“Get It How You Live”: Locating Affect, Social Bonding, and Resiliency in the Music of the TBC Brass Band of New Orleans, Louisiana

By

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Sunday, June 17, 2018, I was a bit anxious as I hopped the street car to travel uptown for the Perfect Gentlemen Social Aid & Pleasure Club & Dignified Achievable Men Social & Pleasure Father’s Day Second Line Parade. The parade was scheduled to kick-off at 3:00pm that afternoon and I was cutting it very close. I didn’t want to miss any part of the 4-hour parade that day, but I spent a little longer than expected earlier that morning gathering some interview footage of Mark “Tuba” Smith, former tuba player with the Original Pinstripe Brass Band, and current tuba player and patriarch of one of the resident brass band stationed in Jackson Square. It just seemed that the street car was not only making many more stops than normal, but the speed in which the street car traveled was slower than I have ever experienced during my visits to New Orleans.

As the time on my phone moved to 2:56pm, we were still a few stops away, when all of sudden the street car came to a halt. We weren’t moving anywhere, and it seemed like it was going to be awhile before we moved again, when faintly I heard the echoes of a brass band wafting down the tracks, sound moving in the direction from Uptown to Downtown. It was the start of the parade, and the reason for our static position: pedestrian traffic had accumulated across the tracks on the green median area of the Uptown neighborhood. As my anxiety grew a bit, as I thought I was going to miss the beginning of the parade that I so much looked forward to all week, the street car made a jerking movement and we were in motion toward my final
destination. As we traveled, I could hear the sound of the band getting stronger and stronger. Listening to the power and range of the trombone players, I knew right away it was the great TBC Brass Band. Once the street car arrived at my destination I quickly disembarked, mobilized towards the band, all while extracting my zoom recorder out of my backpack. I had made it.

Although the band was playing, the parade had not stepped off and I was able to nestle a spot next to one of the top brass bands in New Orleans. Block after block, tune after tune, TBC’s sound kept getting stronger and stronger, ranges were climbing higher and higher, and the crowd response becoming more animated by the song. Then around hour number three, as we were rolling to TBC playing a swinging version of Will Smith’s summer hit, “Summertime,” the drums went into a transitional fill which would soon set up an impact that would hit my body with a powerful jolt of electricity, a sonic boom the enveloped my total being, emanating from the brass in full forces. There was a different feeling in the air and I could not put my finger on it. The brass seemed louder, the percussion impact more distinct, and most importantly, members of the second line parade, which was made up of thousands, flowing glacier-like through the streets of the uptown section of New Orleans, began to become much more animated and deliberate in their movement. Then came the call from one of the trombone players with a vibrant, “We gonna name Lee Circle,” and the rest of the band responded with an equally vibrant response, “After Allen Toussaint.”
The Lee Circle referenced in the song refers to the traffic rotary circle where a statue of Robert E. Lee, a monument dedicated to the Confederate General, stood very prominently from February 22, 1884 until its removal from the circle on May 19, 2017. That structure, valorizing a Confederate hero, served as a constant reminder of an historical past that is stained with the injustice and violent oppression against the black community.¹

In a book on the cultural study of black youth entitled *Cultural Matrix*, authors Orlando Patterson and Ethan Fosse write, “although legalized segregation has long been abolished and anti-exclusionary laws strictly enforced, the great majority of blacks still live in highly segregated, impoverished communities……[n]owhere is this paradox more acutely exhibited than in the condition of black American youth, especially male youth” (Orlando and Ethan 2015: 1). Returning to that special feeling in relation to the parade, I am positing that the unexplained lift and power of the song was a result of a “structure of feeling” that was emanating from the black male bodies that were performing an original composition entitled “Wyld Magnolia,” written in 2016, one year before the Lee monument was to be removed from the circle, a true indication of a feeling in its pre-emergent stage.

A rich cultural American treasure curated and sustained by those struggling for survival at the margins of society, the institution of the New Orleans brass band represents a genealogic continuum that extends back to the very first arrival of the

¹ According to the 2017 U.S. Census bureau, black people make up 59.8% of the total population of 383,292 people in New Orleans.
enslaved Africans to the Louisiana Territory. This continuum connects a violent past, marked by the horrific physical abuse of black bodies, in the form of institutionalized slavery, to a violent present confounded by systemic poverty, social injustice, racism, and police brutality. In spite of the enduring oppression and dehumanizing conditions, the culture bearers of the New Orleans brass band community continue to leave an impact on the local community as well as the larger world community in the form of iconic musical offerings, known to the world as Black New Orleans Brass Band Music, the precursor to what we know today as American Jazz. A location known as the “Birthplace of Jazz,” “The Crescent City,” “Hollywood South,” and probably most famously, “The Big Easy,” is a city where marginalized black musicians create and perform music that draws approximately 30 million visitors a year from around the world, spending approximately $13 billion a year (The University of New Orleans Hospitality Research Center 2016). New Orleans is home to black musicians who perpetuate and sustain a culture and a tradition that attracts billions of dollars into the local economy. For those black musicians, existence in that popular music city is anything but “easy.”

Looking to cultural theorist Raymond Williams’ “structures of feeling,” as well as the social and psychological sciences and other theoretical frameworks, this thesis locates the significance of affect, social bonding, and resiliency in the social and cultural continuation of the New Orleans brass band. From the birth of the city of New Orleans up until today people of African descent continue to gather together on Sunday afternoons, in the form of parades, to communicate, cultivate, and celebrate
culture through African influenced forms of musical expression. Through the examination and analysis of a selected body of musical expressions by the To Be Continued Brass Band, one of the current top brass bands in the city, I will investigate, from the culture bearer’s perspective, a lived culture within the New Orleans brass band community, thus opening a window of discovery and linking the present to the past.
Chapter 2: A Brief History of New Orleans Brass Bands

At the end of the 19th century, America experienced the “Golden Age of The Brass Band.” Led by the likes of the Patrick Gilmore and John Philip Sousa, brass bands flourished all across America. Amateur community band performances, as well as national professional touring bands, were popular forms of music-making and American musical entertainment. According the New Orleans brass band historian, William Schaefer, “[t]he brass band in nineteenth-century America was as ubiquitous in its time as are jukeboxes and electronic music systems in ours” (Schafer 1977b: 8).

The assimilation of the American brass band movement into the black community occurred simultaneously in the “golden age” at the end of the 19th century and on into the 20th century, developing into a distinct black New Orleans street brass band tradition. The varied utilitarian functions of the New Orleans brass band, even in its early stages, created a true cross-section of musical demands that helped to shape and define both the sound and repertoire of the New Orleans brass band. As noted by William Schafer, “[k]nown best today for their appearances in funeral processions, the New Orleans brass bands of nineteenth-century America played for dances,
picnics, street parades, and political rallies, their music blending popular, light classical, and dance tunes with the syncopated rhythms found in black culture” (Schafer 1977b: Inside Cover).

The black brass bands truly became embedded and interwoven into the fabric of the black community, which consisted of Creoles\(^2\) and urban blacks. Some of the earlier, more popular black brass bands from the early 20\(^{th}\) century included the Excelsior Brass Band, Onward Brass Band, and the Tuxedo Brass Band. These bands consisted of very skilled instrumentalists from the black community, invoking a sense of pride and adulation from both the black adults and black youth within the community. Trumpeter Louis Armstrong, the most famous musician of any sort to come from New Orleans, affirmed his reverence towards the black brass bands during his younger days in New Orleans: “I really felt that I was somebody…when I played with the Tuxedo Brass Band I felt just as proud as though I had been hired by John Philip Sousa or Arthur Pryor” (Brothers 2006: 13). This affirmation speaks loudly to both the prominence of the brass bands in society at the time and the importance and pride of the black community of their own representation within this era. It seems that the black brass band provided one of the earliest representations of African-American males presenting themselves as relevant and capable in a society that perpetuated the opposite view.

\(^2\) In this context I am defining Creole as a person of mixed European and black descent. Prior to the segregationist laws of the Jim Crow era, Creoles throughout the city of New Orleans were afforded similar rights as the whites. Once the Jim Crow laws went into effect in Creoles were no longer afforded the same freedoms. They were all considered black.
It is during this time, at the beginning of the 20th century, that America simultaneously witnessed the beginnings of jazz in New Orleans. Could this parallel in timing between the beginnings of jazz and the development of black New Orleans brass bands be a coincidence? Schafer believes it is much more than a coincidence. “The influence of the brass bands in early jazz is omnipresent. To understand jazz, we must begin with its roots, and the taproot of the tradition is the nineteenth-century brass band” (Schafer 1977b: 8). Many defining characteristics of jazz, such as instrumentation, syncopation, blue notes, and improvisation is a direct influence from the black New Orleans brass bands’ musical expressions. These defining characteristics are all very important components in the understanding of innovation and the creative expression of place and race through sound. The black brass band infused their musical performances with sonic gestures that represent the black aesthetic. These aesthetics, characteristic of black musical expression, continues its influence on the black brass band to this day.

Today, black New Orleans brass bands continue to employ the instrumentation established at the end of the 19th century. Typical instrumentation of a modern New Orleans brass band consists of brass (trumpet, trombone, and tuba), woodwinds (alto, tenor, and baritone saxophones), and percussion instruments played by two separate musicians (1 player on bass drum with a cymbal attachment and 1 player on snare drum). Although the instrumentation has remained virtually unchanged since the end of the 19th century, the music of the brass band has evolved through the years. Through its evolution, the brass band has absorbed the most
current black sounds of the day, including blues, funk, soul, r&b, reggae, hip-hop, bounce, and even trap music of today. Much like earlier brass bands, today’s black brass bands in New Orleans continue in the tradition of historical performance functions and uses to include street performances, jazz funerals, shows in music venues, and second line parades. Matt Sakakeeny describes this continuity of performance in terms of a “circulatory system” (Sakakeeny 2011).

The tradition that today’s musicians carry forward in their performances, recordings, and discussions resides within a circulatory system that is a selective accumulation of what came before. The contemporary significance of the brass band parade in the formation of New Orleans Music derives from the circulation of people, music, and discourse through time and space. The legacy of New Orleans music stretches back to slave dances in Congo Square, to military marches, to the emergence of jazz and subsequent styles, and to the representation of these musics as sounds, images, and texts. (Sakakeeny 2011: 321)

Meet the To Be Continued Brass Band (TBC)

Approaching their 20th year anniversary as a band in 2022, TBC is a very special and important link in the lineage of the great New Orleans brass band tradition. TBC

Figure 2: TBC Brass Band
(https://www.facebook.com/pg/tobecontinued.brassband/photos/)

Approaching their 20th year anniversary as a band in 2022, TBC is a very special and important link in the lineage of the great New Orleans brass band tradition. TBC
serves as the bridge between the pre-Katrina brass band tradition and the revitalization of post-Katrina brass band activity in the city. In the 2008 documentary on the band entitled, *From the Mouthpiece On Back*, it is revealed by now deceased tenor saxophone player Brandon Franklin, that the band was playing on Bourbon Street all the way up to the day before the storm and was one of the first bands to play on Bourbon street after the storm. Within this documentary the band is credited for rekindling the spirit of New Orleans by their performances on the corner of Bourbon and Canal streets. Since TBC’s return to the city after the storm, the band has become one of the most requested, active, and influential bands, within and outside of the black community, in the city New Orleans.

TBC came together in 2002 at George Washington Carver High School located in the Desire Area in the Ninth Ward of New Orleans at the encouragement of the then high school band director, Mr. Wilbur Rawlins Jr. Prior to Hurricane Katrina, Carver’s population stood at around 1,300 students, but in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, the school building was razed. Members of the TBC Brass Band speak about Carver with reverence, giving the school and community around the school credit for their development as both young men and as a band.

Edward “Juicy” Jackson III’s testimony about the importance of Carver in his development is reified in Jim Flynn’s monograph giving life portraits of New Orleans street performers entitled, *Sidewalk Saints*.

I get to Carver everybody was in cahoots, we was cooling. We ain't have all the stuff other schools had, but it was a good school in terms of raising a real black man that you need out here today. They was on your back, but they wasn't trying to harm you. They understood where you was coming from.
when you was at home, they understood when you out it that day. And like me, I'm a smart guy, I'm walking around with like a three point five. I'm in the Carver Band, and I'm telling you everybody know already we was calling ourselves Carver University. When you go back and think about it, the storm it probably had to hit. 'Cause like the level we was about to take New Orleans band to was just gonna make bands everywhere else uncivilized (Flynn 2009: 28).

Juicy’s expressed reverence toward a high school, located in an impoverished crime-filled neighborhood, exemplifies how establishing and cultivating a firm, structured, caring, and understanding environment can inspire, motivate, and educate students to set positive goals, work diligently hard, and persevere until goals are achieved. The high school band, for the members of TBC, provided that foundation and direction that is instrumental to not only their successes as a band, but also the knowledge and ability to navigate life’s greatest challenges. Matt Sakakeeny provides confirming insight into the invaluable lessons and opportunities that reside within the marching band. In his article, “Music Lessons as Life Lessons in New Orleans Marching Bands (2015)” he states:

Young black New Orleanians navigate through pathways littered with obstacles: violence and death, families and communities with high levels of vulnerability, debilitating schools and exploitive labor. While it is possible for students to overcome these obstacles, their subjectivities are overdetermined by virtue of their race, location, and social status, and they are limited in the ways they can construct alternative subjectivities and/or obtain their rights as full citizens. Operating within the constrictions placed on them, black youth elect to participate in school bands and submit themselves to discipline in order to experience something that they evaluate positively. They socialize themselves as black subjects in ways that they find meaningful and valuable. (Sakakeeny 2015: 298)

Cognizant of his student’s interest in making some extra money, Mr. Rawlins suggested that the 11 band members come together to start a small jazz band.
According to trombonist Joe Maize, the Carver High School Band, in which they were all members was planning a high school marching band trip in the spring of 2002.

[W]e all excited to go, but it cost seventy dollars. Not all of us had that kinda cash, so we all got together and went out to the Jazz Fest and started playing the streets. We only had three shabby old horns and everybody else was banging on cardboard boxes. In two or three hours, we had the money for the trip. We were like damn, let's go out on Bourbon and make some money for ourselves. We went right up on Bourbon and Canal, and I ain't lying, we just blew them tourist's minds. That money just started rolling into that box. (Flynn 2009: 7-9)

The New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival is not only one of the largest and most popular music festivals in New Orleans, but it is recognized as one of the more prominent music festivals in North America, drawing around 450,000 people annually. Beginning with the inspiration from New Orleans native Mahalia Jackson’s spirit and the Eureka Brass Band’s energy in 1970, the New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival continues to celebrate the culture of Louisiana and beyond with the likes of such popular artists as Aretha Franklin, Stevie Wonder, Bob Dylan, Eric Clapton, Bruce Springsteen, and many, many, more. The Wall Street Journal has said that Jazz Fest “showcases a wider, deeper lineup of essential American musical styles than any festival in the nation”; Life Magazine has called it “the country’s very best music festival” (Foundation 2019).

Performing on the street during Jazz Fest, which was the genesis of the TBC Brass band, represents an example of determination, creativity, and entrepreneurship harkened by a group of young black men. Members of the TBC wanted to keep the band going after their inaugural Jazz Festival performance. Using their Jazz Fest
experience as a catapult, the members of TBC began to believe in what they were
doing. Outside encouragement from tourists, community members, and other
prominent New Orleans musicians, as well as the compensation for their
performances further cemented their confidence in each other. Basically, they wanted
to keep making money because, in the words of Trombonist Edward ‘Juicy’ Jackson
III, “they were poor and from the ghetto as they still are” (Jackson III 2018).

