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“Black Soul in Action”:
The Sounds of a Jazz Family and the Silences in Their Archives

By

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THESIS

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Abstract:

Black Soul in Action - The Sounds of a Jazz Family and the Silences in Their Archives

Embedded in the faded history of the musical Barbarin family are three factors deeply important to the history of New Orleans jazz. First, that the Barbarin's musical success was rooted in the power of their extensive family and kinship networks. And in particular the ways those networks helped the Barbarins' develop as musical professionals while navigating their careers within the Jim Crow South. Second, that the Barbarin's archival materials almost completely ignore the significant role of race in New Orleans jazz and brass band culture. Third, that the reason families like the Barbarins have been largely forgotten, despite their outsize contributions to jazz, is because they refused to change their principles about musical authenticity as New Orleans transformed itself into a mecca for jazz tourism, for better and for worse.

"Paul Barbarin will not be forgotten—he lives through his records—his songs—and whenever or wherever there's a parade, a brass band—Paul Barbarin will live."[1] This quote from *Jazzology* critic Jack Dalziel McLean captures the prevailing sentiment about New Orleans jazz drummer, composer, and bandleader Adolph "Paul" Barbarin ("Ti-Boy" to his family and friends), following his death at age 69.[2] Barbarin died doing what he loved. On February 17, 1969, while leading the Onward Brass Band in the Proteus Parade at Mardi Gras, Barbarin fell ill. He left the parade, took refuge on the sidewalk in front of an apartment house on St. Charles Avenue, and asked security guard Sidney Johnson for a glass of water. When Johnson returned with the water, he found Barbarin slumped over dead. Barbarin's fellow musicians continued to march on down the road, having been instructed by Barbarin to carry on without him.[3] As one journalist put it at the time, Barbarin likely "died with the music of his own Onward Brass Band in his ears."[4]

Turnout for Barbarin's funeral service was a testament to his and his family's status at the time of his death. Conservative estimates put attendance at his wake at around a thousand, and crowds gathered in the street during his requiem mass were estimated at two to three thousand.[5] During his service, in the choir loft of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Church, Onward Brass Band was joined by Pete Fountain, one of the most famous and popular jazz musicians of the time. Onward and Fountain closed the service with what was, by all accounts, a heartfelt and moving rendition of "Closer Walk With Thee."[6] In keeping with New Orleans' funereal tradition for

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[1] Dalziel McLean, Jack, "Paul Barbarin: 1901-1969." *Jazzology*, August 16, 1969.
[2] Barbarin's birth year is variously reported as 1899, 1900, and 1901. In an oral history interview for the Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane University, Barbarin himself said "Oh, I wasn't born in 1901, I was born another date, but I ain't gonna tell you what date. 1901. Let's let it go at 1901." Barbarin's tombstone in New Orleans' St. Louis Cemetery #2 shows his birthdate as May 5, 1899, making him 69, and about three means shy of 70, at his death.
[3] "Jazz Great Becomes Ill in Parade, Leaves it, Dies." *Times-Picayune*, February 18, 1969.
[4] Bolton, Clint, "A Requiem for T-Boy." *Vieux Carré Courier,* February 28, 1969.
[5] Bolton, Clint, "A Requiem for T-Boy."
[6] Bolton, Clint, "A Requiem for T-Boy."

Black jazz musicians, within which the Barbarin family's associated brass bands were a major force, Paul Barbarin's procession from the church to New Orleans' St. Louis Cemetery No. 2 was supremely musical. His cortege was led by not one, but four, brass bands—Onward, Olympia, Eureka, and Tuxedo—all closely connected to the Barbarin family, and each "composed of men who had marched and played with Barbarin down the long corridors of jazz."[7] Despite Barbarin's stature, his music industry connections, and his musical influence during his lifetime, and contrary to Jack Dalziel McLean's prediction in *Jazzology* that Paul "will not be forgotten," he has, in fact, been largely overlooked in the historiography and popular consciousness of jazz. So too has most of his prolific and important family.

Embedded in the faded history of the Barbarin family are three factors deeply important to the history of New Orleans jazz. First, that the Barbarin's musical success was rooted in the power of their family and kinship networks, and to the ways those networks helped define the Barbarins as professionals and navigate as people of color in the Jim Crow South. Second, that the Barbarin's archival materials almost completely ignore the significant role of race in New Orleans jazz and brass band culture. Third, that the reason families like the Barbarins have been largely forgotten, despite their outsize contributions to jazz, is because they refused to change their principles about authenticity as New Orleans transformed itself into a mecca for tourism, for better and for worse.

Currently in its fifth generation of music-makers in an unbroken line, the Barbarins were part of the original wave of families, in the first half of the twentieth century, who approached New Orleans music-making as a family affair. Critically, and out of necessity, kinship networks like the Barbarin's provided a structure within which professional musicians could create and

[7] Bolton, Clint, "A Requiem for T-Boy."

perform, and quite literally parade as people of color, in otherwise segregated spaces, amidst the swirling racial animus of Jim Crow. As the current first family of jazz—The Marsalis Family—note in their own history, "multi-generational jazz families were once the rule in New Orleans." As "jazz evolved from its origins to incorporate new forms and techniques, and to attract players and listeners from around the US and the world, both the tradition of making the music a family affair and the central role of New Orleans in the music's progress were overshadowed."[8] The inflection point in the evolution of jazz that the Marsalis bio references has as much to do with the artistic evolution of jazz—the referenced "new forms and techniques—as it does the realities of making New Orleans jazz before and after desegregation. Before jazz could fully evolve in the ways the Marsalis family notes, non-White musicians needed a path out of segregation. Until that moment, families like the Barbarins had to find their own way forward, in a segregated New Orleans. Which is to say that musicians like the Barbarins matter in jazz history as much for the music they made, as for how and why they made it.

