

Navigating Jazz: Music, Place, and New Orleans

by

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DEDICATION

To Jarvis P. Chuckles, an amalgamation of all those who made this project possible.

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ABSTRACT

Navigating Jazz: Music, Place, and New Orleans

Conceiving, historicizing, and [analyzing](#) the cultural creation of place as a contested musical act, this dissertation scrutinizes conventional understandings concerning the relationship between place and musical representation and proposes a new framework for interpreting relationships of music and place. Detailed examination of the intricate intersections between sound, associated terrain, and projected worldview draws out the generative capabilities of geographical thought. The complex relationship between the city of New Orleans and the music of jazz in the twentieth century serves as a backdrop for exploring the multifaceted means through which sound both engineers and activates ideas of place. Close analyses of musical portraits of New Orleans—as performed by musicians across a range of historical contexts—provide a more thorough understanding of ongoing place-based struggles to claim, protect, and transform the city’s so-called jazz heritage. Such musical visions of the city not only contribute to its iconic position in the national imagination, but also express different and often conflicting perspectives with respect to local and regional identity.

Key debates surrounding the emerging field of music and place studies form the backdrop for Chapter One, which focuses on New Orleans to reveal new avenues of analytical inquiry. Prevailing methodologies are challenged and reimagined in terms of the creation, imagination, and relocation of musical places. Chapter Two explores the many lives of the song “Basin Street Blues”—its interpretations, variants, and representations across time, space, and

media—to inform a new theory of *musical place*, encapsulating the analytic potential of cultural geography. Conjured scenes of Congo Square, as imagined by jazz artists including Duke Ellington, Wynton Marsalis, and Donald Harrison, Jr., form the subject of Chapter Three. These highly stylized depictions of historically fraught relationships to New Orleans as the “birthplace of jazz” reveal complex personal and professional relationships to emblematic New Orleans communities, traditions, and tourism. Chapter Four tackles the disputed local terrain of musical tradition and preservation, mapping the (re)definition of traditional New Orleans jazz as performed by the Preservation Hall Jazz Band. Finally, Chapter Five examines the music of Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews, an artist working in the post-Katrina context, to illustrate the implications of contemporary performances of place in exile.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Music, Place, and New Orleans

In their rich introduction to the edited collection *Place/Culture/Representation*, an important study on the cultural representation of place, James Duncan and David Ley observe:

The task of scholars is to represent the world to others in speech and print...Perhaps because it is so central to our whole enterprise, the question of how we should represent the world has usually been taken for granted.¹

Delineating the geographer's task in the course of taking stock of a larger disciplinary turn, Duncan and Ley offer the lay reader a productive definition of how cultural geographers view place, the subject of their work. These scholars do not study place in the way that an earth scientist, cartographer, or anthropologist might examine a familiar "environment," or "locale." Instead, their research hinges on how people come to understand *place*—a conceptual means of relating to our respective surroundings that engages the act of cultural representation. For cultural geographers, *place* is thus a theoretical *and* a methodological concern. A bundle of analytical considerations involved in the investigation of what we know about our world (and how we come to know it) prompted Duncan and Ley to seek out new ways of "seeing" and

¹ James Duncan and David Ley, "Introduction: Representing The Place of Culture," in *Place/Culture/Representation*, edited by James Duncan and David Ley (London: Routledge, 1993), 2.

“interpreting” *place*.² As part of the same introductory essay from which the opening excerpt was drawn—the pair of cultural geographers poses an illuminating question to invested specialists:

The social construction of knowledge is pervasive; values and valuing are integral to knowing, making any claim to objectivity untenable. How does the scholar engage such a contingent reality?³

Authors who contributed to the far-reaching collection responded in spades, rounding out a heterogeneous depiction of the study of *place* with various reconsiderations of particular spaces, different types of community formation, sites of power-knowledge relations, and other forms of *cultural placemaking*—an idea I will return to and expand upon throughout this dissertation. Once again, *place* is treated both as a theoretical *and* a methodological concern, serving as the basis for a new vision of the principles and practices of cultural geography.⁴ Collectively, contributors to *Place/Culture/Representation* treat ideas of place as constructed, or “contingent,” at all levels, ranging from the sensuous to the symbolic, underscoring its vulnerability to competing claims and alterations. Drawing on some of the leading voices in the field of cultural

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*, 7.

⁴ This distinction between theory and methodology has to do with a duality all studies of *place*, as it has been introduced in relation to the work of Duncan and Ley, must confront. While not essential to the aims of this opening gesture, it is important to note that the methods of identifying and categorizing relationships to place that allow scholars to conduct this new type of research are not immune to the influences acting upon their constructed research subjects, establishing a direct link between responses to key methodological questions and the parameters of the particular “contingent reality” under scrutiny. In other words, the scholar’s presentation of *place* in this context must always be viewed as an extension of their primary assertions regarding its use and any related cultural practices and functions. By naming *place*, expanding definitions of seemingly fixed physical counterparts, cultural geographers engineer opportunities to discuss the underlying concepts of identity, memory, and power they are attempting to uncover, illuminating our world in terms of the interactions and interrelationships that inform our perceptions of it.

geography, the volume serves as a compelling snapshot of an active, changing discipline situated at the intersection of seemingly fixed and fluctuating ideas about its subject matter.

The relative absence of musical discussion in *Place/Culture/Representation* might be surprising, given the relevance of Duncan and Ley's queries to a resurging interest in place in musicological research. Across various music-centered disciplines the examination of music and place is emerging as an important new trajectory of musical thought and analysis. Alongside innovative forms of scholarship, new iterations of sound walks, installations, and open source sound maps offer evidence of a continuing, disciplinary move described below by musicologist Robert Fink. Targeting this field as an area of growth and development, he foregrounds questions of *space* and *place* as critical considerations for the study of music today:

It may be that a subtle epistemic shift is, slowly but steadily, transforming the practice of North American musicology. *Time*, the original structuring principle of musicological inquiry, is making room for a new organizing framework based on the phenomenology of *space*.⁵

Fink's observations present a compelling snapshot of the increasingly complex theoretical frameworks that underpin this new research, demonstrating the potential of what he terms a "spatial musicology." His comparative view of *time* and *space* as methodological anchors underscores the extent to which the cultural and chronological context of place can broaden our conception of what constitutes the history of music. By alluding to the work of cultural geography, he also foreshadows the utility of the type of interdisciplinary project I now undertake, interweaving expanded notions of music and place as part of the renewed study of "American spaces" in the twenty-first century.

⁵ Robert Fink, "Colloquy: Studying U.S. Music in the Twenty-First Century – File Under: American Spaces," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, No. 3 (Fall 2011), 708-709.

What do we make of musical allusions to place? As source and subject, setting and landscape, identity and metaphor, ideas of *musical place* engage issues of geography and cultural representation, just as they shape our musical experiences. The changing places in which artists live and work are continually refracted through their art, while the music they create allows audiences to explore new sound worlds and/or reengage with their own respective surroundings. Although fundamentally different from the work assembled by Duncan and Ley in some respects, the comparison of *place* to *musical place* highlights the ways in which music can also be understood as a means of “representing the world to others.”⁶ Not simply a means of eliciting rich musical imagery, the musical rendering of place often exposes its underlying cultural construction, raising additional questions regarding the concurrent exercise of power, agency, and the historical stakes of place-based authenticity. How do the musical contours of particular places register attributed meanings and functions? Where and when do experience, tradition, and ideology intervene? Not every musical allusion to place contains additional layers of musical, cultural, and historical subtext, but these questions take on greater significance when read against the cultural representation of our world as characterized by Duncan, Ley, and their fellow geographers.

Indeed, the geography of music is often more intricate than it might seem, stretched across multiple musical and cultural worlds. The extent of such parallels in the work of cultural geography and musicological research inspires a general reframing of the issues at the heart of *Place/Culture/Representation*, pointing the way towards the development of new tools for musical analysis: in short, how are *music* scholars to engage with *place* as a “contingent reality”? In the words of musicologist Holly Watkins, “Place nurtures music, music nurtures place, but

⁶ Duncan and Ley, 2.

music just as easily flees the roost, consigning its place of origin to a distant memory.”⁷ My response—an in-depth reexamination of conventional understandings concerning the relationship between place and musical representation—lays the groundwork for a new type of interdisciplinary scholarship. By braiding recent findings in cultural geography with musicological analysis, I aim to demonstrate an analytical approach that is better calibrated to such complex collisions of music and place, responding to the above questions about their multifaceted interactions along the way. While acknowledging how unrealistic it would be to expect to map every theoretical and methodological eventuality that exists within, it is this turbulent interplay—a highly contested relationship through which music can reflect, produce, and inspire divergent connections and relations to place—that forms the primary subject of my dissertation.

REIMAGINING MUSIC AND PLACE

Designed to traverse the rich musical and cultural terrain of New Orleans jazz, *Navigating Jazz: Music, Place, and New Orleans* addresses place in music as a form of “navigation,” a creative act of cultural negotiation. My interdisciplinary approach meshes the work of cultural geography with musicological analysis to reconceive notions of musical place, often presumed to be static, predictable, and historically fixed, as *musical place*, which may be characterized as fluid, dynamic, and continually contested. I theorize the musical construction of New Orleans as a place that has ordered perceptions of musical life, while also permeating the American musical traditions that pass through it. Taking this perspective on the city and the relationships of music and place it represents enriches our understanding of their dynamic

⁷ Holly Watkins, “Musical Ecologies of Place and Placelessness,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, No. 2 (Summer 2011), 408.

influence in several respects: by scrutinizing conventional understandings concerning the relationship between place and musical representation, by challenging prevailing methodologies involving the creation, imagination, and relocation of musical places, and by promoting an analytical stance that is capable of fruitfully addressing the myriad creative and cultural possibilities inherent in the collision (and collusion) of music and place. The larger arc of the dissertation traces the expressive potential of the city as American musical landmark through both time and space, unpacking the musical articulation of its various literal and metaphoric meanings.

Interested in the ways in which ideas of place configure, inspire, and mediate various forms of musical activity, the project unfolds in dialogue with major themes in music and place studies. To explain why the equal emphasis on cultural geography is warranted, pinpointing productive moments of overlap with musicological inquiry, it is helpful to relate this mode of analysis to the broader methodological landscape of the field. Existing scholarship involving music and place presents many valuable insights concerning the varied relationships of music and place, and their impact on composers, musicians, and audiences. For instance, as examples of scholars who have investigated intersections of music, place, and identity, Sheila Whiteley and Andy Bennett study the role of popular music in place-based identity construction, helping to uncover discourses of local culture and community formation.⁸ As framed by ethnographers Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, who have undertaken extensive fieldwork in pursuit of similar

⁸ Sheila Whiteley, "Introduction," in *Music, Space, and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity*, edited by Sheila Whiteley, Andy Bennett and Stan Hawkins (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004). Also see David Ake, "'Blue Horizon': Creole Culture and Early New Orleans Jazz," in *Jazz Cultures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 10-42.

research objectives, “when people fashion places, so, too, do they fashion themselves.”⁹ Within this context, the details of particular geographical regions and place-based cultural affiliations can also be pursued in terms of intersecting music and place relationships. Showcasing the expansive scope of this work, other scholars have extended the logic of the Feld and Basso claim to the sounds of musical nationalism, the connections and communications that constitute a virtual music scene, and numerous other geographical configurations.

Existing studies of music and place have also produced a robust theoretical toolkit. These models of overarching relationships cover variable convergences of music and place ranging from sites of localized musical activity, to abstract forms of musical representation. In regards to the former, representative frameworks for analysis explain the influence of the surrounding environment as a meaningful contributor to music making, triangulating intersections of music, place, social setting, and cultural circumstance. The latter, by contrast, refines analytical techniques for use in the close examination of musical depictions of place. These approaches target intersections of compositional form and representative bundles of place-based ideas, associations, and social encounters, enhancing the type of analysis described above by illuminating the design and effectiveness of composed musical landscapes. Musicologists and music theorists alike have helped to account for the composition and cultural reception of what are sometimes called “place pieces,” musical works that take as their subject a familiar location, region, or landmark further elaborated by its public rendering. Both avenues of inquiry I have described can be engaged in the consideration of an equally broad range of research subjects. Rather than map the particulars of a bounded music and place interaction, the goal of this type of

⁹ Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, “Introduction,” in *Senses of Place*, edited by Feld and Basso (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996), 11.

music and place scholarship is to better access why and how ideas of place come to act on a particular musical situation.

I will now review some of the key theoretical models of music and place that have shaped the field of music and place studies, as well as the conceptual work of this dissertation. Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson are among those scholars who have examined the surrounding environment as a meaningful contributor to music making; they study the interconnected networks of artists, audiences, and institutions that sustain the spaces and places of localized musical activity. Bennett and Peterson have summarized the impact of *music scenes*—examples of marked musical engagement with a particular place, or inhabitable locale—as “clusters of producers, musicians, and fans that collectively share their common musical tastes and collectively distinguish themselves from others.”¹⁰ Their tripartite *local, translocal, and virtual* scenic model works to codify an analytical framework that has inspired ample variation. As an example of a powerful application of *scene* theory, one might also consider Travis Jackson’s concept of “interpretive moves,” actions in place that actively define, and redefine, the character and cultural context of specific forms of musical expression.¹¹ Murray Foreman, Holly Kruse, Barry Shank, and others have also expanded upon the core criteria Bennett and Peterson have proposed, uncovering increasingly complex geographical contexts for music making.¹² In sum, those who take up the study of *music scenes* understand the relationship of music and place as a

¹⁰ Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson, “Introduction,” *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual* (Nashville: Vanderbilt Press, 2004), 1.

¹¹ Travis Jackson, *Blowin’ the Blues Away: Performance and Meaning on the New York Jazz Scene* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 55.

¹² Murray Forman, *The ‘Hood Comes First: Race, Space, and Place in Rap and Hip-Hop* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), Holly Kruse, *Site and Sound: Understanding Independent Music Scenes* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), and Barry Shank, *Dissonant Identities: The Rock ‘n’ Roll Scene in Austin, Texas* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994).

reflection of the community that supports it. This theoretical maneuver illuminates how a particular musical tradition comes to inhabit a specific geographical location.

There is a long history of scene studies embedded within the field of jazz studies. What began as broad surveys of historic jazz hotspots blossomed into in-depth analyses of individual *jazz scenes*.¹³ Recognizing this body of work as particularly instructive for my project, I make mention of it here because it registers the continued growth and development of scene studies, and the larger use of place as an analytical tool. Interested in both the influence of individual locations and the long-term significance of the relationship of jazz to the American city more generally, numerous jazz historians have adopted increasingly complex stances towards place in the study of jazz music. As illustrative examples, William Howland Kenney's acclaimed study of Chicago Jazz draws heavily on the practice of cultural history, while Alex Stewart's survey of the big band scene in New York City posits *individuality* and *blend* as new avenues for understanding the contemporary jazz landscape.¹⁴ In contrast, Christopher Wilkinson, Lars Olof Björn, and Jim Gallert, have all undertaken the study of alternative jazz landscapes, seeking out jazz music in unexpected places, while Andrew Berish takes the concept of the alternative jazz landscape to the next level by beginning to map imagined places in jazz.¹⁵ As yet another

¹³ Leroy Ostransky, *Jazz City: The Impact of Our Cities on the Development of Jazz* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978), and Kathy Ogren, *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) mark the point at which broadly sociological treatments of jazz in American urban contexts started moving in the direction of scene studies.

¹⁴ William Howland Kenney, *Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History 1904-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), and Alex Stewart, *Making the Scene: Contemporary New York City Big Band Jazz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

¹⁵ Andrew Berish, *Lonesome Roads and Streets of Dreams: Place, Mobility, and Race in Jazz of the 1930's and '40's* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), Christopher Wilkinson, *Big Band Jazz in Black West Virginia, 193—1942* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2012), and Lars Olof Björn and Jim Gallert, *Before Motown: A History of Jazz in Detroit, 1920-1960* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

methodological maneuver, David Ake has explored myths of “the street” in jazz education, a topic that showcases engagement with a combination of these differing ideas of music and place.¹⁶ Taken as a whole, such studies underscore the numerous analytical utilities of *scene*, providing ample evidence of the ways in which specific cultural environments have supported the creation and dissemination of jazz in this country and around the world, and presage the alluring possibilities of the Crescent City as multidimensional *musical place*. Unlike some centers of jazz activity, New Orleans can sustain all of the aforementioned scenic constructions.

Changing gears, Denise Von Glahn and Beth Levy are among recent musicologists to have made tremendous strides in the study of “place pieces,” probing the musical composition of aural landscapes, locales, geographical symbols, and icons. Von Glahn’s in-depth analyses of musical definitions of nature (e.g. William Henry Fry’s *Niagara Symphony*), a country town (e.g., Charles Ives’s *Three Places in New England*), a city (e.g. Duke Ellington’s *Harlem Air Shaft*), and much more, illuminate place in music as the representational product of an ongoing give-and-take between composer and composition in a range of American regional contexts.¹⁷ Side-by-side, these musical works present rich and varied sonic portraits of the American musical landscape, impressing upon listeners the breadth and depth of its symbolic value. Similarly, Levy’s magisterial book *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* investigates the ways in which thoughts, ideas, and beliefs about the American frontier have penetrated the imagination of its composers and reemerged in their creative output. Perhaps more significantly, in regards to the work of this dissertation, Levy heralds the

¹⁶ David Ake, “Rethinking Jazz Education,” in *Jazz Matters: Sound, Place, and Time Since Bebop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 102-120.

¹⁷ Denise Von Glahn, *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), and Beth Levy, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

possibilities of new convergences of music and place, writing, “Far more remarkable is the variety of projects that these frontier figures could be made to serve.”¹⁸ Even while more conventional music and place associations might be in operation, musical images of place, as prominent musical subject, can also give rise to new and exciting geographical connections.

Attempts to construct bounded perceptions of place, or perspectives on place, as shaped by the modes of musical analysis I have outlined, may also work to delimit the continued study of music and place, ultimately constraining our view of the results and ramifications of such interactions. Examining the operation of different individual types of relationships between music and place is not the same as attempting to theorize a dynamic sense of *musical place*, nor does it yield the same results. The example of Preservation Hall, the subject of Chapter Four of this dissertation, is particularly instructive in this regard. As it stands in 2016, The Hall serves as home base of operations for a working repertory ensemble, an arts presenter, a record label, and now a community outreach foundation—all of which are committed to the continued production and promotion of traditional New Orleans jazz. While it is possible to understand the inner workings of the Preservation Hall complex of musical and cultural activity in terms of its component parts, both the music and the institutional influence of the New Orleans organization resists such compartmentalization. The edges of the seemingly fixed, environmental parameters of Preservation Hall become blurred by active interventions of evolving musical tastes and practices, while circumscribed depictions of place are found to be in constant dialogue with the real and imagined geographical connections to New Orleans that inspire them. Under the umbrella of New Orleans jazz, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band makes room in its repertoire for

¹⁸ Levy, 2.

traditional southern folk songs, gospel tunes, nostalgic New Orleans pop hits, Mardi Gras anthems, and more universal jazz standards—often times on the same concert program.

To hear this body of work as “Preservation Hall Jazz,” music that is representative of a single New Orleans tradition, requires a more dynamic sense of place. I use the term *musical place* throughout this dissertation in conjunction with a more integrated methodological framework for music and place analysis designed for precisely this purpose, grappling with the complexities of this kind of musical understanding of New Orleans—*place* as it is conceived by audiences in the national imagination. *Navigating Jazz* engages the work of understanding the powerful role art has to play in how we perceive our world through the investigation New Orleans as a complex *musical place*—a musical sense of place that grows out of, but can subsist apart from, its physical counterpart. In pursuit of this goal, each of the remaining four chapters addresses the relationship of music to the active contestation of New Orleans cultural terrain, focusing on the shifting connections that exist between them. Building on the work of James Duncan, Tim Creswell, and other proponents of the *new cultural geography*, I explore different musical constructions of New Orleans as a means of examining the ways in which music reflects, produces, and polices relationships to place. This, I argue, allows us to better recognize and understand how ideas of place continually shape and reshape the expectations, awareness, and interpretive perspectives we bring to the music of New Orleans. My expanded consideration of place as an influential frame for cultural experience and understanding is meant to open up new avenues of musicological inquiry, offering a set of analytical tools that extend far beyond a single site or genre. I unpack the musical composition of place as a conditional form of social awareness, tackling intersections between sound, associated terrain, and projected worldview as demonstrations of the generative capabilities of geographical thought.

REPOSITIONING A MUSICAL CITY

The scholarly literature I discussed in the previous section endeavors to “place” a number of American music traditions, following different strains of art and popular music into numerous locations around the country. As music that has proven to be particularly responsive to social change over time—leaving an indelible mark on American cities, regions, towns, and other places in the process—the different stylistic trajectories of jazz in particular trace key components of the nation’s musical and cultural landscape. A rich and varied historiography charts the music’s movement into (and out of) the public eye, illuminating the inner workings of individual communities, industry markets, local, national, and international music institutions, and even the country’s political climate. Without meaning to suggest that any one genre is more or less amenable to the type of musical emplacement I explore—the experimental jazz of New Yorker John Zorn often resists the application of my *musical place* framework as much as the eclectic musical stylings of the Brooklyn-based composer Nico Muhly and the Big Apple hits of hip-hop artist Jay-Z invite it—I turn to the American jazz tradition because its expressive potential as living cultural history is so closely linked to *place* and *musical placemaking*. Geography shapes dominant conceptions of the music’s past, present, and future, and often plays an integral role in how we come to understand and relate to it.

This begs the question, why New Orleans jazz? Alongside New York, there are a number of other prominent jazz cities that could have formed the subject of an extended study, many of which are more closely linked to musical aesthetics rooted in deliberate *departures* from New Orleans jazz that dominate current professional and pedagogical practices. The especially long and significant history of jazz and New Orleans played an important factor in my selection. Not only was the first popular jazz record released by the New Orleans jazz ensemble the Original

Dixieland Jazz Band in 1917, but the storied careers of early jazz figures—including pianist Jelly Roll Morton, cornet player Buddy Bolden, and members of the Original Creole Jazz Orchestra—allow us to trace the hybrid musical and cultural roots of the New Orleans jazz tradition further back into the nineteenth century. More importantly, this early understanding of New Orleans as a “birthplace” of jazz has withstood the test of time, evolving as the city slowly transformed into a national musical landmark. The multifaceted life of New Orleans jazz as a set of place-based music traditions, a series of racially charged popular music genres, the impetus for local tourist attractions, and, finally, the basis of overlapping, (re)imagined musical lineages mirrors the thorny terrain of the spaces of inquiry in which my work intervenes. To understand how jazz has made *place* intelligible to us on a grand scale, defining and redefining the position of New Orleans at the fringes of the American South, I delve into the city’s long-term relationship to the music and its multicultural origins, tracing the composition, creation, and cultural dissemination of New Orleans jazz sounds both at home and abroad.

Presently, a complex combination of forward-looking and preservationist impulses are currently relocating New Orleans and reorienting the position of jazz in American culture. Local debates—including the state of public housing and the fiercely contested New Orleans charter schools dispute—speak to national issues of race, class, and regionalism currently polarizing much of our contemporary political discourse, while New Orleans artists, ensembles, and institutions contest the continued relevance of jazz in and around the city. Neighborhood clashes over noise ordinances arouse similar intensity, challenging the continued value of local musical traditions that have arguably given the city its distinctive character. Blurry boundaries between real and imagined ideas of place cut through this tumultuous landscape, confounding our ability to observe precisely how music captures and conveys the actual geographical location and all it

has come to signify. Indeed, a diverse array of often fanciful musical impressions, which engender different ideas of New Orleans in the national imagination, call out for the application of new theories of *musical placemaking*. The necessary reevaluation of how we come to know and admire New Orleans as a musical city represents an important point of entry into this study, further illuminating the theoretical and methodological concerns of my project.

As a historically hybrid musical environment, New Orleans has already attracted much scholarly attention. Samuel Charters, Grace Lichtenstein, and Matt Sakakeeny, among others, have all studied the musical legacy of New Orleans through the lens of a particular genre, or a mixture of genres, attempting to parse the individual sonic and social threads that constitute “New Orleans music.”¹⁹ Their work has uncovered ample evidence of the ways in which characteristic forms and styles of blending have been dictated by the cultural cleavages impinging on specific combinations of local musical elements, shaping subsequent approaches to (and public discussions of) particular New Orleans musical practices. This research has also prompted a closer examination of the social layout of the city, merging analysis of New Orleans music with ethnographic studies of individual musical events, locations, and neighborhoods, and theoretical constructions of music and place relations within the city’s walls.²⁰ Sakakeeny’s work on New Orleans brass bands, for example, contributes the concept of a “musical circulatory

¹⁹ Samuel Charters, *A Trumpet Around the Corner: The Story of New Orleans Jazz* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008); Grace Lichtenstein and Laura Danker, *Musical Gumbo: The Music of New Orleans* (New York: Norton, 1993); and Matt Sakakeeny, “New Orleans Music as a Circulatory System,” *Black Music Research Journal* 31, No. 1 (Spring 2011), 291-325. See also James L. Dickerson, *Mojo Triangle: The Birthplace of Country, Blues, Jazz and Rock ‘n’ Roll* (New York: Schirmer Trade Books, 2005); and Mick Burns, *Keeping the Beat on the Street: The New Orleans Brass Band Renaissance* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

²⁰ Sakakeeny, “New Orleans Music as a Circulatory System.” His book *Roll With It: Brass Bands in the Streets of New Orleans* (2013) expands upon the same theoretical framework as it relates to Sakakeeny’s fieldwork in New Orleans with New Orleans brass bands.

system” to a growing number of models that theorize musical life in the city, many of which emphasize the historically complex social makeup of New Orleans.²¹ As an illustration of the methodological breadth of this existing scholarship, ethnomusicologist Julie Raimondi has also proposed a framework for understanding music as “spatial enabler,” which addresses music making in New Orleans as a means of navigating and forming attachments to social space (as opposed to Sakakeeny’s musical model of community formation).²² Intermingling concepts of place, music, and identity in their treatment of public musical expression as a form of everyday communication, these approaches underscore the powerful relationship between music and place in New Orleans, laying important groundwork for my research, and my own thinking on the subject.

Reaching a similar point of emphasis through an alternate methodological route, a number of other scholars have focused more intently on the evolving function(s) of music in certain New Orleans social settings, treating place in New Orleans as a lucrative cultural project. Historians such as Barbara Eckstein and Anthony J. Stanonis have completed extensive studies of the development of commercialized vice in the city and the related institution of civic celebrations, most notably Mardi Gras, exemplifying this approach.²³ In their own work, both

²¹ Other illustrative works include Richard Brent Turner, *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), James Gill, *Lords of Misrule: Mardi Gras and the Politics of Race in New Orleans* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997), Michael E. Crutcher, Jr., *Tremé: Race and Place in a New Orleans Neighborhood* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), Helen A. Regis and Shana Walton, “Producing the Folk at New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival,” *Journal of American Folklore* 121, Iss. 482 (2008), 400-440, and Lewis Watts and Eric Porter, *New Orleans Suite: Music and Culture in Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), which focuses on public modes of performance in the post-Katrina context.

²² Julie Raimondi, “Space, Place, and Music in New Orleans,” (diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2012).

²³ Barbara Eckstein, *Sustaining New Orleans: Literature, Local Memory, and the Fate of a City* (New York: Routledge, 2006), and Anthony J. Stanonis, *Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans*

Eckstein and Stanonis trace the construction of public avenues by which cultural “outsiders” become active contributors to New Orleans culture. Exploring the influence and impact of touristic and preservationist impulses in and around New Orleans music, such studies address New Orleans as an idea of place through which Americans have been able to travel back in time, freely interact with “foreign” cultures, or just generally misbehave. Still stressing the importance of the underlying relationship between music and place, this scholarship treats music less like a vehicle for tangible community interaction and more like a symbol of cultural encounter, evoking a sense of New Orleans spirit and/or New Orleans musical identity that has inspired various imagined constructions of the city not bounded by the built environment.

In a broad sense, *Navigating Jazz* is centered on New Orleans because of the analytical challenges it poses—the myriad relationships of music and place that often prove irreconcilable—highlighting the ways in which I wish to recontextualize this evocative example. In the field of jazz studies, New Orleans has already been discussed at length as a fixed point of origin for the music and has also been envisioned, and reenvisioned, as an identifiable jazz style. As the basis of one of the few continuous threads of musical development that can be traced in jazz—the stylistic progression from the music’s “birth” to swing, its commercial high point in the 1930s—the New Orleans sound also articulates a sense of relative age and innovation in jazz.²⁴ Bruce Boyd Raeburn, a New Orleans jazz historian, has examined the ramifications of the

and the Emergence of Modern Tourism, 1917-1945 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006). See also Emily Epstein Landau, *Spectacular Wickedness: Sex, Race, and Memory in Storyville New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), and J. Mark Souther, *New Orleans on Parade: Tourism and the Transformation of the Crescent City* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

²⁴ Thomas J. Hennessey, *From Jazz to Swing: African-American Jazz Musicians and Their Music, 1890-1935* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994) and Scott DeVeaux, “Constructing the Jazz Tradition: Jazz Historiography,” *Black American Literature Forum* 25, No. 3, Literature of Jazz Issue (Autumn, 1991), 525-560, among other works, present discussions

former, investigating the ways in which the New Orleans jazz style, once valorized by collectors and folk enthusiasts, became the basis of a romanticized folk aesthetic. The initial appearance of what were once the novel dance records of the late 1910s and early 1920s serves as evidence of the latter, captivating audiences of the time with the frenetic, fast-paced polyphony of new (Orleans) jazz music. At different moments throughout the music's history, jazz musicians have also sought to reconnect with past styles: reviving entire idioms, celebrating (or parodying) influential artists, and/or reinterpreting various jazz standards as a means of reasserting their present value. New Orleans jazz was no exception.

Each of the aforementioned music and place relationships constitute different perceptions of New Orleans as musical place. Programmatic evocations of New Orleans, as well as stylistic references to New Orleans, new versions of New Orleans classics, and commemorative tributes to New Orleans musical figures all enrich an already complex musical geography, representing recognizably New Orleans sounds from multiple place perspectives. The various musical constructions of New Orleans mentioned above, while collectively representing only a small subset, also depict a different implicit or explicit use of the city's relationship to jazz, generating numerous questions: 1) How might one extract a sense of place from a particular musical style? 2) Can that same sense of place be applied to a local music scene? 3) Are we to understand other constructions of New Orleans as extensions of a central New Orleans jazz scene, or something else entirely? 4) Are there ways to account for the regular reconstruction of New Orleans in the national imagination? In sifting through such queries, of which these are only representative sample, it becomes clear that some of the evoked geographical connections can be attributed to

of this larger progression.

the physical location, some of them cannot, and most of them represent some combination of location and some other set of determining factors.

Rather than conduct a recovery expedition in search of the “real” New Orleans—the “scene,” or singular musical construction of place that can account for all of the city’s sonic, social, and symbolic functions—my research approaches discrete musical constructions of New Orleans as three-dimensional frames for interpretation, prime illustrations of *musical placemaking*. Unlike more conventional notions of musical references to place—trumpets acting as car horns, or sweeping strings tracing the contours of rollicking fields and meadows—what I describe as *musical place* refers to a deeper cultural connection between place and music. While it is conceivable to frame the analysis of place in music as an inventory of compositional gestures—reflecting for example, the use of specific melodic shapes, forms, timbres, chord progressions, and programmatic titles—analysis of *musical place*, or *musical placemaking*, also takes into consideration the ways in which such compositional gestures can be manipulated to define and redefine the meaning and impact of the underlying conceptions of place they communicate. In *Navigating Jazz*, the complex relationship between the city of New Orleans and the music of jazz serves as a backdrop for exploring the multifaceted means through which sound both engineers and activates ideas of place.

A MUSICAL INTERLUDE

As a prelude to the mode of musical analysis I propose, Peter Schickele’s “Capriccio: ‘La Pucelle de New Orleans’ (The Maid of New Orleans),” released on a 1989 recording by his

comic alter-ego P.D.Q. Bach, warrants brief mention.²⁵ The composition enacts a musical comedy of errors, a disastrous rehearsal of a baroque style setting of an invented, old, French folk song, which pits New Orleans's colonial past against its longstanding relationship to jazz. The *pucelle* theme—airy, ornamented, and fugue like—both describes and is described by a comical sense of old, French, New Orleans. Highly contrapuntal, the idea is idiomatic almost to a fault, stagnating at times due to a lack of clear cadential motion. It is as if *La Pucelle* has gone stale, an idea further explicated in the included program note:

The Capriccio “La Pucelle de New Orleans” (“The Maid of New Orleans”) is based on a song composed in that charmingly anonymous folk fashion, by soldiers stationed in the title city when it was still a French colonial burg; the song’s lyrics, presented here for possible subtext purposes only (the CAPRICCIO is purely instrumental), are as follows:

La pucelle de New Orleans, do you speak,
La pucelle de New Orleans, do you speak,
La pucelle de New Orleans, sat down in some pork and beans,
Hinky dinky do you speak

This backstory, however ridiculous, grounds a heavy-handed sense of style in a clear and present sense of place. In the same way that the optional subtext reiterates New Orleans over and over again, the *pucelle* theme reinforces a sense of the old and the baroque....over and over again.

Conversely, the secondary Dixieland-inspired theme upsets the straight-edged form and structure of *La Pucelle* in the same way that the Dixieland players upset the action on stage. After the piece begins, clarinet, trumpet, and trombone are instructed to enter loudly, play over *La Pucelle*, and engage the appointed “person of authority (P.O.A)” in an animated fight about the rehearsal space in which the Capriccio is being performed. When not enmeshed in an argument, or momentarily chased off the stage, the group pounds away at heavily syncopated

²⁵ Peter Schickele, “Capriccio: ‘La Pucelle de New Orleans’ (The Maid of New Orleans),” from *1712 Overture & Other Musical Assaults*, The New York Pickup Orchestra, Telarch Records, 1989, compact disc.

figures. Hoarding whatever sense of flair, or excitement, might be missing from the *pucelle* theme, the Dixieland players swing through trilling, eighth-note runs, the energy of which is augmented by rhythmic friction generated by the addition of a relatively even keeled, trombone bass line (“a la ragtime”). Ample chromatic inflection draws these various elements together to produce a palpable sense of New Orleans jazz, imposing some semblance of logic on the agility with which the Dixieland players can stop and start their performance.

The central comical interplay that unfolds between *La Pucelle* and the invading Dixieland-inspired theme raises questions about what it means to place these dueling sound worlds side-by-side in the same musical space. The brawl that ensues is as raucous as a predominantly baroque style chamber piece can get. False starts, stops, excessive repetitions, and the unceremonious augmentation and diminution of the *pucelle* theme occur throughout, pushing the work forward. When the scheduling argument becomes heated, the audible name-calling and loud talk of exiting through a nearby window only adds to the excitement, playing up tensions between the dueling musical tropes. It is as if we hear cartoonish strains of early jazz busting in on an equally comical rendering of a late nineteenth-century concert at the historic New Orleans French Opera House. The give-and-take between the themes, in conjunction with the means the composer gives us to interpret this give-and-take, allows the listener to experience a rudimentary vision of the complicated cultural terrain that marks New Orleans as unique.

Neither old, French, New Orleans, nor vibrant Dixieland, is represented without slight, or observable social bias. On the one hand, Schickele gives the source of the *pucelle* theme a feel of mocking elitism, incorporating an additional character sketch of the very important Count Pointercount into his program notes. According to the composer:

One of the most important people in P.D. Q. Bach’s musical life was a nobleman from Normandy named Count Pointercount. He had ancestors on both sides of the English

Channel, and through him P.D.Q. was exposed not only to the music of the Elizabethans and Purcell, but also to the wealth of French folk music that dotted, even double-dotted, the Norman countryside in those innocent, pre-mass media days.

An enjoyable riff on a very dogmatic use of counterpoint, this additional layer of narrative allows one to hear New Orleans, as in “the French colonial burg,” from the point of view of those that took issue with the elite social class it represents. Even after Louisiana became part of the United States, New Orleans’s French roots lingered on as part of the foundational social divides that fuel powerful class politics in the city.

On the other hand, the use of a P.O.A thrusts a decidedly low class status upon the Dixieland players. In the version recorded for the release of *P.D.Q. Bach: 1712 Overture and Other Musical Assaults* (1989), for example, both the invaders—and the sounds they produce—come across as unwanted noise. While the *pucelle* theme is worthy of recording, fiercely protected by the P.O.A, the Dixieland-inspired theme is mixed into the background with the sounds of a jackhammer (coming in through an open window) and the sounds of the machine guns the Dixieland players use in their attempt to take the stage and then make their hasty exit. Together, these overlapping viewpoints paint a picture of a contested musical site, the humor of which is derived from how we hear and interpret the sonic collision of the opposing themes. The grating sounds of radically different timbres and rhythmic sensibilities suddenly slammed together represent the sounds of a singular *musical place*.

CREATING, IMAGINING, AND RELOCATING *MUSICAL PLACE*

Navigating Jazz traces how composers and performers draw on a combination of lived experience and accumulating cultural perceptions in the musical construction of their ideas and impressions of New Orleans. I pay particular attention to the broader cultural resonances of these

musical representations, for it takes more than an evocative title to connect audiences with the elusive spirit of the city. Although individual interpretations are neither fixed, nor definitive, there are specific New Orleans sites and repertoires that carry unavoidable connections to place into broad circulation. By attending to these relationships of music and place, the musical gestures, tropes, and genres they engage, and the ways in which they might be expanded, amplified, or subverted, we can access a relatively unexplored facet of musical geography engaging commonly shared musical experiences of place more directly. If, in other words, we consider the numerous possibilities for *musical placemaking* musicians have availed themselves of, place becomes a dynamic mode of expression; a demonstration of how music not only captures, but also conveys the effect of the ongoing construction of New Orleans in the national imagination.

While I believe it would be equally rewarding to apply this approach to other musical cities, I focus primarily on New Orleans, which offers the broadest range of relevant musical interactions. Along with racial segregation, urban redistricting, industrial change, and the rise of new media came the steady growth and development of jazz, which remains tied to New Orleans as its “musical birthplace.” Together, aided by the push and pull of tourism, and local boosterism, these parallel trajectories continue across the twentieth century, highlighting the intersection of music and place on multiple levels. Consequently, as becomes apparent over the course of this dissertation, music of and about New Orleans offers rich illustrations of *musical place*, which demonstrate the different forms and functions of this unique cultural synthesis. Close analyses of musical portraits of the city—as performed by musicians across a range of historical contexts—provide a more thorough understanding of ongoing place-based struggles to claim, protect, and transform the city’s so-called jazz heritage. My sustained attention to the

music associated with four New Orleans landmarks: 1) Basin Street, 2) Congo Square, 3) Preservation Hall, and 4) Tremé not only mirror key developments in the entwined musical histories of New Orleans and jazz but also counteracts the tendency of scholars to focus on a singular notion of New Orleans and New Orleans music. Bringing multiple and varied perspectives into my discussion of music and place allows for a broader consideration of the compelling dialogue produced by musicians engaging with New Orleans and the avenues of further inquiry this uncovers.

To best reflect the reach of the represented musical activities, I have chosen a diverse array of New Orleans sounds and environments—ranging from the expected jazz standards and brass band tunes to the unexpected arenas of international tours, television, and YouTube—and a series of musical figures that have been faced with the difficult task of navigating this complex cultural terrain. Wynton Marsalis, Ben Jaffe, Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews, and a number of other New Orleans natives appear alongside New Orleans outsiders Jack Teagarden, Duke Ellington, Jim James and more, representing a wide spectrum of musical genres engaged in the ongoing negotiation of the past, present, and future of New Orleans and New Orleans jazz. Archival materials collected from the Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane University, The Historic New Orleans Collection in the French Quarter, and a diverse array of digital libraries and archives facilitate the reassembly of competing musical constructions of place. In addition to examining the roles of specific titles and individuals in defining widely circulated notions about New Orleans, I call attention to the ways in which institutions such as Preservation Hall reproduce them. The expansive scope of the project is deliberate, a decision made to illustrate the theoretical, methodological, and historical ramifications of *musical placemaking*, as demonstrated by the evocative case of New Orleans. Unlike prior studies, which often single out

individual uses, facets, and functions of the musical representation of place, I respond to overarching strategies of musical presentation.

The chapters of *Navigating Jazz* are designed around different functions of New Orleans as *musical place*, which together exemplify the historical development of multifaceted understandings of music and place. Early twentieth-century scenes of New Orleans nightlife form the backdrop of Chapter Two, which centers on Basin Street and the blurry geographical boundaries that have been stretched, collapsed, and contorted by its ongoing relationship to jazz. In the course of charting out the dynamic involvement of music in both the ongoing construction of Basin Street and the continuing production of musical imprints that further inform our understanding of the overarching relationship between music and place, this chapter addresses a series of fundamental questions surrounding the generative capabilities of geographical thought. A detailed case study of “Basin Street Blues”—its many interpretations, variants, and representations across time, space, and media—highlights a new synthesis of music and place that elucidates the malleability of the underlying cultural geography. The 1920s pop-song-turned-jazz-standard originally composed by Spencer Williams and inspired by Storyville, the turn-of-the-century New Orleans red light district, allows for the consideration of a broad range of cartographic perspectives and an examination of the relative strengths and vulnerabilities of the *musical place* they represent. My goal here is to address how the sounds of New Orleans—regardless of whether they are authentic, evoked, imagined, or fabricated—dramatically shape the expectations and experiences of listeners.

Viewed from this angle, the varied musical treatment of New Orleans points to the significance of shifting geographical attachments to the city’s landscape, a legacy that has broader ramifications for the study of music and place. Turning to another iconic New Orleans

site, Chapter Three considers how ideas of *musical territory* further illuminate the principles of *musical placemaking*, in particular the significant ways in which the history of what we now know as Congo Square has merged with its representation. Drawing on theories of *territory* and *territoriality*, my investigation focuses on the interpretive strategies that have given shape to Congo Square—a sense of place, encounter, and cultural exchange that has become enmeshed in American musical thought. The ongoing interpretation of the Dance at Place Congo, as demonstrated by jazz artists including Wynton Marsalis, Duke Ellington, and Donald Harrison, Jr., reveals complex personal and professional relationships to emblematic New Orleans communities, traditions, and tourism. What emerges, in contrast to the music of Basin Street, is a self-reflexive stance towards the circumscribed New Orleans identities, an illustrative demonstration of *musical territoriality*.

The passage of time is also a *territorial* concern. Demonstrating how the past and present of New Orleans's Preservation Hall are inextricably linked, Chapter Four investigates the ways in which the repertoire of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band has perpetuated certain visions of local music culture, engaging constructed ideas of the local. During the 1950s and 60s, the emergence of Preservation Hall, and the Preservation Hall Jazz Band, manifested a revivalist impulse operating on a local and national scale. A resurgence of popular interest in traditional New Orleans jazz coincided with the exponential growth of New Orleans mass cultural tourism, yielding a bifurcated understanding of what constitutes traditional New Orleans jazz. Spanning this divide, the repertoire of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band has undergone continuous expansion. To illuminate the role that music has played in the evolving definition of Preservation Hall jazz, a process I call *musical remodeling*, I unpack the contemporary reinterpretation of “St. James Infirmary.” My analysis traces the arrangement, performance, and dissemination of this

New Orleans classic, showing how the musical and cultural production of New Orleans heritage reveals geographically complex situations.

Serving as a companion piece to the previous chapter, Chapter Five revisits the project of preservation in New Orleans, but with a crucial twist in context—the uncertain terrain of the city post-Katrina. The primary focus is musical manifestations of, and responses to, New Orleans as *dislocated place*, fragmented by the pressures of disaster and cultural displacement. Considering the magnitude of the cataclysmic event, it is not surprising that recurring themes of recovery, renewal, and rebirth in the music of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina speak to corresponding notions of fear, loss, and alienation. What differentiates this study, however, from other extensive analyses of the Hurricane Katrina soundtrack stems from an interest in musical visions of the city’s future, which offer an alternative perspective. The music of Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews, an artist who has come of age in the post-Katrina context, demonstrates what it means to work towards a revitalized New Orleans, a sense of renewal tied to the *continued* creation of important music. This approach reaches beyond the pale of local convention, working to both reestablish *and* recalibrate a disrupted sense of New Orleans musical life. As much as Andrews remains connected to his Crescent City roots, the artist’s forward-looking concept of New Orleans tradition prompts the forced reconciliation of conflicting experiences and expectations of the city. Consequently, his example reveals important insights into the role of music in the ongoing rebuilding process.

CHAPTER TWO

Sounding Out A Land of Dreams: Navigating Performances of Music and Place on Basin Street

A dank Saturday evening descends on Old Town. Anonymous New Orleans jazz fans file into an old, imperial mansion, drifting past ornate full-length portraits that hang on exposed brick walls shrouded in wisps of flocked wallpaper. They creep upstairs, one-by-one, reveling in the aroma of seafood gumbo and the sounds of Scott Ramminger & the CrawStickers wafting into the stairwell. Their destination: The Basin Street Lounge. As the sun goes down behind the lush, velvet drapery, the ambient hum of dinner music gives way to the electric atmosphere of the main event. Windows start to rattle, buckling under the added weight of multiplying guitar amps, increasingly raucous reeds, and unrelenting brass. A steady stream of tried-and-true crowd favorites brings everyone to their feet. The pace quickens. The band begins to really let loose—crowd responding in kind—mounting an onslaught of gut-wrenching blues that pushes the centuries-old structure to its limits. When closing time rolls around the cigar smoke is as thick as the approaching early morning fog, and the dancing is as scandalous as the antique bordello furniture. Fully immersed in a moonlight world of New Orleans mythology, fantasy, and romance, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that 219 King Street—home of the Creole-influenced Two Nineteen Restaurant and Basin Street Lounge—is actually in Alexandria, Virginia. Basin Street, the namesake New Orleans thoroughfare, is more than 1,000 miles away, a journey far longer than a single flight of stairs.



Figure 2.1: *New Orleans* Opening Scene, 1947

Almost forty years of steady business at the Old Town, Basin Street Lounge shows that even those who have not yet travelled to Louisiana can be drawn in by the promise of a New Orleans experience. Although familiar in terms of its execution, this type of popular overture to place raises certain fundamental questions regarding our ability to relate to a special class of musical landmarks. First and foremost, how does New Orleans gain such traction remotely? Historically, Basin Street is associated with the spirited origins of jazz music in New Orleans. For decades, the fabled Storyville haunt has inspired countless reenactments, remembrances, and imitations, producing and reproducing lasting relationships between New Orleans and jazz on stage, on screen, and in song (see Figure 2.1).²⁶ This popular intermingling

²⁶ *New Orleans*, directed by Arthur Lubin (United Artists, 1947).

of music and place has also fueled the creation of numerous Basin Street style performances, the popularity of which has helped to circulate knowledge, or at least general ideas, about Basin Street more widely. Unlike Lafayette, or nearby Baton Rouge, for example, there is something about New Orleans that speaks directly to the national imagination. Few other American cities have garnered the same widespread musical attention.

The sounds of the Alexandria Old Town scene spark a second fundamental question involving our musical expectations regarding place. Who do we imagine a New Orleans musician to be, and what do we expect them to deliver? Scott Ramming & the Crawstickers—a versatile, Washington D.C.-based ensemble with no direct ties to New Orleans—promises audiences a self-proclaimed New Orleans stewpot of Chicago Blues, Stax/Motown R&B, Soul Jazz, and Nashville Twang.²⁷ Ramming drolly claims that the Crescent City moniker was the only cool band name the group came up with that was not taken by “some speed metal band in the Ukraine,” but the choice inevitably takes on new significance at the Basin Street Lounge. Bringing a broad-based, hybrid style in line with the establishment’s stylized, New Orleans atmosphere, this particular type of Crawsticker performance is fraught with additional complexities. Indeed, the popularity of this kind of custom-made New Orleans experience could be attributed to the global impact of musical practices associated with New Orleans, to the city’s rise during the twentieth century as a popular tourist destination, or to its symbolic place in the national imagination as a “musical birthplace,” among other possible causes. The resulting event involves the ensemble in the production of place, an operation that resists a singular musical explanation. Given the range of available interpretations, and the variable discourses of place

²⁷ “What’s a CrawSticker,” *Scott Ramming & the CrawStickers Website*: <http://scottramming.com/>.

they represent, it also follows that we routinely encounter New Orleans musicians that alternately thwart, stretch, and challenge our expectations.

Finally, what do geographically complex musical settings teach us about the flexibility of place in and around music? The experience for Basin Street Lounge audiences in Virginia illuminates a multifaceted means of acquainting interested patrons with particular notions of New Orleans, which exist outside the city proper. Can this apparent mutability of place tell us something about its acquired performativity? We rarely conceive of place in music in precisely these terms, but relating music to place always connotes performative action. When music scholars enliven our understanding of important musical landmarks, for example, they use corresponding spaces, scenes, and landscapes to draw our attention to the representative musical activities that help us to comprehend their significance. Place, in these hands, derives from the actions of the surrounding community. In contrast, those scholars who deal with more abstract relationships between music and place locate place in individual musical acts, undertaking the analysis of its composed evocation. To relate to the musical depiction of place, in other words, one must hear, encounter, or perform the accompanying music. While spelling out a range of relevant musical interests and experiences, these approaches show us how musical representations of place work to moderate the activities of converging social worlds, replicating the overarching dialectics that give them shape and direction. In practice, the turbulent interplay of ideas, feelings, associations, and encounters that we hear as the sounds of New Orleans—and falls between these established paradigms—foregrounds underlying issues of performativity in new ways, even while they continue to explode outward in numerous different directions.

Asking the broad questions above leads towards the concept of *musical place*, the primary subject of this chapter. The geography of music—the idea that music has lived,

embodied, and/or abstracted, environmental features—drives much of the emerging scholarship in music and place studies. Underscoring the immense scope of this type of inquiry, music geographer David B. Knight claims it is still possible to uncover allusions to geography in musical compositions or recordings, even when the music itself is not readily perceived in geographical terms.²⁸ Along these lines, as many scholars have already discovered, connections between music and place are often unstable; stretched, collapsed, and contorted by the blurry boundaries of social space and ideology. *Musical place*, as I employ the term, refers to a new synthesis of music and cultural terrain— a new method of conceiving, analyzing, and historicizing relationships of music and place—that elucidates the applications of a more adaptable musical geography (as opposed to the geography of music). I invert the more commonly known disciplinary frame as a way of flagging a particularly active intermingling of existing constructions of music and place, responding to its increased volatility with a more robust, interdisciplinary perspective. Interpretations of *musical place* parse relationships of music and place in terms of the sounds, symbols, and interactions on which they *both* rely, recovering the elemental components that are lost when we focus exclusively on one or the other. Foregrounding the activity of an understood *placemaker*, my method treats place as a series of creative choices we might weigh against a particular set of environmental circumstances. When read as such, individual musical iterations of Basin Street can be seen as reflective of attempts to fix Basin Street, a continually moving target, in both time and space. Reassembling such exchanges allows us to better acknowledge the ways in which the public negotiation of place

²⁸ David B. Knight, “Introduction: Soundscapes, Geography, and Music,” *Landscapes in Music: Space, Place, and Time in the World’s Great Music* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006), 1.

orients popular forms of music making, recuperating the composition of place as a navigational tool.

Along these lines, Alexandria's Basin Street Lounge also sparks a productive conversation about the possibilities inherent in what I conceive of as *musical placemaking*, a concept that works to pinpoint, translate, and model the impact of musical activity on relationships of music and place. As it is sometimes referred to by cultural geographers, *placemaking* describes elemental components of environmental perception in terms of cultural identity formation. Notions of place in this type of analysis are broken down into complex combinations of architectural features and the ideas, activities, and encounters that demonstrate their environmental function. By means of illustration, it is unlikely that anyone in Alexandria feels as if they are literally in the Crescent City when they visit the Basin Street Lounge; they are of course aware of their Alexandria surroundings. But the principles of *placemaking* tell us that the experience offered by the Virginia establishment serves as a workable facsimile of the represented journey—a demonstration of what New Orleans is, and does, for the local community as well as for the local entertainment industry. Conversely, principles of *placemaking* also show us how a working understanding of New Orleans can help us read between the lines of the club's geographical profile, helping us to glean its local significance. Alongside the featured food, music, and electric atmosphere, restaurant reviews of the Basin Street Lounge place the King Street mansion somewhere in-between “New Orleans Garden District gentility” and “Memphis Bordello,” noting \$1.5 million dollars worth of environmental incongruities (i.e. authentic, English, Victorian-era antiques) purchased and installed during its extensive

renovation in the early 1990s.²⁹ As coded terms for class, apparent sophistication, and rollicking good times, the juxtaposition of New Orleans Garden District and Memphis Bordello gives us a real feel for the place. The leap from built environment to cultural identity formation comes when we consider what it means to see, or experience, New Orleans in this way. Resonating with existing models of musical emplacement, cultural geographers treat *placemaking* as a demonstration of what it means to imprint place with a particular worldview. By attending to the assembly, or formation, of place in this way we can become more attuned to the social values exercised therein.

Braiding musicological analysis with theories drawn from the field of cultural geography, this chapter works toward a unified theory of *musical place*. The idea of *musical placemaking* serves as a conceptual vehicle for charting out the dynamic involvement of music in both the ongoing construction of Basin Street, and the continuing production of musical imprints that further inform our understanding of the relationship between music and place. The view of the thoroughly contested, New Orleans musical landmark that emerges surveys the generative capabilities of such geographical thought; tracing the meanings, functions, and attitudes inscribed in its adjustable contours. This analysis builds to a multi-tiered examination of the song “Basin Street Blues,” tracing twentieth-century interpretations, variants, and representations of Basin Street across time, space, and media. Examining the iterations of a song are not sufficient to develop a full understanding of such a durable site of cultural expression. Therefore, my analysis proceeds in conjunction with cartographic perspectives on New Orleans gathered from decades of local histories, guidebooks, newspaper accounts, pulp fiction novels, Hollywood films, and more. As an illustrative example of the *musical place* model I propose, the example of

²⁹ Eve Zibart, “Finding Bourbon Street in Basin Street,” *The Washington Post* (February 1, 1991), n11.

Basin Street offers additional insights into how music and place can become permanently entangled. Key moments of rupture in the history of Basin Street are overshadowed by the resounding sounds of place, underscoring the strengths and vulnerabilities of other overlapping thoughts, ideas, and beliefs. Indeed, a closing discussion of a special joint performance of “Basin Street Blues” finds competing, geographical vantage points precisely where we expect to find common ground.

STORYVILLE SOUNDS

To better understand the elasticity of place I seek to attach to the sounds of Basin Street, it is productive to first examine a parallel relationship between Basin Street and Storyville. What once marked the center of a historic New Orleans neighborhood resonates with a multitude of musical and cultural signifiers. At the dawn of the twentieth century, Storyville was a colloquial term for a legalized vice district in New Orleans. Years of escalating regulation—reaching all the way back to the Lorette Ordinance of 1857—finally persuaded New Orleans city councilman Sidney Story to confine the local sex industry to a controlled area of operation in the downtown entertainment district.³⁰ This new public landmark quickly became known as Storyville. By 1908, additional rail lines were being constructed to accommodate the crowds flooding into New Orleans to enjoy all that Storyville had to offer. As the following city guide entry intimates, Basin Street was located at the center of the action.

