By the beginning of the twentieth century, these parades become sites for tremendous creativity. While on the street, musicians blended song forms that helped create a new music altogether—jazz—from which the jazz funeral takes its name.[2]

The popularity of the second line has fluctuated throughout the years, though, ranging from commonplace to outdated to wildly popular, as did the role of the brass band within the culture *en masse* and its perception within it. This chapter will discuss the various stages of brass band development, viewing them not as discrete movements but as one long tradition of hybridity, negotiation, and resilience. Furthermore, I will show that the second line is a contemporary expression of the ring shout, retaining its vitality not through preservation (conservativism) but through constant modification and adaptation—each generation adapting the tradition to make it resonate with their experience (dynamism). As such, this chapter not only serves as a brief overview of the brass band tradition from the antebellum to the present but will also serve to stimulate future discussions of the brass band in relation to jazz's historical canon.

[2] Many musical traditions came together to create "jazz" as we know it today. As there are a limited number of recordings from the era, we rely on written observations and oral histories to inform our understanding of the early development of the style. Ragtime's basic characteristics (syncopation, improvisation, cross rhythms, and so on) were also present in the spirituals, work songs, minstrel show music, and other types of early African American musics of the era. See also, Taylor, William E. 1975. "The History and Development of Jazz Piano: A New Perspective for Educators." (EdD diss., University of Massachusetts). It is also important to note that jazz music did not come about in an ethnic vacuum but across ethnic lines. That said, I research jazz's history through a lens that is collaboratively informed, who celebrate jazz—and the brass band—as an African American tradition of "refusing to be absorbed completely by either tradition or modernity," that builds on the "dynamic fusion built upon a dialectical relationship between the past and present" – see George Lipsitz, "Songs of the Unsung: The Darby Hicks History of Jazz." In *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies,* edited by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin, 13. New York: Columbia University Press.

The Role of the Black Church in NOLA

Between 1525 and 1863 (the era of legalized slavery in the U.S.), nearly four hundred thousand Africans were abducted from their homeland and brought to the United States.[3] Treated as chattel and torn away from the political, social, and cultural systems that had ordered their lives, they were subjected to all manner of terror. However, African beliefs and customs persisted. Shaped and reshaped by their new environment, these customs were transmitted by the enslaved to their descendants. During this time, the most crucial domain of transmission was the "invisible institution": secretive worship services held beyond the watchful eyes of their enslavers.[4] For the enslaved, "invisible institutions" linked the African past with the American present and provided a space for communal uplift, promoting a sense of self-worth and belonging among the organization's members where they found spiritual refuge for the enslaved community. For the nearly eight thousand enslaved in New Orleans (NOLA) during the slave era, these meetings occurred in a place known as Congo Square.

The term Congo Square refers to the area now known as Louis Armstrong Park, in the Tremé. There, free and enslaved Africans, Native Americans, and racially mixed free people of color of NOLA gathered every Sunday for communal trading, recreation, worshiping, and participation in other social activities (Turner 2009:19).[5] As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation, activities such as those stated above are documented as far back as the late-1750s when early

---

[3] Though the Emancipation Proclamation became law in January 1863, it took two years for the word to spread, since as areas of the South were still under Confederate control. On June 19, 1865 (known as Juneteenth), word reached Galveston, Texas that the war had ended and those formerly enslaved were then free. Juneteenth, the oldest known celebration honoring the end of slavery in the U.S.

[4] Albert J. Raboteau coined the term "the invisible institution" and defines it as such, Black religion under slavery; clandestine worship meetings of the slave era. For more, see Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

[5] The area now recognized as Congo Square was in the vicinity of the portage Quinipissa, Acolapissa, Ouma (Houma), Chitimachas, Tunicas, and Bayooulas utilized this large tract of land behind the old city as a fishing and hunting station as well as a transportation route between the Meshassepi River (later named Mississippi River) and Bayou *Choupic* (later named Bayou Metairie). These Indigenous nations revered the tract of land as holy ground and hosted annual corn feasts or *Busk* ceremonies.

travelers noted "blacks in great masses" dancing in large rings behind the old city (John Watson, quoted in Kmen 1972:8). Groups of Black people musicking made up the appreciable number of early observations of early New Orleans' life. Of those observations, slaves in large rings were the most documented.

The ritual consisted of rhythmic clapping and drumming, call-and-response singing, leaping, jumping, fanning movements, the waving hanker-chiefs, and most notably, counterclockwise shuffling and dancing in a circular formation or ring. Scholars universally accept this form of musicocultural expression as part and parcel of the African diasporic ritual: the ring shout. The ring shout was an early religious ritual or "holy dance." The aesthetics of which not only share a remarkable resemblance to the Busk ritual dances belonging to the Native Americans in Louisiana but encapsulate what Floyd terms "all of the defining elements of black music" (Floyd 1991, 267-268; for more on African American musical aesthetics and styles of performance in the second line, see Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation).

Until the mid-18th century, the ring shout was the fundamental organizing principle of what historian Sterling Stuckey termed "slave culture" (Stuckey 2013). In *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*, Stuckey theorizes that the circularity of the ring shout was multifaceted African religious observance, where music and dance came together in a single, distinctive cultural ritual, which provided a powerful religiopolitical expression connecting the multi-cultural practitioners to their ancestors and gods' spirits and symbolized African unity (Floyd 1991; 266; Murphy 1994:174; Stuckey 2013:11, 15). Thus, the ring shout served as "a symbol of a new community in the making" and provided the framework for transplanted Africans from many different ethnic backgrounds to realize solidarity and achieve "cultural oneness" in the U.S. (Floyd 1991; 266; Murphy 1994:174; Stuckey 2013:11, 24).

Throughout the antebellum period, the ring shout was an essential part of African American burial ceremonies, where the mourning and celebration of the participants are "expressed through song, dance, and priestly communication with the ancestors" (Stuckey 1987, 23). In this light, Congo Square was an important site for the public performance of African dances, such as the bamboula, calinda, and pilé chactas—related to the Vodou rites carried to the U.S. by the Bambara, Mandigo, Wolof, Fulbe, Fon, and Yoruba peoples.[6]

For the Black community, Congo Square provided the space for a myriad of cultural expressions to come together in a syncretic hybridization of cultural ideals and expressions, both sacred and secular, of abducted Africans from nearly one-third of the African continent—along with Native Americans—who gathered there (Kmen 1972; Collins 1976; Roach 1996; Ardencie Hall 1998; Turner 2009:19; Evans 2011; Gioia 2011; Doleac 2018; Walker 2004). It is believed that Congo Square's activities continued, more or less uninterruptedly, until about 1845, when legislation was passed to prevent Black New Orleanians from "roaming all over town on Sundays" (Kmen 1972:14). And, even though there is a dearth of documentation regarding Congo Square and the ring shout from 1845 until the 1940s when the first histories of jazz were published, we now know that Black New Orleanians straightened out the ring to reflect the encroachment of the modern urban environment, becoming the second line (Floyd 1991, 267-268; Jason Berry 1995:102; for more on the ring shout, see Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation).[7]

---

[6] See Richard Brent Turner, *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press); Jerah Johnson and Louisiana Landmarks Society. *Congo Square in New Orleans.* (New Orleans: Samuel Wilson, Jr. Publications Fund of the Louisiana Landmarks Society, 1995) 9-11. Carolyn M. Long*, Spiritual Merchants: Religion, Magic, and Commerce* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 21; George W. Cable, "The Dance in Place Congo & Creole Slave Songs," *Century Magazine* 31, (February 1886) 517-532; and Michel S. Laguerre, "Voodoo as Religious and Revolutionary Ideology," in *Freeing the Spirit* 4 (1971) 2.

[7] Henry A. Kmen, "The Roots of Jazz and the Dance in Place Congo: A Re-Appraisal," *Anuario Interamericano De Investigacion Musical* 8, (1972): 5; Frederic Ramsey, Jr. and Charles E. Smith, eds. 1939. *Jazzmen.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939); Robert Goffin, *Jazz: From the Congo to the Metropolitan* (New York: Country Life, 1944); and Rudi Blesh, *Shining Trumpets, a History of Jazz (*New York: A.A. Knopf, 1946).

During Reconstruction, Creoles of color (those who did not pass as white), urban Blacks, and the formerly enslaved, now classified together under the segregationist laws of Jim Crow, found refuge in neighborhood institutions of the church, mutual aid organizations, and SAPCs. For much of Black New Orleans, the church was the nucleus of the community. In its weekly services and holiday parades, the church offered both emotional release and spiritual renewal through song. Services were a highly emotional and transformative affair. Guided by a charismatic preacher and in combination with joyous drumming, tambourine playing, handclapping, foot-stomping, and the singing of the parishioners, the music helped create a transformative environment and maintain the transcendent peaks of the service.

Furthermore, the church proved to be an important musical training ground for Black youth. Church services exposed children to traditional African American expressive practices, such as melisma, heterophonic texture, repetition as a compositional device, a "throbbing effect" caused by accents of the second and fourth beats of the measure ("backbeat"), spontaneous interjections, and punctuations, call-and-response, and timbral variations, as well as larger concepts, such as the tacit customs of communal musicking and the close relationships between its melodic, rhythmic, and kinesthetic dimensions (Floyd 1991:6, 267-268). Protestant Christian churchgoers (sometimes known as "holy rollers"; especially the Sanctified churches) and later Devine Spiritual churches (founded on the traditions derived from African spirit worship and its New World progeny, Vodou) had a robust presence in the Crescent City. Unlike other denominations, the use of musical instruments and dance in worship was not considered immoral.[8]

[8] For more on the connection between Sanctified and Devine Spiritual churches, see Michael P. Smith and New Orleans Urban Folklife Society. *Spirit World: Pattern in the Expressive Folk Culture of Afro-American New Orleans: Photographs and Journal* (New Orleans: New Orleans Urban Folklife Society, 1984).

Church musicians brought the musical aesthetics they learned in the church, from the sanctity of the alter, onto the street in the parades sponsored by the church (church parades). There, the rhythmic foundation and other musical trappings of the church service find their analog in the jazz funeral, where Black musical aesthetics and spiritual transformation that are traced back to the ring shout of Congo Square were reaffirmed.

Benevolent Associations and Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs

While the city's churches were actively involved in benevolence, so too were the mostly secular mutual aid societies.[9] As discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, African diasporic peoples have long formed exclusive organizations.[10] Such organizations took many forms, including craftsmen's unions (and later labor organizations), literary societies, lodges, religious fraternities, social clubs, sporting clubs, benevolent associations, mutual aid societies, burial associations, and later, social aid and pleasure clubs. In NOLA, organizations such as these begin to appear in the

[9] For more on the history of mutual aid societies, see Ann Woodruff, "Society Halls in New Orleans: A Survey of Jazz Landmarks, Part II," The Jazz Archivist: A Newsletter of the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, 21 (2008), 27; Eric Arnesen, Waterfront Workers of New Orleans: Race, Class, and Politics, 1863–1923 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 251; Boudreaux, Julianna L., "A History of Philanthropy in New Orleans 1835–1862" (PhD diss., Tulane University of Louisiana) 89.
[10] Mutual aid societies are found throughout the African Diaspora: religious groups called *cabildos* in Cuba; pleasure and mutual aid societies called *irmandades*, and work-affiliated groups called *cantos* in Brazil. On Afro-Cuban *cabildos*, see Yvonne Daniels, *Dancing Wisdom: Embodied Knowledge in Haitian Vodou, Cuban Yoruba, and Bahian Candomblé* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 133; and Phillip A. Howard, "Creolization and Integration: The Development of a Political Culture among the Pan-Afro-Cuban Benevolent Societies, 1878-1895," in *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora*, edited by Darlene C. Hine and Jacqueline McLeod (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999) 134-158; on irmandades and cantos in Brazil, see Rachel E. Harding, *A Refuge in Thunder: Candomblé and Alternative Spaces of Blackness*. Blacks in the Diaspora. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 107-125.
[10] Mutual aid societies are found throughout the African Diaspora: religious groups called *cabildos* in Cuba; pleasure and mutual aid societies called *irmandades*, and work-affiliated groups called *cantos* in Brazil. On Afro-Cuban *cabildos*, see Yvonne Daniel, *Dancing Wisdom: Embodied Knowledge in Haitian Vodou, Cuban Yoruba, and Bahian Candomblé* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 133; and Phillip A. Howard, "Creolization and Integration: The Development of a Political Culture among the Pan-Afro-Cuban Benevolent Societies, 1878-1895," in Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora, ed. by Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999); on irmandades and cantos in Brazil, see Harding, Rachel E. *A Refuge in Thunder: Candomblé and Alternative Spaces of Blackness*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003, 107-125.

1780s.[11] Benevolent associations in NOLA offered an "alternative world" for Black New Orleanians, who were subjugated to structural and physical violence and denied access to mainstream economies and the rights and privileges to citizenship.[12]

Mutual aid societies acted as a sort of hybrid insurance for their members providing access to medicine, sick pensions, health and life insurance, and funeral and burial arrangements for members and their dependents (Sakakeeny 2013; Carrico 2015; Doleac 2018:35). They also sponsored various social activities involving music and dance, such as balls, picnics, baseball games, and parades. During Reconstruction, mutual aid societies took on a more substantial role within the community. In fact, in addition to a church home, many individuals were also members of one or more mutual aid societies.

Through a cost-sharing structure based on West African antecedents, such as the *gbé* of West Africa, benevolent societies offered its members a wide array of services; of them, burial insurance and funeral arrangements were the most common and vital. Benevolent societies traditionally arrange funerals—which became known as jazz funerals in the 20th century—for their membership from whom dues are exacted throughout the year, thus sharing the financial burden of funeral and burial expenses.

Like the structure of the societies, the jazz funeral's form had West African antecedents. For example, Ardencie Hall explains that the funerals of the Akan of Ghana include four distinct sections of remembrance; three of which have complimenting and overlapping waves of musical accompaniment. The ceremony begins with high levels of social intercourse, generous libation, and

---

[11] Carrico, Rachel. 2015. "Footwork! Improvised Dance as Dissenting Mobility in the New Orleans Second Line (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside) 162. In his 1937 study of Negro Benevolent Societies in New Orleans, Harry Joseph Walker claims the Persévérance Benevolent and Mutual Aid Association (founded in 1783) was the first of these societies to be formed in the U.S., four years before the Free African Society of Philadelphia, which is commonly cited as the first Black voluntary association in the U.S.
[12] Ibid.

thoughtful commemorations of the deceased—both serious and comical, followed by a mournful walk to the burial site, accompanied by choral lamentations. Funeral dirges are then performed as the family "lays the body down" (a common phrase for placing the deceased's body into the ground). After which, the funeral becomes a celebration of life and ancestry accompanied by lively drumming and dance as the living helps the deceased's spirit transition to the afterlife (Hall 1998:89).

In NOLA, a typical jazz funeral consists of moving the body from the deceased's home to the church for the service and then to the cemetery. At first, the band assembles at the deceased's home or clubhouse with family, friends, and society members where they play somber dirges or hymns, such as "Amazing Grace," "Oh Didn't He Ramble," "Precious Lord Take My Hand," and "Will the Circle Be Unbroken." The procession then moves to the funeral home or church, where the body lay in repose. At the church, the band plays a hymn that the family typically chooses and then waits outside for the service to conclude. Upon completion of the funeral service, the pallbearers carry the casket to the street, where the band typically performs a soul-stirring rendition of "Just a Closer Walk with Thee." A grand marshal then sets the pace for the procession to the cemetery.

At the close of the cemetery service, the body is "cut loose," which is to say, the casket is placed into the ground—this is where the second liners join in.[13] At a respectable distance from the grave, the second line gathers behind and alongside the mainline to participate in the celebration after laying the body down. The band begins to play in the "life celebration style," or up-tempo music leading the procession back through the streets to the repast (the gathering of family and friends after the funeral). Some second line participants describe this portion of a funeral as "nothin' but a party goin' on"–which also happens to be the title of a well-known song by the Dirty Dozen

[13] A "second liner" is someone who participates in the "second line," the portion of a jazz funeral parade set in binary opposition with the "mainline."

Brass Band.[14] Coming out of this funeral-with-music tradition, second line parades can be viewed as reenactments and manifestations of cultural memories and a part of the everyday life of NOLA.

By the mid-1880s, the focus for some Black Orleanians shifted away from the original purpose of mutual aid societies, focusing more of their attention—and resources—on the social aspects of a club. Consequently, Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs (SAPCs) were formed; the Young Men Olympian (YMO) Benevolent Association, founded in 1884, is often cited as the oldest continually active SPAC in New Orleans.[15] Because of this cultural shift, the second line was effectively disembodied from the jazz funeral—that is, parades that are not attached to a funeral.

The most common type of social function sponsored by SPACs was a Sunday afternoon parade. Usually held on Sunday afternoons—after church and Sunday dinner—a SPAC would meet at their local watering hole for libations dressed in their best clothes and parade through the Backatown neighborhoods of NOLA to the music of a brass band. The procession often includes "stops" at bars so that members could "refresh" themselves. With no restrictions regarding size or type of event, SAPCs provided numerous opportunities for Black New Orleanians to "rhythmically move through the streets" (Carrico 2015:164). This type of parade retained the name second line, which, before this time, was attributed to the celebratory component of the jazz funeral. This second line evolved into a formal schedule of SPACs and became quite the arena for competition in regard to dress, dance style, size (number of members, divisions, and attendees), and for brass bands, musicality.

---

[14] "Ain't Nothin' But a Party" was composed by Sammie Williams and appears on the Dirty Dozen Brass Band's 2002 release, *Medicated Magic* (Ropeadope). "Ain't Nothin' But A Party" by the Dirty Dozen Brass Band from their album "Medicated Magic." Posted April 16, 2008. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X-lUHu_oGe8. Accessed May 11, 2021.

[15] The Young Men Olympian (YMO) Benevolent Association was established as a church-based benevolent society. Therefore, YMO is technically a benevolent society, no a SPAC. However, YMO is made up of five separate SAPC divisions, which include the Untouchables, Furious Five, New Look, Big Steppers and the First Division.

Born in an era of increasing racism and violence inflicted upon the Black community, the second line emerged "as a distinct expressive form just as white racial terror and a new, overtly white supremacist legal regime disempowered Black and Creole New Orleanians alike" (Doleac 2018:26). Even though the music and accompanying dance steps of the second line have changed over time, it has retained the same basic form, function, and underlying musical pulse throughout its history.

The Effect of Jim Crow Laws

In the years immediately following the Civil War, New Orleans was a place of relative racial tolerance and increased social intermingling. As previously discussed, some level of racial tolerance has existed since the city's beginnings (see Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation), but during Reconstruction, with the protection of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and the newly drafted Louisiana Constitution, the Black community in NOLA enjoyed a period of economic and social prosperity; they were able to actively participate in the political process, own land, seek their own employment, and use public accommodations, where "all persons" were treated equally "without distinction or discrimination on account of race or color."[16]

Almost immediately, though, the Louisiana State legislature began systematically dismantling the vestiges of equality in Louisiana. With the gradual implementation of "Black Codes"—or racial segregation laws that were modeled after the earlier slave codes—the white establishment

[16] The Code Noir of 1724, guaranteed freed slaves "the same rights, privileges and immunities which are enjoyed by free-born persons" and anyone who "could prove descent from a French or Spanish ancestor was regarded as a white citizen." See Charles Hersch, *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) 19; Dale A. Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans: A Study in Urban Race Relations, 1865-1900," *The Journal of Southern* History 40, no. 1 (1974): 20–28; James Haskins and Don Miller, *The Creoles of Color of New Orleans* (New York: Crowell, 1975) 15; Rex Harris, *Jazz*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1952) 49; Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States 1901-1915* (Atheneum, 1969), 327; and Louis R. Harlan, "Desegregation in New Orleans Public Schools During Reconstruction," *The American Historical Review* 67, no.3 (1962): 663-75.

successfully restored the antebellum southern social order, in which whites maintained political dominance over Blacks. These codes regulated the gathering of Black individuals to no more than three African Americans and gave whites legal authority over Blacks when no police officer was present, among other indignities. Even though the federal government had endeavored to guarantee equality of all citizens throughout the U.S. South, it did little to help freed Blacks in the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness—or to own property.

War decimated the agricultural economy of the South. In an attempt to assuage the Southern planter class's losses, President Andrew Johnson ordered all confiscated land be returned to its previous owners in the fall of 1865. But, the planter's labor force, once viewed as property, was now free. Landowners complained of a persistent "labor shortage." What resulted was the system known as *sharecropping*. Under this system, Black individuals would work small plots of land or shares, and, instead of receiving wages for working an owner's land, they were required to give up a portion of their crop to the landowner at the end of the growing season. With high interest rates and unscrupulous landowners and merchants, conditions were such that tenant families were left severely indebted to their landowners and often exposed to strict supervision and harsh discipline. In effect, the sharecropping system kept the Black laborer servile to the landowner.

By the end of the 19th century, Louisiana passed a series of laws that withdrew any advantages New Orleanians of color had over their rural counterparts: requiring separate accommodations for colored and white passengers on railroads (1890), disenfranchising Black voters (1897-1898), excluding Black tradespeople from most trade unions, and eliminated the requirement of unanimous jury verdicts (1898; see Figures 3.1-2).[17] During this period of Reconstruction, we see

[17] In November 2018, Louisiana voters approved Amendment 2, eliminating a Jim Crow law that made Louisiana one of two states allowing non-unanimous juries in felony trials. On November 3rd, 2018, I participated the Promise of Justice Initiative's Secondline [sic] for Equal Justice and Rally. The second line and rally was sponsored by the Jim Crow Juries: Unanimous Jury

the strength of the city's Black community laid bare. Black workers took to the streets to assert their rights, fighting for equal job opportunities and wages, often in the form of a parade.[18]

The Early 20th Century

The Golden Age of Brass Bands

By the 1870s, Black brass bands had become an essential feature of the social and cultural life of NOLA, and groups, such as the St. Brenard Brass Band, Kelly's Brass Band, the Oriental Brass Band, and the Pickwick Brass Band were among the city's favorites (Knowles 1996:28; White 2001:73; Doleac 2018:54-55).[19] By the 1880s, until sometime around the period of First World War, brass bands were in full flower, leading some to refer to the period as the Golden Age of Bands (Knowles 1996:2). During this time, the Excelsior, Eureka, Deer Range, Pelican, Pickwick, Olympia, Onward, Reliance, St. Joseph, and Tuxedo Brass Bands were established, each with exceptionally long life and reach (Schafer 1977:8-9). The brass band provided a space for musicians to hone their musical skills and were the breeding grounds for the rise of jazz—the Onward Brass Band (1885)

Project. The protestors were calling for law makers to prioritize criminal justice reform, funding for public defense, and an end to money bail. The parade was led by the To Be Continued and Big 6 brass bands. One incredibly moving moment along the parade route was when the procession paused in front of the New Orleans Central Lockup, which stands at the corner of Perdido and S. Broad Streets, directly behind the Criminal District Courthouse, where the two bands performed for the inmates that were incarcerated there. Inmates could be seen holding up their hands in solidarity with the protestors.

[18] Henry C. Dethloff and Robert R Jones. "Race Relations in Louisiana, 1877-98." Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association 9, no. 4 (1968): 301–23, p. 311; Otis M. Scruggs, 1971 "Economic and Racial Components of Jim Crow," in Nathan I. Huggins, Martin Kilson, and Daniel M. Fox (eds.) Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovic. 1971, p. 64; and Dale A. Somers. "Black and White in New Orleans: A Study in Urban Race Relations, 1865-1900." *The Journal of Southern History* 40, no. 1 (1974): 19–42, p. 31.

[19] In his groundbreaking volume, *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (1878), James M. Trotter surveys Black music and musicians across the United States, providing "SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF REMARKABLE MUSICIANS OF THE COLORED RACE [sic.]" See James M. Trotter, *Music and Some Highly Musical People: Following Which Are Given Sketches of the Lives of Remarkable Musicians of the Colored Race; with Portraits, and an Appendix Contianing Copies of Music Composed by Colored Men* (1878). In it, Trotter cites the St. Bernard Brass Band, under the leadership of "Mr. E. Lambert," and Kelly's, under the direction of "Mr. Kelly," as two of the Black brass bands in NOLA at the time.

Figure 3.1-2. Top: The Promise of Justice Initiative's Secondline [sic] for Equal Justice and Rally, November 3, 2018. Bottom: Inmates of the New Orleans Central Lockup seen holding up their hands in solidarity with protestors of the Promise of Justice Initiative's Secondline for Equal Justice and Rally, November 3, 2018.

and the Excelsior Brass Band (1879) being the most celebrated.[20]

Bands of the Golden Age were modeled after the Anglo-American and Creole militia bands of the antebellum in regard to uniform, drill formations, and musical arrangement; typically staffing ten to twelve members, including two to three cornets or trumpets, two to three trombones, one or two clarinets, an alto horn and/or baritone horn, a tuba, a snare drum, and a bass drum. They wore formal attire: military-style coats with matching slacks, white shirts, long black ties, officer's caps, and highly polished shoes (for more on Black militia bands and early brass band formations, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation). Guiding the band with a graceful strut was a grand marshal decked out in a suit (most often a tuxedo), a Stetson, derby, or top hat, a decorated sash with the name of the band embroidered upon it, and carrying a feather fan.[21]

Their repertory included marches, opera overtures, dance pieces (*allemandes, courantes, gavottes, gigues, minuets, polkas*, *quadrilles, sarabandes*, *schottisches*, and waltzes), dirges, hymns, and renditions of popular music of the day. Some brass bands pushed beyond the European-influenced dance styles and military band tradition, moving in new directions (Excelsior, Onward, Original Tuxedo, and the Superior, known then as "ratty" bands), others continued to embrace the earlier style in their performances. During this time, we see an eruption of creativity that was reflective of New Orleans's "Africanized" culture that would "[lay] the groundwork for a music that would catapult African Americans into the center of American culture" (Hirsch 2007:17-19).

[20] Among the notable jazz musicians to come out of these bands were Louis Armstrong (cornet and trumpet), Sidney Bechet (clarinet and later soprano saxophone), Honoré Dutrey (trombone), Sam Dutrey, Sr. (clarinet and saxophone), Willie Gary "Bunk" Johnson (trumpet), Freddie Keppard (cornet), King Oliver (cornet), John Robichaux (drums; he also played violin and), Alphonse Picou (clarinet), Lorenzo Tio, Jr. (clarinet), Luis Tio (Lorenzo Tio's uncle, clarinet), Lorenzo Tio, Sr. (Lorenzo Tio's father, clarinet), and Willie Humphrey (clarinet).

[21] Leading the Eureka, Olympia, and the Young Tuxedo Bras Bands, drummer Matthew "Fats" Houston is perhaps the most iconic of grand marshals in NOLA history. He can be seen in the James Bond film, *Live and Let Die* (1973).

The Embrace of Ragtime and the Popularization of Black Improvised Music

In the latter half of the 19th century, the three main types of ensembles performing around New Orleans were brass bands (mainly for funerals and other outdoor events), society orchestras (indoor "polite" events; which drew largely upon European ballroom dance forms), and string bands (smaller and sought-after for more diverse settings and expected to entertain with up-to-date songs and dancing music). Of the three, the string band proved most versatile.

Its instrumentation, borrowed from both brass marching bands and society orchestras (which utilized the piano as a chordal instrument), reducing the size of bands from twelve or more, down to between six and eight musicians (sometimes as few as two). The new instrumentation model was made up of one or two violinists, a cornetists, a clarinetist, a trombonist, a string bassist or tubist, a drummer performing on a drumset, and occasionally a banjist or guitarist (later, by the 1910s, these bands incorporated the piano).[22]

The drumset is perhaps most representative of this "downsizing" and was carried forward into the Jazz Age. It is a hybrid composite of instruments from around the world: snare and bass drum (European), woodblocks and colorfully painted tom-toms (Chinese), and cymbals (Turkish and Chinese). It makes its first appearance in NOLA shortly before the 20th century. The snare and bass drum that were once slung over the players' shoulders in marching bands were now placed on the ground or on stands that propped them up. The bass drum was equipped with a foot pedal, leaving the hands free to perform the snare drum. The music required the *sound* of two or more drummers, and this new technology provided the tools for one drummer to sound like two—all while reducing the financial burden of a larger band. John Robichaux's drummer, Edward "Dee

[22] According to Karl Koenig, many of NOLA's society orchestras employed women as their pianist. Additionally, society orchestras also performed "jazz" when requested, but this practice wasn't common until it became evident that they do to compete with other bands. For more information on women performers in early jazz, see Karl Koenig, *The Jazz Lectures* (Abita Springs: Basin Street Press, 1996).

Dee" Chandler, is credited with popularizing the bass drum pedal in New Orleans in the mid-1890s. The entertainment market blossomed as the numerous public performance spaces increased. And, by the 1890s, the demand for more exciting music rose proportionally with it. As competition increased, one way that bands could remain competitive was to decrease the number of musicians in the band.

With fewer individuals, string bands were more "nimble on their feet," and the musicians were free to embellish, add, change, or improvise individual parts. This new performance model, where all the band's members are expected to engage in improvisation and embellishment within their instrument's respective roles, is termed *collective improvisation*. In moving away from sight-reading toward "playing by ear," Black musicians transformed the performative styles of dance in NOLA at the time into a more syncopated—and improvised—medium of expression; one that was shaped by the aesthetics of the ring dances of Congo Square and world view that was completely different than their Anglo-American counterparts. Although some musicians operated in only one domain, many performed with brass bands, society bands, and string bands alike, interweaving repertoire and style.

But, while string bands dominated indoors, brass bands dominated *en plein air*. Just as the music of the church found its way onto the street, so too did reinterpretations of more "popular" dance styles, such as the slow drag, cakewalk, and the waltz, associated with "American" secular society, signifying a simultaneous moving away from the sacred music associated with the church as well as the "polite," hierarchical dance styles of the late 19th century to more exciting ones. Consequently, a new musical style arose: ragtime. As curator and historian for the Historic New Orleans Collection, Eric Seiferth so eloquently notes, ragtime "not only influenced brass band music, but was itself affected by the bands and their musical traditions—flourishing in and reacting

to the performance spaces provided by Black churches, benevolent societies, and social aid and pleasure clubs."[23]

Ragtime's main identifying trait is its "ragged," or syncopated rhythms. The term *rag* is multifaceted and is utilized as both a noun (a musical form; a square cloth, which is linked to the "flaunting of rags" while dancing that was widespread throughout the African diaspora) and a verb (performative emphasis; style of accent or *swing*; or to embellish and decorate a melody).[24] There is also a more disturbing identification of the term, which is traced to early Vaudeville performers who proffered in racial stereotyping and misrepresentation, painting a picture of African Americans in ragged and tattered clothing who would dance on the levees of the Mississippi River. The description of the syncopated rhythm of the melody as ragged is the most musically descriptive root.

The term *ragtime* first appeared in print in 1896, but its derivation is much older.[25] Ragtime derived from oral tradition—Black folk artforms of the 18th and 19th centuries (early shouts and stomps, jig, Virginia banjo blues, and the cakewalk)—and was performed by Black musicians long before it was written down and widely circulated as sheet music.[26] Because of this, the roots of

---

23 Eric Seiferth, "How brass bands became a New Orleans tradition-picking up new sounds along the way," *The Historic New Orleans* Collection, (January 2020), accessed March 24, 2021, https://www.hnoc.org/publications/first-draft/how-brass-bands-became-new-orleans-tradition-picking-new-sounds-along-way.

24 For more on the origins and hidden meanings of the term ragtime, see Samuel A. Floyd. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting its History from Africa to the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 70-72; Edward A. Berlin. *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980), 11-13; and Ingeborg Harer, "Ragtime." In *African American Music: An Introduction,* edited by Mellonee V. Burnim and Portia K. Maults b y(New York: Routledge, 2006) 127.

25 W.H. Krell was the to use the term in a title: "Mississippi Rag", 1897. Then, Thomas Turpin became the first African American to produce what is now considered ragtime with the publishing of his "Harlem Rag", 1897.

26 Dressed in their fineries, high-stepping to the syncopated pulse, Black Americans first danced to ragtime's immediate precursor, the *cakewalk*. *Cakewalk*–both a term that describes a dance and a musical form. The cakewalk derived from the slave dances of the 19th century, where enslaved people signified on the "polite" Anglo-American dance styles of the mid-19th century.

Cakewalk, typical form:	(INTRO) AA BB A CC DD
Military march form:	(INTRO) AA BB CC DD
Ragtime form [Maple Leaf Rag]:	(INTRO) AA BB A CC DD

ragtime are hard to trace. At its height, from the late-1890s to 1917, ragtime was played in concert halls, clubs, and honky-tonks the world over.[27]

In 1896 "rag" and "ragtime" were used to describe novelty numbers that came out of the minstrel shows of the late-19th century. Proffering in and expanding upon the minstrel stereotypes of the archetypical "Zip Coon" of the antebellum, these songs were published as "coon songs," which parodied Black culture and speech. Satirical in nature—and deeply offensive in characterization—coon songs were the first rags to be notated (written down) and published and were quickly distributed across the continent via published compositions. First among them was "All Coons Look Alike to Me," composed by Black Vaudevillian Ernest Hogan. The second chorus offered a syncopated accompaniment, composed by Max Hoffman, along with an optional chorus, subtitled, "Choice Chorus, with Negro 'Rag'"—marking the first known use of the term "rag" in publication.[28]

Ragtime first burst on the world stage at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, in Chicago, Illinois (also known as the Chicago World's Fair), where some twenty-seven million people heard the musical style for the first time—even though "it had not yet found its name" (Edward A. Berlin 1994:12).[29] At the Fair, Scott Joplin (often dubbed the "King of Ragtime") led a band, played cornet, and arranged the band's music, all in the style of what would become known as ragtime (Berlin 1994:12).[30] Ragtime offered Fair attendees "unique rhythms, curious couplings of words, and

---

27 The "end date" for the ragtime era is marked by both the year that the Original Dixieland Jass Band recorded "Livery Stable Blues"—often cited as the first recording to employ jazz aesthetics and to utilize the term "jass," which later became jazz–and the year Scott Joplin died (1917). "Livery Stable Blues," recorded by the white New Orleans band, the Original Dixieland Jass Band, is often heralded as the first "jazz" recording. For more on ragtime and biographical information on Scott Joplin, see Rudi Blesh, Robert R. Darch, Arthur Marshall, Harriet G. Janis, Donald Ashwander, Scott Hayden, Scott Joplin, et al., *They All Played Ragtime.* Fourthed. (New York: Oak Publications, 1971); and Edward A. Berlin, *King of Ragtime: Scott Joplin and His Era.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[28] The "cake walk" is the dance form most closely associated with early ragtime. It is important to note that many of the published rags were published as "marches."

29 Sandy R. Mazzola, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition." *American Music* 4, no. 4 (1986): 420.

[30] It is important to note that Scott Joplin (often dubbed the "King of Ragtime") was not a New Orleans-based musician. Joplin was born in Texarkana, Arkansas, then moved to Sedalia, Missouri as a child, then moved on to St. Louis, where he spent several years performing and composing, before moving on the New York, New York.

melodies that have the zest of unexpectedness" to the listening public, many of whom had never heard Black musicians performing Black music.[31]

By 1900, ragtime was everywhere, in sheet music, piano rolls, phonograph records, music boxes, vaudeville theaters, and red-light districts throughout the U.S. And by World War I, ragtime was adopted as a distinctly American form of popular music. As the market demand for vernacular musics far exceeded the number of bands available, George Vital "Papa Jack" Laine organized multiple musical ensembles or units under the Reliance name, Laine's Band, and the Formal Band to keep up with demand. This strategy was quite common among bands in NOLA. For example, the Pelican Brass and String Band, the St. Joseph Brass Band, the Superior, and Papa Celestin's Tuxedo Brass Band, Original Tuxedo Brass Band, and Original Tuxedo Jazz Orchestra (a string unit) either operated as both orchestras for venue performances and as brass bands for marching gigs, or provided distinct units of varying sizes and instrumentation, that were tailor-fit to the demands of the engagement.[32]

New Orleans Jazz

At the turn of the century, in NOLA, we see the emergence of two styles of brass band performance: one conservative, the other dynamic. Conservative-leaning bands performed European-style dances via notated scores, where ragtime bands playing in a "looser," improvisational style (known then as "ratty") that incorporated blues elements and other popular music styles and

[31] "Will Marion Cook on Negro Music," The New York Age, September 21, 1918; Cited in Edward A. Berlin's "Ragtime," Grove Music Online, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.
[32] Papa Celestin's Tuxedo units—which took its name from the Tuxedo Dance Hall in New Orleans, where the band performed from 1910 until the clubs closing in 1913, after which, the band, continued to use the name--and Laine's Tuxedo Band were separate organizations and should not be confused. https://www.nps.gov/jazz/learn/historyculture/papa_jack.htm; http://basinstreet.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/nohistry.pdf.

was "played by ear," not from sheet music.[33] Moreover, ragtime was easily adapted to fit the brass band format. This approach gave musicians the interpretive latitude to ornament existing melodies—or make up their own, improvise counterpoint within the harmony of a song, and experiment with rhythm. In short, this approach provided the musicians the means for a very personal musical expression.

