

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RESOUNDING ARCHIPELAGOES:
MUSIC AND TOURISM IN NEW ORLEANS AND HAVANA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

BY

HANNAH L. ROGERS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 2022

Table of Contents

List of figures	iii
Acknowledgments	vi
Abstract	viii
Prologue: Archipelagic Encounters	1
1. Theorizing Musical Tourism	13
2. Festival Practices	52
3. Fixing Musical Encounters (Sites)	90
4. Media, Mobilities, and Transmission	135
5. Archipelagic Utopianism: Musicians at Work	192
Excursus: Carnival	230
Epilogue: Palimpsests (Authentic Pasts, Utopian Futures)	253
Bibliography	271
Appendix: Excerpts from the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Program, 1972	296

List of Figures

Figure P.1: Postcard from the past.....	10
Figure 2.1: <i>Comparsa</i> percussion in the Plaza del Cristo.....	53
Figure 2.2: Big Chief Monk Boudreaux sitting for photographs in the Plaza del Cristo.....	54
Figure 2.3: “Second Line Conga” through Habana Vieja (with El Capitolio, modeled on the U.S. Capitol, in the distance).....	55
Figure 2.4: Dancers join the second line along the parade route through Habana Vieja.....	59
Figure 2.5: Map of the grounds of the World’s Columbian Exposition, 1893.....	63
Figure 2.6: 2017 map of the Jazz and Heritage Festival, showing location of Cultural Exchange Pavilion.....	69
Figure 2.7: Cultural Exchange Pavilion, housing Cuban artists and musicians in 2017.....	70
Figure 2.8: Havana neighborhoods: Vedado and Habana Vieja.....	72
Figure 2.9: “Babalú,” at the Teatro Nacional.....	75
Figure 2.10: Festival venues at Jazz Plaza.....	77
Figure 2.11: “La Guarapachanga” at the Pabellón Cuba.....	78
Figure 3.1: Backyard interview.....	91
Figure 3.2: The French Quarter.....	111
Figure 3.3: Habana Vieja.....	111
Figure 3.4: Frenchmen Street in the Faubourg Marigny.....	117
Figure 3.5: A brass band performs on the corner of Frenchmen and Chartres Streets, February 4 2020.....	118
Figure 3.6: Callejón de Hamel in Cayo Hueso, Centro Habana.....	119
Figure 3.7: Local performers and an audience of Cubans and foreigners at the Callejón de Hamel, January 6 2019.....	120
Figure 3.8: “Somebody Roll the Weed”: TBC Brass Band at the Mother-in-Law Lounge, January 26, 2020.....	126

Figure 3.9: Second floor performance space at La Fábrica de Arte Cubano (January 20, 2019).....	128
Figure 4.1: “Artifact”-souvenir from the author’s collection, 2014.....	141
Figure 4.2: “Trending.” Source: Vanity Fair (July/August 2021).....	146
Figure 4.3: Louis Armstrong performs on the Mark Twain riverboat in Disneyland, 1962.....	152
Figure 4.4: A New Orleans tourism advertisement after Hurricane Ida, as included in a news article reporting critical responses for its representation of race. (MacCash).....	155
Figure 4.5: Diasporic and hemispheric collaborators Nicolás Guillén and Langston Hughes.....	157
Figure 4.6: A cover page for Gottschalk’s “Bamboula.”.....	162
Figure 4.7: The first page of Gottschalk’s “Bamboula.”.....	163
Figure 4.8: A cover page of Gottschalk’s “Ojos Criollos.”.....	164
Figure 4.9: The first page of Gottschalk’s “Ojos Criollos.”.....	165
Figure 4.10: Pello el Afrokán meets with Fidel Castro in 1965.....	167
Figure 4.11: Lyrics for “Mozambique de la Caña, published in the Havana newspaper Revolución, April 13, 1965.....	168
Figure 4.12: “Cuban Vacation.”.....	172
Figure 4.13: “New Orleans Vacation”.....	172
Figure 4.14: The “local” gives into her tears.....	175
Figure 4.15: Change in perspective to interior view.....	176
Figure 4.16: The empty “open” window.....	177
Figure 4.17: Ry Cooder smokes a cigar by the waterfront as he watches his son Joachim and Orlando “Cachaito” Lopez play music.....	180
Figure 4.18: Walter Harris of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band anticipates his arrival in Santiago de Cuba.....	185
Figure 5.1: CimaFunk plays with Big Chief Juan Pardo at Tipitina’s in New Orleans, November 14, 2019.....	196