This vicinity was once notorious ‘Storyville,’ the wide-open red-light district where brothels flourished and jazz was born. Many of the ‘cribs,’ little one- and two-room cottages, are still to be seen. The bagnios on Basin St. (N. Saratoga St.), where the

³⁰ According to Grace Lichtenstein and Laura Dankner, Storyville was unique in that it was the first urban red light district to be established by law, rather than custom. See Grace Lichtenstein and Laura Dankner, *Musical Gumbo: The Music of New Orleans* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1993), 22.

Countess Willie Piazza, Josie Arlington, Kate Townsend, and other vice queens pandered flesh in luxurious establishments, are no longer standing...³¹

It is worth noting that the 1938 Federal Writers' Project description excerpted here demonstrates the effects of the surprising volatility of cultural geography that I will unpack in greater depth. The colorful prose traces impressions of Basin Street activity that continue to linger, even though the structures that housed them are long gone (demolished by the city).

At the time of its inception, Basin Street boasted the largest Storyville attractions. The area was a hive of musical activity, the nature of which runs parallel to the popular origins of jazz in New Orleans. Basin Street brothels, saloons, dance halls, shooting galleries, and more were all equipped with handpicked musicians. Pianist Jelly Roll Morton had a regular gig at Hilma Burt's Mirror Ballroom (209 N Basin Street). Tony Jackson played Lulu White's Mahogany Hall brothel (235 Basin Street), as did Manuel "Fess" Manetta, Danny Barker, and many others. Other Basin Street establishments—including Countess Willie V. Piazza's House (317 Basin Street), and Tom Anderson's Fair Play Saloon (corner of Basin Street and Iberville Street)—were always well stocked with well-known New Orleans musicians, linking the liveliness of New Orleans jazz music to all manner of Basin Street style exploits. These early pioneers were hired to keep the fast cash moving, the liquor flowing, and the dancing ladies extraordinarily alluring. Storyville madams generally sought out parlor music, employing pianists, or string trios, while band musicians typically found work in Storyville cabarets and

³¹ *New Orleans City Guide* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938), 303. Written and compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the City of New Orleans. Robert Maestri, Mayor of New Orleans, is listed as a cooperating sponsor.

Images of Basin Street



Figure 2.2: Basin Street publicity postcard, 1910s



Figure 2.3: *Storyville* ensemble shot, 2013

honky-tonks.³² When Walter Kingsley first introduced the *New York Sun* readership to jazz music in 1917—spelling out the roots of the “delirium tremens of syncopation” sweeping the nation—he explained that jazz had already ruled in the “underworld resorts of New Orleans” for years. Allusions to “those wonderful refuges of basic folklore and primeval passion” make use of the example of Storyville and the overarching relationship of music and place it anchors, shoring up the perception of danger Kingsley’s origins story warns against.³³

The larger idea of Storyville—an exotic New Orleans playground shaped by all manner of social taboos—continued to expand.³⁴ Contrary political aims notwithstanding, the specter of Basin Street licentiousness travelled far and wide. Contemporary accounts, postcards, guidebooks, artifacts (see Figure 2.2) and musical representations broadly disseminated a popular mythology about Storyville that helped to keep this musical world alive in the national imagination well beyond 1917, its governmentally sanctioned expiration date.³⁵ As recently as 15 July 2013, for example, the York Theatre Company in New York City launched a local revival of *Storyville*, a 1977 musical by Ed Bullins and Mildred Kayden (see Figure 2.3).³⁶ In the hands of

³² Other Storyville jazz musicians include: “Papa John” Joseph, Willie “Kaiser” Joseph, Clarence Williams, Freddy Keppard, Kid Ory, Alfred Wilson, Albert Cahill, Sammy Davis, Kid Ross, Louis Armstrong, and King Oliver.

³³ Walter Kingsley, “Whence Comes Jazz? Facts From the Great Authority on the Subject,” *New York Sun* (5 August 1917), 3.

³⁴ The following are some of a growing number of studies that offer more expansive histories of Storyville and the events that brought about its creation: Emily Epstein Landau, *Spectacular Wickedness: Sex, Race, and Memory in Storyville, New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), Kevin Fox Gotham, *Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture, and Race in the Big Easy* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); and Alecia P. Long, *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans 1865-1920* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004).

³⁵ “Basin Street ‘Down the Line,’ 1910-era publicity postcard,” Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

³⁶ Andy Webster, “A Spirit Guide Leads an Exploration of a Devilish Place: ‘Storyville’ Is Revived at York Theater,” *New York Times Theater Review* (24 July 2013): C5. Photo by Carol Rosegg.

Baron Fontainebleau, Tigre Savoy, Fifi Foxy, and the remainder of the show's equally whimsical cast of characters, the spellbinding atmosphere of the turn-of-the-century Basin Street scene occupies the stage as exuberant, Storyville spectacle. Unlike the imagined, environmental insinuations of Kingsley and the like, the musical revels in an impressionistic understanding of past events. Fixating on the ideas of social wickedness the storied red light district represented, *Storyville* relies upon a working knowledge of associated rhetoric. Following the example of the prominently featured "Razzy, Dazzy, Jazzy Spasm Band," twenty-first century New York audiences were expected to navigate an impressive array of musical allusions to old New Orleans without getting too bogged down by actual historical details. Such playful treatments of Storyville have retained traces of the originating New Orleans environment, while giving the historic sounds of Basin Street new geographical complexity.

Back in New Orleans, the outward expansion (and rhetorical transformation) of Storyville may be measured on a different scale. No longer the center of attention, Basin Street now marks the outer boundary of the historic French Quarter district, modern mecca of New Orleans mass cultural tourism. As such, the street has lived through numerous iterations of Storyville's rich and varied afterlife. Capturing the effects of a changing Storyville landscape, musical life in the French Quarter today highlights the ways in which nearby Basin Street is still germane to popular conceptions of New Orleans. On any given night on Bourbon Street, four blocks east of Basin Street, one could say that street performers herald the arrival of evening. They entertain crowds of dinner guests who eat, drink, and chat to the ambient sounds of cocktail music. Slowly transitioning into night, a time of unbridled New Orleans gaiety, a largely acoustic feel gives way to electric blues, energetic karaoke, and pockets of jazz around the fringes. Laughing, drinking, singing, dancing—the nightly cacophony takes flight in fits of New Orleans style

fantasy. Engulfed in a wash of Bourbon Street Dixieland, the ghosts of good times on Basin Street continue to intermingle with the “questionable” pursuits of newly minted French Quarter devotees. The historic sounds of Storyville assert themselves in a disorienting experience of geographical proximity, setting the stage for distinctive New Orleans spectacle. Aging facades reflect a desire to hang on to the creaky tales of old New Orleans, while the abundance of neon serves as a constant reminder of ongoing efforts to update, alter, and adapt our idea of what Basin Street might mean today. Music and place become so indistinguishable—senses overwhelmed by the indecipherable haze—it is almost as if the gentle curves of the wrought iron balconies and balustrades start to sing, pulsating with sound.

Navigating the aforementioned performances of music and place is a tricky proposition. The relationship of Basin Street to New Orleans’s storied red light district routinely confounds our ability to observe precisely how music conveys the effect of the actual geographical location and all it has come to signify. Along these lines, historian J. Mark Souther has described the historic Storyville site as a “cauldron of intermingled images and realities,” citing the collective influences of a motley crew of regional characters and events that includes French and Spanish colonists, swashbuckling pirates, American and British officers, slaves and longshoremen, prostitutes, voodoo priestesses, Carnival, and jazz.³⁷ This same musical and cultural variability that makes twentieth-century representations of Basin Street an attractive means of tracing the continued evolution of Storyville as an influential musical landmark also pushes our conventional understandings of place in and around music to their respective limits.

To address these challenges, I turn now to a series of possible readings of “Basin Street sounds” as a way of demonstrating the utility of an alternative model of musical geography. Let

³⁷ J. Mark Souther, *New Orleans Parade: Tourism and the Transformation of the Crescent City* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press: 2006), 8.

us begin with the earliest interactions of music and place around Basin Street. The idea of brothels, saloons, dance halls, shooting galleries, and more—packed together in a cordoned off area of New Orleans’s “Backatown”—evokes a fixed, New Orleans musical environment. Everything ranging from the built parameters of the city writ large, to the social configuration of each individual establishment, both codes, and is coded by, a series of representative musical activities. To approach Basin Street as such engages an existing array of scholarship on *music scenes*, directing our attention to how the surrounding environment becomes a meaningful contributor to music making.³⁸ In this context, the place of music is examined as a reflection of the community that supports it, a theoretical maneuver that illuminates how a particular musical tradition comes to inhabit a specific locale. Following the definition of *scene* put forth by music scholars Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson, the attempt to interpret Basin Street’s lasting connections to jazz could entail extensive consideration of where local jazz musicians played on or near Basin Street, as well as the personal and professional networks that supported the local Storyville economy.³⁹ From this perspective, early New Orleans jazz flourished as a welcomed addition to preexisting New Orleans leisure activities. Along similar lines, one could also deploy these tactics in a comparative study of Basin Street and Bourbon Street (see Figure 2.4), considering the long-term effects of New Orleans tourism on local musical practices.⁴⁰ In both cases, a closer examination of the music helps to illuminate the cultural function and significance of representing such places.

³⁸ Existing scholarship on Scene Studies is reviewed at length in Chapter One of this dissertation.

³⁹ In the introduction to *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual* (2004), Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson notably define *music scenes* as “clusters of producers, musicians, and fans that collectively share their common musical tastes and collectively distinguish themselves from others” (1).

⁴⁰ “New Orleans—French Quarter—Bourbon Street at Night,” by [Wally Gobetz](#) licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 (2 May 2008).

The trouble is, successful applications of scene theory generally rely on the identification of a single site, featuring the simultaneous convergence of musical and cultural practices. Even at their most expansive, or geographically unstable, ideas of *scene* do not accommodate substantive geographical gradation.⁴¹ Important scene studies completed by Barry Shank (1994) and Murray Foreman (2002), among others, have grappled with the internal presence of opposing subject positions, but the results of such collisions still enforce a single set of environmental parameters.⁴² The notion that the music of Basin Street might reach across time and space to reconnect audiences with its fabled Storyville environs generally falls outside the parameters of the *scenic* framework.⁴³ *Scene* theory, then, is best suited for exploring embedded understandings of place, situations that are free of the added geographical complexity introduced by contemporary portraits of Basin Street (see Figure 2.5).⁴⁴ In such complex cases, *scene* limits the range of variable, place-based functionalities we might access and it distorts any evidence of continuity we might uncover across the numerous geographies of Storyville. Even though, as

⁴¹ I am primarily referring to the influx of the “virtual” in scene studies, which has greatly extended the distances across which an identified music scene might operate. Travis Jackson’s notion of “interpretive” moves also has radical implications when it comes to the practice of scene studies. Offering a means of identifying the collaborative social interactions that actively define, and redefine, the character and cultural context of specific forms of music making, his work allows us to think about what it means to change the nature of an identified *music scene* as an embedded participant. See *Blowin’ the Blues Away: Performance and Meaning on the New York Jazz Scene* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

⁴² Murray Forman, *The ‘Hood Comes First: Race, Space, and Place in Rap and Hip-Hop* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), and Barry Shank, *Dissonant Identities: The Rock ‘n’ Roll Scene in Austin, Texas* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994).

⁴³ Additional examples of the ways in which Basin Street might resist existing notions of *music scenes* are listed in Appendix A (see “Basin Street Abroad,” which starts on p. 240).

⁴⁴ “Lulu White’s saloon, Basin Street, New Orleans,” by [GB](#) licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 (November 2008).

Images of the Changing Basin Street Area



Figure 2.4: Nightlife on Bourbon Street, 2008
A mixture of Old and New



Figure 2.5: Storyville Landmark, 2008
Lulu White's Saloon, formerly 235 Basin Street

Bennett and Peterson claim, scenes are distinguished by the common musical tastes of their participants, the model does not generally accommodate the subtleties of geographic design—the idea that we might draw on the seemingly static activities of a fixed musical environment in hopes of reengineering it. As a thoroughly contested New Orleans landmark, Basin Street resists any notion of geographical singularity, exhibiting instead the capacities of local, regional, and national communities to imagine and reimagine it. In fact, the apparent continuity of Basin Street’s lasting relationship to Storyville belies almost continuous environmental change over time.

The 1917 closure represents only one in a series of substantive cultural ruptures that have transformed public conceptions of Basin Street. Even before the public *erasure* of Storyville, the formal *creation* of Storyville displaced an entire community of New Orleans residents. The forced redistricting instituted by the 1897 Storyville ordinance essentially doubled neighborhood rents, dismantling any semblance of preexisting social fabric in the Basin Street area.⁴⁵ Interested in new economic growth, the city was eager to eliminate any remaining public stigma after Storyville, seeking to silence this past through continuing redevelopment. Facing fierce resistance from a new generation of residents afraid of losing their homes, the first major city project—the design of a new, family friendly, community center—was limited to the 1929 construction of the New Orleans Municipal Auditorium. Other urban renewal projects would follow, defining and redefining the stakes of a prolonged political struggle. Continued activity on both sides of this geographical dispute underscores the impact of a larger pattern of urban redevelopment on the cultural construction of Basin Street. It follows then that any attempt to define a single Basin Street scene inevitably mutes the effects of underlying social turbulence.

⁴⁵ Alecia P. Long, “Poverty Is the New Prostitution: Race, Poverty, and Public Housing in Post-Katrina New Orleans,” *The Journal of American History* 94, No. 3 (1 December 2007), 799.

New Orleans music remains embroiled in the sustained conflicts that plague this area, calling out for a method of analysis that is amenable to the concerns of scene studies without downplaying the interventions of more ephemeral concerns.

A scrapbook dutifully kept by noted Original Dixieland Jazz Band leader Dominic James “Nick” La Rocca (1885-1961) offers some assistance in this matter. Amidst the other, carefully annotated, newspaper clippings we find an extended profile of an aged, Storyville musician named Eddie Chittenden. Enshrined in the text of the carefully preserved, 1955 *New Orleans Item* article is an all but forgotten musical tribute to the memory of Storyville’s Basin Street. Grief stricken by the steady demise of his old stomping grounds, Chittenden’s song is undoubtedly informed by his own life experiences. Quoted in full by the local columnist, the lyrics are reproduced here as an intriguing take on Basin Street and the supposed continuity of place it represents.

Basin St. ain’t Basin any more—no more.
There’s no more fancy names up on the door—no more.
No more sweets or old times dudes with their box cut coat and button shoes,
Because Basin St. ain’t Basin any more.

Basin St. ain’t Basin any more—no more.
The elites they don’t go there any more—no more.
No more lamplights there to shine through the shutters of window blinds,
Because Basin St. ain’t Basin any more—no more.

[Basin St.] is where jazz music first was born,
and Creole babies crooned their mournful song.
And now they say they’re going to change the name of Basin St. of worldwide fame,
That’s why Basin St. ain’t Basin any more.⁴⁶

The re-publication, and subsequent archiving, of Chittenden’s lyrics recasts the depicted absence of Basin Street as something new, encapsulating a moment in which Basin Street as New Orleans

⁴⁶ “Minstrel Man Pleads for Basin Street, Recalls ‘Way Back When,’ August 1955.” Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

site and Basin Street as New Orleans symbol begin to blur. Penned in protest of Basin Street's continued "disappearance," the song was presented to the *New Orleans Item* reader as a way to metaphorically return there. In other words, the song helped to guide the reader through an interview in which Chittenden recalls what life was like in Storyville "way back when." As an artifact in LaRocca's scrapbook—an anecdotal history of the origins of jazz in New Orleans—the song about an absent Basin Street further cements the importance of Storyville to the history of New Orleans jazz, marking its continued significance. In the words of music theorist Adam Krims, "the urban setting is not only livable but also a place through which one lives, and in which one invests, a certain romantic intensity."⁴⁷ An otherwise fractured idea of place is seemingly—but not actually—made whole again by its persistent relationship to jazz.

Intersections of compositional form, style, and approach around musical representations of Basin Street raise a different set of analytical concerns, which specifically target the musical treatment of individual locations or landscapes. The notion that we might read a particular musical gesture as quintessentially "New Orleans" in some capacity—as we are asked to do in the above *Storyville* musical, for example—builds on the work of a litany of music scholars who have focused our attention on the suggestive powers of place.⁴⁸ Songs such as "Farewell to Storyville" and "Bourbon Street Parade" live up to the promise of their titles through the use of popular, readily accessible, New Orleans musical rhetoric. Along these lines, one might interrogate the representation of the blues in "Farewell to Storyville" by unpacking the foregrounded interplay of voice and trumpet, or weigh the effect a widely known New Orleans

⁴⁷ Adam Krims, *Music and Urban Geography* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 5-6.

⁴⁸ "Reimagined Basin Street Sounds," included as part of Appendix A (starts on p. 241), details the recent releases of local New Orleans label Basin Street Records as a way to further illuminate this concept. The table offers some indication of how a diverse array of artists can evoke, alter, and/or expand upon a shared musical rhetoric of New Orleans.

musician, such as famed “Farewell to Storyville” performer Louis Armstrong, on individual performances. Alternatively, one could also parse the playability of “Bourbon Street Parade” as a “true” New Orleans Second Line tune, engaging rhythmic tensions between its militaristic drum cadence and the competing elements of Dixieland. This Paul Barbarin song has circulated in the local context of New Orleans Brass Band music and the national context of commercial popular music, recording the effects of different performance spaces as variations in orchestration and overall rhythmic approach. In both cases, a close reading of perceived relationship(s) to place yields not a singular version of what it means to hear New Orleans but rather a composite view of New Orleans as a bundle of associated ideas, feelings, and associations.

When viewed as such, musical works of this sort recalibrate our collective understanding of the relationship between music and place. The above New Orleans songs evoke ideas of place that are less moored to the referenced environment and more closely tied to the affective experiences they help to engineer—underscoring their essential constructedness. “Farewell to Storyville” rekindles the alluring excitement of Basin Street, calling to mind a liberating social fantasy, whereas “Bourbon Street Parade” whisks the listener away on a more wholesome adventure, reveling in the quaint romanticism of a good old-fashioned southern getaway. Conceptualizing such works in terms of a *music scene* do not prove helpful here, in that the relationship of the listener to the represented ideas of place is more central to understanding their musical and cultural meanings. The true focus of these songs involves the act of traveling to the city and the reasons one might have for doing so, tying the reflected notions of New Orleans to widespread cultural beliefs and desires. Unlike the environmental interrelationships I have been discussing, these evocations of place show us that the deliberate use of geography has meaning beyond proximal, environmental influence. In the context of these works, the place of Storyville

and Bourbon Street is shaped in accordance with the overarching objectives of the songwriter, drawing on these popular New Orleans landmarks as a means of connecting with particular audiences.⁴⁹ More broadly, the act of teasing out the perceived rhythm, tempo, timbre, tone, and/or atmosphere of a depicted locale suggests an approach that uncovers penetrating relationships of music, place, and identity that often give rise to such creative reinterpretation.

Serving as a productive supplement to the well-traveled terrain of scene studies, this approach to “Basin Street sounds” replaces strictly environmental concerns with more ideological ones. Place is engaged in the analysis of music making through identified uses of meaningful imagery and iconography, and the representation of mediating cultural values and beliefs. In their joint introduction to *Senses of Place*, ethnographers Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso evoke place as an idea that can be “known, imagined, yearned for, held, remembered, voiced, lived, contested, and struggled over,” asserting that when people fashion places, so, too, do they fashion themselves.⁵⁰ In the work of such noted musicologists as Denise Von Glahn and Beth Levy, we see the full range of place as an expressive vehicle, tracking its construction as an ongoing give-and take between composer, composition, and social setting. As some of the most comprehensive studies to date, Von Glahn’s *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape* (2003) and Levy’s *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (2012) show just how far afield the music of place can take us. However, when pushed to the outermost limits of our abilities to interpret place—probing the fragments

⁴⁹ This recalls the work of musicologist Denise Von Glahn most directly. In her book *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape* (2003), Von Glahn defines the representation of place in music as a “dialectic of space and social order,” the result of an experiential give-and-take between composer, composition, and social context (2).

⁵⁰ Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, “Introduction,” in *Senses of Place*, edited by Feld and Basso (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996), 11.

that have penetrated the imagination of its composers—we can actually find ourselves too far removed from the “originating” environment.⁵¹

After attempting to push aside its early history with Storyville—relegating the absent Basin Street to the world of popular music for a time—the city of New Orleans took steps to reverse this position. A flurry of activity around Basin Street during the 1940s illustrates the extent to which the musical composition of place can be projected onto a physical counterpart. Amidst great pomp and circumstance, which marked a key shift in the city’s tourism efforts, Basin Street was formally renamed in January 1945, jettisoning the name North Saratoga and reclaiming its original moniker of Basin Street. Acting mayor Robert Maestri proclaimed, “From all over the world visitors came to New Orleans looking for famed Basin Street. They go away disappointed. This should not be.”⁵² Celebrated New Orleans jazz musicians Louis Armstrong, Sidney Bechet, and Bunk Johnson were on hand for the occasion, brought in for a tribute concert at the nearby New Orleans Municipal Auditorium. The event served as public recognition of the city’s new acceptance of its musical past, lending greater credibility to the mythological Storyville gaining momentum as a lucrative, New Orleans tourist attraction. Instead of rebuilding the infamous red light district, the ceremonial name change worked to canonize the musical history it represents, further integrating the local history of jazz into the culture of New Orleans tourism. Along these lines, it could be said that the sounds of Basin Street straddle the boundaries of a “real” and “imagined” New Orleans, obscuring our understanding of their close interaction.

⁵¹ Denise Von Glahn, *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003), and Beth Levy, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

⁵² “Basin Street Reborn in N.O.,” *Baltimore Afro-American* (27 January 1945), 8

Not restricted by conventional, geographical limitations, Storyville is perhaps best understood as a channel through which popular knowledge of New Orleans has been generated and disseminated. Borrowing the words of media studies scholar Jody Berland, Basin Street gives us a sense of New Orleans “sometimes in connection with coherent spaces, sometimes in their place.”⁵³ The seemingly infinite possibilities for the convergence of New Orleans and jazz around Basin Street are not bound by our partial explanations. Over the course of my discussion of Storyville, I have located interrelated ideas of place in momentary musical encounters, while also tracing the accumulation of such events as an evolving, utilitarian understanding of place. Although the representative sounds of Basin Street present multiple opportunities to deploy both analytical paradigms discussed above—*scene* and the more broadly understood musical treatment of place—their application in this case reveals their respective limitations at understanding the elusive, unifying sense of place that allows for the continued presence of Basin Street in the public eye. In trying to interpret Storyville either as an influential musical environment or as a powerful source of musical inspiration, we are more likely to discover that the performance of place engages both simultaneously. What we have come to know as musical iterations of Basin Street cannot be so easily sorted into the conventional relationships of music and place. To respond to the potent New Orleans landmark as an integrated combination of music and place requires a more active synthesis.

⁵³ Jody Berland, “Locating Listening: Technological Space, Popular Music, and Canadian Mediations,” *The Place of Music*, edited by Andrew Leyshon, David Matless, and George Revill (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 131.

PERFORMING PLACE, MAPPING BASIN STREET

This is the point in investigations of music and place at which the intervention of cultural geography—a specialized subfield of human geography—proves useful. Initially, the field of cultural geography defined the study of place as the analysis of human relationships to their “natural” (read physical) surroundings. Cultural geographer Carl Sauer, and subsequent students of his work, started to account for the structural influence of culture on the “human environment,” and their theoretical models of place by extension. After Sauer’s landmark *Morphology of Landscape* (1925), the study of place revolved around the ever-changing result of culture’s action upon the medium of nature. The “human environment” was increasingly understood as the product of generative relationships between humans and their surroundings, inviting, as geographers Marvin Mikesell and Philip L. Wagner later observed, “the application of the idea of culture to geographic problems.”⁵⁴ The disciplinary shift documented by such commentary prompted the first of several interdisciplinary developments in the field of cultural geography. What began with the incorporation of the symbolic interpretation of landscape and the anthropological study of material culture, has steadily moved towards theorizations of place as “a style of thought fixed in neither time nor space,” yielding increasingly complex notions of *cultural place*.⁵⁵

It is my contention that a better understanding of the multiplicity of musical means through which one might come to know Basin Street points the way toward more fully developed conceptions of *musical place*. The term, as I use it here, derives in large measure

⁵⁴ *Readings in Cultural Geography*, edited by Philip L. Wagner and Marvin Mikesell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

⁵⁵ Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile, and Nigel Thrift, “A Rough Guide,” *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, edited by Anderson, Domosh, Pile, and Thrift (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 2.

from existing models of *cultural place*. When repurposed as criteria for creative expression—the articulation of stylized recreations of the “human environment”—it follows that the artistic rendering of *cultural place* might retain some of the inhabitable qualities of the “original.” Or, as Simon Schama so eloquently puts it, “even the landscapes that we suppose to be most free of our culture may turn out, on closer inspection, to be its product.”⁵⁶ Straddling the divide between intuition and experience, the aforementioned relationships of music and place around Basin Street often transcend the boundaries of time, space, and artistic medium, coalescing as a shared understanding of *musical place*. Proponents of the new cultural geography, or “new geographers,” have theorized the production of such cultural knowledge as examples of *placemaking*. When applied to the example of *musical place*, *placemaking* models a process of meaning making that extends from the basic encounter with place through music, to the ways in which people come to know, perform, and understand it as such.⁵⁷ “Just as a book comes to have meaning through our reading it,” geographer Tim Cresswell explains, “so a place comes to have meaning through our actions in it—by ‘practice’—and through our reactions to this practice.”⁵⁸ In conversation with *musical place*, *placemaking* opens up the composition of place as an expansive cultural field, allowing us to better acknowledge what Cresswell would call a range of “musical readings.” Along these lines, *musical place* can help us make sense of the

⁵⁶ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage, 1996), 16.

⁵⁷ See *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, edited by James S. Duncan, Nuala C. Johnson, and Richard H. Schein (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), *Cultural Turns/Geographical Turns: Perspectives on Cultural Geography*, edited by Ian Cook, David Crouch, Simon Naylor and James R. Ryan (New York: Prentice Hall, 2000), and *Re-Reading Cultural Geography*, edited by Kenneth E. Foote, Peter J. Hugill, Kent Mathewson, and Jonathan M. Smith (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

⁵⁸ Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 16.

continued use of Basin Street as a durable site of cultural expression, while shedding new light on the musical terrain that lies between geographical thought and action.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the task of putting the idea of *musical place* into practice. The method I propose here traces the ways in which our ideas, associations, and experiences of New Orleans inform the expectations, understanding, and interpretive perspectives we bring to the music of Basin Street. As an illustrative example of *musical place*, the many lives of the song “Basin Street Blues,” offer an extended look at the musical contestation of place. To underscore its key methodological implications, this discussion is broken up into three sections: 1) the performance of *musical place*, 2) the geography of *musical place*, and 3) the affinities for *musical place*. The first section explores the song as a musical representation of place, weighing the challenges posed by its continued alteration. While individual facets of the work’s performance history adhere to the parameters of the aforementioned analytical paradigms, the nature of its musical impact evokes a blended understanding of its environmental roots and expressive features. A multiplicity of musical geographies informs the subject of the second section, which traces the use of “Basin Street Blues” across numerous settings and contexts. When viewed in this light, the notions of New Orleans and jazz entwined in this composition become vulnerable to the details of its cultural placement. The third section rounds out a demonstration of my proposed methodology, addressing the musical equivalent of Cresswell’s “preferred reading” of place. I apply Yi-Fu Tuan’s *topos* typology to Eric San’s unique, mixed media interpretation of “Basin Street Blues,” demonstrating the impact of cultural affinities for place on its overall performance.

Performing Musical Place

The music for “Basin Street Blues” was written by Tin Pan Alley songwriter Spencer Williams (1899-1965) during the early 1920s. Williams was born in the Crescent City, and spent some portion of his childhood on Basin Street, the memories of which apparently inspired him to write the song (in New York City). His industry connections do not preclude very real, tangible connections to New Orleans, or its varied musical traditions, but they do complicate notions of his relationship to the underlying geography. The commercially successful piece has been heard as a “New Orleans” tune across multiple styles and musical mediums for decades, the nature of which has shifted in accordance with its arrival in new musical arenas. After Louis Armstrong and His Hot Five first recorded “Basin Street Blues” in 1928, Armstrong went on to produce more recordings of the song than any other artist—almost fifty over the course of his career—followed close behind by Jack Teagarden. Benny Goodman and the Charleston Chasers enjoyed a hit with the song in 1931. Bing Crosby and Connee Boswell reached the top 20 with their own version in 1937. The extensive discography extends into the present, registering evolving connections to New Orleans. Indeed, the relationship of “Basin Street Blues” to place has been constructed, revisited, and reshaped since it initially appeared.

In the hands of the right musician, it may seem as if “Basin Street Blues” echoes directly from Storyville, but the work is best understood as an engineered musical vision of New Orleans designed for mainstream audiences. One of the most prominent musical features is the use of scale degree $\hat{3}$ as a key structural anchor, especially important to the melodic contour of the chorus (see Example 2.1). Oscillating skips and leaps in measures 18, 21, 26, and 30 orbit around this pitch and a repeated pattern of syncopated attacks on scale degree $\hat{3}$ begins each phrase, bringing clarity to the overall structure of the line. Even though short bursts of scalar motion

Structural Components of “Basin Street Blues”

Example 2.1: Spencer Williams, “Basin Street Blues,” Chorus

BA SIN STREET IS THE STREET WHERE THE BEST FOLKS AL WAYS MEET IN
 NEW OR LEANS LAND OF DREAMS YOU'LL NE VEE KNOW HOW NICE IT SEEMS OR JUST HOW MUCH IT REAL L'WEANS
 GLAD TO BE YES SIR SEE WHERE WE'LL COME'S FREE AND DEAR TO ME IN
 NEW OR LEANS WHERE I CAN LOSE MY BA SIN STREET BLUES

Example 2.2: Spencer Williams, “Basin Street Blues,” Introduction/Coda

COME A-LONG WITH ME ALONG THE MIS SIV SIP PI
 WE'LL TAKE A BOAT TO THE LAND OF DREAMS STEAM DOWN THE RI VEE DOWN TO NEW OR LEANS A
 SAND'S THERE TO MEET US OLD FRIENDS TO GREET US
 WHERE ALL THE LIGHT AND THE DARK FOLKS MEET HEAV EN ON EARTH THEY CALL IT BA SIN STREET

in measures 22 and 23 build intensity, movement in and around scale degree $\hat{3}$ remains dominant throughout. As part of the larger song form—subjected to many repetitions in most cases—the effect of this organized repetition in the melody is greatly amplified, making it a viable marker for place. After all, Williams’s primary connection to New Orleans derived from his childhood, making the relative safety of the predictable melodic line a workable depiction of Basin Street. Convenient from an analytical standpoint, this pattern of organized repetition raises larger performance issues.

If we take this structural device to be representative of Basin Street—as the lyricists certainly did—what makes it believable? What would allow us to hear the intoned place as an extension of what we know about New Orleans? The idea of a *geographical metaphor*, as defined by Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan offers a helpful point of comparison. Pushing towards the notion of *musical place*, a gesture that functions as a *geographical metaphor* does so by evoking the feeling of lived terrain. If there is a symbolic connection to Basin Street, in other words, it comes from the ornamented sense of melodic stasis, which mimics the familiarity of well-trodden ground. What might sound like a limited range of motion the first time around quickly takes on a life of its own. The pleasing constancy of the stable tonal area takes on the permanence of a familiar place titled Basin Street. When viewed across the song’s varied interpretations, this kind of *geographical metaphor* allows us to investigate potential relationships outside the established parameters of the songwriter’s biography. In other words, the defined musical connection to Basin Street as a grounding musical experience can be made by composer and performer alike (in a number of different ways).

The efficacy of the appended lyrics serves as a perfect illustration of this concept. The added vocals, first popularized by trombonist Jack Teagarden in the early 1930s, uphold the

flexibility of the New Orleans metaphor with a whimsical story about a treasured musical meeting place. Although subject to considerable variation, the narrative trajectory of the lyrics always begins with an initial call, inviting listeners to a far off, exotic dreamland:

Come along with me, along the Mississippi
We'll take a boat to the land of dreams, steam down the river down to New Orleans
A band's there to meet us, old friends to greet us
Where all the light and dark folks meet, heaven on earth they call it Basin Street

To which an ambiguous refrain always responds, celebrating the spiritual benefits of the journey undertaken:

Basin Street, is the Street, where the best folks always meet
In New Orleans, land of dreams, you'll never know how nice it seems, or just how much
it really means
Glad to be, yes sirree, where welcome's free and dear to me
In New Orleans, where I can lose my Basin Street Blues

By the time the chorus first rolls around, our happy memories of Basin Street are already familiar, capitalizing on its impact with a subtle shift in tenses. While it may seem, at first, as if we are embarking on the journey down the Mississippi for the first time, we come to find out that we have joined the narrator in their reminiscing. This, in essence, is what the basin street blues are all about—an unquenchable desire to return there. Coupling a sense of the sentimental and the structurally sound, lyrical references to music, food, fun, and old friends portray Basin Street as a culturally (and musically) accommodating spiritual getaway. Bathed in bright, bouncy brass sonorities with an inviting jazz vocal over top, Teagarden's Basin Street also comes across as a safe social space.

At first glance, this custom made New Orleans experience may come across as fairly innocuous; a relatively harmless vehicle for a touch of whimsical drama and romance. What might have been perceived as dangerous in some quarters is here presented as a tantalizing adventure well suited to the multi-ethnic cultural heritage of the Crescent City. Basin Street

stands for a place where people mix and mingle with old friends amidst the company of “all the best folks.” This intermingling of New Orleans people and places makes it difficult to disentangle the represented New Orleans communities from the city’s popular musical treatment. Upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that the social community one encounters while visiting this Basin Street is vulnerable to the same identity politics one encounters at home. References to a place where “all the light and dark folks meet” in early performances of “Basin Street Blues” hints at interracial terrain—simultaneously feared and desired in early twentieth-century urban nightlife across the country. As part of the Bing Crosby and Connee Boswell duet (1937), for example, the referenced meeting place offers us a glimpse into the exotic, dream vacation of a young white couple. Crosby sings the praises of “some kind of excursion,” “a new kind of diversion.” In contrast, Ella Fitzgerald’s 1956 rendition of “Basin Street Blues” simulates a duet of a different kind. Shifting back and forth between her dreamy high register and a gravelly impression of Louis Armstrong, the listener encounters some other kind of excursion. Weightier than the 1937 Crosby and Boswell recording, the subtext of escape falls away. Instead of a static musical rendering of a classic New Orleans scene, we find evidence of a *musical place* in dialogue with a diverse listening public. More than a romanticized southern fantasy, this Basin Street accommodates the convergence of multiple musical styles, approaches, and cultural attitudes.

As a popular song turned jazz standard that has seen continuous transformation, the history of “Basin Street Blues” illustrates the expanded analytical capabilities of *musical place*. Such musical representations of place are rooted in sound(s) that have the potential to trace the *genius loci*, or “spirit,” of the depicted place, harnessing its larger cultural impact. While it is conceivable to frame the analysis of place in music as an inventory of compositional

gestures—reflecting, for example, the use of specific melodic shapes, forms, timbres, chord progressions, and programmatic titles—what intrigues me to a larger extent are the musical fragments of place that work in conjunction with different modes of musical presentation to communicate broader geocultural narratives. As a generic trope for New Orleans, jazz has captured the national imagination, interweaving representative aural cues throughout its cultural geography. Certain notions of the blues have been treated as similarly suggestive, evoking their place in the far-reaching musical construction of New Orleans as the historic “birthplace of jazz.” Such musical connections point to especially lasting associations between music and place. More substantive than any of the visual cues they might trigger, these representations of place can affect the public perception of our most cherished musical landmarks.

Framed in this way, “Basin Street Blues” represents Basin Street in a way that can reveal its underlying construction. Individual renditions of the song lay bare musical fantasies of New Orleans, offering important insights into popular beliefs about the city and the fears and desires that have sustained them. This claim does not preclude music from demonstrating tangible connections to a city like New Orleans or its varied musical traditions. It does, however, triangulate the effect of musical gestures elastic enough to resonate as New Orleans across multiple musical styles and mediums. This performance of *musical place* helps to illuminate the musical contours of Basin Street, as shaped by the interests of its varied participants, demonstrating a comprehensible synthesis of form, content, and public expectation.

The Geography of Musical Place

In many ways, the musical portrait of New Orleans by a songwriter such as Spencer Williams represents a geographic ideal—one of many cultural permutations that define how the representational, the environmental, and the ideological facets of place might come together. Through time, numerous iterations of “Basin Street Blues” have made a variety of musical and extramusical means of interpreting Basin Street available to local, regional, and national audiences. First published in 1926, “Basin Street Blues” entered the repertoire of a broad range of music makers through a series of popular editions and music anthologies. By the late 1950s, Basin Street, and “Basin Street Blues” by extension, had also acquired an extensive mythology revolving around place. The 1947 release of the Hollywood musical *New Orleans* conveys a lively musical rendering of one of the more prominent Basin Streets documented by this discography. Billed as a “study in jazz,” the film was characterized by *New York Times* critic Bosley Crowther as a “far-from-inspired screen endeavor to trace the birth and evolution of jazz from Basin Street in New Orleans to the capitals of the world.”⁵⁹ The film follows a New Orleans society girl into a vibrant landscape of fictionalized Basin Street cabaret. Stealing away from her southern, aristocratic parents, the heroine goes and learns all about midnight jazz jam sessions with Louis Armstrong and Billie Holiday, all while a Storyville fairytale unfolds around her. Drawing heavily on the well-known song “Do You Know What It Means (To Miss New Orleans),” a soundtrack of nostalgic pop tunes turns Basin Street into an idealized portrait of Old New Orleans.

Indeed, the sustained performance of “Basin Street Blues” throughout much of the twentieth century provokes multiple geographic viewpoints into sharp relief. The question

⁵⁹ Bosley Crowther, “New Orleans (1947): ‘New Orleans,’ Study in Jazz, at Winter Garden – Two Other Movies Have Local Premieres,” *The New York Times* (20 June 1947).

becomes, then, how might the numerous musical settings and contexts in which we find “Basin Street Blues” impact the musical connection to New Orleans it creates. The 1947 *New Orleans* film offers intriguing clues toward this inquiry, in that the first sounds of Basin Street we hear are actually snippets of Louis Armstrong’s iconic 1928 solo on “West End Blues,” which had been recorded in Chicago. To be clear, it is not “Basin Street Blues,” we hear while panning over the namesake musical landmark, it is “West End Blues,” a record with its own distinctive musical legacy. Chronologically (and geographically) out of step, the use of “West End Blues” in the film’s opening sequence embeds the artist’s musical talents in the reimagined city we are about to explore, making the strategically placed display of Armstrong’s virtuosity an extension of his connection to New Orleans. Privy to the advantages (and disadvantages) of mining a New Orleans persona throughout much of his career, Armstrong employed a similar approach to his latter performances of “Basin Street Blues.” The patchwork structures he developed over time could incorporate any number of representational elements, ranging from extant recordings of Basin Street to far afield allusions to the sound of a New Orleans Second Line. Almost operatic in their intensity, these late renditions of “Basin Street Blues” more closely resembled a New Orleans musical drama, chock full of sonic references to the Crescent City.

Pitched more broadly, the relationship of Louis Armstrong to “Basin Street Blues” that emerges here underscores the dramatic effect of the New Orleans geography shared between them. As both fictional character and musical star of the film *New Orleans*, the iconic imagery that is often delivered by the song “Basin Street Blues” is instead remade as the scenic backdrop against which Armstrong’s musical legacy is given added definition. Rather than summon a fanciful journey down south, the aura of “Basin Street Blues” lends further credibility to the

represented scene—an extramusical ramification of the represented *musical place*, which pulls film and soundtrack together in a sketchy portrait of New Orleans circa 1917 (see Figure 2.1) In the playful bout of dialogue that follows the long pan of the studio Basin Street set, Armstrong’s character refuses to reveal the identity of the featured New Orleans tune, allowing “West End Blues” to stand for “Basin Street Blues,” and the constructed sense of place to resonate as an extension of Armstrong’s filmic persona. Conversely, the veritable fireworks that accompany Armstrong’s “musical journeys” down to Basin Street find continuity in the attached geography. In the guise of his “real world” New Orleans identity, a fierce display of jazz pyrotechnics can be made to stand for a lazy trip down the Mississippi.

Other musicians have employed a similar approach to reconceiving the sound of Basin Street, but such interventions from differing times (and places) have produced varying results. The recording of “Basin Street Blues” released on Dr. John’s 1992 album *Goin’ Back to New Orleans* offers a rich example of a more contemporary musical Basin Street. He describes the arrangement in the liner notes as follows.

I tried to draw a new picture with the music of Basin Street as it is now, not Basin Street when Storyville was in session...My Basin Street is kind of what it is today—the St. Louis Cemetery, the Iberville Projects, the First Precinct, what remains of Congo Square (now Louis Armstrong Park)...⁶⁰

Typical in many respects, Dr. John’s version of “Basin Street Blues” employs the added verse the song acquired over time (see Example 2.2). The lyrics of the fleshed-out verse round out the familiar escape to Basin Street, augmenting individual performances. Listeners are cajoled to make the journey down to New Orleans over the course of an extended introduction and then congratulated for making the effort in the attached coda (both of which use the same music)—

⁶⁰ Malcolm John “Mac” Rebennack, liner notes, *Goin’ Back to New Orleans* (Dr. John, Rhino Flashback, 1992), compact disc.

further exaggerating the whimsical nature of the constructed idea of Basin Street that is elaborated through numerous repetitions of the chorus. As realized by Dr. John, a trip to Basin Street traces the “original” *musical place* across a variety of textures, in the process traversing extended piano solos, ebullient ensemble choruses, and more. And yet, the performance comes across as subdued, reimagined, as he explains, as a type of New Orleans national anthem.⁶¹ Calling out to “real” New Orleans sites in his some of his improvised patter, Dr. John’s interpretation reengages the work with its “real world” musical history, grounding what is more commonly understood to be a dream-like fantasy. Here again, the extramusical connections to place of both the song and the performer, intervene, impacting the resulting *musical place*.

Affinities for Musical Place

The idea of *musical place* treats a landmark such as New Orleans not as a finite musical resource, but rather as an interpretive stance—a dynamic navigational tool maintained by musicians and relied upon by audiences. Andrew Herman, Thomas Swiss, and John Sloop anticipate this analytical move to a certain extent when they write, “music is thus constructed as a territory of harmony that provides a structure of interpretation and identity for those within its boundaries.”⁶² Through the interpretive lens of *musical place*, Basin Street is moored by a process of *musical placemaking*, subjected to the expectations of those involved in its public performance. While numerous geographies of Storyville can accommodate many iterations of Basin Street, the public performance of place is moderated by its ongoing public negotiation. As such, even though a diverse roster of prominent musicians (e.g., Cab Calloway,

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² Andrew Herman, Thomas Swiss, and John Sloop, “Mapping the Beat: Spaces of Noise and Places of Music,” *Mapping the Beat: Popular Music and Contemporary Theory* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 18.

Fats Waller, Ella Fitzgerald, Miles Davis, Dave Brubeck, and Keith Jarrett) has recorded the tune, “Basin Street Blues” today is most closely associated with the musical impulses of New Orleans revivalists such as Dr. John, Wynton Marsalis, and Ben Jaffe and the Preservation Hall Jazz Band.

Additional consideration of underlying *topophilic* resonances offers some indication of how composed musical renderings of place operate in musical exchanges or performances involving public audiences. For such insights, I am most indebted to Yi-Fu Tuan and his *topos* typology, which explains the cultural impact of place in terms of the strength and character of the humanistic bond between person and environment.⁶³ His theories bind the sensory together with the affective, constructing the observation of place as a highly subjective cultural vantage point. When confronted with a choice (what he explains as a *topophilic* vs. *topophobic* environment), humans choose the familiar over the unfamiliar, the enclosed over the unenclosed, and the inhabited over the uninhabited where possible. In other words, we see or interact with what we know, want, or need, which is not always described by the sum total of what surrounds us. By extension, the sounds of a *topophilic* bond are the sonorities, colors, timbres, textures, symbols, and associations that make music seem as if it is connected to a place, even when the resulting impressions are limited, skewed, or distorted in some way. Our interpretations of place are generated by our thoroughly constructed connections to them.

Spencer Williams’s published commentary inflects his musical Basin Street with the type of open-ended connection about which Tuan theorizes. An autobiographical profile that the songwriter contributed to *Rhythm* magazine in 1939 comments extensively on New Orleans. The relationship he builds to “Basin Street Blues” communicates something that closely resembles a

⁶³ See Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

musical realization of an affective connection to home and childhood—one of the most powerful one can make—enforcing a romanticized notion of Storyville that works in conjunction with the musical makeup of the song.⁶⁴ In both his published description of Basin Street and the composition of the tune it inspired, New Orleans and New Orleans music come across as a feeling not limited to the songwriter’s personal experiences, or a singular definition of form, style, or genre. The column reproduces tales of “the old good time district,” a place where he says, “little boys and grownups would walk along the avenues swaying and whistling jazz tunes.” Ironically, given this added narrative context, the suggestion that jazz is a “happy music” and therefore reflective of Williams’s authorial intentions traces a more direct connection back to New Orleans than the music does. The composition was written after Storyville was closed, which means it was not one of the tunes being “whistled,” and it does not exhibit many of the traditional markers of New Orleans jazz. The affect or personality of the tune *does* resonate with the spirit of the songwriter’s stories though, helping to shape the perceptions of New Orleans and jazz it might generate.

Conversely, the acknowledgement of *topophobic* complications establishes workable limitations on *placemaking*, further emphasizing the role of cultural affinities for place in its overall performance. In other words, as flexible as popular ideas of New Orleans might be, the reception of any musical construction of place is constrained by its *topophobic* resonances. As a prime example of this, the mixed media interpretation “Basin Street Blues” engineered by Eric San (a.k.a. D.J. Kid Koala) triggers intense *topophobia*, stretching our aural expectations of New Orleans to their limits. Amidst the crackle and hiss of an old recording, San’s 2003 rendition of “Basin Street Blues” introduces itself: “Right now...right now..., we’re going to get

⁶⁴ Spencer Williams, “Basin Street Blues; The Cradle of Swing was Right Back in New Orleans in the 1900s,” *Rhythm* 13, No. 37 (1939), 76-80.

together...to give you a tune that we have a lot of requests for, for, for, for...Our version, of- of- of-, of-....” Although only forty seconds have passed by this point (the end of the introduction), much *musical placemaking* has already transpired. An abundance of audiovisual information flies in and out of the music video’s animated frame; blinking, out of focus, still shots punctuate an ascending reverberating bass line. Initially, they pass by too quickly to warrant close scrutiny. Nondescript fragments of urban landscapes offer little specificity among the flashing stills. It is not as if there is no discernible combination of sound, speech, and visuals. The challenge is that none of them resemble our expectations, none anchor us to a recognizable Basin Street. Instead, they leave the audience ample room to formulate their own conclusions. As a mutated rendering of the song’s nostalgic melody enters—suddenly thrust into the background by a relentless, pulsing, synthetic bass line—it quickly becomes clear that any attempt to connect with New Orleans in this rendition will only lead to a deeper sense of disconnectedness. The drawn out, ultimately unfinished lead-in pushes the audience to take matters into their own hands and piece together what is happening, even if the process of assembly appears treacherous.

Even though San’s creation greatly expands the repertoire of possible meanings and functions Basin Street might evoke, his reinvented “Basin Street Blues” lacks the resonating power of the *topophilic* performances of Jack Teagarden, or Louis Armstrong. San’s Basin Street contains neither overt New Orleans narrative, nor overt New Orleans commentary, so there is ample room for debate about whether or not the recording embodies a respectful reinterpretation, or something else entirely. The artist didn’t rerecord the song, or manipulate preexisting performances. He actually built his own version of “Basin Street Blues” with a collection of found sounds and created images. In a 2003 interview he gave, San explained his approach as follows:

To find those sustained notes played by a solo clarinet or trombone or whatever, I usually have to dig in classical records. That's a really useful tool for me, because I have a solo instrument playing the same note I can just use that and bend it on the turntables into new melodies.⁶⁵

To borrow a phrase from Koala's interviewer, Jordan Zivitz, this "Basin Street Blues" is "an adventure in New Orleans jazz that wasn't sampled from jazz tracks at all."⁶⁶ Adam Krims explains the effect as the impact of integrated, aestheticized space; a stylized product of the cultural reinterpretation of place.⁶⁷ In this circumstance, *musical placemaking* does not involve the creation of comfort, nor excitement, such as that which was heard in the Basin Street of Teagarden and Armstrong. Instead, a *musical place* fundamentally out of sync with itself enacts a sense of geographical alienation.

An absence of clear musical markers on the audio track—i.e. no perceivable form, or identifiable sense of style—refocuses our attention towards the images of San's "Basin Street Blues." Set in what vaguely approximates the French Quarter, blocks away from Basin Street proper, the combined audiovisual experience of San's "Basin Street Blues" positions New Orleans as set apart, rather than offering any semblance of true to life activity. The funeral procession depicted in the accompanying music video is small and lacks the visual and aural cues one would expect to encounter at any such real life event. There are, for example, musical allusions to the individual members of a traditional New Orleans Second Line ensemble—trumpet, tuba, slide trombone, and bass drum—but these references are never fully realized as a rhythmically aligned unit. They never come together as a fully formed parade band, falling short of any sort of recognizable marching groove. Featured solos do not sound improvised, or

⁶⁵ Jordan Zivitz, "Kid Koala Takes Technique and Adds Some Tomfoolery," *The Gazette* (30 October 2003).

⁶⁶ Jordan Zivitz

⁶⁷ Adam Krims, xxxi-xxxii.

composed; instead, they are often elongated, or distorted, past the point of recognition. This sense of fragmentation occurs when the lead trumpet player takes an extended solo, calling forth the band and the requisite crowd for the parade that will ensue. Although the general arrangement of pitches suggests an animated bugle call of sorts, the line is stretched so far that each attack receives approximately the same note value. Any sense of shape, articulation, or trajectory almost completely dissipates. As the original tune struggles in the process of being manhandled, extramusical sounds intervene. This becomes most apparent when the percussive sounds of a beat box—neither depicted, nor commonly included, in the traditional New Orleans Second Line ensemble—force their way into the foreground.

As the centerpiece of the video, the parade event has a dramatic effect on the overall musical experience, made more apparent by a series of unexpected personalities encountered along the parade route. While the appearance of some figures is comical—a toothless banjo player perched precariously on a windowsill—others strike an uncharacteristically somber note. Side-by-side with interested passersby appear sad, mournful characters, reinforcing the jarring juxtaposition of traditional New Orleans musical material and the added layers of structured distortion. There are no communal shout-outs, no celebratory flair (see Figure 2.6).⁶⁸ San’s orchestrated Basin Street upsets any conventional representation of a New Orleans, presenting a series of different musical place fragments that quickly become detached from one another. While clearly informed by existing ideas of New Orleans and New Orleans music, San’s “Basin Street Blues” seems impervious to any sort of traditional environmental connections. It wields its own sense of influence and impact, minimizing its overall effect on the New Orleans landscape

⁶⁸ Eric San, “Kid Koala—‘Basin Street Blues’,” *Basin Street Blues EP* (Kid Koala, Ninja Tune, 2003), music video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r8ys3B2q_2k.



Figure 2.6: Second Liners as Envisioned by DJ Kid Koala

writ large. Any sense of place the composer creates is derived from the deliberate mis-assembly of music and place, reaffirming the influences of established geographical thought and practice.

Musical place, as I have discussed above, enables us to reconfigure musical suggestions of geography—however diffuse they might be—around an identified observer, foregrounding the activity of *musical placemaking*. Adopting the theoretical framework I have proposed serves two key purposes: first to determine what sorts of understandings a critical geographical stance can reveal about the influence and impact of popular musical versions of place, and second to expand the avenues through which musical representations in music can be analyzed. It is true, to a certain extent, that sounds of place may spring from both individual experience and personal calculation, reflecting a compelling reason or desire to represent a

particular geographical subject in music. A song such as “Basin Street” may be emblematic of a particular music community, or may be made to appear that way. In addition, the ideas of New Orleans commonly captured and conveyed through music may often be aligned with New Orleans cultural tourism campaigns, countless stories and anecdotes about Storyville, and the revivalist impulse to reconnect with the city’s broader cultural history. Yet the musical rendering of place also carries fingerprints of stealthier cultural forces, reflecting the selective social bias with which we view, hear, and understand our surroundings. In short, such musical constructions of place serve as a cultural representation of our world. Along these lines, the hybrid methodology I have proposed makes a larger argument about how music, place, and identity become intertwined, opening up a larger discussion of what invests, or divests, music of the influential powers of place. The emphasis on performance shows how quickly composed convergences of music, place, and identity can become destabilized by the progressively hairpin distinctions that define their close interaction, necessitating this type of specialized attention to the generative capabilities of geographical thought.

(UN)FRIENDLY MEETINGS: CONTESTING MUSICAL PLACE

A dramatic wall of glass overlooking New York’s Columbus Circle surrounds patrons of the glamorous, Lincoln Center Appel Room with spectacular views of the city. The unconventional backdrop also allows the light, weather, and general activity of Central Park and the Manhattan skyline to intrude on any performance. Appel Room cabaret often capitalizes on the luminosity of the perpetual New York City traffic—packaging jazz, blues, and other related styles as music of the moonlight—but the combination of music and place is not always so seamless. Occasionally, Appel Room presentations of rock, pop, and chamber music are not



Figure 2.7: The Allen Room at Lincoln Center

always such a good fit for the omnipresent, upscale, urban environment. Apropos to my discussion of *musical place*, the music of this particular space can help us imagine what happens when ideas of genre and style are allowed to freely combine with the effects of a living landscape. More specifically, the possible intersections of real and composed place in and around the performance (Fig. 2.7) speak directly to the relationships of sound, cultural terrain, and projected worldview I seek to access.⁶⁹ The image itself offers an apt illustration of how difficult

⁶⁹ “David Poe / Jazz at Lincoln Center / NYC,” by [David Poe](#) licensed under CC BY-ND 2.0 (28 February 2006).

it can be to disentangle such notions, meaning that the sounds of place that are produced in the Appel Room are always in dialogue with the outside world.

In January of 2007, Wynton Marsalis, noted trumpet player and creative director of the Jazz at Lincoln Center Orchestra, joined forces with Willie Nelson, celebrated singer, songwriter, and guitarist, for a two-night engagement at the Appel Room (what was then called the Allen Room). United by a shared respect for the music, the artists collaborated on an extended musical tribute to the American blues tradition. Featured concert selections called out to the differing backgrounds of the headliners, working to convey a shared relationship to the place-based music tradition they set out to honor. The assembled collection of tunes—which included “Basin Street Blues,” “Bright Lights, Big City,” “Night Life,” “Georgia on My Mind,” and more—was made readily available by the release of the 2008 *Willie Nelson Sings The Blues* concert DVD and the 2008 duet album *Two Men Sing The Blues* (see Figure 2.8).⁷⁰ Geocentric themes and approaches recurred throughout the collaborative concert program. As traces of comingled regional histories—realized in a dynamic musical setting—they bring new attention to the represented notions of city and country blues we might otherwise take for granted.