The Barbarin's musical story begins with Isidore Barbarin. As the patriarch of the Barbarin family, Isidore was, as his grandson Danny Barker puts it, "'Pop' with an emphasis." By the turn of the twenty-first century, more than two dozen musicians, related to Isidore by blood or marriage, could be counted among his musical progeny.[9] As Barker describes Isidore, he was exacting and serious, but also "cool-tempered." A "light-colored man about six feet tall, always neat and well groomed," he "wore dark suits tailored to his exact measurements, and soft black shoes."[10] His children learned to only engage in conversation "if the matter was of interest

[8] The Marsalis Family. "Artists." https://www.marsalismusic.com/marsalis-family (accessed May 11, 2020).
[9] "Remembering A Dynasty." *New Orleans Magazine,* May 2002, 29.
[10] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 28.

and serious."[11] Through his words, deeds, and demeanor, Isidore would set the technical standards, work ethic, and guiding principles with which Paul Barbarin, Paul's brothers, and future generations of Barbarins would operate as musicians. Isidore fathered nine children with his wife Josephine (neé Arthidore), including professional musicians Paul, Louis, and Lucien. Isidore's fourth and youngest son, William (known as "Willie"), played trumpet. However, according to Paul, Willie preferred his day job; a decision Paul would say neither he nor Isidore could comprehend.[12]

Born in New Orleans in 1871, into a French-speaking household of free people of color,[13] and coming of age during the years when jazz came into existence as a musical form, Isidore was the Barbarin family's first jazz musician.[14] His musical legacy seems all the more remarkable given that neither his one sibling (a sister), nor his parents, played an instrument. Isidore was the first professional musician of any kind in at least two generations of Barbarins. He found jazz on his own, by way of his participation in the marching New Orleans brass bands that would become so central to the Barbarin family's musical production for more than a century. Isidore played both cornet and mellophone (alto horn). He was a contemporary of jazz pioneer Buddy Bolden in the nascent community of New Orleans jazz musicians in the early 1900s. Indeed, if it is true that Buddy Bolden is the father of jazz for the way he loosened and evolved ragtime rhythm and incorporated the blues, then Isidore was present with and quite literally listening to jazz's inventive earliest moments flow from Bolden's cornet.[15]

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[11] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 27.
[12] Barbarin, Paul. Interview with William Russell. Oral History. New Orleans, January 7, 1959.
[13] "Remembering A Dynasty." *New Orleans Magazine*, 28.
[14] Barbarin, Isidore. Interview with William Russell. Oral History. New Orleans, January 7, 1959.
[15] Barbarin, Isidore. Interview with William Russell.

An anecdote from Isidore Barbarin's January 1959 oral history interview with Tulane University jazz archivist Bill Russell sheds light on the views on musicianship and work ethic that Isidore would hand down to Paul Barbarin and his brothers. Isidore is asked in the interview about the experience of hearing and seeing such a mythic figure as Buddy Bolden play. The bulk of Isidore's reply has to do not with being present at such an extraordinary time, but with the fact that Bolden did not have formal musical training. As Isidore put it, Bolden had a band, but "they wasn't no reading musicians, you know," "they played by head."[16] While aimed at Bolden in that particular instance, Isidore would differentiate and categorize fellow jazz musicians with regard to their formal training—or the lack thereof—throughout his life. Isidore referred to musicians like Bolden who played by head as "routine," which, as Danny Barker notes in his memoir, was meant as a slur against the untrained.[17] Isidore seems to have understood from the start, and instilled in his family, the threat to musical excellence posed by a widely-held misunderstanding about jazz (one that persists to this day): that playing jazz is primarily about taking freewheeling liberties over fixed patterns. Quite to the contrary, Isidore extolled the virtues of mastering the exceedingly complex structure, melodies, and harmonies of jazz. He understood that there are rules and real-time dialogues within jazz, and that jazz improvisation does not mean simply playing whatever one wants. For Isidore, the difference between being "routine" and being properly trained was the difference between being "OK" and mastering jazz so one "could play with other masters of jazz"; a perspective his musical sons and grandsons would adopt early in their careers and carry throughout their lives.[18]

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[16] Barbarin, Isidore. Interview with William Russell.
[17] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 30.
[18] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 30.

Equally perspicacious about more practical matters, Isidore believed, and often told his family and musical colleagues, that "the New Orleans brass and jazz band business was a very serious one."[19] Meaning, in the always uncertain world of professional music-making—with its constant specter of cancellations for any number of reasons—that competition was fierce, professionalism was important, and one could not, in Isidore's words, ever "be sure of a music job until you're playing it."[20] The extant business records of the Barbarins, primarily comprised of the papers of Paul Barbarin and Danny Barker, provide clear evidence that the family took to heart Isidore's seriousness about the music business, as they managed their own careers.

A somewhat sensational piece of Barbarin lore perhaps underscores Isidore's commitment to family and to work ethic. In addition to his work as a musician, Isidore supported his large family by driving horse-drawn hearses for undertakers and working the cash register at New Orleans' *Francs Amis* ("Free Friends") benevolent society hall. Caught as a bystander in a shooting spree at a dance at *Francs Amis*, Isidore got hit in the stomach. The bullet, believed to be permanently lodged in his body, was never found. He was discharged after a hospital stay lasting, by his recollection, 17 or 18 days. With his wife pregnant with Paul, and a growing family to support, Isidore dutifully returned to making music by "marching in parades for eight hours at a stretch."[21]

Isidore's son, Paul Barbarin, was known as a drummer with a singular sound. He was highly respected among the jazz elite, and when playing in parades, one with a beat that was distinct and audible in the city for blocks. At the top of the long list of historic jazz figures with

[19] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 2nd ed. New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 2016. 30.
[20] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 30.
[21] "Remembering A Dynasty." *New Orleans Magazine,* May 2002, 28.

whom Paul worked are Louis Armstrong, King Oliver, and Sidney Bichet. Among Paul Barbarin's enduring compositions are *Second Line* and *Bourbon Street Parade*, which, if perhaps not quite as well-known as classic compositions like *St. James Infirmary* or *When the Saints Go Marching In*, are to this day considered standards of the New Orleans jazz repertoire. Louis Armstrong was enamored of Paul Barbarin and his talents. So much so that in a 1922 letter to Isidore, he lamented having not heard from Paul in a while, offering in jest to send Paul paper and stamps "at once," if that would help put Paul back in touch.[22]

Paul's younger brother Louis Barbarin was also drummer. Less famous than Paul but considered by some to be the better musician, Louis received his first set of drums as a hand-me-down from Paul and (also like Paul) began playing by banging on chairs with kitchen utensils, to the consternation of their mother.[23] Louis' formal training included learning drumming rudiments from the great jazz drummer and teacher Louis Cottrell, Sr., who was a significant influence on jazz drumming, and also Paul's teacher. And, just as Isidore's early days as a musician exposed him to legendary figures like Buddy Bolden, Paul and Louis Barbarin would encounter a young Louis Armstrong early in Armstrong's career. Louis Barbarin recalled hearing Louis Armstrong when he was "still a resident of the Waif's home, playing with the band from that place."[24] Louis Barbarin would later become the drummer in Armstrong's touring unit, performing with Armstrong in the United States and Europe, and as we will see, Armstrong would join Isidore Barbarin in Onward Brass Band in 1921. Unlike Paul Barbarin, Louis Barbarin lived an especially long life. He retired at 80 and died in 1997 at age 94. As clarinet