Following their Jazz Fest debut, TBC began what would be a long residency
on the corner of Bourbon and Canal streets, creating what R. Murray Schafer calls a
soundmark, “a community sound which is unique or possesses qualities which make
it specially regarded” (Schafer 1977a: 10). In an interview with TBC trombonist
Edward “Juicy” Jackson III (Jackson III 2018), “Juicy” confirmed the importance of
TBC’s perpetual presence on Bourbon Street as a critical time in the band’s
development, crediting that time as the foundation of their success. “We took it to
Bourbon [Street] 365 days a year, building the band and going through the things that
bands go through” (Jackson III 2018). That particular urban space, the location of a
major artery of pedestrian traffic within the city of New Orleans, is the site where
TBC molded their sound as a band, developing a sonic persona that is representative
of the urban environment in which the band negotiated daily.

In a YouTube clip of TBC on the corner of Bourbon and Canal (CWWELB
2011), the band represents an urban ethos which is influenced by the urban
environment in which they are performing: a space that is filled with movement,
spirit, and constant activity. Additionally, the space contributes to a soundscape that
amplifies the Bourbon street ethos of party and revelry in the streets. Initially in the clip, the band is playing on a sidewalk in front of a large mural consisting of the “Foot Locker” logo, when a police car flashing its blue lights drives past the band, separating the camera from the band. This image is very poignant as it represents the sustained presence of control and authority, policing in an urban place where the incarceration rate of black males is 50% higher than white males (Vera Institute 2017). Members of TBC simply step back out of the way of the passing police car, not missing a note, but are undoubtedly reminded of their place in society. An instance such as this act to inform the ethos of the space in which they have to navigate.

![Figure 3: TBC on the corner of Bourbon and Canal Streets, September 30, 2011](https://youtu.be/gCYDX6Bx7KM)

Sonically, TBC’s music is powerful, raw, and engaging. A constant flow of pedestrians moving past the band, include some stopping to listen, some dancing, some putting money in the tip-box, some taking picture, and all engaged in the
spatiality, mobility, and possibilities of being in the city. When I asked Juicy which song he believed to embody the character and sentiment of TBC’s time performing on Bourbon and Canal, he offered the song, “I Can’t Do This All On My Own” (Jackson III 2018). Actually, these are the lyrics to a song entitled, “Superman” by the California rock band, Lazlo Bane. TBC employs the lyrics of the hook, “I Can’t Do This All On My Own,” in their music to express and reaffirm the power of the bond within the group, a bond that is the key to the band’s success, impact, and survival.

The Bourbon and Canal street performance space is responsible for shaping every aspect of the band’s sound and powerful performance. “We could practice and make money at the same time, trying out new tunes and exploring new grooves. We went through fusses, everything that we wanted to do we did it right on the corner” (Jackson III 2018). That corner is the place where TBC found themselves, embodying an ethos that is representative of their daily lived experiences within an urban environment.

Within this environment the emergence of an ethos, delineating urban black life, reflects that of endured subjugation to constraints and marginalization of a socioeconomic and sociopolitical space. An understanding of the full context and condition of space by which TBC experience, negotiates, and navigates in their daily lives, provides a lens by which their music can be adequately comprehended. William Schafer’s description of the utilitarian use of the brass band within and through varied spaces suggests the influence of these spaces on the sound of black culture. This notion is further expanded by Matt Sakakeeny in his study of soundscape orientations
in New Orleans (2010). Sakakeeny postulates that the experience of sound is dependent on orientation: “one’s experience of a soundscape is dependent on an orientation towards sound, in terms of both physical proximity and evaluative listening” (Sakakeeny 2010: 4).” To map an urban ethos onto sound, I posit that one’s experience is not only dependent on an orientation towards sound, but is also dependent on one’s orientation through sound, which read as text can transform space into place. This notion suggests an extended component of Sakakeeny’s evaluative listening, that of evaluative production. It is through the nuances and manner of musical sound production that transforms the space in which TBC into a place of urban black street culture. The next section will identify and analyze specific musical examples from TBC’s repertoire, mapping the urban ethos onto their musical performance.

“We Got That Sound That They Wish They Had”: TBC and the Urban Ethos

A lyrical line in To Be Continued Brass Band’s 2016 tribute to one of the formerly largest housing projects in New Orleans, the Magnolia Projects, Wyld Magnolia, states, “The only thing to make ‘em mad, Wyld Magnolia, They got the sound that they wish they had!” (See musical example 1).
The sound emanating from the horns and drums of the TBC Brass Band, provides a sonic representation and expression of what life is like in the “hood.” Adam Krim notes in his *Music and Urban Geography* (2007) that the urban ethos is not necessarily limited to one single representation, but rather to a distribution of possibilities, exhibiting both limits as well as common practices. “It [urban ethos] is not a picture of how life is in any particular city. Instead, it distills publicly disseminated notions of how cities are generally, even though it may be disproportionately shaped by the fate of certain particular cities” (Krims 2007: 7).
TBC’s sound, compared to such earlier brass bands as the Tuxedo Brass Band, The Dirty Dozen Brass Band, or The Rebirth Brass Band, projects a raw, unhinged, unrefined, powerful sound, which is indicative of the very neighborhoods in which members of TBC grew up. This sound infused with expressions representing the black aesthetic, also reveals deeper messages. These messages carry information reflective of practical consciousness, that of “what is actually being lived and not only what it is thought is being lived” (Sharma 2015). TBC’s repertory, including its original pieces and its selection of cover tunes, and the manner in which they perform them is encoded with information that when analyzed more closely, reveal expressions, through music, of lives being lived.

In this section I investigate the implication of TBC’s sound as embodied by the urban ethos of living in the projects. As indicated in the band’s name, TBC’s members come from the Ninth and the Seventh Wards of New Orleans. When 7 is subtracted from 9, we arrive at “2”- To Be Continued. The term “ward” represents the spatial division of New Orleans by soft voting boundaries. According to Julie Raimondi, “New Orleans is divided into seventeen wards. The nineteenth-century ward system was used to elect alderman, and the designations still stand today. Depending on the area, it may be just as common to name an area by its ward number; in wards such as the ninth ward or the seventh ward, residents take pride in referencing their ward numbers” (Raimondi 2012: 82).

Before Hurricane Katrina devasted the city of New Orleans in August of 2005, the St. Bernard projects, located in the city’s Seventh Ward, existed within the
mid-city district area bounded by Harrison Avenue to the North, Paris Avenue to the east, Lafrenier Street and Florida Avenue to the south, and Bayou St. John to the west (see figures 4, 5, and 6).

Figure 4: Google Map Representing the Boundaries of the St. Bernard Projects In the Seventh Ward – Pre-Katrina Map Created by Author

Figure 5: St. Bernard Projects Pre-Katrina (http://noprojects.blogspot.com)
The St. Bernard Housing Project, built over a few decades beginning in the 1940’s, was the second largest housing project in New Orleans before Katrina. The low-income housing development was the product of a 1930 commitment made by President Roosevelt to provide adequate public housing for the urban poor. This commitment, known as the Wagner Bill, led to the passage of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937. This bill served as the catalyst for the erection of the St. Bernard Projects, the fifth of ten such developments that were built between 1940 and 1960. According to the NO Project website, which is dedicated to shedding light on the state of New Orleans Housing Projects post Katrina, “before Katrina, the 2000 Census recorded 6,427 people living in 2,2020 units in the St. Bernard projects. That is an average of 3 people per unit” (Sklar 2018).

In 2008, the St. Bernard Projects were demolished and two years later 500 units were built as part of a mixed-income community called Columbia Parc.
apartments. Only 157 of the 500 units were designated as public housing units, leaving around 1,863 units never to be rebuilt. This in turn displaced around 5,589 people to never return to this neighborhood, thus dismantling a community of black residents who needed and depended on each other for survival.

The St. Bernard Project, was not considered a very safe complex by any means, recording 25 homicides and 25 slayings between 2002 and 2003, just before the storm. Even given these dire statistics and the perils of living in the projects, TBC trombonist Joseph Maize Jr. expresses a sense of belonging and community that has served as inspiration for his music making and wisdom contributing to his survival.

I'm straight out of the projects, St. Bernard, Seventh Ward. 18 years in there before Katrina. In the projects it's just get it how you live. However you living, that's how you getting it. You killing? Watch your back from getting killed, you heard? If you selling drugs? Watch your back from the jackers, you heard? But you know if you playing music, everybody inspired by you. Mostly everybody in the hood, they like come tell me, man I wish I'd stayed stuck with that horn bro, this ain't the life, don't do what I'm doing. (Flynn 2009: 18)

The dismantling of this housing project invoked a very contentious and emotional response by the former residents calling out the local and federal government for corruptive behavior leading to the abandonment of black residents in New Orleans. Daniel Fischlin provide a resolute critique of the gross mishandling of the Post-Katrina housing recovery efforts in the black New Orleans communities.

Actions by city, state, and national authorities in response to the crisis that convulsed the city in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, in 2005, have posed new threats to the survival of black people. Cruel, calculated, and organized abandonment of poor and working-class blacks is a central part of the plans being implemented to reconstruct the city along neoliberal lines for the benefit of investors and owners. These policies exploit cumulative vulnerabilities that have built up over
decades and centuries, but they also impose new indignities, injustices, and violations of human rights on people with precious few resources for fighting back. They entail the demolition of thousands of habitable public housing units in a city with a massive homeless population, the removal of basic services from an area inhabited by the poor, transfer of public schools to private for-profit companies, deliberate dispersal and fragmentation of families, neighborhoods, and social networks, and massive subsidies for commercial projects designed to make the city’s population less black and more affluent. (Fischlin 2013: 159-160)

TBC holds a unique and special place in this historic moment of crisis and upheaval. As a band of black youth living in the projects before the storm, being displaced to 7 different locations and returning to a city and neighborhood that has changed forever, their musical expressions embody and reflect lives lived and feelings felt. TBC’s expressions through music represent both the individual and the communal feelings.

In the next section I will introduce and analyze TBC’s direct response to the corrupt handling of the public housing recovery efforts interrogated by Fischlin (Fischlin 2013), but first to better contextualize the influence of the urban ethos (as projected from living in the housing projects) on the sound and musical expressions of the TBC Brass Band I will take a look at a music video produced by New Orleans hip-hop and bounce record producers, No Limit and Ca$h Money, a major influence on the TBC sound.

According to Brentin Mock in “A History of New Orleans Public Housing, Through No Limit and Ca$h Money Music Videos”:

The emergence of NO Limit and Cash Money Records helped to bring New Orleans rap and hip-hop from a city, state, and regional audience to a nationwide audience in the late 1990’s. Their videos were not the
dens of misery that new urbanists often cast them as, but nor are they presented as neighborhoods entirely safe from drug and gun activity. Instead, the video captures the wide range of human emotions, from the wretched to the ratchet to the rambunctious—the whole gumbo. The artists weren’t afraid to show the worst of these conditions alongside the best. These videos presented the un-simple reality of living in New Orleans public housing. (Mock 2015)

From his 1997 album Solja Rags, New Orleans hip-hop artist Juvenile pays homage and reflects on the projects in New Orleans. His video for the single “Solja Rag” depicts the ethos of all those who are born and raised and struggle for survival in the projects. This is one of the earliest videos filmed in New Orleans public housing, set in the Magnolia projects. The sounds and images projecting from this video are true representations of the experiences shaping the ethos behind the music of TBC. Joe Maize states:

I think what make this band different than any other brass band in the city is the era we came up in. Everybody gangster, howling out. Hard was what was in. It's like Soldier Slim said, ‘If you was off the porch in ’94,’ meaning you was doing your thing, killing whatever, ‘and in ’95 you made it out. Then you're a real nigga.’ Growing up, that's all we looking at. (Flynn 2009: 21)

Juicy, in a recent phone interview validates the influence of this “solja” ethos on TBC:

We tough, a rough bunch, TBC is a tough group. We carry guns and stuff for protection. We are not a scared people, we were our own law on Bourbon Street, we never got our box snatched, they took care of the people. If someone came around fuckin' with the people and doing what they not supposed to be doing, they handled it. There have been many situations where we been playing, gone to kicking ass, then got back to playing and no one cared. It's New Orleans Man! When in Rome, we have to deal with the Romans. We can play our music well; we can defend ourselves well. (Jackson III 2018)
Straight Outta NOLA: The Implication of Sound in the Urban Ethos of Living in the Projects, Musical Examples

An early example representing the urban ethos in the musical performance of TBC is evident in a Youtube video entitled “TBC Brass Band 2004.” In the video, representations of a “solja” ethos is portrayed mirroring that of Juvenile’s video, “Solja Rag” (1997). The musical selection in this video is a cover of “Ready or Not” as performed by the 90’s American hip hop group, The Fugees. Both the landscape and the soundscape of this video takes place under the I-10 bridge. This location is symbolic as it represents the remnants of “white flight” efforts which forever changed the landscape and this black community.³ TBC’s occupying of this space represents a social resistance and the reclaiming of space. The presence of a car in the background of the video seems to mirror the presence of the car in the background of Juvenile’s “Solja Rags” video. Also noticeable in both videos is the low-quality video image. Coincidentally, these are the first published music videos available for both Juvenile and TBC (see figure 7 and 8).

³ In the summer of 1966, the tree-lined median of Claiborne Avenue, at the time a thoroughfare and center of social life in a predominantly black, working-class section of New Orleans, was razed to make way for the overpass. The justification for the highway project was suburban growth. The colloquialism “white flight” is appropriate here not only because it was predominantly whites who were leaving the inner city for the suburbs, but also because their relocation was subsidized by the government through programs such as the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), which denied loans to African Americans and restricted development to segregated neighborhoods. The construction of Interstate 10 also reinforced spatial apartheid within the space of the inner city, as the overpass effectively isolated the tourist zone of the French Quarter from the mostly black residential neighborhoods and public housing projects on the opposite side of Claiborne Avenue. The highway, by design or default, was critical to the racial reorientation of the city into segregated neighborhoods and suburban enclaves. In the ensuing decades, the Interstate has become a contested landmark, and the way it has been integrated into contemporary funerals and parades helps us understand why the combination of instruments and voices careening off the bridge has achieved iconic status as a soundmark. (Sakakeeny 2010: 5-6)
Figure 7: Youtube Clip of Juvenile’s First Music Video - “Solja Rags” (1997) (https://youtu.be/TFbpulZYZM)

Figure 8: Youtube Clip of “Ready or Not” Under the I-10 Bridge - “TBC Brass Band 2004” (2008) (https://youtu.be/V5r4dyLkurA)
In the grainy video, “TBC Brass Band 2004” (2008) (figure 8), the members of TBC are shown standing in front of a white car under the I-10 bridge. Soon after the video begins a percussive beat initiated by a snare drum, a bass drum with cymbal, and a cowbell begins to fill the echo chamber-like sonic space with a groove that sounds very similar to a "Go-Go" beat that is accredited the black musical community of Washington D.C. After 4 bars of the percussion groove, the tuba enters the palette of sound invoking the presence of a thick bass line coming through a subwoofer. The six brass players up front, 3 trombones and 3 trumpets, begin a little dance step that is clearly inspired by the black marching band culture in the south. Even before the brass player with power chords, there is a feeling being generated that evokes the ethos of musical "soljas" from the 'hood. The band members wearing oversized shirts and baggy pants align their fashion with the typical hip-hop look of the 1990's. This fashion is also represented in Juvenile's video.

After 8 bars of the drum groove, the drums drop out and the brass players enter with a melodic chordal-chorale version of the 8-bar intro that is a reinterpretation of the original recording by the Fugees. After the chorale entrance, the brass launch into a powerful rendition of the musical hook, "Ready or Not, Here I Come, You Can't Hide." TBC’s interpretation of this hip hop song projects an air of “swagger”, a term that Jay-Z introduced to hip hop in the early 2000’s. TBC trumpet player, Sean Roberts, describes the term swagger as “…how you carry yourself, how people perceive you when they see you playing your instrument, the way you play. When we’re not playing, it’s how we talk to people, fans and whatever. It’s
everything-you as a person, when you talk to someone, when you have a conversation.”(Cohn 2010) The landscape, soundscape, and fashion, as represented in this video, certainly projects a “swagger” and an ethos emulating that of Juvenile.