Where one might expect to find parallels to other rhapsodic treatments of the nation’s varied relationship to the blues, critics found cause to separate the entwined musical voices. Focusing almost exclusively on the individual contributions of Marsalis and Nelson, *New York Times* reviewer Nate Chinen responded to a generally unfulfilled promise of a musical meeting on common ground. Critic Will Friedwald levied a similar critique of the “musical odd couple,”

⁷⁰ Wynton Marsalis and Willie Nelson, *Two Men with the Blues* (Jazz at Lincoln Center, Blue Note, 2008), compact disc. “Willie Nelson Sings the Blues” the title given to original concert program, promoted as part of the 2006-2007 Lincoln Center Singers Over Manhattan Series.



Figure 2.8: Cover, Willie Nelson and Wynton Marsalis, *Two Men With the Blues* CD

writing, “the most difficult feat for [Marsalis and Nelson] is finding a compatible cadence.”⁷¹ As a representative assessment of both the concert and the subsequent album release, Chinen’s take upends Nelson’s top billing, suggesting that his approach was “more of a challenge to the other musicians than any clash of genre.”⁷² In terms of place, it is as if the city streets and country

⁷¹ Will Friedwald, “Marsalis & Nelson Meet in a Bluesy Middle,” *New York Sun* (7 July 2008), 2.

roads interwoven throughout the selected repertoire also positioned Marsalis and Nelson on opposing sides of a musical battleground. The elemental pairings highlighted by columnist Joan Anderman underscore the role of place in just such a contest. Registering the effects of colliding musical and cultural geographies, the presented mixtures of “lonesome harmonica and classy drums,” “honky-tonk piano and abstract hornplay,” and “laid-back drawl and cosmopolitan trumpet” she observed splinter a seemingly integrated understanding of American blues music.⁷³ All of this brings us back to Basin Street and the involvement of the featured artists in the exhibited forms of *musical placemaking*. The collaborative performance of “Basin Street Blues” is reflective of a number of classic interpretations, staking out a broad-based familiarity with the tune as a New Orleans jazz standard. Nelson’s whisper-like *a cappella* calls, for instance, can be read as a gesture towards Jack Teagarden. The introduction is reminiscent of Teagarden’s game-changing vocals, which first beckoned audiences downstream. Marsalis also takes a noteworthy stop time solo towards the end of the piece. Striking notes of distinctive, textural contrast, the maneuver is reminiscent of Louis Armstrong’s later “Basin Street Blues” recordings, which showcased the virtuosic range of the native, Crescent City trumpet player in a series of animated, musical allusions to New Orleans. To reiterate one of my prior claims, musical references of this sort can be bolstered by a working knowledge of the represented records and/or the myriad uses to which they have been put. Along these lines, the Appel Room performance calls on this history—which I discussed at length in the previous section—and the various aural and visual cues it has provided. Nelson played his part well—mustering up Teagarden’s charm even without his New Orleans connections—but Marsalis has a broader, geographical vocabulary at

⁷² Nate Chinen, “Just a Couple of Guys Dressed in Blues,” *The New York Times* (January 15, 2007): http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/15/arts/music/15nels.html?_r=0.

⁷³ Joan Anderman, “More in Common Than You’d Think,” *The Boston Globe* (8 July 2008), S8.

his disposal. He is able to pay homage to Armstrong *and* ornament Nelson's vocals with fitting, responsorial exclamations. Given the context, or nature of his idiomatic restraints, the guitarist has to leave Marsalis's solo more or less untouched.

Marsalis also took the time to introduce the number as New Orleans music, moving us towards Basin Street as a vehicle for interpreting the polarizing effect of place on the joint project. The native, Crescent City trumpet player contextualized "Basin Street Blues" for the audience as a trip down to New Orleans, signaling a shift in regional focus with playful allusions to the tune's familiar lyrics.⁷⁴ It is clear from Marsalis's other remarks that he did not mean much by this. "Willie's not too much for talking," he joked. Even so, while sharing the stage with someone who is not from New Orleans, the move has larger implications. Marked as a personal vehicle for Marsalis, "Basin Street Blues" served as counterpoint to Nelson's dominant performance of "Georgia On My Mind." By taking time beforehand to verbally connect "Basin Street Blues" to New Orleans as he did, Marsalis matched the impact of Nelson's star persona with the combined effects of composed impressions of the Crescent City and the glimmering landscape of New York City twinkling on in the background. Bolstering whatever preexisting familiarity the audience may have had with the tune, Marsalis amplified the impact of the city writ large on the subsequent performance. He might as well have said, "we're going to do a jazzier blues now."

Thinking about how geographies of music, place, and identity are able to collide in such circumstances points to the ways in which the practices of *musical placemaking* I have identified can become contested. Nelson's extended guitar solo on "Basin Street Blues," for example,

⁷⁴ *Willie Nelson/Wynton Marsalis Live From Jazz at Lincoln Center, NYC: An Evening With Willie Nelson & Wynton Marsalis Playing the Blues*, DVD (2007; New York, New York: Eagle Rock Entertainment, 2008).

would likely be received as a welcomed spotlight on his distinctive musical talents in many, if not most, other circumstances. As an overture to Marsalis's climactic stop time solo, however, the slow, rubato chorus fights the established groove with a conflicting musical sensibility. Alternative notions of style are pitted against impressions of musical fantasy and found wanting, underscoring the role of place in the represented encounter. The close proximity of these musical utterances helps to reveal the transformative powers of their creative juxtaposition, allowing us to trace the impact of the artists' differing backgrounds in terms of their respective influence. Nelson's playing sounds uncomfortably exposed in comparison to Marsalis's relatively abstract bout of virtuosic fireworks. Although familiar, the guitarist's relatively straightforward lines and expressive vibrato seem startlingly mournful. Even though Nelson's approach stays closer to the original tune as it was first presented, it is his guitar solo that feels out of place.

Side Effects

In regards to the Marsalis and Nelson collaboration, the sounds of geographical discord refocus our attention on the idea of standard repertoire and the shifting factors that have determined its historical significance over time. The musical journey to New Orleans recorded by the joint performance of "Basin Street Blues" helped to translate the juxtaposition of old and new approaches into commentary on the future of the celebrated American blues tradition. The exaggerated runs, slides, glides, and bouts of double and triple tonguing crammed into every open space tells the story of just how far this music has come—intermingling previously discussed references to classic "Basin Street Blues" records with a series of fiercely contemporary touches. A dissonant piano prelude sets off the start of the classic vocal introduction, at which point the more adventures timbres of the combined, country jazz ensemble

start filling in. Such contrasting musical elements highlight a notion of conceptual tension in the arrangement, which I have argued can be productively understood in terms of *musical place*. While listeners may have succumbed to a disorienting web of geographical resonances, the assembled musicians for “Basin Street Blues” were able to find their way to common ground. The featured performance painted New Orleans in the sonorous image of a musical foundation shared between them.

As the metaphorical winner(s) of the contested territory, both Marsalis and the connections to city blues he embodied, evoked an alternative understanding of the represented musical field. I will expand upon this notion of *musical territory* in the following chapter, but for now I want to point out possible ramifications of the other New York City landmark that was present in the Appel Room that night. According to the mission statement of the New York-based, Jazz at Lincoln Center organization—Marsalis’s institutional home—the swinging nature of jazz can be harnessed in the pursuit of “finding and maintaining common ground with others.”⁷⁵ Offering a new take on the declared aims of his collaboration with Nelson, the sentiment attaches new importance to the broader influences, objectives, and social interests that have consistently shaped Marsalis’s compositional output. One could even go so far as to suggest that the selection of “Basin Street Blues” granted the musician, educator, and commentator an opportunity to enact a snippet of *his* performative history of jazz without the usual narrative exposition. This notion of *musical place* is best understood as a complex orientation towards, music, place, and the cultural significance of jazz, complete with its own slants and biases. In the reconciliation of both multifaceted musical impulses emerges a complex cultural dialogue.

⁷⁵ “In The Spirit of Swing,” *About – Jazz at Lincoln Center*: <http://www.jalc.org/about/>.

CHAPTER THREE

Hearing Congo Square: Musical Territory, Style, and the Contested Sounds of Place

Wynton Marsalis's sustained interest in New Orleans jazz and his personal history with New York's Jazz at Lincoln Center (JALC) not only display the neoclassical impulse that informs his approach to jazz music but also underscore the depth of his longstanding relationship to New Orleans, an ongoing source of artistic inspiration. As a native of New Orleans and a descendant of a well-known New Orleans musical family, Marsalis has deep roots in the city. He joined the locally renowned Fairview Baptist Church Brass Band at age eight, and, over the next ten years, he added to his resume professional activities with the New Orleans Philharmonic, the New Orleans Symphony Brass Quintet, the New Orleans Community Concert Band, the New Orleans Youth Orchestra, the New Orleans Symphony, and The Creators, a local New Orleans funk band. In 1978, building on an already extensive performing career, Marsalis moved to New York, where he attended the Julliard School of Music and successfully launched a dual career as a classical and jazz trumpet player, famously becoming the first and only artist to earn GRAMMY Awards in both categories. When considered more broadly, Marsalis's rise to stardom resembles a relationship of music and place that cuts across multiple, place-based, community affiliations. The lofty trajectory of his career crisscrosses the musical worlds of New Orleans and jazz, supporting a New York-based, New Orleans artist who wields a tremendous amount of influence across overlapping spheres of American musical life. Marking the occasion

of the musician's 2006 return to the city of New Orleans with his Jazz at Lincoln Center Orchestra (JLCO), Louisiana Governor Mitch Landrieu proclaimed:

Wynton is truly one of the greats. Not only is he a renowned jazz artist and composer, but he is true to his roots and works tirelessly to both represent and promote the rich and authentic culture of Louisiana.⁷⁶

Intermingling the definition of Marsalis's cultural prestige with the effects of local boosterism, Landrieu's commentary complicates many conventional musical place associations. By means of illustration, he suggests that the musical representation of place can encompass more than a particular set of ideas and/or experiences, raising some important questions in the process. How does music "promote" particular ideas of place, we might wonder, and when do such efforts manifest themselves? What do we make of the authoritative, personal connection to New Orleans Landrieu describes when we hear it emanating from the hallowed halls of Manhattan's Lincoln Center? What is the role of geography, or geographical perception, in this case, and what is its effect on the musical experience that calls it forth?

Marsalis's relationship to his hometown is very "real," in the sense that its geographical roots are consistently defined, articulated, and expanded upon through music. As a well-known New Orleans musician, Marsalis both imparts, and is impacted by, public knowledge of the inhabitable city and its longstanding music traditions. Endeavoring to pinpoint the precise nature of this musical engagement with place shifts our attention away from the capacities of individual artists to depict New Orleans in their music towards the act of representing New Orleans as a distinctive *musical place*. Reminiscent of the examples of Louis Armstrong and Dr. John introduced in the previous chapter, Marsalis's musical renderings of the Crescent City engage both the idea of place and the musician's individual relationship to it, contributing to the

⁷⁶ "Lt. Gov. Landrieu, Jazz Legend Wynton Marsalis Partner with Jazz at Lincoln Center for New Orleans Celebration," *U.S. Fed News Service* (17 Apr 2006).

construction of a place-based persona not bound by proximal influence. The effect is on par with what it means to be from a particular locale and the ways in which that might shape how we are perceived, but the reality of Marsalis's situation is more complex. Upon first glance, it may appear as if the artist has steadily moved away from the Crescent City over time, launching his career with significant departures from his life as a child musician growing up there. Yet, despite widespread international acclaim along with his prominent leadership role in helping to organize and run Jazz at Lincoln Center, Marsalis certainly cannot be accused of dismissing his early musical roots. He has sustained a longstanding relationship to New Orleans through other means.

Indeed, Marsalis has long championed the significance of New Orleans musical practices to the birth (and continuing life) of jazz through JALC programming efforts and within many of his own compositions, performances, and recordings. His album *Majesty of the Blues* (1989) registered a particularly vivid musical engagement with New Orleans, bringing the artist into close contact with the music of his hometown. On this release, he joined forces with the esteemed New Orleans clarinetist Dr. Michael White, integrating the sounds of traditional New Orleans repertoire into his broader creative output. Marsalis's commitment to the music of New Orleans has continued to pay cultural dividends over time, ultimately changing the nature of his public profile. Following *Majesty of the Blues*, *In This House On This Morning* marked the start of a new phase in the artist's musical treatment of New Orleans. The 1994 septet blended elements of gospel and jazz in a suite of impressionistic takes on the African American church service, approaching place as both source and subject in his work. *Blood on the Fields* (1997), the Pulitzer Prize winning jazz oratorio continued triumphantly in a similar direction. The oratorio draws classical forms together with elements of jazz, blues, and other related traditions, while powerfully tracing the history of the transatlantic slave trade. *Blood on the Fields* also

bolstered Marsalis's growing reputation in the academy, entwining the sites and sounds of the American South in a demonstration of what it means to reinterpret jazz as "America's classical music." Many of the artist's critically acclaimed compositions have employed similar tactics. Marsalis's examining (and reexamining) of New Orleans music over time has made this kind of musical engagement with place an important part of who he is as a musician. While not always the sole focus of his work, ideas of, and about, New Orleans have often played integral roles to its program. "Home," in this case, is representative of an audible presence—a musical assertion of cultural rootedness—that frames Marsalis's extensive engagement with place. The city's rich musical legacy looms especially large in his music, pedagogy, and arts advocacy as a relationship between jazz and New Orleans in particular that has come to exemplify influential contributions to the American jazz tradition.

CONGO SQUARE SOUNDS

Among the most prominent works on which Marsalis's reputation as a New Orleans-conscious artist rests is the concert suite *Congo Square* (2006). Released as an album, and a concert DVD, *Congo Square* resonates with both tuneful ballads and symphonic arrangements that depict Congo Square, a key New Orleans landmark that forms the primary subject of this chapter.⁷⁷ Composed in collaboration with Ghanaian drum master Yacub Addy, the lengthy work centers around the striking juxtaposition of western and non-western elements that marks this musical tribute as distinctive, offering a self-reflexive take on the city as "birthplace of jazz" that draws on the musical formulation of "home" described earlier. On the occasion of its world

⁷⁷ *Congo Square: Love, Libation, Liberation* (JLCO, Jazz at Lincoln Center Recordings, 2007), compact disc, and *Congo Square*, directed by Mario Rouleau, DVD (2007; Shanachie Entertainment Corp., 2008).

premiere, critics across the country claimed to hear, in the work's colorful orchestration, everything ranging from the early development of jazz music to the cultural riches of the city as framed by the state of Louisiana, the United States, and the African diaspora writ large.⁷⁸ Moreover, each of the aforementioned musical visions of place—including those ascribed to the piece by Marsalis and Addy—accompanied a clear impression of the people, culture, and history it was supposed to represent, addressing the work as a musical demonstration of the site's symbolic significance to the nation. "But even with solo flourishes entrusted to various members of the orchestra," Nate Chinen observed, "individual exertions aren't the focus of [*Congo Square*]." According to him, the work is best understood as "a tribute to the swatch of old New Orleans that functioned as a site of ancestral dancing and drumming for African slaves during the city's French and Spanish occupations, and well into the nineteenth century."⁷⁹ Singling out a fluid, yet pervasive, understanding of the antebellum New Orleans marketplace, critics frequently pointed to Congo Square as a means of asserting distinctive musical and cultural claims on New Orleans and the intersecting, geopolitical histories it represents.

As an important point of departure, this mode of contestation engages the musical and cultural representation of Congo Square as an evocative *musical place* inextricably linked to the public profile of the city and its musical traditions. The blended aesthetic upon which such territorial arguments are based—a mixture of western and non-western musical styles, forms, and rhythmic sensibilities—also propels interpretations of the similarly composed *In This House On This Morning* and *Blood on the Fields*, making Marsalis's *Congo Square* a particularly evocative

⁷⁸ For representative examples of such commentary see Keith Spera, "Trumpeting New Orleans," *The New Orleans Times-Picayune* (21 April 2006), 16, Mike Joyce, "'Congo Square' a Jazz Suite of Epic Proportions," *The Washington Post* (4 May 2006), and Howard Reich, "'Congo Square' a dialogue of eras," *Chicago Tribune* (25 June 2007), 5-6.

⁷⁹ Nate Chinen, "Soulful Echoes Of Home and Africa," *The New York Times* (6 May 2006), B7.

example of a preexisting musical trend. By means of illustration, Alex Stewart draws out the racially charged, compositional traits of the latter through a comparison to Duke Ellington's symphonic masterwork *Black, Brown, and Beige* (1943). Emphasizing the impact of Marsalis's hybrid musical synthesis, which carried over into the compositional structure of *Congo Square*, he writes (quoting Marsalis):

“The colors of the piece are the social breakdown of America in the nineteenth century—white above, brown soil, and red down below.” Instead of shades of black and brown (*BB&B*), Marsalis transposes the national colors to red, white, and brown. His imagery of cotton fertilized with the blood of African slaves evokes the encounter of Native American, European, and African races in the Americas.⁸⁰

To absorb the full effect of Stewart's observations, it is important to note that he uses the term “color” for key themes in the work's libretto *and* influential facets of Marsalis's musical characterizations. In other words, the composed terrain of the evoked *musical place* also informs racialized understandings of the depicted social actors. Underscoring its use as a multifaceted, musical symbol of a culturally heterogeneous landscape, this musical phenomenon draws evocative connections between musical representations of Congo Square and the competing American musical histories it has set in motion. As a function of Marsalis's and Addy's primary subject, the musical and cultural ripples of Congo Square, the extended compositional treatment of this embattled New Orleans landmark offers important insights into the distinctive ways in which musicians have taken up Congo Square—a historically significant location, social space, and cultural idea—as a musical means of contesting American identity in and around New Orleans.

Demonstrating the malleability of the relationship between music and place, this chapter traces the significant ways in which the history of what we now know as Congo Square has

⁸⁰ Alex Stewart, *Making the Scene: Contemporary New York City Big Band Jazz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 295.

merged with its representation, a process spanning multiple centuries in which music such as Marsalis's concert suite has played an integral role. Congo Square, as well as the music, dances, and musical figures associated with it at different historical moments, has been subjected to extensive interpretation. This ongoing activity perpetuates a story of cultural encounter, as told through its continual cooptation and contestation, which extends considerations of musical constructions of place to the historiographical tendencies that inform them.⁸¹ As it engages with that long history, my approach concentrates specifically on the varied depiction of Congo Square over time as a means to uncover the variable uses of this *musical place*, probing powerful links between the uses of New Orleans cultural geography and larger debates involving New Orleans style, tradition, and shared musical heritage. As imagined by Marsalis, and a wealth of other musicians, Congo Square has been used to represent complex personal and professional relationships to emblematic New Orleans communities and the New Orleans tourist industry, generating a musical concept of the long past, or jazz "prehistory," that is vulnerable to competing expectations. As such, evocations of Congo Square often lay claim to the fruits of such varied exchanges. Along these lines, the nature of this inquiry also resonates with key themes, introduced in my earlier discussion of Basin Street, regarding *musical placemaking*. In particular, this long-term musical engagement with Congo Square offers further insight into what invests, or divests, music of the influential powers of place, demonstrating its effect on

⁸¹ The story to which I refer has been interwoven into stand alone histories such as Ned Sublette's *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2008), helped to frame the story of others, as exemplified by Keith Weldon Medley, *Black Life in Old New Orleans* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2014), and Daniel E. Walker, *No More, No More: Slavery and Cultural Resistance in Havana and New Orleans* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), and served as a launching off point for extensive studies of both New Orleans music and jazz, helping to establish the breadth and depth of intervening influences. In addition to the music I will discuss, the story of Congo Square also includes prominent art exhibits, dance works, and more, bolstering its effect in the scholarly realm while sounding and resounding in the cultural imagination.

circumscribed notions of music history. Examining the overarching relationships of music, place, and cultural representation is thus especially fruitful, for it demonstrates how a public space became so closely linked to both individual and collective New Orleans musical identities.

Since much of this *musical placemaking* is spread out over multiple spheres of musical and cultural activity, this chapter comprises two primary sections. The opening section, “Congo Square Sounds,” unpacks the intersection of site, sound, and worldview that comprise popular conceptions of Congo Square, emphasizing the interventions of important geopolitical factors. I do not claim to present an exhaustive study of all possible interpretations. Instead, I highlight a series of influential forms Congo Square has taken over time, underscoring the impact of the representation of music in the place, and the musical representation of the place, on the perceived significance of the landmark site, as well as the different populations that have laid claim to its perceived cultural value. Although rooted in the same cultural space, individual iterations of Congo Square as important markers of *musical place* accentuate the identity of its architect(s) in a variety of ways. This, I assert, serves as a demonstration of *musical territoriality*, carried out through an analysis of the Marsalis-Addy *Congo Square*, a new theoretical frame for understanding the capacity of music to exert influence over how we see, hear, and understand our most cherished landmarks. In contrast to more conventional musical constructions of place, *musical territories* reflect a more complete fusion of site, sound, and social awareness—a deliberate attempt to define geography as an extension of place-based identity parameters. The concluding section, “Congo Square Resounds,” addresses the ramifications of this special form of *musical placemaking*. After considering the ways in which the contrasting symphonic treatments of Congo Square by Henry Gilbert and Duke Ellington work to both construct and contest the place of Congo Square in the national imagination, I turn my attention to the

involvement of New Orleans jazz musician Donald Harrison, Jr. in this ongoing project, showing that the interpretation of musical style can also be understood as a *territorial act*.

Entering Congo Square

Currently, in the early 2010s, an annual routine of New Orleans music events ranging from the New World Rhythms Festival to the Congo Square Jazz Festival, and beyond, celebrates “the historic role of Congo Square as the birthplace of American music.”⁸² This claim, a manifestation of “New Orleans exceptionalism,” privileges *place* as the primary facilitator of what makes the Antebellum culture of Congo Square historically significant, realizing its cultural importance in terms of its distinguishing sights, sounds, and musical activities. Recognition of New Orleans’s characteristic musical output is couched in terms of the city’s precise social position, approaching both as culturally “exceptional.” New Orleans jazz historian Bruce Raeburn summarizes this view as follows:

New Orleans was a city where music was intrinsic to lifestyle, made possible by its unique situation in the nineteenth century as a crossroads for three omnipresent systems of culture formation: the trans-Atlantic world of Eurocentric art and popular music; a creolization reinforced by proximity to the Caribbean and the Gulf, which added *clave* to the “ring shout” practices of Place Congo (where African-derived musical sensibility could not only survive but flourish); and the American vernacular flow of “alligator horse ballads,” work songs, minstrelsy, and especially blues along the Mississippi River.⁸³

Raeburn’s description of nineteenth-century New Orleans links its special status as a “cultural crossroads” to a sense of its intrinsic musicality, exemplifying the notion of New Orleans exceptionalism in his characterization of Congo Square, or “Place Congo” as a *musical place*

⁸² “Congo Square New World Rhythms Festival,” *New Orleans Official Guide*: <http://www.neworleansonline.com/neworleans/festivals/multiculturalfestivals/congosquarerhythms.html>.

⁸³ Bruce Raeburn, *New Orleans Style and the Writing of American Jazz History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 7.

The Space(s) and Place(s) of Congo Square



Figure 3.1: The Symbolic Landscape of Congo Square



Figure 3.2: The Public Space of Congo Square

where “African-derived musical sensibility could not only survive but flourish.”⁸⁴ On the official site of Congo Square—the aforementioned swatch of undisturbed ground now located in the southwest corner of the New Orleans Jazz National Historic Park—such observations are reflected in the design of the park landscape itself, an immersive experience of this well-worn historical narrative. A series of carefully manicured garden pathways, decorated with pieces from the Roots of Music Sculpture Garden, make an awareness of the past part of what it means to explore this historic site, focusing the visitor’s attention on the location of Congo Square in New Orleans and the creative and cultural possibilities the space once afforded its inhabitants (see Figure 3.1).⁸⁵ In 2016, the open expanse of decorative brickwork that constitutes Congo Square stands for the myriad musical offerings of a thoroughly heterogeneous urban center and the substantive contributions they have made to American culture (see Figure 3.2).⁸⁶ While the park landscape weaves together artistic renderings of a symbolic musical rhetoric of New Orleans, the spatial allowances for continued musical activity in the square itself maintain its cultural relevance, preserving the democratic nature of a public space that even afforded slaves the freedom to dance on their day off.

Encounters with Congo Square, as shaped by the tenets of New Orleans exceptionalism, rely to a great extent on a broad-based familiarity with the numerous popular genres, events, and musical practices that have found their roots in the city of New Orleans. The preservation of this Crescent City landmark in both time and space stands as a testament to the complexity of its underlying musical geography, concentrating the influence of a particular moment in local,

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ “Congo Square” by [Jason Riedy](#) licensed under CC BY 2.0 (25 February 2012).

⁸⁶ “Congo Square” by [Jon Lebkowsky](#) licensed under CC BY 2.0 (31 December 2012).

regional, and national history on an understanding of both music and place that takes shape in how we reconcile such place-based associations. Turning again to the images of Congo Square reproduced here as Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2, the visible layout of the park area commemorates the cultural significance of the represented musical traditions without trying to replicate the associated sounds. When experienced as they are in the photographs—independently of any sort of musical performance—the palpable musical connections to place operate independently of any aural cues. The interplay of form, function, and aesthetics reflected in the arrangement of the commissioned artwork enlists specific types of musical understanding as a source of cultural orientation, defining the historic site in musical terms without evoking a one-to-one correspondence between music and place. While guidebooks and sculpture placards offer some guidance as to what musical, cultural, and historical reference points one might consider while strolling about the rejuvenated New Orleans National Jazz Historic Park, the space in and around Congo Square invites us to reflect on what it means to hear place in this way, to know the music that has emanated from Congo Square as it has been shaped by the local, regional, and national narratives of its so-called originating environment.

As an extension of music's larger influence on the landmark site, the musical memorialization of Congo Square calls to mind expanded theories of place and identity construction. "The musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine," ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes explains, "evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power, and simplicity unmatched by any social activity."⁸⁷ Resonating with the findings of Steven Feld, Damon J. Phillips, and a growing number of other music scholars, Stokes's commentary maps the robust physicality of

⁸⁷ Martin Stokes, "Introduction," in *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* edited by Martin Stokes (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 3.

musical geography.⁸⁸ While articulating *place*—as the literal and figurative traces of sound in Congo Square do—music also contributes to its symbolic construction. “Music and dance...do not simply ‘reflect’,” Stokes asserts, continuing on. “Rather, [musical events] provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed.”⁸⁹ This relationship of musical experience(s) and what I would characterize as active involvement in *musical placemaking* forms the basis of my theory of *musical territoriality*, which I will return to in subsequent sections, establishing a fundamental link between place-based identity and the perception of musical mobility. Registering the immersive nature of such musical moments, musicologist Holly Watkins explains the musical treatment of place as a product of “modes of being in place,” as well as an indication of “how music constitutes a virtual environment related in subtle or overt ways to actual environments.”⁹⁰ Modes of being in place allows the interpreter—be it the composer, listener, or music critic—to derive a sense of location and/or geographical attachment from the musical act, or experience (e.g. listening, or composition), whereas the notion of the musical construction of place as “virtual environment” attaches a navigable sense of geography to the music itself, as well as orienting notions of place-based identity.

Summing up the effects of this audible, historical, and multi-dimensional musical space, music anthropologist Sara Cohen theorizes relationships of music, place, and identity in terms of the *sensuous production of place*. Interested in the formation (and formulation) of this complex, cultural synthesis, she approaches engagement with particular musical styles and activities as a

⁸⁸ As a supplement to Feld’s writing on music, place, and the musical construction and/or perception of the cultural environment, Damon J. Phillips book offers a sociological perspective on the socioeconomic interrelationships that both shape, and are shaped by, similar notions of place. See *Shaping Jazz: Cities, Labels, and the Global Emergence of an Art Form* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁰ Holly Watkins, “Musical Ecologies of Place and Placelessness,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, No. 2 (2011), 405-406.

means of enacting, maintaining, and transforming both place and place-based identity. Where, in other circumstances, we might be tempted to consider the symbolic production of place as distinct from the more mundane social production of place, Cohen's work helps us to understand the ways in which these cultural processes are inextricably linked. She writes:

Individuals can use music as a cultural “map of meaning,” drawing upon it to locate themselves in different imaginary geographies at one and the same time, to articulate both individual and collective identities.⁹¹

When considered more broadly, as Cohen does here, the *sensuous production of place* emphasizes fundamental relationships of music, place, and identity, finding correspondences between changes in place and changes in embedded musical life. Ultimately, as suggested in the above excerpt, she finds that the position we occupy when locating ourselves through music is ultimately self-reflexive—making our perceptions of our surroundings an extension of *how* we interact with them. In regards to Congo Square, Cohen's “map of meaning” metaphor traces the derivation of a sense of musical lineage that orients both the individual visitor and their perception of the surrounding New Orleans landscape, drawing on a knowledge of music as a means of navigating its cultural terrain. As a “collective musical symbol,” the idea of Congo Square associates the place with particular images, emotions, and meanings that can “provoke or shape social action.”⁹² In practice, following Cohen's model, to address Congo Square is to use its music in the production of a place that has been seen, heard, felt, and adapted across both time and space. The material reality and the social reality of the dynamic musical landmark are thoroughly intertwined and subject to change.⁹³

⁹¹ Sara Cohen, “The Sensuous Production of Place,” in *The Place of Music*, edited by Andrew Leyshon, David Matless, and George Revill (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 287.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ *ibid.*

Congo Square Representation(s)

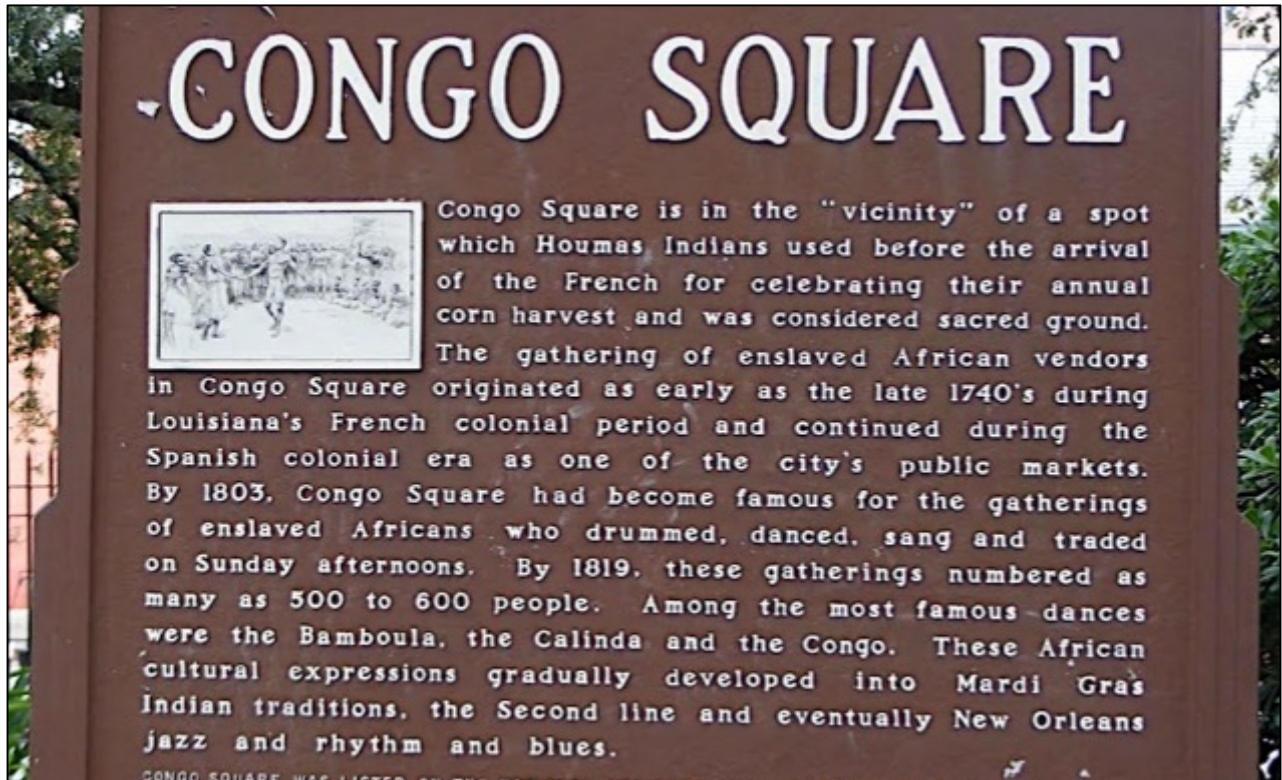


Figure 3.3: National Register of Historic Places Placard for Congo Square



Figure 3.4: Congo Square Placard Illustration
E. W. Kemble, "The Bamboula," Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, 1886

The citation for Congo Square in the National Register of Historic Places replicates a slightly different perspective, relating the adaptable, experiential understanding of Congo Square as musical landmark to the cultural project of its historicization. This more static understanding of Congo Square—as distinct from its day-to-day construction in New Orleans—focuses our attention on the representation of the commemorated cultural assembly as constructed by generations of imperfect observers (see Figure 3.3).⁹⁴ A long list of musical traditions—jazz, rhythm and blues, Mardi Gras Indian traditions, and the New Orleans Second Line—traces a thread of continuous musical activity that reaches all the way back to 1803, the point at which, according to the text, “Congo Square had become famous for gatherings of enslaved Africans who drummed, danced, sang, and traded on Sunday afternoons” (see Figure 3.3). While allowing for some interpretive flexibility, the implication is that the named New Orleans musical traditions allow the text to distinguish an official, or definitive, view of *place* from any other competing vantage points. Culling key details from first hand testimonials and a miniaturized reproduction of nineteenth-century illustrator Edward W. Kemble’s “The Bamboula,” the immortalized account of the Congo Square dance pays homage to the recognized *musical place* as cultural interlocutor—an originating event that recasts the New Orleans surroundings as historically significant. By means of demonstration, Kemble’s drawing impresses upon the viewer the effect of the “curious ballet” staged at Congo Square, downplaying the *sensuous production of place* in favor of a richer characterization of the depicted participants (see Figure 3.4).⁹⁵ Music, in this case, brings to life an evocative tableau, keeping record of a pivotal

⁹⁴ Congo Square was added to the National Register of Historic Places, 28 January 1993.

⁹⁵ “An Old New Orleans Slave Dance,” *New Orleans Picayune*; republished in the *Daily Evening Bulletin* (10 November 1879). This article is a variation on the same narrative printed as “The Congo Dance: A Glimpse of the Old Square of a Sunday Afternoon Sixty Years Ago,” with some additional material.

moment in the nation's history by animating an otherwise unremarkable southern landscape. Doubling as a tribute to the long-term engagement with Congo Square as a significant cultural symbol, Kemble's work conveys the import of the specific *musical place* as performative. In other words, we do not see Congo Square, we see people *doing* the Congo Square dance, enacting the generative notions of cultural production the place has come to represent in terms of an ever-present influence acting upon our perception of it. In this way, the cultural contours of Congo Square become historicized, continually reinscribed by its musical output. Moreover, the inclusion of Kemble's work in the landmark citation fixes the otherwise fluid cultural landscape in place, emphasizing the function of such musical representation as a means by which we might evoke Congo Square in a more limited, authoritative capacity. The question becomes, can these contrasting visions of the place (i.e. the amorphous and antiquated musical landmark) and its music exist side-by-side—allowing for multiple iterations of Congo Square as culturally significant *musical place*—or, does the landmark citation help to illuminate broader efforts to maintain a less inclusive conception?

The value in making such distinctions comes when we try to pinpoint the uses of Congo Square, the nature of which are obscured by its constant replication. While not limited to the scholarly realm, a snapshot of contrasting perspectives offers a helpful illustration of this, demonstrating what happens when the space and practice of Congo Square and its musical and cultural representation start to merge—conspiring in the production of distinctive musical geographies. In her book *Congo Square: African Roots in New Orleans*, author Freddi Williams Evans defines Congo Square as “the venue, the place, and space, for Africans to engage in

African-derived cultural practice, particularly the performance aspect.”⁹⁶ Evans’s construction of the historic *musical place* is reflective of an idea shared among many African American music scholars and New Orleans music historians, which frames Congo Square as a center of African American cultural practice. Where Samuel A. Floyd defines, interprets, and demonstrates use of the place as an articulation of cultural memory, ethnomusicologist and New Orleans brass band specialist Matt Sakakeeny builds dynamic ideas about New Orleans music through connections drawn between “an amorphous collection of interrelated styles” and associations with “race (African American), place (New Orleans), and functionality (social dance).”⁹⁷ Both viewpoints converge around the idea of the Ring Shout, a dance tradition that takes on the symbolic heft of a communal space. According to Floyd:

The values of ancestor worship, trickster devices, and other symbolic practices of African culture, together with African time line-patterns and vocal and instrumental procedures, were preserved most effectively and shaped to the Africans’ new circumstances in New World versions of the ring shout.⁹⁸

These insights are instructive in that they establish the importance of Congo Square as a possible site for the “New World versions of the ring shout,” and begin to illustrate what it means to imagine Congo Square in this way. Conflating local activity with the long-term formation of an African American identity, Evans writes:

⁹⁶ Freddi Williams Evans, *Congo Square: African Roots in New Orleans* (Lafayette: University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press, 2011), 2.

⁹⁷ Matt Sakakeeny, “New Orleans Music as Circulatory System,” *Black Music Research Journal* 31, No. 2 (2001), 291, and Samuel A. Floyd, *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History From Africa To the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Ned Sublette’s *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2008), and Gary A. Donaldson’s “A Window on Slave Culture: Dances at Congo Square in New Orleans,” *The Journal of Negro History* 69, No. 2 (Spring, 1984), 64, also offers a similar range of approaches.

⁹⁸ Samuel A. Floyd, “The African Roots of Jazz,” in *The Oxford Companion to Jazz* edited by Bill Kirchner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 13.

While not every African-derived cultural practice that occurred in New Orleans took place in Congo Square, the repeated gatherings and long term perpetuation of African culture that existed there established the location as ground zero for African culture in New Orleans.⁹⁹

Her extended study of the developing musical landmark dovetails with an exploration of a prominent channel of African American musical expression in and around New Orleans.

By contrast, others have derived the same sense of territorial influence through the deliberate transgression of established geographical boundaries. Rather than support a holistic sphere of cultural activity, this version of Congo Square constitutes an outlet for cross-cultural, often interracial, exchange, the power of which is drawn from the represented mixture. As political scientist Charles Hersch explains:

Creolization can thus liberate us from a notion of fixed or ‘finished’ products of culture to focus on cultures in transition, allowing us to grasp the “in-betweens,” the ambiguous spaces, where cultural boundaries blur and disappear as hierarchical categories collapse into each other...fomenting “continuous cultural exchange.”¹⁰⁰

The relationship of early jazz to Congo Square offers a prime example of this kind of “in-between” space, modeling territorial power in terms of the music’s cultural origins. For instance, in their book *Musical Gumbo: The Music of New Orleans*, Grace Lichtenstein and Laura Dankner anoint New Orleans as “one of the true cradles of jazz.”¹⁰¹

Combine all these developments: the intermingling of cultures and religions, a wanton and carte blanche approach to fun, food, dancing, and music—the voodoo ceremonies took place in Congo Square only a few blocks away from a magnificent opera house—and it’s not hard to see how the city began to stew with the power of its own innate sound.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Evans, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Hersch, *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 8-9.

¹⁰¹ Grace Lichtenstein and Laura Dankner, *Musical Gumbo: The Music of New Orleans* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993), 25.

¹⁰² Rick Koster, *Louisiana Music: A Journey From R&B to Zydeco, Jazz to Country, Blues to Gospel, Cajun Music to Swamp Pop to Carnival Music and Beyond* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002), 7.

Gunther Schuller takes a similar tact In *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development*, tracing the origins of the American jazz tradition to “a multi-colored variety of musical traditions brought to the new world in part from Africa, in part from Europe.”¹⁰³ While, in this case, Schuller leaves the connection to Congo Square implicit, Ted Gioia embraces Congo Square as “a real time and place” for the transfer of “totally African ritual to the native soil of the New World.” By launching his history of jazz from the historic *musical place*, Gioia conflates the requisite musical mixture for the music’s original creation with the space of this particular transatlantic cultural environment.¹⁰⁴ Although similar, in some respects, to Evans approach, Gioia’s construction of Congo Square leaves room for other local participants. A prime location for cultural intermingling becomes entwined with defined opportunities to mix and mingle with a broader array of represented populations, which means a wider range of stakeholders in the subsequent *placemaking*.

Writ large, the musical life of Congo Square reveals direct links to, and contested interpretations of, both music and place that remain vulnerable to competing claims and alterations. Of special significance here is the transformation of lived experiences—the extent to which place itself can become a tool of representation, instrumentalizing history as an influential sense of place. “Indeed, studying the music of Congo Square from the perspective of its interpreters offers a productive opportunity to reexamine what it means to listen to/for place in music. Responding to the distinctive fusion of musical space and practice that distinguishes Congo Square as contested *musical territory*, I approach this dynamic notion of *musical place* in

¹⁰³ Gunther Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1968), 4. For other accounts of early jazz that evoke the music’s origins in terms of this *musical place*, see Lawrence Gushee, *Pioneers of Jazz: The Story of the Creole Band* (New York: Oxford, 2005), 4, and *The Oxford Companion to Jazz* edited by Bill Kirchner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁰⁴ Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.

much the same way Aaron Copland discussed his “sonorous image.” In *Music and Imagination*—a series of public lectures the composer gave as the 1951-1952 Harvard University Charles Eliot Norton Chair of Poetry—Copland situates this notion at the center of a distinctive model of musical interpretation.

...the composer’s problem then is to shape [musical materials of related orders of experience] coherently so that they are intelligible in themselves, and hence, communicable to an audience. In music the process does not stop there. The musical work must be reinterpreted, or better still, re-created in the mind of the performer or group of performers. Finally the message, so to speak, reaches the ear of the listener, who must then relive in his own mind the completed revelation of the composer’s thought.¹⁰⁵

Resisting more conventional notions of place in music, Copland’s “sonorous image” marks the convergence of multiple musical imaginaries, described in the above excerpt. Its three dimensions correspond to what allows the composer, musician, and audience member to anticipate, interpret, and articulate its significance, tracing a process of meaning making that produces a multilayered, multifaceted symbol. By running the gauntlet as it were—making it through the mind of the composer, musician, and listener—the “sonorous image” stands as a deeply resonating musical gesture, the nature of which suggests striking parallels to Congo Square and the ways in which we have come to relate to it.

Congo Square as Birthplace

The public profile of Congo Square was not always set in stone. Indeed, regular use of the municipal space has engendered a surprisingly broad range of musical activities. There is evidence, for example, that the place now known to us as Congo Square also played host to traveling variety shows and circus performers throughout much of the first half of the nineteenth century, acquiring other uses during and after the Civil War (and beyond). On any given

¹⁰⁵ Aaron Copland, *Music and the Imagination* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1980), 2.

occasion, the same public square could be reimagined with a little gate and turnstile on each adjacent street, perimeter patrolled by street vendors selling spruce beer, peanuts, and popcorn, or repurposed as a platform for political outcry. Images of the former were sometimes even intermingled with nineteenth-century reports on the Congo Square Dance, as they are in this account below.

No stranger in this city of New Orleans who is anxious to see all the large and small lions of the place, to say nothing of the “elephant,” should fail to visit, of a Sunday afternoon, the square in Rampart street commonly called Congo Square.¹⁰⁶

By the 1820s, a confluence of local, national, and international events pushed the defining terms of the Congo Square Dance into sharp relief, effectively codifying its reputation. Prior unrest in the French and Spanish West Indies had put considerable stress on New Orleans, a port city reeling from the effects of the Louisiana Purchase. In 1809, a significant influx of Caribbean emigrants, fleeing the fallout of the Haitian Revolution, exacerbated an already tense political situation, further complicating a precariously balanced social hierarchy. As a reflection of this changing climate, an 1817 city ordinance confined the weekly public slave gatherings sanctioned under the 1724 Black Codes to the former community outpost, transforming it into a site of increased social surveillance. What once was a widespread social practice now could only be found in Congo Square.

The travels of English architect Benjamin Latrobe intersect with many, if not most, accounts of this moment in New Orleans’s history by way of his widely circulated travel journal. As was typical of this genre, readers followed along in newspaper reprints and the like, joining travelers, such as Latrobe, as they journeyed throughout the exotic underbelly of the city. In an entry dated February 1819, Latrobe details a “dance” at Congo Square. An assembly of five to

¹⁰⁶ “Congo Square,” *The New Orleans Times Picayune* (22 March 1846).

six hundred persons, arranged in four distinct rings of singers and dancers, are described in the following excerpt:

An old man sat astride of a cylindrical drum about a foot in diameter, & beat it with incredible quickness with the edge of his hand & fingers. The other drum was an open staved thing held between the knees & beaten in the same manner. They made an incredible noise. The most curious instrument, however, was a stringed instrument which no doubt was imported from Africa. On the top of the finger board was the rude figure of a man in a sitting posture, & two pegs behind him to which the strings were fastened. The body was a calabash.¹⁰⁷

In sum, Latrobe proclaims, “I have never seen anything more brutally savage, and at the same time dull & stupid, than th[e] whole exhibition.”¹⁰⁸ This ambivalence, a stark reminder of his nineteenth-century worldview, underscores the extent to which we are unable to unravel the activities of the represented place from his individual perspective on them. Latrobe’s presence, acting upon the documented sounds, brings the recorded details to life in ways that are difficult to undo, making the observations of a little known, cultural outsider, an integral part of the circumscribed history. When reread as an authoritative source on a little understood music tradition, Latrobe’s account serves as a demonstration of what Sheila Whiteley and Andy Bennett have termed the “narrativization of place,” a conceptual counterpart to the spatialized understanding of place production proposed by Cohen.¹⁰⁹ In short, Latrobe’s narrative becomes instrumentalized as a means of relating to the inhabitants, mapping the represented locale. More broadly, by highlighting the overlap of space and practice this particular New Orleans site allows, the medium of travel writing demonstrates the expanded reach of Congo Square,

¹⁰⁷ Benjamin Latrobe, “Mode of Keeping Sunday in New Orleans and Reasonings Thereon,” (February, 1819) reprinted in *Impressions Respecting New Orleans by Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe: Diary & Sketches 1818-1820*, edited by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 49.

¹⁰⁸ Latrobe, 51.

¹⁰⁹ Sheila Whiteley, “Introduction,” in *Music, Space, and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity*, edited by Sheila Whiteley, Andy Bennett and Stan Hawkins (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 2.

capturing its larger resonances.

The example of Latrobe broaches the question of what it means to hear place in this way, excavating an all but extinct musical practice from its continued interpretation. Unlike Latrobe's account, which preserves the possibility of a precipitating event, George Washington Cable (1844-1925) sublimates the effect of the Congo Square Dance as part of a romanticized world of lost Creole culture. His wistful 1886 essay, "The Dance in Place Congo," is couched in a fictionalized walkabout of exotic Congo Square, but its aims move us toward the more abstract notion of musical birthplace.¹¹⁰ As a point of direct comparison, Cable offers his interpretation of Latrobe, particularly the observations I quoted earlier, in the following passage.

The booming of African drums and blast of huge wooden horns called to the gathering. It was these notes of invitation, reaching beyond those of other outlandish instruments, that caught the Ethiopian ear, put alacrity into the dark foot, and brought their owners, male and female, trooping from all quarters.¹¹¹

Varied instrumentation notwithstanding, Cable distinguishes himself from Latrobe by directing his reader to listen beyond the confines of the individual performance, deriving the same transatlantic connections Latrobe discovers from the larger historical significance of the musical encounter itself. The notion of an exotic enclave that was so central to the firsthand experience of Congo Square is here recast in terms of the possibilities of subsequent interaction, acknowledging the larger tradition of the Congo Square dance, while also furthering Cable's larger claims regarding the lasting influences of New Orleans's competing African, Creole, and French Creole roots. The represented sounds are presented as directional, noteworthy for the influence(s) they exact on the named participants, and for the striking mixtures of populations and social practices they induce. As the place that actualizes the cultural hybridity that fascinates

¹¹⁰ George Washington Cable, "The Dance in Place Congo," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 31, No. 4 (February 1886), 517-532.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, 519.

him so—a wellspring of musical riches—Cable’s Congo Square is indicative of broader uses of the “birthplace” metaphor as applied to music making. “So we must picture it now if we still fancy ourselves spectators on Congo Plains,” he concludes.¹¹²

One of the most distinctive aspects of my approach to music and place, and, more specifically, how such an approach illuminates our understanding of Congo Square, involves drawing on the varied musical applications of *cultural territory*—a highly productive framework for navigating the generative notions of music and place conjured by loaded terms such as “birthplace.” At its core, my work responds to the compound constructions of musical geography that are evoked by such metaphors, circular constructions of place that link its cultural use and production with overall function. By conflating the process of *placemaking* with its broader cultural resonances, these notions of *musical place* highlight a type of *musical placemaking* that is critically engaged with itself. Underscoring the extent to which the *sensuous production of place* is always at odds with its dialectical definition, these ideas underline the interventions of interlocutors, individuals who create the “maps of meaning” we employ, by working to *obscure* them.¹¹³ To put this another way, the most influential ideas of place are often the ones that appear to be the most objective, or “natural,” making it difficult to interrogate their origins, real or imagined. Theories of *cultural territory*, by comparison, offer a means of untangling this complexity, envisioning place in terms of inhabitable terrain and ongoing attempts to control it, shaping and reshaping a geographical past and present. Geographers Paul C. Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen Till characterize this kind of relationship to place in terms of an “influential social construction” related dialectically to an audience’s “group identity”.¹¹⁴

¹¹² *ibid.*, 525.

¹¹³ Sara Cohen, 287.

¹¹⁴ Paul C. Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen E. Till, “Place in Context: Rethinking Humanist

Territoriality, as such, offers a method of spanning the conceptual gap between form and function, unpacking *territory*, or *territorializing*, as a “complex strategy to affect, influence, and control access to people things, and relationships.”¹¹⁵ In his book *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, geographer Denis Cosgrove unpacks the result of such efforts—a particular *territory*, or landscape in his case—as “a view of the land and its social meaning,” demonstrating how we might think about visions of place in terms of a geographical subject and its stakeholders.¹¹⁶ This relationship, the idea that particular cultural geographies might be more (or less) beneficial to certain populations is the conceptual foundation upon which many existing theories of *territory* are built. Geographers Kay Anderson and Faye Gale exemplify a more circumspect approach to the idea, focusing their collective attention on what might be gained (or lost) in a *territorial act*.

“While it is true that people live with and through ‘realities’ they inherit, it is also the case that people re-present those realities according to their own motivations and always possess the capacity to question and criticize, and so create fresh hypotheses about existence.”¹¹⁷

By shifting our attention to our abilities to make (and interrogate) ideas of *place*, Anderson and Gale work to resituate our discussion of *cultural territory*. More specifically they shift our attention to what Lisa Malkki describes as “the level of ordinary language,” broadening our view of what constitutes our capacity to construct (and interrogate) ideas of *place*.¹¹⁸

Geographies,” in *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies*, edited by Paul C. Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen E. Till (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), xvi.

¹¹⁵ Robert David Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 216.

¹¹⁶ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 41.

¹¹⁷ Kay Anderson and Faye Gale, “Introduction,” in *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography* (Longman Cheshire: Wiley Halsted Press, 1992), 4.

¹¹⁸ Lisa Malkki, “National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of national Identity among Scholars and Refugees,” *Cultural Anthropology* 7, No. 1 (1992), 277.

Methodologically speaking, this approach breaks down processes of *placemaking* into significant geographical maneuvers, focusing on the identification and interpretation of specific *territorial* claims (as opposed to more conventional notions of land or property). In this I follow the thinking of geographer Joanne P. Sharp who asserts, “Place- or territory- based identity is usually organized around constructing a sense of otherness or difference against which the place can be defined.”¹¹⁹ By attending to the design of the corresponding sense of place, in other words, we can become more attuned to the stakes of its ongoing cultural definition. As applied to music, *territoriality* describes the ways in which we might approach, or conceive of, the musical depiction of place as a *territorial* act, a means of “affecting,” “influencing,” and “controlling access” to the represented subject.¹²⁰ In regards to Congo Square in particular, the concept of *territoriality* allows us to respond to the ways in which the “birthplace” imagery evoked by Cable, alongside numerous others, conflates layers of action, observation, and interpretation, revealing the construction of Congo Square to be an ongoing cultural project. Rather than an all-encompassing notion of exchange, this approach highlights the work that is involved in making an amorphous public space intelligible to us as Congo Square, considering the ways in which its musical composition might be compared to its *musical territorialization*.

In the analysis that follows, I posit the concept of *musical territory* as a theoretical and methodological framework that operates on two levels, parsing the compound construction of this complex musical geography in terms of the represented terrain, and the musical strategies that are employed to influence its reception. Geographer Robert David Sack breaks down this approach in terms of the creation, dissemination, and enforcement of *territorial* boundaries; a

¹¹⁹ Joanne P. Sharp, “Gender in a Political and Patriarchal World,” in the *Handbook of Cultural Geography* edited by Kay Anderson, Mona Domosh, Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2003), 479.

¹²⁰ Sack, 216.

process that finds the edges of a particular place that is made intelligible by what (or who) it excludes.. Turning my attention to the Marsalis-Addy concert suite, I will examine Congo Square first as a constructed *musical place*, and, second, as a means of staking claims to the historical significance of the constructed *musical place*. The latter concept pinpoints the relationships of music and place conjured by the idea of Congo Square as “musical birthplace” in terms of *territoriality*—uncovering a self-reflexive stance towards the history that is bound up in the musical representation of Congo Square, as conveyed by the composer’s musical choices. This approach, I argue, offers a better way to understand the work of Congo Square’s many architects, repositioning its symbolic influence as a manifestation of *musical placemaking*.

The Contested Sounds of Congo Square

Congo Square—the concert suite jointly composed by Wynton Marsalis and Ghanaian drum master Yacub Addy—premiered 23 April 2006 in the open air of its namesake locale. As the grand finale on a French Quarter Festival program of free concerts, master classes, and workshops sponsored by the “Rebirth Initiative,” the work serves as a powerful illustration of what may be characterized as *reterritorialization*, meaning that the concert suite was embraced as a symbolic means of reclaiming the city from natural disaster.¹²¹ “Never was there a time in the history of New Orleans that we needed this more,” Senator Mary Landrieu told reporters.¹²² While the context of its public unveiling certainly gave the work an added sense of urgency, the artistic spark for *Congo Square* in fact predated the devastation wrought by Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, which prompts alternative interpretations for its composition. In line with the theory of

¹²¹ The Rebirth Initiative was a coordinated effort operating on a local, regional, and national scale to rebuild the New Orleans tourism industry after hurricanes Katrina and Rita ravaged the city.