[22] "Letter from Louis Armstrong to Isidore Barbarin." September 1, 1922. Vertical File: Persons - Isidore Barbarin. Tulane University Hogan Jazz Archive.
[23] Barbarin, Isidore. Interview with William Russell.
[24] Barbarin, Louis. Interview with William Russell. Oral History. New Orleans, June 22, 1960.

player and jazz historian Michael White, who played with Louis Barbarin, said, "Among a lot of musicians who stayed in New Orleans, a lot of them said they preferred Louis [to Paul]. He had all the ingredients in his playing and style that typified great New Orleans drumming."[25] Along with Paul, Louis also participated in the Barbarin family brass band tradition as a member of Onward Brass Band. Among the few existing accounts of Louis in action is one that underscores the closeness and the ethos of the Barbarins. Paul and Louis were known to "play their drums simultaneously as they marched, making it sound as if one person were making the music."[26]

Which is all to say that the picture of Isidore, Paul, Louis, and the larger Barbarin family ethos that emerges from the Barbarin's archival documents, oral histories, and limited published writings, is one that projects not only high professionalism and the primacy of family, but also the high value placed on seriousness and respectability; about music, about business, and about how one comports oneself in both the public and private domain. What is frustratingly hard to surmise with full certainty, since the Barbarin archives and memoirs are virtually silent on the subject, and since all of the core players have long-since passed away, is the role race and racial politics played in any of these Barbarin family characteristics. To put it another way: How much of the Barbarin ethos was about respectability and professionalism for its own sake, or stemming perhaps from a prevailing Southern sensibility, and how much—consciously or not—was also an engagement with something akin to Black respectability politics?

Within this question there are two key issues at play, both worthy of some additional attention: the history of Black respectability politics in jazz, and the role of silences in the archives. First—and at the risk of falling into the ethnohistorical trap of "upstreaming" the

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[25] "Death of Louis Barbarin, 94, cuts link with jazz's past." *The Times-Picayune*, May 14, 1997.
[26] "Death of Louis Barbarin, 94, cuts link with jazz's past." *The Times-Picayune*.

Barbarins—is that Black respectability has been an especially visible feature of jazz, particularly given jazz's public and performative nature, for most of its history. "The jazz standard of Sunday-best attire," couched in notions of respectability, takes its most visible, present-day form in the rhetoric around the sponsorship by Brooks Brothers of Wynton Marsalis and the Jazz at Lincoln Center Orchestra. Brooks Brothers notes how suits have become Wynton Marsalis' "signature, dating back to his musical upbringing in the nineteenth-century birthplace of jazz music, New Orleans."[27] With his connection to Brooks Brothers, Marsalis is not only engaging sartorially with his New Orleans heritage, he is also emulating and honoring the tradition of major figures of Black respectability in jazz, most notably Duke Ellington. For Ellington, as historian Harvey Cohen notes:

> "Dignified appearance and manners for black musicians signified more than show business propriety. They also symbolized a nonconfrontational but unmistakable subversion of the segregation that attempted to denigrate their character. Black jazz musician Jimmy Heath, speaking six decades later about an Ellington show he saw as a teen in the 1930s, never forgot the strong non-verbal message Ellington and his men transmitted to their audience. The emphasis on an image of respectability also provided a strong counterargument to critics who accused jazz, especially as performed by blacks, of being a musical genre that somehow imparted values of immorality and depravity."[28]

Unfortunately, the reality of the Barbarin's archival documents, oral histories and writings is that they include almost no insight into the Barbarin's views about race and their African and Creole

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[27] Brooks Brothers Magazine. "Pitch Perfect: Wynton Marsalis on Style" https://magazine.brooksbrothers.com/wynton-marsalis/ (accessed May 1, 2020).
[28] Cohen, Harvey G. *Duke Ellington's America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010. 65.

heritages. One can only speculate as to the reason for this. Based on the archival materials, however, it seems a reasonable supposition that this silence about race in the Barbarin archives reflects the particular positionality of those that did the archival work, in the 1950s and 1960s in particular. The interviewers and archivists of the Barbarins, and their assistants, were White, and primarily White men. These archivists and their colleagues were apparently well-intentioned and genuinely committed to the preservation of jazz history. However, they do not appear to have had a meaningful mandate to archive the impacts of the legacy of segregation, discrimination, and respectability politics on jazz's largely non-white cohort of musicians. Yet, it is hard to imagine, given the segregated city in which Isidore, Paul, Louis and other family members worked, that race and respectability were not a significant factor in the Barbarin's professional calculus about how to effectively operate as a family of Black and Creole musicians in Jim Crow New Orleans. Indeed, a closer look at the colonial underpinnings of jazz, and the concomitant relationship to Africa and chattel slavery, as well as the influence of Haitian immigrants and Vodou on New Orleans music, reveals the inextricable relationship of jazz to race, despite the deafening silences in the Barbarin archives.

To address these silences, or at least to acknowledge and attempt to compensate for them, I borrow from historian Sarah Haley's study of incarcerated Black women, *No Mercy Here,* in which she in turn borrows from scholar Saidiya Hartman. Like Hartman, Haley argues that all too often the archive erases "interior desires, beliefs, sentiments, and thought pathways." Which is to say, as Haley and Hartman do, that we must recognize that the archival documents in a case like the Barbarins are almost always mediated by their audience. Imagining much of the Barbarin's social and interior lives, and their views on race, then, requires a reading both along and against the archival grain. As Haley notes, this "imagining" will also be necessarily

incomplete.[29] What is possible and worthwhile to do, if also incompletely, is to explore the Barbarin family history as it sits within the larger history of jazz in New Orleans. In doing so, we see how the Barbarins chose to navigate as musical professionals in a Jim Crow era city, and how their work in jazz and brass bands was not only a means of musical and cultural expression, but a way in which non-White musicians could be both seen and heard in segregated spaces. This work begins, as jazz itself did, with brass bands.