During the Reconstruction era, African Americans moved from the nearby rural areas to NOLA in search of a better life, bringing with them demand for affordable, accessible, ratty music and a blues-based musical influence.[34] Within this style of performance, no other musician would garner as much attention as Buddy Bolden. Widely credited as the progenitor of jazz, Charles Joseph "Buddy" Bolden is perhaps the most iconic figure in New Orleans music. Cornetist and master improviser with a loud, brash sound, Bolden is said to have imbued his ratty music with the blues in such a way that he could keep his audience dancing until the sun rose. Moreover, he is credited with revolutionizing a musical revolution that would radiate well beyond New Orleans.

According to author Donald M. Marquis, in his book, *In Search of Buddy Bolden: First Man of Jazz*, Bolden was born on September 6, 1877.[35] Bolden grew up in a racially mixed neighborhood now known as Central City, taking up the cornet sometime around 1895. By the turn of the century, Bolden was performing professionally and drew crowds of dancers whenever he played. He was known for his powerful sound, improvisational prowess, codifying the 12-bar blues—years before

---

[33] Musicians that were capable of playing by ear were often referred to as "fakers" or the French term, *routiniers,* (Lawrence Gushee. "The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Jazz," *Black Music Research Journal* 22, (2002): 152. Another influential performing ensemble that developed sometime in the late-19th century was the "spasm" band. Spasm bands. Spasm bands were *ad hoc* ensembles of typically young children performing on anything from hand-made instruments, to kazoos, and "found" instruments (e.g., bottles, sticks, washboards, and rocks). Spasm bands were non-reading bands. In this light, spasm bands were important precursors to jazz. One famous example is Stalebread Lacoume's Razzy Dazzy Spasm Band.

[34] Brothers, Louis Armstrong's New Orleans, 17.

[35] Donald M. Marquis. *In Search of Buddy Bolden: First Man of Jazz*. Rev.ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005).

the earliest recorded evidence of the format (W.C. Handy in 2014), and irreverent renditions of songs such as "Funky Butt," sometimes known today as "Buddy Bolden's Blues."[36]

In 1907, at age thirty, Bolden suffered a psychotic episode and was admitted to the Louisiana State Insane Asylum, where he spent the remainder of his life. Consequently, no recording exists of the young cornetist. Because of this, much of what is known about Bolden's playing is recovered from oral histories and hearsay gathered a quarter-century after Bolden stopped performing, when his musical contribution to the world was first memorialized in a series of articles in the *Louisiana Weekly* by African American journalist, E. Belfield Spriggins in 1933.[37]

By the 1900s, we see two seemingly divergent styles of music being performed in NOLA: "polite" and "ratty" (ragtime)—denominations referring to the improvised music of Black New Orleanians at the turn of the century; it would not be called "jazz" until much later. Ragtime bands traveled to other, larger metropolises, such as Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York, playing their music for enthusiastic audiences.[38] And by the teens, their music had "become a national craze and the conceptual basis for an entire generation in the "Jazz Age" (White 2001:77).

Both styles of music were very much complementary traditions. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the membership of the varying ensembles was as fluid as the expressive framework (aesthetic, musical influence, life experience, and even commercial demand) within which NOLA

---

[36] The song's title is said to refer to the "funky" aroma of dancers dancing enthusiastically to Bolden's music in the days before air-conditioning. The song calls for a window to be opened to "let the bad air out." James Karst (2020, September 01). Buddy Bolden's Blues. Retrieved March 31, 2021, from https://64parishes.org/buddy-boldens-blues.

[37] E. Belfield Spriggins, "Excavating Local Jazz," Louisiana Weekly, April 22, 1933, p. 5.

[38] New Orleans musicians began traveling to other cities to perform as early as 1894, when the Southern Pacific Railroad introduced the Sunset Limited, offering regular train service from New Orleans to Los Angeles. Many of New Orleans most celebrated musicians spent time performing and recording in L.A., such as cornetist Freddie Keppard came to L.A. in 1911 and was there off and on until 1915 performing with his band, the Original Creole Band; cornetist King Oliver spent the summer and fall months of 1921 performing in L.A. before heading to Chicago in 1922; trombonist Kid Ory moved to L.A. in 1919 and made the first record of black New Orleans jazz at a studio in Santa Monica. He spent the next six years there. Ory later was in residence at Disneyland in Anaheim, CA from 1960-64, which featured other known NOLA jazz artists Louis Armstrong and Johnny St. Cyr.); pianist/composer Jelly Roll Morton spent five years on the West Coast before heading East (1918-1923).

musicians performed. During the same period, churches, benevolent societies, and SAPCs continued to sponsor parades, creating a mutually beneficial patronage relationship. Providing a training ground for young brass musicians and work for the many Black brass bands, these institutions nurtured brass band music, musicians, and parade culture. Combining European dance styles, sacred hymns, and the blues with other popular tunes, according to occasion and audience, Black brass band musicians created a *modus interpretatione* whereby the work informed the repertoire that incorporated new sounds of the day into their music.

The demand for lively ragtime- and jazz-playing ensembles ultimately led to the decline of the conservative, military-style brass bands of the mid- and late-18th century. Jazz-playing brass bands remained an integral part of the local Black community. As Dr. Michael G. White affirms: "More than mere fun or entertainment among Crescent City blacks, brass bands were a multifunctional, necessary part of life. The music they played was a spiritual expression of a collective conscious" (White 2001:77).

There are no recordings of NOLA brass bands from this time period, we can hear the early wind band recordings of W.C. Handy and James Reese Europe, who, in the second decade of the twentieth century, were lauded for their blues-inspired, orchestrated ragtime, and the performance style with which they played.[39] The African American musicians on these recordings produced "a wide range of vocally inspired timbres using sound-altering devices" that bear a striking resemblance

---

[39] Brass band musicians of this period often described their music as ragtime—a tradition that continued well into the 20th century. NOLA trumpeter, Duane "Big D" Burns, says many of the trumpeters that he listened to growing up (Milton Batiste, Thomas Jefferson, Teddy Riley, and Jack Willis) referred to their music as ragtime, rather than jazz. Burns, Duane "Big D." Musician. February 2019. I borrow the term *orchestrated ragtime* from Dr. Cheryl Keyes to describe instrumental rags or tunes that were performed by brass and wind bands of the early twentieth century. Orchestrated ragtime is emblematic of ragtime in every way, but since the genre/style is so closely associated with solo piano playing, it deserves its own descriptor. See W. C. Handy's "Saint Louis Blues" (or "St. Louis Blues"; 1914) which codified the 12-bar blues form; James Reese Europe and Chris Smith's "Ballin' the Jack" (1914) and Europe's and version of W. C. Handy's "Memphis Blues" (1919).

to the style in which NOLA musicians describe early brass band performance (Ernest D. Brown 2015:31). Bandleader and jazz musician James Reese Europe describes this process in detail:

> With the brass instruments we put in mutes and made a whirling motion with the tongue, at the same time blowing full pressure. With wind instruments we pinch the mouthpiece and blow hard. This produces the peculiar sound which you all know. To us it is not discordant [. . .] we accent strongly in this manner the notes which originally would be without accent. It is natural for us to do this; it is indeed, a racial musical characteristic. [. . .]
> Whenever possible they [band members] all embroider their parts in order to produce new, peculiar sounds. Some of these effects are excellent and some are not, and I have to be continually on the lookout to cut out the results of my musicians' originality.[40]

Since there is no way of knowing what NOLA musicians of this period did or did not do, it is not a big jump to view Europe's commentary as representative of African American aesthetic values at the time. As such, Europe's description provides us insight into the African American conceptualization of timbre (quality of a musical sound) and music-making ("originality," individuality within a collective, and improvisation) within the framework of African American aesthetic values on the whole.

In NOLA, this framework was further informed by the ring shout, where an assemblage of West African, Native American, and Caribbean musical elements that encapsulate what Samuel A. Floyd terms "all of the defining elements of black music": pentatonic melodic structure, heterophonic texture, repetition as a compositional device, a "throbbing effect" caused by accents of the second and fourth beats of every measure, interjections and punctuations, off-beat melodic phrasings, "call-and-response devices; additive rhythms and polyrhythms; timbral distortions of various kinds; musical individuality within collectivity; and the metronomic foundational pulse that

[40] Europe, James Reese. "A Negro Explains 'Jazz.'" 1919. Reprint in *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History*, edited by Robert Walser, 12–14. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

underlies all Afro-American music" (Floyd 1991:6, 267-268).[41] While Europe "[had] to be continually on the lookout" to curb his "musician's originality," in NOLA, this quality was sought after.

Just as the U.S. was entering into war in Europe, a group of five white musicians from NOLA made history in the New York City recording studios of the Victor Talking Machine Company. The Original Dixieland Jazz Band's (ODJB) first *side*, "Livery Stable Blues," coupled with a second, "Dixie Jass Band One Step," became the first recordings to reference the term "jazz" (February 26, 1917; *jass* later became *jazz*).[42] The recordings were wildly successful and signaled the beginning of the Jazz Age, which reached its apex in the "Roaring Twenties."[43]

All of ODJB's musicians had been members in Papa Jack Laine's Reliance Brass Band at one time or another. Before the Jim Crow laws went into effect in New Orleans, Laine's band was integrated, potentially making him the first known integrated band in the jazz lineage—an honor typically reserved for the clarinetist, Benny Goodman, some fifty years later. Even during Jim Crow, a time of forced segregation, Laine continued to hire African Americans who passed as white. Even

[41] Interestingly, Europe locates jazz's origins in NOLA at about 1904, in the same article for the *New York Tribune* (1919). Though jazz is commonly poised at the center of the "origin" debate, important jazz traditions have also been associated with other American cities—most notably Chicago, Kansas City, New York, and Los Angeles. I make no claims here as to whether jazz was created in New Orleans or not; that matter is taken up by other scholars. Nor do I engage with the "first" jazz recording debate. Rather, what I intend to show is that the brass band was part and parcel of the *type* of jazz that was being played in NOLA at the end of the 19th century and continues to this day in both conservative and contemporary-style or "new wave" brass band branches of the tradition. For more on the debate over the birthplace of jazz, see Leonard Feather, *The Book of Jazz*. (New York: Meridian Books, 1960); Scott DeVeaux, "Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography," *Black American Literature Forum* 25, no. 3 (1991): 525-560; among many others.
[42] What made the ODJB different from other New Orleans (Black) bands, was that they appropriated the Black aesthetic, interpreting the music through a lens that was informed more from Vaudeville than the ragtime Black musicians were playing at the time. Their raucous, hokum style included a frantic pace and rhythmic interpretation, sirens, chicken squawks (clarinet), horse whinnies (cornet), and even cattle lowing (trombone), all presented with the band's wacky stage antics (e.g., playing the trombone's slide with the foot). Early recording media (cylinders and one-sided shellac discs) held approximately two minutes of audio. In 1908, Columbia Records introduced double-sided recordings with one selection on each side. The term "side" was frequently used to refer to the two sides of phonograph records (the term by itself, and also A-side and B-side—and later cassettes. The term remains in use in jazz afficionado/audiophile circles.
[43] In the period between 1917 and post-War, not immediate prosperity in the US. For example, there was the Spanish Flu epidemic of 1918, which lasted until mid-1920; the Tulsa Massacre (sometimes referred to as the Black Wall Street Massacre; May 31 – June 1, 1921), where hundreds were killed—the overwhelming majority of which were Black—and hundreds of thousands of dollars were reported in property loss; the massive economic collapse in the summer of 1921, that resulted in the Great Depression which lasted well into the late-1930s. What I mean to say is, many Americans suffered dearly throughout the "Roaring 20s"—there was "a lot of bad stuff that happened before we had fun" (Dan Weinstein. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. 2021). Nonetheless, music thrived in the era, and jazz was all the rage.

though Nick LaRocca, the ODJB's founder, claimed to have invented jazz—something several other jazz musicians have either claimed or been given credit for, such as Charles "Buddy" Bolden and later Willie Geary "Bunk" Johnson and Jelly Roll Morton (née Ferdinand Joseph LaMothe)—the fact that the members of the ODJB came out of an integrated brass band from NOLA demonstrates the significance of African American musical aesthetics and the brass band to jazz as an evolving style.[44]

The Jazz Age and Early Brass Band Recordings

On June 28, 1919, Germany and the Allied Nations (Britain, France, Russia, and the U.S.) signed the Treaty of Versailles, formally ending the war.[45] Along with the economic boom that followed the war (new industries and mass production techniques, the improvement of infrastructure, increased employment opportunity, and the expansion of the stock market and credit for consumers), jazz rose in popularity. This "new" music became ubiquitous throughout the country—the soundtrack for the "Roaring Twenties" and led to a cultural shift among America's white middle class.[46] The Great Migration, too, played its part in this cultural shift. In the 1910s alone, the Black population of major Northern cities grew by large percentages: New York (66 percent), Chicago (148 percent), Philadelphia (500 percent), and Detroit (611 percent).[47] The migration of Black individuals also led to broader dispersal of jazz as different styles developed in other cities—Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York, chief among them. Although the smaller "jazz

[44] The use of the term *original* in the band's name implies a sense of authenticity and implies that jass (jazz) was created by the members of ODJB.
[45] Germany formally surrendered on November 11, 1918, signing an armistice whereby all nations agreed to stop fighting while the terms of peace were negotiated.
[46] The Great Migration was the relocation of more than six million African Americans from the South to the cities of the North, Midwest and West from about 1915 to 1970 in search of economic opportunities and to escape harsh segregationist laws and physical violence of the South, from which Black urban cultures were established around the country that would exert enormous influence in the decades to come.
[47] History.com Editors. (2010, March 04). The great Migration. Retrieved April 01, 2021, from https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/great-migration.

band" format became the model for entertainment throughout the U.S., brass bands remained an integral part of the local Black community in NOLA.

By the 1930s, we see the emergence of jazz history as a field of study.[48] Although, it was Frederic Ramsey, Jr. and Charles Edward Smith's 1939 edited volume, *Jazzmen,* that had the most enduring impact on the field.[49] Based on many hours of oral history interviews of living "jazz *men,*" such as Bunk Johnson (who claimed credit for being "the first"—with Bolden—to play the music that had yet been named), *Jazzmen* is the first historical text devoted to the subject of jazz. The authors of *Jazzmen*—all white men—saw themselves as defenders of a tradition that had become contaminated by white musicians and commercialism, promoting a conservative, preservationist mindset that would have long-lasting implications for decades to come. Ultimately, Ramsey and Smith effectively established a narrative of jazz that "would lend the beginnings of jazz in New Orleans a closer indebtedness to black musical sources."[50] One phrase, more than any other, exemplifies this narrative:

> In New Orleans you could still hear the bamboula on Congo Square when Buddy Bolden cut his first chorus on cornet. You could still hear the bamboula and you couldn't see a note of written music (Ramsey and Smith 1939:6).

Jazzmen simultaneously cements New Orleans as the "birthplace of jazz," thrust "King Bolden"—the "First Man of Jazz"—into the spotlight as the progenitor of jazz, perpetuates the essentialist idea

---

[48] Two European studies of jazz appear in the early-1930s. What is often cited as the first "serious" book on jazz, *Aux Frontières du Jazz* was published in 1932; see, Goffin, Robert, Pierre Mac Orlan, and Charles Malherbe. 1932. Aux frontières du jazz. Paris: Ed. du Sagittaire. The second known resource is *Le Jazz Hot,* where authors warned warned against the error of judging jazz according to the principles of classical music. For more, see Hugues Panassié, Louis Armstrong, and Eugène Marsan. 1934. *Le Jazz Hot*. Paris: Corrêa. One of the first U.S.-based projects of jazz is found in Winthrop Sargant's *Jazz: Hot and Hybrid* (1939). His is the first discussion of the "blues scale," and to propose that jazz is an African retention. For more see Winthrop Sargeant. *Jazz: Hot and Hybrid*. New York: Arrow, 1938; new and enlarged edition, New York: Dutton, 1946; London" Jazz Book Club, 1959; third edition, New York: Da Capo, 1975. In 1939, American music critic Wilder Hobson (writer and editor for *Time*, *Fortune, Harper's Bazaar*, and *Newsweek* magazines) authored perhaps the second book-length study of jazz: *American Jazz Music.* For more, see Wilder Hobson *American Jazz Music. (NY: W.W. Norton, 1939, republished in 1941 and 1976).*

[49] The contributors to *Jazzmen* were E. Sims Campbell, Roger Pryor Dodge, Otis Ferguson, Wilder Hobson, Edward J. Nichols, Frederic Ramsey Jr., William Russell, Charles Edward Smith, and Stephen W. Smith.

[50] See Samuel Charters, *Trumpet Around the Corner: The Story of New Orleans Jazz* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008).

that jazz musicians were "non-readers," and romantically affixed Congo Square to the bygone antebellum—all subjects were little known outside of New Orleans at the time. *Jazzmen* provided the sole source from which jazz criticism and scholarship was based for the remainder of the century and still has implications today. The book spawned new interest in "authentic" jazz. But, by the time the general public—"outta towners"—became aware of the NOLA brass band tradition, NOLA brass bands were demonstrating clear signs of change (White 2001:87).

And in 1944, jazz historian Bill Russell—a contributor to Ramsey and Smith's *Jazzmen*—established American Music Records chiefly to archive early jazz musicians before they passed on. Russell sought out Bunk Johnson—*Jazzen's* most predominant voice—in an attempt to document the *sound* of "traditional" New Orleans brass band. Russell's effort is understandable, as Bunk was a New Orleans native and veteran musician who came up in the brass band tradition. Moreover, Johnson had made several claims to the co-creation of jazz as an art form and located himself playing alongside Bolden in jazz's early days. In the preface to the book, the publishers printed a letter to the editors from Johnson himself. It reads:

> [. . .] King Bolden and myself were the first men that began playing Jazz in the city of dear old New Orleans and his band had the whole of New Orleans Real Crazy and Running Wild behind it. Now that was all you could hear in New Orleans, that King Bolden's Band, and I was with him and that was between 1895 and 1896 and they did not have any dixie land Jazz Band in those days. Now here are the Bands that were in their prime in them days: Adam Olivier Band, John Robichaux, old Golden Rule, Bob Russell Band. Now that was all. And here is the thing that made King Bolden Band be the First Band that played Jazz. It was because it did not Read at all. I could fake like 500 myself; so you tell them that Bunk and King Bolden's Band was the first ones that started Jazz in the City or any place else [. . .]

The 1945 sessions were organized around Johnson and featured the likes of Louis "Kid Shots" Madison, trumpet; George Lewis, clarinet; Isidore Barbarin (alto horn, brass band sessions); Adolphe Alexander (baritone horn, brass band sessions); Jim Robinson, trombone; Lawrence Marrero, banjo; Joe Clark, tuba (brass band sessions); and Alcide "Slow Drag" Pavageau, string bass

(dance band sessions). They were to record several local brass band standards, all of which Russell selected himself.[51]

The sessions were advertised as a comeback of sorts for the aging Johnson (approximately 65 by then). In truth, Johnson had begun performing and recording in 1942, after a long hiatus, including trips to San Francisco and Los Angeles.[52] What resulted, though, were the first known audio recordings of a traditional New Orleans brass band—over a century after the first militia bands made up of free people of color were formed (for more information on Creole militia bands, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation).

Together, *Jazzmen* and Johnson's "resurrection" were causal to the Dixieland Revival movement, here in the U.S. and abroad, and found an audience—a mostly white audience—for those who had grown weary of big band jazz or found bebop musicians demands upon the audiences to be excessively self-indulgent. The conservative movement conveyed a sense of nostalgia through its repertoire of (hymns, Tin Pan Alley songs, and other pre-World War II era tunes), the centering of the banjo and the tuba—which had long been considered senescent or out-of-fashion, and in their dress, which consisted of striped vests and straw hats.[53] While having little

[51] Repertoire for Johnson's sessions included "Didn't He Ramble," "In Gloryland," "Just A Little While (To Stay Here)," "Lowdown Blues," "Nearer My God To Thee," "See See Rider," "St. Louis Blues," "Tell Me Your Dreams," "Tiger Rag," "When The Saints Go Marching In," and "Yes, Yes In Your Eyes," among others. Catalogue listings and numbers Bunk's Brass Band, 101-104; and Bunk Johnson's Band, V-251-253 (V-disc). Bunk's Brass Band (Bunk Johnson). "Bunk's Brass Band - In Gloryland." Posted Jun 26, 2013. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=19xuVI30RVY&t=2s. Accessed April 5, 2021.
[52] Johnson's age is a matter of debate. Johnson himself claimed December 27, 1879, most authorities now give his birth date as a decade later, 27th December 1889. Legend has it that the aging Johnson relied on trumpeter 'Kid Shots' Madison to help him through some of the tunes.
[53] Outside of NOLA, New Orleans jazz enjoyed a sort of renaissance from the 1920s through the 1940s, known as the "West Coast Revival" (San Francisco and Los Angeles). The West Coast Revival movement, began in the 1920s with trombonist Edward "Kid" Ory (1886 – 1973) in Los Angeles. And in the late-1930s by cornetist Lucius "Lu" Watters (1911 – 1989) and his Yerba Buena Jazz Band took up the mantle in San Francisco. Cornetist Lu Watters, and trombonist Edward "Kid" Ory, are responsible for creating a heightened awareness and appreciation for traditional jazz in the 1930s and 40s. Watters, an active musician in the San Francisco Bay area from the 1930s until the mid-1960s, performed nightly at his restaurant Hambone Kelly's from 1947 until the band dispersed the early 50s, and broadcast the bands' performances on KLX—a San Francisco-based radio station—on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights. Ory, known for his "tailgate" style of playing, was the first African American to record commercially in the United States, and performed and recorded with trumpeter/cornetist Louis Armstrong, led the Mercury Jazz Combo on Orson Welles' half-hour weekly program on Wednesday evenings (*Orson Welles Almanac*) for Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and was a regular feature of the program for three months. Ory performed concerts at Disneyland in Anaheim, CA from 1960-64, which featured other known NOLA jazz artists Louis Armstrong and Johnny St. Cyr. In 2006, I participated in a State

impact on the Crescent City directly, this movement did have some positive outcomes in NOLA: one of which was the revival of the careers of many NOLA musicians that had continued to play traditional jazz, or "trad," through the ebbs and flows of several waves of popular music (White 2001:88). Black musicians largely rejected the revival movements as the projected image by many of the musicians taking part was one of nostalgia entertainment with whom they did not share such wistful reminiscence, nor did they identify with the Jim Crow associations of the name. Moreover, the Revival music was not representative of the contemporaneous brass band style in the city. Nevertheless, the preservationist approach became intimately tied to both Black pride and economic survival for brass musicians in NOLA. Much more, it helped shape NOLA's image into one that the local tourist industry successfully leveraged in the coming years.

When the trad movement was near its height, two young jazz enthusiasts, Aiden Ashforth and David Wyckoff traveled to New Orleans to record authentic New Orleans music-making. The two booked a session with the Eureka Brass Band at the Belkoma Dance Salon in August of that year. Subsequently, the Long Playing record (LP), *New Orleans Funeral Parade,* was issued in 1953 on the PAX Label. The band performed ten tracks of hymns, funeral dirges, and Broadway musical hits, but only six tunes made it onto the release; four bonus tracks made it on to the re-issued CD release in 1994.[54]

Tour of China, sponsored by the Chinese government and the *Chinese Daily News*, or *World Journal*, with Bob Roman's Cell Block Seven band. Bob Romans has a multi-volume collection of traditional jazz standards, many of which are Lu Watters and/or trombonist Turk Murphy arrangements. Johnny St. Cyr and Edward "Kid" Ory were laid to rest in LA. Kid Ory (1886-1973), First commercial recording by an African American band: "Ory's Creole Trombone" Kid Ory's Sunshine Orchestra, in 1921 in Los Angeles. He died in Los Angeles, California, and is b*uried at the Holy Cross Cemetery*, Los Angeles. Johnny St. Cyr (1890-1966) Jelly Roll Morton's Red Hot Peppers and Louis Armstrong's Hot Five and Hot Seven bands. He died in Los Angeles, California, and is *buried at the* Evergreen Cemetery, Los Angeles. For an example of Kid Ory's tailgate technique, see Kid Ory. "Tailgate Ramble." Posted November 5, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iGKsarpoXpQ. Accessed April 1, 2021.

[54] Tunes from the initial release were Sing On, Garland of Flowers, West Lawn Dirge, Just a Closer Walk with Thee, Lady Be Good, and You Tell Me Your Dream. Tunes from the re-issue that were listed as "bonus tracks (previously unissued alternate takes)," are Sing On, West Lawn Dirge, Just a Closer Walk with Thee, and Lady Be Good. Personnel: Percy Humphrey, trumpet and band leader; George Lewis, Eb clarinet; Ruben Roddy, alto saxophone; Emanuel (Manuel) Paul, tenor saxophone; Edward Richardson, Willie Pajeaud, Kid Sheik Cola (née George Colar), (trumpets); Albert Warner, Charles "Sonny" Henry, trombones; Joseph "Red" Clark, sousaphone; Arthur Ogle, Josiah Frazier, snare drum; Robert "Son" Lewis, bass drum.

The music is representative of the evolving musical tastes of the Black community in NOLA at the time. In Richard Knowles' significant contribution to brass band history, *Fallen Heroes: A History of New Orleans Brass Bands* (1996), Knowles credits Eureka's bandleader, Percy Humphrey, with modernizing the group's sound. While retaining many NOLA traditional jazz elements, the band's instrumentation had clearly changed, and the members' performance style was quite innovative. By the 1950s, Eureka replaced several instruments with other, more modern instruments. For example, alto and tenor saxophones replaced alto and baritone horns, respectively; trombonists began performing on slide trombones rather than valve trombones; and cornets were abandoned for the more strident trumpet—although there is evidence that these changes started taking place much earlier (the 1910s). Also, they reduced the size of the clarinet section to one clarinet or soprano saxophone player, and Joseph "Red" Clark began utilizing a sousaphone rather than a tuba, which wraps around the body, making it easier to play while marching.

Trumpeter and bandleader Percy Humphrey further modernized the group's sound through the development of a new trumpet "lead trumpet" style, which is characterized by a more aggressive and animated style of playing, with an increasing measure of creative ornamentation of the melody—and sometimes completely new (improvised) lines—which soared above the band.[55] I view this style as an outgrowth of the earlier polyphonic approach that occurred in the late-19th century and led to collective improvisation by which performers played "under"—at a lower volume—as someone played on "top"—lead-type improvisation to allow for the idyllic and appealing blending of voices.

Five years later—and eleven years after the Johnson sessions—Folkways Records commissioned a series dedicated to New Orleans's music, *The Music of New Orleans. Volume 1 of the*

[55] See Richard H. Knowles, *Fallen Heroes: A History of New Orleans Brass Bands* (New Orleans: Jazzology Press, 1996) 196.

series, Music of New Orleans: The Music of the Streets; The Music of Mardi Gras (released in 1958), noted historian, poet, and novelist Samuel Charters documents several bands on parade during Carnival time (Mardi Gras) in 1957.[56] Two very unclear tracks are provided, "Uptown Dances - Bourbon Street Parade" and "Parade of the Krewe of Momus, The / When the Saints Go Marching In / Margie / South Rampart Street Parade (medley)," but the music is outstanding, nonetheless. The bands are unidentified, labeled: "A brass band" and "A parade with brass bands," respectively. Later that same year, Folkways released the second volume, which is devoted entirely to the music of the Eureka Brass band.[57]

The Young Tuxedo Brass Band, 1958

Just months after the Eureka Band's sessions, in 1958, the Young Tuxedo Brass Band (YTBB), led by John Casimir, released a full-length LP for Atlantic Records named *Jazz Begins*—and the differences between the two could not be more startling (just take a moment to listen to "Joe Avery's Tune" to hear what I'm talking about).[58] The influences of swing, bebop, and R&B are evident throughout the recording. For example, Will Tullman's aggressive, sinuous, and bouncing bass-lines—as opposed to the plodding bass-lines of previous generations—not only guide the band through the harmonic changes of the tune but seemingly leads the ensemble as much as the lead trumpet player. And, from the swing-style saxophone riffs and horn-lines that make use of bebop

[56] In Folkways Records' 1957 release, *The Music of New Orleans. In Volume 1,* producer Samuel Charters also documented a collaboration between members of the 2nd Ward Hunters, Pocohantus (sic), 3rd Ward Terrors, and White Eagles Indian tribes. This album represents the first documentation of Indians making their own music and speaking for themselves. The recording documents a group of Black Mardi Gras Indians on Mardi Gras Day, February 14, 1956, made up of Indians from several tribes as they walked along Burgundy Street in New Orleans' 2nd Ward. Eureka Brass Band. "Just a Little While to Stay Here." Posted September 20, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OL3pfuVhh0w. Accessed May 10, 2021.

[57] *Music of New Orleans, Vol. 2: Music of the Eureka Brass Band* (1958; recorded in 1957).

[58] The musicians heard on *Jazz Begins* include Andy Anderson and John Brunious, trumpets; Clement Tervalon, Eddie Pierson, and Jim Robinson, trombones; John Casimir, Eb clarinet; Herman Sherman, alto sax; and Andrew Morgan, tenor saxophone; Wilbert "Bird" Tillman, sousaphone; Emile Knox, bass drum; and Andrew Anderson, Clement Tervalone, and Paul Barbarin, snare drum. Young Tuxedo Brass Band. "Jazz Begins: Sounds Of New Orleans Streets: Funeral And Parade" Atlantic, SD 1297. LP, 1966.

inspired passing-tones, to the long, dramatic smears of the trombonists *leaning* into harmonic guide-tones of the tune's harmonies, to the high-pitched squeals of soprano saxophonist/bandleader John Casimir, whose performance on the funeral dirge, "Lead Me Savior," paints a vivid picture of a wife writhing audibly from the pain of losing her husband, the horn stylings are innovative, too (White 2001:87).[59]

Also demonstrated are two approaches to starting a tune: the "four-bar roll-off" and the trumpet call.[60] Throughout the album, the drum section performs a four-bar roll-off, or introduction, that now begins nearly every tune on a "traditional" gig. Also, lead trumpeter Andy Anderson often quotes a short phrase of the song at the start of a tune over the drum roll-off or performs several short quips to signal the band, which will evolve in the decades to come.[61]

The structure of the album is innovative as well. The album is recorded to represent a mock jazz funeral from start to finish and is labeled as such: "Going to the Cemetery," comprised of six hymns; "Coming Back from the Cemetery," comprised of two up-tempo, trad tunes, or standards; and "Coming Back," comprised of two up-tempo hymns, one "trad" standard, and three contemporary brass band tunes. A whopping fourteen tunes in all! Although *Jazz Begins* confirms that this is the first recorded performance of the influence of R&B and bebop, it is likely that these musical stylings existed previously. Notwithstanding, while *Jazz Begins* is emblematic of the modernization of brass bands in NOLA at the time, the brass band is years away from the development of what is now considered "second line" brass band style.

---

[59] A "riff" is a short, catchy, repeated phrase in popular music and jazz, typically used as an introduction or refrain in a song. Often based on a blues scale or style. In her online article, "Social Aids & Pleasure Clubs," Karen Celestan claims that the aesthetics associated with brass and wind sound production in NOLA "characterize the 'keening' sound of pain associated with slavery and African-American life" (Celestan 2021). For more, see: Karen Celestan and Eric Walters, eds., *Freedom's Dance: Social, Aid, and Pleasure Clubs in New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2018).
[60] Sometimes, drummers and trumpet players utilize a four-bar roll-off or trumpet call to "rally the troops". A trumpet player will often let the band know what tune they are going to play by quoting a small fragment of the melody.
[61] While we do hear these approaches in the Eureka recordings, they are not as pervasive as they are on *Jazz Begins*.

It is important to note Atlantic's use of artwork for the cover of *Jazz Begins.* Commissioned by Life for its article in December 1958 about New Orleans jazz, entitled "Jazz: America's Own Music in Its Lusty Youth," artist Morton Roberts' "A Perfect Death" graced the cover of the *Jazz Begins* LP (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4).[62] What is interesting to me is what the painting illuminates about the NOLA brass band of the mid-century, its function within the Black community, and the community's corporal response to the music. If we are to accept Roberts' rendering of a jazz funeral as true to the scene it theoretically represents, it proves that the jazz funeral was of and for the Black community of the time—as all those illustrated are all-Black practitioners;[63] shows two clearly discernable segments of practitioners—first line and second line; verifies the use of umbrellas, banners, sashes, handkerchiefs; demonstrates the developing style of dance now known as "buck jumping;"[64] and corroborates an evolving approach to musical expression and tradition, in terms of instrumentation and music. Most pertinent to this evolving cultural formation and expression of the

[62] Morton's painting for the article were displayed in a show at the Grand Central Gallery that corresponded with the articles' release. Roberts, M. (1958, December 25). "Jazz: America's Own Music in Its Lusty Youth." *LIFE*, *45*(25), 71-73. See full expose LIFE editors and Morton Roberts. December 1958. "America's Own Music in Its Lusty Youth." New York: LIFE (1958, December 25). *LIFE*, *45*(25), 64-73.

[63] The illustrates an all-Black community of varying social strata, some, wearing their "Sunday best" as some reports suggest "clean, tucked-in shirts, matching colored shirts and pants, and even two men is depicted with spats over their shoes" others with loosely-fitted, wrinkled clothing—some barefoot, and the band, with embroidered uniform jackets (ibid. 70-71). The image also depicts the large red banner of a mutual aid society or Social Aid and Pleasure Club (center, front image).

[64] Buck jumping (Buck-jump, buck-jumping, or "buck-jumpin'") is a colloquial term for the moment when, in one's unique style of second line dance, the individual reaches a peak in intensity that is more athletic than other forms of dance that accompany the second line parade. Buck jumping is but one form of overlapping dance forms known as "second lining," including stepping, "footwork," and buck jumping. Many have claimed that the "hip- and posterior-centric moves" of second line dance styles have clear antecedents across many West African culture groups, including the Ibo and Mandinka. In *Footwork! Improvised Dance as Dissenting Mobility in the New Orleans Second Line*, Rachel Lynn Carrico describes stepping as "'Stepping' describes a buoyant, high-knee strut; 'footwork' is the art of executing intricate rhythmic patterns with the feet; and 'buck jumping' refers to what happens when dancers turn up their energetic output, which often manifests in multiple uses of levels, such as dropping to the ground and leaping in the air (Carrico 2015:121). Carrico's *Footwork!* is the first major study of second ling as an expressive artform, in which she analyzes second line dance and traces its history as part of conceptualization of the second line as a "bodily discourse of dissenting mobility" whereby dancers and musicians resist the architecture of state violence, displacement and containment. Carrico posits that buck jumping may be derivative of the bucking contests of the late-19th and early 20th centuries, where musicians competed for musical supremacy. These bucking contests certainly became popular in the bebop era ("cutting contests") and may have originated in the dozens. See also, *"We Made It Through That Water": Rhythm, Dance, and Resistance in the New Orleans Second Line*, Benjamin Doleac's 2018 dissertation, for a furthering of Carrico's ideas. Carrico, Rachel. "Footwork! Improvised Dance As Dissenting Mobility in the New Orleans Second Line." Dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 2015. Doleac, Benjamin Grant, Keyes, Cheryl L1, and Doleac, Benjamin Grant. "'We Made It through That Water': Rhythm, Dance, and Resistance in the New Orleans Second Line." Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2018; and Lily Keber's film,

Figure 3.3. John Casimir's Young Tuxedo Brass Band records its first full-length LP for Atlantic Records; Jazz Begins, 1959, front jacket cover.

brass band itself is that Roberts "captures the changing instrumentation and approach to music-making within the brass band—in mid-evolution. Here, just behind the sousaphonist, an individual is pictured performing on a baritone horn—which is totally abandoned by the 1960s and not

Buckjumping (2018), which captures New Orleans dance culture and demonstrates how dance is utilized to help aid in forming racial identity and pride. Lily Keber, *Buckjumping,* directed/filmed by Lily Keber, (2018; City: Mairzy Doats Productions, 2018), documentary film.

Figure 3.4. *Jazz* Begins, 1959, entire jacket cover (back jacket, left-side of image; front jacket, right-side of image). Digital reproduction of entire cover art, Morton Roberts "A Perfect Death," from "Jazz: America's Own Music in Its Lusty Youth," by Morton and LIFE's editors.[65]

representative of the YTBB. Additionally—and we see a bass drummer with a cymbal mounted to the left-side of his drum.[66] The instrumentation pictured here is representative of the evolving musical tastes of the Black community of the time.

The small bass drum cymbal mounted on the bass drum's left-side rim is struck with either a wooden drum stick or a round metal wire beater, then called a "coat hanger," but now it is simply referred to as a "beater."[67] It imitates the "ching" sound that the double cymbals used earlier and the hi-hats used later. Together the "boom" of the bass drum on beats 1 and 3, and the "ching" of the

[65] Printed text below print: "It was pretty, all right, to see those funerals. A man belong to one of the organizations and die, his widow say 'let him have music' so the organization hire a marching band. On the way out to the cemetery, before they bury the man, the band played most all hymns, like 'Just A Closer Walk with Thee.' But once they left there, then they started to swing. They wouldn't be 25 feet from the graveyard before they hit 'Didn't He Ramble.' Yes sir, he rambled, he rambled. Then they'd play 'Sing On,' or 'The Saints.' The kids would come a runnin', wanting to jump. So they'd form that second line beside the band. Everybody else would be bouncing along too, some with baskets of flowers, some with those sharp lookin' umbrellas. I liked to see that. Finally the band would get to the lodge hall and break up and that was always the end of a perfect death" (ibid.).