“Fuck Wit You”

TBC’s “Fuck Wit You,” vulgar as it may sound, is representative of the ethos that Juicy implies when he talks about the band carrying guns to protect themselves. It is also a musical expression that exemplifies his attitude, “when in Rome you have to deal with the Romans” (Jackson III 2018). “Fuck Wit You” basically expresses the sentiment that if you don’t mess with me, then I won’t mess with you; but if you do, I can take care of myself. The intention of this expression is not meant to be construed as aggressive or threatening, but merely a statement of defense against the extremely high rate of gun violence that is rampant within the New Orleans black community. This gun violence is highest among black men between ages 20-29, most of which comes in the form of some type of retaliation. According to NOLA Crime News “the murder rate for a black man in New Orleans is substantially higher than any other demographic group. The national murder rate in 2016 was roughly 5.3 per 100,000 meaning a black man in his 20’s in New Orleans had a murder rate 60 times the national average” (Asher 2017). “Fuck Wit You” provides a window into the structure of feelings and the ontologies of a young black male living under these conditions and within this statistical demographic.
“Fuck Wit You” begins with the percussion instruments, consisting of a bass drum with cymbal attached, a snare drum with the snares disengaged, which resembles more of a timbale sound, and a cowbell. The bass drum lays down a commanding three note motive in which the snare drum, filling the space between bass drum hits, sounds more like a timbale-esque solo. The cowbell cranks a reciprocating swinging but chattering rhythm which provides a motor-like energy driving the music forward⁴.

Next, the three trombones enter on top of the percussion like gang busters playing the hook from Stevie Nick's song "Edge of Seventeen," a track off of her Bella Donna album:

Just like the white winged dove, sing a song sounds like she’s singing
   Whoo, Whoo, Whoo,
Just like the white winged dove, sing a song sounds like she’s singing
   Whoo, Whoo, Whoo

   And the days go by like a strand in the wind
   In the web that is my own, I begin again
   Said to my friend, baby, nothin’ else mattered

He was no more than a baby then, well he seemed broken hearted
Something with him, but the moment that I first laid eyes on him, all alone
   On the edge of..seventeen


The lyric from the chorus, “Just like a white wing dove/Sing a Song/Sounds like she’s singin’,” Juicy explains, is utilized as a way of “expressing a specific feeling by way of musicianship and originality. A way of speaking a language to the people through their music” (Jackson III 2018). In this context, TBC is referencing both their age at the time as well as their attitude of nothing else matters but the band. Incorporating the power of the rock sound onto acoustic instruments adds another level of impact to their sound.

The inspiration for writing “Edge of Seventeen,” according to Stevie Nicks, came after the unfortunate passing of two men that meant a great deal in her life: her Uncle Jon and John Lennon. Nicks confirms "it was written about my uncle Jon having cancer and that was about the time of [the murder of] John Lennon, and it was right before we knew Robin was sick - the final 'white winged dove.' When it starts playing my head turns around” (Nicks 1997-2004).

And when we recorded the song, the energy that was written into that song was so intense that it took us about two nights to get the track to that, and it's like nobody's feet ever stopped moving. It was like there was this energy that was so strong. I cried in the middle of the bridge thing, about the sea never expects it when it rains but the sea changes color, but the sea does not change. And so, with the slow graceful flow of age, I went forth with an age-old desire to please. It was like, well we have to keep going now. And I wanted that song to have all that energy of them and of us going on. (Nicks 1997-2004)

The trio of TBC trombone players projecting a wall of sound -- Juicy, Devin, and Joe -- embody that energy that Stevie speaks of in her writing. The wall of sound is achieved by the methodical and effective scoring of the three trombone parts. At letter A (see Music Example 2), Trombone 1 leads the way in the upper range, with
the highest note reaching up to G4.\textsuperscript{5} This is a powerful range for the trombone as the sound produced in this range has the tonal quality to cut and carry through a thick texture. Trombones 2 and 3 take on a supportive role playing long sustained notes 2 octaves below (A2, B2, and C3). At letter B, the trombones continue the bitonal scoring, except that Trombone 2 and 3 harmonize the melody, carried by Trombone 1, a perfect 4\textsuperscript{th} below. The effect of the three trombones playing the same rhythm adds sonic weight to the passage, precipitating the feeling of a build. The build continues into letter C as Trombone 2 harmonizes Trombone 1 a 3\textsuperscript{rd} below and Trombone 3 plays a supportive role and octave below. Letter C marks the climax of this section with Trombones 1 playing the hook in the upper range and Trombones 2 and 3 playing a 3\textsuperscript{rd} below. The texture, timbre, and force of sound generated by the three powerful trombones combined with the inspired driving power of Nicks' female vocal rock aesthetic, garners a tough and gritty sound giving the music a certain “swagger”.

\textsuperscript{5} This octave designation is based on the International Standards Organization system for register designation. In this system, middle C (the first ledger line above the bass staff or the first ledger line below the treble staff) is C4. An octave high than middle C is C5, and an octave lower than middle C is C3. (http://openmusictheory.com/pitches.html)
Musical Example 2: TBC “Fuck With You”: “Edge of Seventeen” Trombone Intro
Transcription by Author
Juicy explains that TBC likes to take other people’s songs and make them their own through employing their own sound and interpretation. He takes pride in the band's ability to transform some songs to a better version of the original. "Put that Stevie Nicks at the beginning, using those subliminal lines as a way of expressing feeling and as a way of musicianship and originality, a way of speaking a language to the people” (Jackson III 2018). Juicy's explanation implies that through their interpretation of a certain song, a semiotic message is sent that expresses an embodied feeling through sound. Juicy continued to explain that their intention of taking a familiar song and transforming into their own interpretation is a way of developing a mental synergy: "take something for your own-self and you understand your own interpretation as a way to take that energy to show that you live in the project, that I am a little tougher” (Jackson III 2018). This statement reifies the notion of sounding the urban ethos and serves as supporting evidence to how TBC embodies the sound other bands wish they had. What we hear is an urban ethos and the mode of expression coming together to communicate a message through music and sound.

In the next section of the performance, with the continued driving force of the percussion, the three trombones take a musical turn with an 8-bar transition instigating a self-imposed antecedent consequent statement over the same three note motive of the bass drum beginning at letter F (see music example 3). The harmonization of this line returns to the interval of a Perfect 4\textsuperscript{th}, but this time it feels stronger as Trombone 1 and 2 are in unison.
Musical Example 3: TBC “Fuck With You”: 8 bar Trombone and Percussion Transition
Transcription by Author
Still exuding that powerful sound from Stevie Nicks’ inspired intro, the 3 trombones migrate to quote a line from 1980’s British R&B group, Soul II Soul’s hit, “Back to Life (However Do You Want Me)” (see music example 4).

Musical Example 4: TBC “Fuck With You”: “However Do You Want Me”
Transcription by Author
Although this melodic material extracted from Soul II Soul’s music, emboldens the powerful soulful statement by the TBC trombones section, it is actually the symbolic reference to “Back To Life (However Do You Want Me)”, and its connection to the 1990’s hip hop movie, Belly, that bears the intended message of TBC. *Belly*, a 1998 hip-hop film starring rap artists DMX and NAS, is a gangsta film, fitting the mold of a genre known as “Rapsploitation” films. In short, this film is centered around two gangsters, played by NAS and DMX, who have made a good living from the fast life of dealing drugs and committing armed robberies. The two gangsters are able to lift themselves out of the poverty in which they grew up, but as Joe Maize postulates, they got it how they lived. The means by which they acquired financial stability becomes a road to a dead end. In their attempt to change paths each of the two gangsters search for a different life through spiritual awakening and transformation.

Juicy contends that TBC’s deployment of the "However Do You Want It" quote is an attempt to project the tough guy scenes from the movie into their music. It is a semiotic message that entails many different interpretations, “it is out there for whatever you would like it to be” (Jackson III 2018). After sharing my reading of an

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6 In the 1970’s, an ethnic subgenre of films, known as “Blaxploitation”, films were introduced to urban black audiences. Despite the heroic portrayal of black characters and communities within the films, the films received “blacklash” for its depiction of blatantly stereotyped characters. The mass audience appeal for these films crossed racial color lines, prompting Hollywood filmmakers to cash in on the opportunity of producing mega hit films such as *Sweet Sweetback’s Baadassss Song*, *Black Dynamite*, and *Shaft*. In the 1990’s, a new genre of films, spawned from the “Blaxploitation films, became known as “Rapsploitation” featuring films like *New Jack City* and *Boyz N the Hood.*
urban ethos in the music, Juicy agreed saying, “that is what it embodies, the theory I am from the hood” (Jackson III 2018).

After the “Back to Life (However Do You Want It)” section, the tuba enters at Letter H with a bass line that foreshadows the main event, after which the trombones layer a counter line above at Letter I. After the trombone entrance has settled, the trumpets finally enter for the first time at Letter J playing the main melody with the power and fire reflecting the ethos exhibited in the aforementioned Juvenile videos (see music example 5).
The trumpet part at Letter J outlines the melodic structure of the impending lyric. Quarter notes played in a deliberate marcato style, the beginning melody of this phrase maps an angular course alternating between a lower pitch and an upper pitch (See music example 6). In concert pitch, the first 5 notes of this phrase, played in unison by the trumpets, move as follows: C4-C5-G4-Bb4-A4. The consequent of this phrase also consists of 5 notes, 4 8th notes moving in the manner of an ornamental turn then landing solidly on a quarter note which is the dominant of the key.

Musical Example 6: TBC “Fuck With You”: Trombone counter line at Letter I and Trumpet lead line at Letter J.

Transcription by Author
After a repeat of the first phrase, the trumpets lead a call-and-response figure at Letter K, invoking a characteristic African diasporic and early New Orleans jazz aesthetic (see music example 7).

Musical Example 7: TBC “Fuck With You”: Trumpet call-and-response figure at Letter K. Transcription by Author
The vocal line enters at Letter N with a call-and-response figure. This musical gesture is employed to illicit interactive crowd participation. After 8 bars, the vocals dig in to the meat of the song. The lyric at Letter O, “Why you worried ‘bout me, and I ain’t worried ‘bout you…and what you do. If you don’t fuck wit me, and I won’t fuck with you,” personifies the urban ethos of living in the projects of New Orleans.

Musical Example 8: TBC “Fuck With You”: Vocal line call-and-response enters at Letter N, and main lyric begins at Letter O.

Transcription by Author
Musical Example 9: TBC “Fuck With You”: Main lyric continues to Letter Q.
Transcription by Author
Transcription by Author
In this chapter I examined and analyzed a selected body of musical expressions by the TBC Brass Band and located a lived culture within the New Orleans brass band community. Through the exploration of the urban ethos, as it is mapped on to their music, allows for a better understanding of TBC’s sound, the sound that the other bands “wish they had.” What makes their sound so unique is the embodied expressions of what life is like in the “projects.” TBC’s sonic expressions, varied in scope, represents an urban ethos, a plurality of possible modalities in any given time or space. What makes this band so important to the history of New Orleans brass bands? TBC one of the very last bands in New Orleans to embody these specific and unique lived experiences. The St. Bernard Projects were demolished in 2008. The city replaced the projects with mixed income housing, thus changing the landscape forever. As for the corner of Bourbon Street and Canal Street? A 2010 noise ordinance imposed by the city and enforced by the New Orleans police department has silenced that corner. Although there are numerous brass bands continually popping up over the city after Hurricane Katrina, none of the newer bands emanate the same urban ethos, through sound and music, as the TBC Brass Band.
Chapter 3: Structure of Feeling

A rich cultural American treasure curated and sustained by those struggling for survival at the margins of society, the institution of the New Orleans brass band represents a genealogic continuum that extends back to the very first arrival of the enslaved Africans to the Louisiana Territory. This continuum connects a violent past, marked by the horrific physical abuse of black bodies, in the form of institutionalized slavery, to a violent present confounded by systemic poverty, social injustice, racism, and police brutality. In spite of the enduring oppression and dehumanizing conditions, the culture bearers of the New Orleans brass band community continue to leave an impact on both the local community and the larger world community in the form of iconic musical offerings. Among these iconic musical offerings is New Orleans jazz, the wellspring of one of America’s great art forms. In a location known as the “The Big Easy,” New Orleans a city in which marginalized black musicians create and perform the music that helps to draw around 30 million visitors a year from around the world and spending approximately $13 billion a year in the city (The University of New Orleans Hospitality Research Center 2016). New Orleans serves as home to the black musicians who perpetuate and sustain a culture and traditions that pumps billions of dollars into the local economy. For those black musicians, existence in that popular music city is anything but “easy”.

Drawing on cultural theorist Raymond Williams’ “structures of feeling,” I explore the significance of affect in the social and cultural continuation of the New Orleans Brass Band as evidenced in the music of TBC. From the birth of the city of
New Orleans up until today, people of African descent have continued to gather together on Sunday afternoons to communicate, cultivate, and celebrate culture through African influenced forms of musical expression. Through examination and analysis of a selected body of musical expressions, an enhanced understanding, from the culture bearer’s perspective of lived culture within the New Orleans Brass Band community, is located, thus opening a window of discovery and linking the present to the past.

As a point of departure in this chapter, I will first engage in a broad exploration of affect, the forces that inspire movement or reaction, in the context of New Orleans brass band music and culture. Next, I return the focus on TBC, identifying evidence of affectivity by analyzing their processes of creation and performance in selected musical examples. More specifically, I am trying to locate sites of affectivity, the reactions to outside forces, that represent the lived experiences in Post-Katrina New Orleans, thus locating structures of feeling as a component of the lived social reality of the here and now.

Social theorist Raymond Williams explains in the central chapter of his book, *Marxism and Literature (1977)*, that small stylistic social changes overtime, in response to social conditions, “can be defined as changes in structures of feeling” (Williams 1977: 132). These changes in structure converge to create what Williams calls a “new style” (Sharma and Tygstrup 2015: 1). I contend that the music of TBC is a site representing a “new style” in New Orleans brass band musical expression. These new styles are represented in the musical arrangement, choice of lyrical
content, and performance aesthetics, are all changes in style that reflect a general shift over time from the tradition that is passed down. Williams’s notion of a “structure of feeling”, deploys the term “feeling” to create a distinction between more formalized ideologic conceptions. “For structures of feeling can be defined as social experiences in solution, as distinct from other social semantic formations which have been precipitated and are more evidently and more immediately available” (Williams 1977: 134). It is in this understanding of “feeling” that connects Williams’s idea to affect and the importance of “the experience” of the participant. It is “not only what is said and done at a particular place and at a particular time, but what is was like to be there” (Sharma and Tygstrup 2015: 1).

Analysis centered on TBC and other black New Orleans brass bands, their relation to lived institutional structures, and the formation of musical performance expressions and experiences, reveals evidence of new structures of feeling in a pre-emergent stage. Pre-emergence, in this context, refers to a feeling that is in formation prior to its fully formulated, articulated, and defined social expression. According to Williams, “The idea of a structure of feeling can be specifically related to the evidence of forms and conventions, semantic figures, which in art and literature, are often among the very first indications that such a new structure is forming” (Williams 1977: 133). Considered music of the streets and music in the streets, the New Orleans Brass Band provides a fertile site to locate such pre-emergences, as this investigation focuses on the lived experiences of the street musician, more
specifically, the lived experiences as framed in blackness (lived), the black body (felt), and the notion of black existence (performed).