Figure 5.2: Chain of access for guest visitors on Jazz Plaza trip to Havana, 2020.....	199
Figure 5.3: New Orleans bands with Cimafunk at the Salon Rosado, January 17, 2020.....	201
Figure 5.4: New Orleans musicians perform at the Salon Rosado, January 17, 2020.....	201
Figure 5.5: Members of the Soul Rebels pose for photos along the Malecón.....	202
Figure 5.6: Tarriona Ball greets a local vendor in the Plaza de la Catedral.....	202
Figure 5.7: Soul Rebels Corey Peyton and Paul Robertson ride in a vintage American car.....	203
Figure 5.8: Alexey Marti performs at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival.....	206
Figure 5.9: Alexey Marti Hosts “Latin Night” in Uptown New Orleans, April 15, 2022.....	208
Figure 5.10: Leo teaches <i>bongó</i> , in Cayo Hueso, March 11, 2022.....	212
Figure 5.11: Leo (top right) with Pello el Afrokán (top center) in Havana, 1966.....	218
Figure 5.12: Nostalgic mediation in “Good Time.”.....	220
Figure 5.13: Retro attire.....	221
Figure 5.14: Big Freedia in “Good Time”.....	222
Figure 5.15 Cimafunk’s style pays homage to Black artists of the 1970s and 80s.....	223
Figure Ex.1: House Float.....	236
Figure Ex.2: Bourbon Street on Mardi Gras Day, 2021.....	241
Figure Ex.3: “Queen of Bounce House,” February 14, 2021.....	246
Figure Ex.4: “Show Float.”.....	247
Figure Ex.5: Tangible throw: a mask from Show Float.....	248
Figure Ex.6. Selection from Arthur Hardy/s annual Mardi Gras Guide, 2021.....	250
Figure Ep.1: Erasure of routes and access.....	253
Figure Ep.2: Frenchmen Street on Mardi Gras, March 1, 2022.....	263
Figure Ep.3: Calle 23 and M in Vedado, March 5, 2022.....	263
Figure Ep.4. Krewe de Vieux, February 5, 2022.....	266

Acknowledgments

This dissertation is the result of many years of encounters with ideas and people that have shaped it over time. Realizing the project has taught me more than just how to “study”: the knowledge and skills that I have gained through the experiences of doing coursework and fieldwork, workshopping ideas, revising chapters, and frequently returning to the task of “explaining myself” have made the process one of continual learning.

I thank my dissertation committee in the University of Chicago music department for their guidance throughout the project, especially during the times when we were all confronting setbacks and adjustments. My advisor, Philip V. Bohlman, has supported me in helping me articulate my sometimes-jumbled ideas with his capaciousness, depth, and agility of thought and encouraging me in my approach to the “light” things of tourism as worthy of serious consideration and critique. Jessica Swanston Baker, beyond being a generous and attentive teacher and mentor and a keen scholar, introduced me to “the archipelago,” which has become the core framework for my dissertation research and continues to influence my thinking – for all of these things I am eternally grateful. In Anna Christine Schultz’s careful reading and constructive feedback I found an engaged “listener” who helped me refine my ideas and my writing.

Apart from my committee, University of Chicago music faculty Travis A. Jackson and Robert L. Kendrick were particularly helpful as to me as I completed my coursework and began shaping my ideas for the dissertation: they shared their capacious knowledge of the field and demonstrated an alertness and rigor in their own scholarship that I and other students continue to hold in high regard. At the University of Maryland at College Park, I thank J. Lawrence Witzleben for being a kind teacher who welcomed me, looked out for me, and supported me in my pursuits in ethnomusicology beyond the academy.

My friends and mentors Laura-Zöe Humphreys and Michelle L. Stefano have been unflagging in their support of my research and my career and have both offered me invaluable resources. L-Z has shared with me her home(s), her friends, and her extensive knowledge about Cuba as we have both moved between Havana, New Orleans, and Chicago. Michelle facilitated my first trip to Havana in 2014 when, knowing I had been *reading* about it but hadn't yet managed a visit, she invited me to join her at a conference. Her enduring enthusiasm for my project (and the tourist sensorium) has bolstered me in times of doubt. Likewise, Gordon and Susan Marino never fail to encourage me with their practical advice and insistence on my capabilities as a scholar. William Buckingham, Devon Borowski, Jack Hughes, and Joseph Maurer have been generous colleagues and welcome friends in the University of Chicago music department.

In Havana, I thank Maribel Pérez Suárez, Alberto “Kiki” Pérez, and Leandro Moré, who have become my Havana family through “street encounters” in the Callejon de Hamel and many hours of percussion lessons (fueled by many *cafés*) on Calle Animas; Jaime Becerro, who answers all my questions and offers his perspective from Lawton; and Othon Yáñez, who asks *me* questions and shares the (sub)aquatic side of Havana on coast of Miramar. In New Orleans I thank especially Meg and Terry Sims, who have and Heather Sher, who have generously shared their homes and their friends with me, easing my process of becoming “local,” (such as it is).

Jaime Sims has patiently witnessed to triumphs and defeats and comings and goings of my graduate life and always made a place for me to come home to. Finally, I am always grateful to my parents, Rock and Ann Rogers, for sharing with me their respect and love for music-as-culture as curious listeners, rather than experts, and most of all for music lessons, which cracked open my access to a “magical” power.

Abstract

New Orleans and Havana, once nodes on the same circum-Caribbean circuit for trade and travel, both profit from their musical reputations in economies that are greatly dependent on tourism. Political and economic changes have altered previous versions of relationships between the two, creating in the twentieth century a kind of disjuncture – a temporal and imagined gap – that alters understandings and experiences of their spatial proximity. At the same time, their intertwined regional histories and contemporary culture are mobilized in parallel contexts of economic need and global tourism markets, suggesting that they may have concerns, challenges, goals, and aspirations in common. As two cities with strong musical voices that circulate widely beyond their geographical, physical locations, they are both prominent and productive examples through which to examine the musical-touristic encounter across national borders but within the same region.