[66] The Young Tuxedo Brass Band does not employ either baritone or alto horns of the earlier style, but we also hear this style in the Eureka recordings.

[67] During fieldwork, Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle of the New Birth Brass Band and I built a bass drum together.

cymbal on beats 2 and 4, are the rhythmic foundation or pulse ("backbeat") from which all other rhythmic variation is based—it is the heartbeat.

One significant and often overlooked element found within the image is the music that the sousaphonist is holding in his left hand. As previously mentioned, the shift away from reading was a springboard for the development of jazz as an idiom. But, the complete abandonment of pre-arranged musical scores by brass bands was a slow process. Some bands, like the Excelsior and Onward bands, maintained the "traditional" or "legitimate" approach of reading pre-arranged and printed musical arrangements, but these bands were soon overshadowed by bands like the YTBB, or "non-reading" bands, who performed "by ear." In "A Perfect Death," Morton depicts a sousaphonist holding a piece of music approximately 6.75" in width and 5.25" in height—this is now standard for marching bands across the country (for more on "reading" versus "non-reading" musicians as it pertains to the brass band tradition, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation).

As documentary evidence shows, the band depicted on the cover of *Jazz Begins* is almost certainly not the YTBB. But the album in sum—the structure, musical content, and the artwork—demonstrates the constant modification and adaptation of the brass band tradition. Furthermore, the YTBB's performance on *Jazz Begins* represents the development of a dynamic, "new" or "contemporary" mode of performance style within the brass band milieu. Their incorporation of popular music performance practices within a structure of the jazz funeral reveals a method of performance that harkens back to the ring shout by interpreting the tradition in a manner that reflects the changing experiences of the Black community and better resonates with it.

The Eureka and YTBB sessions convey the two distinct modes of performance that had evolved over the first half of the 20th century: traditionalist and contemporary (now synonymous with the term "second line," "young bands," "next generation," and "new wave"). Some of these

terms came about later, but as shown above, recordings only mark the moment when a performance practice was documented and do not encapsulate the meanings or culture from which they arise.

Thus, consumers often interpret new recordings, unaware of the cultural performance practices, as "breaks" from tradition. Traditionalists perform trad numbers in a manner of stringent stylistic manner. Second line bands also performed tunes that make up the voluminous trad repertoire but make repertoire and performance choices with their audience in mind, with consideration to the stylistic elements that embody popular music of the day and perform disembodied second line parades, performing songs that "young people want to hear."[68] Thus, continuing a tradition of adaptation, negotiation, and hybridity that, in recorded history, goes back to Casimir's YTBB; musicians are creating music that is not only enjoyable on its own terms but is functional, reflecting the community in which they live.

Ambassadors: Preservation Hall and the Olympia Brass Band

Representative of the traditionalist ideology, Preservation Hall—a musical venue on St. Peter (street) in the French Quarter—was founded in 1961 by Allan and Sandra Jaffe to protect, preserve, and perpetuate traditional New Orleans jazz.[69] Preservation Hall has become an institution among French Quarter night spots. More than a local watering hole, Preservation Hall (PH) is unique among live music venues. It offers live jazz 350 nights a year, supports at least one touring band, operates a non-profit education organization, provides education of Louisiana and NOLA history

[68] Phillip Frazier in Geraldine Wyckoff "N'awlins Brass Bands - Rebirth of the School," *Jazz Times* Magazine, October 1994, 34-36.
[69] Allan Jaffe is one of the first Anglo-American brass band musicians to perform with an all-Black band in the 20th century. He played tuba and sousaphone regularly with the Olympia Brass Band and the Hall's resident Preservation Hall Jazz Band throughout the 1970s and 80s, until he died in 1987. His son Ben has taken over the owner's mantle and sousaphonist/bassist for the Preservation Hall Jazz Band and Brass Band.

through musical performance, and has been an integrated "neutral ground" for bands and audiences alike.[70] Prolific and resolute in "recording and documenting this fading art form," the Preservation Hall Jazz Band (PHJB) has maintained strict modes of performance that characterize the musical aesthetic and modes of expression that satisfy tourist expectations.[71]

For tourists, the PH and the PHJB have come to represent the NOLA jazz tradition. Featuring local legends George Lewis, Sweet Emma Barrett, the Humphrey Brothers, and Billie and De De Pierce, among others, PH provides employment opportunity for local musicians—a *queue*, made up largely of tourists, stretches down the block every night of the week. Although most performances at PH sit firmly in the traditionalist camp, PH provided a space for the Olympia Brass Band's weekly Sunday evening residency that continued for many years.

Straddling traditionalist and contemporary ideologies, the Olympia Brass Band was founded in 1883 and included a revolving roster of renowned NOLA musicians, such as Freddie Keppard, Joe Oliver, Sidney Bechet, and Louis Armstrong. Saxophonist Harold Dejan joined the band sometime in the 1920s during drummer Arnold du Pass's tenure as leader, then called the "Olympia Serenaders." In the 1920s, brass bands fell out of favor, apart from funerals and mardi gras parades. Dejan, born in 1909, had played alongside many of NOLA's master jazz musicians, had "watched the tradition rise, decline, and be rejuvenated" (Byrd 1994:34). According to Dejan, "Olympia came

[70] The term neutral ground originated in 19th century NOLA when Anglo-Americans first took up residence in the city and referred to a strip of land that divided two groups, such as the French and Native inhabitants, or Euro-Americans and people of color. Recently, the term has been come to stand for a median in the road, such as the one in North Claiborne Street. A portion of street resides below the 10 Interstate Freeway, as in the mid-to-late 1960s, the vitality of this street was sacrificed for the construction of the I-10 freeway in such a way that directly covers North Claiborne Ave., sacrificing the neutral ground. Once under the I-10 overpass, the group pauses its forward movement, and the energy and enthusiasm greatly intensifies (Raimondi 2012:98).

[71] "Our History." Preservation Hall Foundation. Accessed May 12, 2021. https://www.preshallfoundation.org/history/. https://www.preshallfoundation.org/history/.

up just in time to catch the 'leavings'" (Byrd 1994:34). Dejan took over leadership of the band in 1956, reviving the name "Olympia Brass Band" in 1958.

From a locally popular street band, it grew into a key attraction at Preservation Hall, the most-visited traditional jazz venue in the French Quarter. Thus, becoming one of the most prominent bands in New Orleans from the 1960s to the 1980s, who had played jazz and brass band music since the 1920s. They played repertoire in the style of earlier brass bands, but modernized the style through the injection of contemporary rhythm & blues, due in part to the addition of Milton "Bat" Batiste, who joined the group in 1962 and would become co-leader of the band (Sakakeeny 2014). Olympia developed different modes of performing depending on the audience: a "modest-" and trad-style at concerts for tourists and a more progressive style for second line parades in the community.

Between 1967-1970, Olympia was featured in two nationally televised events: the 1967 Sugar Bowl and the 1970 Super Bowl. The 1967 Sugar Bowl (officially known as the Third Tulane Stadium, home of the New Orleans Saints from 1967-1974) inaugural New Orleans Saints game against the Los Angeles Rams was produced by Thomas "Tommy the Toe" Luttgen Walker—a specialist in synchronized fireworks who produced outdoor spectacles—who became the director of entertainment at Disneyland from 1955 to 1967 during its first twelve years of operation.[72] On January 11, 1970, millions of Americans viewed New Orleans' first Super Bowl broadcast (Super Bowl IV), airing on Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). The halftime show, "Way Down Yonder in New Orleans," featured NOLA jazz trumpeter Al Hirt, Doc Severinsen, the Tonight Show, and

[72] Thomas Luttgen Walker later produced spectacular events at celebrations including three Olympic Games and the centennial of the Statue of Liberty. He was the composer of the six-note "Charge!" fanfare. The fanfare was heard in NBC broadcasts of the 1959 World Series between the Los Angeles Dodgers and the Chicago White Sox. https://www.si.com/vault/1990/11/12/123066/give-him-credit-for-the-charge-tommy-walker-converted-six-notes-into-a-famous-fanfare#. http://articles.latimes.com/1986-10-22/local/me-6590_1_tommy-walker.

jazz great Lionel Hampton were all accompanied by the Southern University Marching Band. To add pomp to the circumstance, a mock jazz funeral was staged, which featured the Olympia. This increased exposure would help set the stage for the Olympia and other brass bands that followed close behind, for national and European concert tours that led to the development of more bands and younger players (White 2001:86).

More opportunities for increased exposure and employment came in April of 1970 with the founding of NOLA's flagship cultural event, the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival (*JazzFest*), held at present-day Congo Square. While Olympia was given center stage billing, the Eureka Brass Band led second line revelers throughout the fairgrounds. Other brass bands were given the opportunity to perform either on the fairgrounds or in local watering holes in the surrounding area and throughout the city.[73] Others, taking advantage of the large number of attendees that would pass them on the street, busked for tips.[74] While Olympia was in London, Olympia performed on British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) radio broadcast for Queen Elizabeth's 25th wedding anniversary. Then in the James Bond movie *Live and Let Die* (1973), Olympia played a role—performing as themselves—leading a funeral march for a victim assassinated during the procession.[75]

While the Eureka, Young Tuxedo, Onward, and other brass bands were still active in the 1960s, Olympia became the most visible, popular, and successful group for the next couple of decades. Because of these high-profile performances, media placements, and national and international tours, the Olympia Brass Band became unexpected ambassadors for NOLA Black culture worldwide and "unavoidably complicit in promoting an idyllic vision of the city as a carefree

[73] There is a story of Mahalia Jackson and Duke Ellington making an appearance at the first New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival in April of 1970. Jackson sang an impromptu song with the Eureka Brass Band.
[74] Busking is the act of performing in public for tips.
[75] Olympia trumpeter Alvin Alcorn, plays the (uncredited) knife-wielding assassin.

multicultural playground" (Doleac 2018:101).[76] Olympia's status was leveraged by the New Orleans chamber of commerce, the Convention & Visitors Bureau (later rebranded the New Orleans & Company), and other entities designed to draw wealthy travelers to the "birthplace of jazz." Moreover, the band's notoriety brought international attention to the Black expressive tradition, the second line. Its popularization provided more opportunities for Black brass band musicians in an era of diminishing blue-collar employment opportunities.[77]

Historian J. Mark Souther proposes that harnessing the Black second line tradition to television, film, professional sports, and tourism, producers and promoters of large events and films prostitute second line culture and strip it of all meaning, forcing it into the service of the perpetual carnival that outsiders expect (Souther 2006: 125). The musicians, however, can hardly be criticized for filling these expectations, as they are merely finding a way to make a living in a city where it is increasingly difficult to do so. For Black musicians in NOLA, racial and geographic identities coalesced in their professional identities because of the cultural capital NOLA's brass band tradition was garnering. To "put their best foot forward," band leaders hired musicians who already knew how to play. Therefore, increased employment opportunities did not provide the environment for young musicians to learn and hone their craft. Consequently, two musicians stepped up to provide NOLA's youth with the mentorship that was lacking at the time: Danny Barker and Doc Paulin.

[76] Mark J. Souther, *New Orleans on Parade: Tourism and the Transformation of the Crescent City.* Making the Modern South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006) 124.
[77] Due to the creation of social welfare reform policies throughout the mid-20th century, as well as a lack of employment opportunities in NOLA, we see a waning enrollment in mutual aid societies and social aid clubs.

Fairview Baptist Church Marching Band

In the late-1970s, two veteran musicians began mentoring young high school-aged boys in the jazz tradition—Danny Barker and Doc Paulin—training them in "old ways," teaching them jazz through the brass band tradition and grooming them for a profession in music. Through membership in Barker's Fairview Baptist Church Marching Band and Paulin's Dixieland Jazz Band, young musicians gained mentorship, not only from the founders of these two groups, but from a plethora of older, well-established musicians teaching them about their musical heritage, preaching a high level of professionalism, and social and musical values (White 2001:88). Doc Paulin (b. June 22, 1907) began playing music at dances at age seven years of age. He organized the Doc Paulin Dixieland Jazz Band in the early 1920s, which he led until his death in 2007 (Ellison 2005:619-638).

Paulin sought ought younger players for his nonunion band. Jazz historian, Dr. Michael G. White, who worked with both Paulin and Barker, confirms the importance of this type of apprenticeship:

> From time to time all of the other bands like Olympia, Onward or Young Tuxedo would hire young musicians, but you had to already know how to play in order to be hired. Doc Paulin was the one who would take a green musician, someone who hadn't really learned to play yet, and teach that person how to play brass band music. (Salaam 1989)

Both bands became vital, not only to the teens that Barker counseled and kept from delinquency as they moved toward manhood, but to the community as a whole, as they participated in local events, such as second lines, mardi gras parades, funerals and memorials, and civic events. Moreover, these bands were seminal to what would come to be known as the "new wave" of brass bands, spawning the Hurricane Brass Band, the Chosen Few, and the Dirty Dozen Brass Band (DDBB).

In 1965 Danny Barker moved back to New Orleans from New York City. Shortly after his relocation, Barker was approached by Andrew Darby, the Reverend of the Fairview Baptist Church,

about starting up a church band. Barker then formed a children's group named the Fairview Baptist Church Marching Band. He thought that reading music might seem too intimidating to some of the children, so Barker taught everything by ear—that is, they learned everything by route, *sans* notated music—playing songs on the banjo or guitar or playing records of Tuxedo or Olympia brass bands, the young musicians would follow "by ear." Most played the melody, and those who could improvise would provide harmonies, counter melodies, and riffs.

At a guest talk given by Gregg Stafford at 2017's *Danny Barker Guitar and Banjo Festival* (January 2017), Stafford stated that "'Glory, Glory' was the first tune he [Barker] taught them," and other hymns, such as "Down by the Riverside," "A Closer Walk with Thee," and "What a Friend We Have in Jesus." They also learned secular classics, including Paul Barbarin's "Second-Line" and "Bourbon Street Parade."

In addition to musical and professional mentorship, the Barkers, Danny and his wife, "Blue" Lu—provided a warm and inviting environment that served as a surrogate family for many of the teens in the organization. Leroy Jones, trumpeter and bandleader of the Hurricane Brass Band, states that:

> When we didn't have rehearsal, I'd do my homework and practice for four or five hours.
> We'd get together, and jam, and Blue Lu would fix us little snacks.

Stafford, who was 17 when he joined Fairview, relayed in an interview for *The New Orleans Advocate* to Katy Reckdahl that Barker knew:

> [Barker] had to do something to keep the music going. If you don't teach the next generation and make them aware of their history and the history of their culture, it will be lost and someone else will be claiming it. (Reckdahl 2014)

FBCMB performed actively from 1970-1974, performing numerous SAPC second line parades, weekly church services, and private events. They also performed for Louis Armstrong's memorial tribute on June 11, 1971, at City Hall (in the neighborhood formally known as "the battleground" where Armstrong grew up). There were over 10,000 mourners in attendance. Perhaps their most significant gig was the 2nd New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival in Congo Square in 1971 (at the time called Louisiana Heritage Fair).[78]

Eventually, the band was in such demand and would grow so large in number that they split into sub-groups, and local professional bands noticed. In 1973, Herold Dejan filed a complaint to the local Musicians Union, citing the underage, non-union musicians of the FBCMB hedging-in on the job market (Jacobsen 2014:38). Musician and collaborator Johann Stein relays, "The Union busted them up for the exploitation of children." In 1974, rather than fight the Musician's Union, Barker encouraged Leroy Jones to establish the Hurricane Brass Band. The band's name refers to how they "came up the street and blew like a storm" (Jacobsen 2014:173).

Together, Barker and Paulin's bands became training grounds for numerous musicians. Fostering a new, empowered generation of young musicians, they sparked both a revitalization of traditional brass band music—like trumpeter Leroy Jones' Hurricane Brass Band, clarinetist Dr. Michael G. White's Liberty Jazz Band and trumpeter Gregg Stafford's Original Tuxedo Brass Band—as well as a brass band renaissance, out of which new musical approaches would help redefine the brass band tradition and greatly expand its audience.

[78] Louis Armstrong died on June 6, 1971, just shy of his 70th birthday.

A New Generation

The Hurricane Brass Band

The Hurricane Brass Band (HBB) was formed around the Fairview Baptist Church Brass Band's core. It included tuba player Anthony "Tuba Fats" Lacen, trumpeter Gregg Stafford, snare drummer (and later trombonist) Lucien Barbarin, bass drummer Charles Barbarin, clarinetist Joseph Torregano, alto saxophonist Darryl Adams, trombonist Michael Johnson, trumpeter Gregory "Blondie" Davis, and trombonist Charles Joseph. For the HBB, traditional "black and whites" (black suits, white dress shirts, black tie, and a black or white hat that loosely resembles a Navy captains' hat) gradually gave way to casual attire (ball caps and tennis shoes; White 2001:89).

While this manner of dress seems relatively benign now, in the mid-1970s, it is linked to a larger debate around cultural representation and respectability within the Black community that is traced back to the late-19th century but comes to the fore in the 1960s, when attitudes toward "traditions; changed (White 2001:87). Many members of the Black community viewed jazz and other local customs, such as traditional jazz and the Zulu Club Mardi Gras Parade, as relics of the past. These "Uncle Tom" remnants gave way to a second line performance style that openly celebrated Black pride and newly evolving performance expressions. This sentiment carried over into the musical domain for the many young instrumentalists who, espousing the politics and aesthetics of the Black power movement, played funk and soul music exclusively.

For church inspired worshippers that took pride in their appearance and thought that the intent behind musical production should be to praise God, the casual dress of the "younger" generation was a visual affirmation of the secularization of the brass band tradition; the incorporation of performance practices that were associated with popular music idioms only compounded the issue. Musical innovations have always had a conservative pushback. Along with

the Hurricane band, other alumni would go on to create the Liberty Jazz Band and Original Tuxedo Brass Band. These bands were dedicated to the preservation of the "tradition."

The most discernably "modern" turn came when Tuba Fats came into his own as a tubist. Creating new, riff-oriented basslines that could "fit" over much of the tune's harmonic structure—with little or no modification—Tuba Fats expanded upon Will Tullman's approach to tuba playing. Fats' highly syncopated, riff-based, funk-inspired, and "bouncy" basslines were less sinuous than Tullman's. In an interview with The Times-Picayune, Kirk Joseph (tubist for the Dirty Dozen Brass Band) described the effect Lacen's playing had on his own: "He was the first person I ever heard walking the sousaphone, making it sound like bass…. I took it from there" (Joseph 2017).[79] Tuba Fats helped establish the tuba as symbolic to the NOLA brass band.

Sometime in the mid-1970s, Tuba Fats began recruiting other young musicians to join him in Jackson Square in the French Quarter, where they could simultaneously hone their craft, supplement their income, and represent NOLA to the hundreds of thousands of tourists that pilgrimage to the Square every year. The resulting band became known as the Jackson Square Allstars, a rotating group of former FBCMB and Paulin Brothers' musicians. Many of them went on to establish their own bands.

Furthermore, they inspired other band members to begin "jamming"—impromptu performances—to Tuba Fats sousaphone riffs during rest stops along the parade route (White 2001:90). These "jams" would inspire the creation of new tunes that would, in time, be incorporated into the brass band repertoire (for more on Anthony "Tuba Fats" Lacen, see Chapter 1 of this

[79] Joseph, Kirk. "BIO." Official Website of KIRK JOSEPH, Master of New Orleans Sousafunk. Accessed May 12, 2021. https://kirkjoseph.dreamhosters.com/wp/?page_id=6.

dissertation, pp.123-124). Second liners responded positively to the modern sound, which in turn affected future musician's approach to performing brass band music.

To make a living as a musician in the 1970s meant leading multiple musical lives in the worlds of traditional jazz, R&B, blues, funk, and disco. As sidemen, musicians saw the popularity of funk and disco eclipse traditional brass band music of their forebears. Traditionalist trumpeter Milton Batiste, and later bandleader for Olympia, recalled, "Nobody danced until the disco started up, and then the man paid the band off and sent them home without playing their second set" (Burns 2006:21). By the mid-1970s, what was once viewed as contemporary had become the traditionalist. Like the brass bands of the early-20th century that found inspiration from the blues and ragtime, the then-contemporary bands of the mid-century took inspiration from the popular music styles of the day, swing-era jazz and R&B. This dynamic, accumulative approach is exemplified by the Young Tuxedo Brass Band on *Jazz Begins* and is now rendered by traditional brass bands across the city. As previously discussed, the brass band has been the site for innovation since its inception, but what many consider to be the first shift away from traditionalist attitudes came in the late 1970s with the arrival of bands on the scene: the Tornado Brass Band and later, the Dirty Dozen Brass Band.[80]

[80] Many of my collaborators have relayed to me that the DDBB is the band that "changed everything," Los Angeles musicians and Louisiana natives, Jamelle Adisa, Tim Ganard, and Johann Stein, among them. For example: why does the DDBB get so much of the credit? What are the consequences of ignoring these other bands? Are they doing something different? What are the sources of their innovations? What is the big musical picture shaping the practices and experiments and even the popularity of the DDBB? This sentiment deserves further study. Above quote from a discussion with Johann Stein. Musician. May 2015. Los Angeles, California. Tim Ganard and Jamelle Adisa reflect this sentiment as well: Adissa, Jamelle. Musician. September 2015. Los Angeles, California; Ganard, Tim. Musician. May 2015. Los Angeles, California. See also: Sakakeeny 2011 and 2014; Sakakeeny, Matt "Brass Bands of New Orleans." In *knowlouisiana.org Encyclopedia of Louisiana*, edited by David Johnson. Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, 2010–. Article published May 19, 2011. https://www.knowlouisiana.org/entry/brass-bands-of-new-orleans.

The Tornado Brass Band

With Leroy Jones moving on to pursue a solo career, alto saxophonist Darryl Adams took over leadership of the Hurricane Brass Band in 1976, renaming it the Tornado Brass Band. Like the YTB, before them, the Tornado band incorporated swing, bebop, and R&B into their music. Adams recalls, "we were oddballs because we did stuff that wasn't traditional, squeezing R&B licks into the music, but I never forgot what the old men used to say, and it's true to this day: If you don't learn the traditional music, you won't know where to go. You'll only be guessing."[81] They certainly did not forget but continued to push the boundaries of "traditional" brass band music-making.

During this time, some of the Tornado band musicians proceeded to form a band of their own groups. Lionel "Uncle Lionel" Batiste, local personality and bass drummer for the Olympia and Tremé Brass Bands, had organized a band to play neighborhood parties Dirty Dozen Kazoo Band. Of those musicians Batiste hired were drummer Benny Jones, trumpeter Cyrille Salvant, drummer "Andrew "Big Daddy" Green, trombonist Charles Joseph, saxophonist Roger Lewis, and tubist Kirk Joseph, and sometimes Tuba Fats—when he was not with performing with Olympia. This ad hoc band would "spice up" the traditional repertoire with "other stuff" such as modern jazz, R&B, and original tunes (Burns 170-172). These musicians would form the basis of what became known as the Original Sixth Ward Dirty Dozen Brass Band. Then, with the addition of trumpeters Gregory Davis and Efrem Towns and some added notoriety, the band changed its name to the Dirty Dozen Brass Band.

[81] Preservation Hall Foundation. Mr. Darryl Adams. Preservation Hall Blog, August 22, 2017. https://salon726.com/home/2017/8/21/darryl-adams-preservation-hall-quote.

The Dirty Dozen Brass Band

Enamored by bebop, modern jazz, and other popular music styles, the DDBB modified structural forms, incorporated second line rhythms that more closely accompanied the dancing of second liners, and contemporary styles of Black popular music—especially blues, funk, R&B, and modern jazz—into the brass band tradition; honoring the tradition, but not being constrained by it. The DDBB wrote new material as well. Their compositions covered a wider thematic range than the spirituals, marches, and popular songs of previous generations: short melodic bass riffs replaced the typical "oom-pah" of the tuba stylings; harmonically intricate and sometimes dissonant melodies replaced the simpler and "singable" melodies of trad jazz, and the tempos of the tunes were incredibly fast—one had to be "in good physical condition" to dance to their music.[82] Moreover, during creative and sustained solo passages, the band was acutely attuned to the soloist's creative intent and would faithfully accompany them regardless of the musical domain.[83]

One innovation had practical, economic considerations, that of ensemble size. The DDBB settled on an octet rather than the traditional ten-piece. Like the early string bands, who utilized a smaller ensemble, gave the DDBB more flexibility—and they could fit on a nightclub stage. Sousaphonist Kirk Joseph's driving, virtuosic, Tuba Fats-derived bass lines provided the melodic framework and rhythmic impetus for the frontline instruments, and Jenell Marshall (snare drum) and Benny Jones (bass drum) provided the rhythmic framework and momentum. The DDBB's "back row" (rhythm section; tuba and drums) was relentless in its insistent forward drive. Pushing the band incessantly forward, the DDBB's back row was a force of nature in and of itself. The "front line" (trumpets, trombones, and saxophone) modeling their style after the horn sections of

[82] Roger Lewis: "You had to be in good physical condition—we had guys dancing to us that was doing incredible things with their bodies" (Burns 2006:172). For more, see Mick Burns. "Keeping the Beat on the Street: The New Orleans Brass Band Renaissance." 2006.
[83] DDBB is known for going "out" or "outside": avant-garde or experimental.

the time. The baritone saxophone, played by Roger Lewis, became a central figure of the band's front line—possibly the influence of Red Tyler's contribution to R&B as the baritone saxophonist who performed and recorded with many R&B celebrities throughout the 1950s and 1960s, including the Impressions, Dave Bartholomew, and most notably with Fats Domino.

The DDBB played songs at break-neck speeds, too. The new tempos were suitable for second line dancing, "buck jumping," and dancing at nightclubs, but were too fast for marching in parades (Sakakeeny 2013: 119-120).[84] In an interview with Kalamu Salaam for *OffBeat Magazine*, Gregory Davis states, "the second liners loved it, and they would keep asking us to do our special numbers" (Accessed April 23, 2017). Consequently, the DDBB began to attract a younger audience to the music, "an indication that the musicians were heading beyond the contexts associated with the brass band tradition into intimate neighborhood bars" (Sakakeeny 2013:119-120).

Collaborator Reginald Stewart, founding member of the Rebirth Brass Band, a former member of the New Birth Brass Band, and current member of the Jackson Square All Stars relayed to me that playing tunes at break-neck speeds (tempos) resulted in a generational rift, as the "older folks just couldn't keep up. What used to be a family thing—spiritual—is now for kids to blow off steam."

In 1980, Jerry Brock— co-founder of WWOZ—produced the DDBB's first professional recording. It was a local hit, and Brock often aired the recording. In the early 1980s, the DDBB's popularity grew. Playing at local clubs such as the Glass House and Tipitina's, they began touring nationally and internationally. Trumpeter Nicolas Payton was playing with the traditionalist Young Tuxedo Band when he heard the Dirty Dozen. Payton remembers:

> When I heard the Dirty Dozen I went, 'Wow. This stuff can be really hot.' It sounded like what I was hearing on the radio. Their horn lines were funky like Earth, Wind & Fire but

[84] Stewart, Reginald. Musician. April 2019, New Orleans, Louisiana.

> combined with that New Orleans thing. But unlike a lot of bands that imitated them, they also had that bebop and free jazz (Himes 2011).[85]

Then in 1984, the band released its first album, *My Feet Can't Fail Me Now*, on the Concord Jazz label, which brought the group international acclaim and sparked what became known as the brass band renaissance.[86]

The Brass Band Renaissance

Rebirth

As the DDBB's reputation grew, demanding that they spent an increasing amount of time out of town, other groups like the ReBirth Jazz Band formed and became local favorites for community parades. In the early-1980s, two years before DDBB's international hit, sousaphonist Philip "Tuba Phil" Frazier, trumpeter and vocalist, Kermit Ruffins—who had recently changed schools from Alfred Lawless High School, and other classmates from Joseph S. Clark Senior High School and around the way (trumpeter Gardner Ray Green, trombonists Keith "Wolf" Anderson and Reggie Stewart, snare drummer Kenneth Austin, and Phil's brother, bass drummer Keith "Bass Drum Shorty" Frazier) formed the ReBirth Jazz Band (now known as Rebirth Brass Band).[87]

Their music incorporated many changes initiated by the Dirty Dozen as well as musical elements of the second line milieu (parade sounds, like clapping and crowd noise; and Mardi Gras

---

[85] Geoffrey Himes, "His Song: Nicholas Payton is Going to Sing, No Matter What His Label Says," *OffBeat Magazine*, (June 2011): 20-22.
[86] Dirty Dozen Brass Band. "My Feet Can't Fail Me Now." Concord Jazz, GW-3005. LP, 1984.
Dirty Dozen Brass Band. "My Feet Can't Fail me Now." Posted February 4, 2020.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hLpaBXN_BAs. Accessed May 10, 2021.
[87] Matt Sakakeeny puts Rebirths founding both in the early 1980s ("Roll with It" 2013:22) and at 1983 (https://mattsakakeeny.com/roll-with-it/brass-bands/rebirth/). Dr. Michael White places the bands founding at 1972 (2001:90). Collaborators are often ambiguous. See Matt Sakakeeny and Willie Birch, *Roll with It: Brass Bands in the Streets of New Orleans*. Refiguring American Music (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013): 11; and Michael G. White, "The New Orleans Brass Brand: A Cultural Tradition." In *The Triumph of the Soul: Cultural and Psychological Aspects of African American Music*, edited by Jones, Ferdinand and Arthur C Jones. (Westport: Praeger, 2001) 90.

Indian Culture, like tambourines, cowbells, and the bamboula rhythm). Moreover, Rebirth sang more than the bands before them, incorporating both solo vocals and unison group choruses and call-and-response-type comebacks and reiterations. Also, they covered entire songs from popular radio.[88] These innovations reflected the energy of their young urban audience.

Rebirth began busking regularly in the French Quarter and, before too long, attracted the attention of WWOZ's Jerry Brock, who arranged a record deal with Arhoolie Records. The resulting album, *Here to Stay!: Live at the Grease Lounge, 1984: Their First Recording* (1984), was the first of many albums the band has released.[89] Perhaps most surprisingly, *Here to Stay!* was recorded while the band's members were still in their teens. The band quickly became a local favorite and could be seen nearly every Sunday through second line season. By the late-1980s—approximately 1987—Rebirth took over the DDBB's Monday night residency at the Glass House bar. And by 1992, Rebirth began playing a Tuesday night residency at the Uptown bar, the Maple Leaf, which has become the most popular weekly gig in the city for locals and tourists alike.

In 1989, Rebirth released their second album, *Feel like Funkin' It Up* (Rounder), followed shortly by their third, "Do Whatcha Wanna" (Mardi Gras Records). Several songs from those albums becoming perennial favorites of the Carnival songbook: a remake of Earl King's "Big Chief," and two original songs, "Do Whatcha Wanna (Part 2)," and "Feel like Funkin' It Up."[90] By then, the

[88] A then-innovative practice, performing popular songs of the day is a practice that dates back to the all-Black militia bands of the late-18th century.

[89] Rebirth Jazz Band (New Orleans) – *Here to Stay!: Live at the Grease Lounge, 1984: Their First Recording*. Arhoolie Records 1984. Rebirth has 13 original releases, 1 compilation, and 5 singles under the name. They have also collaborated on many albums, such as Bo Dollis and the Wild Magnolias' release *I'm Back at Carnival Time* for Rounder Records (1990), which featured the Rebirth Brass Band on several tracks. ReBirth Jazz Band. "Here to Stay!: Live at the Grease Lounge, 1984: Their First Recording." Arhoolie Records, 1092. LP, 1984.

[90] Rebirth Brass Band. *Feel Like Funkin' It Up.* Rounder Records, 2093. 1989, LP. Rebirth Brass Band; "Feel Like Funkin' It Up." Posted July 30, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r0atwclqGfM&list=OLAK5uy_kcVFkl0KixLv9bLpeLJLn-Cz96lYR_slQ&index=4. 5:05; *Do Whatcha Wanna*. Mardi Gras Records, MG 1003. 1991, CD. Rebirth Brass Band. *Do Whatcha Wanna (Pt. 2).* Maison De Soul, 45-1060. 1989, LP; Rebirth Brass Band. "Do Whatcha Wanna, Pt. 2." Posted July 30, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G1E8f9_u1nE&list=OLAK5uy_kcVFkl0KixLv9bLpeLJLn-Cz96lYR_slQ. 6:17; Rebirth Brass Band. "Big Chief," in *Feel Like Funkin' It Up.* Rounder Records, 2093. 1989, LP; Rebirth Brass Band; Rebirth Brass Band. "Big Chief." Posted July 30, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wq5h63uuw5M&list=OLAK5uy_kcVFkl0KixLv9bLpeLJLn-Cz96lYR_slQ&index=3. 4.25.

personnel had shifted a bit. Anderson, Austin, Green, and Stewart had moved on from Rebirth for one reason or another, and Kermit Ruffins left to form his Barbecue Swingers. As a result, Rebirth integrated the talents of some very talented younger musicians, such as trombonists Stafford Agee and Tyrus Chapman, trumpeters Glen Andrews and Derrick "Spodie" Shezbie (also known as Young Spodie, Kabuki, Kabuky, or Khabuky; current member of To Be Continued Brass Band; see also, Chapter 3 of this dissertation), and Derrick Tabb (formerly of the Olympia Kids, the Young Olympia band, and the High Steppers).

In 1990, Rebirth Brass Band was featured on several tracks of Bo Dollis and the Wild Magnolias' release *I'm Back at Carnival Time* (Rounder Records). Later, Rebirth incorporated the Mardi Gras Indian songs, "Ooh Nah Nay" (Rebirth Records, 1999) and "Let's Go Get 'Em" (Basin Street Records, 2011)—an up-tempo Mardi Gras Indian song that is commonly played by brass bands as a parade is about to reach its last stop or when traversing across Uptown/Downtown boundaries).[91] While these songs demonstrate the direct influence and integration of Mardi Gras Indian music and aesthetics, Rebirth had long incorporated the bamboula—often called "three beat" by my collaborators.

Keith Frazier began incorporating the "three-beat" rhythm into his percussive vocabulary early on, but due to Rebirth's influence, other bands quickly incorporated the rhythm. The three-beat is an African rhythmic archetype found throughout the Black Atlantic. In NOLA, this rhythm is most commonly associated with the popular Congo Square dance style and rhythmic pulse of the ring shout known as the bamboula.[92] Art historian Robert Farris Thompson traced the etymology of

[91] Rebirth Brass Band. "The Main Event, a. Tornado Special, b. Waterfalls, c. Ooh Nah Nay, d. Rebirth on Fire," in *The Main Event*. Mardi Gras Records, MG 1090. 2004, CD; Rebirth Brass Band. "Let's Go Get 'Em," in *Rebirth Of New Orleans*. Basin Street Records, BSR 1202-2. 2011, CD. None of Rebirth's recordings feature "Ooh Nah Nay;" it is evident that the song appears in title only. Although, it is common practice for Rebirth to perform the song at live performances. Rebirth Brass Band. "ReBirth Brass Band – Let's Go Get 'Em." Posted October 27, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rf8m3Ww-Unk. 5:47.
[92] NOLA community scholar Freddi Williams Evans proposes that the bamboula may refer to a drum, a dance, dancers, or a rhythm. This term can be found in numerous parts of the West Indies including Trinidad, St. Lucia, Guadalupe, Haiti, Puerto Rico,

the word "bamboula" to the Congo region of Africa and found that the Kikongo translation for bamboula is "to remember" (Evans 2011:102). Therefore, the bamboula provides the basis from which many of the contemporary brass band drum patterns derive. It is an exemplar of the performed cultural memory of Congo Square that persists to this day.

In the decades that followed, hip hop pervaded NOLA's soundscape. Hip hop, bounce artists—a style of New Orleans hip hop music, and brass band musicians continued to sample and record Mardi Gras Indian songs, collaborate with Indians, and incorporate their musical aesthetics. As artists were picked up by Black commercial radio in NOLA, it became increasingly common to hear a mélange of Indian, brass band, and hip hop music blasting from car stereos and front porches all over the city (for more on the Mardi Gras Indians and the brass band, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation). Hearing brass band tunes on the radio and played loudly through home and car stereos is not relegated to the early-1990s. On September 11, 2015, alto saxophonist and bandleader of the Los Angeles brass band, Critical Brass, Miguel "Schwee" Schwartz, relayed to me that in the early 2000s, "[you'd hear] gang bangers in New Orleans driving around with their speakers on crop (senselessly loud) [. . .] blasting 'Buck it Like a Horse,' but that was like, it was the ghetto jam."[93]

Since 1989, DJs and hip hop artists were looking to the brass band for source material to create new music. They began incorporating samples of famous tuba riffs, horn licks, and sometimes longer pieces of brass band tunes as part of their compositional process. In that same year, Tuba Phil's bass line from Rebirth's 1984 classic, "Tuba Fats"—which was itself rendition of Tuba Fats'

---

and the Virgin Islands, and may have made their way to New Orleans via Haitian immigrants and the Black Mardi Gras Indians – see Freddi W. Evans, *Congo Square: African Roots in New Orleans* (Lafayette: University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press, 2011), 102.