Historically, the black body, especially in America, has endured societal subjection from the very first arrival on this land. To define and understand blackness (lived) or black existence (performed) is to understand the position of anti-blackness. According R.L. (R.L. 2013), an informal afro-pessimistic theorist working on the problematics of racialized identities, gender, and communication theory, in an article entitled, “Wanderings of the Slave: Black Life and Social Death”, “the violence of anti-blackness produces black existence; there is no prior positive blackness that could be potentially appropriated. Black existence is simultaneously produced and negated by racial domination, both as presupposition and consequence” (R.L. 2013: 2). In short R.L. is positing that any affirmation of blackness, affirms “the violence that structures black subjectivity itself” (R.L. 2013: 4). White affluence is predicated on black suffering.

These dominating structures of violent anti-blackness, which the black musicians of the brass bands live and experience every day, manifest in the form of poverty, police brutality, racism, and mass incarceration. Such oppressive conditions reach back to the institution of slavery and are experiences that are still being felt and lived by those musicians today. R.L. confirms this state of existence with the following statement, “The structural condition of black existence is indelibly marked by the residual echoes of the slave relation” (R.L. 2013: 4). As black males brass band musicians are continuously subjected to overt racism, police brutality, and mass
incarceration as they navigate both their own neighborhoods and the neighborhoods in which they perform throughout the city, their musical expressions confirm these lived experiences.

Freddi Evans’s (Evans 2011) investigation of primary resources, published in her book *Congo Square: African Roots in New Orleans*, explains the historical significance of the location known as Congo Square:

> From the city’s earliest days until the mid 1800’s, people of African heritage—enslaved and free—gathered, discontinuously, on Sunday afternoons and conducted the activities that have brought world-wide notoriety to the location. The celebration, acculturation, and transformation of African performance styles and cultural expressions at that location influenced local and national popular culture and set Congo Square apart as a historically significant location. (Evans 2011: 20)

To better contextualize the exact events that occurred on those Sunday afternoons in the mid 1800’s we will look to Benjamin Henry Latrobe and his journal records. Latrobe, an architect and a British emigrant, visited New Orleans in 1819, just after he repaired the national capital that was damaged in the war of 1812, to oversee the construction of the waterworks he designed for the city. Latrobe journaled his first-hand accounts of the events he witnessed at Congo Square in 1819. Jerah Johnson (Johnson 1991) traces the accounts of the events recorded in Latrobe’s journal:

> One Sunday afternoon a fortnight or so later, while exploring the ‘back-of-town’ of the city, away from the river, Latrobe heard in the distance an extraordinary noise, which he ‘supposed to proceed from some horse mill, the horses trampling on a wooden floor.’ But he found, as he approached, the sound to be ‘5(00) or 600 persons assembled in an open space or public square.’ All those ‘engaged in the business seemed to be blacks,’ for he ‘did not observe a dozen
yellow faces’ in the crowd. The crowd he discovered, when he moved into it to see what was going on, comprised not a single mass, but a series of clusters. The members of each cluster crowded around to form a rough circle, ‘the largest not ten feet in diameter.’ In the middle or on the edge of each circle sat or squatted two or three musicians, and, in most circles, around or in front of the musicians, from two to a dozen dancers moved to the rhythm of the circle’s music, song, and chant.

The thunderous din that Latrobe had mistaken for the thumping of horse hooves came from the echoes of percussions of hundreds of hands and sticks on drums, gourds, and hollow, cotter-shaped, wooden blocks, all backed by the plunking of a variety of banjo-like instruments made from calabashes affixed to long fingerboards. In one circle Latrobe saw two women dancers holding ‘a coarse handkerchief extended by the corners in their hands’ and gravely treading a ‘dull & slow’ figure, ‘hardly moving their feet or bodies.’ In another, particular large, circle, ‘a dozen women walked, by way of dancing, round the music in the center,’ and chanted, or ‘squalled out,’ as he said a monotonous two-note refrain. In yet another group a man sang ‘an uncouth song to the dancing which I suppose was in some African language, for it was not French, and the women screamed a detestable burthen on one single note.’ ‘Never,’ Latrobe said, had he ‘seen anything more brutally savage.’ These Sunday amusements, he concluded, ‘have perpetuated here those of Africa among its inhabitants.’

Benjamin Latrobe had stumbled into New Orleans’s old Place des Nègres, better known for most of its history as Congo Square.

(Johnson 1991: 118-119)

Latrobe’s account provides an historical reference point for which we can link current activities expressed in that same location today. This insight allows a peek into how slaves expressed themselves in their only window of freedom, giving us some sense of affect. How would an enslaved human-being, subjected to capture, transported overseas against their will on a ship filled with captured bodies, witnessing many of those bodies succumbing to death, traveling to an unknown destination, whereby, upon arrival experience a life that entails harsh labor and
gruesome punishment, express themselves in that one single moment of felt freedom? Latrobe’s account clearly confirms that around 500-600 of those enslaved bodies chose to express their moment of freedom through music. That expression, in that moment, in those conditions, clearly reveals the power of affect as experienced through music: felt freedom and freedom as felt.

Morosely, Congo Square is also a site of blood-stained ground, incurred by the lashes inflicted during the public whippings of those very slaves who were experiencing felt freedom through their musicking. According to Freddi Evans:

The phenomenon of Congo Square, nevertheless, should not serve to romanticize the location nor the urban system of slavery that existed in New Orleans. In fact, a bitter side contrasted the more pleasant side of Congo Square’s history and thus established it as a location of both happiness and sorrow. Long-standing oral history has held that enslaved Africans were sold in Congo Square, and a city ordinance of 1829 supports this assertion.

Congo Square was also the location of all executions, save one that officials carried out in New Orleans between 1803 and 1834, and sources indicate that some of those executed were of African heritage. In addition, officials located a pillory, a device used to publicly punish offenders, as well as a whipping post in the Square. Other consequences for charges against the enslaved included branding with the fleur-de-lis, additions to chain gang, a prescribed number of lashings administered by the jailer, and confinement in jail. Particularly after 1803, the beginning of American rule, New Orleans’ reputation regarding slavery and the slave trade gained prominence. One of the fears of enslaved Africans throughout the South was to be “sold down the Mississippi” to New Orleans, which became the largest slave market distribution center in North America during the decades preceding the Civil War. (Evans 2011: 20-21)

Evans’ account realizes the genesis of the oppressive conditions in which the black musicians in New Orleans experience in their lives and express through their music.
The structure of law and order in America, through the institution of policing, finds its true beginnings with the emancipation of slavery. R.L. notes:

In America, it is well known that the history of policing finds its analogical surrogate with slave patrols. Initially an informal cadre of whites that banded together to enforce that slave codes, slave patrols and the disciplining of disobedient slaves in general aimed to regulate the mobility of blacks, spatially fixing them to the confines of the plantation. Patrolling was a duty and obligation for all whites, whether they owned slaves or not. After slavery, such instances of patrolling were devolved upon the institution of the police, a professional body that regulated the movement of blacks according to the spatial configuration of both Jim Crow in the South and the black ghettos of the urbanizing North. In both instances, the racialization of space that was enacted by these institutions defined white life as immune from police violence. In fact, all whites were dutifully bound as the perpetrators of this violence against blacks. The police simply came to embody this violence by excising this aspect of being white and formalizing it within its institution. White civilians could now simply disavow the violence necessary for its livelihood and devolve it to the professional police force. (R.L. 2013: 7)

The violent history associated with the institution of policing, over generations, has indelibly affected the bodies and minds of members within the black community. Through the study of affect, a better understanding of how affected bodies are moved in response to affectivity, in this case the bodies of black brass band musicians, can be gained.

In trying to make sense of the conditions that black musicians navigate on a daily basis, we can get support from Raymond Williams, who suggests that we look to the human feelings and practical consciousness, that which is actually being lived as opposed to what is thought to be lived.

We are talking about characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships; not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and
feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity. (Williams 1977: 132)

Susan McClary, in her book, *Structures of Feeling In Seventeenth-Century Cultural Expression*, affirms Williams’ point by stating “Williams regarded ‘feelings’ as phenomena that shaped and that were also shaped by human societies” (McClary 2000: 4). Within the contemporary black New Orleans band repertoire there are quite a few examples of musical offerings that reveal sites of structures of feelings that are shaped by the lived experiences of black musicians. Before attending to the analysis of two TBC original musical offerings, “Nagin (Give Me My Projects Back)” and “Wyld Magnolia,” I look at emergent indications of a structure of feeling in a few musical examples from a few of TBC’s prominent contemporaries. I examine “Cell Block Nine” by the New Birth Brass Band (2005), “You Bang, We Bang Bang” by the Hot 8 Brass Band (2007), and “Why” by the Stooges Brass Band (2016).

These musical offerings represent and reflect the black musicians’ feelings toward such social constructions as mass incarceration, poverty, police brutality, and racism. The feelings are manifested in original song lyrics, which reveal true expressions of a lived black experience.

From a 2005 album by the New Birth Brass Band, entitled *New Birth Family*, we attain a glimpse into the feelings of black brass musicians and their relationship to the structure of mass incarceration. The eleventh and final track of the album, entitled “Cell Block Nine,” echoes the dire hopelessness of black existence in a society that incarcerates black males at an incredibly high rate, four times the rate of white males in the city of New Orleans according to The New Orleans Prosperity Index (Plyer
The tuba kicks off the tune with a rising minor triadic ostinato riff, which after 4 bars is joined by the tenor saxophone for a second round of 4 bars. After those 4 bars the percussion section of snare drum, bass drum, cowbell, and tambourine enter establishing a funky relaxed groove. At that point the tenor saxophone ventures off into a little improvisatory sidetrack complementing the bass and percussion groove. After 8 bars the vocal lines of the band members ring loud and clear on the same pitches that outline the established tuba riff at the beginning:

Cell Block Nine, When you comin’ to see me?
Cell Block Nine, When you comin’ to see me?

Lock Me Up, Throw Away the key!
Lock Me Up, Throw Away the key!


As the song progresses through instrumental statements of the vocal lines and instrumental solos, the singer begins to riff on lines that are truly representative of a feeling of a lived black existence, an existence that is dire and hopeless. Using call-and-response between a solo voice and the rest of the band, more feelings are expressed:

Band Call: Lock Me Up, Throw away the key!
Single Voice Response: No probation

Band Call: Lock Me Up, Throw away the key!
Single Voice Response: No parole

Band Call: Lock Me Up, Throw away the key!
Single Voice Response: You get a brand-new coffin

Band Call: Lock Me Up, Throw away the key!
Single Voice Response: No college education
Band Call: Lock Me Up, Throw away the key!  
Single Voice Response: They want to kill a black nation


On a 2006 follow-up album by the New Birth Brass Band entitled *New Orleans Second Line!*, “Cell Block Nine” also appears as the eleventh track of the album. Although the form of this version is very similar to the 2005 version and the lyrics are altered slightly, the feeling and intent of the texts is greatly altered. The lyrics as heard on the 2005 album, “Lock me up, Throw away the key!” have been altered to, “They want to lock me up, And throw away the key.” This slight shift in text marks a major shift in context, which could be an expression of a specific lived experience by the musicians. This adjustment of expression falls in line with how Williams theorizes social forms, “Social forms are evidently more recognizable when they are articulate and explicit” (Williams 1977: 130). With the interjection of the third-person pronoun, “they,” before “lock me up,” a dichotomy is introduced, clearly indicating an “us” versus “them” ideology that pits the structure of law and order as the oppressor. Williams explains the idea of movement from individual to social forms as “only when they are lived, actively, in real relationships, and moreover in relationships which are more than systematic exchanges between fixed units” (Williams 1977: 130). Thus more recognizable when the social formations are both articulate and explicit.

The sentiment located in “Cell Block Nine” can be considered a structure of feeling, as expressed by black men in regard to their lived experiences of the penal system in New Orleans. In a March 2018 article in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*,
Emily Lane reports that New Orleans jail conditions have been inhumane for nearly three-hundred years.

Sieur de Bienville built the first Orleans Parish Prison in 1721 at the current site of Jackson Square. And in the nearly 300 years since then, a nonprofit research organization’s new report concludes, ‘the jail has imposed inhumane conditions on the people detained there, conditions that the report states have disproportionately affected black people.

Archeological investigators revealed the “fetid conditions” of the city’s first jail, a Data Center report states, where “extensive rat skeletons” were found and where slave owners could house “recalcitrant slaves” to receive corporeal punishment “at their master’s request.” Slave owners were also able to lease their slaves to the city, sometimes for an entire year, when they were housed at the jail and used “for work on drainage repair, levee construction, street cleaning, etc.” states the report.

The Data Center report, released Thursday (March 29) links the jail’s current poor conditions, conditions that prompted a federal consent decree aimed at bringing the facility into compliance with the U.S. Constitution, “to the jail’s historical role in New Orleans to explore the extent to which detention in the New Orleans jail has contributed to racial inequality” in the city today.

Historical accounts such as the jail’s origins as a facility where the city housed leased slaves are important, the report argues, “to understand the centuries of inhumane conditions imposed overwhelmingly on African American members of our community.”

(Lane 2018)

This study encapsulates the effect that policing and punishment has had on the black community since the days of slavery. The fact that the first New Orleans prison used to sit on the current site of Jackson Square, a site where many brass bands can be found performing daily for tourists, provides a direct connection of the present to the past; a genealogic thread that ties the black musicians of today directly to the slave of three-hundred years ago. This temporal spatiality “is like finding an uncanny
resemblance between oneself and a distant relative, with traits that may have spread a few generations only to display themselves once again on our own faces” (McClary 2000: 6).

“Why Dey Had to Kill Him?,” the title of an original composition written and performed by the Stooges Brass Band of New Orleans, serves as an homage to a brass band trombonist who was tragically shot and killed by a New Orleans Police officer in 2010, three years before the launch of the Black Lives Matter Movement.

“According to New Orleans Police Department accounts, officers were stopping 22-year-old trombonist, Joe Williams for driving an allegedly stolen vehicle when Williams slammed the White Ford F-150 pick-up into reverse, accelerating into an NOPD squad car and officer. His actions, says Deputy Superintendent Marlin Defillo, caused officers to fear for their lives and thus open fire, killing Williams” (Reckdahl 2004). Eye witnesses who observed the entire incident say otherwise, that two police cruisers boxed him in and he was ordered out of the car. When Joe moved towards the passenger-side door, officers filled his body with bullets. Eyewitnesses also insist that Joe had his arms raised upright out of the open passenger-side window, leading the community to beg the question, in the words sung by the Stooges Brass Band in their song, “Why”: 
Why?
Why Dey had to kill him?
They have the nerve, to say they protect and serve
Oh why?
Why Dey had to kill him?
They need to change their logo, because we don’t trust the po-po.
Oh Why?

(“Why Dey Had to Kill Him?,” Stooges Brass Band 2016)

During the rap break, which is so exquisitely delivered by band member Walter Ramsey, a site of practical consciousness is located, that of an experience which is actually being lived.

A few years have passed and now his case is on the shelf
Police they don’t investigate they own-self
They take they people off the street, assign ’em to the desk
A-plus y’all, they give the boss a bonus check

High five for all that watched ’em die
Rounds on the lieutenant, who cares who cries
There’s no justice in this system
It didn’t even bother them… that they killed a young musician

Protect and serve? Not for people like us
We get arrested playing gigs, trying to make a couple bucks
Use us for all their political things
And when they win the elections, then they change the game

No permits for them gigs, that we used to play
They give us summons, trying to take our music away
I say thank you for destroying us and killing our folks, the police and the system

(“Why Dey Had to Kill Him?,” Stooges Brass Band 2016)

This musical offering serves as an expression of a structure of feeling, representing a personalized experience of pre-emergence that foreshadows an emergent change, that of which becomes articulated in a specific social formation, or
a movement within society. This expression is an articulation that represents anguish and distrust by the black musicians through their instruments and their voices. The pre-emergent change, as expressed by the Stooges Brass Band, can be realized in its emergence into a national movement in the form of the Black Lives Matter Movement.