This dissertation takes as its focus the musically-mediated touristic encounter in Havana and New Orleans. It investigates the dynamics of tourism and musical expression and consumption, using an orienting framework of “the archipelago” to draw out the multidimensional, multidirectional, and multivalent possibilities of relations. In this approach, I attempt to de-isolate New Orleans and Havana from each other, contributing to a broader body of scholarship that moves towards a relational understanding of music and its functions in the circum-Caribbean. In the media, literature, historical documents, and ethnography that inform this dissertation, I perceive a kind of re-emergent archipelago of a sonic “repeating island” (Benitez-Rojo 1992), constructed through touristic encounters, often characterized by utopian desires.

Prologue: Archipelagic Encounters

New Orleans and Havana, once nodes on the same circum-Caribbean circuit for trade and travel, both profit from their musical reputations in economies that are greatly dependent on tourism. Political and economic changes have altered previous versions of relationships between the two, creating in the twentieth century a kind of disjuncture – a temporal and imagined gap – that alters understandings and experiences of their spatial proximity. At the same time, their intertwined regional histories and contemporary culture are mobilized in parallel contexts of economic need and global tourism markets, demonstrating the wide array of the concerns, challenges, goals, and aspirations they may have common – not just in the past, but in the present and future. As two cities with strong musical voices that circulate widely beyond their geographical, physical locations, they are both prominent and productive examples through which to examine the musical-touristic encounter across national borders but within the same region: the circum-Caribbean.

Many iterations of musical self-image of both New Orleans and Havana contain at least a trace of the other (Moore 1997; Sublette 2004; Sublette 2008; Dawdy 2008). Engaging with a narrative of American exceptionalism rooted in New Orleans that acknowledges the Caribbean in Jelly Roll Morton's "Spanish Tinge," I follow that narrative to Cuba, sketching a constellation of connections and relations that suggest not only musical "influence" located in the misty past, but a shadow-narrative (or palimpsest, or blueprint) of connections that are – in addition to being historical – contemporary, cosmopolitan, and lived and embodied in the present. In locating connections in the present, I argue that it is possible to foster ethical and mutual recognition and collaboration that may better serve tourists and locals in both cities (and beyond); agents in the exchange – tourists, "travelees" (Pratt 1992), governments, private businesses – have opportunities to forge connections that are meaningful *now*, for example finding solutions to the management of

heritage tourism that ceases to leave out “culture-bearers” as beneficiaries. This dissertation takes as its focus the musically-mediated touristic encounter in Havana and New Orleans. It investigates the dynamics of tourism and musical expression and consumption, using an orienting framework of “the archipelago” to draw out the multidimensional, multidirectional, and multivalent possibilities of relations. In this approach, I attempt to de-isolate New Orleans and Havana from each other, contributing to a broader body of scholarship that moves towards a relational understanding of music and its functions in the circum-Caribbean. In the media, literature, historical documents, and ethnography that inform this dissertation, I perceive a kind of re-emergent archipelago of a sonic “repeating island” (Benitez-Rojo 1992), constructed through touristic encounters, often characterized by utopian desires.

Growing up in the 1990s, I was exposed to a narrative of U.S. American music, popular at least since the appearance of Elvis Presley and the emergence of rock and roll in the 1950s, that emphasized and applauded its purported expansiveness, inclusiveness, resilience, uniqueness, and adaptability – a melting-pot utopia like that represented in documentarian Ken Burns’s 2001 film *Jazz*. In this narrative, (U.S.) American music is both exceptional and unique, but it is also connected to the world, without limits. Even so, the mutual citations between New Orleans and Havana came as a surprise in my later young life. I began to wonder what they gain from each other, and what the relationship means to those who perform them and those who listen – from near and far, from different kinds of distances. From a pop-cultural perspective of 90s World Music and a certain celebration of “diversity” and eclecticism, I became self-conscious about what these Other musics meant to me – and the millions of other tourists who visit the cities with some kind of musical expectation. I want to focus – although not exclusively – on U.S. American tourism, and the ways in which New Orleans and Havana are brought near or distanced in such encounters. I see New

Orleans as the Other within, while Havana remains the Other without – though also sonically familiar.

The connection between the two cities is not “just” historical, geographical, cultural, musical, or material. The connection I attend to in the dissertation is one that is impacted by all of these, but it is contemporary, alive, and ever in-flux. Although I discuss some of the more tangible connections (e.g., musicians and tourists who travel directly between the cities), many “connections” are via parallels in their tourisms, including Northern attraction to the “sun, sea, and sound” “of the tropics” (Rommen and Neely 2014; Cocks 2013); nostalgia for bygone eras; tourism as a solution to economic need; and tropes of resilience and exceptionality in local culture.