Isidore Barbarin's role in the emerging New Orleans brass band scene at the start of the twentieth century would make brass bands a significant and foundational element of the Barbarin family legacy; something that Paul and Louis Barbarin, and Danny Barker, in particular, would carry forth through most of the twentieth century. To understand this part of the Barbarin legacy, and in particular its racial dimensions, requires an understanding of brass bands themselves, how they function historically, musically, and culturally, and why they matter. Barker, perhaps the Barbarin's most eloquent spokesperson, beautifully captures the experience of seeing and hearing a brass band for the first time. In doing so, Barker also makes a rare on-the-record gesture at the racial dimensions of brass band culture.

> "Natives of New Orleans generally stop and watch in wonderment at the physical behavior of tourists and their reaction on witnessing the city's famous jazz funerals. First, it's the sound of the brass bands, the booming sounds of the big bass horn and the big bass drum. The sad wailing notes of the horns always hit you deep inside. The tourist will

[29] Haley, Sarah. *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity*. Justice, Power, and Politics. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016. 14-15.

see all these black people, and many whites who are beginning to understand black soul in action."[30]

Barker's evocative description also helps illuminate a duality in the nature of New Orleans brass bands: that they are both quotidian and producers of high art. As Barker notes, brass bands can produce an affective power that often, and quite literally, moves watchers and listeners to dance in the streets, partaking in New Orleans' famous "second line" tradition. On the other hand, brass bands were and still are true blue-collar working bands, providing regular services to the New Orleans community, and a minor amount of income for musicians. While making extraordinarily powerful music, brass band members do their work by servicing parades, funerals, social, and community events.

Among the several brass bands closely associated with the Barbarins is one of New Orleans' oldest and most famous—Onward Brass Band—the legacy of which, like the Barbarins themselves, spans the full history of jazz. Onward has had three distinct periods: its early period, from its founding until it disbanded during the Great Depression; a period of relative inactivity from the 1930s to the 1960s, likely initially caused by the Great Depression; and a revival in 1960 from which the band continues today. Isidore Barbarin was a major figure in Onward during its early period. Paul Barbarin factored heavily in the 1960 revival, and, as we have seen, he led the group until the moment of his death in 1969.The current members of Onward trace its founding to "some time before 1877," and note that Onward, by "the time of the Spanish-American War [1898] . . . had achieved a reputation as the number one marching band in New Orleans."[31] Throughout their existence, the comings and goings of bands like Onward were considered newsworthy. Onward and other brass bands were covered by the press, if not exactly

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[30] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 53.

[31] Onward Brass Band. "Bio." https://www.onwardbb.com (accessed December 7, 2019).

as celebrities, as cultural ambassadors of the unique ethos of New Orleans. One particular story highlights the inextricable relationship of race and brass bands, from their earliest days.

On January 13, 1890, the *Daily Picayune* ran a story entitled "Brickbatting & Negro Procession. Young White Hoodlums Bring on A Riot in Which Several Persons Are Injured." The article describes a large Sunday afternoon melee triggered by an assault by whites on a "colored" procession led by Onward Brass Band. Rocks and bricks were thrown, shotguns were drawn, and "the entire neighborhood turned out" for "a general battle on all sides." [32]

In the Fall of 1921, Isidore Barbarin and Louis Armstrong would first encounter each other marching in a parade, both as members of yet another band deeply connected to the Barbarin legacy, Tuxedo Brass Band. Well into his career, Armstrong would continue to recall his 1921 parade experience as one of the early highlights of his professional life. Armstrong's experience underscores the idea that the racial dimensions of the brass band experience are inextricable from more directly musical concerns. As Armstrong biographer Thomas Brothers convincingly argues, the pride and joy of Armstrong's 1921 experience was precisely due to the freedom of expression, and of movement, that playing in a parading brass band represented for Black musicians in Jim Crow New Orleans. As Armstrong himself put it, "When I played with the Tuxedo Brass Band I felt just as proud as though I had been hired by John Philip Sousa."[33] The Barbarins shared Armstrong's enthusiasm and pride for music-making in the public domain, and they would remain connected and in touch with Armstrong throughout his life. Within the Barbarin family's history, then, we see the indelible, if so-far largely anecdotal, evidence of the constant intersection of race and musical production.

[32] "Brickbatting & Negro Procession. Young White Hoodlums Bring on A Riot in Which Several Persons Are Injured." Hand-written copy, no author listed. *Daily Picayune,* January 13, 1890. Vertical File: Subjects – Onward Brass Band. Tulane University Hogan Jazz Archive.
[33] Brothers, Thomas. *Louis Armstrong's New Orleans*. 13.

Almost half a century after Isidore Barbarin and Louis Armstrong first met, Onward would again make headlines, again involving a mob, but this time for a celebratory reason rather than a race riot. On Halloween Day 1965, Paul and Louis Barbarin would have pride of place, leading Onward in a welcoming parade for the arrival of Louis Armstrong at the New Orleans International Airport that now bears his name.[34] The enthusiasm and excitement of the large crowd "mobbed Armstrong, and completely broke up the band formation."[35]

Expanding our scope to a broader historical view of the legacy of brass bands, beyond the particularities of the Barbarins, further reveals the intersections between race and brass bands in early United States and New Orleans history. Namely the relationship of brass bands to slavery, colonialism's influence, and the intersection of African and European culture in a uniquely American context. Indeed, the New Orleans brass band legacy, which dates to the end of the 19th century, sits within a much larger American legacy of brass bands, and can be traced back several centuries before the birth of jazz.

New Orleans was claimed for France in 1682, founded in 1718, and originally developed around the central square of the French Quarter. In 1763, Spain took control of New Orleans via the Treaty of Paris, and the Spanish subsequently ruled New Orleans for almost four decades. In 1800, Spain ceded New Orleans back to the French, who finally, and famously, sold it to the United States in 1803 for $15 million as part of the Louisiana Purchase. These various colonial occupations of New Orleans explain some of the more obvious remnants of the city's European heritage. These include a legacy of both French and Spanish architecture, influence on language, and heavy influence on much of the city's official nomenclature, of its streets in particular. From

[34] Allen, Richard B. "Louis Armstrong. Onward Brass Band. October 31, 1965." Typed eye-witness account. Vertical File: Subjects – Onward Brass Band. Tulane University Hogan Jazz Archive.
[35] Allen, Richard B. "Louis Armstrong. Onward Brass Band. October 31, 1965." Typed eye-witness account. Vertical File: Subjects – Onward Brass Band. Tulane University Hogan Jazz Archive.

a musical standpoint, each possession of New Orleans by European colonialists brought European military marching brass bands to the city, each expressing their own unique national and musical heritage. These bands' militaristic colonial pomp became a part of the New Orleans experience, and eventually, when interpreted through the filters of New Orleans Creole, Haitian, and Black culture, a permanent part of the unique artistic and cultural fabric of the city.