The Black Lives Matter Movement was officially launched in 2013 with a hashtag at the hands of Patrice Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tometi. All three women are organizers who are very active in incarceration, immigration, and domestic labor campaigns. The tweet, #Black Lives Matter, exploded on cell phones nationwide after the acquittal of George Zimmerman for the murder of Trayvon Martin, a seventeen-year-old African American male. In 2014, after the killing of Michael Brown at the hands of police officer Darren Wilson, the slogan became reattached to protests against police brutality. The affect generated by the tweet, #Black Lives Matter, sparked a nationwide movement in an expression of outrage against police brutality and racial violence. According to Russell Rickford (Rickford 2015) the activists attribute the catalyst of the movement to the hashtag leaping from social media into the streets. This is a true representation of the power of affect: the feelings stirred in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman generated a force, inspiring a movement which transcended from the court room where the decision was announced into the streets where it was protested. As Devika Sharma notes in the introduction of “Structure of Feeling: Affectivity and the Study of Culture”:

The study of affectivity is aimed toward understanding a very well-known phenomenon of being moved. Studying affectivity is to identify
which bodies are being affected: individual bodies, collective bodies, and composite bodies. It is to chart the relations these bodies have to their surroundings, how they are immersed in dependencies and interactions, and it is eventually to examine how these bodies change and develop within the affective infrastructures in which they reside. It is to study the ways in which these bodies are capable of receiving and processing the affective impulses impinging on them and how they eventually become different, for better or for worse, through being affected. Affectivity is actually forming us, socializing our bodies, minds, and sentimental infrastructures according to the ecologies we take part in, becoming part of our normality and making us feel at home in the locale of a structure of feeling.

(Sharma 2015: 16)

#Black Lives Matter clearly represents affectivity at work. Twitter provided immediate communication worldwide, providing real-time updates about the movement, the marches and the acts of injustice, prompting immediate action. Led by a younger generation, the Black Lives Matter Movement is one of the most important social events of black life in nearly 40 years. The Stooges Brass Band, with their anthem “Why Dey Had to Kill Him”, initiated an expression of a change in a structure of feeling which three years later would emerge as #Black Lives Matter.

Representative of the three-hundred years of inhumanity located in the Orleans Parish Prison, “You Bang, We Bang, Bang,” written by Jerome Jones of the Hot 8 Brass Band, serves as another expression of a structure of feeling directly associated with both the current and the past lived experiences within the policing system. This sentiment transcends generations and is linked directly to social injustice, police brutality, and mass-incarceration.

You bang, we bang bang
You bang, we bang bang
You bang, we bang bang
Why’d they have to kill Lil’ Joe?
They gone and killed Joe
Carroll, Scruggs, and Little
Ray Nagin let it go
Why’d they have to kill Lil’ Joe?

(“You Bang, We Bang Bang,” Hot 8 Brass Band 2007)

“You Bang, We Bang, Bang” serves as a structure of feeling, as expressed by Jerome Jones, a black male, stemming from a lifetime of frustration with the criminal justice systems. According to Matt Sakakeeny in his book, Roll With It: Brass Bands in the Streets of New Orleans:

When Jerome was twenty-seven, he spent the night in Orleans Parish Prison because police had mistaken him for a suspect who also had the name Jerome Jones, and the arrest stayed on his criminal record. “Look, if I get killed, are they going to release that I was a Loyola student?” Jerome asked me. “Is they going to release that I own my own floor company?...No. What would they release? They might release that record that’s not even mine.” (Sakakeeny 2013: 157)

Jerome’s expression of feeling through the lyrics “you bang, we bang bang”, reveals that the affect, as imposed on his body, is that of entrapment. The “you” he is referring to are the police who shot Joe, Officers Carroll, Scruggs, and Little. Ray Nagin was serving as the Mayor of New Orleans at that time. The “we” in the lyric represents the black males who are subjected to the police brutality. He feels as if he is being trapped by a system, in which he garners zero agency because of his skin color. Much like a cornered animal, Jerome, as expressed through his music, feels the only option is to respond with the same affect of violence which was imposed on his body.
Brian Massumi articulates his concept of affect as follows, “Affect is fundamentally trans individual and not merely a personal experience “ (Evans 2017: 2). In this context, transindivualism infers that affect pertains to the “in-between-ness” reaction of two separate entities. Massumi looks to Baruch Spinoza for the foundation of his own definition of affect, importing the Spinozian belief of “powers to affect and be affected” in terms of what defines a body and a life. Massumi elaborates on this Spinozian idea by stating, “A power to affect and be affected is a potential to move, act, perceive, and think, in a word, powers of existence” (Evans 2017: 2). Jerome Jones is using his power to affect through creating and performing music. Jerome did not literally take up arms in retaliation of social injustice, rather it is through his music that we locate his power of existence. Jerome is able to affect and be affected through music, which is crucial in the social and cultural survivals of the New Orleans Brass Band culture.

“Nagin (Give Me My Projects Back,” written and performed by the TBC Brass Band, is an expression of feelings directed toward the former mayor of New Orleans, Ray Nagin. Nagin’s politically corrupt handling of the post Katrina recovery efforts further marginalized the poor black communities in New Orleans, including the St. Bernard Projects where many of the black brass band musicians lived. TBC expresses through “Nagin” their disgust for the former mayor in his saving of all the rich people, through shady corrupt deals, while letting all the poor folks die, “the po’ stay po’ so the rich get richer” (“Nagin”, To Be Continued Brass Band 2013). In an interview conducted during his fieldwork in 2015, Ben Doleac (Doleac 2018) shares
an account by TBC bass drum player, Darren Towns, that confirms the purpose of the song is to speak out about the horrific injustice inflicted on his people in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

That’s where we all come from. A lot of people couldn’t come back, and here we are. It wasn’t their fault that they grew up in this environment. It’s not like they were able to pick who their fucking parents were. So now, y’all created this thing, a project…and then you wanted to strip them away. There you go, you’re fucking up everybody’s lives. You’ve got all of these people—they don’t even know how to function outside of a fucking project…So people gotta live outside of that now, and they ain’t doing too good, and motherfuckers are getting killed. And they refuse to open the motherfuckers back [up]. So that’s why we kind of relate that to[Nagin], you know? Give us our project back, bitch.

(Doleac 2018: 167)

Over top of a booming bass line played by the tuba and a hip swinging percussion groove, the highly politicized message of “Nagin” cuts right through to the core the communities disgust with the injustice inflicted upon them. According to Edward “Juicy” Jackson III, TBC garnered a large amount of support from the community, “being that they (TBC) were always doing stuff with their music from activist prospective. Fight for us, fighting for our people, and for what they (the community) needed. That how Ray Nagin’ came about” (Jackson III 2018).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timing</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0:00</td>
<td>Tuba/Bass Line Introduction</td>
<td>The tuba kicks off this ode to the projects for 4 bars with a 2-bar bass line idea and a little encouragement from the percussion section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:10</td>
<td>Percussion Entrance</td>
<td>The percussion kicks in with a groove that invokes a New Orleans swing. The bass drum incorporates a muted tech that adds to the effect of the bass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0:20</td>
<td>Trombones Enter</td>
<td>The trio of bones enter the mix with a glissando lead in that establishes a harmonized swinging 2 bar riff over top of the tuba and drum groove.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:01</td>
<td>Trumpets Enter (A section)</td>
<td>The trumpets enter with an “in-your-face sound”, highlighted by one trumpet playing in the extreme upper range. The melody that the trumpets introduce is the same melody of the lyrics, “Gonna talk to Nagin, Give him a piece of my mind,” that will be introduced later in the song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:22</td>
<td>Trumpet Lead (B Section)</td>
<td>Trumpets continue with the lead in the B section, outlining the words “Give Me Projects Back.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:43</td>
<td>Trumpet Lead (A Section)</td>
<td>Repeat of A Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:04</td>
<td>Trumpet Lead (B Section)</td>
<td>Repeat of B Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:25</td>
<td>Trumpet Lead (C Section, Bridge)</td>
<td>Trumpets present a third melodic idea, playing over top of chordal pads played by the Trombones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:46</td>
<td>1st Solo Section</td>
<td>1st Trombone Solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:27</td>
<td>1st Solo Section Continued</td>
<td>Background figures added underneath solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:49</td>
<td>2nd Solo Section</td>
<td>Trumpet Solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:29</td>
<td>2nd Solo Section Continued</td>
<td>Background figures added underneath solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>3rd Solo Section</td>
<td>2nd Trombone Solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:32</td>
<td>3rd Solo Section Continued</td>
<td>Background figures added underneath solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:51</td>
<td>Vocal Section I</td>
<td>Vocals are sung over Tuba Riff and Drum Groove</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lyrics:**
(I'm) gonna talk to Nagin… Give him a piece of my mind
(I'm) gonna talk to Nagin, Give him a piece of my mind

Figure 9: “Nagin (Give Me My Projects Back)” featuring Bossman Superior Musical “Road Map”

Musical “Road Map” Created by Author
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Lyrics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 6:12  | Call and Response/Rap | **Call:** Give Me My Projects Back  
**Response:** Uh-Uh ain't nutin chocolate bout the city, top of the living yo holla if you hear me  
**Call:** Give Me My Projects Back  
**Response:** Ray Nagin' you're a bare face lie, save all the rich and let the po' folks die  
**Call:** Give Me My Projects Back  
**Response:** Wish you motherfucker would try to run us… gettin’ punished  
**Call:** Give Me My Projects Back  
**Response:** Ain't gonna do to us what the pilgrims did to Indians, this the TBC not the Endymions |
| 6:33  | Vocal Section II      | **Lyrics:**  
(I'm) gonna talk to Nagin… Give him a piece of my mind  
(I'm) gonna talk to Nagin, Give him a piece of my mind |
| 6:54  | Call and Response/Rap | **Lyrics:**  
**Call:** Give Me My Projects Back  
**Response:** Comin' through like the tribe or the Zulu, you really spirits their possessed by a bulu.  
**Call:** Give Me My Projects Back  
**Response:** Exercising my freedom of speech, no school so the teachers could teach  
**Call:** Give Me My Projects Back  
**Response:** We could party all night bring liquor, the poor stay po' when the rich get richer  
**Call:** Give Me My Projects Back  
**Response:** They never fix the 9th Ward, yet it is what it is. |
| 7:14  | Trumpet Lead (C Section, Bridge) | Trumpets present a third melodic idea, playing over top of chordal pads played by the Trombones. |
| 7:45  | End                   |                                                                                                                                       |

Figure 9 (cont.): “Nagin (Give Me My Projects Back)” featuring Bossman Superior Musical “Road Map”  
Musical “Road Map” Created by Author
It is within the potential to move that we locate the power of affect in the social and cultural survivals of the New Orleans brass band. More specifically, the power of affect and the power of existence is located within the music itself. The black brass band musicians use their music as an expression of a “structure of feeling,” therefore affecting the community in which they live. TBC’s music helps to invoke a power of existence, that of being black and relevant to society, for all those who rely on their musical offerings for survival.

The power of words and sounds are not only able to move bodies, but able to move hearts and minds. That power contributes to a movement, a movement of healing and reconciling the violence imposed on black bodies by the injustices of social constructions. All those gathered in the streets for dance and music on a Sunday in the year of 2019 are affectively linked to the slaves who gathered in Congo Square that same city, on a Sunday in the year 1819. This is a link that locates an expression of a structure of feeling through the affect of New Orleans brass band music.
Chapter 4: The Social Bonding Effect and Self-Other Merging

In her 2014 article entitled “Social Bonding,” Meredith Eliassen notes that social bonding is the process of forming an emotional affiliation with other individuals. It may be stimulated or accompanied by participation in social activities, and its effects often include a positive sense of self and a community-based identity” (Eliassen 2014: 1014).

Black New Orleans brass bands serve as a conduit by which individuals are brought together for various social gatherings and activities. Those gatherings and activities include second line parades, jazz funerals, and even unplanned, impromptu activities such as a performance on a street corner or in a plaza. The sonic power of the music performed by animated brass band musicians creates an atmosphere that inspires those who are gathered within that space to interact in a social manner that can consist of singing, dancing, clapping, or even just moving together in synchrony. These activities also serve as community building agents that aid the New Orleans community, especially the marginalized black community, in establishing and performing self-identity. The bonding that manifests itself within these spaces helps to foster enhanced social behaviors contributing to a possible reduction in isolation on both the individual and community level. It is this potential to bring people together that renders TBC’s music a vital asset to their community. This idea of people coming together in synchrony can have a direct influence on the subsequent positive social feelings toward one another. Hence, when TBC covers the classic Beatles song “Come Together,”, they are eliciting an emblematic statement with their music. Juicy
confirms that this “Come Together” entered their repertoire in 2007-2008 as a tune to bring the city back together after Katrina. TBC also deployed this song after the Trayvon Martin shooting in 2012 to invoke solidarity within their black community in the wake of the racialized killing of a 17-year old black male in Sanford, Florida.

TBC’s choice, timing, and intent of including “Come Together” in their repertoire indicates their understanding of the potential utilitarian function their music can serve. They understand the power of their music in bringing people together in both good times and in bad. According to Eliassen, “research suggests that individuals who synchronize their actions, as in group activities, tend to cooperate with each other immediately following such activities (Eliassen 2014: 1014).” Eliassen is implying that prosocial behaviors are directly linked to the synchronized activities engendered by the music. “Music connects people because of its emotional significance; it provides the means to foster social interactions and synchronized actions in a variety of environments (Eliassen 2014: 1014).” In this chapter, I will provide specific examples of how TBC’s music and the activities surrounding it foster spaces of social interaction, bringing together a variety of people to create social bonds.

**Self-other Merging**

Self-other merging is the notion of taking or empathizing with the perspective of another person. The old adage “to walk a mile in another person’s shoes” represents a sense of relating to others, thus blurring the line between self (action) and
other (perception). This blurring of self and other realizes a sense of oneness between two separate entities. “When our own actions match those of another’s, it is possible that the intrinsic and extrinsic engagement of neural action-perception networks make it difficult to distinguish between self and perceived other, thus creating at least a transient bond between the two” (Tarr, Launay, and Dunbar 2014: 1099).

The theory of self-other merging is supported by the scientific research of Matthew Botvinick from the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Pittsburgh, and Jonathan Cohen, from the Department of Psychology at Carnegie Mellon University. In their article “Rubber Hands ‘Feel’ Touch That Eyes See,” Botvinick and Cohen (Botvinick 1998) report evidence that self-other emerging is possible even with an inanimate object. In their experiment, “a participant’s arm is hidden from sight and a replacement rubber arm is visible where their own arm is expected. While they view the rubber-hand being touched with a paintbrush, their own (hidden) hand is simultaneously touched with a paintbrush, with synchronized strokes. This matching of visual and tactile input leads to an increased subjective sense that the rubber hand is part of the participant’s body” (Tarr, Launay, and Dunbar 2014: 1099). When a person who is not engaged in an action such as clapping, dancing, or moving to music, observes another person who is actively participating in such actions, that person may experience the sensation as if they are engaging in that same action. I argue that this theory of self-other merging is the implicit force behind what draws people, often numbering in the hundreds and thousands, to march or dance along to the music of TBC’s music.
Tarr et. al call into question the likely possibility of self-other merging occurring within large numbers of people, positing that “it is difficult to simultaneously observe the movements of all the other participants” (Tarr, Launay, and Dunbar 2014: 1100). They also make a call for further research focusing on “ecologically valid musical experiences involving groups of people interacting with one another rather than dyadic interaction, exertive movements rather than small movements, and movements that are temporally coordinated rather than synchronized” (Tarr, Launay, and Dunbar 2014: 1100).