[93] I had the honor of playing "Buck It Like a Horse" with the song's composer, Glen David Andrews, in September 2015. I would later play regularly in Glen David Andrews' band while doing fieldwork. Miguel "Schwee" Schwartz. Musician. September 2015. Los Angeles, CA; Gregory "D"* And D.J. Mannie Fresh*. "Buck Jump Time," in *"D" Rules The Nation*. Yo! Records, X-101. 1989, CD; Gregory D & Dj Mannie Fresh. "GREGORY D & DJ MANNIE FRESH 'Buck Jump Time' (ORIGINAL)." Posted April 13, 2009. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBPKx4GZI_U&t=12s. 3:30.

signature riff—was memorialized in the Crescent City rap classic, "Buck Jump Time," by Gregory "D" and DJ Mannie Fresh, who sampled the riff for Gregory "D" to rap over.[94] In "Buck Jump Time," Gregory "D" asserts locals should already recognize the bass line's origin:

> Aw yeah! You know the bassline in the background, baby!
> New Orleans, you know what time it is?
> (Buck jump time!)[95]

With the steady increase of DJ-centered entertainment at local clubs in the 1980s and 90s, Rebirth gained momentum when DJs began spinning their songs for the young, late-night crowd. With their funky tuba bass lines, loud and energetic horns, Mardi Gras Indian chant-like choruses "shouts," and now, appearing on hip hop sides, Rebirth came to represent a shifting, young urban audience. As hip hop artists from other urban centers around the U.S. began taking the nation by storm, rappers and DJs, too, began sampling and spinning brass band and Mardi Gras Indians' music (for more on Mardi Gras Indians and the brass band, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation).[96]

Deff Generation followed closely behind. Deff Generation was a Neville family endeavor comprising several generations: Damien, Cyril, Jason, Aaron, Omari, and Cyril Sr. Deff Generations' 1991 release, *Medicine* (Endangered Species Records) included two rap tunes that captured the quality of a live brass band performance: "New Arrival" and "Running with the Second Line."[97] Both songs

---

[94] ReBirth Jazz Band. "Mardi Gras Medley," in *New Orleans: ReBirth Jazz Band; Here To Stay!* Arhoolie Records. 1984, LP. *Here to Stay!* was the first of fifteen albums the band has released. They recorded it again in 2004 for their *Rebirth for Life* album. Rebirth Brass Band. "Tuba Fats," in *Rebirth for Life.* Tipitina's Records. 2004, MP3. Rebirth Brass Band. "Mardi Gras Melody." Posted April 19, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oxYPsjAi2us&t=293s. 18:45.

[95] Gregory "D" and Mannie Fresh. "Buck Jump Time" *D Rules the Nation*. Dallas, TX: Yo Records, 1989. Buckjumping is an extremely vigorous dance form second line dance. It also refers to the excitement level of the dancer. To my knowledge, the etymology of the term *buckjumping* is unknown, but it dates back to at least 1941, when Fats Waller used to term as the title of his composition, "Buck Jumpin'." ReBirth Jazz Band. "Mardi Gras Medley." *From New Orleans: ReBirth Jazz Band; Here To Stay!* New Orleans, LA. Arhoolie Records. 1984. *Here to Stay!* was the first of fifteen albums the band has released. They recorded it again in 2006 for their *Rebirth for Life* album.

[96] For more on hip hop and street consciousness, see Cheryl Lynette Keyes, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness*. Music in American Life. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

[97] See Deff Generation. *Medicine*. Endangered Species Records, ES1701-2. CD, 1991; Deff Generation. "New Arrival," in *Medicine*. Endangered Species Records, ES1701-2. CD, 1991;

featured the energetic playing of a brass band—assembled for the session—and the MC stylings of the "Grand Marshalls Of Rap," Cyril Neville, Damien Neville, and Richard Labry rapped over the songs. In the months leading up to Deff Generation's recording, Cyril Neville had begun mentoring a young group of musicians who, inspired by their predecessors' innovations, formed a band to better resonate with their experiences: the Soul Rebels.

The Soul Rebels Brass Band

Lumar LeBlanc (snare drum), Derrick "Oops" Moss (bass drum), and Damion Francois (tuba) first played together in the Young Olympia, the junior division of Milton Batiste's Olympia Brass Band, under the tutelage of Milton Batiste (the co-director of Dejan's Olympia Brass Band), who taught the young musicians traditional brass band repertoire and style. But, wanting to incorporate the musical influences of their generation into their music, the three musicians were soon joined by Tannon Williams (trumpet), Winston Turner (trombone), and Marcus Hubbard (trumpet) under the name Soul Rebels in 1991. They received their name from Neville Brother, Cyril Neville, from whom they drew inspiration.

Soul Rebels incorporated elements of funk, hip-hop, pop, rock, and reggae music within the brass band framework. The Soul Rebels burst onto the scene with their debut album *Let Your Mind Be Free* in 1994 (Mardi Gras Records). The album *feels* like a mixtape. The styles represented on the album range from Afro-Caribbean/Latin ("L.O.V.E. U" and "Culture in the Ghetto"), to

---

Deff Generation. "New Arrival." Posted July 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x2V34ky4i-w. 3:23; Deff Generation. "Running with the Second Line," in *Medicine*. Endangered Species Records, ES1701-2. CD, 1991; and Deff Generation. "Running with the Second Line." Posted July 22, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wCImvaT0DpU. 5:59.

jazz (a cover of Wayne Shorter's "Footprints"), to funk, to hip hop and rap ("Flowing and Flying" and "Black Jukc" [sic]—pronounced "juke").[98]

As exemplified in the title track, "Let Your Mind Be Fee," their lyrics were laden with powerful messages of world peace, Black pride, and criticism of Black-on-Black violence that was so prevalent during the 1980s and '90s:

> This is an original by the Soul Rebels Brass Band called 'Let Your Mind Be Free.'
>
> When we speak of 'Let Your Mind Be Free,' first, we talk about Racial discrimination:
>
> Black, White, Red, Brown, Yellow, [it] doesn't matter what color you are,
>
> because we're all under the same Lord, And bleed the same color blood—red.
>
> We're talkin' 'bout world peace.
>
> We talkin' about our brothers and sisters in South Africa, Bosnia, Haiti. Over in Japan, Northern Iraq, North Viet Nam, South Viet Nam. Over in Germany, Brazil, Russia.
>
> We're talkin' about here at home in Washington, in Dallas, Seattle, Miami, Detroit, New Orleans, Los Angeles.
>
> We're talkin' about Pittsburgh. We're talkin' about . . . everywhere in the United States.
>
> The St. Thomas, the Magnolia, the Callio (Calliope), the Iberville, Lafitte, St. Bernard, the Flo (Florida), Desire, the Fischer.
>
> Let your mind be free. Stop the killin'. Stop the killin'. Stop the killin'.[99]

Subsidized housing projects St. Thomas, Magnolia, Calliope, Iberville, Lafitte, St. Bernard, Florida,

---

[98] Soul Rebels Brass Band. "L.O.V.E. U," in *Let Your Mind Be Free.* Mardi Gras Record, MG 1020. CD, 1994; Soul Rebels Brass Band. "L.O.V.E. U." Posted November 8, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hADRNcLkAlw. 5:04; Soul Rebels Brass Band. "Culture in the Ghetto," in *Let Your Mind Be Free.* Mardi Gras Record, MG 1020. CD, 1994; Soul Rebels Brass Band. "Culture in the Ghetto." Posted November 8, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bhI6EVPVoC8. 5:01; Soul Rebels Brass Band. "Let Your Mind Be Free," in *Let Your Mind Be Free.* Mardi Gras Record, MG 1020. CD, 1994; Soul Rebels Brass Band. "Foot Prints." Posted November 7, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BCjMrkBcS24. 5:26; and Soul Rebels Brass Band. "Flowing and Flying," in *Let Your Mind Be Free.* Mardi Gras Record, MG 1020. CD, 1994; Soul Rebels Brass Band. "Flowing and Flying." Posted November 5, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X8hM52CS_oc. 3:18; Soul Rebels Brass Band. "Black Jukc," in *Let Your Mind Be Free.* Mardi Gras Record, MG 1020. CD, 1994; Soul Rebels Brass Band. "Black Jukc." Posted November 5, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PoEAiZScAVA. 4:21.

[99] Soul Rebels Brass Band. *Let Your Mind Be Free*. Mardi Gras Record, MG 1020. CD, 1994; Soul Rebels Brass Band. "Let Your Mind Be Free," in *Let Your Mind Be Free.* Mardi Gras Record, MG 1020. CD, 1994; and Soul Rebels Brass Band. Posted November 8, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awCy-529Q3g. 6:37.

Desire, and Fischer (cited above) represent nine of the eleven housing developments (projects) located in NOLA and the West Bank from 1941-1970. From 1970-2005 conditions in the projects were in a steady state of decline. In the late-1980s, drug use, gang activity, and violent crimes and murder rose sharply. So much so that New Orleans became one of the most dangerous cities in the Nation. During this time, Sunday second lines were often the site of violence and murder.

As the Soul Rebels built their following, "Let Your Mind Be Free" became a standard in the brass band repertoire. They procured a Thursday night residency at the Uptown bar, Le Bon Temps Roule on Magazine Street, just seven blocks from the house I rented while doing fieldwork. The band has garnered international acclaim and has shared the stage with Rakim and the Wu-Tang Clan and toured with Nas.

Contemporary Brass Bands

Since the mid-1980s, NOLA has seen an ever-increasing number of new brass bands formed across the city; everything from traditional bands (All Star; Jazzmen; Mahogany; the Olympia; among many others), funk, R&B, Mardi Gras Indian, and hip hop influenced bands (Big 6; Free Agents; Hot 8; Kings of Brass; Lil Rascals; Most Wanted; Next Generation; Real Untouchables; Stooges; To Be Continued; among many others), and even those, like the Li'l Rascals Brass Band, who prove their knowledge and dedication to tradition (e.g., *We Shall Walk through the Streets of the City* (Got Fire Music; 1998), then go on to record groundbreaking material (e.g., *Buck It Like A Horse* (Mardi Gras Records; 2007), and the New Birth Brass Band, who live simultaneously in multiple worlds, seamlessly overlapping popular music styles over-top a more

"traditional" rhythmic pulse.[100] Perhaps this is due to the burgeoning tourist economy, whose foundation is built on Black musical output. Or maybe it is because members of the community like Milton Batiste and Derrick Tabb, and institutions, like Preservation Hall, are taking up the mantle of mentorship, continuing in the footsteps of Danny Barker and Doc Paulin, with groups like the Young Men Olympia and Junior Olympia brass bands, the Preservation Hall Foundation, and the Roots of Music, respectively.

Maybe the number of brass bands is simply proportional to population growth, or that growing presence of Black marching bands in popular music, like Aloe Blacc, Beyoncé, Lizzo, and Kanye West.[101] Whatever the reason, brass bands are now—maybe they always were—ubiquitous in the Crescent City. While many brass bands perform for a variety of situations, some play mainly for local parades, while others focus on performing for tourists in the French Quarter—bachelorette parties and wedding receptions are quite popular amongst tourists—and for tours and conventions.

Consumers in literate cultures tend to consider the recorded artifact as the marker of when something began, not accounting for the culture from which the "thing" arose. Put another way, the

---

[100] Both Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle, bass drummer and band leader for New Birth, and Jeffrey Hills, tubist, described New Birth as "the bridge"; occupying both musical realms at the same time; Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle. Musician. New Orleans, LA. March 2019; Jeffrey Hills. Musician. New Orleans, LA. May 2019. Li'l Rascals' album, *We Shall Walk Through the Streets of the City,* should not be confused with the Smithsonian Folkways recording, *Through the Streets of the City*. Li'l Rascals *We Shall Walk Through the Streets of the City* represents a "traditional" brass band album in many respects. Though, you can clearly hear more contemporary stylistic expressions. Li'l Rascals dropped the apostrophe sometime in the early 2000s, becoming the Lil Rascals. *Buck It Like a Horse* represents a marked departure from the more traditional tone of their first album. See Li'l Rascals Brass Band. *We Shall Walk Through the Streets of the City*. Got Fire Music, none. CD, 1998; Lil Rascals Brass Band. "Buck It Like A Horse," in *Buck It Like a Horse.* Mardi Gras Records, MG1113. CD, 2008; Lil Rascals Brass Band. "Buck It Like a Horse." Posted March 21, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VNxEbIHVRck. 7:10.

[101] Examples of the proliferation of Black marching bands in popular music are Dave Chappelle's Block Party (2005), with Central State University's Invincible Marching Marauders Marching Band featuring Kanye West; Beyoncé's "Homecoming" at Coachella (2018), where Beyoncé walked out to a rendition of Rebirth's "Do Whatcha Wanna." A marching band made up of musicians from all over the country accompanied her throughout her performance; Lizzo's "Good as Hell" music video (2019), which prominently features the Southern University's Human Jukebox band and Fabulous Dancing Dolls; and Aloe Blacc's "Can You Do This" nationally televised half-time performance with the Rebirth Brass Band for the 63rd NBA All-Star game, in New Orleans, Louisiana (2014); among many others.

non-initiated are unaware of the cultural context that preceded the DDBB's first recording. Possibly even NOLA locals—in this case, the 6th Ward—may be unaware of the intricacies of the processes of the culture in which they participate. It is also the case that not every recording is documented or discussed by critics, scholars, or everyday people. Thus, many local musicians and bands have yet to be "discovered," but when they are—one can hope—their own voices will set the record straight.

Chapter Conclusions

The brass band is largely lacking in jazz scholarship and, despite the rapidly growing body of well-researched and well-meaning literature, the data-driven accounts of New Jazz Studies scholars often neglect the NOLA community's collective beliefs. Moreover, these studies remain excluded from jazz history courses and texts the world over. Current jazz texts provide incomplete surveys that do little to correct previously held assumptions about jazz and are now deeply embedded within American culture, serving as an indoctrinating canon that limits the brass band's role and its practitioners within the jazz tradition. This chapter discusses the various stages of brass band development, viewing them not as discrete movements but as one long tradition of hybridity, negotiation, and resilience.

A modern interpretation of the ring shout, the cultural expressions of the jazz funeral and the second line are profound expressions of the African diasporic past. Practitioners today recreate the historic nineteenth-century performances in Congo Square, where Black New Orleanians reinterpreted the sacred music and dances of Voudou in weekly public African festivals every Sunday. Most notable among the documented activities at Congo Square was the ring shout: an early religious ritual or "holy dance," consisting of rhythmic clapping and drumming, call-and-response

singing, leaping, jumping, fanning movements, the waving hanker-chiefs, and counterclockwise shuffling and dancing in a circular formation or ring.

The ring shout provided the necessary format for people of color together in religiocorporeal musicking and provided a framework for communal expression within a system of hierarchy, inequity, and oppression. From this environment that the jazz funeral emerged, and the brass band became indelibly bound to the community and "closely tied to the rhythms of everyday life in New Orleans."[102] To practitioners, Congo Square represents not one location but a complex of levees, backyards, common areas, and military parade grounds where Black individuals gathered to participate in communal activities (for a discussion on Congo Square's location, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation). It also provided a mechanism for cultural survival and a space for creating social bonds and identities, out of which common values, beliefs, and customs crystalized and around which the diverse Black community cohered.

From the time Buddy Bolden signified on military marching band tunes, or members of the African American community stretched out the ring dances creating a second line parade, or the Young Tuxedo Brass Band incorporated swing, bebop, and R&B, or the Dozen infused funk, bebop, and free jazz into their music, or "contemporary" brass bands who gain inspiration from rap and hip hop, among other popular music idioms, brass bands have utilized the adaptive strategy, which I term the Congo Square Ideology, to provide people with a sense of community through music, negotiate identities, and reconfigure "tradition" to resonate with their own unique experiences. Open-minded and unrestricted, contemporary brass band musicians search for inspiration from virtually every musical encounter, building from a tradition of hybridity and a

102 See Matt Sakakeeny. "Brass Bands of New Orleans: The Brass Band Has Come to Represent the Distinctiveness of New Orleans, Most Notably in the African-American Cultural Traditions of the Jazz Funeral and the Second Line Parade." *64 Parishes*, June 23, 2020. https://64parishes.org/entry/brass-bands-of-new-orleans. Accessed May 11, 2021.

growing diversity of styles. Utilizing old processes in new ways, brass band musicians reinvented traditions and expanded the repertoire, many of their tunes becoming standard repertoire. Naturally, some castigate those that fuse contemporary music—jazz, funk, pop, or rap—with the tradition. But, for the young brass band musicians, music is a mediating voice in the struggle against interpersonal, economic, and structural violence.

When taken together, the brief histories of the bands discussed above suggest that NOLA's Black community has nurtured a culture undergirded by common cultural values and allows for numerous interpretations. I contend that through constant modification and adaptation, these musicians participate in a long tradition of negotiation, hybridity, and resilience and create music that is not only enjoyable on its own terms but is functional, serving to unite the community.

Interlude II

Can't Take Our Spirit

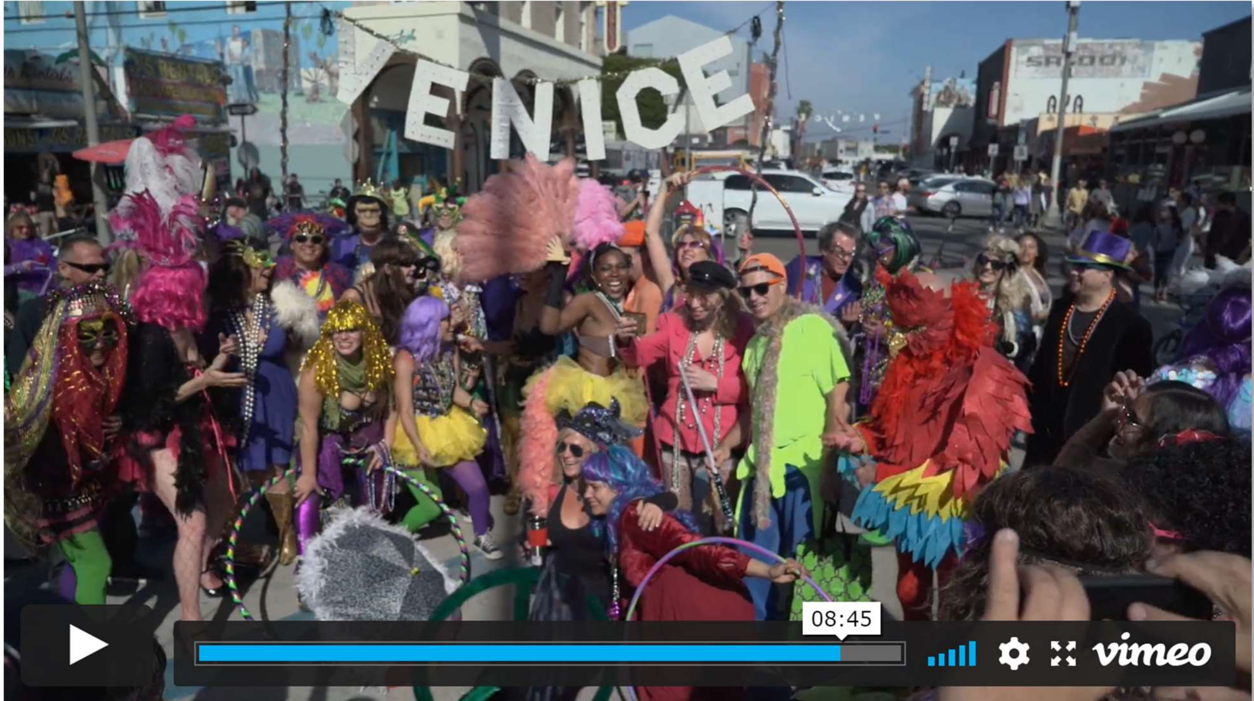


Figure 3-1.1. Screenshot from Can't Take Our Spirit, Venice, CA, February 15, 2020. Foreground: center (with feather fans), Electrik Kar; far-right, Todd Von Hoffman (founder of the Windward Krewe).

Filmmaking and the Los Angeles Second Line

Since 2002, the Krewe of Grandview (KoG) has organized a Mardi Gras celebration in Venice, California. Miss Jessica Long and Johann Stein established the KoG to celebrate Stein's Louisiana roots and culture with their community in a meaningful way after the series of terrorist attacks in New York City brought down the World Trade Center buildings. Connecting with the community through Louisiana culture became Long's project.[1] What began as a localized neighborhood event of a dozen or so people on Grandview Ave., where Long and Stein live, has

[1] Jessica Long. Co-founder of the Krewe of Grandview. Venice, CA. May 2015.

moved to the Venice Beach Boardwalk and grown more prominent, attracting not only a Venetian audience but individuals and families from the Greater LA area.

Since then, the KoG has fostered second line culture in Los Angeles (LA), coming to represent part of a larger system of other volunteer associations or community organizations. Presently, there are sister krewes (Krewe of Kenny, Tulane Alumni Krewe, and Windward Krewe), brass bands (Bear Brass, California Feetwarmers, Critical Brass, LALA Brass, Mudbug Brass Band, Sazerac Steppers Brass Band, Sea Funk Brass Band, and the Hornets), the Louisiana to Los Angeles Organization social aid and pleasure club, the Louisiana State University Alumni Association of Southern California, and numerous parade and festival organizers around LA. Moreover, the KoG and the music of Critical Brass and the Mudbug Brass Band—two bands with close associations to the KoG's VBMP—help define social bonds and boundaries and provide the settings for these social interactions through ritual and music for Southern Louisiana migrant and affinity communities based in LA.

Through the organization of parades, crawfish boils, and music and dance events, these groups demonstrate a renewed interest in the music and rituals of Southern Louisiana and suggest a broader resurgence of Louisiana culture and consciousness in general. They project a tangible image of homeland that constitutes a basis for group identification, social action, and cultural practice. This image allows for the negotiation of differences, all the while producing and reproducing themselves, creating a robust hybrid culture. While dialoguing directly with the NOLA tradition, LA brass band musicians are transposing the second line ritual and music in LA, creating new identities and meanings from which practitioners derive strength and spiritual fulfillment.

Nine Years in the Making

Through the camera, I sought to highlight not just the structural and visual "elements" of the second line ritual, but also the acoustic environment of the Boardwalk—the central "hub" of Venice, CA—and the human relationships between practitioners that are central to second line culture in LA (see Figure 3-1.2). I adopted the same filming strategies in *Can't Take Our Spirit* as those used in *My Brother's Keeper*: non-scripted, reflexive, and filmed from *within* the moment; and paying close attention to the sensorial elements of the event. Several significant moments within the film (*Can't Take Our Spirit*) bring the viewer close to the film's subject's multisensory experiences, knowing, and practice. Because this film centers on several young musicians of the Hollywood High Steppers Ensemble (Chloe Haack, Alexander Killingstad, Anthony Serrano III, and Olivia Luat Young), it was important to me to convey as much of their non-verbal communication as possible: the conflicting states of confidence and shyness (00:34-1:06; 6:01-6:04; 7:07-7:09); their joy at participating in their first Mardi Gras (1:08-1:13); the disappointment on their face when they make a "mistake" (1:52); and the effort needed to carry instruments for several hours (1:14-1:35).

On Sunday, February 15, 2020, the KoG, sister krewes the Krewe of Kenny, Tulane Alumni Krewe, and Windward Krewe, the Hollywood High Steppers Ensemble (brass band; HHSE), and carnival revelers met at the Rose Avenue Parking Lot entrance—at the intersection of Rose Ave. and the Boardwalk—to celebrate Mardi Gras. Carrying a large banner that read "VENICE," the KoG and the HHSE posed for a picture to document the occasion, organized into groups, then began processing southward down the Venice Beach Boardwalk toward Windward Circle. At Windward Circle, the procession stopped for the band to play several tunes before leading the parade through Danny's Venice, before heading back up the Boardwalk to where the parade began

Figure 3-1.2. The author filming Assaf Igell at the 18th Annual Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade. Venice, CA. February 15, 2020. Photo courtesy of Jim Ezell.

(for more about the parade, see Chapter 4 of this dissertation).[2]

My objective was to make a film about second line culture in LA, one that would transport the viewer through time and place, from large festivals and parades to intimate private gatherings and study groups. I think this film effectively illustrates how these second line practitioners maintain and represent elements of NOLA life and how they negotiate tradition.

According to Sarah Pink, traditional scholarly practice "is limited in its capacity to communicate about the directness of the sensory and affective elements of emplaced experience" (Pink 132). Together, my films not only bring the viewer close to the film's subjects' multisensory

[2] Freelance musicians Max Kalā Kim, David Rolike, and Jaz Sawyer, and members of the Mudbug Brass Band, John Montgomery, Johann Stein, and Dan Weinstein, not only augmented the band's presence but provided a model for performance to the neophyte musicians of the HHSE.

experiences, knowing, and practice, but they also reflect my own. They are deeply reflexive works, demonstrating how the principles of sensory ethnography are translated into practice.

Chapter 4

From New Orleans to Los Angeles

In May 2016, I attended the annual Louisiana State University crawfish boil, where approximately one hundred alumni and their families have assembled to eat, socialize, and celebrate their alma mater. [1] *While some attendees stood around talking, others huddled over plates heaped with crawfish and its typical complimentary food items, like Andouille sausage, shrimp, corn on the cobb, potatoes, boudin, and the perennial favorite, red beans, and rice. Many of the event's attendees wore purple and gold t-shirts with the image of a tiger emblazoned on its front (the school's colors and mascot), while others were dressed in bright colors and ornamented with large-brimmed hats, feather boas, Mardi Gras beads, and highly decorated parasols to exhibit their Louisiana pride.*

About two dozen people are gathered around a make-shift bandstand, waiting for the brass band assembling on the stage to begin. Soon, the band's rhythm section (bass and snare drums, guitar, and tuba) began playing an instantly identifiable tuba riff and "vamp," "Tuba Fats."[2] *Upon hearing the music, about one dozen attendees rushed onto the dance floor and began dancing. In a conversational tone, the band's trumpeter Jamelle Adisa unhurriedly addressed the audience while the band's rhythm section continued to play:*

> We're goin' down Claiborne, y'all.
> Now we turn left on Orleans; toward the bayou—Bayou St. John.
> Big Chief Alfred Doucette is there. And Big Chief Bo Dollis.
> Indian Red is there, too; he's got a new suit on.[3]

---

[1] Crawfish boils are a time-honored tradition in New Orleans and is as much an act of eating as of socializing – where loads of boiled crawfish are heaped on top of a newspaper-covered table. Seafood boils are common communal gatherings throughout the South.

[2] A vamp in this instance equates to a two-measure section that is repeated. based on Anthony "Tuba Fats" Lacen's signature tuba riff. In 1983, ReBirth recorded a *contrafact* (a musical composition built using the chord progression of a pre-existing song) based on Tuba Fats' signature riff in their first release—known thereafter as "Tuba Fats"—within their "Mardi Gras Medley." See ReBirth Jazz Band. "Mardi Gras Medley," in *New Orleans: ReBirth Jazz Band; Here To Stay!* Arhoolie Records. 1984, LP. *Here to Stay!* was the first of fifteen albums the band has released. They recorded it again in 2004 for their *Rebirth for Life* album. Rebirth Brass Band. "Tuba Fats," in *Rebirth for Life.* Tipitina's Records. 2004, MP3. Rebirth Brass Band. "Mardi Gras Melody." Posted April 19, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oxYPsjAi2us&t=293s. 18:45. Accessed May 13, 2021.

[3] The term "new suit" is in reference to the Mardi Gras Indian tradition. No Big Chief wears the same suit twice. Their costumes are made "new" each year for Mardi Gras, and the entire year between Mardi Gras celebrations to create. The Mardi Gras Indians' Big Chiefs debut their new suits on Mardi Gras, but they can also be seen on March 19th, also known as St. Joseph's Night. Big Chief Alfred Doucette is Big Chief of the Flaming Arrow Warriors. Big Chief Bo Dollis is Big Chief of the Wild Magnolias.

Now we're headin' up Rampart St.
We're gonna stop by Gene's Po-Boys—open 24-hours, y'all.
You can have a heart attack 24-hours a day.
Now, we're gonna turn left. Injuns, here we come.
Injuuuuns, here we come!

At which time the band bursts into a rendition of Rebirth Brass Band's "Ooh Nah Nay" (Rebirth Records, 1999), a song that has since become a standard of the brass band repertoire.[4] *Some of the attendees sang along in unison with the chorus,* "Ooh Na Naaaaaay, Ooh Na Nay," *while others responded to Adisa's intermittent calls. Before too long, dancers form an impromptu second line; first, encircling the dance floor, then as the numbers of participants grew as attendees joined the fun, they wound around and amongst the tables set up for dining, eventually encircling the entire park area. The dancing went on for several hours, with a minimum pause in the festivities.*[5]

Scenes like the one mentioned above can be found on nearly any given day in New Orleans (NOLA) from mid-January through April (peak months of crawfish season).[6] It paints a picture of an event that could very well have taken place in NOLA; only it didn't.[7] This crawfish boil is but one of many events celebrating NOLA heritage and culture, held in Los Angeles, CA, throughout the year.[8] But how are the culture and customs of NOLA transposed in LA? Why is this happening? Moreover, what do they mean to Angelenos?

Both are local NOLA celebrities. Gene's Po-Boys was at the intersection of Elysian Fields and St. Claude St. Gene's permanently closed its doors after 50 years, due to the economic impact of gentrification.

[4] Rebirth recorded the Mardi Gras Indian song "Ooh Nah Nay" (Rebirth Records, 1999); Rebirth on Fire" track 6 *The Main Event: Live at The Maple Leaf*. LA: Rebirth Records, 1999.

[5] Rebirth Brass Band. "The Main Event, a. Tornado Special, b. Waterfalls, c. Ooh Nah Nay, d. Rebirth on Fire," in *The Main Event*. Mardi Gras Records, MG 1090. 2004, CD; Rebirth Brass Band. "Let's Go Get 'Em," in *Rebirth Of New Orleans*. Basin Street Records, BSR 1202-2. CD, 2011. None of Rebirth's recordings feature "Ooh Nah Nay;" it is evident that the song appears in title only. Although, it is common practice for Rebirth to perform the song at live performances.

[6] An old rule of thumb warns not to eat crawfish during months with no R's—May, June, July, and August; Crawfish are not active in the fall and are not suitable for eating in the hottest summer months. Tim Ganard. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. 2015.

[7] Louisiana State University Alumni SoCal Crawfish Boil. Sunday, May 22, 2016. Redondo Beach, CA.

[8] The terms *heritage* and *culture,* distinguishes between those things one inherits (heritage) and the patterns of learned and shared behaviors, customs, and collective human beliefs of a particular group of people (culture). The vignette, above, took place on May 22, 2016. I was the Louisiana State University Alumni of Southern California's 27th Annual Crawfish Boil.

Since the early 20th century, LA has become a prominent destination for Black migrants from the South—including NOLA. Consequently, there is an ever-increasing number of NOLA migrants. Then, on August 29, 2005, Hurricane Katrina slammed into the Gulf Coast of the U.S. near NOLA.[9] As a result, several thousands of people fled NOLA and its nearby communities. These forced evacuations led to the displacement of thousands who would soon comprise diasporic communities throughout the United States.[10] When individuals relocated to LA, they carried many of the aspects of their culture with them. For these migrants, brass bands and the second line are profound expressions of New Orleans. For others, NOLA exists in the imaginary, shaped by a variety of mass media, films, and the tourism industry, creating a virtual experience of the city's culture for viewers in which the brass band and the second line have become signifiers of a NOLA-"style" and custom affiliated with its Mardi Gras street parades, jazz weddings, and funerals, and NOLA-themed events.

In this chapter, I will discuss how some Angelenos celebrate, converse with, and pay homage to the NOLA's most recognizable musical tradition, albeit in unique ways.[11] This chapter will demonstrate that this growing secular and predominantly non-native audience transposes the second line ritual and music in LA. Multiple modes of hybridity take the place of clearly defined practices allowing for new modes of expression to appear. Herein, I will argue that the second line ritual has become a sort of secular religion, out of which comes new meanings, new identities, and new theology. Within this theology, the sacred and the secular are interacting in unique ways. However,

---

[9] While the Category 4 hurricane, with sustained winds of up to one hundred and forty miles per hour, caused massive damage, it was the levee breaches that led to massive flooding, which had the most lasting effect in NOLA.

[10] "Hurricane Impact: Post Katrina 2005." The Data Center. Accessed May 13, 2021. http://www.datacenterresearch.org/data-resources/katrina/impact/. Accessed May 13, 2021.

[11] In her article "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music," ethnomusicologist Kay Shelemay defines an affinity community as one that emerges from individual preferences and a desire for association with others who share the same affinities- see Kay K. Shelemay, "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (2011): 16-17.

the second line still functions in "religious ways," its music providing a powerful mechanism to galvanize these communities from which they derive strength.

During fieldwork, I had the humble pleasure of performing with many of the bands and celebrities discussed in this chapter, including Critical Brass, Vaud and the Villains, Sea Funk Brass Band, California Footwarmers, Mudbug Brass Band, LALA Brass, and the Sazerac Steppers Brass Band, as well as celebrities Aloe Blacc, Mötley Crüe, and Kanye West. It is from my own experiences *within* the band as a co-participant and interviews and many hours of conversation with my collaborators, from which I draw.

Setting the Scene

In the first phase of the Great Migration (approximately 1910-1930), thousands of Black migrants left the South, mainly to escape limited economic opportunities and stifling social conditions, such as limited educational opportunities, political disenfranchisement, segregation, and racial violence. As a result, the Black population of major Northern cities grew by large percentages. Cities like Chicago, New York, Detroit, and Philadelphia received the most migrants (Tolnay 2003). But Black Louisianans were also heading to the western regions of the United States. During the second phase of the Great Migration (roughly 1940-1970), western destinations began to attract more migrants. As World War II commenced, defense industry production rose steeply in LA, resulting in an ever-increasing number of Southern Blacks migrating for the promise of employment in the automobile, rubber, and steel industries. Consequently, LA became a prominent destination for Black migrants during this second large-scale migration from the South (Sides 2003; Flamming 2005; Tolnay and Eichenlaub 2006; Rutkoff and Scott 2010).

During this period, Louisianans made up the second-largest group of Black southern migrants in Los Angeles (DuCros 2013:16). Generally, these migrants settled near Central Avenue, south of Downtown (then known as the Eastside). Central Avenue became the hub of the African-American community in Los Angeles from approximately 1920 to 1955; the streets, shops, theaters, and clubs played a critical role in the rhythms of everyday African American life. Central Avenue is renowned for its role in the development of rhythm and blues, mass gospel choirs, and jazz. Jazz clubs flourished along Central Avenue. Clubs like the Apex Club, the Casablanca, the Club Alabam, the Downbeat, the Flame, Jack's Basket (known for hosting all-day jam sessions), The Last Word, Lincoln Theatre, Lovejoy's, the Plantation, and Ivie Anderson's Chicken Shack—and even a club called The New Orleans (located on Century Blvd.)—were host to a burgeoning jazz scene.[12]

Beginning in the 1950s, many middle-class African Americans moved out of the area, drawing with them businesses, churches, clubs, and other important community institutions, resulting in the gradual erosion of the social support network for many Black Angelenos. And for an unknown reason or cause, Black Angelenos did not have mutual aid societies to fall back on for support, like those found in NOLA.

In NOLA, the Black community found economic support and refuge from structural and physical violence and in the neighborhood institutions of the church and mutual aid organizations as far back as the 1780s. Mutual aid societies acted as a sort of hybrid insurance for their members providing access to medicine, sick pensions, health and life insurance, and funeral and burial arrangements for members and their dependents (Sakakeeny 2013; Carrico 2015; Doleac 2018:35). They also sponsored various social activities involving music and dance, such as balls, picnics,

[12] Clora Bryant's 1998 study, *Central Avenue Sounds*, is the most exhaustive study Central Avenue. For more, see Clora Bryant, ed., *Central Avenue Sounds: Jazz in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

baseball games, and parades. By the mid-1880s, the focus for some Black Orleanians shifted away from the original purpose of mutual aid societies, focusing more of their attention and resources on the social aspects of a club. This shifting focus resulted in forming a new type of institution called a social aid and pleasure club (SAPC). Its primary focus was to organize social events, like dances, balls, and parades.

We do not see an SAPC in Los Angeles until the early 1960s, when in 1962, a group of Louisiana State University alumni established the Louisiana State University Alumni Association of Southern California (LSUAA of SoCal) to celebrate a common culture, to raise capital for LSU scholarships, and to host social events, like LSU football game watch parties. Then, in the last quarter of the 20th century, Louisiana migrants began organizing parades and festivals to celebrate their culture, such as the Long Beach Mardi Gras Parade (established in 1977), the Long Beach Bayou Festival (established in 1986), LSUAA of SoCal's annual Crawfish Boil (established in 1988), the Simi Valley Cajun & Blues Festival (established in 1989), and the Long Beach Crawfish Festival (established in 1994). We also see the formation of another charitable and social organization in 1988, the Louisiana to Los Angeles Organization (LALA), whose primary focus was to raise educational funds for local youth and preserve Louisiana culture.[13]

It was out of this environment that brass bands emerged in the greater LA area. In 1996, Jesus "Chuy" Martinez formed the Bayou Brass Band, who, according to Martinez, was "the first brass band dedicated to the spirit and sounds of New Orleans east of the Mississippi."[14] They began playing festivals and private events in the area, quickly catching the attention of the Disney Company, who employed them to perform at Disneyland's New Orleans Square, where they

[13] Long Beach, California is not to be confused with Long Beach, Mississippi, which is home to numerous SAPCs.
[14] Jesus "Chuy" Martinez. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. 2015.

remained until-2006. They went on to record a couple of albums; *In Our Shoes* (1998) and *A Bayou Brass Christmas* (1999), both on Big Fat Silver Sousaphone Records.[15]

Then, in 2001, Miguel "Schwee" Schwartz (at the request of the collaborator, Schwartz will be referred to as Schwee for the remainder of the dissertation) organized Critical Brass in part as a response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11). Critical Brass (CB) has since become one of the most active brass bands in the LA area.