Where New Orleans' colonial history provides insight into the European influence on the structural elements of brass bands, and eventually jazz bands, (e.g. instrumentation, musical arrangement, and regimental marching culture), the profound influence of the African diaspora on jazz and brass bands is the key to their ethos. Particularly those elements of West African culture that came to New Orleans with the enslaved. The interpretation of the military marching brass band tradition by Creoles and Blacks also helps explain the instrumentational and rhythmic roots of jazz. Why, in other words, so many European brass instruments are fundamental to the sound of jazz, and how a West African rhythmic sensibility evolved into jazz rhythm. West African rhythm is characterized by the displacement of beats and accents, in which the "strong" beats (or the downbeats) become weak, and vice versa. The result is the syncopation for which jazz is known, and with it the loosening of the staid and steady beat of European march music into something far more expressive. In New Orleans specifically, the rhythm of jazz reflects what some musicians and scholars call "Congo Square music," which is shorthand for the infusion of West African rhythms into jazz. These rhythms are reflective of the sounds produced by social gatherings of the enslaved in New Orleans' Congo Square, in the nineteenth century. Meaning that the pulse at the very heart of jazz and brass bands is African. It is almost impossible imagine, despite the lack of archival evidence, that families like the Barbarins, having been

involved in brass and jazz bands from the turn of the twentieth century, would not have understood and engaged with these deep and important cultural roots.

In addition to the direct impact of African rhythms on the evolution of brass band music in New Orleans, a look at the role of religion provides illuminating examples of another important form of African influence on jazz and brass band music. As the scholar of African American Religion Richard Brent Turner notes, New Orleans music, and the larger Mardi Gras and parade institutions of which it is a part, provide strong evidence that African religious heritage was not entirely overcome by or lost to Christianity; that it is indeed an inextricable and critical aspect found in brass bands and other Black cultural institutions in New Orleans.

> "The African spiritual energy and power of jazz street parades, Vodou ceremonies in domestic spaces, Mardi Gras Indian masking, and jazz funerals—which all belong to the second-line culture—demonstrate that black New Orleanians have an African diasporic spiritual life that interacts with Christianity." It "is largely unknown by the mainstream order because its communal rituals are performed by jazz musicians and initiates of secret societies and social and pleasure clubs."[36]

Turner convincingly argues that the jazz funerals led by New Orleans brass bands represent an intersection of African religions, African American Christianity, and Vodou. Turner's religious triangulation, in turn, reflects the interaction of the three geographic pillars of the African diaspora in New Orleans: Africa, the American South, and Haiti.[37]

Jazz funerals and the brass bands that lead them express the African in the African American racial construct in ways that are both explicit and hidden from view, but are always

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[36] Turner, Richard Brent. *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009. 5.
[37] Turner, Richard Brent. *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans*. 76.

present. Jazz funerals generally begin at Christian churches and end in Christian cemeteries. Along the way, however, the culture of the jazz funeral engages not only with the spirituality of African religious tradition through movement and rhythm, but also with the healing power of Vodou. And while Vodou is perhaps the least readily apparent aspect of brass band music for most observers of the jazz funeral and the second line, it plays a distinct cultural role. As Turner argues, in parallel to anthropologist Karen McCarthy Brown, "Vodou rituals make it possible to heal broken lives in unjust societies. "To heal the African American community during the crisis of death, contemporary participants in jazz funerals draw on fragments of historical memory and religious and musical traditions based in circum-Atlantic slavery in the Americas as well as in the experience of . . . blacks in the United States."[38]

Likewise, the Black blues and ragtime traditions predating and powerfully influencing jazz and brass band music, are also deeply influenced by the African diaspora in the United States. As political scientist and jazz historian Charles Hersch notes, what was "relatively unique to New Orleans was the melding of the blues and ragtime tradition," and when "New Orleans musicians played brass band pieces in small ensembles, interpreting them through the black blues tradition, the result was jazz."[39] People of color in New Orleans sought out positions in marching bands because, "consistent with the African tradition, the ensembles set music to movement and displayed a blues aesthetic."[40] Hersch also notes that, aside from the music and the movement itself, perhaps the most important effect of the unique New Orleans brass band tradition was that, "through the brass band, spirituals and ragtime left the church and the parlor, respectively, and strode into the public square."[41] As Thomas Brothers puts it, parades "thus

[38] Turner, Richard Brent. *Jazz Religion, the Second Line, and Black New Orleans*. 89-90.
[39] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 161.
[40] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 158.
[41] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz.* 158.

offered disfranchised [sic] Negroes a chance to assertively move their culture through the city's public spaces, the very spaces where African Americans were expected to confirm social inferiority by sitting in the rear of trolley cars and by stepping aside on sidewalks to allow whites to pass."[42] It is not surprising then, that brass band musicians like Louis Armstrong placed a supreme value on the relatively unrestricted movement, and safety, parading in a brass band provided in a segregated and often violent city. And while jazz has long since become an art form primarily performed via the European model of sit-down concert music in indoor venues—whether in clubs or concert halls—in "the New Orleans of Armstrong's youth, this relationship was turned on its head" . . . and unlike music in indoor venues, "the audience for street music is unlimited and the music is free. To a child growing up in poverty this made all the difference."[43] Given the close parallels in their musical lives, and the bands they played in together, Isidore, Paul and Louis Barbarin, in particular, likely shared Armstrong's perspective.