¹²² Spera, “Trumpeting New Orleans.”

musical territory I have outlined, Addy expands on the primary objectives of the project through a more detailed account of its origins:

In 2003, Wynton came to my home in upstate New York to finally begin work on our first collaboration, “Africa Jazz.” Just after he entered, I asked him, “Do you know the music that was played in Congo Square?” We had visited Congo Square in 1985, the first time Odadaa! played the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival. It’s a historic site right next to the French Quarter where African slaves performed their own music and dance on Sunday afternoons for over a hundred years, from the early 1700s to mid-1800s. Wynton looked in my face and said, “Nobody knows. But...I know.” He spoke like someone who knows something with his spirit rather than knowing it as fact. I responded, “If you know, then let’s put it together.”¹²³

Addy’s explanation is worth quoting at length because it touches on the ways in which he and Marsalis sought to interweave the musical, cultural, and historical significance of place, or Congo Square, in their joint composition. Resonating with the sentiments of these remarks, the concert suite stands as an evocative musical rendering of Congo Square and a representative demonstration of the compositional tactics that have been employed to *territorialize* it, contesting its place in the history of American culture.

The extended suite comprises sixteen distinct movements, arranged in such a way as to emphasize a recurring call and response structure (see Table 3.1). When this formal scheme is not employed internally, as it is in the opening “Ring Shout” movement, it comes across as a consequence of the quick succession of contrasting movements. The pairing of “Awo” and “Libation,” as well as the closing pairing of “Sanctified Blues” and “Kolomashi,” are groupings of individual movements that become linked by the continued replication of the core call and response form. Although each movement functions independently, their respective sequencing makes them sound interconnected in this context. Three distinct musical textures cut across these modular movements, the combination of which emphasizes the formal distinctions I have

¹²³ Yacub Tetteh Addy with Amina Addy, “Ears to Hear It,” liner notes, *Congo Square: Love, Libation, Liberation* (Jazz at Lincoln Center Orchestra, 2007), compact disc.

described, while also highlighting the expressive range of the combined performing forces of the JLCO and *Odadaa!* Interspersed among exploratory episodes, which draw equally on each ensemble's respective instrumental talents, are movements that spotlight the JLCO and *Odadaa!* individually. As noted previously, "Bamboula," "Home (Family)," and "It Never Goes Away" harken back to Marsalis's earlier compositions, whereas "Awo," and "Libation" integrate more explicit allusions to the traditional Ghanaian music *Odadaa!* regularly performs. As a whole, the suite draws on a broad range of colors, timbres, and opposing rhythmic sensibilities, rounding out the musical tribute to Congo Square with a continuous musical dialogue across multiple musical traditions.

The elements of evocative musical imagery present in *Congo Square* suggest what most attracted Marsalis and Addy to the suite's subject. Like the travel writings, illustrations, fiction stories, musical depictions, and dramatizations of Congo Square that have preceded it, much of the suite illuminates the idea of the Congo Square Dance, the nineteenth-century assembly of slaves—and relatively anonymous white onlookers—that has given rise to influential notions of cultural exchange. While some movements allude to antebellum days (e.g. "Place Congo (Old Folks)") and starry nights (e.g. "Timin Timin/Fireflies"), accessing images of daily life across the African diaspora through creative orchestration and extensive musical borrowing, others explore the idea of the Congo Square gathering itself. By probing the shared spaces of communal singing (e.g. "Ring Shout—'Peace of Mind'"), dancing (e.g. "Bamboula Dance"), and music making (e.g. "Logo Talk), they celebrate the sonic, social, and spiritual outcomes of such activities in terms of the diasporic traditions that first gave rise to them. Taken as a whole, the idea of the Congo Square Dance both incites, and accounts for, the suite's larger form, conveying a dynamic musical impression of what makes Congo Square culturally significant.

The sixth movement “Sunday Market (Women)” serves as prime exemplar of these programmatic tendencies. As one of the significant moments in which the music of the suite engages directly with the place itself, “Sunday Market (Women)” replicates the larger impact of the piece, here on a smaller scale. Right from the start, a sultry trumpet line played over top the rhythmic pop created by interlocking layers of clave and hand-clapping summons musical visions of New Orleans, a sonic beacon of the northernmost city in the Caribbean (as it is sometimes called). The lively arrangement draws heavily on reed and brass textures, building, at times, a crowd-like cacophony that is reflected in the movement’s title. Discussing the 2006 debut of *Congo Square* in Miami, Marsalis explained, “I figured it would be good to have an original composition that has the type of festive feeling to it that the Sunday markets had in Congo Square.” Calling on the atmospheric nature of his symphonic sketches, the composer’s commentary leads us to imagine the music of “Sunday Market (Women)” in terms of a single figure, represented by the trumpet, strolling through the hustle and bustle of a typical Sunday at Congo Square. Yet, as part of the same interview, Marsalis also points the way towards an alternative interpretation, asserting, “[Congo Square] was one of the greatest cases of cultural integration in the history of music, it’s important to the history of American music.”¹²⁴ When reread against the composer’s larger claim, the picturesque market scene is recast in terms of the myriad musical ingredients that make up the great gumbo of New Orleans. Moreover, by working in a reference to mid-twentieth-century jazz—quoting Duke Ellington’s “The Flaming Sword” (1940) as the primary source of the movement’s key themes—the composer constructs a musical sense of Congo Square that is both pictorial and rhetorical, working to assert the significance of represented terrain by immersing the listener in its inhabitable details.

¹²⁴ Robert Hicks, “Congo Square’s Miami Debut,” *Miami New Times* (20 April 2006).

Rather than deliver a full-fledged program—a coherent narrative surrounding Congo Square—the composition of the concert suite engages its subject as *musical territory*, drawing on constructed ideas of music and place in the creation of a highly evocative musical space. A closer examination of the opening “Ring Shout” movement is instructive here, in that it demonstrates this compositional model taking shape on a smaller scale. After the opening call—a transatlantic message of peace and love intoned by a single voice accompanied only by a tambourine roll—Marsalis convenes a ring shout. Decidedly ahistorical in many respects, this reference to the namesake African American tradition strikes less closely to the historical practice of ring shouts (including their continuous reliance on call-and-response) and aligns more closely to how ideas about a ring shout might be constructed through music. First and foremost, solicited responses throughout the extended passage of responsorial singing that follows remain straightforward, allowing for audience participation. At the world premiere, this compositional choice engaged the physical space of Congo Square with its abstract musical representation. Musically, the sequencing of three primary themes, as expressed by vocalists and described in more detail in Table 3.1 (see p. 113), builds towards an aural, or audible, space of community that steadily grows outwards in subsequent movements.

In the context of the “Ring Shout” movement, the sequenced vocal material moves from the expansive contrasts of New Orleans pre- and post-Katrina, recited by Marsalis, to the quick patter of the more contracted “Oo Na Ne”—all of which is propelled forward by an intervening “circle round” motif that preserves the larger call and response dynamic. This movement, by amplifying the spatial characteristics of the orchestrated ring shout, refocuses the listener’s attention on the abstract sense of place that will pervade the concert suite as a whole. Marsalis

has described this moment as the convergence of two “opposites,” differing musical perceptions of place that map on to dueling modes of experiencing Congo Square.

After the part we just listened to, the “Hu-Na-Nay” both ensembles [*the JALC and Odadaa!*] play together. We are doing a Black Indian New Orleans-style 3-3-2 and they are doing the rhythm that’s also in “Kolomashi,” the Okpiyii. It’s hard not to drag, since we feel the rhythm a little differently. Their eighth-note is more even than our shuffle. So this piece has a tendency to drag, and pull, and sway. They are also less overtly welcoming than us: *Odadaa!* is saying, “Colonials get out!” as compared to our “Hu-Na-Nay,” which is “welcome.” But their piece is not *not* welcome. I like the fact that it’s two opposites. “You’re welcome, but you’re not welcome to come in and rule us.” So in a way it’s saying the same thing.¹²⁵

The “part” to which Marsalis is referring is the musical moment in which the opening call—the initial statement of the central “Oo Na Ne” thematic—returns as a compositional and conceptual bridge to the introduction of the ensemble’s hybrid musical aesthetic. Recalling the opening gesture, as quoted below, “Oo Na Ne” becomes the basis for interpolated vocalese, which beckons to the orchestra.

Now the brothers that come from across the way, when we play our drums we say “Oo Na Ne.”
Now I want you, you, you, you, you, and you over there, to know we comin’ in peace and love from Congo Square.

After the “circle round” motif circles around the featured vocalists, the combined orchestral ensemble picks up the established “Oo Na Ne” vocal patterns, building up an instrumental texture that resembles the ring shout singing. The overlapping ideas of place remain, allowing a particular musical blend to emerge without leveling the differences between the represented worldviews.¹²⁶ Dispensing with the spoken, or sung, declarations, in favor of other forms of musical communication, the combined performing forces of the JLCO and *Odadaa!* are able to

¹²⁵ “Interview with Wynton Marsalis (Part 1),” *Do The Math*
<http://dothemath.typepad.com/dtm/interview-with-wynton-marsalis-part-1.html>.

¹²⁶ Steven Feld’s “pygmy POP: A Genealogy of Schizophonic Mimesis,” offers an important, analytical counterpart to this musical analysis. See *Yearbook for Tradition Music* 28 (1996), 1-35.

extend the orchestrated ring shout, preserving the “Oo Na Ne” thematic as a final instruction to the listener to hear everything that follows as “coming in peace and love from Congo Square.” The musical landmark is both source and reimagined musical subject of the composition that is about to unfold. The crowd of second liners ushered into Congo Square by the “Oo Na Ne” motif on the day of the work’s premiere offers a helpful illustration of this concept, since their appearance invited local residents to participate in the performance in the same way that the music of Congo Square beckons the listener into the larger work. In terms of understanding *Congo Square* from the perspective of place, that which initially set the scene for the larger composition is repurposed as its primary operating principle.

By engineering a similar space of encounter, Marsalis and Addy are thus able to recompose the terrain of Congo Square in their musical treatment of it, effectively *territorializing* its cultural legacy. Both like, and unlike, its physical counterpart, their musical construction of Congo Square, exemplified by the “Ring Shout” movement, is the conceptual place from which all subsequent compositional gestures issue forth, incorporating the viewpoints of its composers into the geographical context the composition provides for the more stylized musical impressions that follow (in the form of movements 2-16). As defined by the ring shout, this musical representation of Congo Square frames the larger musical depiction of place *and* the overarching claims about its broader significance, representing *place* by reshaping the musical and cultural narrative of the identified environment. The design of the concert suite thus brings the idea of Congo Square in line with the worldview of its primary architects, drawing on universal themes as a means of repurposing the historic *musical place* with new creative and cultural possibilities for the represented cultural exchange. Indeed, we can hear echoes of this apparent, place-based interaction elsewhere in *Congo Square*, intersecting with themes of

cultural discord presented in the closing movement “Kolomashi,” which is based on a traditional Ga processional created during the mid-century struggle for Ghanaian independence, and in movement fourteen, aptly titled “War—‘Discord’”. Rather than pit the ensembles against one another, in a manner of speaking, this music probes the complexities of their complicated relationship, forging a stronger bond through new methods of musical engagement. “War—‘Discord’” is particularly striking in this way, as its structure also recalls that of “Home (Family),” the fourth movement of the suite, which offers a musical construction of its primary subject fraught with the tensions of many moving parts. Adopting a musical connection (re)negotiated by the respective ensembles as the basis for the musical construction of Congo Square, New Orleans, and this corner of the nation writ large—a place as stable and fundamental as *home* no less—offers a telling illustration of what it means to lay claim to a particular *musical place* in this way. Shaping Congo Square in the image of the represented cultural communities—and the combined community of the assembled musical ensemble—Marsalis and Addy thus exemplify what it means to create, maintain, and protect *musical territory*.

Table 3.1: Congo Square Dance Thematic as Compositional Structure

<i>CONGO SQUARE, (ALBUM RELEASE) 2007</i> Jazz at Lincoln Center Orchestra with Wynton Marsalis, featuring Yacub Addy and <i>Odadaa!</i>	
Ring Shout (Peace of Mind)	<p>CALL: Single voice/tambourine roll convenes ring shout, intones transatlantic message of peace and love (introducing <i>congo square</i> thematic)</p> <p>RESPONSE: Ring Shout/Blessing Responsorial passage sets scene, builds drama, spells out <i>congo square thematic</i> as shaped by Marsalis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “<i>Peace of Mind</i>,” patterned juxtaposition of joy/tears; New Orleans pre/post Katrina • “<i>Circle Round, All Around</i>,” feeling gives way to action, gathering those who share desire/commitment for “peace of mind” together • “<i>Talking Drums</i> (“Oo Na Ne”),” concluding “I say/we say” moment recalls the opening transatlantic connection, framing the entrance of the expanded JLCO as an extension of the ring shout
Awo Libation	<p>CALL: <i>Odadaa!</i> ensemble section, mirrors effect of the opening call</p> <p>RESPONSE: Libation/Blessing: added percussion extends acappella, chant-like texture, returning to the “talking drums” idea from the opening ring shout</p>
Home (Family)	<p>CALL: Solo bass line, establishes the melodic/rhythmic profile of the primary theme</p> <p>RESPONSE: Instrumental Break 1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A1 Section, development of primary/ “primordial” theme—staggered resolutions of dissonant long tones are punctuated by recurring rhythmic motives • B Section, development of a series of disjunct melodic fragments subsequently reorganized around a climactic <i>Odadaa!</i> drum break—reorienting the secondary motives to the formal logic of the drum circle’s cyclic groove, establishing order • A2 Section, modernist atmosphere engendered by the opening primordial theme returns, drawing parallels to swing as a complementary, spatialized musical rhetoric

Timin Timin/ Fireflies (Children)	MUSICAL VIGNETTE: Picturesque, demonstrates expressive range of the combined performing forces
Sunday Market (Women)	MUSICAL VIGNETTE: Instrumental Break 2 Picturesque, demonstrates expressive range of the combined performing forces
Ajeseke/Jookin’ Mysterious Fish (Men)	CALL: Compound construction; idea vocalized by <i>Odadaa!</i> is then realized by the expanded JLCO RESPONSE: The compound construction of the opening call shapes the subsequent interpretation (and reinterpretation) of “Ajeseke,” reimagined as “Jookin’” when realized by the expanded JLCO
Bamboula	TUNE 1 (song w/ no vocals): Tuneful, “swing-like” interpretation of the bamboula subject extends the argument asserted by the “Ajeseke/Jookin’” comparison
Place Congo (Old Folks)	*CONGO SQUARE*: Instrumental Break 3 Rearticulates key melodic fragments drawn from the “Home” movement, originally borrowed from the opening ring shout, relating the cross-cultural arguments of the piece to the recurring musical construction of Congo Square
Tsotsobi The Morning Star (Children)	MUSICAL VIGNETTE: Instrumental Break 4 Demonstrates creative potential of combined performing forces, blending the representative influences more thoroughly
Bamboula Dance	TUNE 1 REVISITED (song w/ no vocals): Broadens the perspective portrayed by “Bamboula” through the more thorough integration of the combined performing forces, extending the argument of “Tsotsobi—‘The Morning Star’ (Children)”
Logo Talk	MUSICAL VIGNETTE: Instrumental Break 5 Recalls recurring “talking drums” idea, offering further demonstration of the creative potential of the combined performing forces; a spatialized rhetoric of style
It Never Goes Away (Women)	TUNE 2 (true ballad): Grand blues gesture in the same “swing-like” song form, pivoting towards the affect/call to action embedded in the opening ring shout

<p>War Discord</p>	<p>CONGO SQUARE REVISITED: Recalls compositional layout of the “Home” movement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A1 Section, development of primary theme by expanded JLCO, painting war/discord with buzzing reed textures, agitated runs, and a pulsating ostinato • B Section, development of secondary <i>Odadaa!</i> ensemble theme • A2 Section, A material returns with some elaboration • B1 Section, <i>Odadaa!</i> ensemble theme returns with no vocals, building intensity • A3 Section, A material returns with more elaboration • C Section, percussive elements drawn from A and B material are combined, building to an explosive climax • A4 Section, A material returns, as realized by both ensembles
<p>Hedzole Baba (Old Folks)</p>	<p>TUNE 3 (song with vocals): Recalls the “circle round, all around” idea from the opening ring shout, orchestrating a tighter sense of musical unity through the use of the same tuneful song form; also names many of the same familial figures called to bless/be blessed by the community assembled for the opening ring shout</p>
<p>Sanctified Blues (Family)</p> <p>Kolomashi</p>	<p>CALL: Instrumental Break 6 Extended, New Orleans style improvisation is suggestive of traditional Second Line parade repertoire, extending earlier allusions to the Crescent City landscape into the present</p> <p>RESPONSE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Kolomashi,” a traditional Ga processional, created during the mid-century struggle for Ghanaian independence, brings the combined forces together for the work’s conclusion • The use of the Ghanaian reference mirrors the strong spirit of the Crescent City (in recovery) we are expected to hear in the previous tune, with that of its rediscovered, transatlantic allies • Pairing the two tunes as a concluding message of support—a musical display of “peace and love from Congo Square”

CONGO SQUARE RESOUNDS

Over the last 10 or 15 years I've lost track of how I'm critiqued. I don't even know if I get critiqued so much. It's kind of out there. Like when they said, "neoconservative" or "plays older jazz"—I understood that. That was kind of out there but as I got more serious about music, I don't think so. Something like *Congo Square*, I'm not really critiqued about it.

-Wynton Marsalis, "Interview with Wynton Marsalis"

In an interview dated 13 June 2010, for his offbeat music blog *Do The Math*, pianist and critic Ethan Iverson explored the musical influences that shaped Wynton Marsalis's contributions to the composition of *Congo Square*.

Ethan Iverson: It seems to me that there is an academy of rhythm in jazz and American music. One thing I've felt more and more as I've gotten older is that people don't understand the basic question, "What is jazz rhythm?" Or: "What is this music that comes from the African Diaspora?" *Congo Square* is a very explicit message about this academy.¹²⁷

Although rooted in place, Iverson's extensive conversation (with Marsalis) traces musical connections of a different sort, probing the New Orleans-themed concert suite as a reflection of Marsalis's personal and professional attitudes towards jazz music. Rather than expand upon the nature of the partnership between Marsalis and Addy, or deconstruct the musical gestures that make *Congo Square* so evocative, Iverson and Marsalis treat the composition as a sounding board. A deeper understanding of Marsalis's life, work, and philosophy emerges over the course of a discussion of twenty-three excerpts—drawn from eleven of the sixteen distinct suite movements—drawing out an extended definition of the represented *musical place* in terms of the artists and influences that intervened in its construction. Overarching arguments about the true

¹²⁷ "Interview with Wynton Marsalis (Part 1)," *Do The Math*
<http://dothemath.typepad.com/dtm/interview-with-wynton-marsalis-part-1.html>.

nature of jazz and jazz history carry the reconstructed story of *Congo Square* forward, couching its relationship to New Orleans in terms of defined musical values.

The Iverson-Marsalis exchange is instructive for several reasons. First, it portrays *Congo Square*, a Marsalis-Addy collaboration, as a *jazz* suite composed by Marsalis himself. As a response to a *territorial* act, the arc of the conversation is reflective of the ways in which the music reenvisioned the historic New Orleans landmark through a more selective lens. While engaged with the broader subject of the Congo Square Dance, the effect of the 2006 composition on Iverson was to constrain his attention to a “very explicit message” about “an academy of rhythm in jazz and American music.”¹²⁸ Second, the impact of Marsalis’s *territorial* claims to Congo Square are felt primarily through the joint reading of the piece against the composer’s musical background, shaping suggestions of *musical place* in relationship to the image of Marsalis’s compositional philosophy. Both Iverson and Marsalis privilege the composer’s personal and professional relationships to New Orleans in their commentary, demonstrating the extent to which Marsalis’s close cultural proximity to Congo Square enriched his composition of it. In one telling retort Marsalis says, “I grew up in New Orleans. I didn’t need to take out a book to learn what ragtime was.”¹²⁹ Third, building on the implications of the previous statement, the example of Marsalis demonstrates how quickly questions of *musical territory* become questions of *musical territoriality*. Conflating the representation of a geographical subject of great personal significance with the musical expression of a personally held geographical affiliation, the Marsalis-Iverson exchange illuminates *musical place* as an assertion of a *musical place* identity, bending New Orleans to the objectives of its composer.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁹ *ibid.*

As a fundamentally public space, both literally and figuratively, Congo Square is amenable to a broad range of musical configurations. Such articulations of place, as I have already demonstrated, register the ways in which the New Orleans musical landmark has been adapted, extended, and deployed over time. The drama of musical and cultural collision inherent to the Congo Square Dance program mirrors the ways in which myriad writers, artists, musicians, and critics have sought to lay claim to the musical lineage of such terrain by exerting influence over its cultural (re)presentation. The extensive exchange between Marsalis and Iverson, which situates the tradition of *musical placemaking* in a broader context, also brings forth more complex issues involving *musical territoriality*. To be more specific, Iverson's identification and subsequent discussion of parallels between *Congo Square* and the institutional politics of jazz suggest how quickly the *musical territory* of Congo Square may be reformulated to speak to wider issues. The remainder of this chapter will consider, through an examination of the cultural construction of Congo Square on a larger scale, the ways in which the *territoriality* of music possesses the power to resound more broadly. While I have already discussed the symbolic uses of *musical place* at significant length, the following sections will place greater attention on the *territorialization* of the site itself. Are there moments during which the New Orleans identities carefully guarded at Congo Square become portable, amenable to other musical concerns and conquests? When does a *territorial* act resonate with political consequences? To what degree does power intersect with the construction of place and the notion of *territoriality*? At the root of these questions are larger issues concerning musical style, a powerful arbiter of *territorial* politics.

Territory as History

The representations of Congo Square I have discussed thus far link the use and continuous reproduction of a culturally significant *musical place* with its overall function, spotlighting the musical equivalent of what geographers Timothy S. Oakes and Patricia L. Price characterize as “the spaces that shape and are shaped by people’s experience of their world...socially constituted and thus always subject to political practices.”¹³⁰ By replicating the musical and cultural collisions inherent to the Congo Square Dance, they lay claim to a musical sense of place that gives rise to the hybrid cultural traditions attributed to the Congo Square Dance as an originating source. In other words, as previously noted, the example of Congo Square demonstrates a circular type of *musical placemaking* that is always critically engaged with itself. As both result and originating source, the underlying geography is reflective of what I have termed *musical territory*, a concept that helps us to view such compound constructions of place in terms of the represented terrain and the tactics that are being employed to construct its significance. The example of Congo Square also presents us with other methods of interpreting *musical territory*. For instance, up until this point, I have focused primarily on the prescribed functions of *territory* seeking to better understand how the representation of Congo Square has shaped our understanding of its importance as a historic musical landmark. It is equally productive to consider the effects of use on the *territory* equation, the utility of Congo Square as a place to build a larger territorial claim. Slide-guitarist Sonny Landreth provides us with a relatively straightforward example of how this shift in focus might impact the resulting sense of *territory*. When Landreth musically summons Congo Square, his aim is not to invest Congo Square with a larger purpose but rather to mine Congo Square toward his own ends. Landreth’s

¹³⁰ Timothy S. Oakes and Patricia L. Price, “Introduction,” *The Cultural Geography Reader* edited by Oakes and Price (London: Routledge, 2008), 5.

song “Congo Square,” released in 2005 on the album *Grant Street*, uses Congo Square to engineer a sense of New Orleans tradition. The raucous musical rendering of the site’s mythological past recounts the narrator’s discovery of a late-night “voodoo” gathering at Congo Square. The evocation of place works towards a concept of trance inducing “mojo” that is articulated by his extended, improvised solos. Rather than assert power over New Orleans through sonic representations of New Orleans activity, Landreth demonstrates the use of Congo Square as a means of exerting influence upon its associated activities—something on par with recreating the Congo Square Dance in another venue.

This shift in perspective is vital in examinations of a broader range of musical treatments of Congo Square, particularly in cases where the composer is not from New Orleans. The work of examining (and reexamining) the place of New Orleans, and New Orleans music, changes in such circumstances, often feeding into larger cultural debates. Along these lines, one might consider the poetic rendering of Congo Square by Duke Ellington as a particularly suggestive example. Included on the 1956 album *A Drum Is A Woman*, Ellington’s “Congo Square” offers a gripping musical treatment of the Congo Square Dance thematic. Making the most of the least amount of material, the entire piece is composed of Ellington speaking over top the faint whisper of drums riding atop of distinctive Ellingtonian-style harmonies. Although the accompaniment enriches the composer’s colorful storytelling, the pacing and patter of Ellington’s monologue demands the audience’s full attention. While tracing the outlines of the familiar clearing and drawing out the expected sounds of the drums, he recasts the traditional Congo Square Dance narrative as a historic floor show of sorts. By turning day into night, and likening the public square to a “stage” where we “await the rising of a curtain that is not down, or even there,” Ellington plays out the familiar story in a space of explicit voyeurism.

In terms of place, particularly the definition of *musical territory*, Ellington's use of Congo Square undergirds the basis of a powerful statement of cultural resistance. One of the most readily apparent examples of this is Ellington's regendering of the dance spectacle, drawing on an entirely female cast of characters in the design of his Congo Square Dance program. This is not meant to suggest that there were no women involved at the "original" site. Female dancers are mentioned in nineteenth-century accounts of Congo Square, and women are often found in artistic renderings of the place (e.g. there are women in Kemble's illustration reproduced as Figure 3.4); however, the raw energy of the affair is usually gendered masculine, reasserting the slave's subservient status within a confined space of relative freedom. Ellington's female dancers, by contrast, are masters of seduction. Empowered by their sexuality, they are portrayed as "oblivious of the waves of desire generating in the crowd." By tying the women performing the dance to the undeniable power of the accompanying drums, which he does explicitly in the following lines of dialogue, Ellington is able to invert the traditional power dynamic of the Congo Square Dance:

Another drum. And another drum. Many drums, and counter rhythms, and for every drum we hear there's another woman to see.

When heard from this perspective, Congo Square offers a rare snapshot of exotic beauty. A subtle shift in some respects, this change repurposes the voyeuristic depiction. Rather than a crowd of spectators taking in a leisurely Sunday afternoon on the Square, the audience is shown to be at the mercy of the entrancing figures, controlled by their spell—albeit temporarily.

The appearance of the lead dancer character, Madame Zzaj, in Ellington's piece is absolutely crucial to understanding the nature of the above distinction. "One by one every head turns to the entrance of the most primitive woman," Ellington tells us, heralding her arrival. This moment marks a pivotal point in the narrative and a transitional moment in the featured

performance, but Ellington's use of the word primitive here is somewhat more significant—so much so that the composer takes a moment to elaborate on its meaning:

This of course does not mean simple or elementary. She is an exciting ornately stimulating seductress who wields patterns of excitement and the power to hypnotize and enervate the will towards total abandonment.

The music that accompanies Zzaj, distinguished by a slinky tenor saxophone solo that traces her supple curves, reinforces this claim. Despite such sonic objectification, her authority over the proceedings is undeniable, rivaling that of the narrator himself. Marking the fundamental relationships of music, place, and identity that underpin the creation and assertion of *musical territory*, Madame Zzaj serves as a personification of the American jazz tradition, engaging with the musical geography of New Orleans as a means of exerting *territorial* influence. In context, this orchestrated power play reclaims the resounding influence of Congo Square to a certain extent, an act of contestation that is further elaborated in the actions of the character herself. After her grand entrance, Zzaj is drawn into a quartet of sorts, “a four way thing” going between her, the moon, the drum, and the tapering black shadows that rise up from the ground around her, underscoring the racialized elements of Ellington's *territorial* argument. Commanding powerful allusions to cultural memory in this instance—a vivid depiction of what it means to remember the nineteenth-century Congo Square Dance tradition long after the fact—Zzaj's sudden kidnapping in Ellington's “Congo Square” stands out as a powerful reminder of why and how it came to be, and the forms of cultural appropriation it has allowed. Recalling the smells of violence and fear with which Ellington begins his story, this staged kidnapping of *jazz* conveys an insistent stance towards the proper representation of Congo Square, and the broader ramifications of our longstanding relationship to the historic *musical place*.

Following in the wake of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling, the 1955 Alabama bus boycott, and a general ground swell of activity around the American Civil Rights Movement, the 1956 release of “Congo Square” conveys a powerful conception of African American history and identity. In terms of *territory*, Ellington uses the example of Congo Square as a means of reclaiming the agency of its social actors. To be clear, the power of the composer’s *territorial* act is not derived from a proximity to New Orleans. On the contrary, Ellington reclaims the site as a social stage, a place where “we await the rising of a curtain that is not down, or even there.” The emphasis is put on the use of place, rather than its overall function. In this regard, the sense of place that is constructed by the composer is best understood as a broader sense of cultural history, a means of relating to the political moment in which it was made.

Looking even further back at musical engagements with Congo Square, a 1908 symphonic poem titled “The Dance in Place Congo” offers a similar perspective on this use of place, refocusing our attention toward the politics of American art music. As envisioned by Henry Gilbert (1868-1928), an early twentieth-century American composer, the Congo Square Dance thematic represents a compelling subject, “full of dramatic and colorful suggestion.”¹³¹ Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, he viewed the musical treatment of said compelling subject as a productive remedy to a larger compositional problem, as explained below.

The efforts of my compatriots, though frequently very fine technically, failed to satisfy me. To my mind they leaned far too heavily upon the tradition of Europe, and seemed to me to ignore too completely the very genuine touches of inspiration which exist in *our* history, *our* temperament, and *our* national life.¹³²

¹³¹ Henry F. Gilbert, “Note Reprinted from the Boston Symphony Orchestra Program-book of Feb. 21, 1920,” in *The Dance in Place Congo, Symphonic Poem after George W. Cable* (New York: The H. W. Grey Company, 1922), 5.

¹³² *ibid.*

Table 3.2 Gilbert Congo Square Dance Program

<p align="center">“The Dance in Place Congo,” 1922 H.W. GRAY COMPANY SCORE CONCERT PROGRAM Henry F. Gilbert</p>	
The First Episode	<i>The first episode of the piece has nothing specifically to do with the ‘dance’ in Place Congo. It is gloomy and elegiac in character. Beginning with certain dark and quasi-barbaric rhythms, it gradually grows in intensity until it attains to what may be called the tragic and poignant cry of rage and revolt of an entire race against the restraining bonds of slavery.</i>
The Second Episode	<i>There is uncouth prelude upon the rhythm of the coming dance ever growing stronger and more determinate until the theme of the Bamboula is ripped out in all its triumphant vulgarity by the full orchestra.</i>
The Third Episode	<i>After the Bamboula has spent its hilarious fury, has reached a climax, which is followed by certain declamatory phrases in the orchestra, it dies down and gives place to a more quiet lyrical section. I had there in mind the more romantic aspects of the picture: love-making, etc. At its climax this lyrical section is rudely interrupted by a sudden and insistent reassertion of the barbaric element.</i>
The Fourth Episode	<i>There follows what may be interpreted pictorially as a melée, or musically as a free fantasia on the two dominant motives of the original Bamboula, which jostle each other cheek by jowl. One may imagine disagreement, contention, or strive to have broken out among the dancers. This is, however, eventually patched up and all hands begin to dance the Bamboula as at first. But hardly have they started when they are interrupted by the deep-voiced tone of the nine-o’clock bell calling the slaves to quarters. The dance falls to pieces and there is a dramatic pause of astonishment and dismay. Then a piercing cry of rage, protest, and despair, after which the flight homeward begins.</i>
The Fifth Episode	<i>In my imagination of the scene I heard the bare feet of the slaves beating the ground as they ran away—some at once, others more slowly. Over this rhythm of pattering feet I have introduced melodic remembrances and fragmentary motives of the various songs and dances. The music grows ever more serious and pathetic in character. After a final pause the orchestra breaks forth with the tragic cry of the introduction: the cry of racial revolt against slavery. The dark background or frame of the dance-picture is completed and the composition ends with the note of tragedy in which it began.</i>

As a response to this musical dilemma, Gilbert's composition demonstrates the use of Congo Square in the construction of a distinctly American sound. More specifically, through his interpretation of the Congo Square Dance in western classical form, the composer shows how the story can be recast, in his terms, as a reflection of "*our* history, *our* temperament, and *our* national life." Unlike the similarly structured Marsalis-Addy concert suite, Gilbert's "The Dance in Place Congo" is thoroughly programmatic. Gilbert was even moved to recompose the detailed program (reproduced as Table 3.2) as a ballet scenario in 1918. The details of the recounted Congo Square Dance story are significant only insofar as they offer insights into how Gilbert reconceived his racialized subjects. Preoccupied with qualities of energy, affect, and emotion derived from the larger narrative, Gilbert's colorful prose underscores what he sees in the work's primary subject as the essential musicality of the represented American tradition.

While this is evident in phrases such as "the hilarious fury of the Bamboula," and "the sudden and insistent reassertion of the barbaric element," it is perhaps better understood through Gilbert's discussion of the writings of George Washington Cable, which inspired this composition. In a set of program notes he wrote for a Boston Symphony Orchestra performance of the piece, which occurred on 21 February 1920, the composer explained his fascination with the 1886 Cable essay I discussed earlier.

Here was inspiration indeed. What a strong and romantic picture was presented to my imagination by the magical pen of the artist...It is not a story, but a word-picture, full of life, suggested color, and animation...The original article contains nothing in the nature of a plot. It is merely a rhapsody: a gorgeous and thrilling word-picture, filled with atmosphere and suggestion, rather than a definite chain of incident.¹³³

This added context for Gilbert's symphonic treatment of "The Dance in Place Congo," is significant in two respects. While fleshing out the musical qualities he extracts from the

¹³³ *ibid.* 5-6.

narrative, the composer also aligns his portrayal with a work of historical fiction, sourcing his musical depiction of place with impressionistic sketches of its program. Here again, the relationship of place and place-based identity is exposed, further illuminated by a traveller's tale written almost a century before Gilbert's composition.

I suppose I am a kind of gumbo," a New Orleans man said to me, as if enjoying the joke on himself. "I am French and German on my mother's side, and English on my father's; my wife is a mixture of French and German; we talk French with our children, but we have given them English names, and we are bringing them up to be thorough Americans.¹³⁴

In the above excerpt, magazine columnist Frances Albert Doughty turns his attention away from the alluring scenery of the Crescent City towards its function as a means of characterizing the local inhabitants. Similarly, by relying on the story of Congo Square, as opposed to a more direct experience of the corresponding cultural environment, Gilbert is able to access more directly the concept of musical nationalism it brings to the fore.

Musically, Gilbert's Congo Square emphasizes musical difference, as opposed to more precise reconstruction. To be fair, Gilbert does partially incorporate Cable's transcription of "The Bamboula" into the design of the corresponding theme, which apparently sought to lend a certain authenticity to his work. However, the fruits of this compositional labor are only readily apparent under a microscope. For the most part the orchestration is quite dense, striving for the effect of intense polyrhythms overlaid by continuous musical activity. Consequently, it is reasonable to expect that listeners will be overwhelmed by the sweeping textural, timbral, and atmospheric shifts that punctuate the larger work. In contrast to the Marsalis-Addy concert suite, which is separated into distinct movements, Gilbert lays out a series of continuous episodes, the boundaries of which are marked by these larger sea changes. The composer himself calls them

¹³⁴ Frances Albert Doughty, "The Under Side of New Orleans," (1897).

“dominant moods,” the strength of which he argues gives the piece “a definiteness of structure.” In spite of Gilbert’s apparent compositional certitude, the subject, or identity, of these affective episodes is best understood as an intermingling of picturesque source material and conventional techniques, an imprecise method of musical characterization that echoes the following observation by Charles Hersch. As part of his investigation of the same moment in the history of New Orleans, he writes, “Which factor—color, ancestry, or demeanor—made one ‘black’ or ‘white’ depended on who was doing the classifying.”¹³⁵ While it is possible to sift through the composition of this piece and sort out allusions to “The Bamboula,” and also to find traces of non-western harmony meant to evoke the dancing slaves, the most striking moments are actually quite conventional from a compositional standpoint, such as the pulsating opening built with sustained major/minor chords or the unabashedly romantic episode three, which searches for deeper layers of regional distinctiveness through orderly strings and sophisticated woodwind textures. In these moments of striking contrast, as defined by the composer’s detailed program, Gilbert’s image of Congo Square crystallizes. Drawing the spectacle of the Congo Square Dance together with his own compositional approach, the composer adopts place as the basis for declared independence from his European forbears.

Territoriality as Tradition

While demonstrating the expansive possibilities of applying the concept of *musical territory*, the examples of Ellington and Gilbert also point the way towards important insights regarding *territoriality*. To better explain this theoretical maneuver, it is helpful to return to the work of Sara Cohen and her notions involving the *sensuous production of place*. As covered

¹³⁵ Charles Hersch, *Subversive Sounds: Race and the Birth of Jazz in New Orleans* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 10.

earlier, Cohen's framework positions the idea of place in music as self-reflexive. Recalling her map metaphor, individuals draw on music as a resource as they work to locate themselves in "different imaginary geographies at one and the same time."¹³⁶ The examples of Ellington and Gilbert offer an interesting variation on Cohen's model, instead drawing on place as a way of positioning themselves, and their music, in time and space. In other words, both composers adopt a self-reflexive stance towards the history represented in Congo Square through their respective musical choices. Their uses of place become linked to its musical reproduction in new historical contexts, as determined by the prescribed functions they have chosen (i.e. the composer's agenda). The circumstances of Gilbert's "The Dance In Place Congo" in particular sparks an interesting question about the aforementioned corollary to Cohen's thesis. By locating oneself in place, she argues, one also articulates "both individual and collective identities."¹³⁷ If we apply the same logic to Gilbert's composition, which articulates an American musical identity, how might we locate the place in which he is attempting to locate himself? Although Congo Square is the primary and putative subject of his work, its musical presentation is not tethered to New Orleans proper. The geographical context sought by Gilbert more closely resembles the American cultural landscape writ large, and this creative objective is accomplished primarily by his chosen musical style. All of this further begs the question—can we find place embedded in a musical style?

The most common response to this question would be yes, absolutely, but our urge to answer in this fashion is actually dependent on our acceptance of conventional relationships between music and place. For instance, in the case of New Orleans jazz, we think about the musical style in terms of place because we understand that style to be a clear product of that

¹³⁶ Cohen, 287.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

particular city. Once we move in the direction of relying on *musical territoriality* as a strategy for apprehending music and place, as a set of tactics we employ to effect or assert certain geographical bonds, the question I posed has more to do with the portability of *musical territory*. If, in other words, some portion of New Orleans style is bound up in how we relate—or New Orleans musicians lay claim to—New Orleans as a *musical place*, can those same strategies be applied elsewhere? Could other places be remade in the image of New Orleans? Might a signature New Orleans sound have the same impact, the same meaning, the same consequences, as an actual New Orleans style? Certain voices, drawn from early New Orleans jazz, have weighed in on this very issue. For instance, we might consider the posturing of Dominic James “Nick” LaRocca, leader of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (ODJB), which made frequent use of his affiliation with New Orleans as the basis for larger claims about the music his band performed. Routinely calling themselves the “creators of the jazz band style of floor entertainment,” the ODJB sought to preserve this reputation through the use of place in their music, claiming to bring listeners within “one step” of Dixieland.¹³⁸ Jelly Roll Morton offers a similarly evocative example. The famed Library of Congress Recordings of Morton, collected by Alan Lomax, captured the artist at hard at work on his self-fashioning—portraying himself as the father of jazz through extensive demonstrations of his New Orleans credentials. In these two musical cases, and numerous others, the function, effect, or influence of New Orleans is evoked as a means of *territorializing* a sense of style. The idea of place is strategically employed in the reformulation of *musical territory*.

This notion also has important implications for how we conceive of the cultural representation of Congo Square. If a sense of place can be employed in the definition, or

¹³⁸ “Personal Letter from Nick LaRocca to Charles Edward Smith, December 10, 1933.” Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

redefinition of a particular musical style in the ways that I have described, then the potential of Congo Square has use far beyond its geographical confines. The example of New Orleans artist Donald Harrison, Jr. (b. 1960) presents a compelling case in this regard, as he has cultivated a relationship to Congo Square in his work that is not rooted in the geographic landmark. As an accomplished jazz musician and acting Big Chief of the New Orleans Congo Square Nation, Harrison frequently turns to place as a means of articulating both his identity, and his musical philosophy. For instance, when asked, in a 2006 interview for *Callaloo*, to explain what Dixieland is, Harrison based his response in musical and cultural understandings of New Orleans, inflecting his definition with elements of his own New Orleans identity:

I am not really familiar with that because once I hear the word Dixie I know it is a place I would be having a bad time... The music of New Orleans is called traditional jazz or second line.¹³⁹

While his remarks are laden with geographical references, place, or locale, is not what is at stake here. Instead, both Dixie and New Orleans are evoked in the definition of “traditional jazz” and “second line” as a means of bounding and defining a New Orleans musical tradition with notions of race and cultural authenticity. Focusing on the ways in which Harrison uses place as the basis for such claims, and the role of Congo Square in its musical articulation, the conclusion of this chapter is devoted to a consideration of his *nouveau swing* concept, a term he uses to define (and redefine) his own personal sense of New Orleans musical style and identity.

It took Harrison some time to develop the blended compositional aesthetic of “*nouveau swing*.” After his album *Indian Blues* (1991), which incorporated the vocal talents of Big Chief Donald Harrison, Sr., (1933-1998) and his tribe, the Guardians of the Flame, improvisational forays into New Orleans parade music and the music of the New Orleans Mardi Gras Indians

¹³⁹ Charles H. Rowell, Donald Harrison, “Donald Harrison, Jr. with Charles Henry Rowell,” *Callaloo* 29, No. 4 (Fall 2006), 1298.

came to populate the artist's concert set lists and subsequent recordings. By 1995, he started to announce the new style as part of his album *Nouveau Swing* (1995). Although the album included "Duck's Groove," a nod to New Orleans style parade music, this track did not fully embody what later came to characterize his nouveau swing. On the contrary, when it comes to notions of *musical territory*, Harrison's engagement with New Orleans remains minimal on this record, as he performs in a predominantly post-bop style. The title track consists of straight-ahead trio playing that makes no obvious attempt to capture, convey, or project either a sense of New Orleans, or symbolic references to New Orleans tradition. Fluid runs unfurl over a relatively relaxed groove, circling around a series of recurring rhythmic ideas, none of which bears any obvious resemblance, or connection, to New Orleans.

Released in the wake of the death of Harrison's father, "Nouveau Swing (Reprise)," which surfaced on the album *Free To Be* (1999), presents a very different relationship between music and place. The loss appears to have pushed Harrison to actively reconnect with New Orleans—he and his wife shortly returned to the city, and Harrison founded the Congo Square Nation—and his music underwent more complex changes. In some respects, New Orleans plays a more pronounced role on the record, manifesting itself as a return to previously recorded hybrid tunes and the introduction of some new ones. *Free To Be* includes, among other tracks, a revamped version of "Indian Blues," he and his father's take on the New Orleans classic "Indian Red," "Duck's Steps," a play on the earlier "Duck's Groove," and "Mr. Cool Breeze," further developing musical references to New Orleans in preexisting Harrison recordings. The overall effect is rather subtle though, broadening and deepening the blend of styles represented by this iteration of nouveau swing. In terms of *musical territory*, Harrison integrates further musical gestures towards New Orleans as a means of claiming additional aspects of New Orleans

tradition as part of his personal approach. Complex cross-rhythms obscure more immediate musical references to New Orleans, while the layers of interlocking textures invite the application of dominant conceptions of New Orleans musical mixture. More broadly, such representative ideas of place act as a means of relating to Harrison's individual style, more so than they evoke an image or notion of New Orleans in Harrison's music.

Turning to the "Nouveau Swing (Reprise)" track itself, we see evidence of Harrison's shifting musical approach in the ways in which he alters the earlier record. Although much of the core musical material from the original is carried over, any direct references to the 1995 nouveau swing track are confined to structural bookends for new vocal material. After a brief introduction, Harrison sings and then raps about what nouveau swing is and does, scatting through an improvised version of a saxophone solo in between—all of which creates direct, sonic links between defined narrative, aesthetic, and experiential facets of nouveau swing (see Table 3.3). Normally, one might take such commentary with a grain of salt, but Harrison vocalizes it over top the music he is describing in real time, making it difficult to avoid. The constructed space of nouveau swing occupies much of the listener's attention, allowing the individual voice of the artist to shape the perception of any underlying sense of geography. In among the "lushes of the groove," and thoughts of "swinging through the nineties," Harrison's personal background becomes the basis for a more global understanding of his declared musical philosophy—an adaptable model of the artist's creative process, which allows it to shape the intervention of other related musical constructs (e.g. "blue notes," "jazz," and so on).

Harrison subsequently revisited the idea of nouveau swing with fresh infusions of hip-hop and rhythm and blues again in 2012 on the album *Quantum Leap*. Billed as "the crossroads where jazz tradition meets soul, science, and today's dance music," *Quantum Leap* has been

Table 3.3: “Vocal Breaks,” *Nouveau Swing (Reprise)*, 1999

Sung	Spoken Word
<p>Nouveau swinging through the nineties, with the sound that I bring, and yes it’s got that thing. Improvisation on the lyrics and the tones that I bring, that I bring. You check the blue notes connected to the new notes to take you higher, and higher, and higher, and higher. To the lap of reality, everybody can you feel it? Let your mind, and your body, and your soul run free, run free, through the lusher of the groove. ‘Cause this is how we do it, when we’re getting down with jazz. It’s like reality, and ecstasy, and you and me, yeah- It’s like reality, and ecstasy, and you and me, yeah. This is nouveau swing. (instrumental) This is nouveau swing. (instrumental) This is nouveau swing. (instrumental)</p>	<p>Check it, Uh- Nouveau swinging through the nineties, with the sound that I bring, uh, and yes it’s got that thing, swing. Improvisation on the lyrics and the tones that I bring to ya, that I bring to ya, uh huh. You check the blue notes connected to the new notes to take you higher, and higher, and higher, and higher. To the lap of reality, yeah, and ecstasy, everybody can you feel it? You let your mind, and your body, and your soul run free, run free, through the lusher of the groove, Uh- You let your mind, and your body, and your soul run free, run free, through the lusher of the groove, Uh- ‘cause this is how we do it, when we’re getting down with jazz, get down. It’s like reality, huh, and ecstasy, yeah, And you and me. This is nouveau swing. (instrumental) Uh huh, this is nouveau swing. Check it, uh- This is nouveau swing. Yeah. Uh huh. This is nouveau swing, Uh huh. Yeah- This is nouveau swing. Feelin’ jazzy baby. Feelin’ jazzy babyyy.</p>

touted as one of Harrison’s most inventive records to date. Here again, more explicit references to New Orleans—“I’m the Big Chief of Congo Square” and “The Greatest”—signal even more densely populated musical fusions. “I’m the Big Chief of Congo Square” is a solo feature, following Harrison as he improvises his way through a series of different metric and rhythmic

structures, all while moving in and out of sync with the forward motion of his accompaniment. “The Greatest” sandwiches Harrison between a repetitive blues drone, rock style vocal backing track, and free styling hip-hop artist—almost as if the saxophone player is playing the role of sample on his own rock/hip-hop record—orchestrating what he refers to as a “jazz battle rap”. Although the suggestion is that jazz and hip-hop are going to “face off” somehow, an overarching message about “finding your own voice” speaks to the nature of the artist’s creative engagement with place.

We never asked you to represent, so why would you want to unless you’re bent.
Since you’ve got the whole jazz scene on lock, you manipulate the strip and you write the clock.
Son, you might need to check what’s cooking in your pot,
‘cuz when it’s done that’s what you got.

The implication here is that if Harrison adheres to any conception of New Orleans jazz, it is one that articulates place as a means of situating oneself in relation to preexisting musical styles (actively reshaping them in one’s image).

...all we are is just little guys who do the work to keep an idea, part of the process, going at the end of the day. Then we put our little two cents into the gumbo, and leave it for the next guy to put his two cents in, ‘cause one day I won’t be here, and hopefully I’ve done enough to inspire someone to keep going and to realize the importance.¹⁴⁰

Comments like these speak to the carefully cultivated and deeply felt connections to music and place that support Harrison and his contemporaries in their careers as New Orleans musicians—fueling an ongoing dialogue about what it means to perform as an artist invested in, or associated with, interrelated ideas of New Orleans and jazz.

As the self-proclaimed king of nouveau swing, Harrison has played an integral role in the construction of his royal realm.

¹⁴⁰ Rebecca Solnit and Rebecca Snedeker, *Unfathomable City: A New Orleans Atlas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 104.

I am probably one of the only guys who has ever been one of the participants to have one of the first perspectives of what it is like to play with great jazz, classical, funk, Afro-Cuban, and R&B artists. I have a different perspective from most musicians because I don't have to go look at them and try to figure them out and how to incorporate the sound. I immediately know. I know all of this because I grew up with the music and heard it at home.¹⁴¹

His continued use, attention to, and construction of, new rhetorics of New Orleans musical style presents a compelling demonstration of *musical territoriality*, yielding a palpable sense of place that is rooted in music, more so than in any singular place. Looking ahead to the complex *musical territories* of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band, Harrison teaches us, sometimes knowing where music comes from is nearly the same as creating it.

¹⁴¹ Rowell and Harrison, 1299.

CHAPTER FOUR

Local Transformations: Placing the Music of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band

On Saturday, 7 January 2012, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band celebrated their fiftieth year of music making at New Orleans's Preservation Hall by staging an elaborate musical tribute at Carnegie Hall. The hallowed, New York City stage was reset for the seven-piece, New Orleans jazz ensemble, temporarily relocating the grassroots New Orleans tourist attraction.¹⁴² A sold-out crowd enjoyed music composed by New Orleans jazz artists George Lewis, Paul Barbarin, and Allen Toussaint, supplementing Preservation Hall Jazz Band arrangements of traditional southern tunes along with other New Orleans classics. Devoted primarily to the sounds of the historic Crescent City, the concert featured a series of special guests from across the spectrum of American folk and popular music, including country blues guitarist Steve Earle, singer-songwriter Tao Seeger, alternative rock band My Morning Jacket, hip-hop artist yasiin bey (f.k.a. Mos Def), and members of the modern dance company the Trey McIntyre Project. The eclectic mix of artists offered an intriguing contrast, bringing together a revered institution widely regarded for preserving the sounds of traditional New Orleans jazz with musicians not

¹⁴² Mark Braud, trumpet; Charlie Gabriel, clarinet; Ben Jaffe, tuba and string bass; Ronnell Johnson, tuba and piano; Joseph Lastie, Jr., drums; Clint Maedgen, tenor and baritone saxophone; and Rickie Monie, piano were joined by Preservation Hall Jazz Band friends, supporters, and past and present collaborators.



Figure 4.1: The Trey McIntyre Project Dancers on stage at Carnegie Hall

affiliated with this cherished local tradition.¹⁴³

The group departed from their usual repertory of Preservation Hall Jazz Band arrangements on numerous occasions for the New York audience, further complicating notions of what constitutes local music. “That’s a Plenty,” excerpted from the Trey McIntyre ballet *Maison*, set a provocative tone for the night’s festivities, pairing sharp, angular movements of

¹⁴³ The roots of Preservation Hall run deep in New Orleans. New Orleans natives Allen Toussaint, Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews, and more joined the Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians on stage at Carnegie Hall. It is also worth noting that Mark Braud, Charlie Gabriel, Joe Lastie, Jr., and Rickie Monie, are all descendants of multi-generational, New Orleans musical families, and Ben Jaffe succeeded his father Allan as manager of Preservation Hall and creative director of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band.

bejeweled skeletons with a live rendition of the 1914 Lew Pollack tune, drawn from the Preservation Hall Jazz Band catalog (See Figure 4.1).¹⁴⁴ Eight dancers responded with various degrees of spontaneity to the performances of Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians positioned on stage, intertwining sound and movement in close conversation about the spirit of New Orleans. Unlike the intimate, acoustic music presented nightly at The Hall—which promises an authentic, New Orleans atmosphere in the form of “real,” traditional New Orleans jazz—the ballet actively engaged the audience with a symbolic ode to New Orleans itself. Expected allusions to Preservation Hall came by way of interpretive connections to the iconography of voodoo and New Orleans funeral rites, reaching outside of any reconstructed experience of musical life in New Orleans.¹⁴⁵ The choreographer McIntyre has characterized *Ma Maison* as an exploration of “music and ideas about New Orleans people and culture,” framing a celebration of the city’s cultural resilience in terms of local responses to death and dying.¹⁴⁶ “You live with the presence of death in your daily life in New Orleans,” he explains, “and that lends itself to this feeling of liberation in your living.”¹⁴⁷ The Preservation Hall decision to include this adventurous collaboration was matched in kind by the selection of “It Ain’t My Fault,” a hip-hop infused Gulf Aid project anthem—first recorded in the aftermath of the 2010 BP Deepwater Horizon oil

¹⁴⁴ Michael Jurick, “Preservation Hall Jazz Band—Carnegie Hall—January 7, 2012,” as published by *The Bowery Presents: House List*: <http://houselist.bowerypresents.com/2012/01/09/preservation-hall-jazz-band-carnegie-hall-january-7-2012/>. The score for *Ma Maison* also includes “God’s Word Will Never Pass Away,” “He Wrote the Revelation,” and “Power” written by Sister Gertrude Morgan and recorded at Preservation Hall, as well as Preservation Hall Jazz Band arrangements of “Heebie Jeebies,” “Complicated Life,” and “I Don’t Want to be Buried In the Storm.”

¹⁴⁵ The New Orleans Ballet Association commissioned *Ma Maison* as a New Orleans jazz themed ballet from choreographer Trey McIntyre in 2008. Costumes were designed by New Orleans-based Jeanne Button.

¹⁴⁶ Sarah Ingley, “Performance mixes jazz music with contemporary, ballet dancers,” *Gainesville Sun* (10 February 2011).

¹⁴⁷ Howard Reich, “Preservation Hall tries a new beat—with Trey McIntyre dancers,” *Chicago Tribune* (15 February 2012), 3.

spill—along with a number of other musical statements that sought to resonate with the larger cultural significance of New Orleans.

The concert met with a highly favorable reception, even as it appeared to say as much about the far-reaching impact of New Orleans music as it did about honoring the traditional repertory for which the group is best known. Local critics reconciled the competing interests involved in a program of music both of and about New Orleans by couching the event as a successful showing by a young and musically agile Preservation Hall Jazz Band. Writing for the *New York Times*, Jon Pareles observed, “While it’s a paradox that welcoming outsiders and trying out hybrids is a survival tactic for a deeply local tradition, that’s a fact of life for present-day New Orleans.”¹⁴⁸ At first glance, one would have to agree. As an arranger for this well-known repertory ensemble and acting steward of this New Orleans legacy, creative director Ben Jaffe has made waves with daring attempts to engage a younger demographic.¹⁴⁹ Running counter to critiques by New Orleans voices levied against Jaffe, Pareles’s sentiments beckon to a recurring disaster narrative about local music scenes besieged by global market pressures and advancing media technologies. Musical survival for the Preservation Hall Jazz Band, Pareles seems to concede, means adapting to the demands of the twenty-first century musical landscape. Yet, if we examine the group’s early history, it turns out that their strategy of performing across a range of musical contexts is deeply engrained. Only two years after officially opening its doors on New Orleans’s St. Peter Street (1963), the Preservation Hall Jazz Band began to stage its first

¹⁴⁸ Jon Pareles, “In Tribute to New Orleans Institution, Baton Is Passed to New Fans,” *The New York Times* (8 January 2012), C5.