In my search for evidence of social bonding and self-other merging within selected TBC Brass Band performances, I employ the practice of virtual ethnography and look to YouTube as a resource for substantial ethnographic material. First, I investigate a video of TBC performing at the spot where they truly developed as band, the corner of Bourbon and Canal Streets in New Orleans. Second, I investigate online data material surrounding the funeral and remembrances of beloved TBC tenor saxophone player Brandon Franklin who was killed in a domestic dispute on May 9, 2010. Both of these investigations reveal sites of social bonding and self-other merging in varied manifestations, but all are inspired by the music of TBC.

Social Bonding and Self-Other Merging on the Corner of Bourbon and Canal

A YouTube video dated May 12, 2010 entitled “TBC Brass Band on Bourbon and Canal (Cotton 2010)” shows TBC stationed in front of a wall advertising the commercial retail store Footlocker.
As TBC performs “Blackbird Special,” one of the standard New Orleans brass band pieces originally performed by the Dirty Dozen Brass Band, the video camera captures the activity of a crowd gathered to listen. Early in the video clip, a caucassion woman in white clothing is seen standing and speaking with an acquaintance. As the event unfolds, several people can be observed dancing. Among those dancing are two African American males, one wearing a black shirt and white hat and another wearing a blue striped shirt and jeans, can easily be seen. The first sign of social bonding within this video clip occurs with what appears to involve the caucassion women, in the white clothing, joining in a dance with the African American male wearing the blue striped shirt and jeans. Through the music of TBC, these two people are engaging in the socially bonding activity of dance.

In “Silent Disco: Dancing in Synchrony Leads to Elevated Pain Threshold and Social Closeness,” Bronwyn Tarr et. al state that “moving in synchrony leads to
cooperative behavior and feelings of social closeness, and dance (involving synchronization to others and music) may cause social bonding, possibly as a consequence of released endorphins” (Tarr, Launay, and Dunbar 2016: 343). The two dancers in the video are clearly moving in synchrony, and they even join hands at some point in their interaction to further their connection through dance moves.

![Figure 11: YouTube frame clip of TBC on the Corner of Bourbon and Canal: Two Dancer Moving in Synchrony (Cotton 2010).](image)

Although it is unclear whether the two dancers know each other or not, there is clear evidence that the dancing is facilitating a feeling of social closeness between them. The music of the brass band serves as a conduit for this bonding experience. The cathartic syncopated rhythm of the bass drum, punctuated by the accented grooves of the snare drum that drives the powerful brass lines, generates a force of musical energy bringing people together and moving them to engage in the act of dance.

Also observable in this clip is evidence of self-other merging. A woman wearing white pants, standing against a car, can be seen moving periodically to the music being performed by the brass band.
Through closer study, one can see that the woman standing against the car is being inspired by the dancing of several men. Each time the camera pans in her direction, it is visually noticeable that the woman becomes more animated with her movements.

This observation reveals elements of self-other merging in the women’s behavior. According to Launay et. al, “In general, the social bonding effects of synchronization have been attributed to self-other blurring that might occur any time we match our
movements exactly to movements of another person. Perception of the movements of another person is known to activate regions of the brain involved in making a similar movement ourselves” (Launay, Tarr, and Dunbar 2016: 782). The women’s movement in response to the dancing she was observing and the actions of the dancing men serve as evidence of self-other blurring. This is a prime example of the power of TBC’s musical performances and its ability to inspire people to come together and bond on multiple levels.

Next, I will investigate the notion of social bonding and the coming together of people at a time of mourning. This investigation employs digital ethnographic methodology. First, I provide a brief history of the jazz funeral to situate the activities surrounding TBC’s homage to a fallen band member.

**Funeral Parade Tradition, Yesterday and Today**

The jazz funeral, a musical and cultural tradition bequeathed to the world by New Orleans, is synonymous with the Black New Orleans brass band. A tradition that extends as far back as the late nineteenth century, the traditional jazz funeral is still a vibrant and defining characteristic of the New Orleans brass band tradition. New Orleans music scholar and musician Dr. Michael White states, “the most well-known brass band function is the jazz funeral” (White 2001). A tradition passed down from the late nineteenth century, it is as ever present and relevant today. Much like the brass band repertoire itself, the ceremonial procession of the jazz funeral has evolved
over time, an evolution precipitated by the infusion of modernized cultural practices into historical tradition.

Funerals with music, known in New Orleans as jazz funerals, is a traditional cultural practice that has survived well-over a century within the black New Orleans community. Historically, burial with music in New Orleans served as the highest form of respect towards a passing member of the black community. At a time when black community members were not afforded the same burial rights and privileges as the white community, the black community bonded together by pooling their resources to grant a proper burial for their own. “Benevolent or burial associations that New Orleans blacks joined offered burial insurance, as well as other forms of assistance and social coherence. But their final obligation was to sponsor a decent, decorous burial for their dues-paying members. Part of this burial contract included, at the request of the member and his family, music for the funeral, which might mean a band for the funeral cortege” (Schafer 1977b: 66).

Despite the variance in the order of events and musical selections of a traditional jazz funeral, the basic formula of the ceremony has remained unchanged. Matt Sakakeeny, a preeminent scholar of New Orleans brass band music and culture, provides an informative description of the events surrounding a jazz funeral parade in his dissertation entitled “Instruments of Power: New Orleans Brass Bands and the Politics of Performance.” Sakakeeny notes: “In a Jazz funeral, mourners march from the funeral service to the burial site with their movement regulated by the beat of the brass band. The procession begins with slow dirges and then at the burial site, or
some other designated point, the body is ‘cut loose’, the band begins playing at a faster tempo, and the funeral procession is transformed into a street celebration” (Sakakeeny 2009: 48).

One example of a modernized interpretation of the traditional jazz funeral is the expansion of the day-long ceremony into multi-day gatherings referred to as “tribute second line parades.” These parades occur in the week(s) leading up to the actual day of the burial ceremony. Although elements of a tribute parade are planned well ahead of time, the majority of them are impromptu events organized by friends and families of the deceased. Tribute parades generally begin and mobilize to and through locations frequented by the deceased being honored. The locations often include the home of the deceased, the deceased’s family home, a favorite club or bar, or a favorite public space.

The jazz funeral tradition is also modernized by the infusion of current day popular music into the traditional jazz funeral cannon. Revisiting Sakakeeny’s description of the funeral ceremony, the traditional repertoire accompanying the procession to the cemetery for the burial consisted of traditional dirges like “What A Friend We Have in Jesus,” “Just A Closer Walk with Thee,” “God Be with You Till We Meet Again,” and “In The Sweet Bye and Bye.” The celebratory music that accompanies the “cutting loose” of the body in the recessional from the cemetery includes such up-tempo songs as “Just A Little While to Stay Here,” “By and Bye,” “When the Saint Go Marching In,” and “I’ll Fly Away.” Today’s brass bands continue to perform music from the traditional cannon, but they also incorporate
current musical selections into their repertoire, including: “It’s So Hard to Say Goodbye” by Boyz II Men; “Total Praise” by Richard Smallwood; and “I’ll Be Missing You” by Puff Daddy, Faith Evans and 112, which is actually a song based on “Every Breath You Take” by the pop group, The Police.

In this section I provided a brief history of the New Orleans brass band’s repertoire, role, and function within the jazz funeral ceremony, positioning its importance within the black community. I also present two aspects of the jazz funeral which exhibit modernization and representation of the contemporary influences on the traditional ceremony. The following section will provide sites of social bonding activities surrounding the jazz funeral for one of TBC’s founding members and original tenor saxophonist, Brandon Franklin. This single tragedy of his death would prove to be devastating to the band of “brothers,” and will prove to have the greatest impact on the trajectory of the band. As chapter 5 will reveal, TBC has overcome and has shown incredible resiliency in the face of life’s harshest realities. Community serves as an important factor in overcoming tragedy and hardships and in this next section, “The Memorialization of Brandon Franklin”, I will demonstrate how the power of the bond in a time of sorrow exhorts resilient tendencies.

Employing resources such as YouTube, Facebook, digital newspapers, and digital comment sections, I conducted research on the funeral events surrounding Brandon Franklin’s death. My decision to mobilize digital resources primarily in this investigation is buoyed by the presence of a vast number of expressions of love and devotion posted in honor of Brandon online. These postings live in online platforms
including a Facebook page specifically dedicated to the life and remembrance of Franklin. My research involved the study and analysis of numerous videos chronicling the twelve-day long tribute to Brandon which led to his final going home service.

**The Memorialization of Brandon Franklin**

Brandon Franklin, a founding member of TBC, a revered citywide musician, and an assistant marching band director at O. Perry Walker High School died at the age of 22 to gun violence. The *Times Picayune*, a local New Orleans newspaper, served as a rich source in providing details of Brandon’s death. This excerpt from one of the articles provides a detailed account of the murder.

Brandon was allegedly killed by 22-year-old Ronald Simms inside a house on the 3400 block of Livingston Street on Sunday, May 9, 2010. According to New Orleans police, Franklin was visiting an ex-girlfriend who had recently broken up with Simms and moved out of his house earlier that day. Simms returned to the woman's house and exchanged words with Franklin. That fight escalated, with Simms shooting Franklin multiple times before fleeing. Franklin died at the scene, the police said. (Maggi 2010)
Brandon’s Tribute Second Line Parades

Combing YouTube in search of video footage documenting Brandon Franklin’s jazz funeral revealed representations of modernized jazz funeral ceremonies. One unique and widely practiced modernization of the tradition is the incorporation of additional jazz funeral parades, occurring in the weeks
leading up to the actual funeral ceremony. These additional parades are listed online as “tribute” or “memorial” second line parades. At least 30 YouTube videos document tribute second line parades in honor of Brandon Franklin. Reoccurring themes represented in the video footage revealed that these additional second line parades provided a place and a space that united the brass band community in support of the deceased’s family. It is clearly evident that the “Who’s Who” of the New Orleans black brass band community were present in honor of Brandon. Members of the Rebirth Brass Band, Soul Rebels, and Hot 8 Brass Bands, three of the most high-profile New Orleans Brass Bands known around the world, were easily identifiable among a sea of other local brass band musicians.

The repertoire performed during the parades consisted of a mix of traditional standards like “A Closer Walk with Thee” and “I’ll Fly Away,” more recent traditional songs like “Blackbird Special” and “Feet Don’t Fail Me Now,” and current popular music like “I’ll Be Missing You,” “Big Ballin’,” and “Why Dey Had to Kill Him?” It was very evident that all of the musicians involved in the tribute second lines were well versed in the musical cannon. These performances serve as a window into what is considered the current repertoire of the New Orleans brass bands. (A complete list of repertoires performed in the video footage can be found in Appendix B.)

These tribute parades also provide evidence of sites of social bonding. Invoking the term parade in itself implies multiple entities assembling in some
form or fashion in a single place. These second line parades affirm the coming
together of a community in honor and in remembrance of a highly regarded and
revered member of the TBC Brass Band. This coming together and the bonding
that takes place serve as a mechanism in which healing and resilience can take
place. According to Tarr et al., “in so far as tightly bonded and well-coordinated
groups face better survival odds than those which are less so, bonding activities
which foster social cohesion and trust can be considered collectively
advantageous and adaptive” (Tarr, Launay, and Dunbar 2016: 347). I argue that
the tribute second lines are examples of such bonding activities that foster social
cohesion. The jazz funeral tradition, which lives synonymously with the history
of the black brass band, is a mode of survival that is embedded in the culture
itself. Positioning music at the center of Brandon’s memorialization supports the
notion the “musicking may be a bio-cultural adaptation which is well suited for
fostering social closeness” (Tarr, Launay, and Dunbar 2016: 347).

**Brandon’s Going Home Celebration**

In this section I present specifics of a singular event, the jazz funeral parade
for Brandon Franklin. Utilizing video footage accessed through YouTube and other
supplemental information, I present a report of Brandon’s jazz funeral, from the time
the body exits the church, to the time the body was transferred from the horse-drawn
carriage.
A message posted on the Facebook page “In Memory of Brandon Franklin, New Orleans, LA” announced on May 11, 2010 that the funeral service will be held on Friday, May 21, 2010 at the “Church of New Orleans (The Old Skating Rink) in the New Orleans East on Chef Hwy!”; “Viewing is at 9 to 11 and the service starts at 11” (see Figure 14).

Figure 15: Facebook Post by In Memory of Brandon Franklin, New Orleans, LA on May 11, 2010

https://www.facebook.com/In-Memory-of-Brandon-Franklin-New-Orleans-LA-122322441128194/

In studying a vast amount of YouTube footage of Brandon’s Funeral, I was able to reconstruct certain events of the funeral service beginning with the exiting of the church. Before the church doors were opened to reveal the exiting of the funeral procession, the footage reveals the formation of the band, standing quietly outside of the church in anticipation of their first note. At the first sign of the opening doors, the
band director calls the band to attention and the massive band begins to perform the first piece of music. In line with the New Orleans funeral tradition, the band’s first piece was in the style of a dirge, but the dirge was not one of the traditional dirges like “A Closer Walk with Thee.” The dirge performed for Brandon’s ceremony was an arrangement of a contemporary gospel song by Richard Smallwood entitled, “Total Praise.” The selection of a more contemporary dirge, played in the style of an older traditional dirge, reveals an element of modernization in the jazz funeral ceremony.\(^7\)

As the procession exited the church, the minister, flanked by three other gentlemen in suits, led the procession out of the door. The next person in the procession was a woman dressed in black, carrying a parasol in a downward angle. This is evidence of a continuation of the traditional funeral in that a Grand Marshall traditionally led the jazz funeral parade. The casket was next in the procession. The pallbearers were Brandon Franklin’s fellow band members of the TBC Brass Band, dressed in black suits with white shirts and white gloves. This is considered to be the traditional brass band dress code for important events. Brandon’s family members followed directly behind the casket with Brandon’s mother noticeably being consoled by those around her.

Once the casket passed by the band, the band increased its dynamics, showing their sincere reverence to someone they all admire and will surely miss. As the casket

\(^7\) https://youtu.be/nqSVLLncnyo
nears the horse-drawn carriage, the band ends the previous selection and the tuba section cranks-out the bass line to “I’ll Be Missing You,” by Puff Daddy, Faith Evans, and 112. The rest of the band, waving their instruments back-and-forth, high above their heads, begin to sing the bass line in vocables that sound like “ohhh.” As the casket is placed in the carriage, the trumpet section begins to play the melody with full power. Next, the trombones add to that power with a harmonic accompaniment, then finally the mid-horns join in with the rest of the band on a counter melody. Once the casket is placed fully in the carriage, the band begins to sing the lyrics “I’ll Be Missing You”; “We miss you!” is heard loud and clear from the mass of musicians.\(^8\)

Once the singing verse is completed, the band comes back in on their instruments with the final statement. A full and powerful sound complete with true emotion, capped by a soaring trumpet line quoting one of the time-honored traditional jazz funeral songs, “I’ll Fly Away.” provides a movingly clear representation of the infusion of current cultural practices and characteristics into a tradition with a deep history. Brandon Franklin has been sent home with the highest reverence and honor a jazz funeral can generate.

This investigation reveals many examples of the power of the social bond as it surrounds the life and death of a beloved band member. Using this information as an underlying context to the importance of the passing of Brandon and its impact on the continuation of the band, I will now present an analysis of a TBC original,

\(^8\) https://youtu.be/nqSVLLncnyo?t=285
“Dedication 2,” the title track of a mixtape that is available on Soundcloud. This album serves as a sonic memorial to Brandon as well as a musical offering presented to the rest of the New Orleans brass band community.