In May of 1962, at a high point in Paul Barbarin's career and notoriety, Eureka Brass Band, another of the groups closely associated with the Barbarins and led by Paul Barbarin, would go to Washington, DC. Barbarin and his band marched in the streets of DC and played the White House, as part of the First International Jazz Festival, at the invitation of The President's Music Committee of the People-to-People program. Eureka's inclusion in the festival amounts to their implicit federal recognition as something of a national treasure, and they were in excellent company. Also included were Duke Ellington (who received a key to the city during the festival), the legendary pianist and composer Dave Brubeck, and the great vibraphonist Lionel Hampton. For the purposes of the festival, Eureka was temporarily renamed "Paul Barbarin and Old New Orleans Marching Band." The new name was likely used to better clarify the nature of

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[42] Brothers, Thomas. *Louis Armstrong's New Orleans.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006. 21.
[43] Brothers, Thomas. *Louis Armstrong's New Orleans*. 20.

the group to the jazz-uninitiated, or perhaps to honor and cash in a bit on Paul Barbarin's fame, although nothing quite compares to Eureka Brass Band's original name: "The Lodge Band of the Hobgoblin Club."[44] In the news coverage leading up to Eureka's departure, New Orleanian's civic pride in Paul Barbarin and his representative brass band is palpable, not least because Eureka's invitation to "march on Washington" took place against the backdrop of the Civil Rights Movement.[45] Not surprisingly, jazz organizations around New Orleans, including Preservation Hall and the New Orleans Jazz Club, rallied to raise the funds to cover the cost of Eureka's travel. Tickets for a May 6 benefit parade and concert to raise money for Eureka ran as high as $5 for front row seats ($40, adjusted for inflation). And, as the *Times-Picayune* proudly proclaimed a week before the festival, this "brigade of 11 stout New Orleans jazzmen ought to be able to pull off a coup that all Lee's legions couldn't accomplish a century ago: conquest of Washington."[46]

Given this deep well of African, Haitian, Creole, and European culture from which the brass band tradition draws, and given the Barbarin's outsize formative presence and stature in the brass band community in the first half of the twentieth century, it is all the more curious that issues of race factor almost not at all in the Barbarin archives. With the exception of Danny Barker's comments in his memoir (first published in 1986, it is important to note) about "Black soul in action," explicit discussion of the racial dimensions of brass bands are virtually non-existent. And yet, the deeper one looks at the connective tissue between New Orleans colonial history, New Orleans brass bands, Africa, and Haiti, the harder it becomes to view the Barbarin

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[44] "Eureka Brass Band of New Orleans." Typed copy, no author listed. Vertical File: Subjects – Eureka Brass Band. Tulane University Hogan Jazz Archive.

[45] "Eureka! A March On Washington." No author listed. *Times-Picayune,* May 23, 1962. Vertical File: Subjects – Eureka Brass Band. Tulane University Hogan Jazz Archive.

[46] "Eureka! A March On Washington." No author listed. *Times-Picayune,* May 23, 1962. Vertical File: Subjects – Eureka Brass Band. Tulane University Hogan Jazz Archive.

archival silences about race as anything other than an intentional error of omission on the part of the archivists and their assistants. Indeed, the rhythmic heart of the music of brass and jazz bands—the sound of the Congo Square music performed by the enslaved in the 19th century—is where social memory and the public assertion of racial "otherness" audibly and visibly intersect. Brass bands like those led by the Barbarins, by parading through the streets to a backbeat brought to America by enslaved West Africans, re/enact important historical and cultural fragments of the African diaspora.

Today, as captured in Spike Lee's powerful post-Hurricane Katrina film, "When the Levees Broke," as popular interest in New Orleans was rejuvenated (for better and for worse) in the wake of Katrina's flood, New Orleans brass bands are again recognized for what they were, and for what they still are: essential purveyors of communal and spiritual expression, putting literal sound and movement to the joy, the celebration and the mourning of the people of New Orleans.[47]

While the Barbarin archives are mostly silent on the subject of race in jazz, they speak loudly the Barbarin's opinions on musical authenticity, echoing the principles set forth by Isidore Barbarin. They look askance at the existential threats to jazz embodied in the so-called Dixieland revival, and embodied as well in efforts by government and civic leaders to make New Orleans a mecca for conventions and jazz tourism. A pinnacle moment of Barbarin's career—the appearance with Eureka at the First International Jazz festival—happened at a time when big shifts in the music and tourism culture of New Orleans we're getting underway. While the shift to promoting tourism and conventions was enacted in part to bolster the New Orleans economy,

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[47] Ludwing Perez. "Katrina's Funeral," (video). Clip from Spike Lee's film "When the Levees Broke." Posted August 2, 2008. Accessed November 27, 2019. https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=Dq_PgsrACCY.

following years of economic downturn, the artistic implications were of deep concern to the Barbarins.

As he approached the final decade of his life and career, Paul Barbarin gave extensive oral history interviews to William "Bill" Russell for the Hogan Jazz archive at Tulane University. Isidore and Louis Barbarin would also provide oral history interviews to Russell in 1959 and 1960, respectively. Each would talk about the end of an era of authenticity and genuine musicianship among the practitioners of jazz, and among brass band musicians in particular. Among the themes that emerge in Paul Barbarin's 1957 and 1959 oral history interviews, as well as in media coverage at the time, is a consistent lament about the ending of an era of community-oriented parades, and authentic street music, and exceptional players.[48] As Paul Barbarin put it: "These days…there was no comparison. Y'all don't hear the real thing. It's too bad [you] couldn't catch those people on tape."[49]

In one particularly poignant recollection of Barbarin for *New Orleans Magazine*, journalist Clint Bolton recalls Barbarin telling him "I remember it all. The all-day picnics at the Fair Grounds and the dances at night . . . all night. The longshoremen and all the other unions in the Labor Day Parades." Bolton recalls, that as they parted ways, Barbarin "lifted his hand in a sketchy salute and called softly, 'All gone now but me . . . I'm still here.'"[50] And as *Vieux Carré Courier* editor Bill Bryan put it in an issue devoting considerable coverage to Barbarin's death, life, and career, "as Barbarin, and many jazzmen like him, go to their deaths, their contribution to the culture and heritage of this city remains for the most part unrecognized and unrevered officially by the city they have done so much to make distinctive and colorful. There are many

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[48] Ironically, Russell was responsible for both capturing and preserving the legacy and oral history of the Barbarins and resurrecting the career of Bunk Johnson during the Dixieland Revival.

[49] Barbarin, Paul. Interview with William Russell. Oral History. New Orleans, January 7, 1959.

[50] Bolton, Clint, "All Gone Now." *New Orleans Magazine,* May 1969.

statues in New Orleans . . . There ought to be one to one of her famous musicians, Paul Barbarin perhaps."[51] As the practitioners of what was considered truly authentic traditional jazz and brass band music were dying out, the tourist-mecca "Creole Disneyland" version of New Orleans we know today started to fully take hold.