¹⁴⁹ In addition to the adventurous collaborations prominently featured on the Carnegie Hall program, Jaffe’s Preservation Hall Jazz Band has made appearances at the Grammys, the Coachella Valley Music and Arts Festival, and played host to Dave Grohl’s Foo Fighters *Sonic Highways* project. Ensemble activities of this sort put the members of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band in contact with more youthful audiences.

national and international tours—accommodating global consumption of traditional New Orleans jazz long before having to meet the challenges of our digital world. Indeed, a closer examination of what constitutes Preservation Hall Jazz Band repertoire reveals a musical approach rooted in especially fluid ideas of *place*, a dynamic sense of site, sound, and spirit in dialogue with the legacy of a musical city.

This chapter traces the many lives of Preservation Hall jazz, starting with the grassroots push for a full-fledged concert venue in the late 1950s and 60s that culminated in the opening of Preservation Hall, and the initial organization of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band.¹⁵⁰ To explain the significance of the organization's lasting regional identity, I begin with a discussion of the historical, cultural, and musical influences that inform the divided agenda of New Orleans Revivalism, a resurgence of popular interest in traditional New Orleans jazz that coincided with the exponential growth of New Orleans mass cultural tourism. The music of Preservation Hall is deeply entrenched in the ongoing cultural production of the city's musical heritage. Impressions of city life put into popular circulation by New Orleans historical societies and tourism campaigns splinter an otherwise unified front. The early history of Preservation Hall illustrates how and why Preservation Hall Jazz Band repertoire has perpetuated certain visions of local culture, establishing the broad outlines of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band aesthetic. Success—codified in terms of continued cultural relevance—is determined by the evocation of a constructed past, as opposed to the exact replication of specific performance practices.

In the process of understanding the Preservation Hall tradition in terms of a contested local environment, vulnerable to competing *territorial* claims, I will also examine the various

¹⁵⁰ In Appendix B of this dissertation (starts on p. 243), I chart the outward expansion of the Preservation Hall Tradition in multiple ways.

relationships that form between the music and representative notions of place over time.¹⁵¹ Probing different conceptions of what constitutes “local” music is not a conventional path for musicological inquiry, but these ideas are integral to the creation and understanding of what I call Preservation Hall jazz. The music serves as an extremely rich archive, helping to document the recovery of local New Orleans sounds, the familial lines of prominent New Orleans musical families, and the soundtrack of local community rituals. At the same time, however, the history of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band registers continuous change and cultural adaptation across the conventional boundaries of a local music environment, necessitating an approach to understanding influential relationships of music and place that is equally flexible. Continuing this dissertation’s wider goals to probe the generative capabilities of geographical thought through musical inquiry, I draw on the example of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band as the basis for a new theory of *musical remodeling*, a concept that relates music to place, and place to music, as a means of sustaining a sense of cultural permanence. The idea of remodeling—as in geographical alteration, revision, or enhancement—is meant to serve as a framework for understanding adaptations, both musical and extramusical, that traces the history of the music and musicians of Preservation Hall not through the lens of one local environment but rather through the multifaceted perspective of far more geographically complex situations.

PLACING PRESERVATION HALL

The full significance of New Orleans’s Preservation Hall to my larger project can be understood only by recognizing the importance of its local history. Over time, operators of the longstanding New Orleans music venue have worked hard to maintain a lasting home for

¹⁵¹ This usage of territory is explained at length in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

traditional New Orleans jazz in the city, emphasizing the organization's geographical roots at every opportunity. In this way, Preservation Hall has lived up to its "local" reputation, fitting the prevailing paradigm of local music making. Musicians and scholars alike are often drawn to local, or localized, forms of music making as traditions that seem impervious to increasingly global flows of capital, resources, and ideologies. We like to envision such artistic practices as holdouts against the influx of outside influences, interests, and agendas. In practice, the organization's commitment to the musical heritage of the city has helped to produce a New Orleans repertory that is inextricably linked to its constructed New Orleans environment, which centers on Preservation Hall as the site and source of community involvement. This asserted relationship of music and place embeds the music of Preservation Hall in what we would typically understand as a *local music scene*.

The organization has also leveraged its commitment to the musical heritage of New Orleans as the basis of substantial outward growth, also pushing beyond the traditional paradigm. This continuous expansion—in the form of touring Preservation Hall ensembles, a recording label, and a non-profit organization—not only strengthens local ties to this living tradition but also stretches traditional notions of regional distinctiveness. In this respect, Preservation Hall jazz can be viewed productively as a lucrative *musical territory*. As members of a local tradition that endeavors to be permanent—and has been able to withstand generations of continuously evolving environmental conditions—practitioners of Preservation Hall jazz engage in a special kind of *musical placemaking* designed to preserve a place for the music both at home and abroad. The artistic strategies I will discuss throughout this chapter demonstrate this type of *musical territoriality*, tracing the organization's transmission, translation, and transformation of New Orleans jazz as a means of affecting the conditions of the music's continued survival. To

better understand the nature of this geographical maneuvering, an exercise in the ongoing musical construction of place, Preservation Hall first needs to be positioned in relationship to a specific moment in the history of New Orleans.

The midcentury development of Preservation Hall is linked to a bifurcated view of the function(s) of jazz within a transformed New Orleans cityscape. A “revival” of so-called traditional New Orleans jazz and Dixieland brought music together with efforts to remake the city in the national imagination. At first, a range of heterogeneous revivalist exhibitions, album releases, radio broadcasts, television concert specials, and more fueled career comebacks for aging New Orleans jazz musicians.¹⁵² By 1950, surging public interest also carried new revivalist acts into the popular spotlight, causing one *Variety* columnist to pen the headline, “Jazz Maestros Outnumber Sidemen in New Hot Small Band Revival.”¹⁵³ Indeed, while ultimately overshadowed by the pyrotechnics of Bebop, the ability to replicate the sounds of early jazz was regarded with newfound admiration. Such revivalist activity was far from uniform though. In New Orleans, differing stances toward the rediscovered music were reflective of the social, political, and economic factors that fueled its popular resurgence. The emanating sounds of place became bound up in contrasting visions of the city’s reimagined past, present, and future.

¹⁵² There are numerous examples of artists, recording projects, and public events I could highlight here, but my primary goal is to draw out the notion of New Orleans jazz revival as a multifaceted means of relating music and place. In regards to the development of Preservation Hall, acknowledging the available sources of, and perspectives on, traditional New Orleans jazz is more important than the details of competing approaches. The following series of recording reviews demonstrate how jazz music can be read as reflective of the changing place of New Orleans in the national imagination: “Satchmo’ Starts Off Victor Jazz Revival,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (10 June 1945), C11, Ted Hallock, “This is a revival of the Revival,” *Melody Maker* 29, No. 1020 (4 April 1953), 8, and Eric Larrabee, “Jazz notes: Revival,” *Harper’s Magazine* 219, No. 1310 (1 July 1959), 95.

¹⁵³ “Orchestras-Music: Jazz Maestros Outnumber Sidemen In New Hot Small Band Revival,” *Variety* 13, No. 179 (6 September 1950), 47.

The organization of the first, citywide, New Orleans Jazz Festival intersected with the peak of the popular New Orleans Revival and the growth of mass cultural tourism in the city.¹⁵⁴

The community New Orleans Jazz Club (NOJC)—founded by New Orleans resident Dr. Edmond Souchon the previous year—organized a series of eight public concerts staged in New Orleans’s Congo Square. The picture, or pictures, of local music advanced by the 1949 event foreshadows the geographically complex situation of Preservation Hall. Reporting on the logistical challenges of arranging an NOJC event of this sort, secretary Myra Menville writes:

Much more is needed than a love of jazz and some high-flying enthusiasm... Little can be accomplished without the co-operation of the musicians’ union, and it helps to have a lawyer with a penchant for jazz. Publicity is most important. The thing to do is overwhelm the newspaper with all available ammunition, and then act elated with six lines on the financial page. Eventually the situation improves. This column is proof.¹⁵⁵

By describing work that highly paid festival producers often oversee on a larger scale, Menville’s commentary raises some important questions about how to navigate the thorny issue of place. What we might otherwise understand as a *global* event—a nationally publicized exhibition of local music staged in the interest of outward economic growth—the local resident trumpets as the preservation of *local* culture, a celebration of “traditional, authentic New Orleans jazz.”¹⁵⁶ Menville’s column is noteworthy because it essentially details touristic encounters with New Orleans music in terms of the trials and tribulations of cultural advocacy. “You who long to organize a similar club, be warned,” she bemoans. “You will be frowned upon, sneered at, and

¹⁵⁴ The 1949 event overlapped with the initial push for an independent tourism bureau in the city, which greatly expanded the industry’s local infrastructure. The Greater New Orleans Tourist and Convention Commission was not formally established until 1961, but it stands as the culmination of almost a decade of local debate that centered around the economic value of scaled up versions of the 1949 New Orleans Jazz Fest. Such increased, civic cooperation eventually gave rise to the multimillion-dollar New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festivals we see today.

¹⁵⁵ “‘Lagniappe,’ 11 November 1949.” Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*

sometimes ignored.”¹⁵⁷ Throughout her commentary, a floating concept of what constitutes New Orleans and its music recasts the 1949 event as part of the NOJC struggle for local recognition on an international stage.

The multifaceted example of the 1949 New Orleans Jazz Fest resonates with the realities of musical life in the French Quarter at the time; an important factor in the local emergence of Preservation Hall. As a similarly devoted New Orleans jazz aficionado, the activities of Mrs. Mina Lea Crais offer a similarly compelling perspective on the “local scene.” Born in 1924 in Watertown Wisconsin, Mina Lea Crais moved to New Orleans as a librarian in the early 1950s. She joined the local music community as an active member of the New Orleans Jazz Club, and co-owner of the Vieux Carre Music Shop, in 1958. While she straddled the divide between cultural insider and outsider in New Orleans, her store on Bourbon Street spanned regional genres of all sorts. The range of available Vieux Carre Music Shop collectibles—records, books, small radios, phonographs, photographs of musicians, and a line of musicians supplies and accessories—is representative of a diverse array of musical encounters.¹⁵⁸ If we are to treat the local as a point of commonality, Mrs. Crais’s consumer base shared an affinity for making jazz memories in New Orleans...that’s about it. Archival evidence of special orders, music guides (see Figure 4.2), and an extensive shop catalog captures a surprisingly rich musical vocabulary—a varied assortment of sonic and symbolic signifiers of New Orleans and jazz that spoke to everyone ranging from resident musicians to visiting tourists. In terms of the “local” vernacular, the French Quarter establishment promised “good old New Orleans dixieland, featuring all the

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ There is a table of special orders taken by the Vieux Carré Music Shop in Appendix B of this dissertation (“Repertoire Studies of The Local,” which starts on p. 249).

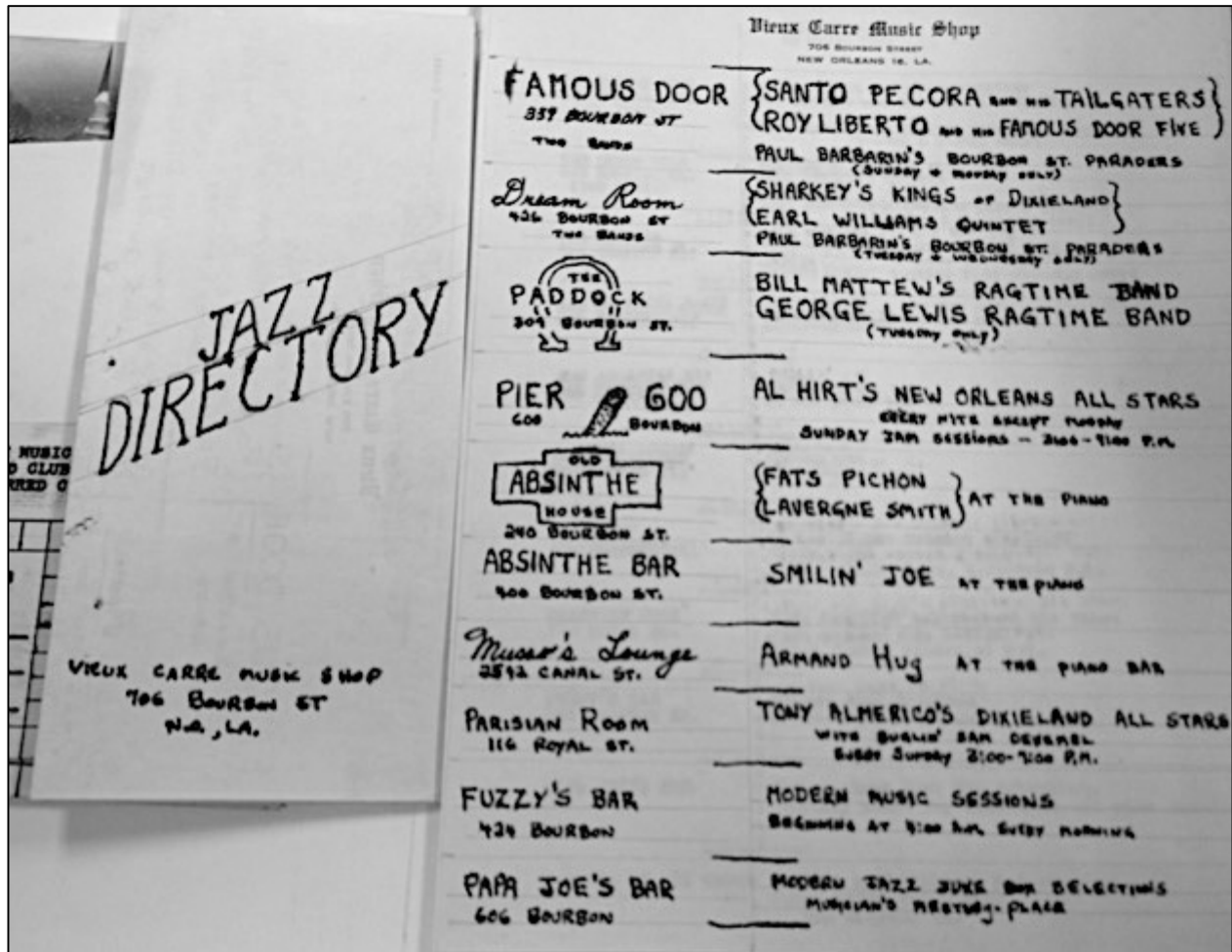


Figure 4.2: Vieux Carre Music Shop Jazz Directory

local musicians as well as West Coast, Chicago & New York jazz bands.”¹⁵⁹ Here again, the case of the Vieux Carre Music Shop illuminates an outwardly directed presentation of New Orleans music recast in terms of the local. The interrelated trends towards mass cultural tourism and the popular resurgence of jazz in the city that are manifest in both situations make the notion of place a vital but challenging component of traditional New Orleans jazz in the French Quarter during this time.

¹⁵⁹ “Vieux Carre Music Shop Radio Advertisement.” Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

Making the Local: The New Orleans Jazz Museum

The growing cultural significance of traditional New Orleans jazz during the 1940s and 50s did not go unnoticed by the club owners, record producers, and specialty collectors doing business in the state and federally certified American-historic-district-turned-tourist-attraction.¹⁶⁰ Capitalizing on the credibility derived from close proximity to the recognized source of the “revived” music, local organizations seeking stewardship of traditional New Orleans jazz in the French Quarter did so by promising immersive New Orleans experiences. By evoking experiential understandings of place, this enterprising group engaged in the cultural production of New Orleans jazz as a form of *musical placemaking*, staging public exhibitions of jazz in the city as a reflection of local musical life set apart. The example of the New Orleans Jazz Museum offers a prime example of this strategy, serving as an important ecological precursor to the case of Preservation Hall while also illuminating the complexities of such geographical positioning. In both cases—the museum and the long-term development of Preservation Hall—ideas about the New Orleans environment remain integral to the overarching formulation of the engineered musical experience, even while they are refashioned as constructed claims to the shared musical heritage of the city.

The completion of the New Orleans Jazz Museum in the French Quarter in 1961 was the culmination point of years of public discussion, debate, and coordinated public action.¹⁶¹

Throughout this prolonged period of development, local press reports promised that the new

¹⁶⁰ See “Expansions of Local Music (starts on p. 246),” included as part of Appendix B, for a more detailed snapshot of this musical and cultural shift.

¹⁶¹ The New Orleans-based, National Jazz Foundation first proposed the idea for a New Orleans Jazz Museum in 1946 as part of a sweeping public agenda aimed at promoting increased, national awareness of the history of jazz in the United States. In 1948, while on the verge of complete collapse, the museum project passed from the National Foundation to the newly formed New Orleans Jazz Club (NOJC). After years of fundraising, the NOJC opened the New Orleans Jazz Museum on Dumaine Street on 12 November 1961.

French Quarter attraction would grant public access to “various relics valuable to the history of the music that was born in New Orleans.”¹⁶² The small, but compelling, collection came to include musical instruments, historic photographs, sheet music, newspaper clippings, rare books, and other “miscellaneous curiosities.”¹⁶³ Of particular importance to my project is the extensive bank of recordings—spanning the musical roots of early jazz in New Orleans—that held together the museum’s rotating exhibitions. Designed into and heard as part of individual displays, such audio tracks made for a more immersive experience. Yet, while making the museum-goer feel closer to jazz history, the music could not achieve the dynamic range of a performance encountered in real time, engineering a point of disconnect between the museum and the musical life of the city writ large. This may seem like an obvious point, but it is an enormously important one when it comes to thinking about the mechanically reproduced performances of local music embedded in the museum setting. The French Quarter location is distinctive in that much of the museum’s soundtrack could have been heard performed live within walking distance of the museum site.¹⁶⁴ Rather than exaggerate this spatial disconnect, the music of the museum helps us to imagine a sense of cultural continuity also commanded by Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians with familial links to past generations of local practitioners. In other words, this arrangement pairs individual musical selections with “artifacts” that reflect (and refract) their

¹⁶² “NOJC Reveal Plans for Quarter Jazz Museum,’ 6 November 1959.” Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

¹⁶³ Allen Van Cranebrock, “Dixieland Music Resounds Again in Old New Orleans: Aging Musicians Give Concerts, Open Museum,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (20 May 1962), F11.

¹⁶⁴ The New Orleans Jazz Museum collection also included the musical instruments of Louis Armstrong, Emile “Stalebread” Lacoume, Emile “Slow Drag” Pavageau, and Papa Jack Laine. It is certainly possible that those involved in the local festivities surrounding the museum’s grand opening might have encountered Armstrong before experiencing the museum exhibition dedicated to his childhood in New Orleans, but the hypothetical I am imagining here is better illustrated by the attention paid by the New Orleans Jazz Museum to New Orleans Brass Band music. Given the right confluence of events, a visitor would have experienced the living and rarefied form of longstanding brass band organizations as part of the same trip to New Orleans.

cultural authenticity, constructing a compelling link to the city's musical heritage.¹⁶⁵ Drawing together the otherwise disparate threads of New Orleans music, history, and musical memorabilia, community investment in the museum's operation draws the ear from the musical exhibition outwards into the city; the constructed musical experiences double as encounters with living history, shaped in part by the architects of the museum displays.

In the year leading up to the grand unveiling of the New Orleans Jazz Museum, Harry Souchon, vice president of the New Orleans Jazz Club, characterized the museum as “the answer to tourists and others who constantly ask where they can go to learn about jazz.”¹⁶⁶ Souchon's commentary is indicative of typical attitudes towards this kind of heritage tourism, stated with the ambivalence that is commonly felt towards the audience encroaching on the presented tradition with their presence. Turning the tables on what we might have expected, Henry Clay Watson, museum director, was often more preoccupied with the effect of music on a changing world. New Orleans tourists, in his estimation, were to be viewed as the newest members of an increasingly global community, registering a different conception of what local musical interactions might look like. “Jazz music has become an American ambassador of good will in almost every country of the world,” he writes.¹⁶⁷ Surely it could have the same effect at home in New Orleans. Such diplomatic fervor takes what we know about mass cultural tourism and

¹⁶⁵ Historically, Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians have either been elderly musicians that once had extensive musical careers, descendants of multi-generational New Orleans musical families, or both.

¹⁶⁶ “Music: Jazz Museum Building In N.O French Quarter,” *Variety* 221, No. 2 (7 December 1960), 66.

¹⁶⁷ A 1961 Letter Henry Clay Watson wrote to Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr., chairperson of the Hospitality Council of New Orleans serves as a compact illustration of these ideas. Interested in “meshing” the activities of the New Orleans Jazz Museum with that of the Hospitality Council of New Orleans, Watson enumerates his thoughts on these issues, making an impassioned plea for the proper care of the “pleasure and knowledge that these persons will take home to their native countries.” See “‘Letter from Henry Clay Watson to Mrs. Keller,’ 1961.” Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

reframes it as local boosterism, the impact of which builds local community precisely where we might otherwise see it breaking. By showing us that local residents maintained a personal investment in the story of jazz and its origins in New Orleans—however widely it may have been disseminated—Watson’s professional correspondence registers the effects of New Orleans heritage tourism as local music activity.¹⁶⁸

Unpacking the readily accessible layers of contextual, cultural, and interpretive understandings of place that impinge upon such geographically complex interactions demonstrates the reconciliation of multiple iterations of the local. Along these lines, the continued involvement of the NOJC in the operation of a museum geared towards a local national, and international population of New Orleans tourists illustrates the special, expressive potential of the New Orleans Jazz Museum collection itself, an extension of the multitiered, multifaceted growth of this New Orleans music institution. In the mailer reproduced as Figure 4.3, members of the NOJC are invited to be in touch if *they* have any “relics,” or “other material” to donate, involving a surprising number of individuals in the curation of the museum’s collection.¹⁶⁹ In this situation, the colorful caricatures of NOJC members that appear along the left-hand side of Figure 4.3 correspond to the very real representational concerns that arise. The fruits of this personal appeal to the local New Orleans residents who wished to claim a stake in the American music history to be curated by the New Orleans Jazz Museum would have been displayed alongside the limited number of artifacts contributed by a select number of local musicians. Even if Watson, or other museum administrators, were sifting through the collected materials with a critical eye, there were no hard and fast distinctions between past and present,

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ “NOJC mailer.” Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

So What's New?

(Continued from Page 1)



what's going on?

PLENTY! Here are just a few of the important things:

1. Our radio program is now broadcast over WWL (870) at 9:20 P.M. CST on Sunday (40 minutes of solid jazz).
2. Our jam session at the Roosevelt Hotel on March 21 is going to be a dilly. Seventy-five high school students are coming down from Minneapolis for the event. Bands who will perform - Papa Celestin's Original Tuxedo Band, Johnny Wiggs' Band, Mike Lala's Band, The Shamrocks, and others. Why not try to make it?
3. Don't forget to drop us a line if you have relics or other material for our jazz Museum.
4. We suggest that you purchase a copy of the April issue of TOWN AND COUNTRY MAGAZINE. It will be devoted to New Orleans and you will have plenty news on jazz and your Club!
5. Please get your dues in as soon as possible.

NEW ORLEANS JAZZ CLUB

5006 Street National Creation Sales Inc., New York 22, N.Y.

©1964 N.O.J.C.

Figure 4.3: New Orleans Jazz Club Mailer

allowing NOJC residents to have a real impact on the jazz narrative their “relics” would help create. In this vein, the inclusion of NOJC “crowd-sourced” materials put a distinctly “local” spin on the larger narrative of the museum; an apt illustration of a *contested local*. Indeed, one may readily examine Preservation Hall musical programming along similar lines involving notions of contesting the local through sound. Against the larger New Orleans landscape, a selective, or stylized, rendering of New Orleans jazz easily takes on the apparent totality of the larger whole.

PRESERVATION HALL SOUNDS

To demonstrate the interpolation of distinct, but not separate, understandings of the local as a constructed, contested place, we may turn to the recording release *Jazz at Preservation Hall* (1963). Bridging the early history of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band with that of its New Orleans home, the four-volume set was released by Atlantic Records. George Lewis, Paul Barbarin, Jim Robinson, Punch Miller, Billie and De De Pierce, and the Eureka Brass Band all anchor distinctive interpretations of the represented musical tradition, rounding out four, eclectic, New Orleans-themed compilations. While indicative of the rotating roster of players that have both toured and recorded under the Preservation Hall name, the composition of this varied musical portrait braids works from various New Orleans traditions together with evocative musical representations of New Orleans itself.¹⁷⁰ The Eureka Brass Band contribution, titled *The*

¹⁷⁰ Multiple ensembles and small combos have performed under the Preservation Hall name, sometimes simultaneously. Today, Ben Jaffe and his Preservation Hall Jazz Band works along side the PresHall Brass, and is continuing the work of John Brunious and The Preservation Hall Jazz Band, the Preservation Hall Hot Four with Duke Dejan, Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band, Jim Robinson’s New Orleans Band, The George Lewis Band of New Orleans, and Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band. It is important to note that this list does not address more typical changeover in certain positions (e.g. trumpet player Mark

Eureka Brass Band of New Orleans, is particularly noteworthy in this respect—especially since the number of successful Preservation Hall musicians produced by the longstanding community organization far exceeds the number of times they have actually performed at the actual venue. One of the oldest and most prominent New Orleans parade bands, the ensemble was also one of the prime beneficiaries of resurging commercial interest in traditional New Orleans jazz.¹⁷¹ On their *Jazz at Preservation Hall* album, selections of typical, jazz funeral repertoire mingle with select pop-crossover tunes, exemplifying the creative tensions between form, function, and stylistic approach that exist across all four volumes. A *Billboard* magazine review explained the inclusion of the Eureka Brass Band album in the Preservation Hall collection as “exciting evidence that the era of street marching jazz is not dead,” summarizing the impact of the featured Preservation Hall Jazz Band repertoire as “living history lessons” composed in “traditional forms.”¹⁷²

Amid a flurry of civic action, alternately conceived of as *musical placemaking*, the idea for Preservation Hall slowly emerged. The music of 726 St. Peter Street steadily progressed from Associated Artists “rehearsals”—informal sessions initiated by the gallery proprietor E. Lorenz “Larry” Borenstein—to the more managed, musical offerings of a multifaceted music institution. In relation to unchanged physical surroundings, the emanating sounds of place are illustrative of a surprising range of geographical perspectives. Borenstein’s role in the “prehistory” of Preservation Hall engages different ideas of local music from opposite sides of the issue of

Braud taking over for John Brunious), and does not fully account for moments when three or more Preservation Hall ensembles were in operation simultaneously.

¹⁷¹ Each of the four *Jazz at Preservation Hall* albums were produced by Atlantic Records.

¹⁷² Jack Maher, “Atlantic Visits Record Scene,” *Billboard* 75, No. 45 (9 November 1963), 40.

intent.¹⁷³ His calculated decision to bring music into the establishment morphed into a “spontaneous” outpouring of traditional New Orleans jazz in the press.¹⁷⁴ In terms of musical output, the same sounds could be construed as evidence of a well-crafted atmosphere for increased sales of local artwork and a reflection of widespread public investment in a particular notion of a local music environment. Even while Borenstein’s name remained attached to these seemingly impromptu events, reports of drop-ins at the gallery by local New Orleans musicians entered popular circulation, printed as part of ongoing coverage of New Orleans’s local music scene. A politically fraught climate of uneven desegregation made the event of informal, interracial assemblies of local musicians and New Orleans jazz enthusiasts more important than the local business of commercial art.

The site’s continued relationship with the growing Preservation Hall tradition also shows that differing stances towards the function of the music itself could impact the character of future offerings. Grayson “Ken” Mills and the Society for the Preservation of Traditional Jazz threatened to take the new music venue in a different direction. Mills, a record producer from California, took on the Preservation Hall project in 1960 as an opportunity to expand the recorded legacy of traditional New Orleans jazz. Through Mills, the interests of specialty collectors and an extended audience of New Orleans Dixieland fans would be allowed to shape the musical offerings of Preservation Hall, guiding the creation of New Orleans jazz records that could be marketed elsewhere. Allan and Sandra Jaffe—who took over the operation of Preservation Hall 15 September 1961—put more stock in personal relationships with individual

¹⁷³ The French Quarter real estate mogul began inviting local New Orleans jazz musicians into what was the Associated Artists art gallery shortly after leasing 726 St. Peter Street in 1952.

¹⁷⁴ “Now is the time to visit New Orleans,” *Melody Maker* 37, No. 1474 (17 March 1962), 8, and Max Jones, “Jazz Scene: Preservation Hall goes stomping on,” *Melody Maker* (19 September 1970), 14.

New Orleans musicians. This meant that their programming decisions were perceived as more responsive to the musical tastes and preferences of the local New Orleans community, even while concerns about the preferential treatment of particular musicians were raised. Once the managerial team that took over after the Society for the Preservation of Traditional Jazz folded, the Jaffes played a powerful role in the development of the live music experience that sustains the French Quarter attraction to this day.

As a relatively static backdrop for varying (and variable) local music, Preservation Hall sets off the production of New Orleans jazz that quickly became representative of changing attitudes towards the broader significance of the city's culture. Shortly after assuming the role of Preservation Hall manager (and by this time the former creative director of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band), Allan Jaffe appeared on the NBC program *The David Brinkley News Hour* to introduce the new French Quarter venue to a national audience. By presenting carefully edited footage of people entering, tapping their toes, and clapping along to the music of small ensembles in an intimate concert setting, the television program offered viewers an inside look at a New Orleans tradition deemed worthy of protection. "What we're trying to do here is just present the music the way the men want to play it," Jaffe explains, referring to the rediscovered African American musicians that appear on the program. The overarching sentiment of the interview is that the musical choices of the representative musicians helped give voice to a "disappearing jazz heritage." In the absence of alcohol, and other conventional signs of Bourbon Street debauchery, a diminished sense of danger gives way to the depiction of a powerful musical experience as seen through the eyes of the majority white, on-screen audience:

People are sitting on wooden benches, they're sitting on the floor. There's no drinks, and it gets pretty hot in there too during the summer. People come just to hear the music, and I think the men realize this. The men play it the way they want to play it, and people hear

it....all we ask for is something in the kitty, and for that I think they're going to get some really fine entertainment.¹⁷⁵

Jaffe's commentary emphasizes the role of the venue in enhancing the audience's enjoyment, describing the ways in which close quarters and austere amenities help visitors appreciate the value of exhibited musical expertise. George Lewis, esteemed New Orleans clarinetist, is identified in the accompanying footage as one of the acting Preservation Hall headliners at the time, relating the work of the musicians to the depicted celebration of New Orleans history and culture. In response to the social, political, and economic tensions surrounding the mass consumption of the city's cultural heritage, Preservation Hall artists shape the illuminating connections to New Orleans that are felt by visitors to The Hall.

STAGING PRESERVATION HALL

The meaning and intent of Preservation Hall jazz does not tend to resonate with audiences without the corresponding understanding of place; on the contrary, the noteworthy media attention Preservation Hall has received over time makes it seem as if the significance of the music derives predominantly from the venue. This observation is nothing new to the study of local music environments, which centers on the linkages between a specific genre or style and its place, symbolized by the "cultural signs" and "lifestyle elements" that go with it.¹⁷⁶ Indeed, scholarship on local music scenes is often ethnographic, which would assert in this case an interpretation of Preservation Hall jazz in terms of the local community activities that distinguish

¹⁷⁵ "Preservation Hall on The Brinkley News Hour," *You Tube* (20 July 2010). Interview with Allan Jaffe at Preservation Hall, 1961. Featured on The Preservation Hall Jazz Band's CD/DVD Collection *The Hurricane Sessions* (2007).

¹⁷⁶ Robert Futrell and Simon Gottschalk use "cultural signs" and "lifestyle elements" to effectively summarize the impact of scene as an interpretive framework in "Understanding Music in Movements: White Music Power Scene," *The Sociological Quarterly* 47, No. 2 (Spring, 2006), 279.

it.¹⁷⁷ Methodologically, however, the use of a scene theory approach starts to break down when we attempt to account for the wide undertakings of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band. As a moveable arm of the Preservation Hall jazz tradition, the ensemble's persistent New Orleans persona confuses the environmental parameters of Preservation Hall as a *local music scene*. The details of the venue warrant brief mention, as do the relevant applications of scene theory that explain its influence, but the added complication of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band ultimately pushes my examination of Preservation Hall jazz into a deeper consideration of the music itself.

Without the routine interventions of critics, travel writers, and prolific New Orleans jazz enthusiasts, it is doubtful that the music of Preservation Hall would enjoy its present visibility. Faded pegboard inside the weather-beaten building at 726 St. Peter Street shows the age of the venue where Preservation Hall musicians play three sets a night, seven days a week. All available space inside the cramped, converted art gallery is given over to hard benches and standing room only seating. There is no food, drink, dancing, sound system, or air conditioning. On 19 October 1963, shortly after Preservation Hall first opened, *Melody Maker* ran an extensive profile on jazz in New Orleans in which author and narrator Ron Weatherburn ventures into The Hall as part of a whirlwind tour of music on Bourbon Street. "It's a dump of a place," he observes, "with a few boxes to sit on and no microphones."¹⁷⁸ This "beloved bug in amber," since lionized by the press, has taken on a life of its own as a distinctive symbol of the Preservation Hall tradition.

¹⁷⁷ See Thomas Burkhalter, *Local Music Scenes and Globalization: Transnational Platforms in Beirut* (New York: Routledge, 2013), Michael Brocken, *Other Voices: Hidden Histories of Liverpool's Popular Music Scenes, 1930s-1970s* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2010), and Barry Shank, *Dissonant Identities: The Rock 'n' Roll Scene in Austin, Texas* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994), Holly Kruse, *Site and Sound: Understanding Independent Music Scenes* (New York: P. Lang, 2003), and Dick Hebdige, *Subculture, The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979).

¹⁷⁸ "New Orleans Today," *Melody Maker* 38, No. 1557 (19 October 1963), 5.

The totality of the prescribed experience is indicative of the close community bonding that typically forms around a *local music scene*, reinforcing the lasting reputation of Preservation Hall with a shared sense of localized identity. Images of Preservation Hall thus represent, and are represented by, popular notions of the signature New Orleans jazz housed within, transforming the venue into a New Orleans heritage museum of sorts.¹⁷⁹ Weatherburn quipped, “For a couple of dollars, you can sit and hear a whole era of jazz passing before your eyes.”¹⁸⁰ Even the smudges on the windows have earned honorable mentions in the public mythology of the “grimy little temple of jazz,” treating the music and musicians of Preservation Hall as if they were valuable New Orleans antiques.¹⁸¹ An overwhelming sense of nostalgia pervades the Preservation Hall “mélange” of blues, spirituals, and ragtime.¹⁸² Juxtaposed references to the music and the venue highlight the relative age of The Hall and the exhibited musical talent, marking its significance as New Orleans “Americana.” Even now, in spite of marked institutional change, the place remains a widely known “bastion” of traditional New Orleans jazz.¹⁸³

To ensure the future of the venerable jazz spot, Preservation Hall manager Allan Jaffe sought further support outside of New Orleans. Initial Preservation Hall Jazz Band tours of Japan

¹⁷⁹ Doug MacCash, “Most-Wanted Poster: Preservation Hall Jazz Band stars in Terrance Osborne’s take on the popular annual artwork,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune* (5 February 2014), C1; Cynthia Joyce, “Major Label: Ben Jaffe’s Preservation Hall Recordings hopes to spread the word of traditional jazz in CD form,” *Gambit Weekly* (27 January 2004), 73, and “New Orleans jazz house and 300 musicians revive dying art form,” *Ebony* (May 1965), 65.

¹⁸⁰ “New Orleans Today,” 5.

¹⁸¹ Peter Watrous, “Reviews/Music: Preservation Hall Band,” *New York Times* (24 July 1988), “Preservation Hall Jazz Band,” *Los Angeles Sentinel* (16 December 1976), B10, and Charles M. Weisenberg, “Preservation Hall Saving Real Jazz,” *Los Angeles Times* (1 August 1965), C22; Bill Crider, “Preservation Hall at 25: Unlikely Success Story,” *Boston Globe* (16 October 1986), 89.

¹⁸² “Preservation Hall Jazz Band Opens,” *Los Angeles Sentinel* (15 September 1977), B2A.

¹⁸³ Alison Fensterstock, “The Beat Goes On—Preservation Hall teams up with rappers,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune* (13 February 2015), A10.

and the American Midwest in 1963 have since multiplied, increasing in frequency and duration. Over the years, the band has given annual concerts at universities, music festivals, and performing arts centers around the country. They have also enjoyed a series of high profile international engagements, including shows at the palace of the King of Thailand and an appearance at the 1984 Olympic Games. The design of these traveling concert programs—presented on par with special pops concerts and other themed exhibitions—unravel the relationships between music and place that otherwise would support conceiving Preservation Hall as a strictly local scene. Formal, staged presentations stand opposed to the intimate, informal setting of The Hall, making it difficult to replicate the rituals, or “lifestyle elements,” that make the culture of Preservation Hall distinctive. The construction of parallel musical experiences might invite the application of alternative scenic models—which emphasize expanded forms of cross-cultural communication and the development of extended social networks—but the history of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band instead works to extend the reach of the local itself. Through such touring performances the affective impact of the Preservation Hall experience in New Orleans is replicated, remapped for new audiences. In his history of Preservation Hall, author William Carter cites Allan Jaffe as saying:

I would sit down with the leader and work out sets, mainly things of pacing, and my feeling that the concert should be pretty much like a symphony or an opera: it should have a beginning, a middle, and an end. It should really flow. It shouldn't be just a group of disjointed songs. It should have some sort of emotional impact.¹⁸⁴

Quoted as an indication of an adaptable, artistic philosophy, Jaffe's references to more thoroughly composed musical forms allude to a level of musical abstraction that can transcend the geographical limitations of the French Quarter site. In the words of Ben Jaffe, “New Orleans

¹⁸⁴ William Carter, *Preservation Hall: Music from the Heart* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991), 249.

jazz is really something that's very much alive and vibrant, and every time it's played it's not a re-creation of the past but something very contemporary.”¹⁸⁵ This process of bringing a diverse array of social interests to the music of New Orleans supports the local music tradition by engineering *new* opportunities to create it.

Further exemplifying how the institution challenges ideas about the local, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band has given numerous concerts at Royce Hall on the University of California at Los Angeles campus, a long trek from New Orleans (see Figure 4.4). Most, if not all, of these events have ended with a rousing performance of “When the Saints Go Marching In,” making the Royce Hall programs routine for the ensemble in this respect. For audiences, the climactic encore has also served as an opportunity to join the Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians on stage, inviting parade style dancing in any and all open spaces. Outside of the Crescent City, this familiar New Orleans tune activates ideas of place that are unlike those that fix the variable sounds of Preservation Hall jazz in the city of New Orleans. Inside Preservation Hall, “Saints” never elicits dancing, if only because there is no space for it. At Royce Hall, an up tempo performance of the repetitive song form is allowed to reverberate through the audience, taking advantage of the capabilities of the Southern California venue. A characteristic “infectiousness” frequently commented on by critics, and presumably experienced by those who succumbed to the beat, echoes the notion of “emotional impact” as defined by Allan and Ben Jaffe. These sorts of satellite performances featuring warhorses like “When the Saints Go Marching In,” however, rarely elicit great praise for musical distinction. In response to the 1971

¹⁸⁵ “Interview: Members of the Preservation Hall Hot 4 discuss New Orleans Jazz Music,” *Morning Edition* (2 March 2004).

Hear it the way it was.



The Preservation Hall Jazz Band. In the back streets of New Orleans, they played the music. Joyous. Dignified. Real jazz that could make you laugh or break your heart.

Come hear it the way it was. Come meet the last of the greats: The Preservation Hall Jazz Band. For real. But not forever.

UCLA Center For The Performing Arts

Fri., July 11 and Sat., July 12 - Royce Hall, 8:30 P.M.
Tickets: \$8.50, 7.50, 4.00 (students), child, 12 & under: \$6.50, 5.50
Phone Charge and Information: 825-9261

Figure 4.4: 1980 *Los Angeles Times* Advertisement

visit to Royce Hall, Leonard Feather insisted that it would be “churlish to judge the band by musical standards alone,” drawing comparisons between the concert and “an old auto race.”¹⁸⁶ Dennis Hunt praised the 1976 Royce Hall concert as a rollicking good time, overlooking “notable imperfections” in favor of a concept of New Orleans jazz music that “prompts even the very sedate to indulge in toe tapping and hand clapping.”¹⁸⁷ While exhibiting a sense of disconnectedness from Preservation Hall in New Orleans, an inability to evaluate the relocated performances according to the conventional standards of the new venue, this type of commentary also alludes to an understanding of place that is felt through the music. This overarching idea of New Orleans frames a musical experience that resists the rigidity of museum memorabilia, involving local musicians, enthusiasts, and a confluence of local, regional, and national identities in the staging of New Orleans jazz for global consumption.

REMODELING PRESERVATION HALL

I have already suggested that Preservation Hall invites the consideration of multiple, geographic perspectives. In regards to its history, different ideas of, and about, New Orleans can be activated on multiple levels of experience, alternately fixing the sounds of Preservation Hall “in place” or setting them in motion. Rather than favor one perspective over another—asserting that Preservation Hall should be read as only static or only fluid—I want to draw attention to the ways in which its example teaches us to reconcile multiple iterations of place. More specifically, by acknowledging the effects of overlapping conceptions of the local—alternatively interpreting it as event, practice, discourse, and more—we become better equipped to recognize the creative and cultural tactics that have allowed Preservation Hall to facilitate their continued

¹⁸⁶ Leonard Feather, “Preservation Hall at Royce,” *Los Angeles Times* (26 July 1971), E11.

¹⁸⁷ Dennis Hunt, “Audience Moved by Geriatric Jazz,” *Los Angeles Times* (13 July 1976), F7.

reconciliation. I have already dealt with some of the “local places” of Preservation Hall, framing its early history as both an event, and a bundle of musical and cultural practices. The ideas of the local at the center of those initial encounters with New Orleans jazz at 726 St. Peter Street were activated by an asserted relationship of music and place that is not limited to a singular sense of locale. In regards to the notion of “local place as practice,” the activity surrounding the initial founding of Preservation Hall defined the emerging tradition in terms of a shifting set of environmental conditions and New Orleans musical resources, establishing broader linkages between place and the musical identities of participating musicians. Notions of community, tradition, genre, and style were reassembled as a form of open-ended participation in ongoing public discussions about the fate of the city’s distinctive regional culture.

Examining music as a means of navigating a contested local environment of this sort also requires further consideration of the local as a form of social discourse, returning our attention to the specific details of competing claims and ideologies. This line of thinking is nothing new for proponents of traditional New Orleans jazz. In *Trumpet Around the Corner: The Story of New Orleans Jazz*, jazz aficionado Samuel Charters characterizes his subject as “a mix of pieces from the city’s old shared repertoire, with occasional popular songs that someone remembered and felt like playing.”¹⁸⁸ The author’s commentary is helpful, in that it is best understood as a witty response to the stylistic, social, and chronological boundaries that are drawn and redrawn around “the tradition” in support of individualized agendas. More broadly, these contrasting viewpoints are reflective of different arguments that can be made about the cultural significance of the music, which, as I have previously shown, can also be observed in the cultural contours of the New Orleans landscape. Nevertheless, our ability to engage with ideas of place as a means of

¹⁸⁸ Samuel Charters, *Trumpet Around the Corner: The Story of New Orleans Jazz* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), 344.

understanding the ideological dimensions of this *musical placemaking* is relatively unexplored.

While involved in the immense, organizational expansion of Preservation Hall, members of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band have also become embroiled in what I will describe here as the great Dixieland debate, a case in which geographical rhetoric serves as an effective means of contesting what it means to identify, or be identified with, traditional New Orleans jazz.¹⁸⁹

Within the framework of Preservation Hall jazz, Dixieland jazz (predominantly associated with white musicians) stands opposed to traditional New Orleans jazz (more closely associated with African-American and Creole musicians) as a standardized, thoroughly racialized, stylistic construct promoted by record companies seeking to profit from the mid-century New Orleans Revivalist movement. Dixieland was also employed by the unsuspecting members of the press ill-equipped to distinguish between the wide-ranging opinions of the New Orleans music community. Approximately a month after *Variety* announced the 1963 departure of George Lewis and the Preservation Hall Jazz Band for Japan under the heading “George Lewis Band Dixies Through Japan,” the famed, New Orleans clarinetist was quoted at length, disputing the Dixieland characterization.¹⁹⁰ “This is not Dixieland but ragtime jazz,” Lewis explained, differentiating between the elements of Dixieland style and his own improvisatory take on traditionalist jazz:

¹⁸⁹ A number of musicians, scholars, and critics have weighed in on how best to think about, and contend with “Dixieland” as a loaded term. The writing of Gary Giddins in particular offers a helpful snapshot of the major themes running throughout this contentious issue. “The word reeks of condescension,” he asserts, “bringing to mind a philistine portrait: middle-aged white men (amateurs as likely as not) in straw boaters and striped shirts, with sleeve garters on their arms and beer and peanuts on the table, playing a music that so dilutes its inspirational source—the art of Oliver, Morton, and Armstrong—as to be unrecognizable.” See “Spencer Williams (The Bard of Basin Street,” in *Visions of Jazz: The First Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 634-635.

¹⁹⁰ “George Lewis Band Dixies Through Japan,” *Variety* 232, No. 3 (11 September 1963), 74.

“In Dixieland,” he explained, “they are all soloists. There is no improvisation. They use set arrangements and it’s the same thing every time. But this band never rehearses. It’s all improvised. There are over 500 songs we can play, but here we’re working from a set schedule only because they had to print a program.”¹⁹¹

Lewis’s remarks are worth reproducing here because they offer a circumspect snapshot of the ways in which the example of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band often confuses the Dixieland issue. Defying the notion of rigid solos and extensive preparation, he alludes to a sense of musical fluency tied to ideas of place, as opposed to acquired skill, or soloistic virtuosity. In other words, the roots of the expertise demonstrated by the Preservation Hall Jazz Band run deeper than the acquired technique of the Dixieland artists. Without undermining the strength of his own playing chops, Lewis evokes a sense of “New Orleans spirit” that reasserts the significance of Preservation Hall jazz as local, furthering the public definition of traditional New Orleans music (in opposition to the anesthetized Dixieland). “Like the preservation of the French Quarter,” tourism scholar J. Mark Souther proclaims, “the resurrection of Dixieland triggered a contest for control over public memory,” activating a diverse array of metrics for measuring regional distinctiveness.¹⁹²

Ambivalent attitudes towards the musical output of Preservation Hall speak to the politics of heritage tourism, while also echoing larger anxieties about the increasingly uncertain terrain of local music environments. As practitioners of a blurry mix of popular music and folk music, Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians do not promise a steady stream of top forty hits, nor do they orchestrate strict historical reenactments of documented New Orleans styles and practices. In striving to pinpoint what the ensemble does do, questions about the future of Preservation

¹⁹¹ “Vaudeville: Geo. Lewis & Preservation Hall Jazz Band From N.O. a 2-Hr. Tokyo Wow,” *Variety* 232, No. 9 (23 October 1963), 58.

¹⁹² J. Mark Souther, “Making the ‘Birthplace of Jazz’: Tourism and Musical Heritage Marketing in New Orleans,” in *Louisiana Legacies: Readings in the History of the Pelican State*, edited by Janet Allured (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2012), 291.

Hall, and local music more broadly, inevitably come up. Will traditional notions of community identity, creativity, cultural resistance, and refuge fall out of local forms of music making all together—fractured beyond repair or recognition by an influx of globalized market forces and influences? Rather than presume to resolve any of these sweeping questions, I want to reassert the ways in which they draw on the notion of “place as discourse.”

While tied to specific locales, local music scenes also carry more intangible characteristics, such as “independent,” or “underground,” revealing links between representative styles and place-based ideologies through their ability to operate independently of the physical parameters of place. A sense of local distinctiveness pervades Preservation Hall history, the nature of which has been engaged, albeit peripherally, by Andy Bennett, Richard A. Peterson, and Christopher Driver. Bennett and Peterson refer to a tendency to observe locally situated pockets of grassroots musical creativity distinct from global mainstream music styles in their introductory overview, raising the issue of the cultural mainstream as it relates to an equivalent, geographical construct. Christopher Driver and Andy Bennett address the issue of secondary, scenic characteristics more explicitly and more broadly, writing:

“Moving beyond the concept of scene as bespeaking coalitions of musical taste and associated manifestations of collective cultural identity, a number of researchers have examined the broader significance of local music scenes as loci for forms of DIY (do-it-yourself) cultural labour and DIY economic activity.”¹⁹³

On both occasions, a traditional model of a local music environment is complicated by additional traits not born of a geographically fixed, cultural community. In the case of Driver and Bennett’s work, the idea of the “Do-It-Yourself” ethic attaches baggage to the local designation, pushing beyond the idea of a singular musical landscape. As certain genres (e.g. folk, punk, or even jazz

¹⁹³ Christopher Driver and Andy Bennett, “Music Scenes, Space, and the Body,” *Cultural Sociology* 9, No. 1 (2015), 102.

to a certain extent) are associated with niche musical environments, the “loci” Driver and Bennett describe here evoke specific types of cultural practice. While influenced by the use of particular spaces, these place-based behaviors “bespeak coalitions of musical taste and associated manifestations of collective cultural identity,” activating the local as a publicly negotiated cultural construct.¹⁹⁴ Ideas of place are repackaged as a reason to listen, a benchmark for success, and a rubric for determining cultural value, evoking ideas of music and place relationships as a type of social discourse.

A dualistic stance towards the geography of localized forms of music making accounts for the impact of place in music as a material-cultural resource, building on the idea of what cultural geographers have come to call the *contested local*. To address, or creatively engage with, the idea of New Orleans music in this way requires some understanding of the local as a rhetorical basis for musical practice. In the limited case of Preservation Hall, the term Dixieland evokes racially charged distinctions between art, commerce, communal heritage, and cultural spectacle discussed at length by Samuel Charters and Charles Suhor, among others.¹⁹⁵ The intensity and frequency of Allan and Ben Jaffe’s public comments on the subject also makes the rhetoric of Dixieland an integral part of the discourse of Preservation Hall. Unified in their hard line stances towards the musical form and function of New Orleans jazz, their example illustrates what Holly

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ Critic Charles Suhor adopts a broad stance towards Dixieland, responding in depth to the popular notion that “Dixieland jazz was merely the white musicians’ watering down of the black players’ Traditional New Orleans Jazz.” In comparison with Suhor’s approach, Charters’s take on Dixieland offers some indication of the ways in which interpretations also vary according to the functions of the identified music—which extend beyond more narrow conceptions of geographical rootedness. He names much of the music of the “Southland” commercial Dixieland music, asserting that stylistically it was “sometimes difficult to find some common dimensions to their music, even though both groups of instrumentalists had their roots in New Orleans.” The other groups to which Charters refers are New Orleans Revivalists, particularly the African American musicians heard on some of the earliest, New Orleans Revivalist, jazz records. See Suhor, 104, and Charters, 352.

Watkins has notably termed “musical ecologies of place *and* placelessness,” setting up the production of locality in and around music in terms of systems of local articulation.¹⁹⁶ Musical elements (e.g. blues, ragtime, rhythm, popular conceptions of early jazz, and more) are incorporated into the definition of what Preservation Hall jazz *means*, as compared with what Dixieland jazz supposedly lacks in terms of cultural impact. Allan Jaffe consistently defined Dixieland as more rigid, a product of the seedier side of Bourbon Street, arguing that the straightforward approach of Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians demonstrated the versatility of traditional New Orleans jazz.¹⁹⁷ According to him, a New Orleans jazz musician might “take a song and use it in church for prayer, then they might take that same song and play it sadly on the way to a funeral and joyfully coming back, then play it in a dance hall or bar room that night.”¹⁹⁸ This is biting commentary of Dixieland jazz when we read this as a definition of what Preservation Hall jazz is not—music designed solely for commercial consumption. Ben Jaffe has commented, “I think Dixieland almost has this comical role; those men in their striped vests and straw hats,” staking claims to more substance by comparing New Orleans jazz to “soul music,” and, somewhat problematically, music that was never intended for seated, passive listeners.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Holly Watkins, “Musical Ecologies of Place and Placelessness,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, No. 2 (Summer 2011), 404-408. Ulrich Adelt’s article on German music television is also worth singling out here because one of his key findings is that German locality is strengthened “both by participating in *and* countering globalization.” See Ulrich Adelt, “‘Ich bin der Rock ‘n’ Roll-Übermensch’: Globalization and Localization in German Music Television,” *Popular Music and Society* 28, No. 3 (July 2005), 280.

¹⁹⁷ “Preservation Hall’s Here,” *The Washington Post* (30 July 1982), W27.

¹⁹⁸ Jonathan Takiff, “Preservation Hall Jazz Band,” *Philadelphia Daily News* (15 March 1985), 55.

¹⁹⁹ Steven Penhollow, “Big Easy Jazz Preservation Hall band keeping Orleans sound alive,” *The Journal Gazette* (19 January 2003), 1E, Ray Hogan, “The Beat Goes On: It’s city in ruins, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band keeps the music alive,” *The Advocate* (2 October 2005), D1, Jay Harvey, “Band true to roots of New Orleans jazz,” *Indianapolis Star* (13 February 2005), I6, Chad Berndtson, “Concert Preview: Preservation Hall meets Symphony Hall,” *The Patriot*

In light of the fact that Preservation Hall Jazz Band audiences are almost always seated, the latter remark is particularly instructive—registering the rhetorical use of place in musical discourse.

Sara Cohen comes to similar conclusions when she distinguishes the definition of musical heritage from the definition of music history, or tradition, “drawing attention to the emphasis that heritage places upon the continuity of the musical past, and upon a sense of ownership, rather than just knowledge of that past.”²⁰⁰ Sound is given additional weight as a means of establishing cultural extremes, a musicological application of the *contested local*. Uses vary, but the overall impact of the notion of a *contested local* separates the definition of the local into questions of location, and questions about *how* a person, or persons, come to relate to it.

REMODELED MODES OF LISTENING

Up to this point in the chapter, I have foregrounded the variety of ways in which the influence of the local can be felt, discussing different concepts of local music environments as they relate to the geographically complex case of Preservation Hall. In the process, I have endeavored to show that ideas of scene—local, translocal, and beyond—register different perspectives, raising questions about how to engage with environmental change over time. When viewed in terms of a *contested local*, the music in and around Preservation Hall registers multiple perspectives simultaneously. Individual facets of the Preservation Hall organization have been added, altered, or augmented at different times and rates, extending the impact of the face-to-face musical encounters that anchor the local music tradition through the musical interpretation and representation of an overarching relationship to New Orleans. Its growth over time links

Ledger (25 November 2004), and Tom Huntington, “Big Easy Christmas,” *The Burlington Free Press* (18 December 2003).

²⁰⁰ Sara Cohen, “Country at the Heart of the City: Music, Heritage, and Regeneration in Liverpool,” *Ethnomusicology* 49, No. 1 (Winter 2005), 26.

multiplying modes of musical presentation to an evolving organizational infrastructure. Although ideas of place remain a prominent source of cultural continuity, their impact begets continuing change in the associated music. The first of the State Department sponsored jazz tours took place in 1956, two years after Borenstein leased 726 St. Peter Street, inserting Preservation Hall at a moment when the symbolic uses of jazz and New Orleans music were expanding.²⁰¹ The musical lineages of the city's streets, saloons, and riverboats were being reimagined as the celebrated source of jazz, among other related American musical traditions; transmitted, translated, and transposed by a broad range of interested parties.²⁰² Consequently, as part of an apparent bid to stay the same, Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians have needed to adapt.