A note from TBC precedes the track listings and provides insight into the motivation of this album:

We love our brother Brandon Franklin and we love our culture so we decided to pay homage to the people we love and look up to. This record features Tyrus Chapman, Bennie Pete, Corey Henry, Sammy Cyrus, Chris Cotton, Al Growe, Fiddle Mizzie, Joe Maize Sr, and The 45 Girls. (TBC 2017)

It is clear from the note that there is a sense of social bonding that surrounds the concept, creativity, and performativity of this music offering.

“Dedication 2” begins with a 2-bar tuba riff centered around the Bb minor pentatonic scale. Spoken word begins right away declaring this song as a dedication to Brandon Franklin. A male voice narrates: “Rest in peace Brandon Franklin Y’all/To Be Continued Brass Band!/Right Now ‘Bout to Dedicate this to my man Brandon Franklin/I got T.C. in the house” (TBC 2017). The percussion enters almost simultaneously with the voiceover and jolts the song with a thick brass band groove. After the initial introduction is established, the groove continues in a solidified manner providing a stable foundation by which a sung lyric is layered on top. Still in the mode of Bb minor pentatonic, the lyrics declares the dedication of this
performance to their beloved friend. “We gonna do it for Brandon…He’s got that fiya!” (see musical example 11)⁹.

Musical Example 11: “Dedication 2” -- “We’re gonna do it for Brandon”
Transcription by Author


After a brief 8 bar secondary introduction by the brass, the wall of sound amplifies the melody of the initial lyric honoring Brandon. Thick in texture and

powerful sound, this section represents the TBC sound in full context (see musical example 12).

Musical Example 12: “Dedication 2”: Thick Brass Band Texture
Transcription by Author

Although this lyric is the only text specifically referencing Brandon, the spirit and energy of the piece evokes a party in his memory, a party that they are going to keep going until they are “satisfied” (see musical example 13).
Musical Example 13: “Dedication 2”-“We’re gonna do it ‘til we’re satisfied”
Transcription by Author
It is evident that they are playing for him and to him. The use of the all-encompassing “we” is another signifier of the power of the social bond in the music to TBC. Tarr et. al posits that “agent-driven sounds, and the associated perception of movement of another person, engage motor regions in the listener's brain, potentially resulting in ‘self-other merging,’ which has been argued to arise when individuals experience their movement simultaneously with another's” (Tarr, Launay, and Dunbar 2014: 3). The directive of the line “we’re going to do it ‘til we’re satisfied” supports the notion of agent driven-sounds and the coming together of individuals in a bond that creates the feeling oneness. In this case, TBC’s music reflects and represents the eternal bond they have with Brandon Franklin.
Chapter 5: Resilience

In this chapter I look at the strength, influence, and resilience of the TBC Brass Band and their ability to overcome extreme adversity in their lives. Members of the band have endured and overcome such hardships that have overwhelmingly created negative statistics for others of their same gender, race, and socioeconomic background. In investigating TBC’s successes through the framework of resiliency, I position the members of TBC as young black men who are able to rise above significant adverse situations. Invoking a positive adaption to negative experiences rather than imploring an at-risk positioning falls in line with the outcomes of Suiya Luthar and Laurl Zelazo’s studies in resilience: “[p]ositive adaption is that which is substantially better than what would be expected given exposure to the risk circumstance being studied” (Luthar and Zelazo 2003: 515). As McCubbin and others (1998) posit in their study on resiliency in the African-American family, “minority families may develop and maintain a sense of resiliency by engaging in diverse modes of social interaction that facilitate participation in and growth through relationships. Consequently, a relational rather than an individualistic mode of adaption is key to understanding resiliency” (McCubbin 1998: 32-33). What I am investigating here are the forces that the TBC members have overcome, not their individual personal characteristic traits, but the ecology that has encouraged their resilience. I argue that through a close examination of certain musical selections, both originals and covers, provides insight into specific factors that lead to their resiliency.
According to the American Psychological Association’s Task Force on Resilience and Strength in Black Children and Adolescents (2008), “scholarship has largely ignored the relevance of racial, ethnic, and cultural factors, nuances, and competencies, particularly as they relate to resilience and strength of African American youth” (American Psychological Association 2008: 1). I posit that given their social, cultural, and racial position and the proven ability of the band to overcome incredible adversity, the music of TBC provides a worthy and fertile site for better discernment into the key ingredients of the resilience in members of the band and black males in general. The band’s namesake itself, To Be Continued, accurately represents their ability to withstand the perils of poverty, the calamity of nature’s destruction, and the tragic realities of violence. In the words of TBC trombonist Joe Maize, “To Be Continued, because no matter what, this band is gonna keep going. The core of our band is too strong, you can't stop it. You heard?” (Flynn 2009: 20).

The introductory chapter of The Cultural Matrix: Understanding Black Youth, Orlando Patterson and Ethan Fosse recounts a 2014 lament by President Barack Obama: “fifty years after Dr. [Martin Luther] King talked about his dream for America’s children, the stubborn fact is that the life chances for the average black or brown child in this county lags behind by almost every measure and is worse for boys and young men” (Patterson and Ethan 2015: 1). This statement exposes an unpleasant reality in which we have not “overcome” in over fifty years and the life chances of the average black or brown child as posited by President Obama is only confirmed by
such representative killings of black youth as the 1955 murder of 14 year-old Emmitt
Till in Money, Mississippi, the 2014 shooting of 12 year-old Tamir Rice in
Cleveland, the 1999 shooting of 23 year-old Amadou Diallo in Bronx, New York,
Ohio, the 2014 shooting of 18 year-old Michael Brown in Ferguson Missouri, 2015
death of 25 year-old Freddie Gray in Baltimore, MD, the 2018 shooting of an
unarmed 17 year-old Antwon Rose in East Pittsburgh, PA, and the 2018 shooting of
unarmed 22 year-old Stephan Clarke in Sacramento, CA. To be a black male living
in the United States beyond the age of 25, with this dire outlook, is somewhat of an
achievement. To live beyond the age of 25 and be relatively successful is a
monumental achievement. As the TBC Brass Band approach their twentieth-year
anniversary as band in 2022, many of the band members have surpassed the age of
25. According to psychologist Caryn Rodgers, the one area that psychology
researchers have come to a consensus in terms of the study of resilience, “is that
resilience exists in the context of real or perceived adversity” (Rodgers 2015: 1).10
TBC has certainly endured real adversity during their relatively short lives as black
males in New Orleans.

To better understand and contextualize the strength, fortitude, and resilience
of the members of TBC, first there must be a realization that their experience, as
black males in the United States, is predicated on continual susceptibility to a legacy
of racial oppression, poverty, and discrimination that affects their everyday lives. As

10 Given the ongoing debate about the definition, conceptualization and measurement of resilience, the
one area of consensus is that resilience exists in the context of real or perceived adversity.
denoted by the American Psychological Association, Task Force on Resilience and Strength in Black Children and Adolescents (2008), “continued cultural oppression places all African American youth, including well-resourced youth, at some degree of risk for pervasive, yet subtle forms of racialized discrimination and oppression” (American Psychological Association 2008: 1).11

Growing up black and poor in predominantly black neighborhoods in the seventh and ninth wards in New Orleans, the TBC band members were exposed to “social inequality and racial apartheid-type systems that have operated and maintained separate and unequal black and white populations” (Bullard and Beverly 2009: 3) during their upbringing. Exposure to these conditions are positioned as “risks” and are the antithesis of resilience. The term risk “conveys the notion that an individual, family, group, school, neighborhood, or organization is likely to experience a negative outcome” (Fraser, Richman, and Galinsky 1999: 131). In our society, having access to protectors, such as wealth, serve as key components to avoiding negative outcomes such as poverty, incarceration, or even death. For African American males, these risks are built in systemically into our society. For instance, census data shows that school dropout rates vary by race and ethnicity with African American and Hispanic children at greater risk of dropping out than white students (Fraser, Richman, and Galinsky 1999: 133). These children are labeled in our society as “at-risk.”

11 The Task Force on Resilience and Strength in Black Children and Adolescents was charged with the identification of factors that contribute to the healthy development of African American Children and adolescents.
Susan Buchanan, in an article in *The Louisiana Weekly* states that “unemployment remains stubbornly high for Black men in New Orleans” (Buchanan 2018). She notes that the Black male joblessness rate in Orleans Parish, based on 2016 U.S. Census data, was at 48.4 percent. In explaining the reasons for the high jobless rates Buchanan states that “[b]lack men suffer from institutionalized racism” (Buchanan 2018). This institutionalized racism positions the black male in a continuous cycle of risk factors in which he is either resilient or a statistic. Buchanan interviews a Black businessman who shares his personal accounts of racial discrimination: “in our school system, young Black boys are labeled as unable to learn…they’re disciplined at greater rates than other children. Later, they’re incarcerated for misdemeanor crimes. That can break up a family. And once they’ve served their time, businesses don’t want to hire them” (Buchanan 2018). As of May 2017, black men from the ages of 15 to 84 comprised of 26% of the population of New Orleans, but 80% of those were incarcerated in the New Orleans jail system were black men. The Vera Institute of Justice in New York “pointed to higher arrest rates and longer jail stays for Black men in Orleans than white males” (Buchanan 2018).

“Resilience, the ability to overcome adversity and be successful in spite of exposure to high risk” (Fraser, Richman, and Galinsky 1999: 199), is the common thread that weaves through the life, times, and music of the TBC Brass Band. According to a 2002 study, the theory of resilience is “linked to life stress and people’s unique coping capacity, and is expressed and affected by multilevel
attachments, both distal and proximal, including family, school, peers, neighborhood or community and society” (Greene, Galambos, and Lee 2004). These multilevel of attachments appear prominently in the history of TBC, both on an individual level and on a group level.

In this chapter I locate and identify levels of attachments that facilitate resilience within the music and life of TBC, a group of black men who have battled and continue to battle their way through systemic racism, poverty, violence, and exposure cataclysmic natural disaster. Before his untimely death, saxophonist Brandon Franklin, best summed-up the stark forlorn realities of black life in his community when he said, “the tears that I have seen could have made a flood itself” (O'Halloran, Dasilva, and Tiberi 2008). These young black musicians have experienced more hurt and pain in their relatively short lives than many will experience in a lifetime. How can they still find a way to continue to create and inspire an entire community and culture that rely on their music for strength and resolve? The answer for TBC is in the music.

The emergence of the term resilience as an important area of investigation appeared within the discipline of psychological studies in the 1980’s. Resilience served as a metaphor for the ability of individuals to recover from exposure to chronic and acute stress (Ungar 2012). This definition of resilience suggested that centering the individual must be de-emphasized in favor of a re-centering of the notion of an expansive social ecosystem. In this paradigm a social ecology, considering actors
such as family, school, neighborhood, and cultural practices become guiding factors in actualizing the potentiality of positive outcomes. Michael Ungar (2012) states:

> Resilience is, therefore, the ecologically complex (multi-dimensional) process that people engage in that make positive growth possible (engaging in school, resisting prejudice, creating networks of support, attending religious institutions) all of which are dependent upon the capacity of social and physical ecologies to provide opportunities for positive adaptation (preferably in ways that express prosocial collective norms). When resilience is measured as an outcome, individual traits, behaviors and cognitions are always outcomes that result from positive developmental processes that have been made possible by an individual's wider ecology.

(Ungar 2012: 19)

Understanding the importance of a wider ecology in the facilitation of positive outcomes is imperative in the realization of how those who are able to rise above such extreme adverse conditions are able to do so. It is also vital in understanding how communities can develop and implement well designed programs, based on empirical data, that can proactively facilitate resilient outcomes.

In an article entitled “Resilience Theory: Theoretical and Professional Conceptualizations,” researchers Roberta Greene, Colleen Galambos and Youjung Lee noted that “resilience is an ecological process--expressed and affected by multilevel attachments involving families, schools, and communities;” family support is crucial (Greene, Galambos, and Lee 2004: 82). The vital components of TBC’s ecosystem consist of family, teachers, community, peers, and the power of the music they create and perform. The multilevel of attachments have placed an indelible mark on the resilience of the band and is certainly recognized and outwardly regarded by members of the band. In this next section I employ an amalgam of data resources to
disclose specific areas of adversity and risks that TBC has endured during their lifetime. This will situate the band’s exposure to the hardscrabble of their daily life and bring to light the elements of their resiliency.

The Importance of Family

A number of resilience studies “have suggested that children from high-risk backgrounds who either develop strong interests outside the family or form attachments with a confiding adult outside their immediate family may be more resilient to the effects of family adversity” (Fergusson and Horwood 2003: 133). This higher probability of resiliency is considered a resilience factor. One of the resilient factors that has been proven to increase the resiliency in children from higher-risk backgrounds is the importance of the parent-child relationship. “Specifically, it has been suggested that a warm, nurturant, or supportive relationship with at least one parent may act to protect against or mitigate the effects of family adversity” (Fergusson and Horwood 2003: 133).

Through the ups and downs of living in the St. Bernard Projects in New Orleans, Joe expresses the importance of his family which contributes to his ability to survive such a tough life.

Coming up, my family was always straight cause my momma liked to work. She wasn't never taught to go to school to get a job, but she would just get out the house and work. My father, he was smoking crack for a while. I feel like sometimes he let us down, but now he keeps us up too. He's still with us, everything is lovely right now. I'm telling you, my family's better than anybody's family. Anybody. You heard? (Flynn 2009: 18)
Although Joe Maize indicates that his father has experienced some missed steps in his life, he still maintains a reverence for what he brings to the family. Like Joe, Edward “Juicy” Jackson III speaks with the same reverence towards his mother as Joe. In a 2018 phone conversation (Jackson III 2018), Juicy shared that his mother was his main support system, and that she had to work several jobs to keep the family going. Growing up, Juicy never did see his mother much; she cooked their food and cleaned up the house but was not around often. Juicy had to fix his sister’s food when he got home from school, make sure she did her homework, iron her clothes, and if his mother hadn’t returned home before school the next day he would have to get her ready for school. This level of responsibility at such an early age had taken its toll on Juicy, but it also contributed to his resilience factor later in life.

Conversely, Juicy’s relationship with his father has not engendered the same positive feeling as with Joe. Juicy shares his recollections of his father with author Jim Flynn:

My daddy, man. My daddy. Boy, my daddy did everything I don’t need to be doing. Let’s just put it like that. I ain't got to go do it, he done it. That boy went served his jail time. Got out and we was straight for six months. We was building and doing our thing and they got me. We was straight. Then mommy and daddy got into it. Watched him whoop her ass. Got it all rolled out, you know what I'm saying? That boy went to jail. They convicted him, cause he din done too much. You just gotta sit now. You gonna sit the rest of your probation. So he went sit there five flat, all three hundred and sixty five of’em. Every time.

Once you come out, I’m in high school. There ain't nothing you can really tell me, cause you din miss that point, that make or break point. You done missed all that. Now, I’m really at the point to where this is the time where you were supposed to let me be. You know what I'm saying, but good thing you know the Lord had me in the band. I had people around me that was good mentors and good teaches and stuff
Although Juicy’s relationship with his father was not the nurturing parent-child relation archetype that is espoused by resilient theorists, Juicy was able to learn some of life’s most important lessons from his father’s shortcomings. The type of high level, mature decision making enacted by Juicy is a great example of the awareness, the intellectual capacity, and the agency that black males are capable of if provided with other protective components against risk. Juicy specifically mentions that he had good mentors, good teachers, and genuinely good people around him to help influence his life decisions. These positive and supportive influences are key to encouraging and inspiring resilience in people to overcome adversity. In addition to these positive influences, much attention must be given to the mature perspective and great attitude in which Juicy exudes. In an interview with journalist Brian Boyles (2015), Juicy shares that he was born into certain situations in his life that he has no control over, but still has to deal with. Juicy has the mindset that he has to take those things and build off them. "I have to make them trophies instead of bruises. I have to make them a gold medal instead of a criminal record. You have to learn how to accept the bad and build off of and tell people about it and relate to them and not be afraid to relate. Don't be scared yourself” (Boyles 2015: 112). This statement serves as a strong testament to the mindset that is necessary for resilience to be realized.