Although New Orleans is now indeed a major tourist destination, it is one in which a critical component of its draw is a corporatized, sanitized, and highly monetized form of jazz tourism. More recently, of course, tourism to New Orleans has also been heavily driven by post-Katrina disaster tourism. The French Quarter, the legendary New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, and Mardi Gras, just to name a few examples, today arguably reflect some of the best of New Orleans' storied musical history, and some of the worst capitalist impulses that can compromise the authenticity of musicians and the music they make. The Barbarins clearly understood the nature of this transition – a move away from authenticity toward something potentially less real and less rigorous.

Another theme that emerges, as one looks more closely at the arc of Paul Barbarin's career, is the idea that the New Orleans jazz tradition is highly susceptible to the economic ups and downs of both the national and New Orleans' local economy. What also becomes apparent, is that New Orleans jazz is susceptible to the ways in which New Orleans is both perceived as, and actually is, a singular and unique cultural place in America. Throughout the history of jazz in New Orleans, the perception of the city by outsiders helped determine jazz's fate; from the early days in which it was seen as paradise of free-wheeling debauchery, to the present day, in which New Orleans has retained its image as a party town, but has also seen a sometimes problematic

[51] "Editors Column: Paul Barbarin." *Vieux Carré Courier,* February 28, 1969.

economic and cultural revival resulting from the international attention caused by Hurricane Katrina.

In the 1910s, until about the end of World War I, jazz thrived in New Orleans, in large part because it was developed in the famous red-light district, Storyville. Storyville "solidified in the tourist mind the ribald image of New Orleans," and jazz was the red-light district's soundtrack.[52] Storyville famously closed in 1917. This was due in part to the influence of citizens' groups like the American Social Hygiene Organization, and a national program instituted by Secretary of War Newton Baker, prohibiting brothel's from operating within five miles of a military base. The closure of Storyville put work for jazz musicians into steep decline, and it also drove the houses of gambling and prostitution underground, creating an image of New Orleans as a less readily fun-filled and freely debaucherous place. Many musicians left New Orleans to find work elsewhere, including Paul Barbarin, who went to Chicago after Storyville closed. By the 1920s and 1930s, the exodus of musicians from New Orleans continued the decline of jazz and brass bands, something Paul Barbarin would discover on his return to New Orleans in 1921. In the 1940s, World War II dealt another blow to the popularity of jazz in New Orleans. "Increased attention to war and commerce lessened the city's traditional penchant for revelry," Mardi Gras was cancelled each year during the war, national radio standardized popular tastes, and country music began to take over.[53] The stage was set for the revivalism of the 1950s and 1960s and the push toward what historian J. Mark Souther identifies as the mutually reinforcing concept of "preservation and profit in the French Quarter," and with it, the marketing of New Orleans to the vacationing and the convention-going public as "the birthplace of jazz."[54]

[52] Souther, J. Mark. *New Orleans on Parade*, 103.
[53] Souther, J. Mark. *New Orleans on Parade*, 105.
[54] Souther, J. Mark. *New Orleans on Parade*, 102.

Indeed, jazz tourism resulted from broader initiatives by city leaders in the 1950s and 1960s. One of the goals of city leaders was to mitigate the negative economic impacts of deindustrialization through an influx of tourism and conventions. In a critical inflection point in the turn to tourism as an economic engine, the independent Greater New Orleans Tourist and Convention Commission (GNOTCC) was formed and given a $156,000 budget in April of 1960. The GNOTCC's resources dwarfed the existing $37,600 budget of the Chamber of Commerce's Convention and Visitor's Bureau, reflecting the commitment of New Orleans civic leaders to eventually put tourism to New Orleans on par with major U.S. cities.[55]

In the jazz world, what emerged from the work of the GNOTCC and other civic leaders was the romanization of the history of New Orleans jazz for economic gain. This intersection of preservation and profit fostered by the GNOTCC is typified by the opening, in 1961, of Preservation Hall in the French Quarter, just as the Quarter began its eventual transformation into the epicenter of tourism in New Orleans.

Initially opened to the general public by E. Lorenz "Larry" Borenstein, Preservation Hall's operation was transferred to Allan and Sandra Jaffe, followed by their son Ben Jaffe, who continues to lead Preservation Hall today. Preservation Hall remains a premiere and enduring symbol of, and literal venue for, a turn toward jazz neatly and non-threateningly packaged for tourist consumption, but it is also an example of what Souther identifies as the "checkered effect of tourism on the revival of New Orleans jazz," complicating "the common scholarly assumption that tourism simply erodes local culture."[56] Preservation Hall and its touring ensemble, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band, have genuinely achieved their mission of preserving and

[55] Souther, J. Mark. *New Orleans on Parade: Tourism and the Transformation of the Crescent City*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006. 34-35.
[56] Souther, J. Mark. *New Orleans on Parade*, 103.

disseminating traditional jazz, both at home and on tour around the world. Via its almost nightly concerts, Preservation Hall taps into a stable of dozens of local musicians in a rotating lineup known as the Preservation Hall All Stars. The All Stars performances provide entertainment for tourists, employment for local musicians (many of them older), and a glimpse of historic jazz culture for ticket-buying audiences.

The opening of Preservation Hall was preceded by the so-called "Dixieland Revival," which unfolded with a similarly *checkered* effect. Tailored to whiter audiences and, like Preservation Hall, presaging the rise of New Orleans jazz tourism, the nostalgic "Dixieland" revival movement of the 1940s and 1950s was viewed by many as supplanting the serious traditional jazz played by serious musicians like the Barbarins. "Dixieland" is, of course, also a notoriously controversial term. Due in part to the connotation of a pre-Civil War South. But, for many musicians like the Barbarins—who were often more publicly vocal about their views on musicianship than they were about racial complexities—"Dixieland" also connotes a shallow simulacrum of authentic traditional jazz. Even though the Dixieland revival meant more employment opportunities, including for some of the greats of Paul Barbarin's generation, many musicians, including Paul Barbarin and his family, looked askance at the revivalists. As Danny Barker says in his memoir, referring to trumpeter Bunk Johnson, a major figure in the leadership of the Dixieland Revival, "I call this a calamity—this cult of international jazz cranks who now worship 'the Bunk Fallacy.' I still at times find myself in puzzlement as to why and how young aspiring musicians cannot differentiate between genius, greatness, sensationalism, mastery of musical instrument, true pure artistry; how they cannot compare recordings of master of jazz playing and hacks."[57]

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[57] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 2nd ed. New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, 2016. 51.