By going to great lengths to stretch, expand, and extend the work of Preservation Hall—all while continuing to satisfy the expectations of their varied audiences—Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians offer prime illustrations of what I call *musical remodeling*, incorporating a routine of regular adjustments into their work as a means of maintaining a coherent (and cohesive) place-based musical identity. As an ensemble, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band has demonstrated a collective ability to draw on the practice and discourse of Preservation Hall to

²⁰¹ Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004).

²⁰² Evidence of this point can also be found in broader historiographical studies of New Orleans music, which isolate moments in which singular, musical elements of a hybrid musical culture are allowed to stand for the complex whole, altering our understanding of its origins, and what constitutes the entirety of New Orleans music. Ethnomusicologist makes this point at length in his article, “New Orleans Music as a Circulatory System,” *Black Music Research Journal* 31, No. 2 (2011). The piece focuses specifically on the social and symbolic functions of the New Orleans Brass Band parade, but notes, “While New Orleans Music includes an amorphous collection of interrelated styles—brass band, jazz, blues, rhythm & blues, soul, and funk, to name the most prevalent—they are bound together through an association with race (African American), place (New Orleans), and functionality (social dance) to such a degree that even a disaster of immeasurable consequences, which disproportionately affected that race and dislocated them from that place, has not threatened its cohesiveness” (291). Bruce Boyd Raeburn has also engaged with similar claims in his publications. One might also examine the design of larger survey texts in a similar fashion.

attain their goals across time and in a variety of environmental contexts. In other words, Preservation Hall Jazz Band performances can be deconstructed in terms of what it means to effect the reconciliation of multiple iterations of local place. The lifeblood of Preservation Hall draws on the ample effort and passion of all the participants, which includes not only the musicians but also those operating The Hall, the stream of visitors, concert attendees, and music consumers. Routine *remodels*—strategic choices regarding repertoire and public representation—are required to maintain the regional distinctiveness of the larger enterprise, tying the design of Preservation Hall concert programs, compilation albums, record promotions, and educational outreach programs to claims about the proper protection, preservation, and perpetuation of traditional New Orleans jazz. Ideas of the local remain important as an *environmental frame*, but their power can be harnessed—giving shape to immersive musical experiences that impact how listeners come to relate to New Orleans as an originating musical environment. In the words of Ben Jaffe, the goal is to bring “that same [New Orleans] spirit to the performance,” regardless of where the ensemble happens to be performing.²⁰³

Investigating the production and consumption of Preservation Hall jazz as a form of *remodeling*—the product of a relationship of music and place, rooted in continuous change, that still promotes a sense of local “rootedness”—complicates all-encompassing globalization narratives, allowing us to begin to make sense of the music of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band as a means of engaging with a culturally significant *musical place*. While illuminating musical life in New Orleans, this notion of Preservation Hall also tracks the movements of so-called traditional New Orleans jazz elsewhere. Both at home and abroad, a Preservation Hall Jazz Band concert parlays a combination of musical selections, artistic personas, and strategic set pieces

²⁰³ Bryn Becker, “Preserving the tradition: an interview with Ben Jaffe, creative director for the Preservation Hall Jazz Band,” *The Pickup* (23 June 2013).



Figure 4.5: Animated Preservation Hall Jazz Band in "St. James Infirmary" video

into a portable sense of place—a nightly (and traveling) exhibition of constructed New Orleans energy, atmosphere, and allure. While the general thrust of a Preservation Hall program is predetermined, each element can be adjusted to accommodate a new environmental context (see Figure 4.5).²⁰⁴ *Remodeling* occurs when these adaptations extend the values of the represented tradition, yet preserve a sense of cultural continuity. “We play traditional jazz, but it’s not in a box,” proclaims Charlie Gabriel in a promotional video for the Golden Anniversary live concert album.²⁰⁵ “Everyone that it catches it does something to them, and they do something with the music, and they will keep the music alive...It will breathe on and on.”²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ PHJB, “Preservation Hall Hot Four: St. James Infirmary (King Britt Remix)” (PHJB, Preservation Hall Recordings, 2009), music video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yDYGIeZDMyg>.

²⁰⁵ The title of the live concert album is *St. Peter and 57th Street*, a playful evocation of the musical enactment of Preservation Hall inside the walls of Carnegie Hall conveyed through the blending of their retrospective street addresses.

²⁰⁶ Rounder Records, “The Preservation Hall Jazz Band—St. Peter & 57th St. (A 50th Anniversary Celebration),” posted 21 September 2012.

Reimagining St. James Infirmary

In hopes of further fleshing out the elastic approach of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band—which has proven to be well-suited to the evolving musical environment of Preservation Hall—the following discussion situates my investigation in relation to what we have come to know as the study of music in everyday life. To do so requires the reconfiguration of dominant conceptions of New Orleans as an influential musical landscape in terms of larger, aural ecologies and their component musical tastes, identities, and listening practices. In contrast to a canonized, or idealized, landscape of New Orleans jazz, for example, the study of music in everyday life considers a broad array of linkages between music and place, weighing their effects on how sound attaches additional meaning to the ordinary, often amorphous, spaces and places of human existence. Tia DeNora's *Music in Everyday Life* (2000) treats everyday musical engagement as a formative social pursuit acting in conjunction with an undifferentiated concept of cultural landscape, which she characterizes as an integral, albeit often unrecognized, resource of social agency. Patterns of musical use in different environmental contexts are employed to map related social interactions, traversing relationships to commonplace musical devices and day-to-day music routines as “material cultural resources” for feeling, being, and doing.²⁰⁷ Overall, her work demonstrates the study of music in everyday life as both a form of self-regulation and a means of understanding societal influence.

Applying the concept of *musical remodeling* to the activities of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band works in a similar fashion, in that its uses are contingent upon the observation of active engagement with ideas of New Orleans within the cultural confines of the established Preservation Hall jazz tradition. The question becomes, can we view the music of Preservation

²⁰⁷ Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 152-153.

Hall as similarly porous; as a means of “feeling,” “being,” and “doing” New Orleans jazz? Ultimately, DeNora’s work downplays the impact of detailed, physical geographies in favor of the larger “cultural architecture” of particular social situations, but her formulation of everyday musical engagement as “material cultural resource” helps to demonstrate how ideas of place can be activated and interrogated in a similar fashion. Moreover, her conception of mundane (alternately local) musical activity accounts for more variation; a characteristic of the Preservation Hall tradition that is difficult to reconcile with its broader institutional aims. Although all musical interactions addressed in DeNora’s book occur within the perceived confines of “the everyday,” her approach to musical analysis illuminates an expansive sphere of cultural possibility, with multiple applications. “[Music] may serve as a resource in daily life, and it may be understood to have social ‘powers’ in relation to human social being,” she claims.²⁰⁸ As such, this “musical cultural resource” might be addressed in terms of a broad range of immersive experiences *and* symbolic actions, which might operate independently, or in conjunction with one another.

Although the circumstances that led to the 2012 Preservation Hall Jazz Band concert at Carnegie Hall were unique, the event gives shape to such theoretical eventualities, pointing towards a robust theoretical framework for the music of a *contested local*. Against the backdrop of the New York City concert venue, the laden musical references to the Preservation Hall legacy and the broader musical tradition it represents registered the variable interests of an eclectic audience. Invited guests spoke to a range of applicable musical arenas—reflecting the reach of the honored musicians and the demographic spread of the ticketholders—while the concert program that was conceived for the new, albeit temporary, address engaged the issues of use and

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 151.

social resonance that DeNora raises in her analyses of music in everyday life. That night's musical tribute to the Preservation Hall Jazz Band drew on a string of New Orleans classics repurposed for the New York City audience. Among the many reinterpretations was an evocative rendition of the song "St. James Infirmary," which demonstrates how music may engage powerfully with ideas of the *contested local*, whether in general terms of composition, presentation and reception, or more specific factors involving identity, listening practices, and musical tastes of performers and participants.

"St. James Infirmary," or "St. James Infirmary Blues," is a popular song among New Orleans jazz musicians, including the members of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band. The bluesy ballad, of anonymous origin, tells the story of a down on his luck gambler who is called to St. James Infirmary to identify his dead girlfriend. Variations in the not always performed narrative preamble—a dramatic scene in a "bar room" where the gambler first receives the tragic news about his girl—offer jazz performers ample opportunities to situate the dramatic action of the song in the heavily romanticized world of New Orleans gamblers, madams, crooks, and scoundrels. Over the course of "St. James Infirmary," the narrator is moved to ponder his own death, succumbing to intervening moments of mournful self-reflection. The slow drag of the melancholy vocal easily accommodates lyric variation, allowing the vocalist to make the most of these instances as personalized additions to the unfolding drama. Trumpet player and jazz icon Louis Armstrong called for a "jazz band on my hearse wagon" in his influential 1928 recording of "St. James Infirmary," while Cab Calloway requested a chorus girl to "sing me a song," and a red-hot jazz band to "raise hallelujah as we go along." Clint Maegden, Preservation Hall Jazz Band vocalist and tenor saxophone player, notably requests that the Preservation Hall Jazz Band lead the funeral parade, further anchoring the larger musical narrative in New Orleans with

explicit references to place. When reminded that there is no St. James Infirmary in the city proper—that this song’s relationship to New Orleans was built over time in the national imagination—interpretations of the song present distinctive opportunities to examine the impact of musical evocations of the local. Instead of residual traces of a singular, local music environment, the sense of place impinging on the performance of “St. James Infirmary” is *created*—engineered with representative references, allusions, and associations to New Orleans.

As one of the highlights of the band’s fiftieth-anniversary Carnegie Hall concert, the marathon performance of “St. James Infirmary”—broken up into “St. James Infirmary: Part 1,” and “St. James Infirmary: Part 2” on the live concert album—illustrates the expressive range of the New Orleans classic, and the different artistic uses to which it can be put (See Figure 4.6).²⁰⁹ The combined talents of Jim James (vocal), Clint Maegdan (vocal), King Britt (beats/electronics), Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews (trombone), Tom Blankenship (tambourine), Bo Koster (piano), Patrick Hallahan (bass drum), and Carl Broemel (acoustic guitar) render a sophisticated treatment of place. The additional voices and performing forces provided by King Britt, a Philadelphia-based mixed media artist; Troy Andrews, an up-and-coming jazz fusion artist; and members of the rock/alternative band My Morning Jacket relate the sonic profile of the bluesy ballad to a broader popular sound world, constructing an immersive musical experience engaged with the larger cultural significance of traditional New Orleans jazz. Even though the Preservation Hall Jazz Band does, in fact, rely on a standard repertory of familiar New Orleans classics, they have also continued to help grow this repertoire, adopting creative approaches to their shared mission that resonate with shifting metrics of cultural significance. An in-depth examination of the arrangement reveals “St. James Infirmary”

²⁰⁹ PHJB, “Preservation Hall Hot Four: St. James Infirmary (King Britt Remix).”

to be a strategic choice in this regard, furthering the agenda of Preservation Hall in the process of engaging ideas of place at multiple levels. While looking back over the traditional repertoire that has made the Preservation Hall Jazz Band what it is today, this rendition of “St. James Infirmary” serves as a jumping off point for increasingly adventurous, cross over collaborations. Combining interpretation with creative reinterpretation, this two-part performance evokes ideas of place as a self-reflexive act of musical preservation.

Preservation of Place



Figure 4.6: Visualization of Song Introduction in “St. James Infirmary” video

During a 2013 interview for KEXP 90.3 FM Seattle, Ben Jaffe commented, “You know, what’s amazing is, I mean, Charlie always talks about, he’s a fourth generation musician, but he also talks about there [being] three more generations underneath him playing music.”²¹⁰ The tuba

²¹⁰ Charlie Gabriel is a fourth generation New Orleans musician. Ben Jaffe is the son of the previous Preservation Hall Jazz Band director, and Preservation Hall proprietor, Allan Jaffe, and

player's characteristically meandering commentary circles an important distinction between the reenactment of a traditional musical practice and the continuation of a historic musical tradition. The latter responds to changing times, and places, while maintaining a commitment to so-called traditional values. In practice, a successful Preservation Hall Jazz Band arrangement achieves this goal by creating a musical environment in which an audience can feel immersed in a palpable sense of New Orleans. Responding to the relationships of place and place-based expectations acting upon the popular reception of their work, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band musician makes Preservation Hall portable when they strike the right notes of local aura and ambience. By exploiting the drama of the lyric narrative to its fullest potential, the composition of "St. James Infirmary: Part 1" draws the listener in through the powerful juxtaposition of expected and unexpected musical choices.

The original song is recognizable throughout, even though it is stretched to its outermost limitations. Climactic instances of haunting moaning and bouts of expected, New Orleans style heterophony provide momentary relief while the work s l o w l y unfurls. Different solo pairings, moments of stop time, and other idiomatic touches accentuate the grief expressed in the vocal, gathering additional layers as episodic events gradually accumulate. Those awaiting the arrival of this familiar refrain:

Let her go, let her go, god bless her, wherever she may be.
She can search the whole wide world over, but she'll never find a sweeter man than me.

are bowled over by its intensity when it finally comes—both prelude and conclusion to one, final, frenzied eruption of pounding drums and agitated brass:

Mark Braud extends the familial reach of the Brunious family. Braud is the nephew of Wendel and John Brunious (both former leaders and trumpeter players of The Preservation Hall Jazz Band. Drummer Joe Lastie Jr., Ronnell Johnson, and Rickie Monie also have similar ties to New Orleans and jazz, but they do not figure quite as prominently in the public promotion of the band.

She's gone, she's gone, god bless her. She's mine wherever she may be. She is rambled this wide world over, but she never found a man like me

Almost taking the form of a stage piece, “St. James Infirmary” harnesses the qualities of a “real” place, leaving the listener vulnerable to the effects of extreme, emotional highs and lows. Many of the participating musicians take impressive solos—showcasing great skill and stylistic expertise—but the focus remains on the affective dimensions of the tune, making the listener feel as if they are living it. Paul Sanden’s take on the performance of “liveness” in modern music is helpful here, spelling out the ways in which a seemingly straightforward environmental distinction can encapsulate a complex bundle of observations and interpretive conclusions.²¹¹ Relative to the “live” vs. “recorded” binary, Sanden’s framework for “liveness” is expansive, treating the perception of environment as an analytical tool. One could respond to a sense of temporal, or spatial “liveness,” for instance, approximating the traditional use of the term “live” in relation to music making. Or, a compelling improvisation could generate a “liveness” of corporeality—marking the strength of a powerful, organic, human creation. A feeling of interactive, or virtual “liveness” can serve as an indication of social connectivity among web-based music communities, appending additional meaning and significance to the corresponding musical activity. Returning again to the subject of “St. James Infirmary,” the “liveness” of this interpretation overwhelms idiosyncratic elements of the arrangement with the strength and immediacy of place. The atmospheric interpretation has a powerful, emotional impact—using the aforementioned feeling of “liveness” to promote a sense of stylistic conformity with traditional conceptions of New Orleans jazz.

The musical elaboration of a locally situated musical sensibility draws attention to the

²¹¹ Paul Sanden, *Liveness in Modern Music: Musicians, Technology, and the Perception of Performance* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2013).

sonic and social boundaries that are policed by this type of geographical construct. The same historic connections to place that frame the musical selection as authentically New Orleans also work to obscure the intrusion of outside musical influences. In this case, a prolonged introduction underscores the spectacle of the “St. James Infirmary” production about to unfold, signaling that the performance is as much about the idea of traditional New Orleans jazz as it is a musical reenactment of a New Orleans classic. A preceding tuba vamp, ornamented by a colorful trombone call, throws the form of the initial, straightforward piano introduction into sharp relief, drawing attention to the hidden potential of the song’s original composition. If the sequence operated in reverse, the freeform improvisation would come across as artistic license. Instead, a familiar approach to “St. James Infirmary” grows out of a fitting, but unpredictable, musical texture. The performance is framed by the possibilities of traditional New Orleans musical practices, as opposed to the parameters of a preset musical style, or repertoire.

Place as Preservation



Figure 4.7: Ponchartrain Beach amusement park in "St. James Infirmary" Video

There is a long history in western music of composers quoting, arranging, and outright transforming pre-existing melodies, songs, and styles in pursuit of a particular communal spirit, or essence. This has served as a musical means of engaging with the history and culture of others, or delving more deeply into the intricacies of one's own cultural experiences and identities. Attending a concert at Preservation Hall has served this purpose for a variety of satisfied visitors. "Within its aptly named walls," writes one interested news correspondent, "are preserved the purest styles of this American art form."²¹² The musical activities of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band engages a broader range of similar endeavors drawing on a larger array of methods to further a more complex, cultural agenda. Published anthologies, recording projects, repertory ensembles, and more have also involved the work of performers, folklorists, conductors, and historians in the pursuit of a compelling, musical identity, drawing our attention to the ways in which the definition and selection of the underlying source material impacts this mode of artistic expression. Recent scholarly book titles such as *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow* (2010) and *Cultural Production in and Beyond the Recording Studio* (2015) indicate the extent to which the effect, authenticity, and significance of represented sounds can be subjected to similar types of creative mediation, exposing connections to less scholarly enterprises, such as mass cultural tourism and the commercial music industry.²¹³

Against this analytical backdrop, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band stands out as a uniquely situated repertory ensemble, straddling the boundaries between art, history, commerce, and

²¹² Diane Thomas, "Jazz Tradition Nurtured In Orleans French Quarter," *The Atlantic Constitution* (11 October 1969), 2T.

²¹³ Karl Hagstrom Miller, *Segregating Sound: Inventing Folk and Pop Music in the Age of Jim Crow* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2010), Allan Watson, *Cultural Production in and Beyond the Recording Studio* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), and Katherine Baber and James Spickard, "Crafting Culture: 'Tradition,' Art, and Music in Disney's 'It's A Small World'," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 48, No. 2 (1 April 2015), 225-239.

community outreach with a distinctive combination of “preservationist” performance practices. The curatorial work of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band often entails the reconciliation of invested cultural interests. Journalists and critics alike have evaluated the contributions of generations of Preservation Hall players based on their strength and skill as performers *and* their effectiveness as ambassadors of both New Orleans culture and American musical history. While restrained by ideas of place in their choice of repertoire, playful interpretations of place have also allowed the band to reach new creative heights—securing new audience demographics—exploring mixed media production, collaboration, and even *composition* as means of entertaining tourists and broadening cultural awareness of traditional New Orleans jazz. Furthermore, performances of Preservation Hall jazz also register responses to changing environmental contexts as the continued reproduction of “traditional New Orleans jazz.” Preservation Hall Jazz Band repertoire may include the music by Jelly Roll Morton, Louis Armstrong, and other New Orleans records, but the history of the organization records the activities of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians themselves. Everything from house arrangements to the stewardship of the group projects an idea of preservation rooted in the ongoing work of the participants.

This means that when Preservation Hall grows, so do the methods of performing preservation. Along these lines, “St. James Infirmary: Part 2” models the musical preservation perpetuated by Preservation Hall with a contemporary response to New Orleans as a culturally significant *musical place*. To produce the piece, the mixed media artist King Britt sampled old Preservation Hall recordings of “St. James Infirmary,” reengineering the overall affect of the Preservation Hall staple as a way of bringing the impact of the New Orleans standard in line with his understanding of its cultural significance. In a personal blog post on the subject, King Britt reflects on the fast-paced approach of his version, writing:

When I think of funerals and death I tend to lean toward a celebration of their lives, rather than a somber time. So with this vibe, I created a double time version which was happier and upbeat...I sampled some horns as an idea for the band to re-interpret as well, and then we recorded in The Hall.”²¹⁴

The described compositional process involves place in the enjoyment of the resulting musical product as an integral, interpretive lens—focusing the listener’s attention on select elements and elemental interactions as they attempt to discern the artist’s underlying message, or intent. In this way, the King Britt Remix further illuminates the ways in which ideas of place can be creatively reformed as a powerful means of cultural expression.

When discussing his other work, some of which engages New Orleans through other musical means, King Britt speaks about the idea of “remix” as a means of “enhancing” historic repertoire. He has claimed that, through the use of technology, he is able to “bring awareness to cultures in a different way.”²¹⁵ Resonating with the artist’s propensity for collage, this assertion illustrates the powerful role technology has to play in his work—orchestrating the audiovisual layering of musical past and present. The artist’s notion of “remix” also has some interesting implications for the creative utility of place as well. The idea behind the “St. James Infirmary” King Britt Remix was to draw out sonic and social connections to present day voices, identities, and life experiences through the use of extended, or experimental means. As the architect of a reimagined New Orleans—composing a piece of music with the intent of preserving this embedded history—the listener relates to King Britt as a New Orleans practitioner.

²¹⁴ “King Britt x Preservation Hall Jazz Band x Carnegie Hall,” *kingbritt.com* (<http://kingbritt.com/2012/08/11/king-britt-x-preservation-hall-jazz-band-x-carnegie-hall/>).

²¹⁵ Doree Shafrir, “Preaching the Gospel: King Britt’s new album began in New Orleans in 1970, with one woman and a tambourine,” *Philadelphia Weekly* (7 September 2005), 40. See also: Dan DeLuca, “Sister mix Philadelphia DJ and producer King Britt found inspiration, and a new album, in a 1970s recording by sister Gertrude Morgan, a New Orleans preacher and artist,” *Philadelphia Inquirer* (21 September 2005), D1, and Kevin C. Johnson, “King Britt keeps educating music fans with the unexpected,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (31 August 2012).

The presence of his Preservation Hall collaborators are important in this regard, verifying the artist's sentiments about the importance of history as authentic. The featured animation in the associated music video visualizes the impact of such cues, setting the lines between experiential place and figurative place in motion. Directed by Lafayette-based visual artist James Tancill, the award winning video follows the antics of Ronnie Numbers and Mr. Turk of *The New Orleans Bingo! Show* as they roam through Preservation Hall, Jackson Square, and the long-defunct Ponchartrain Beach amusement park (see Figure 4.7).²¹⁶ In and among the crazy antics of the featured cartoon characters, a steady stream of references to knowable New Orleans figures, landmarks, and sounds keep the viewer-turned-listener grounded in the reality of a historically significant musical place. Acting as a visual record of the audible "remix," the New Orleans collage demonstrates the creative performance of place as a form of musical preservation. When presented as part of the anniversary concert program, the work is brought into the narrative fold of Preservation Hall history, allowing the forward-thinking collaboration to become part of the larger musical remodel staged at Carnegie Hall. The collision of old and new is reconciled in the process of reassembly, authenticated through performed relationships to place.

Preserving a Place for Tradition

Part of what makes the design and public presentation of this two-part arrangement of "St. James Infirmary" special involves the circumstances of the ensemble's anniversary year. Concert retrospectives of this sort are not an unusual occurrence as a rule. Where others have honored influential musical figures, or acknowledged important successes and milestones though, the Fiftieth Golden Anniversary Concert at Carnegie Hall was first and foremost a celebration of

²¹⁶ PHJB, "Preservation Hall Hot Four: St. James Infirmary (King Britt Remix)."

New Orleans and what it means in terms of the enjoyment and appreciation of Preservation Hall Jazz. Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians are self-proclaimed New Orleans jazz musicians, which means they have an undeniable relationship to the city and what it represents in terms of their musical training, favored musical approach, and repertoire. At the same time, the design of the “St. James Infirmary” arrangement featured on the Carnegie Hall program and included on the momentous, two disc collection, *St. Peter and 57th Street* helped to re-educate audiences in what their music could be. The chosen venue lent additional weight and credibility to the forward thinking collaboration, yielding an immersive musical world shaped in accordance with the interests of a modern audience.

Special guests followed suit, simulating the impact of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band with more explicit claims to the significance of the presented music. Before launching into “El Manicero,” Tao Seeger explained, “New Orleans music is unique in the United States because of a lot of things, but it is the habanera rhythm that makes it the most unique.” Although the Preservation Hall Jazz Band has recorded the tune several times, this rendition downplays the versatility of the ensemble in favor of the preceding history lesson. Seeger’s flawless Spanish lilts over the prominent bass line, which is made to seem sluggish by the weight of the tuba plugging along. Layers of auxiliary percussion and the nimble interplay of the trumpet, clarinet, and saxophone offer regular infusions of playful energy, but the performance does not have the immersive quality that “St. James Infirmary: Part 1” does. In comparison, “T’aint Nobody’s Business,” as realized by Steve Earle, served as a compelling response to the “old time” feel of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band. The ensemble aesthetic fits well with Earle’s country twang, and the straightforward accompaniment of piano and guitar. “T’aint Nobody’s Business” does not readily lend itself to the New Orleans premise though, requiring some added historical

context. After a warm introduction by trumpet player Mark Braud, the guitarist introduced the number as follows:

This is what I came up with from a kind of Chinese menu of songs that we had [to choose from]. I took one back a step from the way people sang it in New Orleans. This version is older and started a little up river from there.

These remarks are interesting in that they describe “a step backwards” from New Orleans as a means of justifying a musical selection suited to the combined strengths of the featured musicians. Lyrical references to Memphis, Tennessee, are subsequently overlooked in favor of appreciating a vaguely defined sense of the musical origins of Preservation Hall jazz. Both Seeger and Earle rely heavily on history in the definition of their musical contribution, enlivening a concept of cultural significance with the corresponding Preservation Hall Jazz Band collaboration. The demonstrated evocations of place pay tribute to the selected repertoire, framing their performances as outsiders as celebrations of the global importance of Preservation Hall and the Preservation Hall Jazz Band. Overall, the program honored the collective efforts of multiple generations of Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians who have sought to create, promote, and teach New Orleans music as living American history.

The effects of *musical remodeling* are made most apparent in the asserted relationships to New Orleans, surfacing a prescribed, proprietary sense of place that frames Preservation Hall jazz as culturally significant. The style of idiomatic reinterpretation illustrated by the two-part “St. James Infirmary” arrangement helps to create and maintain a place for the Preservation Hall Jazz Band reinforced by their public involvement in Preservation Hall education programs, master classes, brass band competitions, and other forms of community outreach. In their attempts to transform a musical experience once tied to a French Quarter storefront on St. Peter Street into a New Orleans sound that can be heard around the world, Preservation Hall Jazz Band

musicians have discovered a means of effectively reacting and responding to the changing, environmental conditions of their overarching, preservationist project. When experienced as a marathon concert performance, or caught in passing on a late night television program, audiences engage with the music of Preservation Hall Jazz Band in the way that one might conduct an ongoing excavation project, absorbing the music's cultural significance in the defined use and interpretation of the presented. As previously stated, the successes of Preservation Hall and the Preservation Hall Jazz Band stem from an ability to *remodel* the local music tradition to which they are tied, engaging with place as a means of helping the listener make the leap from sound to city based on what they see, hear, and glean from the context of a particular performance.

No visit to Preservation Hall is complete without a glimpse of the fabled requests board that hangs on the wall behind the musicians. It serves as a reminder that the global world of New Orleans mass cultural tourism has an inescapable impact on the creative autonomy of local, Preservation Hall artists. The implication is that those who treat the performers as extensions of the French Quarter service economy will be treated in kind. The price breakdown—*Traditional Request*: \$2.00, *Others*: \$5.00, *The Saints*: \$10.00—notably discriminates against the locally infamous “When the Saints Go Marching In,” a parade tune that has acquired an uncomplimentary reputation as a favorite among tourists, specifically targeting the interests of those who aim to treat Preservation Hall as a New Orleans tourist attraction. As no one has actually been charged in Preservation Hall for making requests of any kind, and “The Saints” remains an unavoidable staple of Preservation Hall Jazz Band repertoire, the presence of the sign inside the iconic, French Quarter establishment communicates an embattled artistic agenda. It remains a silent call to audiences for recognition and support as something other than a Bourbon Street thrill, or trademark New Orleans amusement.

What does the radical new world of the increasingly *contested local* look like (and sound like)? Resonating with the observations of geographer Heidi Scott, the musical landscape of our hyper-connected world is changing at a rate that has outpaced our understanding of its geographical makeup and influence:

The dramatic effects of global capital, new technologies, and the growing mobility of populations have made it imperative to rethink territorially bounded concepts of culture or culture groups in cultural geography, anthropology, and cultural studies alike.²¹⁷

A local music tradition, as defined by the musical world of Preservation Hall, is constituted by the activity of New Orleans natives, enthusiasts, and tourists who come together under the umbrella of a music institution rooted in New Orleans, further cultivated by waves of broader revivalist impulses rippling outward, bolstered by the outside influences of mounting public recognition—a perplexing blend of geographical distinctions and classifications. In my conception of *musical remodeling*, the difficulties one encounters in unraveling this complicated, cultural geography are illustrative of the effects of the local as an interpretive frame, rather than a sign of an encroaching global environment. Where one might observe activity tied to a singular musical spot, venue, or landmark, I see a way towards understanding a dynamic form of cultural investment in New Orleans history and culture acting upon overlapping cultural configurations of place.

Even when enmeshed in the noise of more global contestation and debate, local music still captures, cultivates, and expresses ideas of local distinctiveness. The social position(s) and function(s) of Preservation Hall, and the Preservation Hall Jazz Band, may fluctuate, but much about the representative forms of connectivity and environmental proximity that activate ideas of

²¹⁷ Heidi Scott, “Cultural Turns,” in *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, edited by Jams S. Duncan, Nuala C. Johnson, and Richard H. Schein (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004), 30.

local New Orleans remain intact—appropriated as a platform for the continued (re)construction of the authentic musical world to which the New Orleans musical institution stakes its reputation. Not every city has a Preservation Hall—or a historic French Quarter district for that matter—but a local event on par with a Fourth of July concert, or an amateur folk music session, strikes many of the same notes of immediacy, connectivity, and significance. The familiarity of ritual, the felt intimacy of community, the apparent authenticity of music performed by a recognized local practitioner—these are all characteristics of special musical encounters we associate with local music environments. Ideas or expressions of “the local” create, mark, and sometimes even subvert opportunities to get close to a geographically embedded (musical) way of life, often acting independently of their fixed geographical anchors. They represent sounds that evoke very real, immediate, and sentimental connections to place, standing in for voices that speak to us most directly, endowed with the ability to act on our behalf.

Along these lines, the example of Preservation Hall demonstrates the expanded use of ideas of place, particularly local place, as an influential frame for cultural experience and understanding. As the approaches (and identities) of Preservation Hall musicians adapt, evolve, and change, the local music environment of Preservation Hall is *remodeled*. Core values are maintained through a continual process of transformation, establishing the parameters of “the local” as a variable form of cultural expression. A sense of cultural significance is derived from the choice to keep a musical tradition close, regardless of cost, as opposed to keeping it safe from the endless choices and negotiations that constitute the everyday. Listening more attentively to the nature of this *musical remodeling* over time helps us better understand what is gained or lost in a changed musical place, attending to music as something that facilitates environmental adaptation even while it registers sweeping environmental change. In this vein, Preservation Hall

is one illustration among many of the complex geographical situations and conditions that order our understanding of popular forms of music making. If anything, the case of this local, New Orleans musical institution suggests that the boundaries between the protection of our musical past and plans for our musical future are not always clear.

CHAPTER FIVE

Coming Out of My Trombone: Troy Andrews and the Musical Revitalization of New Orleans

That's It!, one of the most popular Preservation Hall Jazz Band (PHJB) compilations of the past decade, raises the subject of tradition, which has surfaced in various guises throughout this dissertation, but asserts itself now more forcefully as part of a discussion of New Orleans music post-Katrina.²¹⁸ Chief architects Ben Jaffe and Jim James designed the 2013 album as a continuation of the musical legacy of Preservation Hall, adopting a somewhat controversial stance towards the prescribed New Orleans jazz tradition by approximating the group's signature sound with entirely *new* material. Individual selections repurpose the most recognizable elements of classic PHJB tunes, orchestrating what Gwen Thompkins, *First Listen* correspondent for National Public Radio, praised as “a memory trick, managing to sound both familiar and fresh.”²¹⁹ Indeed, the stylized gestures that form the backbone of *That's It!* span multiple musical epochs, producing what *Rolling Stone* contributor Jon Dolan characterized as “a set that subtly plays with history.”²²⁰ As a deliberate departure from their traditional repertory—the only collection of original works in the lengthy PHJB discography—*That's It!* calls the definition of the ensemble's seemingly static New Orleans spirit into question, inviting debate about whether

²¹⁸ *That's It!* was released 9 July 2013.

²¹⁹ Gwen Thompkins, “First Listen: Preservation Hall Jazz Band, ‘That's It!’” *NPR Music* <http://www.npr.org/2013/06/30/195945367/first-listen-preservation-hall-jazz-band-thats-it>.

²²⁰ Jon Dolan, “That's It!” *Rolling Stone* (18 October 2013): <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/albumreviews/thats-it-20131018>.

or not the composed slippage between New Orleans past and present serves as a productive example of “traditional New Orleans jazz.” In terms of place, one wonders, at what point does *musical remodeling* become outright rebuilding, dispensing with the organization’s curatorial charge all together?

The release of *That’s It!* led to other institutional innovations as well, including the first ever PHJB music video contest. Forty-nine filmmakers across sixteen countries submitted their own audiovisual interpretations of the title track in hopes of winning five thousand dollars as well as the opportunity to have their contribution screened at select PHJB shows and prominently displayed on PHJB digital properties.²²¹ Laying new roots in a global marketplace, the gallery of Preservation Hall Jazz Band video portraits enjoyed by an expanded audience of Genero.tv users—a community of digital media consumers maintained by the social networking platform used to moderate the competition—spans a broad range of geographical perspectives, placing Preservation Hall in-between colliding notions of New Orleans and jazz. Urbane flappers, anthropomorphized instruments, CGI musicians, stop motion barbie dolls, frenetic cityscapes, and more, were all enlisted in the challenge to represent “who and what [the band] is today.”²²² The myriad musical constructions of New Orleans inspired, circulated, and celebrated as part of the *That’s It!* video contest refocuses our attention on the “paradox” of the Preservation Hall tradition at the heart of the project, posed by Jaffe, the creative director of the PHJB, to the contest participants as follows: “How does an institution based on an early twentieth century

²²¹ The PHJB music video contest launched 8 May 2013, as part of the album’s initial rollout. Genero.tv—a social networking platform that connects aspiring filmmakers with the music and advertising industries—was employed to moderate. Generally speaking, Genero.tv users: 1) create an account, 2) seek out and respond to project requests (i.e. the PHJB video contest), 3) upload their work, a set of required release forms, and then 4) await a decision from the client who selects (and pays for) one of the submitted pieces.

²²² Preservation Hall Jazz Band Project page, Genero.tv (<http://genero.tv/preservationhall/project>).

musical culture prosper in the twenty-first?” When considered more broadly, this foray into the growing virtual world of contemporary popular music offers a perplexing take on the depiction of place. Do desperate times call for drastic maneuvers? Once lost, can a sense of *musical place* ever be fully recovered?

The winning entry in the music video contest, contributed by director, choreographer, and film editor, Jo Roy, was unveiled on Gawker.com, 7 September 2013, and it remains, more than two years later, one of the most watched Preservation Hall Jazz Band music videos currently in existence. In comparison to the vintage, Max Fleischer-inspired animation that illuminates the whimsical musical world of “St. James Infirmary (King Britt Remix),” discussed in the previous chapter, Roy’s street ballet for “That’s It” gives the fast-paced instrumental a decidedly modern edge. The highly articulated, angular movements of New Orleans’s only observable inhabitants in the video accentuate the propulsive drive of the track, evoking a musical approach that resists widely accepted conventions of traditional New Orleans jazz. Viewers take notice of a multi-tiered give-and-take between the ensemble and featured soloist Marc Braud where they might have expected to encounter more relaxed, more idiomatic, collective New Orleans-style polyphony. The cast of the video—a solo tap dancer working in dialogue with a battery of five break-dancers dressed to the nines in matching tuxedos—spotlights the musical stylings of a reinvigorated PHJB in and around the rooftops, alleyways, and storefronts of a stately metropolis, offering a striking response to the contest challenge. As an artifact of the post-Katrina context, the video seems to engage the above questions, even though it lacks overt signifiers of cultural return. In the place of iconic scenes of the Preservation Hall interior, or the picturesque surrounds of the historic French Quarter district, we see a series of sprawling urban spaces. The agile outbursts that give shape to the tune’s interlocking textures cut through the

“That’s It!” Screen Shots

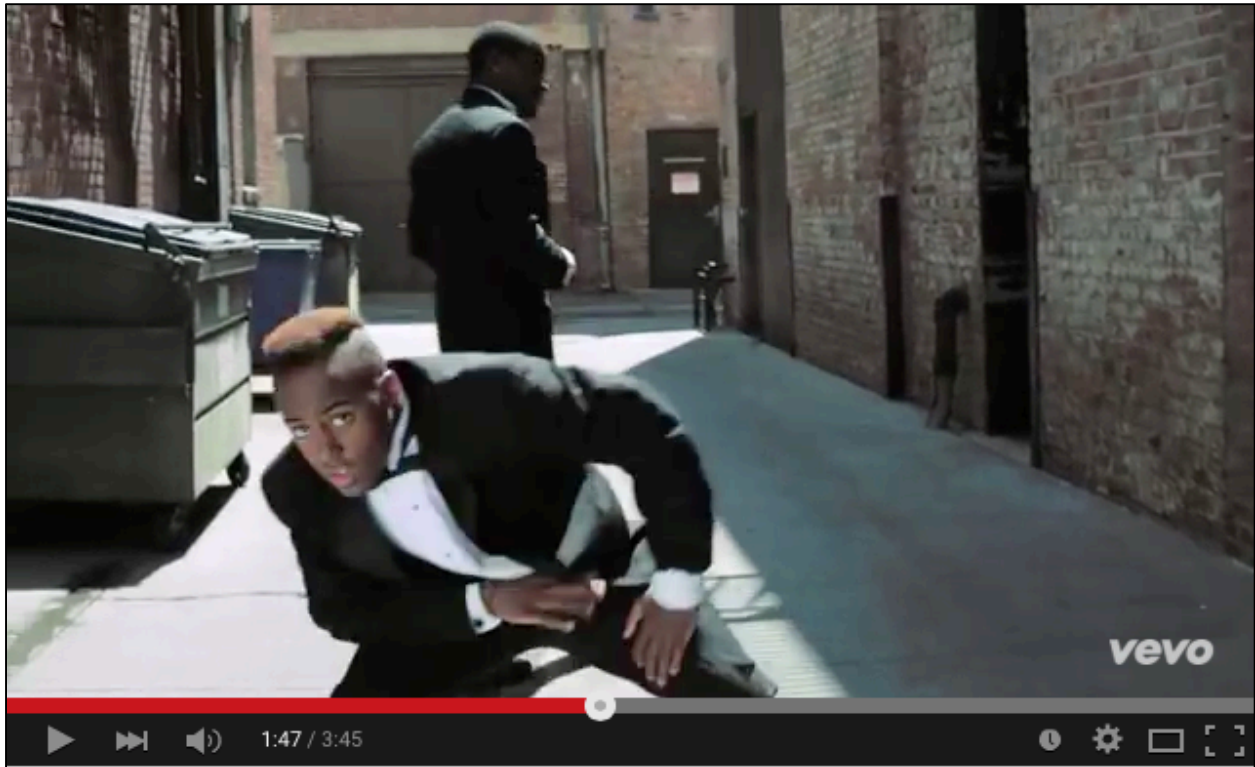


Figure 5.1: Trumpet /Dance Solo in New Orleans Alleyway



Figure 5.2: Glimpse of an Empty New Orleans Restaurant

surprising stillness of brick and concrete (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2).²²³ This juxtaposition comes across as unnerving, revealing a vibrant, yet relatively nondescript, cityscape that stands as a metaphor for contemporary New Orleans.

By broaching the subject of disaster—a musical New Orleans overrun by a type of creative destruction we have only begun to understand—this chapter probes the restorative effects of *musical place*; the striking juxtaposition of sounds, styles, and histories present in the “That’s It!” music video, which recurs in a diverse array of contemporary New Orleans musical practices. One of my primary aims is to show how a broader range of community building projects, which includes the PHJB contest, can be understood as part of the collective efforts of a distinctive cohort of New Orleans musicians presented with the seemingly impossible task of replicating, reviving, and replenishing the post-Katrina musical life of their city. The artists involved in the creation of such musical moments do not necessarily shy away from portraying an austere New Orleans landscape, whether by evoking musical images of paralyzing trauma or the stark emptiness wrought by continued adversity. On the contrary, they embrace musical representation as an experimental space for renewed cultural expression, one that both injures and ignites the imagination. In the following analysis, I move away from more familiar constructions of cultural recovery towards more unconventional notions of *musical revitalization*, an idea that resituates the role of music in the continued rebuilding of New Orleans on a larger spectrum of cultural experience and activity. This, I argue, allows us to recognize the contributions of a wider population of New Orleans musicians actively engaged in the musical remaking of the city.

²²³ PHJB, “Preservation Hall Jazz Band—That’s It!” (PHJB, Sony Music Entertainment, 2013), music video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZICaUybMucY>.

More specifically, this chapter explores the ways in which musical artists have responded to the uncertainty of the post-Katrina context, enacting a sense of place not remembered, but *relocated*. Drawing inspiration from Roy’s music video for “That’s It,” I focus on the ability of music to both articulate and reconcile a *dislocated* sense of place, registering a process that merges musical reimagination and renewal operating in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. At first, the updated New Orleans sounds of the PHJB and visions of empty New Orleans streets packaged together in an unfamiliar form of musical presentation resists our preconceptions of Preservation Hall. The reified *musical place* many yearn for is there but not there; it is *dislocated*, aptly illustrated by the use of the unconventional Preservation Hall Jazz Band track without the visual of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band musicians. That which leaps to the mind’s eye (by way of the ear) is nowhere to be found, fragmented by its reinterpretation. In practice, as part of an ongoing effort to insure the existence of Preservation Hall, the recombinant musical depiction of place is actually regenerative. This *relocated* sense of *musical place* offers a reformulation of the city’s musical and cultural presence, which manifests as a forward-looking concept of New Orleans tradition that honors the past while simultaneously breaking new musical ground. As a repurposed understanding of the “deluged city”—a sense of place derived from the stark landscape of a submerged New Orleans—this approach reaches beyond the pale of musical convention, working to both reestablish *and* recalibrate a disrupted sense of New Orleans musical life.

DISASTER AND DISLOCATION

On 27 August 2005—two days before the landfall of Hurricane Katrina in the city of New Orleans—the loyal staff of New Orleans’s WWOZ 90.7 FM officially signed off, joining

the ranks of the other hundreds of thousands of residents that were forced to leave the city. The self-proclaimed Guardians of the Groove were bested, albeit temporarily, by the brute force of Mother Nature, scattered across the southern United States to brace for the impending storm. After the deluge, the dispersed WWOZ staffers managed to resume their work, fighting to bring the sounds of New Orleans back on the air in their own way. From the furthest reaches of intermittent Internet access emerged a web-based, WWOZ crisis center, which streamed music, aid information, and updates on the whereabouts of displaced musicians until the organization's normal programming could resume in the city proper. More than just colorful hyperbole, this poignant glimpse of New Orleans musical life during the onslaught of Hurricane Katrina serves as a rich example of a New Orleans disaster narrative. As a discursive tool in cultural rebuilding, its primary functions are to help make intelligible the otherwise incomprehensible losses that are sustained during a disaster of such magnitude, and to commemorate the depths of human resiliency that come to light in the face of such devastating tragedy. Without downplaying the significance of such heroics, or those of countless others not mentioned in this account, I begin with the story of the "WWOZ In-Exile" broadcasts as a productive introduction to the use(s) of music I aim to unpack. While not unique to the circumstances of the New Orleans situation, the city's profile as a historic *musical place* makes it well suited to this type of discussion.

To begin, I want to emphasize a few general points. First, the WWOZ example described above provides us with two primary frames of reference, *disaster* and *dislocation*. As a qualifying measure of *disaster*, the "exiling" of WWOZ—official radio station of the New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival and purveyor of almost twenty-five years of New Orleans music, news, and educational programming—resonates as a cultural loss, an absent sense of place. For weeks, listeners went without the sounds of New Orleans that long circulated on

WWOZ: the stories of Crescent City writers, filmmakers, historians, Mardi Gras Indians, and parade grand marshals set to a steady stream of jazz, blues, Cajun, zydeco, gospel, and Caribbean music that constitute the “WWOZ kaleidoscope of [New Orleans] voices, rich in oral imagery.”²²⁴ The actual “WWOZ In-Exile” broadcasts in Katrina’s aftermath serve in comparison as a marker of *dislocation*, a byproduct of a detached sense of place. In this context, the country drawl of Lucinda Williams’s “Crescent City” takes on the traits of its estranged contributor, WWOZ’s Dean Ellis:

This is Dean Ellis coming to you from Jersey City, New Jersey, place of my birth and now the home of WWOZ in exile, WWOZ-FM in New Orleans, place of my rebirth. We're still buoyant, we're still here, we're still New Orleans, we're still OZ. Here's Lucinda [Williams].²²⁵

After this introduction, the impact of Williams’s depiction of New Orleans shifts. Rather than miss the familiar place commemorated by her poignant song, we mourn the damaging effects of displacement on the place described in her song lyrics where “everything’s [suddenly *not*] still the same.” As a single entry on one playlist, powered by mp3 files amassed via email, the sounds of this Crescent City draw our attention to the disastrous ramifications of a New Orleans rendered unrecognizable. While not mutually exclusive, the value of drawing such distinctions between *disaster* and *dislocation* offer a clearer understanding of the modes of public and private responses across which music might be working, and the multifaceted means through which it might speak to the nature of different circumstances.

Second, the capacity of music to reconcile a bifurcated (read disconnected) sense of place is at the heart of what makes the WWOZ disaster narrative compelling. As *one* New Orleans

²²⁴ *Up From The Cradle of Jazz: New Orleans Music Since World War II*, as quoted by WWOZ. See Eve Troeh, “History of WWOZ,” *New Orleans WWOZ 90.7 FM*: <http://www.wwoz.org/about/history>.

²²⁵ Eve Troeh, “Reviving the Music of New Orleans’ WWOZ,” *npr music*: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4932147>.

music institution, the example of WWOZ conveys the effect of an absent sense of place, a detached sense of place, *and* an attempt to restore order by drawing these fragmented notions of place back together. This may seem like an obvious point, but it remains an enormously significant one nevertheless. Following the assertions of Sara Le Menestrel and Jacques Henry, such dramatic circumstances offer “a unique occasion for assessing the strength and nature of these ties and, beyond the particularity of New Orleans, for exploring the relationship between music and place.”²²⁶ A further illustration of this point can be found in a *Rolling Stone* interview that appeared a little over a month after Hurricane Katrina. In this piece, journalist Evan Serpick interviews Quint Davis, acting director of the annual New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival. Heralding the recuperative effects of the “WWOZ In-Exile” broadcasts, Davis rejoiced in the disembodied New Orleans “voice,” or “presence,” that the newly crowd-sourced version of WWOZ streaming helped to engineer, underscoring the ability of the displaced New Orleans sounds to double as early signs of the city’s long-term recovery. In his commentary, Davis likened the musical return of New Orleans to the relief of reorientation, responding to both a sense of loss, and a sense of cultural disruption. “For a while we didn’t exist,” he explained, “but now WWOZ is a beacon out there that says, ‘New Orleans is on the air.’”²²⁷

Third, there is a difference between an implicit grasp of the reconciliatory powers of music I have described and a systematic understanding of how they function. For evidence of this one need look no further than the widespread circulation of the WWOZ disaster narrative, which stands as proof of a broader understanding of its discursive powers. One week after the WWOZ crisis center went live, the streaming music it offered was already local, regional, and

²²⁶ Sara Le Menestrel and Jacques Henry, “‘Sing Us Back Home’: Music, Place, and the Production of Locality in Post-Katrina New Orleans,” *Popular Music and Society* 33, No. 2 (May 2010), 179.

²²⁷ Evan Serpick, “New Orleans Calling,” *Rolling Stone* (6 October 2005), 30.

national news. At home, the “WWOZ In-Exile” broadcasts accompanied much needed signs of normalcy. Chris Rose, contributor to *The New Orleans Times-Picayune*, mused:

The toilets flush now, and I never thought that would be a sound of reassurance. An even better sound was finding out that WWOZ is broadcasting on the Web—radio in exile—laying out their great New Orleans music.²²⁸

Abroad, the “WWOZ In-Exile” broadcast was more closely tied to a musical legacy under siege, calling out to the place of New Orleans in the national imagination. Alongside the more poetic notions of WWOZ as the “musical heartbeat of the city,” which appeared in papers ranging from *The New York Times* to *The Washington Times*, this snappy news item in *Philadelphia Weekly* offers a candid glimpse of what the “WWOZ In-Exile” broadcasts meant to the world outside New Orleans.

WWOZ in Exile Legendary roots radio station was knocked off the air, but streams on with Irma, Wynton, and Bourbon Street boogie-woogie (wwoz.org). Listen. Write a check.”²²⁹

In each instance, the WWOZ story is presented as restorative with little regard for how it envisions the state of the recovering New Orleans it broadcasts. Rather than critique the differing approaches of the aforementioned writers, I mean to reassert the complexities of the contrasting evocations of *musical place* they represent. When conjuring images of “Bourbon Street boogie-woogie,” and American roots music writ large, our thoughts do not typically run to a city celebrating the return of plumbing, and other basic amenities. Attending to the details of the embedded *musical placemaking* allows us to better understand the interventions of music in the rebuilding process, and to acknowledge the interventions of music makers in the ongoing debates that inform them.

²²⁸ Chris Rose, “Stop, in the Name of Normalcy,” *The New Orleans Times-Picayune* (11 September 2005), A18.

²²⁹ “Heroes & Goats,” *Philadelphia Weekly* (7 September 2005), 13.

Ever since Hurricane Katrina first made landfall in New Orleans, journalists and scholars alike have wrestled with the ramifications of music's metaphorical return to the city, singling out aural signifiers of reclaimed New Orleans neighborhoods, histories, and cultural identities. Alternately striking notes of nostalgia, trauma, and dissent, this criticism often evokes the dualism of *disaster* and *dislocation* without fully unpacking its significance. The continued existence of the city—which entails the restoration of a local economy bound up in the production of American musical heritage—is often framed as a matter of survival. Among the myriad musical symbols that appear in John Swenson's *New Atlantis: Musicians Battle for the Survival of New Orleans*, for example, the rituals and dance of the Mardi Gras Indians earn special attention because, as he argues, their return is directly linked to the “cultural heart of th[e] imperiled city.”²³⁰ Conflating a sense of loss with the threat of cultural displacement, this reading points toward the ways in which notions of “return” can actually constrain our view of music as an agent of New Orleans's recovery and renewal. If, as Swenson and countless others have intimated, the fate of the city's culture is bound up in the health and vitality of its longstanding musical traditions, then it follows that the spirit of New Orleans will be rekindled through musical connections, comparisons, and allusions to the city as it was before the storm. This view rings true in some arenas of musical response, but ultimately proves circular in the long view. How else might we explain the recurring observation that some 2006 albums seemed to anticipate Katrina, even though they were recorded before the storm?

²³⁰ John Swenson, *New Atlantis: Musicians Battle for the Survival of New Orleans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15.

From *Treme* to Tremé and Back Again

The social, political, and pedagogical significance of musical visions of New Orleans increased dramatically after Hurricane Katrina ripped its way through the city. As a complex site of cultural reconstruction, music became a means through which one might grapple with severed connections to house, home, and regional identity. Situating the initial, affective responses of local rap and hip-hop artists, music scholar Matt Miller explains, “Katrina contributed a new sense of urgency to projects related to popular music and the expression of a local cultural identity and perspective.”²³¹ In doing so, Miller asserts that the portability of what he calls “hometown music”—an invaluable resource in the preservation of New Orleans communities across the Katrina diaspora—helped to sustain evacuees, redoubling the importance of local rap music culture in the process. Eric Porter has reached similar conclusions in his work on music and New Orleans, even though it focuses on very different musical practices. Stressing the impact of the musical choices involved, Porter has posited that Katrina-inspired music “made audible and sometimes helped constitute local and national communities bound by affinities to New Orleans.”²³² The global success, or inclusivity, of these early efforts was, in part, contingent upon the visible incorporation of cherished New Orleans sounds, images, and repertoires, and the nature of the demonstrated attempt to guard against further losses.

My work responds to our propensity towards hearing New Orleans musicians “return home” in the music we have come to associate with Hurricane Katrina, investigating the functions of place in the musical realizations of New Orleans disaster narratives on which such interpretations rely. In doing so, I do not mean to dismiss earlier approaches. On the contrary, the

²³¹ Matt Miller, *Bounce: Rap Music and Local Identity in New Orleans* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 174.

²³² Lewis Watts and Eric Porter, *New Orleans Suite: Music and Culture in Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 57.

rich stories of recovery and renewal that have already been dutifully collected by Matt Miller, Eric Porter, John Swenson, and others, helped to inspire me to take up this project. The preservationist efforts to which they have contributed are tremendously important, and will remain so for years to come. My goal instead is to make space in the existing chronicle of what we have come to know as the Katrina Soundtrack for the consideration of musicians contemplating alternative futures for the historically musical city, to acknowledge the contributions of those working to extend its legacy through continued artistic growth and development. By delving into the ways in which music has helped us to reassemble the pieces of the fragmented *musical place*, I reposition the possibility of “return” as one among many artistic interventions, opening up a broader discussion of the involvement of music in the definition of the city’s uncertain future.

All of these concerns animate the HBO television series *Treme* (2010-2013), named for the historic New Orleans neighborhood in which it is set. The lead writer David Simon originally took up the subject of Hurricane Katrina as a continuation of his larger interest in the American urban landscape. In interviews, and his own personal writings, he discusses the project as an investigation of the role of culture in restoring and sustaining New Orleans in its wake. The dramatized depiction of the storm’s initial aftermath opens on the first New Orleans Second Line parade after residents were allowed to return to the city, situating music at the center of life in New Orleans post-Katrina. As the *New York Times* reviewer Alessandra Stanley so aptly put it, “The narrative chronicles the efforts of an eclectic group of locals...But mostly, their stories follow the music, the real hero of the tale.”²³³ While portrayals of gigging trombonists, local disc jockeys, and Mardi Gras Indians helped to humanize political issues ranging from government

²³³ Alessandra Stanley, “After Katrina, Staying Afloat with Music,” *The New York Times* (9 April 2010), C1.

aid to gentrification, the work of the club, the elementary school band room, and other such New Orleans musical sites illuminated the day-to-day trials and tribulations of returning residents struggling to rebuild. The series soon attracted a loyal following, which quickly became caught up in the competing takes on place the show offered its viewers.