Tourism

My investment in tourism as a lens of analysis is threefold: it is ubiquitous, understudied, and appropriate for my positionality as a researcher. In an already-touristed world, many communities turn to heritage tourism in efforts to mitigate the problems of deindustrialization, migration, environmental disaster, or other challenges that lead to economic precarity. Timothy Rommen’s assessment of scholarship on music touristics draws attention to Caribbean musicians who perform sonic emblems of the region remain “unknown, undocumented, and undertheorized” (Rommen and Neely 2014, 1–2). At the same time, studies on music and tourism are limited. Tourism is a mode of encounter that is widely bought and sold, and yet, from an ethnomusicological standpoint, the sounds that accompany it are often dismissed. I have no particular relationship with these places and their inhabitants outside of my own selective interest in “their musics,” which I first encountered at a distance. As a White, college-educated “*extranjera*” (in Havana) or person “from away,” (in New Orleans) I often feel myself as an outsider to these often Black, vernacular, Caribbean or

Afrodiasporic musics, and the tourist “destinations” where they are sounded; at the same time, music has been instrumental in my attraction to and understanding of these places. In a sense unable to overcome my status as a tourist, I instead turn critically towards it as a mode of encounter, questioning its meanings and potentials. I question the relationship between these sonic emblems and those who perform them as well as the ways in which the sounds of these circum-Caribbean cities shape, produce, and *are produced by* tourist experience.

Ethnography

Like other scholars, I was confronted by the disruptions of the Covid-19 pandemic. Having completed the better part of my planned six months of fieldwork in Havana, I moved to New Orleans in November 2019, hoping to return to Cuba in the not-too-distant future. When the pandemic arrived following Mardi Gras in 2020, any in-person meeting with potential interlocutors became off-limits, and I doubted the appropriateness of approaching relative strangers at a time when nearly everyone was struggling in one way or another to manage.

As a result, much of the dissertation was written from a place of solitude: alone in a strange city (made stranger by circumstance), I recalled events and experiences from my own past, feeling at once like a prolonged outsider (because I had not been able to meet people) and a fast-tracked insider (for staying, instead of leaving¹). I went out photographing empty streets and venues and recording relative silence; on the eventual occasions that I ventured out as a participant-observer, rules of sociability were so changed that I was still isolated from others. Though this solitary experience of necessity turned me inwards, I imagine it is consistent with many experiences of

¹ This moralistic take on citizenship is also dangerous and problematic, with the potential to romanticize disaster – a trope in images of not just New Orleans and Havana, but also Louisiana and Cuba.

would-be travelers and researchers over the past two years, and therefore may still contribute to the body of struggling ethnography of the period.

Theory and Themes

This project engages with scholarship in the fields of literary theory, sociology, musicology, ethnomusicology, travel, heritage and museum studies, anthropology, American studies, literature, and cultural studies. It aligns with other music scholarship that identifies and otherwise addresses connections between music and other specific aspects of culture and society (e.g., gastromusicology, music and violence, music and political movements). Embedded in popular culture and everyday life (Boorstin 2012 [1962]; MacCannell 2013 [1976]), tourism is a mode of encounter through which we understand the world. Martin Stokes, remarking that tourism is a “poor term,” nonetheless emphasizes its productivity as one that

condense[s] a knot of problems relating to how in modernity experiences of movement are valorised and aestheticised or demonised and pathologised, how difference is constructed and managed in situations of extreme commodification and cultural reflexivity, and how and under what circumstances communication takes place across the gaps difference establishes. There is a sense, then, in which the term usefully draws attention to its own inadequacies and the problems that cluster round it. (Stokes 1999, 141)

The lively, sometimes elusive, and troublesome nature of tourism prompts me to mobilize a range of scholarly tools to construct a theory of music and tourism characterized by fluidity and adaptability – especially the model of the archipelago.

I was introduced to the idea of “sounding the archipelago” by Jessica Swanston Baker in her graduate seminar of the same name at the University of Chicago in the fall of 2016; based on a syllabus that included texts from authors representing a variety of different disciplines and geographical locations, the seminar challenged us as students to join Professor Baker in teasing out the potentials of the archipelago as a way of unseating continental, land-based, often hegemonic

modes of thought and addressing island and aquatic (musical) spaces and places on other terms that address their particular needs. Since then, it has consistently goaded me to question the limits and meaning of the framework and what it can offer to music studies and other fields. Within the archipelago as it emerges here, significant themes in the dissertation include utopia, agency, erasure and construction, and disaster and resilience. The archipelago has allowed me also to account for both isolation (island-ness) and interconnectivity (fluidity) as well as proliferation, sudden change, and gradual readjustment. The expansive qualities of the archipelago allow for convergent, divergent, and overlapping understandings of encounters at the intersection of music and tourism and with their imbrications of sameness and difference; at the same time, the framework can accommodate connections between New Orleans and Havana (including social, cultural, and material resonances).

Although sources contributing to my archipelagic framework originate outside of the Caribbean, Caribbean scholars are key to its theorization: Benitez-Rojo's "repeating island" in particular remains central, synthesizing as it does discernible patterns and characteristics of Caribbean literature and presenting the archipelago as a dynamo of modernity with its own logics and ways of being. The island "repeats" insofar as it is manifested anew in different iterations across space and time. As such, the archipelago (particularly as described by Edouard Glissant [1997]) has the capacity to disrupt continental systems of knowledge, suggesting its viability as a tool of decolonization. Aware of the danger of misappropriating the model, I use it in an effort to understand the circum-Caribbean musical encounter as something that also takes place within the repeating island, rather than outside of or separate from it; in this, tourism becomes part of island and island-connected networks, culture, and consciousness (as in, e.g., Baker 2016). A focus on resonances and connections makes it possible to "think together" Cuba and the United States and cultivate a more ethical relationship with the Caribbean (Sheller 2003).