Critical Brass

Inspired by a sophomore trip to party at Mardi Gras, Schwee began making yearly pilgrimages to NOLA starting in the mid-90s—"once you go and see what it's about, then you know, you want to go back all the time."[16] The draw became too much for Schwee to resist, and after graduating with a bachelor's degree in physics from Harvard University, Schwee moved to NOLA in 1998. Schwee was attracted by much of NOLA's culture, but the music drew him the most. He played clarinet in middle school, then later switched to saxophone. Always prepared to sit in on a second line parade, Schwee recalls:

> I'd always have my horn on my back and try and jump into the parades, and they were always so welcoming. Always, y'know? NOLA has that family vibe to it. They place tremendous value on passing music down to younger generations, even if you're not from the neighborhood!

---

[15] Bayou Brass opened for the Neville Brothers' "Fat Tuesday" celebration at the House of Blues in Hollywood, California in March 2003—the Neville Brothers' first performance in California since 1995. Bayou Brass Band. "*In Our Shoes.*" Big Fat Silver Sousaphone Records, mc0060013. CD, 1998; Bayou Brass Band. "*A Bayou Brass Christmas.*" Big Fat Silver Sousaphone Records, mc0060013. CD, 1999.

[16] Miguel "Schwee" Schwartz. Musician and Astrophysicist. Los Angeles, CA. September 2015.

NOLA jazz and Mardi Gras Indian historian Sylvester Francis recorded every second line parade that Schwee participated in with a hand-held BETA-Cam. Every time Schwee played in a second line, Francis would give him a copy:

> So, I have videos, y'know? Me playing with all these bands with Rebirth Brass Band, with Tremé Brass Band, with the Lil' Rascals. Y'know? That's where I met the Andrews [family of musicians], Uncle Lionel, Benny [Jones], Stick Man, and Frederick Sheppard...y'know? All the guys in the Tremé a brass band and the New Birth Brass Band.

Eventually, Schwee worked up the nerve to sit in at one of Bob French's second line jams. French, a NOLA drummer, led these jams at a club called Donna's. Schwee recalls, "Donna's was the brass band headquarters at the time. I have a T-shirt in my car. It has like thirty brass bands on the back. So, [jam sessions at Donna's] was like the nexus of all this activity, y'know?" At Donna's, Schwee met trumpeter, vocalist, composer, and bandleader James Andrews, who soon offered Schwee his first professional engagement in NOLA. James Andrews is the older brother of both famed snare drummer for the ReBirth Brass Band Derrick Andrews and trombonist, vocalist, composer, and bandleader with the Lil' Rascals Glen David Andrews, and cousin to trombonist, trumpeter, composer, and bandleader Troy "Trombone Shorty" Andrews. Schwee would later also play with Glen David's band, the Lil' Rascals. With Andrews, Schwee learned songs such as "Glory, Glory," and "I'll Flyaway" while gang-bangers in New Orleans—driving around with their speakers on krunk—not listening to Mystic not and not rap music, but they were blasting "Buck It Like a Horse."[17]

In 2001, Schwee was in a bit of a life struggle, deciding whether to stay in NOLA or move to LA, where he was accepted to both the California Institute of Technology (Pasadena) and University

[17] See Li'l Rascals Brass Band. *We Shall Walk Through the Streets of the City*. Got Fire Music, none. CD, 1998; Lil Rascals Brass Band. "Buck It Like A Horse," in *Buck It Like a Horse.* Mardi Gras Records, MG1113. CD, 2008; Lil Rascals Brass Band. "Buck It Like a Horse." Posted March 21, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VNxEbIHVRck. 7:10. Accessed May 13, 2021.

of California, Los Angeles's astrophysics departments. Ultimately, he accepted UCLA's offer to study there. Once there, fellow Harvard alum, Rafi Loiederman, and Rafi's younger brother, Zeke (pronounced "Zeek"), who was now living in LA, hatched "plans to put together a second line band in LA." Shortly after their plans to start a second line band in LA crystalized, the coordinated terrorist attacks by the Wahhabi terrorist group Al-Qaeda against the U.S. took place on Tuesday, September 11, 2001 (9/11). The 9/11 attacks solidified the trios resolve to form a band and connect with the community—wherever they were.

In late-2001, the trio began looking for like-minded musicians to form a band. The band would congeal as a six-member unit: led by alto saxophonist, Schwee, on vocals and alto sax; Rafi Benjamin Loiederman on bass drum with a cymbal attached, following the NOLA tradition; Gabriel "Zeke" Loiederman on snare drum; Marvin Otero on sousaphone; "I Timothy" Moynahan on trombone; and Mike Bolger on trumpet.[18] Schwee named the band for the need he saw in his community for second line: Critical Brass (See Figure 4.1). For the first couple of years, Schwee had to sneak Zeke and Marvin into performance venues through the backdoors because both men were underage and "looked so young." Schwee even had to "write out every single note for him [Marvin]" as he had no experience playing NOLA brass band music, "but he had chops!"

CB played their first gig at the Cultural Center in Chinatown, followed by gigs at the LA Knitting Factory, the Conga Room, the House of Blues, and the Temple Bar. And by early 2003, Schwee recalls, "things really started rollin'."[19] While the band was establishing itself as the only New Orleans-style brass band north of the "Orange Curtain" (the local term for the border between

---

[18] Timothy Moynahan goes by the moniker "I Timothy." I Timothy is a reference to the book of 1st Timothy, a Pastoral Epistle (letter from Paul to a church leader).

[19] The term "rollin'" has multiple meanings in NOLA: to get under way; the state of being high (intoxicated) on drugs; or to turn out en mass with a krewe or other group in a parade procession.

Figure 4.1. Critical Brass; left to right: Reverend Bill Earner, Rafi Loiederman, Gabriel Zeke Loiederman, Marvin Otero, "Schwee" Miguel Schwartz, I Timothy Moynahan, Robby Marshall, Mike Bolger, Ben McIntosh, and Beston Barnett.[20]

Orange County and Los Angeles County), the KoG was establishing itself as a grass-roots organization that not only celebrates Louisiana culture but the local Venice history and culture, too.[21]

The Krewe of Grandview

Since 2002, the Krewe of Grandview has organized a Mardi Gras celebration in Venice

[20] Critical Brass. 2021. Facebook, April 6, 2016. https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=170724913320559&set=a.169808456745538.

[21] I utilize the term "New Orleans-style" to designate those brass bands that do not originate from NOLA. This gets complicated when one looks into the cultural identities of individual band members. While some musicians hail from NOLA, none of the LA-based bands were established in NOLA. Most bands (Sea Funk Brass Band, California Feetwarmers, Bear Brass, LALA Brass, the Sazerac Steppers Brass Band, and the Hornets) claim inspiration from the NOLA tradition—in both interviews and marketing materials—while the Critical Brass and the Mudbug Brass Band have close ties to NOLA, whether it be familial, hailing from Louisiana, affinity, or musical kinship. Critical Brass "a legendary New Orleans brass band currently based in Los Angeles, CA" and Mudbug " Louisiana rooted, Los Angeles based, Mudbug Brass Band is dedicated to the 'Second Line' tradition of the Crescent City" (https://www.facebook.com/criticalbrass/; http://mudbugbrassband.com).

Figure 4.2. The 2014 Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade.

Beach, California (see Figure 4.2). With its King and Queen, beads, colorful pageantry, and lively music, this celebration projects an image of NOLA with which thousands of people—both native and non-native New Orleanians alike—identify. The KoG began as the brainchild of Miss Jessica Long, who wanted to celebrate the Louisiana roots of her partner Johann Stein and connect with her community in a meaningful way.

Inspiration for the KoG came in February 2001, when Long and her partner, Johann Stein, attended a Mardi Gras celebration at Union Station. Stein recalls that the event was more "Brazilian Carnival than New Orleans Mardi Gras."[22] They had a brass band, a second line parade, and Cajun food, which Stein says in retrospect "wasn't all that Cajun." In general, the experience was lackluster and left the two disappointed and wanting more. So, they decided to throw their own party. Over

[22] Johann Stein. Musicians and co-founder of the Krewe of Grandview. Venice, CA. May 2015.

the next year, Long, Stein, and their krewe, made up of neighbors and friends, began laying plans for their very own Mardi Gras parade (see Figure 4.3).

But, on September 11, 2001, a series of terrorist attacks in New York City brought down the World Trade Center buildings killing 2,996 people. Long, born in Westchester, New York, was deeply affected. Remembering the aftermath of the events, Long recalls:

> It just flattened everybody. People were paralyzed—in shock, really. You could feel the weight of the catastrophe. We were a country under seize; we were all victims of this terrorist act. I felt vulnerable. I remember thinking, "Are we next?" This was terrorism working its deed.

Long fought back in the only manner that she knew–to "celebrate in the face of this horror." They can't take away our spirit [. . .] to live life and be happy." Connecting with the community through Louisiana culture became Long's project.[23]

The KoG Mardi Gras celebration began as a localized neighborhood event of a dozen or so people on Grandview Ave., where Long and Stein live. Long supplied Louisiana trappings the couple had brought back with them from the French Quarter, which were heavily laden with cultural symbols and iconography, such as beads, the colors purple, yellow (or gold), and green; the fleur-de-lis; Saints gear (helmets, t-shirts, and the like); masks; and even a King Cake.[24] They had musicians participating in the parade and after-party, "jamming," but for the co-founders, however, an essential element was missing: a brass band. They hired a local brass band to fill the void: the Critical Brass. By 2003, Stein and Long had moved from their localized Grandview neighborhood to the Venice Beach Boardwalk (see Figure 4.4). Now on the Boardwalk and outfitted with a brass band, the KoG attracted a larger Venetian audience and individuals and families from the Greater LA area.

---

[23] Jessica Long. Co-founder of the Krewe of Grandview. Venice, CA. May 2015.

[24] King Cakes are eaten in New Orleans during the Mardi Gras season. King Cake are made of a puff pastry, sugar glaze, and NOLA-colored sprinkles (purple, green, and gold). They are often filled with almond paste and a type fruit, usually apple or pear–sometimes chocolate–and have a small figurine hidden inside.

Figure 4.3. Co-founders of the Krewe of Grandview, Miss Jessica Long and Johann Stein, at the 2014 Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade.

Media outlets began covering the event, including The Argonaut, the Los Angeles Times, the Venice Paparazzi, and www.VisitVeniceCA.com. Since then, Venice, CA has been the epicenter of brass band activity in LA and has set the stage for other social aid and pleasure clubs, krewes, and Windward Krewe (2011), the Krewe of Kinney (2015), and the Tulane Alumni Krewe (2021). Moreover, the KoG supports the LA music scene by encouraging audience membership turnout

Figure 4.4. Mural by Henry Lipkis, Navy Blue Apartment Building, 120 Navy St., Venice, CA. Top; left to right: Deborah Daly; Dillon Ginsky; Hailey Gawboy; Henry Lipkis, artist; Mira Gonzales; Isaac Watts; Maggie Lally, circus performer; Bottom; left to right: Millie Mims, food activist; fictional character picnicking; Xaime Shekere, shekere; Junior, Djembe drummer; fictional character drumming; Miss Jessica Long; Mike Bravo, frame drummer; Mike Sr., drummer. Commissioned by Venice Community Housing (VCH) in 2020. Artist: Henry Lipkis.[25]

brass bands in LA, such as the Central Social Aid and Pleasure Club (Santa Monica, CA; 2011); the wherever brass bands perform throughout the LA area. One band that can always count on a number of KoG members to show up at their gigs is the Mudbug Brass Band (see Figure 4.5).[26]

[25] Miss Jessica Long is memorialized in Henry Lipkis' Navy Blue Apartment Building mural on Navy and Pacific Avenues, in Venice, CA. Henry Lipkis, grew up in Venice, CA. He later moved to New Orleans in his early twenties, where he "paint[s] walls, make[s] giant puppets, paint[s] Mardi Gras floats, and does a little tattooing." Those locals that appear in the mural represent a "cross-section of the different types of people living in this town. All types of backgrounds economically, racially, spiritually, generationally, and otherwise" (http://www.lipkisart.com).

[26] CB played the VBMGP for eight years straight until the pull of graduate studies and family became too much for Schwee to handle from (2003 through 2011). Big Chief Alvin Harrison of the NOLA Mardi Gras Indian Tribe, the Creole Wild West, immigrated to Long Beach from NOLA in the early 2000s, performed regularly with CB from about 2003-2006.

The Mudbug Brass Band

The Mudbug Brass Band (MBB) has its origins within the year preceding the 2012 Venice Beach Mardi Gras. Bixby Knolls is an Art Walk gathering in Long Beach, CA, that hosts its "First Fridays" meetings on the first Friday of every month. Every February, Bixby Knolls hosts a "First Friday's Mardi Gras." In 2010, several of the musician friends of Johann Stein assembled to celebrate Mardi Gras at Bixby Knolls. The musicians were Johann Stein, guitar; Jamelle Yaya Adisa, a trumpet player who had just moved to LA from Louisiana in 2010; Matthew "Matty D" DeMerritt; tenor saxophone; Dan Weinstein, a stalwart of the LA musical community with a comprehensive knowledge of traditional to modern jazz, and many styles of Latino music; Reggie Longware the "Medicine Man" on snare drum; and Tim Ganard, a drummer whom Johann had met in 2000 at a backyard crawfish boil that Joel Breaux held at the house.[27] After the performance, Tim states that "Jamelle got in Johann's ear," and Stein and Adisa began working together to learn tunes.[28] As Adisa was brought up in this tradition, he was Stein and Ganards's source to learn the music and practice.

In 2011, Bixby Knolls called on Johann again, and he reached out to the same personnel. Ganard remembers receiving a call from Stein "We're gettin' the band back together." DeMerrittwas previously committed, so Stein called John "Spy Boy" McBride from the Gumbo Brothers to play tenor saxophone. While on the gig, Ganard recalls playing a tune that he didn't know called "You Move Ya Lose" by the Rebirth Brass Band, and Ganard "Woke up!" After the gig, Ganard, Stein, and Adisa agreed, "Over the next year – we need to grow this. [We] *really* need to dig into this [tradition] and get it right."

[27] From an interviews I conducted with Johann Stein (27 April, and 3 May 2015) and Greg Sonnier (3 May 2015). Sonnier relayed that it's "a little [of the] traditional stuff that ties it to the Cajun story…like the Gumbo Brothers. I call Yo (Johann) the *Chief,* and he calls me the *Wild Man*, we call John *Spy Boy,* and Reggie was the *Medicine Man* because we took that from the Mardi Gras Indians in New Orleans. The Mardi Gras Indians all have that, like the *Big Chief,* and a *Wild Man,* and a *Spy Boy,* and a *Flag Guy*…you know what I mean? The Mardi Gras Indians, dress in their elaborate costumes, and we throw that in there, too. It's an LA tradition now."

[28] Tim Ganard. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. May 2015.

Figure 4.5. Mudbug Brass Band at the FiveOFour, LA. Foreground; left to right: Dan Weinstein, Matthew DeMerritt, Mike Cottone, and Jamelle Yahya Adisa (né, Jamelle Williams.) Background; left to right: Marc Bolin, John Montgomery, Tim Ganard, and Johann Stein. Photo courtesy of Lisa Marie Bolin.

Stein's connection to the Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade (VBMGP) presented them with an opportunity to play the following week again for the VBMGP. Everyone could make the gig except Weinstein. Stein scoured the city for a tuba player until I was recommended for the gig by LA-based trombonist Shaunte Palmer and received the call to play just a few short days before the parade was to commence. Palmer was added to the line-up, as well as Sebastian Leger on trumpet. Together we marched the parade.

We enjoyed playing this music together so much that we decided to take it seriously, so we came up with an official repertoire list and thought hard about what a good name would be. Because of this event, I was introduced to a community of Louisiana migrants and their friends and family and a group of musicians who all had the common goal of learning this repertoire to establish a deep

connection with the tradition. Ganard displays this connection to tradition within the images contained on the head of the MBB bass drum: the name of the city in which the MBB thrives (Los Angeles), the state from which some of the band members as well as the origin of the NOLA brass band tradition (Louisiana), an image of a crawfish, or "mudbug," ornate decoration resembling the wrought iron of the French Quarter, and the name of the band.

MBB also leads jazz funerals, jazz weddings, crawfish boils, fundraisers, and festivals throughout the year. These events are scattered throughout the greater LA area but can usually be traced back to the Venice Beach community. Each band member spends individual time digging deeper into the tradition by listening to recordings, watching videos, reading books, and frequent trips to Louisiana; one might argue that these musicians are amateur ethnomusicologists. It is not just this research that makes the band and its members connected to the tradition, but three of the eight MBB musicians are Louisiana natives: Stein, Ganard, and Adisa. Also, snare drummer John Montgomery's father is from Church Point, Louisiana.

Since its founding, MBB has garnered wide-reaching acclaim, from Los Angeles Magazine hailing them as a "Must-See LA Show" and a "Can't Be Missed" band to KCBS: Los Angeles highlighted them as "Best of LA" five years running. Around town, MBB has continued to perform as part of the VBMGP, and has been featured on television shows (Reno 911!, ESPN Sportscenter, and VH1's, Martha & Snoop's Potluck Dinner Party), participated in many high-profile events throughout the LA area (the wrap party for "The Voice," the reopening of Pauley Pavilion and WACO's Wearable Art Gala), and performed many headline performances (Long Beach Crawfish Festival, Levitt Pavilion's Free Summer Concert Series, and Wanderlust Festival on the Santa Monica Pier). With over three hundred gigs since 2012, the Mudbug Brass Band (MBB) is arguably the most celebrated NOLA-style brass band in LA.

By the second decade of the 20th century, nearly a dozen brass bands have emerged who trace their motivation and audience to the efforts of KoG, including California Feetwarmers (2010), New Orleans Traditional Jazz Band (2010), Sea Funk Brass Band (2010), Mudbug Brass Band (2012), Bear Brass (2014), LALA Brass (2017), the Sazerac Steppers Brass Band (2017), and most recently, the Hornets (2018), among others.[29] These bands perform at events both large and small, such as Mardi Gras Parades and Carnival celebrations, clubs, weddings, and funerals. Even local LA musical celebrities have utilized the brass band format, such as Aloe Blacc (2014), Mötley Crüe (2014), and Kanye West (2019-present), among others. In the next portion of this chapter, I will discuss the types of events brass bands participate in, what they look like, what the events symbolize, and what meanings they construct.

Events in Los Angeles

Jazz Funerals

Events in LA requiring a brass band's services range from Mardi Gras celebrations and parades to life-cycle events (e.g., jazz weddings and jazz funerals), to community second lines (e.g., Saints game celebrations), to festival appearances, to club dates, to NOLA-themes happenings around town (crawfish boils, fundraisers). Other gigs include television appearances 9e.g., *RENO911!*, Snoop and Martha's Potluck Dinner Party) and large-scale concerts (e.g., Hollywood Bowl, the Forum, the Teragram Ballroom, and the Mayan). The bulk of the work are life-cycle

[29] The New Orleans Jazz Band is led by saxophonist and NOLA native, Hilarion Domingue. The Hornets is made up of members of Beyoncé's band.

events and New Orleans-themed events that occur throughout the year. Nearly all of the events mentioned above include a second line.

Emerging from the "jazz funeral" is the second line parade—a public celebration of the deceased's life while mourning their loss. In the NOLA jazz funeral parade tradition, pallbearers carrying the deceased's body, the deceased's family, *invited* guests, and a brass band comprises the mainline. The second line gathers behind and alongside them, made up of friends and family of the deceased, as well as *uninvited* guests who participate in the celebration after "laying the body down." A "second-liner" is someone who participates in the "second line," the portion of a jazz funeral parade that in binary opposition with the "mainline."

A typical funeral consists of moving the body to the church for the service, where a brass band reverently performs hymns, such as "Amazing Grace," "Precious Lord Take My Hand," "Just a Closer Walk with Thee," or "Will the Circle Be Unbroken."[30] After the funeral, the pallbearers carry the casket through the streets accompanied by the brass band in a parade format. The brass band usually leads the way, playing slow and respectfully somber dirges and hymns. A grand marshal sets the pace for the procession to the cemetery, where the band continues to somber tunes. At the close of the cemetery service, the body is "cut loose," which references placing the casket into the ground. Then, from a respectable distance from the grave, the band begins to play in the "life celebration style," or up-tempo, music leading the procession back through the streets to the repast (the gathering of family and friends after the funeral)—this is where the second liners join in.

The second line, the most famous and recognizably "New Orleans" portion of NOLA funerals, typically comprises uninvited guests who fall in behind the procession. Some second line

[30] Wesley Bell Ringers and John Newton. "Amazing Grace." Hymn. 1779; Thomas A. Dorsey. "Precious Lord Take My Hand." Hymn. 1932; "Just a Closer Walk with Thee." Hymn/Traditional; and Charles H. Gabriel and Ada R. Habershon. "Will the Circle Be Unbroken." 1907.

participants describe this portion of a funeral as "ain't nothin' but a party"—which also happens to be the title of a well-known song by the Dirty Dozen Brass Band.[31] For others, however, the second line is "a profound expression of New Orleans' African diaspora past, an experience of communal meditation that re-creates [s] the historic nineteenth-century performances in Congo Square, where black New Orleanians had reinterpreted the sacred music and dances of Vodou in weekly public African festivals every Sunday" (Turner 2009:3).

Funerals necessarily differ between NOLA and LA. In LA, cemeteries rarely lie close to housing; funerals usually take place in a church or a funeral home. Perhaps surprisingly, not all of those hiring a band are from NOLA but hire a NOLA-style brass band as a way of recognizing and participating in NOLA culture. In LA, Consequently, the deceased's body cannot be processed through the streets, and all second-liners are invited guests. Therefore, Angeleno's jazz funerals take place between the cemetery chapel and the gravesite. Music is an integral part of the grieving process. It is viewed as a spiritual cleansing through the "absorption of the music and its powerful energy" (Turner 2009:3). The healing power of these performative rituals is immeasurable. For those who continue this tradition, these acts evoke the rhythms of jazz and NOLA and "celebrates the life of the deceased as well as the rhythms and rituals of the spirit world of the African Diaspora" (ibid., 6).

At the conclusion of an LA jazz funeral, the band precedes the body out of the door, continuing to play slow music until everyone is outside. Then, the band often plays "When the Saints Go Marching In," leading everyone to the repast, usually located in the church's recreation center. After everyone has arrived, the band performs for one to three hours, playing songs from the

[31] Composed by Sammie Williams; recorded by the Dirty Dozen Brass Band on their album, Medicated Magic. New York: Ropeadope Records, 2002. "Ain't Nothin' But A Party" by the Dirty Dozen Brass Band from their album "Medicated Magic." Posted April 16, 2008. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X-lUHu_oGe8. Accessed May 11, 2021.

traditional NOLA jazz repertoire such as "Paul Barbarin's Second Line," "Bourbon Street Parade," "Royal Garden Blues," or "Way Down Yonder in New Orleans."[32]

Jazz Weddings

A wedding signifies the start of a new life for the bride and groom. A wedding is a union of two people, but also a union of family and friends. Many couples look for ways to set their wedding ceremony apart from the rest. For some, it is a cultural tradition they grew up with, yet, for others, it is inspired by their travels to New Orleans. A jazz wedding in LA typically includes a second line, where the band leads the newlyweds in their recession down the aisle playing upbeat music. Then, individuals pick up uniquely decorated umbrellas or parasols placed at the end of the aisle on their way outside the church. Once outside, the band leads the newlyweds, family, and guests in a second line from the church to the reception hall. After which, the band usually entertains the guests for either a cocktail hour or a reception performance. At the reception, guests enjoy New Orleans-themed food, like gumbo, crawfish étouffée, jambalaya, red beans and rice, and beignets and Sazeracs—a typically NOLA whiskey or cognac-based cocktail—to wash their food down.

Community Second Lines in Los Angeles

I utilize the term "community second lines" to represent sundry gigs that are typically smaller in nature and range from Saints game celebrations to building dedications to corporate conventions. Community second lines are typically casual events. Sometimes one leads directly to another. For

[32] Paul Barbarin. "The Second Line." Alternate Song Name: "Paul Barbarin's Second Line." Song. 1949; Paul Barbarin. "Bourbon Street Parade" Song. 1949; Clarence Williams and Spencer Williams. "Royal Garden Blues." Song. 1919; and John Turner Layton Jr. and Henry Creamer. "Way Down Yonder in New Orleans." Song. 1922.

example, on September 15, 2019, the NOLA Saints played the LA Rams at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum. It was an important game for both teams, as the game-winner would advance to the Super Bowl. Charles "Gator Boy" Favors (Louisiana native, Vice President of the LSUAA of SoCal, former member of the LALAs, and founder of the Louisiana Cultural Foundation of California) organized a second line to help rally the crowd of Saints fans that were "tailgating" in the Coliseum parking lot before the game.[33] John Michael Bradford (trumpet; NOLA native), Alvin Starks (trombone), Clinton Cameron (snare), and I made up the small band.

The band and a growing group of Favor's friends met up early in the Jefferson Park neighborhood of Los Angeles. We took the Expo Line train to the coliseum to avoid parking issues and to add to the drama of the event. The band was decked out in black and gold (Saints colors) and Saints t-shirts. The second liners Favors brought with him were adorned with parasols, masks, and noisemakers. We burst out of the train playing almost immediately upon arrival. We were quite the surprise to the throng of Rams with painted blue and gold (Rams colors) faces that surrounded the coliseum. We encircled the stadium, second lining through the Rams fans—which was not an easy endeavor—a picking up Saints fans as we went along. As we rounded the turn near the back of the coliseum, where the Saints fans were tailgating, we commanded a second line of nearly fifty people strong. We were met with loud cheers when we met up with the tailgaters. Some people sang along with the band, some chanted " "Who dat? Who dat? Who dat say they gonna beat dem Saints?" and

[33] The term *tailgating*, here, refers to a social gathering in the parking lot of a sports stadium. In the trad jazz tradition, trombonist makes use of the sliding capability of the trombone in support of the clarinet and cornet/trumpet and incorporating elements of both tenor counter-melodies and bass notes.

others burst into second line dancing—whose style of dance was discernably NOLA. We entertained the tailgaters for approximately an hour. When we finished playing, we joined the revelers in the festivities, which included eating, drinking, and socializing.

After the game, the band walked back to the Expo Station, which would take us back to our cars on Crenshaw Blvd. As we waited for our train, a group of intoxicated men yelled at us from across the tracks. They demanded that we play something, to which we replied unanimously, and in unison, "No!" They responded with, "We'll pay you." Well, that changed the terms. I jumped across the tracks and ran across the street to meet them and collect the money. They hurriedly combined their funds and handed me two hundred dollars. I replied, "Thank you," and asked what they would like to hear. The answer was a resounding "Saints!" We ended up playing two songs for them, with the arriving train interrupting a third.

Just two and a half miles west of the stadium, Ryan and Jessica Legaux—NOLA natives—hosted a Saints v. Rams watch party at their well-established New Orleans-style restaurant, Harold & Belle's. The Legaux' even hired Glen David Andrews (GDA) and Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle (bass drummer and bandleader for New Birth Brass Band)—both NOLA natives—to entertain the guests after the game. GDA, with whom I had performed regularly during fieldwork, asked me to perform with the band. The band performed in a small corner of the restaurant's bar. While performing, GDA mingled amongst the crowd, and as the night progressed, the crowd grew larger and more lively. Within the timeframe of a few tunes, the boundary between band and audience had disappeared. It felt as if I was back in NOLA, with performers and audience members singing and dancing in and out of the band's space. The scene reminded me of Sidney Bechet's quote from *Treat It Gentle*:

> "And people everywhere, they'd be coming from every direction. They'd just appear. It was like Congo Square [all over] again, only modern, different. The times, they had changed. But the happiness, the excitement—that was the same thing all the time."[34]

At the first set break, I decided to walk outside for some air. On my way through the small hallway that leads to the front door, I thought I saw Brenard "Bunny" Adams.[35] I smiled and started in his direction, but before I could take a step toward him, I realized it wasn't him. I laughed out loud and said to the man, who was obviously confused, "You look just like a friend of mine." He responded, "You look familiar, too." We laughed together, and come to find out, he is Bunny's younger brother, Amhad Adams. We talked for a while, and he introduced me to his mother and fiancée. His mother mentioned that she had seen me in pictures and performing with her son, Bunny. I left that night with such a huge smile on my face. Even though the Rams beat Saints 27-9, that did not keep the crowd that had gathered at Harold & Belle's from enjoying themselves.

Crawfish Boils, Fund Raisers, and Corporate Events

Crawfish boils, fundraisers and corporate events represent other performing outlets for LA-based brass bands. At these events, the brass band can function in several ways: heralding the audiences' arrival or the entrance of guest speakers; as a surprise element of the event; or performing as entertainment for a social event. While the majority of these events are typically isolated occasions, some are reoccurring, such as the Long Beach Bayou Festival, the Long Beach Crawfish Festival, LSUAA of SoCal's annual Crawfish Boil, the Simi Valley Cajun & Blues Festival, and the St. Paul the Apostle Primary and Middle School Fundraiser/Crawfish Boil.

---

[34] Sidney Bechet, *Treat It Gentle* (New York: Da Capo, 1960), 61-66.
[35] Brenard "Bunny" Adams is the tubist and bandleader for the To Be Continued Brass Band, with whom I performed regularly throughout my fieldwork period in NOLA.

Clubs and Restaurants

Several NOLA-themed or -inspired or Louisianan-owned clubs and restaurants in LA cater to the Louisiana native crowd and hire brass bands throughout the year. Among them is the FiveOFour, the French Quarter Creole Bar and Grill (Bellflower, CA), Harold & Belle's, Ragin Cajun Cafe (Redondo Beach, CA), the Little Easy the Little Jewel of New Orleans, Preux & Proper, and the Sassafras Saloon. Many of which maintain a décor and menu that is reminiscent of NOLA.

The FiveOFour is one such establishment. They offer po'boys, gumbo, and a half-dozen flavors of frozen daiquiris in a narrow, mostly outdoor setting, and on weekend evenings, the FiveOFour provides musical entertainment for their customers. The well-known concept designer, Kristofer Keith, designed the FiveOFour to bring the spirit of a NOLA "dive bar" to Hollywood. The name, FiveOFour, references NOLA's area code: 504; band musicians often utilize these numbers in call-and-response lyrics during musical performances. Mudbug performed there nearly every Sunday through much of 2013 and continued to perform there occasionally (for special events) until the club closed in 2015.

Among the theme restaurants and bars in the greater LA area, Sassafras Saloon stands alone in regard to the effort to which the owners (1933 GROUP) put into creating a "welcoming little piece of the South" (discussed above).[36] It is a French Quarter in miniature, with heaps of wrought iron adorning the site, Spanish moss hanging from faux Oak trees, and French Quarter-style architecture. It is also reminiscent of the "Old South," with portraits of Southern, white patriarchs mounted on the walls. Sassafras Saloon has hosted nearly every brass band in the LA area. The

[36] Sassafras Saloon. https://www.sassafrassaloon.com/.

Figure 4.6-7. Top: Mudbug Brass Band on the balcony at Sassafras Saloon, LA. Foreground; left to right: Johann Stein, Jamelle Yahya Adisa, Matthew DeMerritt, and Dan Weinstein. Background; left to right: Tim Ganard, John Montgomery, and Marc Bolin. Photo courtesy of Hojoon Kim. Bottom: View from the balcony at Sassafras Saloon.

bands play on a tiny balcony that is barely large enough for five people, but brass bands with membership of seven to ten musicians somehow make it work (see Figure 4.6-7).

Gigs at these clubs and restaurants vary tremendously, from a weekday Happy Hour to a weekend evening show to a Fat Tuesday celebration. MBB led a second line of approximately fifty people through the streets of Bellflower, CA—just twenty miles south of Downtown LA—to help the owners celebrate the Grand Opening of their restaurant.[37]

Industry Gigs

The Wearable Art Gala is one of LA's premier celebrity events and fundraisers. Sponsored by the Where Art Can Occur (WACO) theater center, a non-profit gallery and cultural center that celebrates Black excellence, the Wearable Art Gala has raised over $4 million for initiatives promoting youth empowerment and communities in need. Along with Richard and Tina Knowles Lawson (hosts) were Beyoncé and Jay-Z, Solange Knowles, Beyoncé's fellow Destiny's Child divas, Kelly Rowland and Michelle Williams, Tiffany Haddish, Chloe x Halle, MC Hammer, Steve Harvey, Magic Johnson, Samuel L. Jackson, Tyler Perry, Holly Robinson Peete, Chris Tucker, and Glynn Turman, among others.[38] The band typically performs a set as guests arrive, then when called upon,

[37] Thursday, March 3, 2016 Grand Opening Celebration! The French Quarter Restaurant 16728 Bellflower Blvd. Bellflower, CA 90706

[38] Beyoncé's relationship with NOLA is complicated. While living in NOLA and gaining inspiration from the culture—which is one reason MBB was hired to play the Wearable Art Gala—she is seen by some as appropriating NOLA culture. In her 2016 releases, "Lemonade" (film) and music videos, "Lemonade" and "Formation," Beyoncé depicts images of NOLA inundated with the floodwaters of Hurricane Katrina, Mardi Gras Indians, second line parades, marching bands, and a lot of brass. Likewise, the Crescent City's imprint can be found throughout her complimentary album, which depicts NOLA culture and samples its sounds. In the "Lemonade" film, the young Mardi Gras Indian Queen, Queen Ya Ya Kijafa Brown of the Washitaw Nation, is pictured first holding an image (44:30), then again in an extended sequence slowly circling a dining room table as she shakes and strikes a tambourine. Queen Ya Ya Kijafa Brown is dressed head-to-toe in white feathers. Her suit is ornately adorned with intricate beadwork, and she is wearing a headdress upon her head (45:08-45:46). She is also in a lawsuit with Anthony Barré's family over

leads a second line from the back of the auditorium, through the audience, then up to the stage where they play several songs. Toward the end of the last song, the band—still playing—exited the stage and continued playing until they were all off the stage. MBB played the 2018 and 2019 Galas and would have played a third had it not been canceled due to the COVID-19 epidemic.

Television Appearances

MBB has appeared on several television shows, including *Martha & Snoop's Potluck Dinner Party* (MTV/VH1; 2017) and *Reno 911!* (Comedy Central Productions/Quibi; 2020). In May of 2017, a smaller version of the MBB appeared as musical hosts for the *Martha & Snoop's Potluck Dinner Party* (season 2, episode 17), "Let's Bayou Dinner"; its theme—everything New Orleans. The band performed NOLA-style jazz for the audience before shooting, during (when the audience was eating), and at the conclusion while the audience exited the studio. The episode featured Ty Dolla $ign, Wanda Sykes, and Lance Bass.

On February 24, 2020, the producers of *Reno 911!* contracted MBB to appear on season seven, episode 3, to perform a mock jazz funeral. When the band arrived, they discovered that the scene featured T.T. and her family—a presumably Southern family— and other mourners follow the brass band and the uncomfortable pallbearers (actors playing the role of Reno sheriff's). The

---

unauthorized use of his voice in the song "Formation"—seeking more than $20 million in back royalties and other damages. Anthony Barré, better known in New Orleans as social media star, comedian, and bounce rapper, Messy Mya. His unique voice was samp Shrove Tuesday, the day of the Catholic liturgical calendar immediately preceding Ash Wednesday; the first day of Lent, the six weeks of solemn observance and preparation for the celebration of the death and resurrection of Jesus at Easter. led stating "What happened at the New Wildins?" and "B****, I'm back. By popular demand," and "I like that." See Beyoncé, Beyoncé, Jack White, Weeknd, James Blake, Kendrick Lamar, Warsan Shire, MeLo-X, Kahlil Joseph, and Onye Anyanwu. 2016. *Lemonade*. DVD; Beyoncé, James Blake, Kendrick Lamar, The Weeknd, and Jack White. "Formation," in *Lemonade*. Parkwood Entertainment, Columbia, 88985 33682 2. CD, 2016; Beyoncé, James Blake, Kendrick Lamar, The Weeknd, and Jack White. *Lemonade*. Parkwood Entertainment, Columbia, 88985 33682 2. CD, 2016.

pallbearers carried the casket out of the funeral home, through roadblocks, sprinklers, and a construction explosion, to the cemetery, where the coffin is finally dumped unceremoniously in the grave.