The production of *Treme* in New Orleans added further complexity to Simon and Overmyer's audiovisual text. In an interview with *OffBeat Magazine*, trumpet player Kermit Ruffins proclaimed, "*Treme* has had the best positive effect that ever hit New Orleans music and business."²³⁴ The club owner and recurring character on *Treme* often speaks positively about the impact of the series on the neighborhood, underscoring the porous boundaries that existed between the fictional and real-life Tremes. Use of local musicians, actors, consultants, and more, entwined the real time renewal of the local tourism industry with the drama unfolding in the constructed musical world of the writers.²³⁵ As an invented *musical place*—"a kind of Southern Babylon-meets Atlantis übersite of exceptionality" engineered for large audiences—*Treme* has also doubled as a flashpoint for the ongoing debates that shaped its creation, inviting critics to weigh the depiction of the city and its distinctive musical practices against the depiction of the "infrastructural machinations that reveal [New Orleans] to be so thoroughly representative of contemporary urban America."²³⁶ Out of the interconnected disaster narratives of an evocative cast of characters and their "real life" counterparts emerged a pedagogical social forum on music and place in New Orleans post-Katrina.

²³⁴ Geraldine Wyckoff, "BackTalk: Kermit Ruffins, Hot and Spicy," *OffBeat Magazine*: <http://www.offbeat.com/articles/backtalk-kermit-ruffins-hot-spicy/>.

²³⁵ Eric Overmyer joined forces with Simon as a co-writer and producer on the show, bringing his extensive knowledge of New Orleans to the project.

²³⁶ Matt Sakakeeny, "New Orleans Exceptionalism in *The Neoliberal Deluge* and *Treme*," *Perspectives on Politics* 10, No. 3 (September 2012), 723.

Where television viewers have traditionally embraced opportunities to suspend disbelief, *Treme* fans sought to connect with the new “realities” of New Orleans post-Katrina. “Inside Treme,” and “‘Treme’ Explained,” examples of popular show blogs that acquired large followings, offer extensive documentation of this larger social phenomenon, which ran parallel to the initial airing of the HBO program. Bloggers affiliated with the network, as well as *The New Orleans Times Picayune* in its online form, deconstructed each episode in terms of its musical and cultural references to New Orleans, subjecting soundtrack selections, musical quips, cameo appearances, and more to strict scrutiny. Fixated on what media studies scholar Courtney George has termed the “multiple ‘reals’” of *Treme*, individual blog entries uncovered complex, intertextual connections. As a telling example, “That’s All You Got,” an original song produced for the series, garnered extensive explanations in the *Treme* blogosphere, even though its use in the show was not essential to its larger dramatic arc. In his contribution, David Walker—primary columnist for the NOLA.com series “‘Treme’ Explained”—detailed the song’s origins, the attached setting in the recording studio, and the thoughts and experiences of the Baton Rouge artists invited to play the role of Bayou Cadillac, the backing band for the fictional front woman Annie T. “We especially enjoyed getting to know Lucia, [the actress who played Annie],” Ramblers’ Linzay Young explained. “Oftentimes classically trained musicians can look down upon folk musicians like us, but she was a joy to work with.”²³⁷ The inclusion of Young’s commentary in Walker’s “explanation” of “That’s All You Got” underscores the extent to which the blog post repurposed the transitory stop on the character’s bumpy road to stardom as a full-fledged musical event. Parsing layers of cultural representation, production, and reproduction,

²³⁷ David Walker, “‘Treme’ Explained: ‘Saints,’” *NOLA.com*: http://www.nola.com/treme-hbo/index.ssf/2012/09/treme_explained_saints.html.

Walker guides his readers through what David Simon calls “collaborative, original, musical fiction.”²³⁸

This is the point in my analysis of *Treme*, and in the broader discussion of music, place, and post-Katrina New Orleans, at which the up-and-coming New Orleans trombonist Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews (b. 1986) becomes integral. This young musician has already developed an extensive performing career, coming up through the ranks of local New Orleans Brass Bands, and continuing on to play with the likes of rocker Lenny Kravitz, blues artist B.B. King, jam-band singer-songwriter Dave Matthews, and more. In addition to his regular musical contributions to the *Treme* soundtrack, Troy Andrews, a Tremé native, also joined the cast of the HBO series as a recurring character, taking up multiple positions in these overlapping musical worlds. In terms of place, Andrews both presents and performs the experience of *dislocation*, pointing the way towards the concept of *relocation* I will posit later in the chapter. The use of both Trombone Shorty, and his larger musical network, in the design of the HBO drama involves Andrews in the recuperative project of *Treme*, enriching the resulting image of musical life in New Orleans post-Katrina. When mentioned in dialogue, or featured in a particular film cue, his presence helps viewers feel more connected to the contemporary landscape, enhancing the dramatic effect of the represented disaster narrative. As a participant, Andrews also brings the weight of his own displacement to bear on the project. Whenever he appears on the show, Andrews brings the fictionalized world of Simon and Overmyer’s *Treme* into dialogue with his New Orleans neighborhood, reminding us of their differences as he travels between them.

On screen, Andrews routinely crosses paths with his fictional foil, local musician Antoine Batiste, which pits evidence of Andrews influence on the show’s signature sound against the

²³⁸ David Walker, “Today in ‘Treme’: More on the new Steve Earle song,” *NOLA.com*: http://www.nola.com/treme-hbo/index.ssf/2011/11/today_in_treme_more_on_the_new.html.

more controversial resonances of his life story. The Batiste character is also a trombonist, and a self-proclaimed traditionalist at that, meaning he is only interested in regional gigs that allow him to play “real” New Orleans jazz. Loosely modeled on the actual Trombone Shorty, Batiste’s storyline engages the contentious subject of jazz as a local New Orleans music, living the uncertainties that surround its ability to survive in New Orleans post-Katrina. When Andrews and Batiste converse—at the New Orleans airport, in local restaurants, and at the occasional club appearance—the effect is a heightened understanding of why Andrew’s “local counterpart” is struggling to make ends meet (see Figure 5.3 and 5.4). These encounters depict commercial success as oppositional to the health of the New Orleans jazz tradition they share between them. Typically encountering one another on the run, it seems as if Trombone Shorty is always on his way *out* of New Orleans, couching his extensive touring schedule in terms of the city’s long-term recovery. Above all, Andrews’s role in *Treme* is that of an authentic New Orleans musician separated from the city by the realities of the contemporary scene, striving to maintain his local roots while working abroad. This disrupted sense of New Orleans identity complicates the narrative of cultural return prominently featured in other aspects of the series, drawing attention to the overlapping musical worlds Andrews inhabits in the process. Deepening the overall portrayal of New Orleans, the bifurcated nature of these cameos has important implications for the depicted performances.

One of Trombone Shorty’s most popular releases in the past few years is *Backatown*, a critically acclaimed album he recorded with his group Orleans Avenue. The album has garnered praise for its blend of New Orleans funk, R&B, jazz, hip-hop, and rock that offers a fresh take on the city evoked by its place-themed track titles and musical gestures. *Rolling Stone* reviewer Will Hermes observed, somewhat fortuitously, “Like the characters in HBO’s *Treme*—which includes

Trombone Shorty and Antoine Batiste Meetings



Figure 5.3: “Treme—“I’ll Fly Away,” Andrews and Batiste Meet at the Airport



Figure 5.4: “Treme—Smoke My Peace Pipe,” Andrews and Batiste Meet in a Restaurant

him—he’s a Katrina survivor trying to hold on to the old while building the new.”²³⁹ Indeed, the 2010 release date did coincide with the original run of the first season of *Treme*, to which Hermes’s commentary seems to allude, the occurrence of which fueled its dissemination throughout the show’s various musical realities. Unlike his other soundtrack credits, the guest appearances of Andrews that centered on *Backatown* were written directly into the show, engaging the enjoyment of the album as an act of dramatic significance. Davis McAlary, the irritating DJ character on *Treme*, “discovers” the *Backatown* album at the start of Season Four, which aired in 2013, an event that builds to a climactic performance of album selections at the close of the episode titled “Yes We Can.”²⁴⁰ In contrast to the on screen performances of Kermit Ruffins, Ellis Marsalis, Dr. John, and other more familiar Crescent City icons, the placement of Andrews’s *Backatown* rips through the constructed soundscape of Simon and Overmyer’s *Treme*, both literally and figuratively, complicating its use as “contemporary New Orleans jazz.”

Indeed, when McAlary’s discovers *Backatown*, the music is likened to a sonic eruption of immeasurable power, the nature of which is presaged by the following exchange—an off-handed encounter in a local recording studio.

Studio Tech/Manager: Hold on a sec. I want you to hear something. [Actor retrieves demo CD] Play that. LOUD.

DJ Davis McAlary: Who?

Studio Tech/Manager: Just play it. The shit right there, that’s the next big thing outta New Orleans.

DJ Davis McAlary: Psst. Alright.

²³⁹ Will Hermes, “Backatown,” *Rolling Stone* (27 May 2010), 74.

²⁴⁰ The episode is titled “Yes We Can” because it takes place on the eve of the 2008 presidential election.

D.J. Davis Discovers *Backatown*



Figure 5.5: “Treme—Yes We Can,” Recording Studio Scene



Figure 5.6: “Treme—Yes We Can,” Car Stereo Scene

The volume of McAlary's incredulity is matched only by the intensity of his benefactor's instructions to listen to, and take note of, the *Backatown* album at its full strength. Building suspense, the arc of the conversation focuses the viewer's attention on the New Orleans sound(s) that will emanate from the seemingly ordinary demo tape that changes hands (see Figure 5.5). The implication is that the music will speak for itself. When "Hurricane Season," a well-known *Backatown* hit, is finally unleashed, we hear it blasting through the speakers of McAlary's beat up station wagon (see Figure 5.6). The viewer sees the effect of the track on the otherwise serene residential setting McAlary is parked in before we are able to hear it undistorted. Inside the car, McAlary is experiencing a sonic disturbance of a different sort. Joined by the friend he was supposed to meet up with, the impressionable DJ proclaims, "My mind is gone. Just GONE!" Andrews's music is apparently so gripping he simply cannot stop listening. Even the Mardi Gras beads hanging from the rearview mirror rattle in response. In other circumstances—if, for instance, we were to replace the blaring horns of "Hurricane Season" with Elvis Presley's "Jailhouse Rock," or Lynyrd Skynyrd's "Freebird"—this musical encounter would seem unremarkable; it carries all the telltale signs of an "infectious," Rock 'n' Roll inspired craze. In contrast, as a response to, or reflection of, life in New Orleans post-Katrina, the depicted series of events is quite intriguing. The circumstances of its presentation highlight the ways in which Andrews's music is forward looking, inciting a radical break with the status quo.

"Hurricane Season" returns again at the end of the episode as part of a larger series of *Backatown* selections. Long shots of a concert audience, coupled with closeups of the musician's ebullient trumpet solo, frame a musical rupture of a different sort, enacting an apt simulation of a typical Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue set (see Figure 5.7). As the indirect subject of a debate about New Orleans jazz occurring offstage, Andrews and his smoking hot dance tune

Trombone Shorty at the Wolf Trap



Figure 5.7: "Treme—Yes We Can," The Wolf Trap Stage



Figure 5.8: "Treme—Yes We Can," The Wolf Trap Bar

dispel convention, orchestrating the convergence of multiple, conflicting narratives about local New Orleans jazz. In the long view, it is hard to decide which is more contentious: 1) labeling the display of commercial popular music staged by Trombone Shorty and his band Orleans Avenue traditional New Orleans jazz, or 2) claiming that Andrews's music, whatever form it happens to take, is authentically New Orleans because of where he was raised. Nevertheless, these talking points sum up the grand conclusions of a series of McAlary monologues, interspersed throughout the extended Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue performance at a local club, The Howlin' Wolf. Still fuming from the town hall meeting that immediately preceded the concert, all of his subsequent remarks about Andrews are direct responses to an urban redevelopment plan that was proposed earlier. Studies at the New Orleans Center for Creative Arts—and travels abroad with Lenny Kravitz—notwithstanding, the DJ makes Trombone Shorty, “quintessential New Orleans street musician,” the centerpiece of his argument against the “jazz center” under discussion; the reason for the urban developer he has in tow. During a quiet moment at the bar, McAlary actually gestures at one of a series of authentic childhood snapshots of Andrews, enlisting the help of the “real” musician in making his case (Figure 5.8). “Music lives where it lives brah, you can't fuck with that,” McAlary finally proclaims, adopting a stance as extreme as the one asserted by the visiting investors. The result, or rather, the lesson that the duplicitous Trombone Shorty character and his multifaceted musical approach have to teach is that no singular notion of New Orleans jazz will determine the city's future.

RECOVERY IN RELOCATION

The question that remains unanswered at this point involves which of the myriad *musical places*—which of the myriad musical versions of New Orleans—are brought forward most prominently by Andrews’s performances on *Treme*. If, in other words, this multimodal treatment of New Orleans post-Katrina is meant to play a role in the recovery effort, which of the proposed “realities” of *Treme* portrays a New Orleans *relocated*, reconciling the differences among all the others? The filmic depiction of Andrews’s *Backatown*, as discussed in the previous section, showcases a broad range of responses to the music included on the album, all of which variously track with the competing notions of jazz and its relationship to New Orleans post-Katrina that were incorporated into the design of the Simon and Overmyer series. In this vein, both Andrews and his music register the variable means through which music might work to both articulate, and begin to reconcile, conflicting experiences of *disaster* and *dislocation*. Over the course of the extended scene at The Howlin’ Wolf, the real and imagined iterations of Trombone Shorty fuse, situating his somewhat controversial story in relation to the larger disaster narrative of *Treme*, while the extensive musical terrain traversed by Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue during their set at the club leave the listener reeling. Where, in relation to the recovering city, do Andrews’s up-tempo dance numbers and soulful ballads leave us? Drawing heavily on the fast-paced instrumental “Hurricane Season,” and the offbeat pop song “One Night Only (The March),” the musical stylings paint a disjointed picture of *Backatown*. Moreover, what are we to make of the parallels between their performance and that of the seasoned jazz pianist Ellis Marsalis featured earlier in the episode? In comparison to the subtle improvisations on “Twelve’s It,” as performed conventionally by the Marsalis trio, the featured selection from *Backatown* raise questions about the present state of New Orleans jazz as well.

The ambiguities of such musical choices and their various relationships to understanding place are reflective of the ways in which the study of the Hurricane Katrina soundtrack will continue to grow more complex. Initially, challenges related to geographical spread took high priority, registered by those who tracked the music and musicians displaced by the storm. Now, as we become increasingly distanced from Katrina, issues surrounding the lasting impact of the hurricane are further complicated by the passage of time in a fractured *musical place*. The city continues to change, as does its soundscape, yet we have no clear cut way of determining the point at which New Orleans will be fully “recovered” from the Katrina disaster, no measure of when it will resume its more organic evolution as a thriving American metropolis. *Backatown* tracks such as “Hurricane Season” and “One Night Only (The March)” are telling selections in this regard. The unrelenting motor of the former could be heard as a testament to a revived New Orleans spirit, or a nod to the specter of driving rains. Or, one could read the title “Hurricane Season” as an epitome of the mundane, a reference to an annual experience shared by a city that also loves its dance music, often enjoyed with a popular “Hurricane” cocktail in hand. Here, questions about the significance of the role of jazz in the revival of the city’s culture come to mind. By turning away from more traditional jazz practice, can Andrews be seen as giving up, succumbing to the effects of *disaster* and *dislocation*? Does his recent success signal the rise of a reinvigorated New Orleans music scene? At what point, we have to wonder, will a New Orleans musician be able to write, perform, or record another song without inviting more questions about Katrina?

As one of the earliest, and most extensive, cinematic responses to the effects of Hurricane Katrina on American culture, the Simon and Overmyer series has attracted considerable critical attention. Reflected in this abundant commentary is the potential of place as a productive means

of addressing these larger issues. Indeed, the methodological breadth of this emerging scholarship tends to underscore the analytical possibilities of place as a way of negotiating an increasingly complex field of study. Alongside the more conventional sound and media studies approaches exemplified by Joy Fuqua and Courtney George, Helen Morgan Parmett has argued for increased attention to the ways in which the television series became embedded in the imagined city writ large²⁴¹:

I suggest viewing *Treme* in terms of a set of spatial practices, where the series is inextricably intertwined with the decisions and policies aimed at particular configurations of racial racialized spaces within the city and the material production of city space and citizen-subjects.²⁴²

When considered more broadly, Parmett's advice invites us to think about the *Treme* phenomenon in three dimensions, what Lynnell L. Thomas has characterized as "the space between cultural reproduction and theatrical production."²⁴³ This change in perspective likewise prioritizes the reinvisioning of place that is at the core of our collective responses to the Katrina disaster, the formation of a coherent idea of contemporary New Orleans that fully reconciles a sudden overabundance of disparate sources.

I take up this notion of reconciled place in my continued study of Troy "Trombone Shorty" Andrews, and the alternative perspective on the intertwined fates of New Orleans and New Orleans jazz he offers, exploring its ramifications as the musical construction of *relocated* place. *Relocation*, as I have used it here, is meant to encapsulate the complexities of musical

²⁴¹ Joy Fuqua, "'In New Orleans, We Might Say It Like This...': Authenticity, Place, and HBO's *Treme*," *Television and New Media* 13, No. 3 (May 2012), 235-242, and Courtney George, "Keeping It 'Reals': Narratives of New Orleans Jazz History as Represented in HBO's *Treme*," *Television and New Media* 13, No. 3 (May 2012), 225-234.

²⁴² Helen Morgan Parmett, "Space, Place, and New Orleans on Television: From *Frank's Place* to *Treme*," *Television & New Media* 13, No. 3 (2012), 194.

²⁴³ Lynnell L. Thomas, "'People Want to See What Happened': *Treme*, Televisual Tourism, and the Racial Remapping of Post-Katrina New Orleans," *Television & New Media* 13, No. 3 (2012), 214.

responses to the experiences of *dislocation*—identifying situations in which music allows for the more complete reconciliation of conflicting expectations and experiences of place. In contrast to the multiple positions and perspectives Andrews embodies as part of the *Treme* project, the musical rendering of *relocated* place offers a more integrated whole, a musical vision of New Orleans that harnesses his capacities as a New Orleans native, musician, and culture bearer. The stakes of restoring the cultural relevance of New Orleans as an American musical landmark remain equally high, making Andrews’s artistic treatment of New Orleans a prime exemplar of the possibilities, and pitfalls, of *relocated* place. By investigating the ways in which the trombonist routinely frustrates the expectations of those who want to see the besieged musical legacy of New Orleans properly recovered, restored, and protected, I draw out this new interpretive frame for New Orleans crisis narratives, tracking the formation of an enacted sense of place not remembered but *relocated*; the presentation a forward-looking concept of New Orleans music that honors tradition as it breaks new musical ground.

Troy Andrews and the Musical Revitalization of New Orleans

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Hurricane Katrina a number of historical retrospectives sought to acquaint viewers with a New Orleans irrevocably altered by the 2005 storm. Where others revisited with local victims—paying homage to those who were lost, or reconnecting with those who lost everything—NBC’s Lester Holt filed a more optimistic report (see Figure 9).²⁴⁴ His 28 August 2015 interview with Troy Andrews linked New Orleans jazz and New Orleans jazz musicians to a sense of what it means, as he states, to “know New Orleans [is]

²⁴⁴ “Trombone Shorty and His Musical Tribute to the Big Easy,” *Nightly News with Lester Holt* (28 August 2015): <http://www.nbcnews.com/nightly-news/video/trombone-shorty-and-his-musical-tribute-to-the-big-easy-515386435876>.

going to be okay.” Together, he and Andrews walked the grounds of Jackson Square, discussing the return of live music to New Orleans after the storm, taking heart in the progress the city has made by taking time out to enjoy some of Andrews’s well-known playing. Armed with only his trombone, the New Orleans native busks for the camera, literally stopping traffic with an improvised rendition of “When the Saints Go Marching In.”

Taken as a whole, the featured performance of place offers one interpretation of what revitalization might mean in New Orleans today. Enjoying a sunny French Quarter streetscape—framed by snippets of New Orleans standards “Bourbon Street Parade” and “When the Saints Go Marching In”—the NBC newscaster took his viewers through a place once again filled with horse drawn carriages and brass bands on parade, stopping en route to introduce them to one of the musicians that, in his view, helped to restore the French Quarter to its former glory. As a representative artifact, this mediated depiction of New Orleans post-Katrina gives a sense of return, evoking the dominant disaster narrative that has supported local recovery efforts, even as implicated musicians envision a revitalized New Orleans through other means. The rampant nostalgia verges on “museumification,” crafting a careful reenactment of the romanticized place. “It’s almost like a snapshot of what it was like before,” quips Holt.

Andrews, the featured artist in the *Nightly News* segment, represents an interesting casting choice in this regard. The trombonist is the frontman for Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue, and, as we have seen through his complex relationship to the show *Treme*, he is consistently labeled, characterized, and presented as a New Orleans jazz musician in the public eye.²⁴⁵ Andrews has also achieved commercial success with albums *For True* (2011) and *Say*

²⁴⁵ A more detailed breakdown of the music of Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue is included as Appendix C of this dissertation (“Repertoire Studies of ‘Relocated Place,’” which starts on p. 270).



Figure 5.9: Trombone Shorty Featurette, 28 August 2015

That To Say This (2013), which succeeded *Backatown* on the Billboard Jazz and Contemporary Jazz Charts. Such success may come as a surprise, given the eclectic repertoire I have discussed earlier in this chapter, but it is a function of the artist's relationship to the city and what it represents in the national imagination. In the absence of more codified jazz styles (Swing, Bop, etc.), artists celebrated as jazz musicians often employ the fundamentals as a point of departure, fusing elements of jazz with other types of performance practices. To put this another way, being characterized as jazz does not necessarily confine Andrews to a particular aesthetic. He draws on a broad range of popular influences. It does, however, focus the listener's attention on the perceived objectives of the recognizable elements of jazz. Along these lines, Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue have become known for improvisations on a diverse array of New Orleans subjects.

As I have already stated, Andrews also belongs to a generation of New Orleans musicians that believe the sound of the city's future is still up for debate. The complex relationship between New Orleans and jazz serves as a backdrop against which their intersecting lives as New Orleans residents, community actors, industry musicians, and cultural ambassadors are all thrown into sharp relief. Along these lines, improvisations on "When the Saints Go Marching In" for tourists in the picturesque surrounds of Jackson Square is not an accurate reflection of the kind of *musical revitalization* to which Troy Andrews subscribes. Building on my analysis of Andrews's involvement in *Treme*, I turn now to a consideration of the recuperative effects of the music of Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue, investigating the ways in which we might view the images of the city that recur as part of the musical construction of a *relocated* New Orleans. Through an examination of original works, recombinant adaptations of New Orleans classics, and wide-ranging creative collaborations, I uncover a highly evocative, artistic relationship to

place. Supplemental evidence drawn from interviews, promotional materials, and other video recordings illuminates the ways in which the artist challenges listeners to imagine *his* city in terms of continued artistic growth and development.

When Andrews steps out in front to solo on the track “Buckjump,” included on the 2011 album *For True*, he brings an animated portrait of the New Orleans Buckjump to life. His compositional approach resists more rigid notions of New Orleans style and repertoire, complicating a strict, preservationist paradigm. Up close, the multilayered dance track represents a buckjumper—a New Orleans Second Line dancer—in a contemporary musical context. Bridging ensemble brass material and freeform rapping, the trombone line accentuates the blended character of the tune, illuminating the New Orleans subject in greater depth and detail. The audible interjections of the hip-hop artist—and the featured members of the Rebirth Brass Band (who can be heard throughout)—simulate those that would spur a New Orleans buckjumper on, adding additional layers to a heterogeneous texture rooted in the sounds of present day New Orleans. Situated more broadly the design of the track draws from the eclectic combinations of New Orleans funk, R&B, rock, jazz, and hip-hop that inform Andrews’s music. Connections between the place-themed title and the spirited trombone line align the traditional second line parade with the hip-hop swagger of the colloquial “buckjump time.” Such impressionistic portraits of local New Orleans terrain broach themes of New Orleans revival, while complicating more straightforward notions of cultural restoration.

On *Say That To Say This* (2013), musical representations involving New Orleans run both forwards and backwards in time, yielding a thoroughly contemporary sense of place. Featured guest and Los Angeles-based producer Raphael Saadiq puts the local roots of Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue in dialogue with a larger musical world, highlighting a carefully constructed



Figure 5.10: Cover, Trombone Shorty And Orleans Avenue, *Say That To Say This* CD

juxtaposition of classic New Orleans covers and Andrews originals. Andrews attributes the collection of pop anthems, ballads, and extended instrumentals to the album's title, a local variant of the saying "all of this is to say." This rhetorical device ties the design of the musical compilation to a pervasive sense of New Orleans vernacular, both musical and otherwise.

Tensions between the musical depiction of New Orleans subjects and the celebration of New Orleans musical traditions leave the aesthetic boundaries between New Orleans past and present porous, (re)presenting New Orleans as an elemental and environmental point of departure for further collaboration. I contend that the exemplified engagement with place can be productively understood in terms of artistic responses to New Orleans as a *dislocated city*, leveraging the tensions of chronological and cultural displacement in the creation of a new, or *relocated*, musical New Orleans. I will now consider this notion in more detail, using the Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue song “Fire and Brimstone” as an illustrative example.

Included on the *Say That To Say This* album, “Fire and Brimstone” evokes connections to New Orleans without using them as a basis for conventional depictions of place. In other words, there are no romantic, horse drawn carriages, nor are there any familiar references to early jazz. Instead, the ideas of New Orleans that recur throughout the song’s composition manifest themselves as an inherited source of inspiration. References to the city as an identified locus of spiritual energy and drive are interspersed with non-specific urban street scenes. Lyric references to the history and culture of exceptional New Orleans are made to co-exist in the same *musical place* as the decidedly unexceptional inner city landscape that casts the day-to-day struggles of the protagonist into sharp relief. When I spoke with the trombonist in 2013, Andrews explained that he develops new music in stages, splitting his time composing between the piano and the exploratory jam session in search of new musical ideas and the right “groove” or “vibe” to give them life and direction. “Fire and Brimstone” derives energy from this juxtaposition of real and imagined place, reshaping it as a deeply embedded desire to make change and survive.

In the accompanying music video, a massive musical mural painted by New Orleans graffiti artist Brandon Odums is created out of sync with the depicted urban environment,

underscoring the centrality of Andrews's integrated New Orleans story. Echoes of a solitary figure parading through the streets of a fragmented, dystopic landscape resound across layers of lyric narrative, musical accompaniment, and audiovisual imagery. As composer, narrator, and video star, the trombonist holds these contrasting images of a struggling city together, making a signifier of hip-hop and urban decay a marker of New Orleans art and tradition. Action shots of the graffiti splashed all over the walls of the hollowed out homes Andrews works his way through punctuate footage of the artist moving around an empty, alien, suburban streetscape (see Figure 5.11).²⁴⁶ It is as if the immense portrait of Trombone Shorty reproduced as Figure 5.12 is literally spray-painted over a non-descript, desolate, *musical place*, yielding a brooding vocal number about New Orleans music, mortality, and urban life.²⁴⁷ Over the course of the song, New Orleans is involved in the definition of a lived environment, the articulation of familial pride, and the celebration of abiding musical ability and influence. Forward momentum slackens behind imagery of daily disappointments, group struggles, and hints of street violence, only to pick up dramatically when the narrator makes mention of his family history. Lines between the “real” New Orleans artist and the fictitious narrator in the song blur, allowing the local profile of Andrews's actual siblings to inflect the dramatic trajectory of the lyrics. Coming out of a passage about shot gun blasts and police sirens heard year round, the audible break between the second verse and the chorus marks a power surge—sparked by the mantras handed down to the narrator by the named brother figure, carrying the song into the climactic trombone solo.

More broadly, the composition of the song works against the continuity of the visual, interweaving multiple iterations of place. Iconic notions of New Orleans serve as traces of the

²⁴⁶ Trombone Shorty, “Trombone Shorty—Fire and Brimstone” (Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue, The Verve Music Group, 2013), music video.

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*

“Fire and Brimstone” Screen Shots



Figure 5.11: “Fire and Brimstone” video House Shot



Figure 5.12: “Fire and Brimstone” video Brandon Odums Mural

experience of *dislocation*, anchoring the described sense of musical lineage and the exhibited sense of musical resourcefulness that takes flight as the blistering solo trombone line, rounding out a distorted impression of New Orleans parade music. This notion, in turn, is complicated by the foregrounded narrative reality, allowing for a growing disconnect between what it means to be located in the respected place and what listeners might imagine the represented place to be. By acknowledging these identified distances Andrews embraces them, providing for their reconciliation. The generated tension propels the overarching concept of drive that holds the song form together, and the different lyric articulations of the asserted will to survive. Each time it seems as if everything is going to collapse into the ambient sounds of the relentless drum line the vocal presses forward—reminding us of the music that resides deep in the narrator’s being—coaxing new life out of the proverbial ashes Kevin Fox Gotham, a scholar of New Orleans tourism, characterizes this move as restorative, defining the discourse of what he calls the “cultural wasteland” as “an integral component of the urban rebuilding process that reflects diverse efforts to construct New Orleans as “an integral component of the urban rebuilding process that reflects diverse efforts to construct New Orleans as a place of unique culture and authenticity...”²⁴⁸ In short, the creative destruction at work is *revitalizing*. The fire and brimstone imagery conflates harbingers of ruin with the power to make and enact change.

The New Orleans envisioned by the composition of “Fire and Brimstone” reconciles competing visions of the struggling city through the lens of an enduring musical legacy. Fragments of more recognizable notions of New Orleans are recovered as the protagonist continually presses forward, reassembling them as part of this larger effort. Resonating with Gotham’s notion of the “cultural wasteland,” the song strikes a tenuous balance between past and

²⁴⁸ Kevin Fox Gotham, *Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture, and Race in the Big Easy* (New York, New York University Press, 2007), 200.

present New Orleans musical life, working towards a *relocated* New Orleans. While not as whimsical, or identifiably “jazzy” as some of the other musical constructions of the New Orleans, or New Orleans jazz, the sense of place that is enacted by Andrews’s performance still pays homage to the same quintessential New Orleans spirit. Rather than stand on the shoulders of giants, the protagonist strikes out into the uncharted territory of the post-Katrina context, carrying the old New Orleans with him as a sense of cultural resiliency. In this vein, the audiovisual performance of “Fire and Brimstone” I have described underscores the cultural work entailed in *relocating* place, representing the forced reconciliation of musical expectations and experiences that exist outside the realities of life in present day New Orleans.

Even while engaged in more conventional performances of place, Andrews makes use of traditional references to New Orleans as a means of subverting them—evoking a similar process of reconciliation. Before wrapping up a show in Paris, for example, he told the audience “I want to take you deep down in the Tremé neighborhood deep down in New Orleans where I’m from.” What followed was almost eleven minutes of uninterrupted music, interweaving the song “When the Saints Go Marching In” with musical allusions to other pop songs, jazz riffs, and even traditional hymn tunes. Despite promises to the contrary, representations of outside musical interests—including the walk-on performance by a Parisian flue player—are part and parcel of the musical proceedings. While moving from the expected “Saints” to the more tangential “Everyone Needs Somebody to Love,” for example, the band ventured in to the imagined New Orleans of the critically acclaimed HBO series *Treme*, working in an excerpt from the show’s theme song. As the primary vocalist, soloist, and bandleader, Andrews takes on the role of place architect. Andrew’s complicated portrayal of Tremé, which traverses the real and imagined cultural territory of his home in New Orleans, intervenes in its cultural reconstruction.

Generative tensions between different notions of New Orleans music activate competing geographies, engineering a musical performance of place designed to reposition the American landmark in the national (and international) imagination.

Andrews's revisioning of New Orleans classics also has a similar effect, adopting a perceptible stance on the continued relevance, and cultural resonating power, of traditional New Orleans music. In my conversation with Andrews, he went to great lengths to avoid discussing his reputation as a New Orleans jazz musician, proclaiming that he and his colleagues are best identified as musicians who are from New Orleans, have all been trained in jazz in some way, and, most important of all, are now all involved in something entirely different. This attitude may seem surprising, given his deep familial roots in New Orleans and newfound public responsibilities as a New Orleans culture bearer, but ultimately it speaks to an apparent flaw in the preservationist arguments that have shaped much of the Katrina soundtrack. When artistically engaged with New Orleans—through composition, collaboration, and performance—Andrews hopes to demonstrate the *continuing* capabilities of the city to produce important music, which relies on the continued creation of *new* New Orleans music even when revisiting the classics. Ideas of and about New Orleans jazz recur as an important framing tool in the interpretation of these performances, delineating a tempestuous relationship to local history and tradition.

REARTICULATED GUMBO

The Pinettes were finishing up a lunch break. They filed into the recording studio, ten formidable ladies armed with trombones and trumpets, plus a sousaphone, a saxophone, and some drums. Batiste, in his overcoat and hat, sat down, with impeccable posture, at a Fender Rhodes and began vamping something that sounded a little like the theme from “The Flintstones.” The Pinettes started in on their horns. Andrews pushed in next to Batiste and played little keyboard fills with his right hand. Then he stood and gestured for the trumpet in the hands of a teen-age girl in sweats and glasses, named Jazz Henry. She passed it to him and planted a kiss on his neck. He played a few bars, loud and clear, zero

to sixty, and then handed it back and went over to play the drums for a while. The jam lasted nearly half an hour, none of it recorded, and then Veronica Downs-Dorsey, the choir director at St. Peter Claver Catholic Church, in New Orleans, and the mother of a Pinette, nudged her way through the room and took over on the Fender Rhodes. Batiste moved to a Hammond B3 organ, Andrews picked up a trumpet, and they played a gospel trio. An unfallacious fabrication, in the extreme.²⁴⁹

Nick Paumgarten, *The New Yorker*

In the 3 February 2014 edition of “The Musical Life,” author Nick Paumgarten argues on behalf of the exceptional versatility of New Orleans music, a tactic that inadvertently downplays the true value of the musical account he offers. Under the title “Reunion,” the author details the fantastical musical meeting of two generations of New Orleans musicians, which occurred at the Red Bull Studios in New York City several weeks prior to the aforementioned publication date. The Original Pinette’s Brass Band—newly crowned Red Bull Street Queens—were in town to collect their prize, a recording session with Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews and famed New Orleans hip-hop producer Mannie Fresh. The surprise visit of keyboard player Jonathan Batiste transformed the event into something more. While cognizant of the longstanding relationship between Andrews and Batiste, Paumgarten fixates on the ways in which the two NOCCA graduates have grown apart. “Johnny went to Juilliard, and I went to the school of rock,” Andrews interjects.²⁵⁰ Paumgarten may have intended his commentary as a tribute to the sense of New Orleans tradition Andrews and Batiste share—a seemingly innate capacity to reach across the musical and cultural divides that now separate them—but this view ultimately misses the mark.

²⁴⁹ Nick Paumgarten, “Reunion,” *The New Yorker*:
<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/02/03/reunion-23>.

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*

Together, the New Orleans musicians that were in attendance at this grand “reunion” offer a compelling testament to New Orleans style ingenuity. The Pinettes, remnants of the original, St. Mary’s Academy High School Band that gave them their start, have grown into professional organizations that tours regularly. They bring a compelling blend of traditional brass band repertoire and contemporary New Orleans hip-hop to their work, maintaining a strong reputation as the only all female New Orleans Brass Band in existence. Batiste, newly crowned music director and bandleader for *The Late Show With Stephen Colbert*, prioritizes accessibility in his music in ways that his work as the artistic director-at-large for the National Jazz Museum in Harlem and all around “jazz virtuoso” do not make readily apparent.²⁵¹ In collaboration with his band, “Stay Human,” Batiste reaches new heights in the field of jazz mashup with a compelling contribution to his *Social Music* project. Taking his cues from the rich history of musical encounter at Congo Square, Batiste titled the 2013 album “social music” as a reflection of his attempt to reconnect with music as a form of social communication. “It’s a way of life and me, being the way that I am, really fuels my music,” Batiste explains, “my concept of social music, my concept of what staying human is.”²⁵² As a snapshot of New Orleans musical life post-Katrina, these musicians demonstrate what it means to relocate place as a source of ongoing inspiration. Rather than rely on the familiar sounds of New Orleans and New Orleans jazz, they are fully equipped to invent their own.

While openly resistant to other types of New Orleans jazz labels, Andrews often coopts the associated rhetoric of New Orleans gumbo, deploying a common metaphor for the music’s hybrid musical roots in the definition of his own creative agenda. Where others approach the

²⁵¹ *ibid.*

²⁵² Jon Batiste, “John Batiste and Stay Human—Social Music” (John Batiste and Stay Human, Razor & Tie, 2013), music video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CuzBwtUSUts>.

definition of this musical “roux” as a recipe of sorts—employing the term gumbo to describe a specific type of musical mixture—Andrews uses the concept of gumbo to emphasize the importance of a personal sense of place analogous to the musical and cultural terrain of “Shortyville”—a play on the idea of the trombonist’s home turf that doubles as the title of an instrumental featured on *Say That To Say This*. Built like a hip-hop dance track, but performed like a jazz track, “Shortyville” represents the New Orleans musical gumbo of Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue in terms of Andrews’s individual ties to New Orleans. The trombonist insists that even though it was played on “real instruments,” “Shortyville” was conceived as a tribute to the influence of local New Orleans hip-hop artists on his artistic output, shaping New Orleans jazz in the image of *his* musical gumbo. While fluid, it is as if the seams between the interlocking lines and rhythms are allowed to show, celebrating the artist’s musical past and present with a fusion of multiple musical sensibilities.

The reconstructive work undertaken by Troy Andrews and his other musical compatriots looks into the future of New Orleans and New Orleans music, striving to speak with the same authority that traditional New Orleans jazz once did about the varied and changing face of the city. When read side-by-side, one inevitably notices parallels between Andrews’s approach to place in music and the musical history of New Orleans jazz now relegated to the distant past. “Repertoarial diversity alone does not make for a musical gumbo,” music historian Thomas Brothers asserts, emphasizing the importance of place to larger conceptions of early New Orleans jazz.²⁵³ In his study of Louis Armstrong’s New Orleans, Brothers underlines a sense of community identity and affiliation as key to the concept of New Orleans musical mixture wielded through terms such as “musical gumbo.” When discussing the concept and composition

²⁵³ Thomas Brothers, *Louis Armstrong’s New Orleans* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006), 303.

of “Shortyville,” similar notions of community identity and affiliation still apply. It is as if we’ve come full circle, finding a renewed sense of *musical place* in the same cultural moment that spawned its initial creation.

Although directed at a very different time and place, I believe the same arguments about early New Orleans jazz can be applied to Troy Andrews’s musical treatment of New Orleans. The defined ideological functions of music, derived from working relationships to place, could well prove vital in the city’s ongoing musical reconstruction, mapping the cultural terrain of a New Orleans fit for the challenges of a new century. Calling once again on an exciting blend of genres and styles that crisscross the American color line, this new generation of New Orleans musicians seeks to recover a thrilling sense of possibility embedded in the now increasingly distant, homogenized sense of Old New Orleans. “New Orleans can be modern as well,” Nicholas Payton, trumpet player and creator of the 2009 album *Gumbo Nouveau*, proclaimed, “it doesn’t have to be traditional jazz.”²⁵⁴ Indeed, fresh adaptations of New Orleans standards and adventurous new collaborations continue to reintroduce a diverse array of Crescent City voices to the American public, facilitating a large scale realignment of how the city is experienced by those who live there and how it is presented to those who visit—treating the recovery of a threatened cultural landmark not as an excavation project, but as a call to arms.

²⁵⁴ Keith Spera, “Jazz Standards Gets a Fresh Voice,” *New Orleans Times-Picayune* (7 June 1996).

CHAPTER SIX

Circumnavigating Jazz

Characterizing this assortment of case studies as a geocentric history of New Orleans jazz may, at first, stretch the limits of the imagination. While the operators of local clubs, iconic music venues, and other popular tourist attractions look outwards—delivering alluring musical fantasies related to the Crescent City—local artists continually reshape the design of musical landmarks set in motion by a changing cultural landscape. Often pitting the realities of life in a musical city against the infinitely exportable musical rhetoric of New Orleans as “birthplace of jazz,” it might seem as if this project isn’t about geography at all. The palpable effects of place on music making are surprisingly difficult to pin down. In these moments, as we have seen, the ways in which we find our footing in such circumstances allow us to grasp the ineffable. Interlocking ideas of community, tradition, and cultural heritage enable the music of New Orleans to resound across local, national, and international boundaries while they articulate competing notions of the city’s past, present, and future. Key musical, cultural, and historical sites, including Basin Street, Congo Square, Preservation Hall, and Tremé, foreground the persistent turbulence of a well-established *musical place*, drawing attention to the expressive malleability of place through its ongoing musical reconstruction. A closer examination of the different geographical configurations—as in created, imagined, and relocated *musical place*—allows us to better contend with the many musical sounds, images, and interrelationships that

help to anchor us in our respective surroundings.

This dissertation was designed, in part, to bring cultural geography, which has been mentioned in passing in ecomusicology, sound studies, and other musical disciplines to the center of a more systematic approach to the study of music and place. The artistic treatment of New Orleans has proven to be both formative and instructive in this regard. As I have endeavored to show, the shifting contours of overlapping centers of New Orleans jazz correspond to the continuously evolving considerations of a larger dialogue about New Orleans and its place in the national imagination, the nature of which illuminates both public and private stakes in *musical place* as a collective cultural project. For this reason, it has been essential to consider many interpretations, variants, and representations of New Orleans drawn from a broad range of musical works and performing styles. Alternative musical perspectives on place also call attention to the varied circumstances that give rise to their continued reproduction as a form of ongoing musical activity. Likewise, the varied uses of New Orleans jazz in film soundtracks, advertising campaigns, and mainstage musicals have made it necessary to consider the effect of constant cultural mediation. Detailed musical analysis independent of any associated imagery, activity, or expanded cultural context is not sufficient to thoroughly understand the involvement of jazz in how we identify, or come to be identified with, New Orleans. Taken collectively, the musical places in this dissertation—moveable sites of musical and cultural interaction—demonstrate the utility of *musical place*. Rather than single out an all-encompassing standard for New Orleans musical expression, this theoretical framework helps us to articulate the multiplicity of a dynamic, American musical landmark.

Engaging the contestation of place that occurs across the music of recognizably New Orleans sites, figures, and events—alternately curated and commodified—uncovers important

insights into associated notions of place-based identity and performance practice. As a logical response to rebuilding efforts in and around the city post-Katrina, addressing the sounds of New Orleans as fluid, dynamic, and continually contested brings out more expansive questions of space, time, and social positionality. Shared roots in the New Orleans Second Line tradition can unite the classically trained Julliard musician with the freewheeling contemporary rock musician, while the politics of race in and around the city can transform a much beloved parade tune into a distasteful musical caricature. Malleable in definition and design, such musical visions of New Orleans not only contribute to its iconic position in the national imagination but also express different and often conflicting perspectives with respect to local and regional identity. This *musical place*, as I have sought to understand it, is framed and reframed at the intersection of musical practice and historical understanding.

By concentrating on New Orleans jazz, I have not intended to revisit the well-worn ground of New Orleans exceptionalism. Indeed, the appearances of Duke Ellington, Jim James, DJ Kid Koala, and other New Orleans outsiders in this work sought to offset this interpretation, redrawing the material, musical, and metaphorical boundaries that enforce such distinctions. However, even though the framework of *musical place* might be applied productively to the complex cultural resonances of other similarly compelling musical places, this approach seems particularly applicable for understanding the complicated convergence of a place that has historically inspired the national imagination and a musical style that emerged alongside this rich and varied backstory. In this way, I have tried to identify and explain moments in which music and place become inextricably linked, looking towards the broader use of an interdisciplinary methodology that may fruitfully expand, transform, or alter conventional parameters of musicological inquiry. Our natural inclination to date has been to single out sites of exceptional

value—such as New Orleans or Chicago or Los Angeles—but trying to understand how music reflects, produces, and polices relationships to place in more general terms could be greatly expanded by more widely recognizing larger trends in the musical construction of place. Although each of the cities mentioned above have their own distinctive identities, the ways in which music makes them intelligible to us are not mutually exclusive.

Increasingly complex models of cultural production, affiliation, and flow across geographical boundaries are reflective of various influential developments ranging from the effects of natural disasters and diasporic movements to the continued growth of a transforming service economy and an ever expanded global marketplace. Given the variability of such terrain, we often find ourselves caught between the impermanence of a fast-paced world and the relative safety of our entrenched places, spaces, and routines. What of our ability to navigate this gaping divide? Other such analytical tools often underscore the impact of transitional moments—sweeping changings that cause us to reimagine our local, national, and international surroundings—whereas the approach outlined by *Navigating Jazz* seeks to show how unsettled the sounds of place always are. If we try to envision the contours of the history of music as told through the lens of *musical place* how might it unfold? Two such possibilities intersect in the geocentric history of New Orleans jazz I have presented, which extracts the intertwined narratives of a dynamic musical city and the interrelated forms of musical thought that have propelled its growth and development over time. It is conceivable to imagine a similar study that focuses more exclusively on the place produced for the outside observer, attending to changing attitudes towards New Orleans jazz in greater detail, or one that maps the changing musical terrain of local tradition in more depth. In both cases, such an analysis would involve much of the same repertoire, but focus more intently on different collections of social actors pushing the

shared project of *musical placemaking* in multiple directions. Other analytical possibilities include a more expansive chronological frame, which could force new facets, functions, and applications of *musical place* into sharp relief, and/or a comparative regional focus, which might further enrich our understanding of the overarching cultural dialogue. Indeed, subsequent work could expand in any number of directions.

Imagine, for a moment, the possibility for one person to travel the entirety of the United States; a journey undertaken by one adventurous musicologist to explore all fifty states of the union. What a vast and complicated history they might tell. Present limits of scholarly publishing notwithstanding, the design of this immense, hypothetical project serves as an apt illustration of the full analytical potential of the framework of *musical place*. While each and every sensuous sketch might preserve the distinctive character of a diverse array of geographical subjects—recounting the musical sounds, images, interrelationships, and local music outlets acting upon public knowledge of the place—the arrangement of these state studies could tell any number of regional, national, and international stories. Not every chapter would be as rich and diverse as others, but the amalgamation would preserve the porous quality of a musical landscape that has historically accommodated much diversity, shifting our attention away from individual locations that feel important towards geographical hotspots of cultural connectivity. Even without explicit instruction, such a momentous work would deliver a highly sophisticated lesson in musical nationalism, inventorying the numerous ways in which our country has sought to understand and represent itself to others. While not exclusive to this line of thinking, such concerns are fruitfully engaged by the accommodation of many geographical perspectives.

I freely acknowledge that *musical place*, however multilayered or multifaceted it might be, does not offer a universal solution to the analytical challenges posed by complex musical

environments and/or environmental allusions. By seeking to uncover the overlapping geographies of identity, community, and power that give both shape and direction to our musical lives, I take up the work of studying the powerful role art has to play in how we perceive our world. Uniquely situated at the intersection of experience and understanding, music teaches us to know our world in ways that are unparalleled by other forms of expression—pulling us through both time and space as it acts upon the imagination. Incorporating multiple and varied geographical viewpoints into the discussion of music and place, as I have tried to do over the course of this dissertation, allows for a broader consideration of the compelling dialogue produced by musicians who engage with place, and the associated notions of place-based identity and performance practice they inspire. It is my belief that the full analytical potential of place, as a powerful method for understanding musical experience, will only be unlocked when the burgeoning, interdisciplinary community of scholars interested in music and place studies embraces a more inclusive theoretical framework. Above all, I remain convinced that even what seems to be the most solid, known, and stable musical landmark is defined most by what we make of it.

APPENDICES

Explanatory Note

The following appendices catalog additional musical works, figures, situations, and circumstances that work to further illuminate *musical place* as a more complete intermingling of music and place. I use the term “catalog” to underscore an important methodological distinction in this dissertation; the idea that an inventory of musical gestures meant to evoke, or engender, ideas of place captures only part of the effect of dynamic music and place relationships. None of the included materials are meant to be exhaustive. As a record of the various twists and turns this research has taken over time, they are meant to demonstrate the utility of a broader range of sources, and shed additional light on the “unexpected places” in which we might happen across important geographical insights. Each of the following discographies, and repertoire and site listings centers on key facets of particular *musical place* constructions. Supplementary to the arguments of each chapter, these musical data sets are meant to expand my definitions of created, imagined, and relocated *musical places* by highlighting particular types of musical, cultural, historical, and geographical variability in greater depth and detail.

APPENDIX A

Basin Street Catalog: *musical place* as musical meeting place

A.1. Basin Street Abroad

Describes *musical places* outside the city of New Orleans that blur the import/export boundaries around New Orleans music, changing the nature of where and how we engage with it.

Alternative Physical Spaces		
Basin Street Lounges		
Basin Street Lounge	ALEXANDRIA, Virginia	A contemporary example of a constructed, yet immersive, idea of New Orleans outside of New Orleans that relies heavily on the promise of a particular musical atmosphere.
Basin Street Lounge	CHICAGO, 1956	A historic example of a constructed, yet immersive, idea of New Orleans that relies heavily on the promise of a particular musical atmosphere. “The music ranges from ‘bop’ through swing and rock ‘n’ roll but whatever is offered is tops.” ²⁵⁵
Upper Basin Street Lounge	NEW YORK Savoy Plaza, 1942	A historic example of a projected idea of place that is reflective of particular geographical tensions. The Upper Basin Street Lounge was a proposed construction project—subjected to some debate—that may or may not have been completed.

²⁵⁵ “Basin Street Lounge Boasts Tops in Music,” *Chicago Daily Defender* (9 August 1956), 18.

Alternative Places

New Orleans as Part of New Basin Street Style Attractions

Blue Bayou Restaurant DISNEYLAND
California

As part of the New Orleans themed section of the park, which was added in 1966, this site reinterprets “wild,” Basin Street-style nightlife.



“Blue Bayou Restaurant” by [Loren Javier](#)
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New Orleans Square DISNEYLAND
California

As part of the New Orleans themed section of the park, which was added in 1966, this French Quarter-inspired hub often relies on live music for additional ambiance and allure.



“New Orleans Square Disneyland” by [toddandd](#)
licensed under CC BY-NC 2.0 (20 March 2010).

A.2. Reimagined Basin Street Sounds

Examines an instance of *musical place* synthesized as a particular musical style, or brand identity. It is meant to foreground comparisons to what geographer Richard Peet has termed *spheres of interest*, or a “synthetic core of nature-society interrelations.”²⁵⁶

Each of the following Basin Street records offer a different spin on a unifying New Orleans theme, representing a diverse array of “New Orleans voices” on the local label.

²⁵⁶ Peet discusses these conceptual shifts in *Modern Geographical Thought* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1998).

Selected Basin Street Records Discography			
Date	Artist	Album	Brief Description
2012	Theresa Anderson	Street Parade	An ethereal take on New Orleans parade music by a Swedish transplant currently living in New Orleans
2008	Henry Butler	PiaNOLA Live	A collection of familiar songs, several of which are popularly known as New Orleans classics, as interpreted by a New Orleans rhythm and blues pianist.
2004	Jon Cleary	Pin Your Spin	Features the funky guitar and keyboard stylings of an English transplant who has lived and worked in New Orleans for decades.
2013	Davell Crawford	My Gift to You	Showcases the eclectic sound—and extensive New Orleans musical network—of the “piano prince of New Orleans,” a resident musician and descendent of a New Orleans musical family.
2009	Jeremy Davenport	We’ll Dance ‘Til Dawn	A collection of songs as interpreted by a crooner and jazz trumpet player from St. Louis who finally settled in New Orleans after studying with Ellis Marsalis and touring extensively with Harry Connick Jr.
2005	Los Hombres Calientes	Los Hombres Calientes: Vol. 5 Carnival	Billboard Latin Music Award finalist for Latin Jazz Album of the Year.
2011	Irvin Mayfield	A Love Letter to New Orleans	A “Best of” Compilation drawn from the Basin Street Records catalog of a New Orleans giant designed as a reflection of the “people and places his music has brought into his life thus far.”
2011	Rebirth Brass Band	Rebirth of New Orleans	2012 Grammy Winner for a New Orleans Brass Band that has gained considerable acclaim by supplementing their parade schedule with extensive touring.
2015	Kermit Ruffins	#imsoneworleans	A playful take on the larger than life persona of an iconic New Orleans trumpet player and vocalist.
2011	Dr. Michael White	Adventures in New Orleans Jazz, Part 1	New explorations of an old New Orleans tradition as framed by an expert and advocate for keeping the music alive.

APPENDIX B

Preservation Hall Catalog: *musical place as adaptable musical practice*

B.1. Expansions of the Local

Traces chronological and cultural extensions of Preservation Hall—as New Orleans venue, ensemble, and institution—in terms of increasingly complex notions of “The Local.”

Geographies of Preservation Hall (1961-present)			
YEAR	PLACE relationship	EVENT pivotal moment and/or circumstance	REMODEL geographical alteration, adaptation, revision, or enhancement
	SOCIAL ORG: NEW ORLEANS SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF TRADITIONAL JAZZ	Preservation Hall opened as a non-profit, service enterprise devoted to building increased public interest in traditional New Orleans jazz.	The organization and attention of the Society for the Preservation of Traditional Jazz transforms the authentic, French Quarter atmosphere of Borenstein’s art gallery into a living, local tradition that warrants community protection. This required non-profit corporation licenses, and made Preservation Hall one of several local establishments jockeying for the resources (i.e. grant money) that accompany public recognition as an important cultural institution.
1961	LOCAL MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT: CONCERT VENUE	Preservation Hall is reopened as a full-fledged concert venue in the French Quarter 13 September 1961.	The Associated Artists French Quarter art gallery and impromptu jazz sessions spot is reopened as a full-fledged concert venue. This required entertainment licenses, and entailed increased investment in the day-to-day business of a club: maintaining a schedule, developing effective marketing tools, and building a public reputation, all while balancing overhead costs and artist fees.

1962	GLOBAL MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT	Preservation Hall, in cooperation with the New Orleans Jazz Club, hosts a benefit for the Eureka Brass Band. The President's Music Committee of the People-to-People Program invited the ensemble to participate in the first International Jazz Festival.	Traditional New Orleans jazz is represented as a national interest, working to send a longstanding New Orleans Brass Band to the first International Jazz Festival to be held in Washington D.C. that same year.
1963	DISCOGRAPHY: ATLANTIC RECORDS	Atlantic Records releases the first installment of the <i>Jazz at Preservation Hall</i> series.	Documentation of traditional New Orleans jazz is repurposed as a national, commercial release. The series highlighted the collective talents of the popular Eureka Brass Band, George Lewis, and a number of other local legends.
	TRANSLOCAL/VIRTUAL MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT	The first Preservation Hall Jazz Band tour events are organized as a play for increased public exposure.	A regular rotation of local New Orleans jazz ensembles are rebranded as the all-encompassing Preservation Hall Jazz Band. Management reclaims creative control of Preservation Hall musical offerings. Carefully constructed (often repeated) concert programs replace live sets put together by whomever is performing in-house.
1963	GLOBAL MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT	The Preservation Hall Jazz Band embarks on its first international tour.	The Preservation Hall Jazz Band toured Japan over the course of three months—a series of ninety-four concerts in thirty-two cities.
1968	GLOBAL MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT	The Preservation Hall Jazz Band performs at the Olympic Games held in Mexico City.	Traditional New Orleans jazz is represented as a national interest. This particular appearance marks one of the more politically charged events, but should be taken as one among an extended series of increasingly high profile public appearances in the 1970s and early 1980s.