Within the aquatic and imaginative space of the musical-touristic archipelago, notions of utopia also echo the desires of tourism. Ephemeral and just-beyond reach, utopia and island-ness remain attached to tourism as something ideal and outside of the everyday. For Sheller, the imperative for Northern scholars to pursue an ethical relationship with the postcolonial Caribbean is a call to address ongoing problems directly linked to colonial histories begun in the “age of discovery.” Thomas More’s *Utopia* (first published in 1516) represents a moment of emergent European modernity, influenced by global travel and encounter, that continues to affect contemporary culture. The concept of utopia itself has become part of that legacy.

Attending to utopias of tourism helps me to theorize the imaginative ways that people *think about, anticipate, and inhabit* the two (musical) cities *as related or similar*. The articulation by “tourists” of different utopian visions serves as evidence that, even in the context of the apparent hegemony of tourism, individual approaches to the practice can be varied and the meanings attributed to it diverse. James Clifford’s (1997) work on different kinds of travel and encounter and publications on certain kinds of “niche” tourism (e.g., Ekins 2013; Rapp 2009; Thurnell-Read 2017) set the stage for an understanding of the musical-touristic encounter as a site of negotiation, recognizing the agencies of participants. Modern tourism bears the traces of (and often perpetuates) colonial and imperial power dynamics, but it is not necessarily limited by them; in making a distinction between “curious” and “incurious” types of utopian constructions, I join scholars including Svetlana Boym (2001), Shannon Dawdy (2016), and Stephen L. Wearing and Carmel Foley (2017) in highlighting the constructive potential of reflection and imagination. Daniel J. Boorstin’s claim that “Man’s incurable desire to go someplace else is a testimony of his incurable optimism and insatiable curiosity,” though vulnerable to critiques of naïveté on the grounds that it obscures less pure motivators, opens tourism to humanistic, even humane examination that has historically been lacking in tourism scholarship (Boorstin 2012 [1962], 78; MacCannell 2011).

Erasure and construction are foundational to tourism as they work to create curated visions of self and other in touristic encounter. The selective attention of tourism promises experiences that are enlightening, pleasurable, rewarding, and fulfilling, often requiring the erasure of elements that may intrude on this fantasy, whether on the part of the tourist (by ignoring) or on the part of local stakeholders (by managing the local tourism climate). Touristic construction produces different Havanas and different New Orleanses, and each has several well-established versions of itself to offer. Though they may be at times prescribed by stereotype, constructions of self and other in tourism contribute to the creative space of what is often cynically understood to be a meaningless (or meaning-poor) encounter.

Shades of erasure and construction emerge in the tropes of disaster and resilience that attend to New Orleans and Havana, particularly in their touristic images. Disasters (in the form of violence, destruction, displacement, erasure, or loss) become touchstones of resilience as locals continue to survive – or, more specifically, continue to *sound*. Continuity of “tradition” – of sound – is celebrated with extra significance when it has been endangered by disaster, but the trope of resilience shares with that of exceptionalism the threat to deny important realities of neglect and suffering. In the following chapters, the ambivalent exceptionalism of disaster and resilience in New Orleans and Havana seems to come up against its limits, prompting revision of their significance.

Pandemic Coda: Ruptures

Writing from the spring of 2022, having witnessed a return of Mardi Gras and the current, difficult situation in Havana, I wonder if “rupture” is a useful addition: traumatic (in many ways “disastrous”) events that define the images of the cities – like Hurricane Katrina and the Cuban Revolution – become iconic not of one defining event, but a bigger picture of semi-perpetual disaster, both

bolstering narratives of “resilience” and pushing them to their limits. I recently misunderstood a friend in Havana when he said “antes,” without specifying before *when*. Before the pandemic, I had always understood the unspecified “antes” as referring to the period before the Revolution, which is indeed what he meant. Other conversations had epochally reoriented themselves in such a way that I had assumed he meant before the pandemic. On the same trip, an acquaintance told me that things were especially difficult after the protests in July of 2021. “Antes?” I asked, confused. “Después,” she corrected me: subsequent government crackdowns had made things even more oppressive amid an already-dire economic and supply situation. The July protests have become their own mark of history – this one experienced amid the global noise of the Covid pandemic, and “isolated” from the world. A friend who has worked in Havana over the past fifteen years agreed that it was difficult to understand the situation there from a distance. That she would also feel this way suggested to me the real effects of that isolation. The wide-reaching, if varied rupture and disruption wrought by the pandemic has also helped me hold “New Orleans” and “Havana” in mind as nodes in the archipelago: already meditating on nostalgia for its role in touristic attraction, I noticed how “New Orleans,” overflowing with sound at times like Mardi Gras or second-lines became something different as I inhabited it “now.” (Sometime during the pandemic, I bought a postcard to keep on my desktop corkboard, to remind me of the city’s pre-pandemic image [figure P.1]).