Greene’s et. al.’s research (2004) revealed that people's personal attitude is important to becoming resilient, and that they can become more resilient as they develop and have access to resources (Greene, Galambos, and Lee 2004: 80).
The Power of Teachers

According to a study by Bonnie Benard, “a common finding in resilience research is the power of teachers, often unbeknownst, to tip the scale from risk to resilience. Turnaround teachers/mentors provide and model three protective factors that buffer risk and enable positive development by meeting youth's basic needs for safety, love and belonging, respect, power, accomplishment and learning, and ultimately, for meaning” (Benard 1991: 3). In the lives and history of the TBC brass band, the presence of their high school band director, Mr. Wilbert Rawlins, has served as a source of inspiration and empowerment in both the lessons of music and in life. Joe Maize recounts the importance his band director, Mr. Rawlins, in the very beginnings of his foray into the music making world.

Mr. Wilbert Rawlins, he actually came to my house before school started. I get home from band camp one day, Mr. Rawlins is sitting in my living room, got my momma all bucked up on me playing in the band at Carver. Mr. Rawlins can talk. He got a mouthpiece on him you heard?... Mr. Rawlins was almost like a father figure, just feeding off the stuff he do and how he carries himself make you wanna be a better person. (Flynn 2009: 18)

This recollection reveals two major players in promoting resilience and fostering the development of coping skills that Joe will later tap into to overcome adversity. “Successful coping can be learned from a good teacher” (Greene, Galambos, and Lee 2004: 83). Although this specific interaction doesn’t specifically articulate a direct lesson in coping mechanisms per say, the foundational building of trust and fellowship are being established by Mr. Rawlin’s personal visit. This foundational visit is cemented by the reaction of excitement by Joe’s mother. His
mother’s encouragement cemented Joe’s commitment to playing in the band which will prove important to the resilience of both Joe and the band as the adversity of their lives continue to unfold.

Juicy accredits his successful graduation from high school to the help and support from one of his teachers.

Only reason I graduated high school was 'cause of TBC. After the storm all our transcripts is messed up 'cause the school got closed. I'm doing my junior year out in Dallas and they was trying to make me take classes that I done already passed. Same thing happened to everybody in the band, and for a lot of us that's the reason we ain't all got diplomas. One night, I'm out here playing on Bourbon, and I seen my teacher. He got it straightened out for me. (Flynn 2009: 29)

One very poignant moment in the documentary *From the Mouthpiece on Back* involves the interaction between Brandon Franklin, Jason Slack and their former band director Mr. Rawlins. The interaction involves Brandon and Jason reminiscing with Mr. Rawlins the beginnings of the band. At one point, Jason poignantly asks Mr. Rawlin’s did he think there would be a TBC if Rawlins was not the director at the time of their intersection. Mr. Rawlin’s jokingly responds “Jason, as wild as you are, I don’t think you would be livin’!” (O'Halloran, Dasilva, and Tiberi 2008). Although said in jest, Mr. Rawlins’ statement bears quite a bit of truth on many levels. Firstly, Mr. Rawlins’ personal leadership in the school and in the community facilitated an opportunity for black youth to participate, learn, and grow as young adults. Not only did Mr. Rawlin’s teach skills necessary for TBC members to be successful on their instruments, he give them life skills that helped them to survive and thrive in the midst of turmoil and destruction. Secondly, as mentioned by Joe
Maize, Mr. Rawlins selflessly took on the role of a positive and influential father figure in which many youths in their community and the African-American community writ-large are in disparate need. This type of fortuitous relationship between a supportive caring teacher provides the students with an available and support system that promotes positive behavior and prevents the continuation of growth along negative life trajectories, such as crime, drug abuse and incarceration (Ungar 2012: 21).

**Hurricane Katrina**

Much has been written about the devastation that Hurricane Katrina and the breeched levees imposed on the city of New Orleans in (Johnson 2011; Fussell 2007; Lipsitz 2011; Longman 2013; Bullard and Wright 2009; Dyson 2006; Levitt and Whitaker 2009). One of the common threads in all of the studies is that the devastating aftermath of the storm pulled the curtain back and revealed the profound socioeconomic disparity that existed within the fabric of New Orleans’ local community. “The hurricane and flood merely exacerbated the socioeconomic conditions of the majority-black population…what we witnessed on television as the 40,000 suffering poor, mostly black people trapped in the Superdome and the 20,000 to 30,000 at the Convention Center was the manifestation of deep, lingering historical race-class-gender inequities and disparities” (Bullard and Beverly 2009: 87). The members of TBC are considered part of the two-thirds of the black populations who were either in poverty or considered the working poor, underclass, or marginalized
when the storm hit, and according to Juicy, they are still in that category 14 years after the storm.

Bullard and Wright (2009) shed light on how this disparity in class difference went unnoticed by the world outside of New Orleans:

The New Orleans population was quite aware of the bifurcated class system of haves and have-nots based largely on race, but this social reality had been masked from the nation consciousness by images of Mardi Gras, the Jazz Festival, the Bayou classic, the Essence Music Festival, and other cultural and entertainment events.

(Bullard and Beverly 2009: 88)

When Katrina hit New Orleans, many of the residents, especially those living in the poorer neighborhoods, could not afford to escape the perils of the impending category 4 hurricane and its anticipated flooding that would engorge the entire city with flood waters (Simo 2008: 310). The poor had no choice but to stay put as they could not afford to leave, mainly because they could not afford the necessary supplies. Joe and his family were ones who waited the storm out in the St. Bernard projects. “When we heard about Katrina, my family knew we wasn't gonna evacuate. We ain't got no money, we ain't got nowhere to go. We all laid out up on the third floor and that project solid brick. It's like the Hulk you heard? Our first-floor neighbors who lived in houses was running into the projects and somebody would take ‘em in” (Flynn 2009: 20). Joe provides a personal account of enduring the storm and his allegiance to the durability of the housing structures within the projects:

When the storm hit, we just rolled it out. That wind is howling, but none of our windows ain't blow out. Them projects is Ford tough. Every single brick project made it through the storm. The first floor got flooded out, but that ain't nothing. They could fix that. I don't know why the city closed down St. Bernard after the storm, they fake. (Flynn 2009: 20)
The 2008 documentary *From the Mouthpiece on Back*, a biopic of TBC’s displacement and return to a city that would never be the same, serves as the consummate representation of the definition of resilience. It reveals the most humanistic introspective of the young black males, giving insight to the importance of the brotherhood and the music. The storm separated the band in 7 separate cities: Houston, Atlanta, Clarkston, Houma, Sacramento, Dallas, and Baton Rouge. Joe shares his interpretation of their displacement:

After Katrina, everybody in the band is all over the country, Texas Virginia, California, I'm down in Houma, I lost my trombone, so I ain't played in four months. I'm going to school out there and I got me a little job working as janitor. Everybody in the band is going through they own trial and tribulations. A lot of us ain't never really been out of New Orleans before. There's a lot of opportunity, but it ain't home. So we're like, we gotta go do us, we gotta come back and get this together. (Flynn 2009: 20)

What Joe is implying with his plea to get everybody back home and get the band back together is that the social ecology, in this case the need for a strong peer relationship, is broken and in order to begin the recovery from extremely adverse conditions, this part of their social ecology needs to be restored. At that point, healing and mending will take place. Joe continues:

When we get back to New Orleans, we staying in hotel rooms, all ten in one room. You know if they be lettin' ten people in one room you staying where the crack heads at. Wherever you fall asleep, on the bed or the floor, that's where you at. For six months, that's how we did, 'til everybody get on they feet. That'll take a wear and tear on your body. People look at us and say, damn, how do y'all keep a ten-piece band together? It's cause we done been through all that shit. Now we know
once all us ten in together, in any city, ain't nothing gonna stop us from doing us. (Flynn 2009: 20)

In conversation with Juicy, it became very clear that New Orleans, in the immediate aftermath of Katrina, experienced a time where society, in his words, “felt paleolithic.” He went on to add that if you didn't work, you didn't eat and people will kill to eat (Jackson III 2018). Walking around with a gun out was the norm after the storm. Juicy explains that it was normal if you saw someone with a gun and if you had your gun you felt more comfortable because you know where that other person stood. The very spot where TBC would experience the most growth as a band musically and socially served as the spot that would usher them into the realities of post-Katrina sentiments.

When we first got back on Bourbon, it was dry. Dry. The vibe wasn't right. Instead of tourists, it was a lot of Mexicans. Police treating us different. MP's everywhere with big guns. Nobody's not tipping, but we alright 'cause we ain't doing it for the money, we just doing it for us. Bit by bit, the city started turning back to regular. Ask me, right now I'd say it's back. (Flynn 2009: 20)

Faith

In *From the Mouthpiece on Back* a sign of resiliency was exuded by Brandon Franklin as he recounted his time in Houston where he had to sleep in one room with 6 members of his family. Brandon very expressively, “Thanked the Lord” that he was there that day. It is very chilling and ironic that in the video Brandon, who passed away in 2010, expressed his gratitude for his current state, even given the less than ideal living situation. Like Juicy’s aforementioned statement, this site of resiliency reveals a state of mind that is positive and hopeful, conditions that contribute to
positive outcomes. Also located in his declamation is a reference to his faith, thanking the Lord. Spiritual longing and connection have long been evident in the lives and survivals of the black community. With the history of brass band connection with the church, as explored in Chapter 2, Brandon reveals another level in the resilience ecosystem, faith. Revisiting the work of Greene, Galambos, and Lee (2004), spirituality and religion proved to be of great importance to people as they went through and overcame adverse events. Juicy further confirms this affirmation in faith in his testament to how the TBC has made it through all they have endured.

If you look at all the shit we done been through in the last three years, I'm thinking God must have had it in his plan to keep TBC rolling. Every time before we play we all come together and we pray. Every time. We know we blessed. I'm telling you, this ain't just a band. (Flynn 2009: 29)

Faith, family, community, and music prove to be the pillars of support for TBC as they overcome and continue to overcome extreme obstacles in their lives. These positive influences have merged into one ball of optimism. As Luther and Zelazo write, “urban poor teens might be appraised not only in terms of whether they avoid incarceration, but also in terms of their optimism or prosocial behaviors. Influences considered might include not just negative ones such as gang membership, but also positive constructs such as peer group loyalty or ego strength” (Luthar and Zelazo 2003: 513). TBC meets the negative experiences with the positive energy and optimism they have afforded from their positive experiences, then they proceed to ball it up and throw it back out in the world, through their music, as positive energy. Juicy affirms this sentiment in his explanation of TBC’s performance mission:
I want to feel good, and I want you to feel good, then they make others feel good. Y'all (the crows) standing next to each other wondering what TBC is going to play next and TBC want to make you feel how you feel. We are an inspiring act, the reason why you play that instrument, whether they know or not, is that you have no other care in the world. You don't care about anything; you don't care about nothing when you are playing an instrument. You just trying to get at that instrument. At that moment you are embodying why God has you on this earth. It's your conscience. Conscience moment. That's all it is. (Jackson III 2018)

**Conclusion**

As it is examined throughout this paper, The TBC Brass Band, in spite of extreme life challenges in which they have endured, continue to create and perform music that moves people’s hearts, people’s souls, and people’s feet. Through transcription and analysis of original TBC Band compositions, this paper locates a connective thread that binds notes and sounds to feelings and actions. Looking to cultural theorist Raymond Williams’ “structures of feeling,” as well as the social and psychological sciences, this thesis locates the significance of affect, social bonding, and resiliency in the social and cultural continuation of TBC and the New Orleans brass band tradition. To conclude this study, I turn directly to the original music of TBC to encapsulate the notion of “Get It How You Live.” Beyond all of the notions and theoretical implications, we just need to pay attention and listen carefully to they have to say. The answer is in their music.
“To Be Continued”¹²

I’m in the right now trying to get to the not yet.
We’ve all been through something we’d rather forget.
All the tears I done seen, could of made a flood itself,
But the music, was always, there to help.
I say the music, was always there to help.

Some us never had dads that was worth a damn.
Wouldn’t have been cuttin’ up in the quarters late at night if we had.
We fixed our broken trumpets marched off of the street.
Tellin’ each other, fellas, we got to believe.
Hey everybody we’re the TBC.

It was our dad, where there was not dad.
The music, taught us what life was about.
We made a band, where there was no band.
Oh the music, we wouldn’t be alive without you.
Say the music, we wouldn’t be alive without you.

(“To Be Continued”, To Be Continued Brass Band 2013)

Appendix A

A) “Fuck Wit You” Transcription Excerpt-TBC Brass Band as Performed on TBC Brass Band as Recorded on TBC Presents Dedication 2 (We Are Fans of Brass Bands)

Sound Cloud: [TBC Presents Dedication 2 (We are Fan's, of Brass Band's) by TBC Brass Band](https://soundcloud.com/tbcbands/dedication-2-we-are-fans-of-brass-bands)

FUCK WIT YOU

Trumpet I in Bb

Trumpet II in Bb

Trumpet III in Bb

Trombone I

Trombone II

Trombone III

Tuba

Marching Bass Drum

Percussion

Voice Call

Voice Response

FUCK WIT YOU

Trumpet

Tpt.

Tpt.

Tpt.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tbn.

Tba.

B. D.

Perc.

Voice

Voice

Voice

Voice

TBC Brass Band
you! and what you do! If you don't fuck wit me and I won't fuck wit you! I won't fuck with you! Why you worried 'bout you 'bout you 'bout you 'bout you 'cause I'm 'gon do me! Fuck me
you! So don't fuck with me!

So don't fuck with you! So don't fuck with me!

I don't fuck with you! So don't fuck with me!

I don't fuck with you! So don't fuck with me!
We're gonna do it for Bran

Do it for Bran

He's got that fi ya! We're gonna do it for Bran

We're gonna do it for Bran

Do it for Bran
He's got that fi ya!

He's got that fi ya!
We gon’ do it we gon’ do it we gon’ do it we gon’ do it we gon’ do it we go...
We gon’ do it we gon’ do it we gon’ do it ‘til we are satis-

We gon’ do it we gon’ do it do it ‘til we are satis-

©
do it we gon' do it we gon' do it 'til we're satis-

We gon' do it we gon' do it we gon' do it 'til we're satis-

shoo-ted! I turn around I saw sm-thing at chrome, shot gun w-ch the door got me - cur-i-ly good, He jumped right ov'er counter point-
Down on the floor! Uuh... Even the door was locked! I turned around. I was staring at them. Shot gun next to door got re-

car - ti - ty good. He jumped tight over something passed past. Get at work he tell her. For your...
Hands up, my hands up, they want me with my hands up. Oh! Shoo, say me think they want me to surrender.

He's got that.
We're gonna do it for Bran

We're gonna do it for Bran

R

We're gonna do it for Bran

R
We gon’ do it we gon’ do it we gon’ do it ‘til were satisfied!

Do it for Bran’d b-fied!

We gon’ do it we gon’ do it we gon’ do it
do it 'til we're sa-tis-fied!

We got' do it we got' do it we got' do it we got' do it we got' do it
Wyld Mag no li a from way up tow n. We go ing up town and we're co ming' back Mee tin' them o ther bands by the rail road tracks Now the on ly thing to make 'em mad but Lord and death. On ly thing that made 'em mad. We got the sound that they wish they had.
Got the sound that they wish they had! Say it's the Wyld Mag now.
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**Appendix B: Brandon Franklin Jazz Funeral YouTube Log**
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Videography/Discography


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