1977	DISCOGRAPHY: COLUMBIA RECORDS	Columbia releases the first installment of the Preservation Hall <i>New Orleans</i> series.	Documentation of traditional New Orleans jazz is repurposed as a national, commercial release. Unlike the <i>Jazz at Preservation Hall</i> series, these records are designed around themes in traditional New Orleans repertoire—leaving featured musicians unnamed in the cover art except for the token banner, “Preservation Hall Jazz Band”. <i>New Orleans, Vol. 3</i> is actually subtitled “When The Saints Go Marching In”.
1987	SOCIAL ORG: PRESERVATION HALL JAZZ BAND	Longtime director and manager Allan Jaffe succumbed to skin cancer, leaving the multi-faceted musical operation to wife Sandra Jaffe to run in the interim.	The tragic death of a key Preservation Hall architect sparked inevitable redirection and reevaluation of the Preservation Hall organization.
1993	SOCIAL ORG: PRESERVATION HALL JAZZ BAND	Benjamin Jaffe, son of longtime director and manager Allan Jaffe formally took over direction of Preservation Hall after graduating from Oberlin College.	During his time as proprietor of Preservation Hall and creative director of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band, Ben Jaffe has confronted the passing of the generation of New Orleans musicians first to receive the support of Preservation Hall by redoubling outreach efforts to engage younger musicians and audiences in traditional New Orleans jazz.
2004	DISCOGRAPHY: PRESERVATION HALL RECORDINGS	Ben Jaffe launches Preservation Hall Recordings, distributed by Redeye in Graham, N.C.	A Preservation Hall record label reclaims the release of Preservation Hall records as a direct extension of local Preservation Hall.
2004	CONCERT VENUE	Preservation Hall offers the first “Midnight Preserves” series, a special concert tie in for the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival designed	The Midnight Preserves series promotes a youthful, “after-party” vibe, working against the public persona of a family-friendly tourist attraction. Stops at Bonaroo, Coachella, and other popular music festivals have a similar effect on the

		to build on the event's high public profile.	ensemble's public reputation, pairing them with Arcade Fire, the Black Keys, and other main stage acts.
2011	SOCIAL ORG: PRESERVATION HALL FOUNDATION	The Preservation Hall Foundation is launched. The effort makes provisions for institutional expansions, chief among which is preliminary financing for the construction of a Preservation Hall archive.	The establishment of the organization formalizes the radical stance on musical preservation creative director Ben Jaffe has conveyed through new Preservation Hall programming, recording projects, and public appearances.
2013	VIRTUAL MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT	<i>That's It!</i> is released—the first collection of commercially available Preservation Hall originals.	Creation of new music takes the place of representing traditional repertoire, reimagining the musical world of traditional New Orleans jazz for twenty-first century audiences.
2014	VIRTUAL MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT	HBO series <i>Sonic Highways</i> is added to the audiovisual archive of Preservation Hall.	Collaboration with Dave Grohl and the Foo Fighters produced updated musical commentary on the tradition and mission of Preservation Hall.

B.2. Expansions of Local Music

Traces chronological and cultural extensions of traditional New Orleans jazz—as New Orleans venue, ensemble, and institution—in terms of increasingly complex notions of “The Local.”

Geographies of Traditional New Orleans Jazz			
YEAR	PLACE relationship	SOCIAL ACTOR person(s)/population(s) invested in <i>musical remodel</i>	REMODEL geographical alteration, adaptation, revision, or enhancement
1944- 1946	SOCIAL ORG: NATIONAL JAZZ	Members of the National Jazz Foundation sought to organize	The National Jazz Foundation used high profile swing musicians in lieu of local New Orleans jazz

	FOUNDATION	the traditional New Orleans jazz community (in New Orleans) around large service projects: repertory concerts, band competitions, the construction of a New Orleans jazz museum, and so on.	musicians in attempt to attract national exposure and support for their New Orleans-based outreach efforts and educational programming.
1948—	SOCIAL ORG: NEW ORLEANS JAZZ CLUB	The organizational structure of the New Orleans Jazz Club revolved around the group’s emphasis on increased public dissemination of traditional New Orleans jazz. Alongside a full calendar of concert series, and other special outreach events, the New Orleans Jazz Club administered their own radio program, and put out their own local newsletter <i>The Second Line</i> .	The activities of the New Orleans Jazz Club remake traditional New Orleans jazz, a functional, social music, as a tradition that demands the attention of musicians equipped to perform it, and listeners who possess the necessary expertise to appreciate it.
1953	DISCOGRAPHY: SOUTHLAND RECORDING STUDIO	A French Quarter recording studio that helped to draw higher profile Dixieland and Swamp pop artists into the world of jazz in and around Bourbon Street. Pete Fountain, Al Hirt, Jack Delaney, Johnny Wiggs, Sharkey Bonano, and Santo Pecora all recorded at Southland.	Joe Mares, Jr. started Southland Recording Studio and the Southland Records label, making his own contributions to the discography of Dixieland—modeling and remodeling traditional New Orleans jazz as forms of nostalgia.
1954	LOCAL MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT: ASSOCIATED ARTISTS FRENCH QUARTER ART GALLERY	E. Lorenz “Larry” Borenstein moved into 726 St. Peter Street in the summer of 1954. Borenstein maximized the value of his retail space with music, facilitating Preservation Hall style “rehearsals,” and selling portraits of the musicians performing in-store.	E. Lorenz “Larry” Borenstein moved into 726 St. Peter Street in the summer of 1954, remaking the French Quarter building as a local business and, shortly thereafter, an impromptu hot spot for local New Orleans jazz.

1956	NEW ORLEANS JAZZ ESTABLISHMENT: LOUISIANA STATE ARCHIVES	The Louisiana State archives were created in 1956 by the state legislature, replacing the quasi-state archives that were held at Louisiana State University.	Given the quick succession of this event, and the establishment of what became the Hogan Jazz Archive, I think it is important to note the deliberate move to place the New Orleans jazz archive in a University setting.
1958	NEW ORLEANS JAZZ ESTABLISHMENT: HOGAN JAZZ ARCHIVE	The Archive of New Orleans Jazz was founded in 1958, funded by a Ford Foundation grant. The archive was later renamed after William Ransom Hogan, the Tulane History Professor who authored the initial grant application.	For the other organizations counted among the local traditional New Orleans Jazz establishment, the archive served as a standard bearer for needed/deserved support. Could other New Orleans jazz institutions secure the same funding? Did Tulane deserve the money over the Louisiana State archives? The New Orleans Jazz Museum?
1961	NEW ORLEANS JAZZ ESTABLISHMENT: NEW ORLEANS JAZZ MUSEUM	The idea of a New Orleans Jazz Museum is one that has been shared among several, local community organizations. However, it was the New Orleans Jazz Club, which appears to have commanded the broadest possible community support and influence, that finally assembled the necessary funding and backing of the Vieux Carré Commission—the governmental body responsible for regulating construction in the French Quarter, a registered historic landmark.	For those interested in the preservation of traditional New Orleans jazz the idea of a museum is appealing because it acts as a receptacle for valued artifacts—protecting them in perpetuity—and reconfigures the local imperative to protect local music as a more globally recognized interest. Visitors to the museum further its declared objectives through admission fees, contributions to fundraising campaigns, and their participation in the museum’s attempts to promote broader cultural awareness of New Orleans jazz, as conveyed by featured exhibits and outreach events.
ENTERTAINMENT VENUE: ICON HALL	After being ousted as director of Preservation Hall, Ken Mills opened Icon Hall.	Icon Hall had a relatively short life. Management favored non-union musicians, which, if anything, plays up the simple, amateurish reputation of traditional New Orleans jazz.	

1962-1973	ENTERTAINMENT VENUE: DIXIELAND HALL	Dixieland Hall, another French Quarter musical attraction, was located at 516 Bourbon Street.	Dixieland Hall operated the same basic club setup just down the street from Preservation Hall, expanding the preservationist practice, relying more heavily on public promotion and commercial advertising.
	ENTERTAINMENT VENUE: SOUTHLAND HALL	Southland Hall, another French Quarter musical attraction, opened across the street from Preservation Hall.	Southland Hall opened directly across the street from Preservation Hall, subverting the preservationist practice through direct competition for musical talent and patrons. In other words, their definition of traditional New Orleans jazz was based on what Preservation Hall jazz was not.
	ENTERTAINMENT VENUE: ECONOMY HALL	Economy Hall, another French Quarter musical attraction, operated out of the Royal Sonesta Hotel on Bourbon Street.	Economy Hall doubled as a temporary home for the New Orleans Jazz Club archive, putting a different spin on the Preservation Hall model.
	ENTERTAINMENT VENUE: HERITAGE HALL	Heritage Hall, another French Quarter musical attraction, was also on Bourbon Street.	The New Orleans establishment was relatively unsuccessful, but The Heritage Hall Band continued to work well beyond the closure of Heritage Hall in the mid-1970s, performing jazz heritage as a broader range of New Orleans jazz and swing, placing considerably more emphasis on showmanship.
Other Invested Institutions			
NEW ORLEANS JAZZ ESTABLISHMENT: NEW ORLEANS JAZZ AND HERITAGE FESTIVAL			
1980	NEW ORLEANS JAZZ ESTABLISHMENT: LOCAL RADIO STATION, WWOZ		

B.3. Repertoire Studies of “The Local”

Details snapshots of local New Orleans musical contexts/organizations.

Vieux Carré Music Shop

Selected Record Orders (1958-1960)

YEAR	DISTRIBUTOR	ARTIST	ALBUM TITLE
1958	Cook Laboratories Inc.		Blowout at Mardi Gras
1958	Cook Laboratories Inc.		Hot Songs my Mother Taught Me
1958	Cook Laboratories Inc.		Hot Songs my Mother Taught Me
1958	Cook Laboratories Inc.		Torchy Lullabies My Mother Sang Me
1958	Cook Laboratories Inc.		Clambake on Bourbon Street
1958	Cook Laboratories Inc.		Clambake on Bourbon Street
1958	Capitol	Sharkey Bonano	Midnight on Bourbon St.
1958	Cook Laboratories Inc.		Moans and Blues
1958	Capitol	Johnny Mercer	Accentuate the Positive
1958	Capitol	Johnny Mercer	Accentuate the Positive
1958	Capitol	Big Ben Banjo Band	Happy Banjos
1958	Capitol	Jack Teagarden	This is Teagarden
1958	Capitol	Frank Sinatra, etc.	Pal Joey
1958	Capitol	Jimmy Guiffre	Tangents in Jazz
1958	Atlantic	Wilbur DeParis	Marchin' and Swingin'
1958	Atlantic	Paul Barbarin	New Orleans Jazz
1958	Riverside	Billy Faier	Five String Banjo
1958	Argo	Ahmad Jamal	Ahmad Jamal at the Pershing
1958	Capitol	Jonah Jones	Baubles, Bangles, and Beads
1958	Epic	Armand Hug, Ray Bauduc	Little Rock Getaway
1958	Capitol	Paul Smith	Liquid Sounds
1958	Capitol	Stan Kenton	Contemporary Concepts
1958	Capitol	Stan Kenton	History of Jazz
1958	Capitol	Bauduc & Laare	Riverboat Dandies
1958	Capitol	Stan Kenton	Back to Balboa
1958	Capitol	Nino Posadas	Classical Spanish Guitar
1958	Capitol	Freberg	Best Shows
1958	Angel		Swan Lake/Sleeping Beauty
1958	Angel		Ravel's Mer l'oye
1958	Commodore	Billie Holiday	
1958	Capitol	Pee Wee Hunt	12 th Street Rag
1958	Royale	Cyril Scott	Lotus Land, taken from a piano roll
1958	Delmar Records	George Lewis	Doctor Jazz
1958	Delmar Records	George Lewis	On Parade
1958	Delmar Records	George Lewis	Singing Clarinet

1959	Capitol	Frank Sinatra	Look to Your Heart
1959	Capitol	Sharkey Bonano	Midnight on Bourbon St.
1959	Capitol	Sharkey Bonano	Midnight on Bourbon St.
1959	Capitol	Sharkey Bonano	Midnight on Bourbon St.
1959	Capitol	Sharkey Bonano	Night in Old New Orleans
1959	Capitol	Bobby Hackett	Blues with a Kick
1959	Capitol		Streetcar Named Desire
1959	Capitol	Bushkin	I Get a Kick Out of Porter
1959	Capitol	Butera	Big Horn
1959	Capitol	Frank Sinatra	Come Dance with Me
1959	Capitol	Staton	Crazy He Calls Me
1959	Capitol	Day	Here's Dennis Day
1959	Capitol	Keely Smith	Swingin' Pretty
1959	Capitol	Nino Posadas	Sketches
1959	Capitol	Prima & Smith	Don't Take Your Love From Me
1959	Capitol	Kingston Trio	When the Saints Go Marching In
1959	Cook Laboratories Inc.		The Seven Last Words of Christ
1959	Cook Laboratories Inc.	La Vergne Smith	His and Hers
1959	Capitol	Louis Prima	The Wildest
1959	Capitol		Andy Griffith Shouts the Blues
1959	Capitol	Louis Prima	Strictly Prima
1959	Capitol	Frank Sinatra	Come Dance With Me
1959	Capitol	Al Belletto Sextet	Half and Half
1959	Capitol	Bobby Hackett	Coast Concert
1959	Lark	Joe Darensbourg	On a Lark in Dixieland
1959	Golden Crest		Banjo Bums Visit New Orleans
1959	Capitol	Shearing	Blue Chiffon
1959	Capitol	Staton	Dynamic
1959	Capitol	Frank Sinatra	Swing Easy
1959	Capitol	Nat King Cole	Welcome to the Club
1959	Capitol	Jonah Jones	Jumpin' with Jonah
1959	Capitol	Nat King Cole	Looking Back
1959	Capitol	Nat King Cole	Somewhere Along the Way
1959	King	Earl Bostic	Dance Time
1959	Roost	Charlie Parker	All Star Sextette
1959	Capitol	Les Baxter	Sacre du sauvage
1959	Capitol	June Christy	Something Cool
1959	Capitol	Louis Prima	The Wildest
1959	Capital	Louis Prima	Las Vegas Prima Style
1959	Capitol	Judy Garland	Judy in Love
1959	Capitol	Frances Faye	No Reservations

1959	Capitol	Frank Sinatra	Swing Easy
1959	Capitol	Frank Sinatra	W653 Singini' Lovers
1959	Capitol	Frank Sinatra	Only the Lonely
1959	Capitol	Les Baxter	Passions
1959	Angel	Sibelius	Concerto in D for violin
1959	MGM		Orchestral Program—Moussorgsky
Magazine Orders			
YEAR	PUBLISHER	TITLE	
1958	Macfadden Publications Inc.	Billboard Magazine	
1960		The American Record Guide Incorporating The American Tape Guide	

Preservation Hall Jazz Band			
Selected Repertoire Listing (1963-present)			
YEAR	SONG TITLE	ALBUM TITLE/CONCERT DATE	
2007	Band Intros (Go to Mardi Gras)	Preservation Hall—Live at Jazz Fest 2007	
2012	Preservation Hall Jazz Band	St. Peter and 57 th Street	
2012	Preservation Hall (feat. Allen Toussaint) [live]	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival	
REGIONAL TUNES			
2010	After You've Gone	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program	
2006	After You've Gone	Duluth Entertainment Convention Center Auditorium, 11 February 2006	
1980	Amen	Waikiki Shell, Honolulu, Hawaii Concert, 1980	
1977	Amen	New Orleans, Vol. 1	
1975	Amen	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975	
	Amen (Instrumental)	50th Anniversary Collection	
2007	Back Porch	Shake That Thing	
2010	Between the Devil & the Deep Blue Sea	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program	
	Blow Wind Blow	Made In New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions	
2010	Corinne Died on the Battlefield	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program	
1996	Do Lord (Voice)	In the Sweet Bye and Bye	
1964	Do Lord	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band	
	Do Lord	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band	
	Do Lord (Voice)	50 th Anniversary Collection	
2007	Glory Land	Preservation Hall-Live At Jazz Fest 2007	
1977	Over In Gloryland	New Orleans, Vol. 1	
	Over In The Gloryland	Made In New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions	

	Over In The Gloryland	50th Anniversary Collection
	Over In Gloryland	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1996	God Will Take Care of You (Instrumental)	In the Sweet Bye and Bye
	God Will Take Care of You	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1996	He Touched Me (Voice)	In the Sweet Bye and Bye
2009	His Eye Is On The Sparrow	Powell Symphony Hall Concert, St. Louis, MO, 20 February 2009
2007	His Eye Is On The Sparrow	Shake That Thing
1983	His Eye Is On The Sparrow	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 8 July 1983
1982	His Eye Is On The Sparrow	Constitution Hall Concert, Washington D.C., Summer 1982
1977	His Eye Is On The Sparrow	New Orleans, Vol. 1
	His Eye Is On The Sparrow	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	His Eye Is On The Sparrow (Instrumental)	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	His Eye Is On The Sparrow	50th Anniversary Collection
2010	I Ain't Got Nobody	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
1981	I Ain't Got Nobody (Voice)	New Orleans, Vol. 2
1973	I Ain't Got Nobody	Chicago Goodman Theater Concert, 16 April 1973
	Ain't Got Nobody	Best of the Early Years
	I Ain't Got Nobody	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	I Ain't Got Nobody	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	I Ain't Got Nobody (Voice)	50th Anniversary Collection
	Apple Tree	Made In New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions
2003	I Ate Up The Apple Tree	Cabe Theatre, Little Rock, Arkansas, 21 June 2003
	I Don't Want To Be Buried In The Storm	Made In New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions
2011	I'll Fly Away	Symphony Hall Concert, Boston, MA, 19 March 2011
2007	I'll Fly Away	Preservation Hall-Live At Jazz Fest 2007
1987	In the Evening (Voice)	New Orleans, Vol. 4
	In the Evening (When the Sun Goes Down)	50th Anniversary Collection
1982	Lord, Lord, Lord, You Sure Been Good to Me (Voice)	New Orleans, Vol. 3
1973	Lord, Lord, Lord	Chicago Goodman Theater Concert, 16 April 1973
	Lord, Lord, Lord, You Sure Been Good to Me (Voice)	50th Anniversary Collection
1987	Lou-Easy-An-I-A (Instrumental)	New Orleans, Vol. 4
	Maryland, My Maryland	Songs of New Orleans
	Nellie Gray	Best of the Early Years

	Nellie Gray	50 th Anniversary Collection
2010	Nobody Knows You When You're Down and Out	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
2010	Old Rugged Cross	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
1996	The Old Rugged Cross (Voice)	In the Sweet Bye and Bye
2012	One More 'Fore I Die	St. Peter and 57 th Street
2011	One More 'Fore I Die	American Legacies
	One More 'Fore I Die	50 th Anniversary Collection
2006	Precious Lord	Duluth Entertainment Convention Center Auditorium, 11 February 2006
1987	Precious Lord	New Orleans, Vol. 4
	Precious Lord	Made In New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions
	Precious Lord	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Precious Lord	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1992	Put On Your Old Grey Bonnet	Preservation Hall Jazz Band-Live!
	Put On Your Old Grey Bonnet	New Orleans' Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2010	Sailin' Up, Sailin' Down (Baby What You Want Me to Do)	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
2007	Sho' Been Good to Me	Preservation Hall-Live At Jazz Fest 2007
2012	T'ain't Nobody's Business	St. Peter & 57 th Street
2010	T'ain't Nobody's Business	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
	T'ain't Nobody's Business	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (Live)
2010	There is a Light	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
1996	Walk Through the Streets of the City (Instrumental)	In the Sweet Bye and Bye
2007	What a Friend We Have in Jesus	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 6 July 2007
1996	What a Friend We Have In Jesus (Voice)	In the Sweet Bye and Bye
1996	Where He Leads Me (Voice)	In the Sweet Bye and Bye
	Who Threw The Whiskey In The Well	Made In New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions
	Who Threw The Whiskey In The Well	50th Anniversary Collection
1980	Yes I Sing	Waikiki Shell, Honolulu, Hawaii Concert, 1980
2012	El Manicero (Peanut Vendor)	St. Peter & 57 th Street
2009	El Manicero (Peanut Vendor)	New Orleans Preservation, Vol. 1
2009	El Manicero (Peanut Vendor)	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 10 July 2009
	El Manicero (Peanut Vendor)	50th Anniversary Collection

	Peanut Vendor	New Orleans' Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Peanut Vendor	Best of the Early Years
	Peanut Vendor	50 th Anniversary Collection
2012	Bonjour Cousin	St. Peter & 57th Street
2010	C'est si bon	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
2007	Eh La Bas	Made in New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions
	Eh La Bas	New Orleans' Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Eh La Bas	Shake That Thing
	Eh La Bas	50th Anniversary Collection
	Sallee Dame	New Orleans' Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band
NOSTALGIC CLASSICS		
2003	America the Beautiful	Cabe Theatre, Little Rock, Arkansas, 21 June 2003
2011	The Band's In Town (**Jaffe original)	American Legacies
2011	The Band's In Town (**Jaffe original)	Symphony Hall Concert, Boston, MA, 19 March 2011
2012	Bourbon Street Parade	St. Peter & 57th Street
2009	Bourbon Street	Powell Symphony Hall Concert, St. Louis, MO, 20 February 2009
2007	Bourbon Street Parade	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 6 July 2007
2007	To New Orleans	Preservation Hall-Live At Jazz Fest 2007
2006	Bourbon Street Parade	Redlands Bowl Concert, California, 11 July 2006
2006	Bourbon Street March	Duluth Entertainment Convention Center Auditorium, 11 February 2006
2003	Bourbon Street Parade	Cabe Theatre, Little Rock, Arkansas, 21 June 2003
2000	Bourbon Street Parade	Lied Center for Performing Arts Concert, Lincoln, NB, 22 September 2000
1996	Bourbon Street Parade	Artemus Ham Concert Hall, Las Vegas, NV, 24 February 1996
1995	Bourbon Street Parade	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California, 7 July 1995
1993	Bourbon Street Parade	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California, 10 July 1993
1991	Bourbon Street	San Francisco Concert, 23 June 1991
1987	Bourbon Street Parade (Voice)	New Orleans, Vol. 4
1983	Bourbon Street Parade	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 8 July 1983
1975	Bourbon Street	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1972	Bourbon Street Parade	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 23 April 1972

1970	Bourbon Street Parade	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 12 April 1970
	Bourbon Street Parade	Songs of New Orleans
	Bourbon Street Parade (Voice)	50th Anniversary Collection
	Bourbon Street Parade (Live)	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (Live)
2012	Careless Love	St. Peter & 57th Street
2010	Careless Love	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
2007	Careless Love	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2003	Careless Love	Peace Concert Hall, Greenville, South Carolina, 13 April 2003
1982	Careless Love (Instrumental)	New Orleans, Vol. 3
1976	Careless Love	Preservation Hall at Wolf Trap, 18 December 1976
1963	Careless Love	Jazz At Preservation Hall: The George Lewis Band of New Orleans
	Careless Love	Songs of New Orleans
	Careless Love	Shake That Thing
	Careless Love (Instrumental)	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2007	Corrina, Corrina	Preservation Hall Hot 4 with Duke Dejan
1963	Corrine, Corrina	Jazz At Preservation Hall III: Paul Barbarin & His Jazz Band, Punch Miller's Bunch, and George Lewis
	Corinna, Corinna	50th Anniversary Collection
2006	Do You Know What It Means To Miss New Orleans?	Redlands Bowl Concert, California, 11 July 2006
	Do You Know What It Means To Miss New Orleans?	Made In New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions
2012	Freight Train (feat. Ani DiFranco) [live]	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (Live)
2010	Freight Train	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
1998	Georgia On My Mind	Merrill Auditorium, Portland, OR, 23 April 1998
1996	Georgia On My Mind	University of Connecticut Concert, 26 April 1996
1996	Georgia On My Mind	Artemus Ham Concert Hall, Las Vegas, NV, 24 February 1996
1995	Georgia On My Mind	Sheldon Concert Hall, St. Louis, MO, 21 October 1995
1995	Georgia On My Mind	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California, 7 July 1995
1994	Georgia On My Mind	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 7 July 1994
1993	Georgia On My Mind	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California, 10 July 1993
1987	Georgia On My Mind	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 1987

	Georgia On My Mind	Songs of New Orleans
	Georgia On My Mind	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Georgia On My Mind	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1987	Gettysburg March (Instrumental)	New Orleans, Vol. 4
	Gettysburg March (LP Version)	Jazz At Preservation Hall II: Billie Pierce, DeDe Pierce & Jim Robinson's New Orleans Band
1972	Hello, Dolly!	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 23 April 1972
1970	Hello, Dolly!	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 12 April 1970
1968	Hello, Dolly!	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 15 July 1968
1975	Honky Tonk	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1963	Down In Honky Tonk Town	Jazz At Preservation Hall I: The Eureka Brass Band of New Orleans
2012	I'll Fly Away	St. Peter & 57th Street
2012	I'll Fly Away (feat. George Wein, Trombone Shorty, Rebirth Brass Band, Ani DiFranco, Short Dressed Gal, Allen Toussaint, Bonnie Raitt, Jim James, Steve Earle, Wendell Eugene, Lionel Ferbos) [live]	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (Live)
2011	I'll Fly Away	American Legacies
	I'll Fly Away	50th Anniversary Collection
2009	Ice Cream	New Orleans Preservation, Vol. 1
2009	Ice Cream	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 10 July 2009
2007	Ice Cream, You Scream	Preservation Hall-Live At Jazz Fest 2007
1992	Ice Cream	Preservation Hall Jazz Band-Live!
1987	Ice Cream	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 1987
1985	Ice Cream	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert, Spring 1985
1982	Ice Cream	Constitution Hall Concert, Washington D.C., Summer 1982
1972	Ice Cream	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 23 April 1972
1970	Ice Cream	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 12 April 1970
1964	Ice Cream	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Ice Cream	50th Anniversary Collection
2010	La vie en rose	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
2010	Louisiana Fairytale	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program

	Louisiana Fairytale	50th Anniversary Collection
1963	Take A Ferry Boat To New Orleans	Jazz At Preservation Hall III: Paul Barbarin & His Jazz Band, Punch Miller's Bunch, and George Lewis
	Ti-pi Ti-pi Tin	Songs of New Orleans
2007	Wrap Your Troubles in Dreams	Preservation Hall Hot 4 with Duke Dejan
JAZZ TUNES		
1964	A Good Man is Hard to Find	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	A Good Man is Hard to Find	50th Anniversary Collection
	A Good Gal Is Hard to Find (A Good Man is Hard to Find)	50th Anniversary Collection
2003	Ain't Misbehavin'	Daytona Beach, Florida Concert, 9 February 2003
2007	Ain't She Sweet	Preservation Hall Hot 4 with Duke Dejan
	Algiers Stomp	Songs of New Orleans
2012	Basin Street Blues (Live)	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (Live)
2011	Basin Street Blues	Symphony Hall Concert, Boston, MA, 19 March 2011
2007	Basin Street Blues	Preservation Hall Hot 4 with Duke Dejan
2007	Basin Street Blues	Big Easy In Buffalo concert series Creole Christmas Event, Buffalo, NY, 6 December 2007
2007	Basin Street Blues	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 6 July 2007
2007	Basin Street Blues	Corning Museum of Glass Concert, New York, 3 February 2007
2006	Basin Street Blues	Redlands Bowl Concert, California, 11 July 2006
2006	Basin Street Blues	Lobero Theatre, Santa Barbara, California, 6 July 2006
2006	Basin Street Blues	Duluth Entertainment Convention Center Auditorium, 11 February 2006
2003	Basin Street Blues	Peace Concert Hall, Greenville, South Carolina, 13 April 2003
2002	Basin Street Blues	James Madison University Concert, 19 October 2002
2000	Basin Street Blues	Broadcasted Preservation Hall Concert, 29 November 2000
2000	Basin Street Blues	Lied Center for Performing Arts Concert, Lincoln, NB, 22 September 2000
1998	Basin Street Blues	Hampton University Concert, 6 March 1998
1997	Basin Street Blues	Sheldon Concert Hall, St. Louis, MO, 31 January 1997
1995	Basin Street Blues	Sheldon Concert Hall, St. Louis, MO, 21 October 1995
1995	Basin Street Blues	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California,

		7 July 1995
1995	Basin Street Blues	Penn's Landing Concert, Memorial Day Weekend 1995
1991	Basin Street Blues	San Francisco Concert, 23 June 1991
1985	Basin Street Blues	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert, Spring 1985
1983	Basin Street Blues	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 8 July 1983
1980	Basin Street Blues	Waikiki Shell, Honolulu, Hawaii Concert, 1980
1976	Basin Street Blues	Preservation Hall at Wolf Trap, 18 December 1976
1976	Basin Street Blues	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert , 12 April 1976
1975	Basin Street	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
	Basin Street Blues	Songs of New Orleans
2002	Bill Bailey	James Madison University Concert, 19 October 2002
1997	Bill Bailey	Sheldon Concert Hall, St. Louis, MO, 31 January 1997
1977	Bill Bailey (Won't You Please Come Home)	New Orleans, Vol. 1
1964	Bill Bailey Won't You Please Come Home	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Bill Bailey Won't You Please Come Home	Songs of New Orleans
	Bill Bailey Won't You Please Come Home	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Billie's Boogie	New Orleans' Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2010	Blue Skies	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
1963	Bourbon Street Blues	Boston Arts Festival Appearance, 5 July 1963
2012	Burgundy Street Blues	St. Peter & 57th Street
1992	Burgundy Street Blues	Preservation Hall Jazz Band-Live!
1963	Burgundy Street Blues	Jazz At Preservation Hall: The George Lewis Band of New Orleans
	Burgundy Street Blues	50th Anniversary Collection
	My Blue Heaven	Songs of New Orleans
2010	Blue Yodel #9	Jazz Kitchen Concert, Indianapolis, IN, 14 September 2010
2009	Blue Yodel #9	New Orleans Preservation, Vol. 1
2009	Blue Yodel #9	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 10 July 2009
1964	Chimes Blues	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Chimes Blues	50th Anniversary Collection
2007	Clarinet Marmalade	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 6 July 2007

1964	Clarinet Marmalade	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2007	Dinah	Preservation Hall Hot 4 with Duke Dejan
1968	Dippermouth Blues	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 15 July 1968
	Dr. Jazz	Songs of New Orleans
1963	Fidgety Feet	Boston Arts Festival Appearance, 5 July 1963
	Heebie Jeebies	Made in New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions
2003	Hindustan	Cabe Theatre, Little Rock, Arkansas, 21 June 2003
2003	Hindustan	Peace Concert Hall, Greenville, South Carolina, 13 April 2003
2000	Hindustan	Lied Center for Performing Arts Concert, Lincoln, NB, 22 September 2000
1996	Hindustan	Artemus Ham Concert Hall, Las Vegas, NV, 24 February 1996
1995	Hindustan	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California, 7 July 1995
1994	Hindustan	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 7 July 1994
1993	Hindustan	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California, 10 July 1993
1992	Hindustan	Preservation Hall Jazz Band-Live!
1985	Hindustan	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert, Spring 1985
1982	Hindustan	New Orleans, Vol. 3
1975	Hindustan	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1974	Hindustan	Boston Symphony Hall Concert, 22 March 1974
1972	Hindustan	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 23 April 1972
1963	Hindustan	Jazz At Preservation Hall III: Paul Barbarin & His Jazz Band, Punch Miller's Bunch, and George Lewis
	Hindustan	Best of the Early Years
	Hindustan	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2009	I Wish I Could Shimmy Like My Sister Kate	New Orleans Preservation, Vol. 1
2009	I Wish I Could Shimmy Like My Sister Kate	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 10 July 2009
2007	I Wish I Could Shimmy Like My Sister Kate	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 6 July 2007
2007	Shimmy Like My Sister Kate	Preservation Hall-Live At Jazz Fest 2007
2006	Sister Kate	Redlands Bowl Concert, California, 11 July 2006
2006	I Wish I Could Shimmy Like My Sister Kate	Lobero Theatre, Santa Barbara, California, 6 July 2006
1963	Sister Kate (LP Version)	Jazz At Preservation Hall II: Billie Pierce, DeDe

		Pierce & Jim Robinson's New Orleans Band
	I Wish I Could Shimmy Like My Sister Kate	Songs of New Orleans
2007	If I Had My Life to Live Over	Preservation Hall Hot 4 with Duke Dejan
2007	I'm Alone Because I Love You	Preservation Hall Hot 4 with Duke Dejan
2006	I'm Alone Because I Love You	Lobero Theatre, Santa Barbara, California, 6 July 2006
1964	I'm Alone Because I Love You	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	I'm Alone Because I Love You	50th Anniversary Collection
2007	I'm Confessin' (That I Love You)	Preservation Hall Hot 4 with Duke Dejan
	I'm Confessin' (That I Love You)	50th Anniversary Collection
1987	Jaffe's Struttin' Blues	New Orleans, Vol. 4
1981	Just A Little While to Stay Here (Instrumental)	New Orleans, Vol. 2
1975	Just A Little While	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1963	Just A Little While To Stay Here	Jazz At Preservation Hall I: The Eureka Brass Band of New Orleans
	Just A Little While To Stay Here	New Orleans' Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Just A Little While to Stay Here (Instrumental)	50th Anniversary Collection
2007	Lady Be Good	Preservation Hall Hot 4 with Duke Dejan
1987	Lonesome Road (Voice)	New Orleans, Vol. 4
	Lonesome Road	New Orleans' Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Lonesome Road	Best of the Early Years
1989	Memphis Blues	College of Du Page, Chicago 28 October 1989
2011	Mullensburg Joys	American Legacies
2011	Mullensburg Joys	Symphony Hall Concert, Boston, MA, 19 March 2011
1964	Milenberg Joys	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Milneburg Joys	Songs of New Orleans
1987	Mood Indigo (Instrumental)	New Orleans, Vol. 4
	Mood Indigo	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Mood Indigo (Instrumental)	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1998	Muskrat Ramble (Instrumental)	Because of You
	Old Spinning Wheel	Songs of New Orleans
1964	Original Dixieland Onestep	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2000	Panama Rag	Broadcasted Preservation Hall Concert, 29 November 2000
2000	Panama Rag	Lied Center for Performing Arts Concert, Lincoln, NB, 22 September 2000
1991	Panama Rag	San Francisco Concert, 23 June 1991
1985	Panama	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert, Spring 1985

1977	Panama	New Orleans, Vol. 1
1975	Panama	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1974	Panama	Boston Symphony Hall Concert, 22 March 1974
1972	Panama	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 23 April 1972
1968	Panama	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 15 July 1968
1964	Panama	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1963	Panama	Jazz At Preservation Hall I: The Eureka Brass Band of New Orleans
2003	Petite Fleur	Cabe Theatre, Little Rock, Arkansas, 21 June 2003
2000	Petite Fleur	Lied Center for Performing Arts Concert, Lincoln, NB, 22 September 2000
1998	Petite Fleur (Instrumental)	Because of You
1996	Petit Fleur	Artemus Ham Concert Hall, Las Vegas, NV, 24 February 1996
1995	Petite Fleur	Sheldon Concert Hall, St. Louis, MO, 21 October 1995
1995	Petite Fleur	Penn's Landing Concert, Memorial Day Weekend 1995
	Petite Fleur	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Le Petit Fleur	50th Anniversary Collection
	Please Don't Talk About Me When I'm Gone	Songs of New Orleans
1963	Preservation Blues	Jazz At Preservation Hall III: Paul Barbarin & His Jazz Band, Punch Miller's Bunch, and George Lewis
1989	Royal Garden Blues	College of Du Page, Chicago 28 October 1989
1992	Savoy Blues	Preservation Hall Jazz Band-Live!
2009	So Long Blues	Best of the Early Years
	Some of These Days	Songs of New Orleans
1992	Somebody Else Is Taking My Place	Preservation Hall Jazz Band-Live!
	Somebody Else Is Taking My Place	Songs of New Orleans
	Somebody Else Is Taking My Place	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2012	St. James Infirmary, Pt. 1	St. Peter & 57th Street
2012	St. James Infirmary, Pt. 2	St. Peter & 57th Street
2012	St. James Infirmary (slow version)	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (Live)
2012	St. James Infirmary	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival

	(fast version) [live]	(Live)
2010	St. James Infirmary	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
1987	St. James Infirmary	New Orleans, Vol. 4
1973	St. James Infirmary	Chicago Goodman Theater Concert, 16 April 1973
1964	St. James Infirmary	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1963	St. James Infirmary	Boston Arts Festival Appearance, 5 July 1963
	St. James Infirmary	New Orleans' Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	St. James Infirmary	Best of the Early Years
	St. James Infirmary (King Britt Remix)	50th Anniversary Collection
	St. James Infirmary	50th Anniversary Collection
2009	St. Louis Blues	Powell Symphony Hall Concert, St. Louis, MO, 20 February 2009
2006	St. Louis Blues	Lobero Theatre, Santa Barbara, California, 6 July 2006
2003	St. Louis Blues	Daytona Beach, Florida Concert, 9 February 2003
2002	St. Louis Blues	James Madison University Concert, 19 October 2002
2000	St. Louis Blues	Lied Center for Performing Arts Concert, Lincoln, NB, 22 September 2000
1998	St. Louis Blues	Merrill Auditorium, Portland, OR, 23 April 1998
1997	St. Louis Blues	Sheldon Concert Hall, St. Louis, MO, 31 January 1997
1989	St. Louis Blues	College of Du Page, Chicago 28 October 1989
1983	St. Louis Blues	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 8 July 1983
1981	St. Louis Blues (Voice)	New Orleans, Vol. 2
1979	St. Louis Blues	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert, 1 April 1979
1975	St. Louis Blues	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1970	St. Louis Blues	New York Philharmonic Hall Concert, 12 April 1970
1963	St. Louis Blues	Jazz At Preservation Hall: The George Lewis Band of New Orleans
	St. Louis Blues	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	St. Louis Blues	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	St. Philip Street Breakdown	Songs of New Orleans
1994	Summertime	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 7 July 1994
	Summertime	Songs of New Orleans
2007	That Bucket's Got A Hole In It	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1981	The Buckets Got A Hole in It (Voice)	New Orleans, Vol. 2

1963	My Bucket's Got A Hole In It (LP Version)	Jazz At Preservation Hall II: Billie Pierce, DeDe Pierce & Jim Robinson's New Orleans Band
	That Bucket's Got A Hole In It	Made In New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions
	The Buckets Got A Hole in It	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	That Bucket's Got A Hole In It	50th Anniversary Collection
2011	That's A Plenty	Symphony Hall Concert, Boston, MA, 19 March 2011
	That's A Plenty	Songs of New Orleans
	That's A Plenty	50th Anniversary Collection
2010	Tiger Rag	Jazz Kitchen Concert, Indianapolis, IN, 14 September 2010
2009	Tiger Rag	New Orleans Preservation, Vol. 1
2009	Tiger Rag	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 10 July 2009
2009	Tiger Rag	Powell Symphony Hall Concert, St. Louis, MO, 20 February 2009
2007	Tiger Rag	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 6 July 2007
2003	Tiger Rag	Peace Concert Hall, Greenville, South Carolina, 13 April 2003
2003	Tiger Rag	Daytona Beach, Florida Concert, 9 February 2003
2001	Tiger Rag	Creole Christmas Concert, NJ, 10 December 2001
2000	Tiger Rag	Broadcasted Preservation Hall Concert, 29 November 2000
1995	Tiger Rag	Sheldon Concert Hall, St. Louis, MO, 21 October 1995
1979	Tiger Rag	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert, 1 April 1979
1977	Tiger Rag	New Orleans, Vol. 1
1976	Tiger Rag	Preservation Hall at Wolf Trap, 18 December 1976
1975	Tiger Rag	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1963	Tiger Rag	Jazz At Preservation Hall III: Paul Barbarin & His Jazz Band, Punch Miller's Bunch, and George Lewis
	Tiger Rag	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Tiger Rag	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1963	Tinroof Blues	Boston Arts Festival Appearance, 5 July 1963
1992	Tishomingo Blues	Preservation Hall Jazz Band-Live!
1964	Weary Blues	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Weary Blues	Best of the Early Years
1964	Whenever You're Lonesome	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band

	Whenever You're Lonesome	50th Anniversary Collection
1964	Yellow Dog Blues	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
NEW ORLEANS MUSIC		
2009	Choko Mo Feel No Hey	New Orleans Preservation, Vol. 1
2012	Do Whatchya Wanna (feat. Rebirth Brass Band) [live]	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (Live)
2003	Down By the Riverside	Daytona Beach, Florida Concert, 9 February 2003
1989	Down By the Riverside	College of Du Page, Chicago 28 October 1989
1964	Down By the Riverside	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1963	Down By the Riverside	Jazz At Preservation Hall: The George Lewis Band of New Orleans
	Down by the Riverside	Best of the Early Years
	Down By the Riverside	50th Anniversary Collection
2009	Go To Mardi Gras	Powell Symphony Hall Concert, St. Louis, MO, 20 February 2009
2007	Second Line Parade	Preservation Hall-Live At Jazz Fest 2007
	Go To Mardi Gras	Songs of New Orleans
1996	In the Sweet Bye and Bye	In the Sweet Bye and Bye
1982	Bye and Bye (Instrumental)	New Orleans, Vol. 3
1963	In the Sweet By and By	Jazz At Preservation Hall: The George Lewis Band of New Orleans
1963	Bye & Bye	Jazz At Preservation Hall I: The Eureka Brass Band of New Orleans
	In the Sweet Bye and Bye	50th Anniversary Collection
2011	Jambalaya	American Legacies
1996	Jesus On the Main Line	In the Sweet Bye and Bye
	Jesus On the Main Line	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
1977	Joe Avery	New Orleans, Vol. 1
1975	Joe Avery	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1964	Joe Avery	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Joe Avery	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Joe Avery (Instrumental)	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Joe Avery (Instrumental)	50th Anniversary Collection
	Joe Avery's Blues	Jazz At Preservation Hall I: The Eureka Brass Band of New Orleans
2012	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	St. Peter & 57th Street
2011	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Symphony Hall Concert, Boston, MA, 19 March 2011
2007	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Shake That Thing
2007	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 6 July 2007
2007	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Corning Museum of Glass Concert, New York, 3 February 2007
2006	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Redlands Bowl Concert, California, 11 July 2006

2006	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Lobero Theatre, Santa Barbara, California, 6 July 2006
2003	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Cabe Theatre, Little Rock, Arkansas, 21 June 2003
2002	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	James Madison University Concert, 19 October 2002
2000	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Broadcasted Preservation Hall Concert, 29 November 2000
1998	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Merrill Auditorium, Portland, OR, 23 April 1998
1998	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Hampton University Concert, 6 March 1998
1996	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	University of Connecticut Concert, 26 April 1996
1996	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Artemus Ham Concert Hall, Las Vegas, NV, 24 February 1996
1994	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 7 July 1994
1993	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California, 10 July 1993
1983	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 8 July 1983
1982	Just a Closer Walk With Thee, Pt. 1 (Instrumental)	New Orleans, Vol. 3
1982	Just a Closer Walk With Thee, Pt. 2 (Instrumental)	New Orleans, Vol. 3
1980	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Waikiki Shell, Honolulu, Hawaii Concert, 1980
1974	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Boston Symphony Hall Concert, 22 March 1974
1973	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Chicago Goodman Theater Concert, 16 April 1973
1967	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Royce Hall Concert, UCLA, 18 February 1967
1964	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	New Orleans' Billie and De De and Their Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Just a Closer Walk With Thee, Pt. 2	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2006	Last Chance to Dance	Redlands Bowl Concert, California, 11 July 2006
	It's You're Last Chance To Dance	Made In New Orleans: The Hurricane Sessions
2007	Little Liza Jane	Shake That Thing
1987	Miss Liza Jane	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 1987
1985	Little Liza Jane	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert, Spring 1985
1979	Little Liza Jane	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert, 1 April 1979
1975	Liza Jane	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1974	Little Liza Jane	Boston Symphony Hall Concert, 22 March 1974
1964	Little Liza Jane	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Little Liza Jane	50th Anniversary Collection
1987	Oh Didn't He Ramble (Voice)	New Orleans, Vol. 4
1964	Didn't He Ramble	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Olympia on Parade	Best of the Early Years

1963	Salty Dog	Jazz At Preservation Hall: The George Lewis Band of New Orleans
1963	The Second Line	Jazz At Preservation Hall III: Paul Barbarin & His Jazz Band, Punch Miller's Bunch, and George Lewis
2011	Shake It and Break It	Symphony Hall Concert, Boston, MA, 19 March 2011
2010	Shake It and Break It	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
2009	Shake It and Break It	Powell Symphony Hall Concert, St. Louis, MO, 20 February 2009
2003	Shake It and Break It	Daytona Beach, Florida Concert, 9 February 2003
2000	Shake It and Break It	Lied Center for Performing Arts Concert, Lincoln, NB, 22 September 2000
1994	Shake It and Break It	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 7 July 1994
1991	Shake It and Break It	San Francisco Concert, 23 June 1991
1981	Shake It and Break It (Voice)	New Orleans, Vol. 2
1963	Shake It and Break It (LP Version)	Jazz At Preservation Hall II: Billie Pierce, DeDe Pierce & Jim Robinson's New Orleans Band
	Shake It and Break It	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	Shake It and Break It	50th Anniversary Collection
	Shake It and Break It (Voice)	50th Anniversary Collection
	Shake It and Break It	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2007	Shake That Thing	Shake That Thing
2007	Shake That Thing	Big Easy In Buffalo concert series Creole Christmas Event, Buffalo, NY, 6 December 2007
2007	Shake That Thing	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 6 July 2007
2006	Shake That Thing	Redlands Bowl Concert, California, 11 July 2006
	Shake That Thing	50th Anniversary Collection
2009	Tailgate Ramble	New Orleans Preservation, Vol. 1
2009	Tailgate Ramble	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 10 July 2009
1963	Take Your Burden to the Lord	Jazz At Preservation Hall I: The Eureka Brass Band of New Orleans
2012	Tootie Ma	St. Peter & 57th Street
2012	Tootie Ma (Live)	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (Live)
2010	Tootie Ma is a Big Fine Thing	Preservation: An Album to Benefit Preservation Hall & the Preservation Hall Outreach Program
	Tootie Ma is a Big Fine Thing	50th Anniversary Collection
2009	Westlawn Dirge	New Orleans Preservation, Vol. 1

Westlawn Dirge		50th Anniversary Collection
2012	When the Saints Go Marching In	Live at 2012 New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival (Live)
2011	When the Saints Go Marching In	Symphony Hall Concert, Boston, MA, 19 March 2011
2010	When the Saints Go Marching In	Jazz Kitchen Concert, Indianapolis, IN, 14 September 2010
2009	When the Saints Go Marching In	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 10 July 2009
2009	When the Saints Go Marching In	Powell Symphony Hall Concert, St. Louis, MO, 20 February 2009
2007	When the Saints Go Marching In	Corning Museum of Glass Concert, New York, 3 February 2007
2006	When the Saints Go Marching In	Redlands Bowl Concert, California, 11 July 2006
2006	When the Saints Go Marching In	Duluth Entertainment Convention Center Auditorium, 11 February 2006
2003	When the Saints Go Marching In	Cabe Theatre, Little Rock, Arkansas, 21 June 2003
2003	When the Saints Go Marching In	Peace Concert Hall, Greenville, South Carolina, 13 April 2003
2003	When the Saints Go Marching In	Daytona Beach, Florida Concert, 9 February 2003
2001	When the Saints Go Marching In	Creole Christmas Concert, NJ, 10 December 2001
2000	When the Saints Go Marching In	Broadcasted Preservation Hall Concert, 29 November 2000
2000	When the Saints Go Marching In	Lied Center for Performing Arts Concert, Lincoln, NB, 22 September 2000
1998	When the Saints Go Marching In	Merrill Auditorium, Portland, OR, 23 April 1998
1998	When the Saints Go Marching In	Hampton University Concert, 6 March 1998
1997	When the Saints Go Marching In	Sheldon Concert Hall, St. Louis, MO, 31 January 1997
1996	When the Saints Go Marching In	Artemus Ham Concert Hall, Las Vegas, NV, 24 February 1996
1995	When the Saints Go Marching In	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California, 7 July 1995
1995	When the Saints Go Marching In	Penn's Landing Concert, Memorial Day Weekend 1995
1994	When the Saints Go Marching In	Irvine Barclay Theater, L.A., California, 7 July 1994
1993	When the Saints Go Marching In	Irvine Barclay Theatre, L.A., California, 10 July 1993
1992	When the Saints Go Marching In	Preservation Hall Jazz Band-Live!
1987	When the Saints Go Marching In	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 1987
1985	When the Saints Go Marching In	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert, Spring 1985
1983	When the Saints Go Marching In	Wadsworth Theatre, UCLA Concert, 8 July 1983
1982	When the Saints Go Marching In	New Orleans, Vol. 3
1982	When the Saints Go Marching In	Constitution Hall Concert, Washington D.C.,

		Summer 1982
1980	When the Saints Go Marching In	Waikiki Shell, Honolulu, Hawaii Concert, 1980
1976	When the Saints Go Marching In	New York Avery Fisher Hall Concert , 12 April 1976
1975	When the Saints Go Marching In	Stern Grove Concert, San Francisco California, 5 July 1975
1974	When the Saints Go Marching In	Boston Symphony Hall Concert, 22 March 1974
1973	When the Saints Go Marching In	Chicago Goodman Theater Concert, 16 April 1973
1964	When the Saints Go Marching In	Sweet Emma and Her Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	When the Saints Go Marching In	Essential Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	When the Saints Go Marching In	Best of the Early Years
	When the Saints Go Marching In	Best of Preservation Hall Jazz Band
	When the Saints Go Marching In	50th Anniversary Collection
1963	Winnin' Boy Blues	Jazz At Preservation Hall: The George Lewis Band of New Orleans

APPENDIX C

Tremé Catalog: *musical place as relocation tool*

C.1. Repertoire Studies of “Relocated Place”

Details snapshots of Trombone Shorty and his band Orleans Avenue.

Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews			
Selected Discography (2002-present)			
DATE	TITLE	SPECIAL RELEASE	ARTIST INFORMATION
2013	Say That to Say This		Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue
2012	“St. James Infirmary, Pt. 1”	St. Peter and 57 th Street	Guest Artist, Preservation Hall Jazz Band
2011	For True		Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue
2011	“Do to Me (feat. Jeff Beck)”		Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue, feat. Jeff Beck
2010	“Ain’t My Fault”		Gulf Aid All-Stars
2010	“Something Beautiful”		Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue, feat. Lenny Kravits
2010	Backatown		Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue
2010	“Ooh Poo Pah Doo”	Treme Soundtrack, Season 1	Trombone Shorty & James Andrews
2008	“Set Yourself Free”		Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2008
2008	“American Woman”		Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2008
2008	“Like Mike”		Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2008
2008	“Joey’s Wet Dream”		Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2008
2008	“Where’s The Party At?”		Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2008

2008	“James Brown Medley”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2008	
2008	“Do Watcha Wanna”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2008	
2007	“Fancy Guitars”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2007	
2007	“Back In Black”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2007	
2007	“Where Are We Running”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2007	
2007	“Joey’s Wet Dream”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2007	
2007	“Where Is the Party”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest	
2007	“James Brown Medley”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2007	
2007	“St. James Infirmary”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2007	
2007	“Orleans & Claiborne”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2007	
2007	“When the Saints”	Trombone Shorty— Live At Jazz Fest 2007	
2006	“Hey Troy, Your Mama’s Callin’ You”	Sing Me Back Home: The New Orleans Social Club	Featured Artist
2005	The End of the Beginning		Trombone Shorty, James Martin, Bill Huntington, Jason Marsalis, and Michael Peller, feat. Ellis Marsalis, Irvin Mayfield, Kermit Ruffins, and John Boutte
2005	Orleans & Claiborne		Trombone Shorty and Orleans Avenue
2005	Trombone Shorty Meets Lionel Ferbos		Trombone Shorty, Lionel Ferbos, Shannon Powell, Walter Payton, and John Richardson
2005	12 & Shorty		Trombone Shorty & James Andrews

Orleans Avenue		
Selected Repertoire Listing		
DATE	TITLE	ALBUM
2005	“Getting Ready For The Mardi Gras”	Orleans & Claiborne
2011	“Lagniappe Part 1 (feat. Stanton Moore)”	For True
2011	“Lagniappe Part 2 (feat. Stanton Moore)”	For True
2005	“Suite Azari”	Orleans & Claiborne

JAZZ TUNES		
2011	“Big 12 (feat. Ben Ellman)”	For True
2005	“La Chica Dulce”	Orleans & Claiborne
2005	“Got To Get Ready”	Orleans & Claiborne
2005	“I Don’t Know”	Orleans & Claiborne
2005	“Midnight Creeper”	Orleans & Claiborne
2011	“Nervis (feat. Ivan Neville and Cyril Neville)”	For True
2010	“Neph”	Backatown
2013	“Say That To Say This”	Say That To Say This
2005	“This Love”	Orleans & Claiborne
2011	“Unc”	For True
PAST AND PRESENT MUSICAL INFLUENCES		
2013	“Be My Lady”	Say That To Say This
2011	“The Craziest Thing”	For True
2013	“Dream On”	Say That To Say This
2011	“Encore (feat. Warren Haynes)”	For True
2010	“Fallin”	Backatown
2005	“Frontin”	Orleans & Claiborne
2013	“Get The Picture”	Say That To Say This
2011	“Mrs. Orleans (feat. Kid Rock and Robert Mercurio)”	For True
2005	“No Thing On Me”	Orleans & Claiborne
2010	“On Your Way Down (featuring Alan Toussaint)”	Backatown
2010	“One Night Only (The March)”	Backatown
2010	“Quiet As Kept”	Backatown
2011	“Roses (feat. Lenny Kravitz)”	For True
2013	“Something Beautiful”	Say That To Say This
2013	“Sunrise”	Say That To Say This
2011	“Then There Was You (feat. Ledisi)”	For True
2005	“We Gonna Make You”	Orleans & Claiborne
2010	“Where Y’at (Live)”	Backatown
DANCE MUSIC		
2005	“Act Bad With It”	Orleans & Claiborne
2010	“The Cure”	Backatown
2005	“Dynamite”	Orleans & Claiborne
2005	“Get Down”	Orleans & Claiborne
2005	“Cant Get Enufa Dat Funky Stuff”	Orleans & Claiborne
2010	“Suburbia”	Backatown
2010	“928 Horn Jam”	Backatown
CONTEMPORARY CITY TUNES		
2010	“Backatown”	Backatown
2011	“Buckjump (feat. 5 th Ward Weebie and the Rebirth Brass Band)	For True
2011	“Do to Me (feat. Jeff Beck)”	For True
2011	“Dumaine St.”	For True

2010	“Hurricane Season”	Backatown
2010	“In the 6th”	Backatown
2013	“Long Weekend”	Say That To Say This
2005	“Orleans & Claiborne”	Orleans & Claiborne
2013	“Shortyville”	Say That To Say This
2013	“Vieux Carre”	Say That To Say This
RELOCATED CITY MUSIC		
2013	“Fire and Brimstone”	Say That To Say This
2010	“Right to Complain”	Backatown
2013	“You and I (Outta This Place)”	Say That To Say This

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