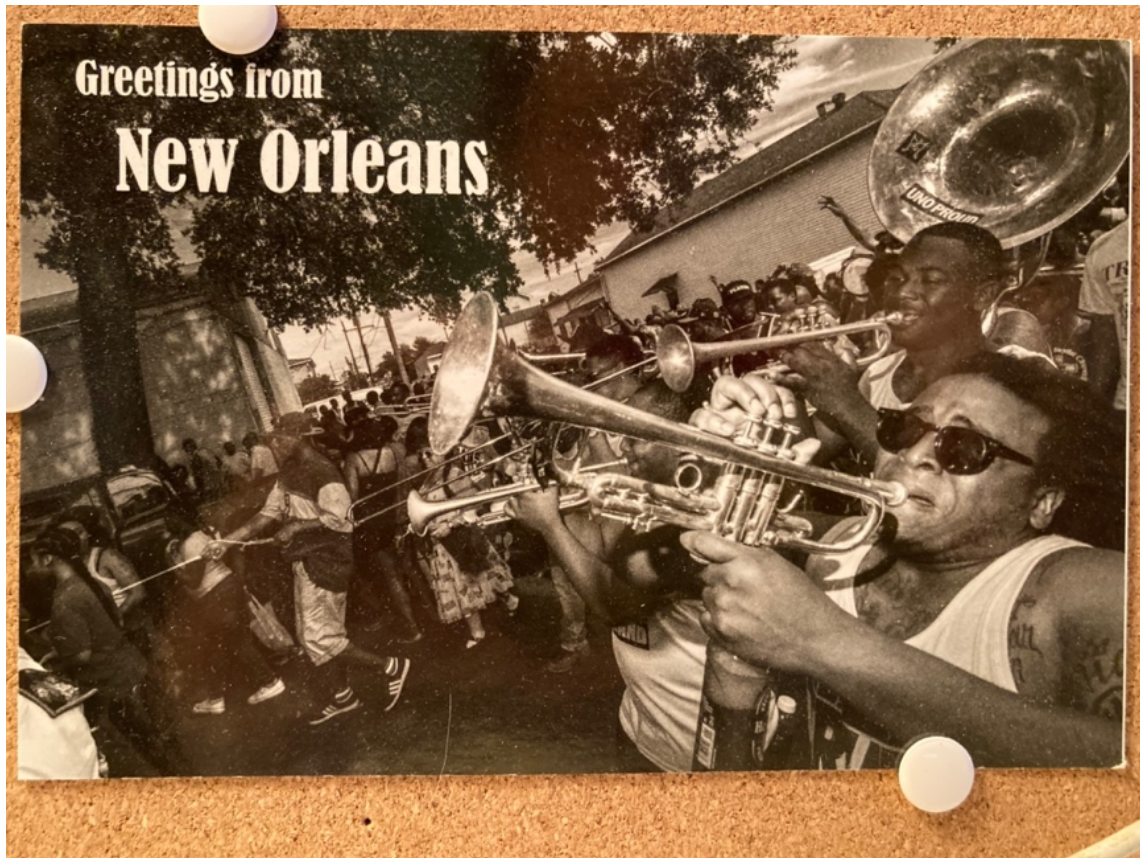


Figure P.1: Postcard from the past.

The arrangement of the archipelago had shifted: New Orleans and Havana were not only silent, but cut off from one another, both in the usual way and with the renewed finality of closed borders. I reflected on the overarching theme of constant change that colored my travels to Cuba, even before my travel hiatus: changes in U.S. policy, changes in the local economy, changes in availability of goods . . . Putting “my” scholarly predicament into global context, I found an ironic sense of validation in that the pandemic exposed the unexceptional nature of Havana and New Orleans, a theme that had been simmering along but hadn’t yet boiled over into anything I felt compelled to write about. Already convinced by the contributors to *Remaking New Orleans* (2019), I found myself in a position to observe in real time how the tropes of exceptionalism and resilience would play out in the current crisis. The archipelago itself does not insist on resilience, though it is, in a sense, a

mode of survival: rather, it accounts for erasure and construction without making proclamations about the authenticity of either.

Chapters

The themes outlined here run through each of the chapters, asserting themselves in different contexts. Chapter 1 theorizes musical tourism and its significance, situating New Orleans and Havana as musical destinations with certain features in common. Chapter 2 enters into the ethnographic present brought into historical context, examining The Festival as a mode of touristic encounter. The physical environment of the cities themselves – their districts, streets, and venues – is the focus of Chapter 3: how it is imbued with meaning as it is inhabited together by locals and tourists. Chapter 4 turns to mediated encounters, attending to a range of media and their affordances and impacts. Chapter 5 takes a closer look at a group of musicians who enter into the musical-touristic encounter in different ways, suggesting the proliferative qualities of the archipelago. Before my conclusion, I pause for an excursus on Carnival, which allows me both to address an iconic tourist event (which otherwise remains in the background) and to foreground an uncertain ethnographic moment. In my view, the awkwardness of the inclusion itself does some justice to the awkwardness of writing across this particular time. English translations are my own. Throughout, I occasionally use local terms to refer to local instruments, modes of sociability, and identities. Often accompanied by explanatory notes, these serve as both “unmediated” descriptors of the local and as reminders of my own touristic distance from it as I self-consciously enact the touristic trope of performing a certain kind of (often inadequate) understanding of the local through (sometimes naive) imitation of it.