The frustrations that Barker's comments highlight are about the diminution and dilution of talent and discernment, but the Barbarins were also clearly concerned with the ways in which the revivalists and the turn toward jazz tourism were edging them out of work. In his December 1959 oral history interview for the Hogan Jazz archive, Paul Barbarin—like his father, always concerned about musicality and musicianship—speaks about the change in the music itself, particularly what he saw as the problematic quickening of tempi. But Barbarin also speaks about the loss of work. Bill Russell notes in the interview transcript that Paul "told the truth about Bourbon Street in an interview with John Norris, of 'Coda' magazine, and published in that magazine." Paul "has been squeezed out of [work on] Bourbon Street now," saying that the old guard of musicians "would like to be able to play slower tempos, more relaxed music, and that people should be allowed to enjoy music."[58] Alyn Shipton, the editor of Danny Barker's memoir, notes that the "signature" musical collaboration of Barker and his musician wife Blue Lu Barker was a song called "Don't You Feel My Leg," which "sums up Barker's fundamental ideas about what music should be—medium tempo, hearts and "foots" in unison, and plenty of belly rubbing."[59] Despite the strong evidence of a deeply rooted sense of traditionalism about how New Orleans music should be, there was also certainly the recognition by people like Paul Barbarin that the world was changing, particularly as more instruments went electric, guitar in particular. Paul also professed his interest in rock and roll and some pop music. Perhaps unsurprisingly, he did not like where the bebop musicians had taken jazz.[60]

What is both remarkable and, in a way tragic, are the ways in which the Barbarins apparently stayed true to and hewed to their own sensibilities about what they believed New

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[58] Barbarin, Paul. Interview with William Russell. Oral History. New Orleans, December 23, 1959.
[59] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. xxiii.
[60] Barbarin, Paul. Interview with William Russell. Oral History. New Orleans, December 23, 1959.

Orleans music should be, and how it should be played, even at an expense to their careers and their legacies. Clearly, Paul Barbarin and Danny Barker, in particular, refused to alter the core principles about musicmaking passed down from Isidore, even as the New Orleans music scene changed around them, and as the jazz tourism impulse complicated the interactions between preservation and profit. Returning to *Vieux Carré Courier* editor Bill Bryan's statement that Paul Barbarin's "contribution to the culture and heritage of [New Orleans] remains for the most part unrecognized and unrevered," it seems that if the Barbarins have now been relegated to the footnotes of jazz history, it is because they would not, or could not, budge from their principles.[61]

What happened instead of acquiescence to the changing times, beginning in 1970 not long after Paul Barbarin's death, was a Barbarin family form of revivalism, in the hands of Danny Barker and a pack of young musicians associated with New Orleans' Fairview Baptist Church.[62] The Fairview Baptist Christian Band was organized at the suggestion of Fairview Baptist Reverend Andrew Darby, Jr. Rev. Darby, as noted in one Fairview Band promotional flyer was "deeply interested in the activities of young people," and positioned the band as a "grassroots self help project." Darby wanted to form the band to help neighborhood kids stay out of trouble, but also to provide sorely needed musicians for church services.[63] Barker achieved Darby's goals, but also used the band as a way to train and instill in the young musicians a sense of tradition and work ethic.

The Fairview revival, although lasting less than a decade, remains one of the more enduring aspects of the Barbarin's, and Danny Barker's, legacy. It is a testament to the family

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[61] "Editors Column: Paul Barbarin." *Vieux Carré Courier,* February 28, 1969.

[62] Official flyers and other promotional materials produced at the time cite the band's founding as 1972. Barker cites 1970 as the founding year in his memoir and archival documents.

[63] "The Fairview Baptist Church Christian Band." Promotional Flyer, no author listed. The Danny Barker Collection: Box 1. Tulane University Hogan Jazz Archive.

and musical values handed down by Isidore Barbarin. Not surprisingly, the Fairview revival underscores the value the Barbarins placed on tradition. Ironically, it also produced a generation of jazz all-stars that would honor the tradition while also innovating and evolving jazz well into the twenty-first century. These include drummers Herlin Riley and Shannon Powell, trombone player and Barker relative Lucien Barbarin, several members of Dirty Dozen Brass band, and trumpeters Gregg Stafford and Leroy Jones. Barker instilled in his young musicians a reverence for the tradition, but also an assurance that there was a difference between preservation and revival: survival. The young musicians learned that playing traditional New Orleans jazz music well, despite the changing times, would ensure that they got work. Trumpeter Leroy Jones recalls Barker's lesson that to play traditional New Orleans jazz music one must have "an arsenal of tunes," but if one makes the effort to learn those fifty to a hundred pieces of music and play them well, "you will work." As Jones notes, Danny "wasn't lying…because I've been working ever since."[64]

In an enduring testament to the closeness of the Barbarins, Danny Barker and his wife Blue Lue Barker share a tomb with Paul Barbarin and his wife Onelia in New Orleans St. Louis Cemetery No. 2; uncle and nephew, who committed their lives to jazz, producing it together and apart for most of the 20th century. Isidore and Josephine Barbarin are buried nearby, in St. Louis Cemetery No. 1, not far from Louis Armstrong. As a family, the Barbarins were present at the birth of jazz, committed themselves to a kind of brass band orthodoxy they struggled to sustain for over eighty years, navigated through Jim Crow New Orleans, desegration, the Dixieland Revival and New Orleans' turn toward jazz tourism. They refused to bend on their principles about what jazz could and should be, as the world of jazz changed around them, perhaps costing

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[64] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. xxiiv.

them a more visible and enduring legacy in the long run. As we have seen, when Paul Barbarin died in 1969, his and his family's stature in New Orleans and the jazz community were recognized and celebrated. That notoriety then quickly faded. For his part, Danny Barker, in his last years, refused to budge on his Barbarin principles. He freely expressed the role of race in jazz, dismissed the commercialization of jazz and brass band music, and was certain it would all somehow carry on, on the basis of its own merits.

> "So jazz will live on, because it digs down inside the body, the brain, the heart, the nerves and muscles. Go to any place where there is a fine large group of underprivileged black people and, at the church services, you will steal away." Well, jazz still lives in New Orleans in the churches, and in the future will come out and entertain the swingers under a new name."[65]

[65] Barker, Danny., and Alyn Shipton. *A Life in Jazz*. 187.

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