Mardi Gras Parades

In NOLA, Mardi Gras or Carnival Time is an entire season lasting from January 6, known as Twelfth Night (also known as Epiphany Eve) to "Fat Tuesday" (also known as Shrove Tuesday), the day of the Catholic liturgical calendar immediately preceding Ash Wednesday).[39] In LA, Carnival Time is reasonably abridged compared to its NOLA counterpart. Most Mardi Gras events in LA occur on weekends in the two to three weeks leading up to Fat Tuesday. The VBMGP beings around noon (see *Can't take Our Spirit*). The band, krewes, and carnival revelers meet at the Rose Avenue Parking Lot entrance, at the intersection of Rose Ave. and the Boardwalk. Once a quorum of people has arrived, the band and krewes pose for a picture, then organize into groups. As the procession begins, a banner with large letters hanging from a rope strung between two poles spelling out "VENICE" is poised in front of the KoG. The krewe is joined by a group of locals, followed by the band, which leads the remaining krewes and partygoers southward along the Boardwalk. The procession makes several stops at popular watering holes and in front of the homes of local celebrities, where onlookers toss beads and other knickknacks (known as "throws") down to revelers from their balconies. The procession rolls down the Boardwalk until they reach Windward Circle (approximately 1 mile from where they began). There, the band plays several tunes before leading

[39] Ash Wednesday is the first day of Lent, the six weeks of solemn observance and preparation for the celebration of the death and resurrection of Jesus at Easter. Ash Wednesday is always forty-six days before Easter, and Fat Tuesday is always the day before Ash Wednesday. Easter may fall on any Sunday from March 23 to April 25, the date must coincide with the first Sunday after the full moon following a spring equinox.

the parade through Danny's Venice, a restaurant and bar that holds special meaning to local Venetians.

Danny's Venice, previously the West Beach Café, is both a communal space for locals as well as a sort of casual museum where visitors can learn the rich history that is the heritage of Venice. Hanging on Danny's walls are vintage framed pictures that date back to the 1930s (donated by Todd von Hoffman, historian and founder of the Windward Krewe), replicas of the enormous paper mâché heads from the 1935 Venice Beach Mardi Gras that were manufactured in Arthur Reese's

Figure 4.8. Mardi Gras celebration of 1935 at Venice Beach showing four young ladies on the beach wearing giant paper mâché heads created by Arthur Reese, which were worn in the parade. Circa 1935. Security Pacific National Bank Collection. Photo courtesy of the Tessa Digit Collections of the Los Angeles Public Library.

studio, and an original gondola from the Venice Pavilion at the 1900 World's Fair (see Figure 4.8).[40] Depending on the year—and how tired the krewes are—the procession may backtrack, following the same route northward along the Boardwalk, losing attendees along the way, as they duck into one of their favorite bars for libations.

The Second Line as Secular Religion

I have always believed that music is spiritual
and is most effective when it evokes the emotion of something real.
Tim Ganard[41]

In Los Angeles (LA), the second line has become a signifier of a NOLA-style and custom affiliated with its Mardi Gras street parades, jazz weddings and funerals, and NOLA-themed events. Moreover, this growing secular and predominantly non-native New Orleanian audience in LA is participating in the second line ritual—without the religious element. And, as Angelenos gain a greater awareness of NOLA and the second line, they are transposing the second line ritual and its music in LA, out of which comes new meanings, new identities, and a new theology. Within this theology, the sacred and the secular are interacting in unique ways, where multiple modes of hybridity take the place of clearly defined practices, allowing for new modes of expression to appear.

---

[40] Venice held its first annual Mardi Gras Festival August 16-18, 1935. The three-day event featured parades, costumes, contests and entertainment, was modeled after the New Orleans Mardi Gras. It was conceived as a commercial enterprise that would publicize the community, attract large crowds, and require cooperation from across the Venice populace. The annual event grew in size each consecutive year until the U.S. entered the war in 1941. Miss Jessica Long insists that her VBMGP has nothing to do with those Venice Mardi Gras of over eighty years ago. The VBMGP did not include Danny's Venice in 2020, as the lease became too exorbitant for the owners, Danny Samakow and James Evan, could justify.

[41] Tim Ganard in an interview with Stacey Zering of the *Journal of Roots Music*, "The Mudbug Brass Band Delivers Mardi Gras Flavor to L.A." No Depression, January 28, 2018. https://www.nodepression.com/interview/the-mudbug-brass-band-delivers-mardi-gras-flavor-to-l-a/. Accessed May 13, 2021.

In this section of the chapter, I propose the second line in LA can be effectively analyzed as an illustration of secular religion. Although most musicians and krewe members interviewed for this research are not religious in the conventional sense, there are many parallels to a religious universe of meaning—as for them, the second line is of ultimate concern. I will identify several elementary forms of religious life in the practices of the second line in LA, including powerful conversion experiences; commitment to, and proselytization of, the second line; and the constitutive role of common symbols and rituals. Herein, I utilized the concept of *secular religion* to denote a set of ideas and accompanying practices displaying the following features: practitioners communicate a distinct universe of meaning that reflects the sacred-profane dichotomy; the community is defined by its adherence to a specific sacred ideal and commitment to its practice and development; and the group displays elementary forms of religious life in terms of distinct beliefs, experiences, and practices.

Conversion

The *conversion experience* describes the moving from an "unenlightened" state to a new consciousness, in which the practitioner's entire worldview and self-understanding are transformed. Most conversion experiences are gradual and take place over many years, but sometimes they are more dramatic. Conversions are unintended; it occurs to us instead of being produced by us (Giesen, 2006: 329, 338). Furthermore, they produce contradictory yet complementary feelings of voluntary commitment and unavoidable force. As such, the conversion experience "escapes profane typification and classification as such, it is the opposite of 'déjà vu'" and "suspends the compromises of the ordinary lifeworld and disrupts the mundane social structure" (Giesen, 2006: 329).

My collaborators have expressed their conversion experiences as something akin to a revelation, like St Paul on his way to Damascus, after realizing the power of the second line:

suddenly, everything was made clear. Both Ganard and DeMerritt, describe undergoing powerful conversion experiences wherein there is a well-defined "before and after"—who they were and who they became: "It changed my life. I had left music behind, but starting back with that gig at Bixby Knolls, meeting Jamelle, then you came along. It really brought things together for me. I knew what I had to do" (Ganard); "I was in a dark, dark place. Mudbug, the music, playing second lines. I really changed my life around" (DeMerritt).[42] For Ganard, the second line gave him purpose and a connection to his Louisiana roots. For DeMerritt, it was the communal aspects of the second line that spoke to him, especially the *collective approach* to musicking (known as collective improvisation), which champions the expression of empathy and compassion on the part of the practitioners.[43]

To some, the conversion experience is like being "born again" among Evangelical Christians. Ganard reflects on his conversion:

> what the brass band offered was that, ok, I'm forty, whatever, forty-three, you know? I'm a youngster in this [world], right? So, you get to be now, all of a sudden, 'I'm young again! [. . .] It's so vast."[44]

He later relayed, "Phenomena, religion, science, whatever you wanna call it. The whole cosmic connection regarding [the] music—brass band—is just insane."[45] For Ganard, rather than gaining faith in Jesus Christ and developing a direct and personal relationship with God, as described by many Evangelicals, Ganard gained conviction in the second line and a direct and personal connection with the second line (including its music, ritual procession, history, and proliferation).

---

[42] Tim Ganard. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. March 2021. Matthew DeMerritt. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. March 2021.
[43] In Chapter 3 of this dissertation, I describe collective improvisation in the most basic of terms: "polyphonic approach that occurred in the late-19th century and led to collective improvisation by which performers played "under"—at a lower volume—as someone played on "top"—lead-type improvisation to allow for the idyllic and appealing blending of voices." In *Jazz: The First Century,* Scott Hasse describes the process of collective improvisation in the following way: "through inflections and stylings, [the performer] puts his or her own distinctive stamp on the material, making something personal out of something shared. Like democracy at its best, a jazz band maintains an optimum balance between the individual and the group and upholds the value of both." See Hasse, ix. See also Wynton Marsalis, "Wynton Marsalis," available at https://wyntonmarsalis.org/. Accessed April 18, 2020; Crouch, "Constitutional"; Ken Burns, dir., Jazz: A Film by Ken Bums, PBS Paramount, 2001; Scott Saul, Freedom Is, Freedom Ain't: Jazz and the Making of the Sixties (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 6.
[44] Tim Ganard. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. May 2015.
[45] Tim Ganard. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. December 2020.

Baptism

According to the Christion tradition, *baptism* is a holy sacrament is an an important step of obedience; a public testimony or outward confession of a believer's acceptance of Christ as their personal savior. Various Christian groups interpret baptism in different ways. The rite of passage is typically interpreted as symbolizing the death, life, and resurrection of Christ and the washing away of sin through the use of water: by either pouring of water or sprinkling water over a practitioner's head or through complete immersion in water.

Schwee revealed to me that he believes there is such a ritual in the secular religion of LA. It is evidenced in his explanation of song choice for CB's repertoire. CB typically begins a performance with a hymn; "I'll Fly Away" is a perennial favorite. Schwee believes that from the "very first notes" the audience hears, the band is inviting them, not just to dance, but to partake in a "communal and spiritual bath." This statement implies that the spirit of NOLA or the Holy Spirit will wash over them-a baptism of sorts.[46]

Commitment and Proselytization

After Ganard's conversion experience, he "became really connected with Louisiana because I moved away and now that I'm not on the road, you know, and I'm just you know going about my daily life, I wanted to really connect with all parts of Louisiana music." Consequently, he dedicated himself to the study of the second line. But he wanted to share what he was learning. So, he set forth on a mission to create an audio compilation accompanied by a brief history of the songs, the composers, the lyrics, the message it conveys, and other relevant information—a sort of annotated

---

[46] Miguel "Schwee" Shwartz. Seven Grand Whiskey Bar. June 2017.

hymnal. Ganard's "hymnal" became a four-CD set or anthology with extensive annotations. Below, he conveys his process:

> [I] just dove into that [. . .] then just started putting, you know, songs together. And I go, 'man, I see an opportunity.' [I] handmade those things. I wanted to make it look like the old vinyl [records] with books, like a photo album. I rusted the nails and everything and sprayed each page with coffee to make it look old. I wanted to make it look like 'oh, you were in your grandfather's attic, but this was something that he got from the library forgot to return, and it ended up in the attic, and now you get it, or somebody gets it. And then, you know, gives it to a friend and [it] ends up at a thrift store, and you pick it up. You know? It like had history to it right away. Ya know?

He made fifty of them, gifting them to those friends, family, and musicians that had expressed interest—and even those that hadn't.

The experience of creating the hymnal brought him ever closer to the tradition. He became motivated to project his relationship with Louisiana and the second line outward to the world. Not long after Ganard completed his first "pressing" of hymnals, he felt compelled to inscribe his bass drumhead with the band's name on it. By doing so, Ganard followed in the footsteps of iconic bass drummers like "Uncle" Lionel Batiste (Tremé Brass Band), *Joseph Lastie Jr.* (Preservation Hall Jazz Band), *Robert Lewis (Eureka), absorbing and replicating the age-old tradition.* In addition to the band's name, "THE MUDBUG BRASS BAND," Ganard embedded as many symbols of the culture on the bass drumhead as he could.

Moreover, he wished to communicate his identity within the final product. Inscribed on the head are the names "LOUISIANA" and "LOS ANGELES," as well as a crawfish (designated the official state crustacean of Louisiana in 1983) and ornate detailing reminiscent of the intricately forged wrought ironwork (see Figure 4.9). Together, Ganard's anthology and bass drumhead demonstrate a clear commitment to the second line. Furthermore, in passing on his knowledge of

Figure 4.9. Mudbug Brass Band bass drum, painted by Tim Ganard. Photo courtesy of Tim Ganard.

the second line, and inviting new members into his second line orbit, he effectively proselytizes the second line to the initiate and non-initiated alike. Moreover, Ganard's bass drumhead projects his roots and depth of knowledge about the second line.

In early 2019, the Silverlake Conservatory approached Mike Bolger, trumpeter with CB, about teaching an ensemble class at the school. He desired to create a safe performing space for learners to be exposed to new ideas and approaches to music-making and improvisation—without fear of ridicule or judgment. As well as to provide an opportunity for them to understand their place within their growing community, value differences and similarities, feel connected to others, become empowered to change those things that should be changed and embrace new perspectives. The resulting ensemble was the Hollywood High Steppers Ensemble; a second line band made up of a

diverse group of student musicians who range from ten to sixty-two years of age. Nine to fifteen individuals typically attend the class. The band is open to any student who plays a marching instrument (brass, woodwinds, percussion) or other acoustic instruments that one can march with (accordion—yes, there's even an accordion player).

On Wednesday, January 29, 2020, Bolger invited Charles Favors to teach the class about second line culture (see Figure 4.10). Favors gave a brief history lesson, followed by guided listening, clapping the *bamboula*, and a brief second line dance lesson. Favors concluded his lesson by asking the students to join in a second line. The musicians picked up their instruments and attempted to integrate what they learned into their style of performance. Two weeks later, the Highsteppers made

Figure 4.10. The Hollywood High Steppers Ensemble at the Silverlake Conservatory, Hollywood, CA. Foreground; left to right: Olivia Luat Young, Charles Favors, Joe Braun, Anthony Serrano III. Middle-ground; left to right: Caroline "Pinky" Luat Young, Chloe Haack, Assaf Igell, Alexander Killingstad. Background; left to right: Mike Bolger. January 29, 2020.

their first "across-town" debut in February 2020, when they joined several members of the MBB and several freelance musicians in the 18th annual VBMGP (see *They Can't Take Our Spirit,* in this dissertation).

Brass band musicians in LA place considerable emphasis on educational initiatives and grass-roots initiatives, all linked through the notion that the second line encompasses the community's collective aspirations. In this regard, musician's efforts extend beyond the classroom, as evidenced by the MBB's involvement with the Los Angeles Poverty Department (LAPD). LAPD, founded by director-performer-activist John Malpede, and is made up primarily of the *unhoused*, is a non-profit organization established to help make change by creating initiatives that bring together Skid Row service providers, grass-roots organizations, and community members.[47]

In 2014, the MBB participated in LAPD's "Walk the Talk," a peripatetic performance/ demonstration/second line to bring attention to both the contributions of community members and the needs of the under-represented unhoused. During intermittent "stops" along the parade route, community members pay tribute to neighborhood initiatives and men and women whose contributions to the community.[48]

The Constitutive Role of Common Symbols and Ritual

In the second line faith, much like Catholicism, there various types of *masses* are celebrated in regard to liturgical style and occasion. There are generally four types of second line in LA: the street parade, funeral, staged event (either moving or stationary), and wedding. Like the symbols emblazoned on Ganard's drumhead, the second line ritual is steeped in symbology, helping create a

[47] The term unhoused refers to those having no accommodation or shelter.
[48] For more on LAPD and "Walk the Talk," see https://www.lapovertydept.org/projects/walk-the-talk/.

resonant mythos that expresses the values of the faith, fosters solidarity among its practitioners, and brings them closer to their object of worship. In this secular faith, the second line is the central act of worship that is characterized by corporality and presence (the pervasiveness of second line music, singing, chanting refrains and slogans, and the synchronization of bodies), whereby a fusion of minds and emotions is achieved, and the collective's ideals are affirmed.

Rituals are rule-bound activities.[49] As such, they demand explicit performance expectations. In LA, these expectations are reflected in the structural elements of the second line, actions of its participants, times (calendrical and sacred time), objects, and music (repertoire and style of performance).

The Structural Elements of the Second Line

Regardless of the type of event (street parade, funeral, staged event, or wedding), the second line has a standardized structure within which participants have the freedom to rejoice in their own unique way. While many second lines correspond to the Catholic liturgical calendar and life-cycle events, many events in LA are accompanied by a second line. The structural elements—or processional order—of the second line are as follows: first column, lead group (sponsor, celebrants,

[49] For more on structuralist-functionalist anthropologists and religious scholars who studied ritual, see Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passgage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Émile Durkeim, *The Elementary Forms or the Religious Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion* (New York: Harvest Books, 1959); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969); Turner, Victor. 1979. "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period of Rites of Passage," in *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthological Approach*. 4th ed., edited by William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (reprinted and abridged from Africa, Vol. 34, 1964, 85-104), 234-243. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

or in the case of funerals, the deceased's family); brass band; and second column, other participants (revelers).[50]

The first column positions the lead group at the head of the parade. Sometimes "rope bearers" carrying ropes demarcate the space in front of the band where the lead group members "do their thing."[51] The ropes act not only as a boundary between members and non-members, but it also creates a space where time and space collapse: ritual time and ritual space. Members often "get lost" in their celebration as the second line creates a sense of shared experience and collapses the temporal boundaries between past, present, and future, as well as those of the sacred (inside the ropes) and profane (outside the ropes). In this *sacred space*, all members of the lead group are equal; their common experience resulting in collective effervescence—an intense emotional experience of social "indivisible" unity (Durkheim 2001:43, 157; Turner and Turner 1978: 254-55).[52]

Following the first column is the brass band. The brass band is critical to the second line. Its music not only signifies NOLA and the second line, but it acoustically marks out the space in which the second line is carried out and invites non-members to partake in the communal experience. Moreover, the music of the second line holds special meaning for practitioners as it is a personal and sacred form of expression (more on that later). Behind the brass band falls the second column—a

[50] For examples of the structural elements of the second line in LA, see Film Study: *The 18th Annual Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade,* in this dissertation.
[51] Jamelle Yaya Adisa. Musician. Los Angeles. September 2015.
[52] Expanding Durkheim's notion of collective effervescence or accumulated energy, Victor Turner coins the term *communitas*, which refers to an unstructured state in which all members of a community are equal, thus allowing them to share a common experience resulting in an intense emotional experience of social "indivisible" unity. Turner distinguishes between three types of Communitas: existential or spontaneous communitas; normative communitas; and ideological communitas – see Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969) 132. Existential or spontaneous communitas refers to a transient personal experience of togetherness; normative communitas is representative of an organized and permanent social system; and ideological communitas, is applied to many utopian social models.

heterogeneous group made up of members from other krewes, invited guests, and those witnesses that "catch the bug," anxious to join in the celebration.[53]

For most of the sponsors of second lines in LA, objects play an essential part in setting the tone for the second line. For most events, there is a central theme, such as Mardi Gras, Louisiana (Long Beach Bayou Festival, LSUAA of SoCal's annual Crawfish Boil, the Simi Valley Cajun & Blues Festival, and the Long Beach Crawfish Festival), seasonal celebrations (e.g., the Neptune Parade (a celebration of the summer solstice, marking the beginning of summer and the longest day of the year), Saints—NOLA's NFL team (Saints' game watch-parties), a color (e.g., all-white dress for the White Ball; pink, to honor survivors of breast cancer; or colors determined by a wedding couple), or even costumes—some of which conceal the identity of the wearer. Individual participants carry feather boas, Mardi Gras beads, and uniquely decorated umbrellas or parasols that take on symbolic meaning, and for native Louisianans, exhibit Louisiana pride and heritage. For practitioners, these objects are akin to holy relics and are imbued with spiritual power that conveys the strength of the second line. There is nothing intrinsic to the objects that makes them holy. Rather, practitioners treat these objects with respect because of the message or covenant they represent.

Second Line Music in LA: How Music Brings It All Together

NOLA musicians pass the music down from one generation to the next via an oral tradition. Much like the oral traditions of Judaism and Islam, intent listening on the part of the neophyte (to the correct "emic "performance of musical elements—and even storytelling), call-and-response, repetition, and corporeal *habitus*, oral learning figures prominently for native Louisianan

[53] Tim Ganard. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. February 2015.

practitioners. Conversely, in the high-technology and globalized culture of the LA, some practitioners grew up in the tradition, while others learn via tutelage from Louisiana natives. But for the vast majority of second line practitioners in LA, recordings and other media and technologies is the primary method of acquiring the stylistic intricacies of the tradition.[54]

For both non-native and native musicians, sound recordings become another mediated source for learning about NOLA brass band and how to perform the music stylistically. From the advent of Emile Berliner's gramophone in the late 1880s to the development of newer sound recording devices from MP3 players, and recordings accessed via digital platforms such as YouTube, Spotify, or iTunes, audio recordings have played a profoundly important role in the oral tradition of brass band music. Not only do recordings serve as a conduit for learning brass band music, but they also provide an environment and a context from which to "get the feel."[55] Even NOLA native Adisa plays along with "recordings the week leading up to a gig with Mudbug just to get in the right frame of mind."[56] Thus, recorded media like Ganard's "hymnal" provide a "text" or "scripture" from which neophyte second line practitioners acquire performative knowledge of the NOLA second line tradition, such as prescribed songs or tunes for specific occasions, verbatim introductions to tunes, and the proper, or prescribed, rhythms that are to be performed in the accompaniment of a tune or soloist.

Ganard and John Montgomery regularly hold drum sectionals where they train through oral acquisition. At these meetings, share knowledge, watch film footage and videos, and play along with recordings. On Wednesday, September 9, 2015, Ganard and Montgomery held one such meeting. It

[54] This process sits well within what literary scholar and philosopher Walter Ong refers to as a "secondary orality" (2002:11). Ong, Walter. [1982, 2002] 2012. Orality and Literacy. New York: Routledge.
[55] Tim Ganard. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. September 2015.
[56] Jamelle Yaya Adisa. Musician. Los Angeles. September 2015.

was there that my ears were open to a whole new world of drumming and rhythms. Throughout the sectional, Ganard referred to recordings as a means of "getting it right." This phrase refers to learning to playback the correct rhythm, in time and with the correct "feel" or style—"its gotta swing!"[57]

In LA, NOLA transplants laid the groundwork from which the second line faith sprung. Cajun musician and accordionist Marc Savoy comments on the importance of music to culture, stating that "music is the glue that holds the entire culture together. If it hadn't been for music, Cajun culture would have died out years ago."[58] To this "LA tradition," the music of Louisiana is ever prevalent and is essential to the second line ritual, for it is the music that is the glue that holds this culture together.

The musicians of CB and MBB project an authentic representation of Louisiana culture through, at least in part, the exemplification of a different kind of nostalgia; one that Svetlana Boym proposes, "has to do with a heroic American national identity" (Boym 2001:34). Boym argues that this *mythical nostalgia* is one that an audience imagines, especially those individuals with no first-hand experience of Louisiana beyond projected images created by the media and tourism industries (ibid., 34). But for LA-based practitioners, Schwee and Ganard, American society is more divided than ever, and in light of more recent events—the killing of numerous Black men and women at the hands of police and the rise of "white rage" amongst many of the white American populace—the promise of America is called into question. For these practitioners, the second line serves as a model of community-building and connecting with their community and the tradition in a meaningful way.

[57] Tim Ganard. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. September 2015.

[58] *Mark Savoy and the Cajun Accordion.* Marc Savoy: National Heritage Fellow (1992), Cajun musician, and Cajun accordion maker. Documentary style video produced in 2012 with video interview and documentation of a performance at performs at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (2012). Produced by Garry Kling and Joshua Sawicki, Directed by David Marin, Lighting by Lora Winship, Edited by Joshua Sawicki, and Artist Coordinator: Patrick Murphy. Source: YouTube.

Moreover, these practitioners are creating original music that not only urges their audience members to partake in the second line but serves as a vehicle for social change.

<u>Original/Hybrid Music-Making</u>

Schwee began writing original songs for CB in 2001. One original piece that CB performs regularly is "Sustain the Chain," a reinterpretation and arrangement of a Lil' Rascals tune called "Buck It Like a Horse," composed by Glen David Andrews. "Sustain the Chain" was released in 2004 on Schwee's own record label, United Swingdom Records. When asked why he chose "Buck It Like a Horse," Schwee responded, "Just playing "Buck It" so many times with GDA [Glen David Andrews] and the Little Rascals, [it] got under my skin." To Schwee, honoring the past is essential, and "giving props where props are due" is an integral element of his compositions. Schwee references the African Griot tradition of "passing down rhythms from generation to generation" in his composed lyrics.

In "Sustain the Chain," Schwee makes use of several other composition and lyrical devices that pay homage to the brass band tradition: references to local haunts in the city of New Orleans and personal experiences within the city, musical quotes, and the traditional "Joe Avery Call." References to NOLA appear in Schwee's rap lyrics:

> Started to gravitate to the Crescent City
> Ax slung 'cross the chest prêt to play
> Promptly adopted by the brass family
> Rascals, Andrews, New Birth, Tremé
>
> Thump the buckjump…it's delightful
> The triplet trombone trade…that ain't trite, fool
> Klaxon and rattattat-tat, sax and brass gats
> Pepper sodium, the podium, and night school (said)

Sousaphone business controls New Orleans
Trumpet business controls New Orleans
Shakes the half-valvin', but never half-steppin' it
Buckjump business controls New Orleans

From the masquerade, down on Esplanade
The step'll hit'cha like a Serengeti serenade
Stable mate renegade, beyond the barricade
The swingin' stallion with a filly for his chambermaid

Equestrian escapade, second line parade
Ain't no illusion like a planetary retrograde
Cooler than a lemonade at sub-zero centigrade
The legacy of Satchmo will never fade!

(See Appendix III for complete lyrics.)

The references employed are not tacit and do not gloss on ready-made images of NOLA. Schwee draws from personal experiences and observations he had and made while making a living playing second line in NOLA. He incorporates those experiences into his rhymes.

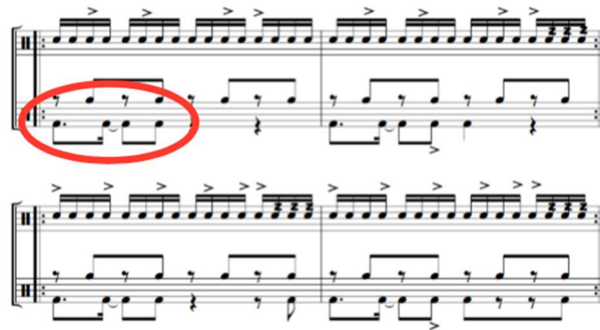
He learned how to "spit rhymes" from Rafi Loiederman during their undergraduate years at Harvard. CB is participating in a tradition that is vibrant and continually adapting to the contemporary musical landscape. Schwee describes the reasons for such musical hybridization as such:

> [jazz and the brass band tradition] has retained its vitality not through preservation but through constant recalibration: every style of black popular music and, yes, hip hop has been given the brass band treatment. You have to interpret contemporary pop songs because that's what people connect with. It's what jazz musicians have done since its beginning. People light up with they hear something that they recognize, whether it's a just a kitschy quote of "Solitude," or whether it's something that they really know, from the radio. So, I feel like it's very valuable not only play jazz and blues, but contemporary urban music, be it Motown, soul, all types of Caribbean music, hip-hop, funk, reggae—all these elements—are ripe for interpretation in a jazz format.

Deff Generation's "Running with the Second Line" (1991) is arguably the first rap recording with a live brass band featured prominently in the music. Many brass bands have since incorporated

elements from hip-hop. In addition to rap lyrics, the bamboula derived rhythmic ostinato lends a syncopated and driving funk element to CB's "Sustain the Chain" (see Example 4.1).

CB audiences have come to expect the funk-infused renditions of songs that Critical Brass delivers. Schwee continues to rap at live performances to a cheering crowd. The rhythm section even hints toward a hip-hop groove during the portion of the song that samples Rob Base & DJ EZ



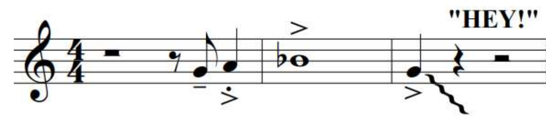
Example 4.1. Bamboula derived groove from "Sustain the Chain."
The circle outlines the embedded bamboula rhythm.

Rock's "Joy and Pain" (1988; see Example 4.2). In addition, Schwee quotes the J.B.'s instrumental funk hit "Pass the Peas" (composed by James Brown, John Starks, Charles Bobbit in 1972).[59] Near the end of the song, CB quotes the "Joe Avery Call"—a common musical exclamation in the NOLA brass band tradition—a call to participate (for more on the Joe Avery Call, see Chapter 3; see also,

Example 4.2. Hip Hop groove from "Sustain the Chain."

[59] Rob Base & DJ EZ Rock. "Joy and Pain," in *It Takes Two.* Profile Records, PCD-1267. CD, 1988. J.B.'s. "Pass the Peas," in *Funky Good Times: The Anthology Volume 1*. Simply Vinyl, SVLP 167. Unknown.

Example 4.3).[60] This phrase is a "gesture of inclusion, because if you do not yell 'HEY' along with the musicians and everyone else, you are not participating" (Sakakeeny 2013:15). The call is commonly played twice in succession if used as an introduction to a song, such as "Joe Avery's Second Line," the source of the call, or multiple times within a song, as it is in "Sustain the Chain (buck it);" CB plays the call four times in succession to heighten the fervor of the climax of the song.[61] The above quotations demonstrate the knowledge of the brass band tradition that Schwee and the other members of CB have attained through both lived experience and audio recordings.



Example 4.3. "Joe Avery Call."

Dance is an integral aspect of a CB performance, Schwee comments, "The thing that really separates this type of jazz from other idioms is the social element—dance. Getting people to dance is the best feedback a musician can get, to Schwee; "it becomes a whole other type of joy when you become part of the movement." In live performances, CB performs songs of The Eagles, Prince, and the LA-based band, the Red Hot Chili Peppers. In performing songs such as "Hotel California" as a reggae-second-line, superimposing "Let's Go Crazy" over a traditional jazz song, or covering "Mellowship Slinky in B Major," among others. Schwee is incorporating musical elements from outside of the NOLA brass band tradition, following in the footsteps of generations of brass band musicians that have come before him.[62]

---

[60] The "Joe Avery Call" is a loud, four-note phrase that is repeated several times by trumpet player or the entire brass section, to which the crowd responds, "Hey." Joe Avery was a trumpet player from New Orleans, noted for composing the tune "Second Line" (sometimes called "The Joe Avery Blues").

[61] Critical Brass. "Sustain the Chain (buck it)," in Sustain the Chain. Independent release. CD, 2004; Critical Brass. "Sustain the Chain (buck it)." Posted August 22, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vcs510uIDuk. Accessed May 11, 2021.

[62] A "cover" of a song is a new performance or recording of a previously recorded, commercially released song by someone other than the original artist or composer.

Schwee describes brass band music and the second line and expresses their affect in the following manner:

> [Second line] is a social and dance music – a music that invites the listener in to participate. I think it comes from the street presence more than anything. When you play music outside, not to a paying public, but to the people who live on that block, the tourists, the musicians, the second line dancers, the Mardi Gras Indians, the police, anyone who is in earshot, not only does the second line invite you in but it constantly [invites] you to move along with it. This music creates a social fabric, which spans the whole spectrum of society – rich and poor, those who had the intention to hear the music, and those who didn't have the intention to hear the music. New Orleans jazz is a music that reaches out to every segment of society; the forward motion of the parade – and the dance – is reflected in the music, with a momentum that is neither walking nor running. It's a bouncing pocket—a groove.

Schwee maintains the relationships forged during his time in NOLA and stays up to date with current audio recordings by NOLA brass bands and occasional visits to NOLA. As such, Schwee utilizes CB as a vehicle for music production to honor the people of NOLA and musicians who mentored and encouraged him. Furthermore, Schwee and the CB create a sense of intimacy in live performance that fosters a strong collective response accompanied by a sense of communal joy, creating a music that maintains the NOLA brass band tradition and is increasingly hybrid.

Ganard began writing songs for MBB after a rather tense exchange with a fellow band leader from Northern California at a backyard barbecue: Tim Ganard and Ronald, a bandleader of a San Francisco Bay Area brass band (which will remain anonymous).[63] Introductions were made, and small-talk was exchanged. Before too long, the two began to talk about the origins of their bands, and Ronald referred to the first guys that he had in the band with the N-word. Tim relays, "[it] caught me off-guard. [I] wasn't ready for that one." Tim was instantly taken back to his childhood in

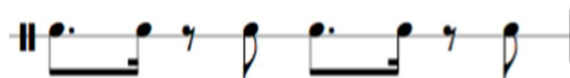
[63] Ronald is a pseudonym I employ to protect the identity of the band leader's identity. Mudbug Brass Band. "The Mudbug Brass Band - Are You With Me [Official Video]." Posted April 14, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Um-_W_bbcpo. Accessed May 11, 2021.

Louisiana. "White people behind closed doors talking however. [I] heard plenty talk [like that]." They continue to talk, and Ronald "started dropping it [N-word] again." Tim offered a rebuttal, but Ronald "wasn't necessarily happy about it and started defending himself. [He] grew up in a different time and whatnot." Tim told Ronald that he "grew up in Louisiana where that word meant hate. It had hate behind it."

At that point, Tim excused himself to go to the bathroom where he could collect his thoughts. He thought he would return and try starting the conversation from scratch—a "change the subject type thing." He walked back out and rejoined the party. He put his hand out to shake Ronald's hand and states, "We got off on the wrong foot, y'know… why don't we just start over?" to which "[Ronald] slowly crept up and looks at me…and humphs … and then he turns back around," never shaking Tim's hand. At that point, Tim retorted, "I gotta go. I can't stay with somebody talking like that." On the way home, Tim came up with the initial lyrics for a song:

> Stand your ground. Hold the line.
> Don't give in without a fight.
> I don't care where you been;
> You're right here now, my friend.
> Are you with me?

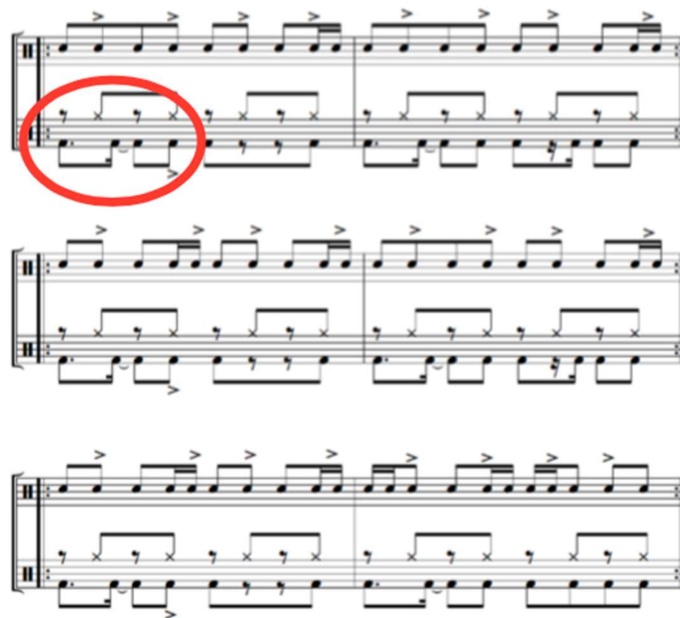
Ganard recorded the song on a hand-held device while driving home. Ganard experimented with different beats and grooves for the song; one that would help propel the song's message. He would derive the beat from one of the oldest rhythms in the African Diaspora: the bamboula (see Example 4.4). The bamboula is manifest in many ways and in any musical voice—percussion or otherwise.



Example 4.4. The "bamboula" rhythm.

For Ganard and Jamelle Adisa, the bamboula lay at the heart of the "street beat," or second line beats. I learned a "6th Ward" rhythm from Adisa that is derived from the bamboula (see Example 4.5).[64]

The beat Ganard utilized on the recording of "Are You with Me" is a bamboula derived rhythm, leaving out one strike of the bass drum, which through syncopation, establishes the bamboula rhythm, then denies the listener the satisfaction of expected completion. This is a common strategy in brass band music. John Montgomery states, "it's not what you add [to a rhythm] as much what you leave out" (see Example 4.6).



Example 4.5. "6th Ward" rhythm and variations. The circle outlines the embedded bamboula rhythm.

[64] Jamelle Adisa recalls the "6th Ward" drum pattern from his childhood. It is a common drum pattern for brass bands in the 6th Ward, New Orleans, Louisiana. The Tremé neighborhood lies within the boundaries of the 6th Ward. The importance of this rhythm was further expounded upon by Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle (bass drummer and founder of the New Birth Brass Band) in bass drum lessons while I was in NOLA for fieldwork.

Soon, the MBB began playing the song at public performances, which he titled, "Are You with Me," at gigs. But it wasn't until the killing of an unarmed Black teenager, Michael Brown, was shot and killed by Darren Wilson, a white police officer, in Ferguson, Missouri, that the song took on new meaning. Between April 30 and August 9 of 2014, four African American men were killed at the hands of white police officers: John Crawford, Eric Garner, Dontre Hamilton, and Michael Brown. These deaths sparked protests across the country—protests that were renewed when grand juries declined to charge the officers involved in the case.

Example 4.6. "Are You with Me," as recorded by the Mudbug Brass Band.
The circle outlines the embedded bamboula rhythm.

Along with the protests of a nation lashing out at the violence aimed at the Black community, Ganard felt the overwhelming urge to speak out. Ganard states, "everything behind the song was racially motivated […] the event in Ferguson happened, and there was a charge in the air involving racism […] I mean, those feelings started to come up again, and I ended up writing a bridge that connected the song to … to what was going on."

In reflecting on the incident at the backyard BBQ and the murders of Crawford, Garner, Hamilton, and Brown, Ganard came up with the additional lyrics for a bridge to the song:

There's murder in the streets
Spreading hatred like disease
We all see what we want to see
Does everyone have to bleed?
(See Appendix IV for complete lyrics.)