Lately, much of the “resonance” and direct interchange between New Orleans and Havana has been altered yet again. The Trump administration’s attempts at re-isolation of Cuba predated the suspensions of the Covid pandemic; reports of sonic attacks on American government personnel in Havana contributed a distinct sense of regression in relations. On the “other side” of the pandemic, New Orleans has returned to a kind of normalcy with the rest of the United States (along with its normal rates of tourism), while Cuba suffers the enduring obstacles to everyday life that are compounded by the resulting lack of tourism. Russia, the origin of the recent majority of the few tourists who do visit the island, is now increasingly isolated itself, further diminishing Havana’s tourist traffic. Change itself seems a constant in the palimpsest of the archipelago. Writing across the changes of these years has brought out the utility of the model in its anti-rigidity, allowing me to account for an ethnographic moment that has felt at times fractured – disjointed and broken – and at times like quicksand – slow and paralyzing. Whatever changes to the relationship between the cities (and their inhabitants and visitors) may happen in the future, the relationality afforded by the archipelago can continue to bring connections in the circum-Caribbean into critical focus, freeing them from singular, static, abstract, or rigid models that limit their visibility expanding and deepening our understanding of musical encounters.

1. Theorizing Musical Tourism

How would you like to spend a weekend in Havana

How would you like to see the Caribbean shore?

Come on and run away over Sunday

To where the view and the music is tropical,

You'll hurry back to your office on Monday –

But you won't be the same any more . . .

—Josephine Baker, “Weekend in Havana”

As performed by Josephine Baker, herself a complex icon of cosmopolitanism, Blackness, femininity, and performative self-awareness in the early twentieth century, the promises of sensual and exotic delights and their transformative powers present a bewildering array of touristic tropes about Havana, as well as its musical relationship to the United States. The sounds of music facilitate a temporary escape into a world that is different, but not alienating. The phrasing emphasizes the words in bold with dramatic pauses, allowing the listener to relish an image; references to ephemerality and transformation make the destination seem magical, as well as musical; the samba rhythm betrays the origins of the song in the 1941 Hollywood film of the same name, performed by Carmen Miranda (the Portuguese-born icon of Brazilian music of the period).

Beyond such explicitly touristic imagery (and conflation implicated therein), sonic mediations work throughout the musical-touristic encounter, entering travelers' ears before, during, and after their physical trips. They shape expectations and become subject to them; they are domesticated, adapted, and re-exported as indigenous. The musics of New Orleans and Havana are often framed

as mixed and creolized, agile and proliferating – open and yet iconic. Music’s outsized role in the popular (touristic) imagination requires “locals” who engage with tourists to find their relationship with this iconicity, playing within the bounds or on the margins or peripheries (or outer stratosphere) of what those mediations and expectations dictate.

To set the stage for close consideration of the encounters at the center of each of the following chapters, I begin by outlining a theory of musical tourism informed by and formulated for application to New Orleans and Havana. This theory is informed by sources in the fields of American studies, anthropology, cultural studies, ethnomusicology, geography, history, literature, literary theory, museum and heritage studies, musicology, sociology, and travel studies. Using the archipelago as a basic orienting framework, I emphasize the productive potential of the musical-touristic encounter and tourist agency and argue for tourism’s importance as “site” of encounter.

Encounters with Musical Difference

Music and tourism have arguably been linked since first encounters with musical difference.¹ Encounters between strangers are mediated by “local” sounds, creating a sonic identification between sound and place. Many early musical encounters are only documented in surviving colonial manuscripts, making outsider observation one of the few frames we have to understand “local” musics, particularly in the Americas. The subjecting of local musics to the tourist ear and the actions and reactions of musicians and tourists to (musically) manage encounter are the central theme in my theorization of musical tourism.

¹ I use the word “encounter” throughout for its austerity, highlighting the possibilities of how it can be filled with meaning by those participating.

Locals and Tourists

I begin with the theoretical fuzziness of the terms “local” and “tourist.” These co-constitutive categories are ideal, rather than empirical ones: they contain within them other, further elaborated refinements of who lives or belongs “there” and what being “there” means. Traditionally, the local is the “host,” or the fixed party in the encounter, while the tourist is the “visitor,” or the mobile, transitory entity. The local offers or produces luxury, exceptionality, or authenticity to be consumed by the tourist, often understood to be a kind of empty vessel to be (ful)filled through this consumption. Versions of this idealized (and transactional) encounter are played out in reality, but they are also characterized by ambiguities and ambivalence.² The agencies of parties involved introduce possibilities of modifications of or diversions from the purely extractive model.

Encounter

Throughout this dissertation, I maintain as my focus the musical encounter that takes place in touristic contexts. My focus on encounter, rather than one group or another, allows me to keep music (as the medium) at the center of my investigation. I see this as following James Clifford’s suggestion that “we may find it useful to think of the ‘field’ as a habitus rather than a place, a cluster of *embodied* dispositions and practices” (Clifford 1997, 69).³ This approach also contributes to ongoing efforts in tourism studies like the one articulated by communications and tourism scholar André Jansson, which argues “for a more-than-visual tourism studies” that accounts for the “longing to experience different kinds of bodily and/or spiritual pleasure” (Waitt and Duffy 2010, 457).