In the recording, the song's bridge is preceded by an interlude where gunshots, sirens, and samples of a policeman yelling "Don't move!" resonate over a repetitive, choral-like *a cappella* horn line. This section – lasting twenty-two seconds – is at once a haunting reminder of the then near-past events, as well as a call to protest. This section builds to a climactic intensity accompanied by the cries from the horns, guitar, and the screaming dissonance (a melodic interval of a sharp-eleventh) of Matthew DeMerritt's entrance to his tenor saxophone solo.

The song was recorded in January of 2015, after which Tim began work on the music video. Published to YouTube on Apr 14, 2015, the video of "Are you with Me" was shot on Fat Tuesday, February 17th, 2015, utilizing the collective film from Union Station and Villains Tavern in Downtown LA by Brian Gilleece of Cinterra Pictures. A portion of the video was recorded in the downtown neighborhood of LA colloquially named "Skid Row."[65]

Ganard's commitment to promoting compassion and expressing empathy through music extends beyond "paid gigs." In May of 2014, the MBB participated in an event called "Walk the Talk." Organized by the Los Angeles Poverty Department, the parade aimed to counter the stereotype of skid row as a dumping ground. The event combined visual art and theatrical sketches celebrating those that have made a difference in the community. The MBB led parade participants through the area known as skid row stopping for sketches that celebrated local activists and other influential figures. Walk the Talk would have a profound effect on Ganard. The music video for "Are You With Me" simultaneously harkens back to the backyard barbeque when Ganard met Ronald, the Walk the Talk event, and Ganard's upbringing in New Iberia, Louisiana. Moreover, the song reflects the mire race relations we find ourselves in today. Therefore, "Are you with Me" serves

[65] Ganard's Skid Row vignette was inspired by his participation in Los Angeles Poverty Department's "Walk the Talk.".

as a bold statement addressing notions of civil rights, empowerment, the War on Poverty, and the current rise of police violence toward African Americans.

In a conversation with Ganard about the song and his motives, he relayed:

> I have always tried to prevent racism from happening around myself [and] with other people. That comes from my mother and is something that I believe in deeply. I am pretty proud of the song.[66]

Through his unique experiences, Ganard stands with brass band musicians such as Glen David and Troy "Trombone Shorty" Andrews, the Soul Rebels, and the Stooges Brass Band in their call to end racism, poverty, and violence, and utilizes the music of the MBB as a platform for social change.[67]

Wrap Up

The second line ritual is underpinned by African, Yoruban, and African American religious expressions, such as the ring shout and Vodou healing rituals (Maultsby and Burnim 2006:55-58; Turner 2009:43). Second line parades are deriving from the funeral-with-music tradition. They can be viewed as reenactments and manifestations of cultural memories, as well as a part of the everyday life of NOLA. Brass bands in NOLA have changed over the years and are now disembodied from the funeral rites ritual from which it originated. In NOLA, the second line emerges from the

[66] Tim Ganard. Musician. Los Angeles, CA. September 2015.

[67] Glen David and Troy "Trombone Shorty" Andrews, co-founders of the non-profit organization, Trumpets Not Guns. The title derives from the title track off of Travis "Trumpet Black" Hill's debut album. The album will be release posthumously, as he died before it was finished. The Soul Rebels burst onto the scene with their debut album *Let Your Mind Be Free* in 1994. Their lyrics laden with powerful messages of world peace, Black pride, and criticism of Black-on-Black violence that was so prevalent during the 1980s and '90s. The Stooges', "Why Dey Had to Kill Him?", is contrafact and reinterpretation of Frankie Beverly's "We Are One"—originally recorded by Frankie Beverly & Maze. The song is a memorial to Joseph "Shotgun Joe" Williams, a NOLA trombonist who was killed in 2004 by a policeman serving the NOLA community, during a routine stop. In 2017, Ganard composed the song "My People" in response to the continued misconduct of police toward people of color and the rise of white nationalism. The video of "My People" was shot on September 9, 2017 at a live performance for Levitt Pavilion's Summer Concert Series, MacArthur Park, Los Angeles, CA. To view the video, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zwpy7-SuPZM. Mudbug Brass Band. "The Mudbug Brass Band - My People [Official Video]." May 10, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zwpy7-SuPZM. Accessed May 11, 2021.

everyday/communal aspect of music-making and community life in New Orleans (NOLA). Deriving from the funeral-with-music tradition, the second line can be viewed as reenactments and manifestations of cultural memories. Brass bands there have changed over the years and are now disembodied from the funeral rites ritual from which it originated, constituting a *reversioning* of the original (Keyes 2002).[68] As Angelenos gain a greater awareness of NOLA, due in part to mass media, films, and the tourism industry, they are transposing the second line ritual and music in LA. To this growing secular and predominantly non-native audience, the second line ritual has become a secular religion, out of which comes new meanings, new identities, and a new theology. Within this theology, the sacred and the secular are interacting in unique ways, but the second line still functions in functions in "religious ways."

In LA, the second line has become a signifier of a NOLA-style and custom affiliated with its Mardi Gras street parades, jazz weddings, jazz funerals, and NOLA-themed events. While dialoguing directly with the NOLA tradition, LA brass band musicians are transposing the second line ritual and music in LA, creating new identities and meanings from which practitioners derive strength and spiritual fulfillment. Moreover, second line musicians are creating a hybrid music that not only represents the NOLA brass band tradition but foments social change.

[68] Extending Gilroy's circular model, ethnomusicologist Cheryl L. Keyes utilizes her theory of cultural *reversioning* to theorize the conscious and unconscious foregrounding of African centered concepts and African-American music (Keyes 2002:21-38). Keyes argues that enslaved Africans brought to the New World "transformed the new and alien culture and language of the Western world through an African prism," creatively adapting to their new environments (21). See Cheryl L. Keyes, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness. Music in American Life* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

Epilogue

Traversing the Boundaries of Time, Space, and Domain

Conclusions

What began as an ethnographic study of second line culture in Los Angeles (LA) soon led to studying the second line's significance and spiritual power en masse. I was consistently humbled by the depth and breadth of my collaborators' knowledge about the second line tradition, its history, and its significance in the field. Repeatedly, collaborators conveyed the importance of this history—and what's been left out—and demonstrated the power of the second line to move both practitioners and participants, corporeally and spiritually. As I researched the brass band's history, I discovered that most analyses of the second line focus on one specific aspect of the parade and lacked methodological miscellany, often yielding incomplete, singularly focused representations of a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon. Also, these studies regularly neglect—or relegate to a footnote—the critical role of Native American cultures, Mardi Gras Indians, and early brass band formations that helped birth jazz. Moreover, they discount the collective beliefs of the New Orleans community in favor of data-driven research. They neither address sociological contexts from which the brass band emerged nor acknowledge the brass band tradition as a living, *continuing* jazz tradition. I quickly realized that I could not convey the second line's rich history in a single, ethnographically informed chapter. Nor did I want this dissertation to read as a simple "compare and contrast" study.

In this dissertation, I embrace and synthesize the work of NOLA community scholars, Louisiana-specific studies, and new jazz studies scholars. And with the help of my collaborators, I critique the assumptions and misunderstandings of mid-20th century scholars and critics and situate the second line within a broader perspective of cultural histories and analytical lineage within jazz studies. I have looked beyond the familiar tropes of musicians, aficionados, and scholars alike,

flushing out the histories and reasonings behind the "creation myth" stereotypes to provide a more nuanced understanding of the emergence of brass band culture in New Orleans; a culture that continues, to this day, as a thriving, living tradition. Having offered evidence and analysis of the second line through a number of different analytical lenses (history, identity, musical culture, race, and religion) in two vastly different urban landscapes from the antebellum to the current day, I argue that the second line is a deeply-rooted, multi-faceted, and community-based tradition, from which practitioners gain strength, healing, and spiritual renewal that transcends the mundane and crosses the boundaries of time, space, culture, and domain.

Its central ritual, the "second line," builds upon the cultural memory of Congo Square and serves as a symbol of community-making and spiritual uplift, providing the framework for practitioners to realize solidarity and achieve cultural oneness, retaining its vitality not through preservation but through constant modification and adaptation—each generation adapting the ritual to resonate with their experience. For practitioners, the second line serves as a site for spiritual practice and renewal and a way to connect to the homeland—both real and imagined—that constitutes a basis of cultural practice, group identification, and social action. For others, it confirms their media-created expectations of New Orleans (NOLA) and the "carnivalesque," serving as a vehicle for social norm-breaking and hedonistic behavior (Bakhtin 1984).

Accordingly, what I attempt to demonstrate herein, is a more holistic model for the study of brass band culture and the second line within the broader jazz lineage, and African American music, in general. In my pursuit of a deeper contextual representation of my subjects and a presentation that would allow for a more profound understating of the subject than is possible through text and musical analysis alone, and because the brass band is so firmly rooted in the visual, sonic, and narrative stereotypes of poverty, essentialist notions, amateurism, and myth, I utilized filmmaking as a rich methodological approach to study the complexities of second line culture. In looking at the

brass band through various lenses, I attempted to peel back the subtle layers of the second line to reveal the dynamic relationships between history, music, and religion.

Brass bands emerged from the everyday/communal aspect of music-making and community life in New Orleans (NOLA.) Roots of this celebratory-style funeral parade or second line are traced back to Cuba, Haiti, and West Africa (Turner 2009:9). The second line has deep religious sub-text coming from African, Yoruban, and African American religious expression—the ring shout. Expressed through "song, dance, and priestly communication with the ancestors," the ring shout became an essential part of African American burial ceremonies (Stuckey 1987, 23). By necessity, the ring straightened out to reflect the encroachment of the modern urban environment, becoming the "second line" of what is referred to as the jazz funeral. The once "religious" second line has become disembodied from the funeral rites ritual from which it emerged, becoming secularized and aestheticized, yet, it retains its ritual efficacy.

As a means of offsetting the seemingly one-dimensional representation of many music-centered ethnographies, I offer two film studies, *My Brother's Keeper* and *Can't Take Our Spirit*, to convey how culture is lived by those who live it. For me, filmmaking provides the platform for exploring and articulating ever-shifting, "intersubjective dynamics shared between all documentary ˜actors," within which I include myself (Sharma 2015:4). While in the field, I utilized filmmaking as an integral component and sensorial mode of inquiry to construct new visual and sensory ways of knowing second line culture. Inspired by documentary filmmakers David and Judith MacDougall, Frederick Wiseman, Lucien Castaing-Taylor, Sarah Pink, and Aparna Sharma, I aimed to frame my collaborators as agents who embody knowledge, reasonings, and experiences.

In *My Brother's Keeper*, my collaborators articulate the embodied practices of the second line ritual in NOLA. Then, in *Can't Take Our Spirit,* LA-based second line practitioners demonstrate how practitioners transpose the second line ritual and music in LA, out of which comes new modes of

expression, new meanings, new identities, and new theology. The individuals in these films show the second line as an unfolding and living ritual, not a single event designated as a historical practice located in the past.

Chapters 1-3 represent a critique of the existing narratives in jazz historiography. By privileging the often silenced African American, Latin American, and Native Americans cultures, and the hybrid cultures that are a result of subjugation, enslavement, terror, and mutual resistance over those Eurocentric tropes and official histories that actively position European musical forms, structures, and harmonies that predominate the literature, I attempted to show that we—scholars—are perpetuating European hegemony and obfuscating the presence and importance of non-European cultures that created the unique musical culture that we know as jazz today. In so doing, I intend to add to the growing body of work on the second line by bringing together historical and ethnographically informed data to create a larger, more nuanced picture of early NOLA and its non-European musical culture that gave rise to second line culture.

In Chapters 1 and 2, I discuss the complexities of race and ethnicity of the rarely discussed histories of Mardi Gras Indians and *gens de colour*, respectively, within the context of Black music in NOLA and their ongoing influence upon the NOLA brass band tradition. I looked beyond the familiar tropes of musicians, aficionados, and scholars alike to flush out the histories and reasonings behind the stereotyped responses to provide a more nuanced understanding of the emergence of brass band culture in NOLA; a culture that continues, to this day, as a thriving, living tradition. Mardi Gras Indians have influenced the NOLA culture in profound ways. Drawing on many hours of conversations with collaborators and archival research, I found that Mardi Gras Indians have been an integral part of NOLA music-making since, at least, the early 20th century. Chapter 1 presents my findings as a historical survey of Black Mardi Gras Indians' origins, musical output, and profound influence on the musical culture of NOLA.

I looked beyond the written understandings of Congo Square and the legendary Storyville to embrace the understandings of my collaborators. Reconciling the two, I determined that Congo Square and Storyville are celebrated in two very different ways within jazz scholarship. Since the early-18th century, NOLA has excited the literary imaginations of authors, poets, and travelers, alike. Not only did these writers evoke images of the mighty winding river, swamps, endless cypress forests, orange groves, plantation houses, and magnolia trees, but they depicted NOLA as an exotic place full of sin and temptation, Voudou, decadence, referring to "blacks in great masses" dancing in what would become known as Congo Square. Since the 1930s, writers have mused over the "birth" of jazz, perpetuating racist and essentialized misunderstanding of the city and its culture, out of which the "jazz creation myth" arose—permanently emblazed in the Nation's imagination and jazz canon. In Chapter 2, I present an exploration of NOLA's musical environment in the 19th century, unpack the jazz creation myth, demonstrating that Congo Square should not be relegated to a definite time or place. Instead, it should be understood as an ideological framework for second line practitioners to reclaim their agency.

The popularity of the second line has fluctuated throughout the years, ranging from commonplace to outdated to wildly popular, as did the role of the brass band within the culture, *en masse,* and its perception within it. Chapter 3 discusses the various stages of brass band development, viewing them not as discrete movements but as one long tradition of hybridity, negotiation, and resilience. Furthermore, I show that the second line is a contemporary expression of the ring shout, retaining its vitality, not through preservation but constant modification and adaptation. As such, Chapter 3 not only serves as a brief overview of the brass band tradition from the antebellum to the present but will also serve to stimulate future discussions of the brass band in relation to jazz's historical canon.

Today, it is a fairly common occurrence in LA to see a brass band performing at weddings, funerals, festivals, and NOLA-themed restaurants, bars, and parks (Disneyland). Drawing upon interviews and contemporary discourses and narratives of authenticity, diaspora, nostalgia, religion, representation, and transmission, as well as my direct experiences of performing with brass band musicians via co-participation, Chapter 4 provides the social and cultural contexts in which members of the Krewe of Grandview and band members from Critical Brass and the Mudbug Brass Band live and are situated, how they maintain and represent elements of NOLA life, and how they negotiate tradition. I attempt to demonstrate that these practitioners imbue the second line with deep spiritual meaning. While dialoguing directly with the NOLA tradition, LA-based brass band musicians are creating a hybrid music that not only represents the NOLA brass band tradition but foments social change.

Future Implications of the Second Line

Jazz has long been considered "America's classical music," but for most, their understanding of jazz is superficial, at best, and firmly planted in the past. In their chapter, "Why Jazz Still Matters," Gerald Early and Ingrid Monson state that "jazz itself is a mystique wrapped in an enigma, an essential or inescapable unknowingness that makes this music attractive for its audience" (Early and Ingrid). This "mystique wrapped in an enigma" is due in no small part to the narrow perspectives and overt racism found within early jazz scholarship that linked jazz immediately to slavery and Africa, excluded any claim as a serious musical genre, and bolstered America's fascination and fetishization with Black American culture. Since 1966, scholars have critiqued early jazz scholarship, but jazz curriculums the world over have been slow to integrate this scholarship. With implications outside of music, in such disciplines as culture studies, American studies, musicology, African American studies, Atlantic studies, history, and global studies, I believe that the NOLA brass band

tradition offers valuable insight into race relations in the U.S., American politics, the creation of American identity, and the meaning of the term "jazz" itself.

I would like to see jazz scholarship embrace and synthesize community scholarship and practitioner's beliefs and situate the second line within a broader perspective of cultural histories and analytical lineage within jazz studies. We have much to learn about the jazz and brass band milieu. By utilizing the second line as an analytical framework, I believe scholars from the fields of jazz, religion, tourism, African diaspora, and Atlantic studies can further illuminate jazz and brass band culture. For example, there is much need for further investigations of religion within the second line; effects of tourism on jazz musicians' music and lives that the industries and institutions proffer; brass band and gender; the brass band as labor; and the effects of drugs, violence, and mass incarceration on second line culture.

While some members of the second line community are producing vital ethnographic studies themselves (Brice Miller, Michael P. Smith, and Michael G. White), many practitioners are scholars in their own right but have not yet had the opportunity to publish their work. Future studies of the second line must include collaborative scholarship, like "Can't Be Faded" (2020), a collaboration between musician and ethnomusicologist Kyle DeCoste and members of the Stooges Brass Band.

Religion is a common theme throughout this dissertation. Nonetheless, there is so much more to be done. I headed off to NOLA with the idea of studying the second line as a trance-based ritual. But, while in the field, I found that practitioners did not identify with second line practice in this way, even though they did express a deep-seated spiritual significance. Speaking about emotions and meanings—spiritual or otherwise—requires more time than I was allotted. I hope that others will study the second line ritual in NOLA, perhaps augmenting my arguments herein or in research of ecstatic states during the second line. Moreover, my analysis of the second line as secular religion

stands as an example for further study within the jazz and brass band milieu and other musical communities.

Scholars from within the multidisciplinary field of tourism studies propose that tourism's sociocultural dimensions continually (re)shape tradition, arguing that individuals within a culture endow a landscape with value and identity. Due to the heterogeneous and changing nature of societies, multiple landscapes are created simultaneously. These landscapes are being created and re-created all the time to serve the needs of ever-changing societies. There is still a wide range of issues intersecting with jazz and tourism, such as heritage-based cultural tourism, landscape and change, human mobility, destination planning and development, the creation of stereotypical tropes in advertising, and the response to tourist expectations. I would like to see further studies on the ways musicians negotiate the influence of the tourist industry.

While the demands of performing effectively constitute a full-time job, many musicians do not earn enough through this labor alone to make a living. Many members have "side hustles," all the while busking and performing Sunday and impromptu second lines and regular club gigs. Further study is needed to understand the toll this sort of labor exacts on brass band musicians' mental and physical health.

The available scholarship on brass bands has thus far focused almost exclusively on racial identity. The NOLA brass band scene a patriarchal and hyper-masculine environment where gender is a central element in the construction and consolidation of power relationships. Due in part to the relative absence of women in brass bands, gender is an often-overlooked category of analysis. Moreover, jazz and brass band studies perpetuate this bias of the male-dominated scene *en masse*. I believe it is time that we grapple with our current understanding of gender in the New Orleans brass band community.

Black New Orleanians are often subject to urban violence, poverty, and racial and economic marginalization. For some brass band musicians, music serves as an escape from the world of drugs and violence. For others, selling drugs was a means of quickly earning money. Further research is needed on the effects of drugs, violence, and mass incarceration on second line culture.

Since the late-19th century, film and video research has been an integral part of ethnomusicological field techniques. But few ethnomusicologists include all of the human senses (sensory ethnography) or filmmaking as part of their methodological toolkit; Jennie Gubner and Scott Linford—both hailing from the University of Los Angeles—are two exceptions. I would like to see more ethnomusicologists embrace these methods.

Final Thoughts

In this dissertation, I have covered a large swath of calendrical time—from before written accounts to the present day—and a broad range of topics. I make no claims to have presented a definitive study of the second line. Admittedly, I fear that the scope of this study may be too "unwieldy" for most, yet not detailed enough for others. Furthermore, I fear that I have not represented any one aspect as carefully or in as much detail as it deserves. And as a cultural outsider, there are many aspects of the second line that I will never understand on its native practitioners' level. Nevertheless, I hope to have provided a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of the second line and its milieu. I know all will not welcome my arguments. Much more, in this age of increasing political sectarianism and white victimization, revisionist narratives are increasingly rebuked for challenging the historical record. Conversely, I welcome critique and encourage spirited debate of the topics introduced herein to help ensure a more balanced perspective of our past. It is my sincere hope that this dissertation is received as a welcome addition to jazz scholarship.

Appendix I: Brief Overview of Ethnography

Formal Interviews:

Jamelle Yaya Adisa. Trumpeter. Los Angeles, CA. September 2015.

Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock (5 years of age) and Jonas Chartock (Father). New Orleans, LA. April 2019.

Alvin "Lil Al" Coco (7 years of age) and Eliseanne Coco (Mother). New Orleans, LA. May 2019.

Hilarion Domingue. Saxophonist and bandleader of New Orleans Jazz Band. Los Angeles, CA. August 2015.

Ryan Dragon. Trombonist. Los Angeles, CA. September 2015.

Tim Ganard. Bass drummer and bandleader of Mudbug Brass Band. Los Angeles, CA. May 2015.

Jessica Long. Co-founder of the Krewe of Grandview. Los Angeles, CA. May 2015.

Jesus "Chuy" Martinez. Tubist. Los Angeles, CA. September 2015.

Miguel "Schwee" Schwartz. Saxophonist and bandleader of Critical Brass. Los Angeles. September 2015.

Greg Sonnier. Guitarist and bass guitarist. Los Angeles, CA. May 2015.

Johann Stein. Co-founder of the Krewe of Grandview, guitarist, and banjoist. Los Angeles, CA. April and May 2015.

Pastor Chris Sylvain. Drummer, Pastor, pharmacist. New Orleans, LA. April 2019.

Dan Weinstein. Trombonist, violinist, and cornetist, composer. Los Angeles, CA. September 2015.

Non-Directive Interviews and Conversations:

I employed both non-directive interviews and conversations from February 2015-March 2020 with collaborators from Los Angeles, California, and New Orleans, Louisiana. I often took notes during interviews, but in the case of conversations, I waited until after the Collaborators from whom I draw are:

New Orleans, LA: October 2018-May 2020

Brenard "Bunny" Adams, Glen Andrews, Glen "Budda" Finister Andrews, Glen David Andrews, Revert "Peanut" Andrews, Tyreek Andrews, Lucien Barbarain, Aaron "Arab" Brooks (also known as "Green-Eyed Monster"), Jerel Brown, Tyrone Brown, Dwayne "Big D" Burns, Jaz Butler, Paul Oroszlan Chéenne, Jonas Chartock, Samuel Cyrus, Mosiah "Mosi" Chartock, Eliseanne Coco, Alvin "Lil Al" Coco, Deverick "Dee-Three" Francois, Brandon "Bee" Franklin (Rest In Peace),Terry Gibson, Jr., Steven Glenn, Shannon Haynes, Corey Henry, Jeffrey Hills, Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle, Terrence "Huck" Hilliard Sr., Edward "Juicy" Jackson III, Pableaux Johnson, Jerome "Bay Bay" Jones, Sean King, Dr. Russel Levy, Marc Lewis, Patrick Mackey, Joseph Maize Jr., James Martin, Blake McCarter, Malcolm Morris, Michael Sean Roberts, Tommy Ryan and Judy Jurisich, Dewon "Itchy" Scott, Derrick "Spodie" Shezbie (also known as "Kabuki"), Mark "Tuba" Smith, Reginald Stewart, Kenneth Terry, Daimon Kenard Thomas, Darren Towns, Efrem Towns, and Devin Vance.

Los Angeles, CA: February 2014-present

Mike Bolger, Clinton Cameron, Michael Anthony Cottone, Matthew "Matty D" DeMerritt, Hilarion Domingue, Ryan Dragon, Charles "Gator Boy" Favors, Todd von Hoffmann, the Hollywood High Steppers, Sebastian Leger, Jesus "Chuy" Martinez, John Montgomery, I Timothy "Tim I" Moynahan, Shaunté Palmer, Isaac Smith, Greg Sonnier, Johann Stein, Michael Rocha, Michael "Scwee" Schwartz, Marc William Sloan, Caesar Ventura, Michelle Van Vliet, and Dan Weinstein

Casual Audience Interviews at Performance Venues:

Couple. Tourist from Yonkers, New York, NY. New Orleans, LA. January 2019.
Couple. Tourist from Mobile, MS. New Orleans, LA. January 2019.
Couple. Tourist from Columbus, GA. New Orleans, LA. April 2019.
Jessie, Michael, and Tara Los Angeles, CA. March 2016.
Joanne and Ted. Tourist from Los Angeles, CA. New Orleans, LA. February 2019.
Kat, Kimberly, and Angela. Tourist from Los Angeles, CA. New Orleans, LA. February 2019.
Marisa and Kimberly. Los Angeles, CA. February 2016.

Many other casual and quick exchanges took place while busking at Jackson Square, New Orleans, LA.

Participant Observations:

Cayetano "Tanio" Hingle. Bass drum lessons. New Orleans, LA. February-April 2019.
———. Fabrication of a marching bass drum and beater. New Orleans, LA. February March 2019.
Drum SectionalS with Tim Ganard (bass drum) and John Montgomery (snare drum). Westside Studios, Los Angeles, CA. September and October 2015.
Krewe of Grandview. Mardi Gras Planning Party. January 2015. Los Angeles, CA.

Live Performances

Big Six: 18 performances; In the Back-a-Town neighborhoods of NOLA. New Orleans, LA.
Cha-Wa: 2 performances; NOLA French Quarter Fest. New Orleans, LA. April 2019; The Getty. February 2020. Los Angeles, CA.
Da Truth Brass Band: 23 performances; In the Back-a-Town neighborhoods of NOLA. Da Truth is one of the most popular second line bands and can be observed performing nearly every Sunday.
Dirty Dozen Brass Band: 1 performance; At a rare sighting, they participated in a second line in the French Quarter. New Orleans, LA.
Disneyland Research Trip: Los Angeles, CA. August 30, 2015 (4 bands)
I observed four live acts that play the music of New Orleans (traditional jazz or Rhythm and Blues): (the Main Street Straw Hattters (twice), the Jambalaya Jazz Band, the Hook and Ladder Company, and Queenie and the Royal Street Bachelors)
Dr. John: 1 performance; at the Saban Theater. Beverly Hills, CA. September 2015.
Gumbo Brothers: 5 performances; at the Basement or Attic at the Victorian in Santa Monica Saturday, September 19, 2015
Free Agents Brass Band: 5 performances; Performing second lines in the Back-a-Town neighborhoods of New Orleans, LA. October 2018-May 2019.

Hot 8 Brass Band: 7 performances; Howlin' Wolf, Sunday night residency. New Orleans, LA.

Kinfolk Brass Band, unknown. New Orleans, LA.

Hundreds of times, as they have four units engaged for wedding, funeral, birthday, and other impromptu second lines daily, throughout the French Quarter.

Kings of Brass 10 performances; New Orleans, LA.

New Birth Brass Band: 2 performances; New Orleans, LA.

New Breed Brass Band: 4 performances; New Orleans, LA.

New Orleans Nightcrawlers: 2 performances; New Orleans, LA.

Original Pinettes Brass Band: 4 performances; Bullet's Sports Bar (Friday night residency). New Orleans, LA.

Rebirth Brass Band: 10 performances; Maple Leaf Bar, New Orleans, LA; Santa Monica, CA. September 2015.

Soul Rebels; 16 performances; Les Bon Temps (just 0.4 miles from my apartment in New Orleans), Thursday night residency. New Orleans, LA.

Sporty's Brass Band; 5 performances; New Orleans, LA.

Stooges Brass Band: 4 performances; The Well. Thursday night residency. New Orleans, LA.

Treme Brass Band: 15 performances; New Orleans, LA.

Trombone Shorty: 2 performance; Kaaboo At The Del Mar Racetrack And Fairgrounds Sunday, September 20, 2015 (daytime). Hollywood Bowl in Hollywood, CA. August 2017.

Tuba Skinny: 4 performances; New Orleans, LA.

Young Fellas Brass Band: unknown; New Orleans, LA.

Co-Participation:

Andrews Family Brass Band: 9 times; New Orleans, LA. February 2019-May 2019.

California Feetwarmers: 1 time; Ventura, CA.

Critical Brass: 25 times; Los Angeles, CA. January 2014-present.

Glen David Andrews Band: 20 times; New Orleans, LA.

Including a New Orleans JazzFest performance at the Blues Tent Stage.

Free Spirit Brass Band: 12 times; Including 2 Mardi Gras Parades. New Orleans, LA. December 2018-May 2019.

Hollywood High Steppers: 3 times; Los Angeles, CA. 2020

Jackson Square All Stars: 126 times; New Orleans, LA. November 2018-May 2019.

James Martin Band: 5 times; New Orleans, LA. November 2018-February 2020.

LALA Brass: 5 times; Greater Los Angeles area, CA. May 2016-September 2018.

Mudbug Brass Band: 45 times; Los Angeles, CA. October 2014-present.

Sazerac Steppers: 7 times; Los Angeles, CA. February 2018-September 2018

St. Gabriel's Celestial Brass Band (northern California band): 4 performances; Mardi Gras Celebration. Temecula, CA. February 2016; Jazz Funeral, Huntington Beach, CA. October 2015; Jazz Funeral; Corona Del Mar, CA. September 2015; Jazz Funeral Corona Del Mar, CA. August 2015.

To Be Continued Brass Band: 50 times; New Orleans, LA. November 2018-May 2019.

Filmmaking and Photography:

Can't Take Our Spirit. Short film. Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade. Features the Krewe of Grandview, sister krewes the Krewe of Kenny, Tulane Alumni Krewe, and the Windward Krewe, the Hollywood High Steppers Ensemble. February 2020.

Christina Perez. B-camera man to the great Lily Keber: "Lessons I've Learned by Cristina Perez." Posted August 22, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VeCU4m1f7zM. Accessed May 11, 2021.

My Brother's Keeper. Short film. Single Men Social Aid and Pleasure Club Annual Sunday Second Line, featuring My Brother's Keeper Social Aid and Pleasure Club and TBC Brass Band. March 2019.

TBC Recording Session for *To Be Continued II* (2019). Film and photo documentation. December 2018.

Rhythm Drum Patterns NoLa Second Lin

"Trad"

Snare Drum

Cymbal

Bass Drum

5

9

13

"Big Fallback": Duke Ellington, Jubillee Stomp (until I find a brass band recording)
Trad #1: Young Tuxedo Brass Band, Whoopin' Blues (John Casimir)
Trad #2: Onward Brass Band, The Second Line (Paul barbarin); Dirty Dozen, I ate up the Apple Tree
Funky Trad "bridge": Earl King, Street Parade; New Birth, Show Me How to Do That Dance Called the Second Line
Funky Trad #1: Stooges, Come and Dance with Me
Funky Trad #2: Rebirth, I Feel Like Funkin' It Up, pt2; Rebirth, Tuba Fats; Li'l Rascals Rascals Got Fire
6th Ward: Treme Brass Band, Tuba Fats; Hot8 Brass Band, Play That Funky Music;
Tim adds: Rebirth, I'm Walkin' I don't hear it.
"Bo Diddley":
Funk #1: Dirty Dozen, Li'l Liza Jane; Dirty Dozen, Mardi Gras in New Orleans
Funk #2 "5 over 4": Rebirth - It Ain't My Fault
Funk #3 Bamboola: Rebirth - You Move Ya' Lose, Rebirth - Do Watcha Wanna
Funk #4 - "Cross Stick": Rebirth - I Feel like Bustin' Loose
Caribbean Second Line: New Birth, "Caribbean Second Line"

© BrassOpera Publishing 2015
Marc T. Bolin

Funky Trad. #2 Rebirth " I Feel Like Funkin' It Up, Pt2"

17

21

25

"Bo Diddley"

29

Bamboula "Root"

31

6th Ward Hot8 Brass Band

33

35

37

Appendix III: "Sustain the Chain (buck it)," Lyrics

Buck it like a horse, buck it like a horse
Buck it like a horse, buck it like a horse
Buck it like a horse, y'all (you want me to what?)
Buck it like a horse, buck it like a horse
Buck it like a horse, buck it like a horse
Buck it like a horse, y'all

'Cause we're the street sound specialists
Thatcha rollin' with momentum indefinite
the swing recidivists
the street sound specialists
Thatcha rollin' with momentum indefinite
momentum indefinite
the swing recidivists

the street sound specialist
That you're rollin' with momentum indefinite
the swing recidivists
the street sound specialist
That you're rollin' with momentum indefinite
the swing recidivists

It's the Critical Brass, Critical Brass
Steady on shrinkin' down the *mean free path*[1]

Critical Brass, Critical Brass
Ya best bust that ass, bust that ass real fast…

It's the Critical Brass, Critical Brass
Ya best bust that ass, bust that ass real fast…
Critical Brass, Critical Brass

Sustain the chain reaction that lasts
Sustain the chain reaction that lasts
Sustain the chain reaction that lasts
Sustain the chain reaction that lasts
Sustain the chain reaction that lasts
Sustain the chain reaction that lasts
Sustain the chain reaction that lasts
Sustain the chain reaction that lasts
Sustain the chain reaction that lasts

Transition (sung):
I'm talkin' about joy and pain,
And sunshine and pain (keep hopin', open up and find)
I'm talkin' through joy and pain,
Spread sunshine through pain (Like a prism train…that tracks)

Rap:
One for the honey, two for the milk
Three to weave the weather for to spin the silk ('cause it's)
One for the honey, two for the milk
Three to weave the web, and to spin the silk scarf (score)

We used to bust it from Fisherman's Wharf
Not really burnin', just like a brown dwarf
Big ball of gas except without the pop
Used to be…when he shoulda bop'd

Started to gravitate to the Crescent City
Ax slung 'cross the chest prêt to play
Promptly adopted by the brass family
Rascals, Andrews, New Birth, Tremé

[1] According to Schwee, the "mean free path" is a reference to the Kinetic Theory of Gases, meaning the average distance between collisions for a gas molecule.

Thump the buckjump… it's delightful
The triplet trombone trade…that ain't trite, fool
Klaxon and rattattat-tat, sax and brass gats
Pepper sodium, the podium, and night school (said)

Sousaphone business controls New Orleans
Trumpet business controls New Orleans
Shakes the half-valvin', but never half-steppin' it
Buckjump business controls New Orleans

From the masquerade, down on Esplanade
The step'll hit'cha like a Serengeti serenade
Stable mate renegade, beyond the barricade
The swingin' stallion with a filly for his chambermaid

Equestrian escapade, second line parade
Ain't no illusion like a planetary retrograde
Cooler than a lemonade at sub-zero centigrade

The legacy of Satchmo will never fade!

It's the Critical Brass, Critical Brass
Steady on shrinkin' down the *mean free path*

Critical Brass, Critical Brass
Ya best bust that ass, bust that ass real fast…

Critical Brass, Critical Brass
Steady on shrinkin' down the *mean free path*

Sustain the chain reaction that lasts

Send off:
It's all the rhymes I'd like to say
These are the games we like to play
So if you down with the brass and you're feelin' alright
Throw your hands in the air and say "HEY"

Appendix IV: "Are You with Me," Lyrics

<table>
<tr>
<td>Come with me for the ride
Don't let go hold on tight
I don't care where you've been,
You're right here now my friends
Are you with me
Are you with me

We're all in this thing together
Anything else doesn't matter
No place I'd rather be,
than right here don't you believe
Are you with me
Are you with me

I wanna know are you're with me
I wanna know are you're with me (are you with me)
I wanna know are you're with me
I wanna know are you're with me
are you with me

Stand your ground, hold the line.
Don't give in without a fight.
Why don't you take a chance
Let's join in while we can
Are you with me</td>
<td>I wanna know are you're with me
I wanna know are you're with me (are you with me)
I wanna know are you're with me
I wanna know are you're with me
are you with me

oh, there is murder in the streets
Spreading hatred like disease
We only see what we want to see
Does everyone have to bleed?

there is murder in the streets
Spreading hatred like disease
We only se what we want to see
Does everone have to bleed?

I wanna know are you're with me
I wanna know are you're with me (are you with me)
I wanna know are you're with me
I wanna know are you're with me
Are you with me</td>
</tr>
</table>

Works Cited

Agawu, V. Kofi. 2003. *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions*. New York: Routledge.

Aitchison, Cara, Nicola E. MacLeod, and Stephen J. Shaw. 2001. *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes: Social and Cultural Geographies.* Routledge Advances in Tourism, 9. London: Routledge.

Anderson, Iain. "CHARLES HERSCH. Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans," *The American Historical Review* 33, no. 5 (December 2008): 1555-1556.

Anderson, Maureen. "The White Reception of Jazz in America." *African American Review* 38, no. 1 (2004): 135-145.

Arnesen, Eric. 1994. *Waterfront Workers of New Orleans: Race, Class and Politics, 1863-1923*. Illini Books ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Atkinson, Connie Zeanah. 1997. "Musicmaking in New Orleans: A Reappraisal." PhD diss., Liverpool University.

Atkinson, Connie Zeanah. 2004. "Whose New Orleans? Music's Place in the Packaging of New Orleans for Tourism." In *Tourists and Tourism: A Reader*, edited by Sharon Bohn Gmelch. Long Grove: Waveland Press.

Baker, Houston A. 1987. *Blues, Ideology, and Afro-American Literature: A Vernacular Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Baraka, Amiri. 1963. *Blues People: Negro Music in White America*. New York: Morrow Quill.

Baraka, Amiri. 2002. *Blues People: Negro Music in White America*. New York: Morrow Quill.

Barbash, Ilisa, and Lucien Castaing-Taylor. 1997. *Cross-Cultural Filmmaking: A Handbook for Making Documentary and Ethnographic Films and Videos*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Baron, John H. 2013. *Concert Life in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: A Comprehensive Reference.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Bartlett, Andrew. "Airshafts, Loudspeakers, and the Hip Hop Sample: Contexts and African American Musical Aesthetics." *African American Review* 28, no. 4 (1994): 639-652.

Barz, Gregory F., and Timothy J. Cooley. 2008. *Shadows In The Field: New Perspectives For Fieldwork In Ethnomusicology*. Second ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Baudrillard, Jean. 1994. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bechet, Sidney. 1960. *Treat It Gentle: An Autobiography.* New York: Da Capo.

Becker, Cynthia. "New Orleans Mardi Gras Indians: Mediating Racial Politics from the Backstreets to Main Street." *African Arts* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 36-49.

Becker, Judith. 2004. *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion, and Trancing*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bell, Catherine M. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Berlin, Edward A. 1980. *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Berlin, Edward A. 1994. *King of Ragtime: Scott Joplin and His Era.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Berliner, Paul. 1994. *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation.* Edited by Philip V. Bohlman and Bruno Nettl. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Berry, Jason. 1995. *The Spirit of Black Hawk: A Mystery of Africans and Indians*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Berry, Jason. "African Cultural Memory in New Orleans Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 8, no. 1 (1988): 3-12.

Berry, Jason, Jonathan Foose, and Tad Jones. 2009. *Up from the Cradle of Jazz: New Orleans Music Since World War II.* New ed. Lafayette: University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press.

Berry, Mary Frances. 1994. *Black Resistance, White Law: A History of Constitutional Racism in America."* New York: A. Lane, Penguin Press.

Birthplace of Jazz." New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation official website. <http://tinyurl.com/a4rbe38>. Accessed May 2020.

Blackbird, Leila K. 2018. "Entwined Threads of Red and Black: The Hidden History of Indigenous Enslavement in Louisiana, 1699-1824." PhD diss., University of New Orleans.

Blacking, John. 1973. *How Musical is Man?* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Blesh, Rudi. 1946. *Shining Trumpets, a History of Jazz.* New York: A.A. Knopf.

Blesh, Rudi, Robert R. Darch, Arthur Marshall, Harriet G. Janis, Donald Ashwander, Scott Hayden, Scott Joplin, et al. 1971. *They All Played Ragtime.* 4th ed. New York: Oak Publications.

Boudreaux, Julianna L. 1961. "A History of Philanthropy in New Orleans, 1835-1862." PhD diss., Tulane University of Louisiana.

Boym, Svetlana. 2001. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bryant, Clora, ed. 1998. *Central Avenue Sounds: Jazz in Los Angeles.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Buerkle, Jack V., and Danny Barker. 1973. *Bourbon Street Black*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———.. 1974. *Bourbon Street Black: The New Orleans Black Jazzman* (NewYork: Oxford University Press, 1974)

Burnim, Mellonee V., and Portia K. Maultsby. 2006. *African American Music: An Introduction.* New York: Routledge.

———. Burnim, Mellonee V, and Portia K Maultsby, eds. 2015. *African American Music: An Introduction*. Second ed. New York: Routledge.

Burns, Mick., 2006. *Keeping the Beat on the Street: The New Orleans Brass Band Renaissance.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Thinking Gender. New York: Routledge.

Cable, George W. 1886. "The Dance in Place Congo & Creole Slave Songs," *Century Magazine* 31, (1886) 517-532.

Campanella, Richard. 2008. *Bienville's Dilemma: A Historical Geography of New Orleans.* Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies. Lafayette, University of Louisiana.

Carrico, Rachel. 2015. "Footwork!" Improvised Dance as Dissenting Mobility in the New Orleans Second Line." PhD diss., University of California, Riverside.

Carter, Hodding. 1968. *The Past As Prelude; New Orleans, 1718-1968.* New Orleans: Tulane University.

Celestan, Karen and Eric Walters, eds. 2018. *Freedom's Dance: Social, Aid, and Pleasure Clubs in New Orleans.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Charters, Samuel. 1958. "Jazz, New Orleans, 1885-1957: An Index to the Negro Musicians of New Orleans," in Jazz Monographs, no. 2. Belleville, N.J.: W.C. Allen.

Charters, Samuel. 2008. *A Trumpet Around the Corner: The Story of New Orleans Jazz.* American Made Music Series. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Chidester, David. "The Church of Baseball, the Fetish of Coca-Cola, and the Potlatch of Rock 'n' Roll: Theoretical Models for the Study of Religion in American Popular Culture." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, no. 4 (1996): 743-65.

Chimezie, Amuzie. "The Dozens: An African-Heritage Theory." *Journal of Black Studies* 6, no. 4 (1976): 401-420.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography: A School of American Research Advanced Seminar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohen, Robin and Olivia Sheringham. 2016. *Encountering Difference: Diasporic Traces, Creolizing Spaces.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Collier, James Lincoln. 1979. *The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History*. A Delta Book. New York: Dell

Collins, R. 1996. *New Orleans Jazz: A Revised History: The Development of American Music from the Origin to the Big Bands*. New York: Vantage Press.

Cone, James H. 1991. *The Spirituals and the Blues: An Interpretation*. Maryknoll.: Orbis Books.

Cooley, Timothy J., Katharine Meizel and Nasir Syed. 2008. "Virtual Fieldwork: Three Case Studies." In *Shadows In The Field: New Perspectives For Fieldwork In Ethnomusicology*. Second ed., edited by Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 90-107. New York: Oxford University Press.

Conlin, Joseph. 2013. *American Past – a Survey of American History, Volume I: To 1877.* Cengage Learning.

Crawford, Peter Ian. "Film as Discourse: The Invention of Anthropological Realities." In *Film as Ethnography,* edited by Peter Ian Crawford and David Turton. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.

Cuming, Fortescue. 1810. *Sketches of a Tour to the Western country, through the States of Ohio and Kentucky: A Voyage Down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and a Trip through the Mississippi Territory, and Part of West Florida, commenced at Philadelphia in the winter of 1807, and concluded in 1809.* Early American Imprints. Second Series; 6566434 No. 1990 2. Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear & Eichbaum.

Da Matta, Roberto. 1977. "Constraint and License: A Preliminary Study of Two Brazilian National Rituals," in *Secular Ritual*, edited by Sally Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, 244-264. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Daniels, Yvonne. 2005. *Dancing Wisdom: Embodied Knowledge in Haitian Voudou, Cuban Yoruba, and Bahian Candomlé.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Davis, Angela Y. 1999. *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday*. 1st ed Vintage books ed. New York: Vintage.

Day, Gordon M. "Oral Tradition as Complement." *Ethnohistory* 19, no. 2 (1972): 99-108.

DeCoste, Kyle. "Street Queens: New Orleans Brass Bands and the Problem of Intersectionality." *Ethnomusicology* 61(2):181-206.

DeGrait, Joe. in an interview with Samuel Charters, recorded in 1956. *Music of New Orleans. Vol. 1, The Music of the Streets [and] The Music of Mardi Gras.* Smithsonian Folkways Archival. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 2007.

Dethloff, Henry C. and Robert R. Jones. "Race Relations in Louisiana, 1877-98." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 9, no. 4 (1968): 301-323.

DeVeaux, Scott. 1991. "Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography." *Black American Literature Forum*. 25(3):525-560.

Doleac, Benjamin G. 2018. "We Made it Through That Water': Rhythm, Dance, and Resistance in the New Orleans Second Line." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

Doleac, Benjamin G. "Strictly Second Line: Funk, Jazz, and the New Orleans Beat." *Ethnomusicology Review* 18, (2013). https://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/journal/volume/18/piece/6999. Accessed January 4, 2021.

Draper, David Elliott. 1973. "The Mardi Gras Indians: The Ethnomusicology of Black Associations in New Orleans." PhD diss., Tulane University.

Driscoll, Matthew T. 2012. "New Orleans Brass Band Traditions and Popular Music: Elements of Style in the Music of Mama Digdown's Brass Band and Youngblood Brass Band." D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa.

DuCros, Faustina M. 2013. "And They All Came From New Orleans": Louisiana Migrants in Los Angeles – Interpretations." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

Dunbar-Nelson, Alice. "People of Color in Louisiana: Part I." *The Journal of Negro History* 1, no. 4 (1916): 361-376.

Durell, Edward H. 1845. *New Orleans As I Found It.* New York: Harper & Bros.

Durkeim, Émile. 2001. *The Elementary Forms or the Religious Life.* Newed. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Early, Gerald, and Ingrid Monson. "Why Jazz Still Matters." Daedalus 148, no. 2 (2019): 5-12.

Eliade, Mircea. 1959. *The Sacred and The Profane: The Nature Of Religion*. New York: Harvest Books.

Europe, James R. 1919. "A Negro Explains Jazz." Reprint in *Keeping Time: Readings in Jazz History*, edited by Robert Walser, 12–14. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Evan, David. "Black Fife and Drum Music in Mississippi." *Folkstreams, A National Preserve of American Folklore Films*, (1972). http://www.folkstreams.net/film-context.php?id=86. Accessed January 3, 2021,

Evans, Freddi Williams. 2011. *Congo Square: African Roots in New Orleans*. Lafayette: University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press.

Fabian, Johannes. 1990. *Power and Performance: Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theater in Shaba, Zaire.* New Directions in Anthropological Writing. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Farmer, Henry G. 1912. *Military Music and Its Story: The Rise and Development of Military Music.* London: Wm Reeves.

Fixico, Donald L. 2017. *"That's What They Used to Say": Reflections on American Indian Oral Traditions.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Feather, Leonard. 1960. *The Book of Jazz.* (New York: Meridian Books)

Fixico, Donald L. 2013. *Call for Change: The Medicine Way of American Indian History, Ethos & Reality.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Fixico, Donald L. 2013. *Indian Resilience and Rebuilding: Indigenous Nations in the Modern American West*. The Modern American West. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Fixico, Donald L. 2013. *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge.* New York: Routledge.

Flamming, Douglas. 2005. *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America.* The George Gund Foundation Imprint in African American Studies. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Floyd, Samuel A. 1991. *Index to Negro Spirituals.* Rev. ed. Cbmr Monographs, No. 3, Chicago: Center for Black Music Research Columbia College.

Floyd, Samuel A. 1995. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting its History from Africa to the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Forbes, Jack D. 1993. *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples.* 2nd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Forman, Shepard. 1994. *Diagnosing America: Anthropology and Public Engagement.* Linking Levels of Analysis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1979. *Discipline & Punish*. Vintage Books.

Frazier, E. Franklin. "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil." *American Sociological Review*, 1942.

Fussell, Elizabeth. "Constructing New Orleans, Constructing Race: A Population History of New Orleans." *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 3 (2007): 846-855.

Gates, Henry Louis. 1988. *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Giddins, Gary, and Scott K. DeVeaux. 2009. *Jazz*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Giesen, Klaus-Ger, and Kees va der Pijl. 2006. *Global Norms in the Twenty-First Century*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic Modernity and Double Consciousness.* Cambridge: Harvard

Gioia, Ted. 2011. *The History of Jazz*. Second ed. New York: Oxford University Press. University Press.

Goffin, Robert. 1944. *Jazz: From the Congo to the Metropolitan.* New York: Country Life.

Goffin, Robert, Pierre Mac Orlan, and Charles Malherbe. 1932. *Aux Frontières Du Jazz.* 2E éd. Ill. De 60 photogred. Les Documentaires. Paris: Ed du Sagittaire.

Gordon, Robert Winslow. 1981. Negro "shouts" from Georgia. In *Mother wit from the laughing barrel: Readings in the interpretation of Afro-American folklore* Alan Dundes, ed. New print, with addendum. New York: Garland.

Griffin, Farah Jasmine. 2002. *If You Can't Be Free, Be a Mystery: In Search of Billie Holiday*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Griffin, Farah Jasmine. 2004. "When Malindy Sings: A Meditation on Black Women's Vocality." In *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies,* edited by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin. 102-125. New York: Columbia University Press.

Grimshaw, Anna and Amanda Ravetz. 2009. *Observational Cinema: Anthropology, Film and the Exploration of Social Life.* Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Gushee, Lawrence. "The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Jazz." *Black Music Research Journal* 22 (2002): 151-174.

Hannam, Kevin, and Dan Knox. 2010. *Understanding Tourism: A Critical Introduction*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Hall, Ardencie. 1998. "New Orleans Jazz Funerals: Transition to the Ancestors." PhD diss., New York University.

Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo. 1992. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Harding, Rachel E. 2003. *A Refuge in Thunder: Candomblé and Alternative Spaces of Blackness.* Blacks in The Diaspora. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

Hardie. Daniel. 2004. *The Ancestry of Jazz: A Musical Family History.* New York: iUniverse.

Harer, Ingeborg. 2006. "Ragtime." In *African American Music: An Introduction,* edited by Mellonee V. Burnim and Portia K. Maultsby, 127-144. New York: Routledge.

Harlan, Louis A. "Desegregation in New Orleans Public Schools During Reconstruction," *The American Historical Review* 67, no.3 (1962): 663-675.

Harlan, Louis A. 1969. *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States 1901-1915*. Atheneum.

Harris, Rex. 1952. *Jazz*. Pelican Books, a 247. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Haskins, James and Don Miller. 1975. *The Creoles of Color of New Orleans.* New York: Crowell.

Hasse, John Edward. 2000. *Jazz: The First Century.* New York: William Morrow.

Hasse, John Edward, and Tad Lathrop. 2012. *Discover Jazz.* Boston: Pearson Education.

Hearn, Lafcadio. The Scenes of Cable's Romances. In *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* Xxvii, no. 1 (1883).

Henige, David P. 1982. *Oral Historiography.* London: Longman.

Hentoff, Nat and Albert J. McCarthy. 1977. *Jazz.* London: Quartet Books.

Herndon, Ruth H. and Ella W. Sekatau, 1997. "The Right to a Name: The Narragansett People and Rhode Island Officials in the Revolutionary Era." In *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England.* Reencounters with Colonialism—New Perspectives on the Americas, edited by Colin G. Calloway, 114-143. Hanover: Dartmouth Press.

Hersch, Charles. 2007. *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Herskovits, Melville J., and Sidney W. Mintz. 1990. *The Myth of the Negro Past.* Second Beacon Paperbacked. Boston: Beacon Press.

Hicks, Derek S. "An Unusual Feast: Gumbo and the Complex Brew of Black Religion." In *Religion, Food, and Eating in North America,* edited by Nora L. Rubel, Benjamin E. Zeller, Reid L. Neilson, and Marie W. Dallam, 329:373. New York: Columbia University Press.

Himes, Geoffrey. "His Song: Nicholas Payton is Going to Sing, No Matter What His Label Says." *OffBeat Magazine*, (June 2011), 20-22.

Hirsch, Arnold R. and Joseph Logsdon. 1992. *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Hirsch, Arnold R. "Fade to Black: Hurricane Katrina and the Disappearance of Creole New Orleans." *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 3 (2007): 752-761.

Hobson, Wilder. 1976. *American Jazz Music.* The Roots of Jazz. New York: Da Capo Press.

Holloway, Joseph E. 2005. *Africanisms in American Culture*. 2nd ed. Blacks in the Diaspora. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hood, Mantle. "The Challenge of 'Bi-Musicality.'" *Ethnomusicology* 4, no. 2 (1960): 55-59.

Howard, Phillip A., 1999. "Creolization and Integration: The Development of a Political Culture among the Pan-Afro-Cuban Benevolent Societies, 1878-1895." In *Crossing Boundaries: The History of Black People in Diaspora*, edited by Darlene C. Hines and Jacqueline McLeod, 134-158. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hugues, Panassié, Louis Armstrong, Maran Eugène, and Roger Chastel. 1934. *Le Jazz Hot.* Paris: Éditions R.-A. Corrēa.

Hunt, Alfred N. 1988. *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Ingersoll, Thomas N. "The Slave Trade and the Ethnic Diversity of Louisiana's Slave Community." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 37, no. 2 (1996): 133-161.

Jackson, Travis A. 2002. "Jazz as Musical Practice." *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz.* Cambridge Companions to Music, edited by Mervyn Cooke and David Horn, 83-95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, Travis A. 2004. "' Always New and Centuries Old": Jazz, Poetry and Tradition as Creative Adaptation." In *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies,* edited by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin. 357-373. New York: Columbia University Press.

Jackson, Travis A. 2012. *Blowin' the Blues Away: Performance and Meaning on the New York Jazz Scene.* Roth Family Foundation Music in American Imprint. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jacobsen, Thomas W. 2014. *The New Orleans Jazz Scene, 1970-2000: A Personal Retrospective*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Jankowsky, Richard C. "Music, Spirit Possession and the In-between: Ethnomusicological Inquiry and the Challenge of Trance." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 16, no. 2(2007):185-208.

Jankowsky, Richard C. 2010. *Stambeli: Music, Trance, and Alterity in Tunisia*. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jindra, Michael. "Star Trek Fandom as a Religious Phenomenon." *Sociology of Religion* 55, no. 1 (1994): 27-51.

Johnson, Jerah. 1991. "New Orlean's Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-American Culture Formation." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 32, (2):117-157.

Johnson, Jerah. 2000. "Jim Crow Laws of the 1890's and the Origins of New Orleans Jazz: Correction of an Error." *Popular Music,* 19(2):243-251.

Johnson, Jerah. "Congo Square: La Place Publique."*64 Parishes*, Winter 1997. https://www.64parishes.org/congo-square-la-place-publique. Accessed December 23, 2020.

Johnson, Jerah and Louisiana Landmarks Society. 1995. *Congo Square in New Orleans.* New Orleans: Samuel Wilson, Jr. Publications Fund of the Louisiana Landmarks Society.

Jones, David M. *New Orleans Jazz Funerals: From the Inside*. DMJ Productions, 1995.

Katz, William Loren. 1996. *Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage.* 1st ed. New York: Atheneum.

Keber, Lily. 2018. *Buckjumping.* Mairzy Doats Productions: Indie Rights.

Kein, Sybil. 2000. *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Kelley, Robin D. G. 2004. "Beneath the Underground: Exploring New Currents in 'Jazz.'" In *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies,* edited by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards and Farah Jasmine Griffin. 404-416. New York: Columbia University Press.

Keyes, Cheryl Lynette. 2002. *Rap Music and Street Consciousness*. Music in American Life. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kidder, Tristram R. 2000. "inevitable Native Americans and the geography of New Orleans." In *Transforming New Orleans and It's Environs: Centuries of Change*, edited by Craig E. Colton, 16. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Kingsbury, Henry. 1988. *Music, Talent, and Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Kinzer, Charles E. "The Band of Music for the First Battalion of Free Men of Color and the Siege of New Orleans, 1814-1815." *American Music* 10, no. 3 (1992): 348-369.

Kinzer, Charles E. 1993. "The Tio Family: Four Generations of New Orleans Musicians, 1814-1993." PhD diss., Louisana State University.

Kmen, Henry A. 1966. *Music in New Orleans, the Formative Years 1791-1841, by Henry A. Kmen.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Kmen, Henry A. 1972. "The Roots of Jazz and the Dance in Place Congo: A Re-Appraisal." *Anuario Interamericano De Investigacion Musical* 8: 5-16.

Knowles, Richard H. 1996. *Fallen Heroes: A History of New Orleans Brass Bands*. New Orleans: Jazzology Press.

Koenig, Karl. 1983. *Louisiana Brass Bands and Their History in Relation to Jazz History*. New Orleans, Jazz Club; the Second Line.
Koenig, Karl. 1991. Jazz Map of New Orleans. Covington, LA (1627 S. Van Buren Covington 70433): Basin Street Press.

Koenig, Karl. 1996. *The History of the March*. Abita Springs: Basin Street Press.

Koenig, Karl. 1996. *The Jazz Lectures.* Abita Springs: Basin Street Press.

Koons, Ryan Abel. 2016. "Dancing Breath: Ceremonial Performance Practice, Environment, and Personhood in a Muskogee Creek Community." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

Kniffen, Fred B., Hiram F. Gregory, and George A. Stokes. 1987. *The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana: From 1542 to the Present*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Lachance, Paul F. "The 1809 Immigration of Saint-Domingue Refugees to New Orleans: Reception, Integration and Impact." *Louisiana Historical Association* 29, no. 2 (1988): 109-141.

Laguerre, Michel S. 1971. "Voodoo as Religious and Revolutionary Ideology," in *Freeing the Spirit* 4, (1971): 2.

Latrobe, Benjamin H. and John H.B. Latrobe. 1905. *The Journal of Latrobe.* New York: D. Appleton and Company.

Latrobe, Benjamin H. 1951. *Impressions Respecting New Orleans.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Levine, Lawrence W. 1979. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. REPRed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Levy, Russell. 1967. "Of Bards and Bawds: New Orleans Sporting Life Before and during the Storyville Era, 1897-1917." M.A. diss., Tulane University of Louisiana.

Lichtenstein, Grace and Laura Danker. 1993. *Musical Gumbo: The Music of New Orleans*. 1st ed. New York: W.W. Norton

Lindford, Scott. "Historical Narratives of the Akonting and Banjo." *Notes from the Field.* Blog Series. *July 27, 2014*. https://www.ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/content/akonting history.

Lipsitz, George. 2004. "Songs of the Unsung: The Darby Hicks History of Jazz." In *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies,* edited by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin. 9-26; New York: Columbia University Press.

Littlefield, Daniel F. 1977. *Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation.* Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No.32. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Long, Carolyn M. 2001. *Spiritual Merchants: Religion, Magic, and Commerce.* 1st ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Lysloff, René T. A. 2003. "Musical Community on the Internet: An On-Line Ethnography." *Cultural Anthropology: Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology* 18, (2): 233-263.

MacDougall, David. 2006. *The Corporeal Image: Film, Ethnography, and the Senses*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

MacDougall, David and Judith MacDougall. 1981.*The Ethnographic Film As Inquiry: An Interview with David MacDougall, [and] David and Judith MacDougall [Background and Assessment]. 1981.*

MacDougall, David and Lucien Castaing-Taylor. 1998. *Transcultural Cinema*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Man with a Movie Camera. Dziga Vertov. British Film Institute, 1929. eVideo.

Marquis, Donald M. 2005. *In Search of Buddy Bolden, First Man of Jazz. Rev.ed.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Martyn, Barry. 2000. *Sing on: A film of New Orleans Brass Bands.* American Music Records.

Martinez, Maurice M. and James E. Hinton. 200?. *The Black Indians of New Orleans*. DoorKnobFilms, 20.n.d.

Martinez Jr., Maurice M., "Two Islands: The Black Indians of Haiti and New Orleans," *Arts Quarterly* 1, no. 7 (July/August/September 1979): 6.

Mazzola, Sandy R. "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition." *American Music* 4, no. 4 (1986): 407-424.

McCrary, Peyton. 1978. *Abraham Lincoln and Reconstruction: The Louisiana Experiment.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Miller, Brice, A. 2015. "Feet Don't Fail Me Now: Brass Bands in Post-Katrina New Orleans." PhD diss., University of Alabama.

Miller, Kiri. 2007. "Jacking the Dial: Radio, Race and Place in Grand Theft Auto." *Ethnomusicology: Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology* 51 (3):402-438.

Mitcham, Howard. 1978. "*Creole Gumbo and All That Jazz: a New Orleans Seafood Cookbook*." Reading: Addison-Wesley.

Monson, Ingrid T. 1991. "Musical Interaction in Modern Jazz: An Ethnomusicological Perspective." Ph.D. diss.., New York University.

Monson, Ingrid T. 2000. *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective*. 1. Pbk. ed. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities: Critical and Cultural Musicology, 3. New York: Routledge

Monson, Ingrid T. 2007. *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moore, Sally Falk, and Barbara G. Myerhoff. 1977. *Secular Ritual*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Murphy, Joseph M. 1994. *Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African Diaspora.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Myers, Helen. 1992. *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction.* 1st American ed. Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music. New York: W.W. Norton.

Neal, Mark Anthony. 1999. *What the Music Said: Black Popular Music and Black Public Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Niesel, Jeff. 1997. "Hip-Hop Matters: Rewriting the Sexual Politics of Rap Music." In *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism,* edited by Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake, 239-254. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

O'Meally, Robert G. 1998. *The Jazz Cadence of American Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press.

O'Meally, Robert G. 2004. "Checking Our Balances: Louis Armstrong, Ralph Ellison, and Betty Boop." In *Uptown Conversation: The New Jazz Studies,* edited by Robert G. O'Meally, Brent Hayes Edwards, and Farah Jasmine Griffin. 278-296. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ong, Walter J. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word.* New Accents. (London: Methuen).

Ong, Walter J. 1990. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word.* New Accents (Methuen & Co.) London: Routledge.

Osborn, Royce. 2003. *All on a Mardi Gras Day*. WYES Productions.

Ostransky, Leroy. *Jazz City: The Impact of Our Cities on the Development of Jazz*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Plan de la Nouvelle Orleans. [1722] Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/2003623130/>.

Pittman, Philip, Captain. Plan of New Orleans. London, Printed for J. Nourse, 1770. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/2003627090/>.

Porter, Eric. 2002. *What is This Thing Called Jazz?: African American Musicians as Artists, Critics, and Activists*. Music of the African Diaspora, 6. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Powell, Lawrence N. 2012. *The Accidental City: Improvising New Orleans.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Pink, Sarah. 2007. *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media, and Representation in Research*. Second Ed. London: Sage Publications.

Pink, Sarah. 2009. *Doing Sensory Ethnography.* Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Pink, Sarah. 2009. *Visual Interventions: Applied Visual Anthropology.* Studies in Applied Anthropology, V.4. New York: Berghahn Books.

Price, Richard. 1979. *Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas.* 2nd ed., A Johns Hopkins Paperback. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Raboteau, Albert J. 1980. *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South.* Oxford University Press pbked. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1952. *Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses.* Glencoe: Free Press.

Raeburn, Bruce Boyd. "Early New Orleans Jazz in Theaters." *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 43, no. 1 (2002): 41-52.

Raeburn, Bruce Boyd. "'They're Tryin' to Wash Us Away': New Orleans Musicians Surviving Katrina." *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 3 (2007): 812-819.

Raeburn, Bruce Boyd. 2009. *New Orleans Style and the Writing of American Jazz History.* Jazz Perspectives. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Raeburn, Bruce Boyd. 2018. "Into the Between: Interstitial Soundscapes in Early New Orleans Jazz." In *Sweet Spots: In-Between Spaces in New Orleans,* edited by Teresa A. Toulouse Teresa A. and Barbara C. Ewell, 195-208, Jackson; University Press of Mississippi.

Raimondi, Julie Michelle. 2012. "Space, Place and Music in New Orleans." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

Ramsey, Frederic and Charles E. Smith, eds. 1939. *Jazzmen.* Harvest Book, Hb-30. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Redmond, Shana L. 2014. *Anthem: Social Movements and the Sound of Solidarity in the African Diaspora*. New York: NYU Press.

Rice, Timothy. 2008. "Toward a Mediation of Field Methods and Field Experience in Ethnomusicology." In *Shadows In The Field: New Perspectives For Fieldwork In Ethnomusicology* edited by Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 42-61. Second ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rice, Timothy. 2014. *Ethnomusicology: A Very Short Introduction.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Roach, Joseph R. 1996. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. The Social Foundations of Aesthetic Forms. New York: Columbia University Press.

Roberts, John Storm. 1999. *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rodriguez, Alex W. 2020. "Making the Hang in Chile at Thelonius, Lugar De Jazz." *Jazz & Culture* 3(1): 45-70

Rosaldo, Renato I. 1980. "Doing Oral History." *Social Analysis* 4, (Spring 1980):88-99.

Rose, Tricia. 1994. *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*. Hanover: University Press of New England.

Rutkoff, Peter M. and William B. Scott. 2010. *Fly Away: The Great African American Cultural Migration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sakakeeny, Matt. "Playing for Work: Music as a Form of Labor in New Orleans." *Oxford Handbooks Online*, (December 2015). Accessed January 5, 2021.

Sakakeeny, Matt. "Mardi Gras Indians." 64 Parishes. https://64parishes.org/entry/mardi-gras-indians. Accessed January 3, 2021.

Sakakeeny, Matt. "Funerals and Parades." Matt Sakakaeeny: *Roll With It.* ttps://mattsakakeeny.com/roll-with_-it/funerals-and-parades. Accessed January 3, 2021.

Sakakeeny, Matt, and Willie Birch. 2013. *Roll with It: Brass Bands in the Streets of New Orleans*. Refiguring American Music. Durham: Duke University Press.

Sandke, Randy. 2010. *Where the Dark and the Light Folks Meet: Race and the Mythology, Politics, and Business of Jazz.* Studies in Jazz, 60. Lanham: Scarecrow Press.

Sanjek, Roger. "Urban Anthropology in the 1980's: A World View." *Annual review of Anthropology* 19 (1990) 151-186.

Sanjek, Roger and AES Invited Sessions (1985: Washington, D.D.). 1990. *Fieldnotes: The Making of Anthropology.* Cornell Paperbacks: Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Sargeant, Winthrop. 1946. *Jazz, Hot and Hybrid.* New York: E.P. Dutton & Company.

Saul, Scott. 2001. *Freedom Is, Freedom Ain't: Jazz and the Making of the Sixties*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Schafer, William John, and Richard B. Allen. 1977. *Brass Bands and New Orleans Jazz.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Schultz, Christian. 1810. *Travels on an Inland Voyage through the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New-Orleans: Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808; Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles: With Maps and Plates.*

Scruggs, Otis M. 1971. "The Economic and Racial Components of Jim Crow," in *Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience,* edited by Nathan I. Huggins, Martin Kilson, Daniel M. Fox, and John Morton Blum, 70-87. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Seiferth, Eric. "How brass bands became a New Orleans tradition, picking up new sounds along the way." *The Historic New Orleans Collection*, (January 2020). https://www.hnoc.org/publications/first-draft/how-brass-bands-became-new-orleans-tradition--pickingvnew-sounds-along-way. Accessed March 24, 2021.

Sergeant, John. 1665. *Sure Footing in Christianity or Rational Discourses on the Rule of Faith: With Short Animadversions on Dr. Pierce's Sermon; Also on Some Passages in Mr. Whitby and Mr. Stillingfleet, Which Concern That Rule,* (London, 1665).

Sharma, Aparna Katara. 2015. *Documentary Films in India: Critical Aesthetics at Work*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Shelemay, Kay Kaufman. "Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Early Music Movement: Thoughts on Bridging Disciplines and Musical Worlds." *Ethnomusicology: Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology* 45, (1) (2001).

Shelemay, Kay Kaufman. 2011. "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, (2): 349-390.

Sides, Josh. 2003. *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Small, Christopher. 1998. *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening.* Music/Culture. Hanover: University Press of New England.

Smith, Melanie K., Nicola MacLeod, and Margaret Hart Robertson. 2010. *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies.* Sage Key Concepts. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Smith, Michael P. 1991. *New Orleans Jazz Fest: A Pictorial History.* Gretna: Pelican Pub.

Smith, Michael P. 1994. "Behind the Lines: The Black Mardi Gras Indians and the New Orleans Second Line." *Black Music Research Journal* 14, (1):43-73.

Smith, Michael P. and Alan B. Govenar. 1990. *A Joyful Noise: A Celebration of New Orleans Music*. Dallas: Taylor Publishing Co.

Smith, Michael P. and Alan B. Govenar. 1994. *Mardi Gras Indians.* Gretna: Pelican Publications.

Smith, Michael P. and the New Orleans Urban Folklife Society. 1984. *Spirit World: Pattern in the Expressive Folk Culture of Afro-American New Orleans: Photographs and Journal*. New Orleans: New Orleans Urban Folklife Society.

Somers, Dale A. "Black and White in New Orleans: A Study in Urban Race Relations, 1865-1900." *The Journal of Southern History* 40, no. 1 (1974): 19-42.

Southern, Eileen. 1997. *The Music of Black Americans: A History*. 3rd ed. New York: Norton.

Souther, J. Mark. 2006. *New Orleans on Parade: Tourism and the Transformation of the Crescent City.* Making the Modern South. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Spriggins, Belfield E. "Excavating Local Jazz." *Louisiana Weekly*, (April 22, 1933): 5.

Sterkx, H. E., 1972. *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana.* Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

Stiegler, Bernd. 2013. *Traveling in place: a history of armchair travel*. Chicago: University ofChicago Press.

Stooges Brass Band and Kyle DeCoste. 2020. *Can't Be Faded: Twenty Years in the New Orleans Brass Band Game*. American Made Music Series. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Stuckey, Sterling. 1987. *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stuckey, Sterling. 2013. *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America*. Twenty-fifth anniversary ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sublette, Ned. 2007. *Cuba and Its Music: From the First Drums to the Mambo.* Chicago: Non-Approval Trade.

Sublette, Ned. 2008. *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square.* Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books.

Sublette, Ned. 2009. *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square.* Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books.

Tambiah, Stanley J. 1979. *A Performative Approach to Ritual*. Radcliffe-Brown Lecture. London: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, William E. 1975. "The History and Development of Jazz Piano: A New Perspective for Educators." EdD diss., University of Massachusetts.

Teachout, Terry. "All That (White) Jazz: A Well-Regarded Historian Has Changed His Mind about the 'Creation Myth' of America's Most Distinctive Popular Music; Will Anyone Follow?" *Commentary Magazine*. (November 2008). https://www.commentarymagazine.com/ articles/terry-teachout/all-that-white-jazz. Accessed December 26, 2020.

"The Appeal of Primitive Jazz." *Literary Digest* Sept. 1st 1917 – Vol. 55, page 28. http://www.newspapers.com.

Timothy, Dallen J. and Stephen W. Boyd. 2015. *Tourism and Trails: Cultural, Ecological and Management Issues.* Aspects of Tourism, 64. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Tirro, Frank. 1993. *Jazz: A History,* Second ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Tolnay, Stewart E. "The African American "Great Migration" and Beyond." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29 (2003): 209-232.

Tolnay, Stewart E., and Suzanne C. Eichenlaub. "Southerners in the West: The Relative Well-Being of Direct and Onward Migrants." *Social Forces* 84, no. 3 (2006): 1639-1663.

Trotter, James M. 1878. *Music and Some Highly Musical People: Following Which Are Given Sketches of the Lives of Remarkable Musicians of the Colored Race; with Portraits, and an Appendix Contianing Copies of Music Composed by Colored Men*.

Tucker, Sherrie. 2000. *Swing Shift: "All-Girl" Bands of the 1940s*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Tucker, Sherrie. "Historiography, jazz." *Grove Music Online.* https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/ 9781561592630.article.J591400. Accessed January 27, 2021.

Turner, Richard Brent. "Mardi Gras Indians and Second Lines/Sequin Artists and Rara Bands: Street Festivals and Performances in New Orleans and Haiti." *Journal of Haitian Studies* 9, no. 1 (2003): 124-156.

Turner, Richard Brent. 2009. *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Turner, Victor. 1979. "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period of Rites of Passage," in *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthological Approach*. 4th ed., edited by William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (reprinted and abridged from Africa, Vol. 34, 1964, 85-104), 234-243. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Turner, Victor and Edith Turner. 1978. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Usner, Daniel H. 1992. *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Van Gennep, Arnold. 1961. *The Rites of Passage.* Phoenix Book. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Vansina, Jan. 1985. *Oral Tradition as History.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

VanSpanckeren, Kathryn. "The Mardi Gras Indian Song Cycle: A Heroic Tradition." *MELUS* 16, no. 4 (1989): 41-56.

"The Venice Beach Mardi Gras Parade on the Venice Beach Boardwalk." 2015. *Venice* Angeles: SAGE.

Walker, Harry J. 1945. "Changes in Race Accommodation in a Southern Community." PhD diss., University of Chicago.
Walser, Robert. 1985. *Robert Walser Rediscovered: Stories, Fairy-Tale Plays and Critical Responses.* New England: University Press of New England.

Washburne, Christopher. "The Clave of Jazz: A Caribbean Contribution to the Rhythmic Foundation of an African-American Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 17, no. 1, (1997): 59-80.

Watson, John F. "Notitia of Incidents at New Orleans in 1804 and 1805," Quoted in Henry A. Kmen, *The Roots of Jazz and the Dance in Place Congo: A Re-Appraisal*. Anuario Interamericano De Investigacion Musical 8: 1972.

White, Michael G. 2001. "The New Orleans Brass Brand: A Cultural Tradition." In *The Triumph of the Soul: Cultural and Psychological Aspects of African American Music*, edited by Jones, Ferdinand and Arthur C Jones, 69-96. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

White, Michael G. 2007. "Reflections of an Authentic Jazz Life in Pre-Katrina New Orleans." *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 3(2007):920-27.

Wilson, Angela C. "Educating America: The Historian's Responsibility to Native Americans and the Public: Perspectives on History," *American Historical Association*, (May 1, 2000), accessed

December 27, 2020. https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2000/educating-america-thehistorians-responsibility-to-native-americans-and-the-public.

Wilson, Olly. "The Significance of the Relationship between Afro-American Music and West African Music." *The Black Perspective in Music* 2, 1 (Spring, 1974): 3-22.

Wilson, Samuel and Louisiana State Museum. 1968. *Bienville's New Orleans: A French Colonial Capital 1718-1768*. New Orleans: Friends of the Cabildo.

Wolf, Eric. 1982. *Europe and the People without History.* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Woodruff, Ann. "Society Halls in New Orleans: A Survey of Jazz Landmarks, Part II," *The Jazz Archivist: A Newsletter of the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive*, 21 (2008): 27.