² See, for example, Chronis on tourism imaginaries, which are “seen as pliant certainties, that is, although they confer a powerful certainty as to what a tourism destination is, they are couched at the same time in pliant – even conflicting – narrative articulations” (Chronis 2012, 1805).

³ Another model can be found in Yano, who considers the meaning ascribed to the ukulele in Japan, using agential encounters with the instrument as a way to understand (musical) notions of Hawaii as paradise. “By analyzing multiple dimensions involved in the creation of that ‘plucked paradise,’ I bring to bear the tensions, conflicts, and creative forces that shape the interaction” (Yano 2015, 318).

Gordon Waitt and Michelle Duffy, in their turn towards listening in tourism, mobilize the affordances of the diversity of “bodies” themselves, freeing them from physical constraints: following Deleuze, they suggest that “rather than conceptualizing bodies as raw material, pre-social or fixed *containers* for biology, bodies can be thought of as an affective assemblage of sounds, that is, how music is central to the fleshy, emotional, material and tactile experience of self and place” (ibid., 461). The capacity of sound (or bodies of sound) to spill over into the realm of “fleshy, emotional, material and tactile” makes it at once intimate and open, personal and public. Within this mutable experience, “communities” themselves (“tourist,” “local”) may become compromised or intertwined, but the encounter is continually sounded anew, iterating and reiterating these relationships.

Difference

The specific kind of musical encounter that takes place within touristic contexts is one characterized by the largest overarching category of touristic desire: that for difference. The tourist ear, then, may be summarized as an “outside” ear attuned to musical difference. In many ways, this ear is resonant with ethnomusicology, with its early origins in comparison.⁴ In both cases, sound *represents* and *indicates* difference, though what that difference means may remain complicated or obscure, or even – particularly in the case of the tourist – unexamined. This basic link to difference is well-established in tourist studies (MacCannell 2013 [1976]; Urry 1990).⁵ In ethnomusicology, it has been debated (Merriam 1964; Witzleben 1997) but retains in the very name of the discipline a qualification, making

⁴ Other traits and tendencies that tourism and ethnomusicology have in common include a kind of universality (MacCannell 2013 [1976], 45 and 83; Witzleben 1997, 221) and a desire for breadth or omnivorousness (MacCannell 7; Witzleben, 226).

⁵ According to Dean MacCannell, “differentiation is the origin of alternatives and the feeling of freedom in modern society. It is also the primary ground of the contradiction, conflict, violence, fragmentation, discontinuity and alienation that are such evident features of modern life” (MacCannell 2013 [1962], 11). Here we find the allure and frustrations of encounters with difference: a way out of ourselves, but also potentially into confrontation with others.

it *different* from musicology. Although often loathed and dismissed as bumbling naïfs or dilettantes, tourists travel to be elsewhere, outside of their daily routines, often with preconceived notions and shallow expectations but also with genuine curiosity and interest in the places they visit.⁶

Ethnomusicologists, though “experts” who travel “seriously,” have similar habits of mobility and patterns of seeking, as well as their own detractors. Daniel J. Boorstin’s account (quoted by MacCannell) of the difference between travelers and tourists serves just as well if we replace “traveler” with “ethnographer”:

The [ethnographer] was working at something; the tourist was a pleasure-seeker. The [ethnographer] was active; he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure, of experience. The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him. He goes ‘sight-seeing’... He expects everything to be done to him and for him. (MacCannell 2013 [1976], 104)⁷

These potentially-irrelevant distinctions aside, ethnomusicologists, like true tourists, have largely avoided those *other* tourists (Clifford 1997; Cooley 2005, Camal 2019), leaving work on music and tourism in the field understudied until the 1990s.⁸

Similarity/ Universality

With this fascination with difference also comes an interest in similarities, as absolute difference is unintelligible, both to the tourist and to the scholar. Similarities, real or perceived, allow the tourist and the scholar to attempt to bridge the gap of difference to gain a kind of understanding or connection. The perceived universality of music – whether claimed touristically through embodied experience of other musics (in the pop music of Warren and Gordon) or assessed critically by

⁶ MacCannell addresses some of these edifying or therapeutic practices, claiming that for tourist attractions that are sites of trauma, “sightseeing, rather than suppressing these things from consciousness, brings them into our consciousness, ‘as if we might assimilate them’” (MacCannell 2013 [1962], xxxi–xxxii).

⁷ Clifford goes so far as to identify the elimination of travel from the image of the ethnographer, suggesting that the travel itself ruins the mystique of the Field: “The discourse of ethnography (‘being there’) is separated from that of travel (‘getting there’),” and yet, “fieldwork is less a matter of localized dwelling and more of a series of travel encounters,” if not strictly *tourist* encounters (Clifford 1997, 23, 2).

⁸ “An anthropologist may feel it necessary to clear his or her field, at least conceptually, of tourists, missionaries, or government troops. Going out into a cleared place of work presupposes specific practices of displacement and focused, disciplined attention” (Clifford 1997, 53). All the same, “fieldwork is less a matter of localized dwelling and more of a series of travel encounters,” if not *tourist* encounters (ibid., 2).

ethnomusicologists (in the theoretical excursions of Bruno Nettl [2013] and others) – simultaneously provides a familiar framework (“music”) and hints at the possibility of transcendence of one’s own understanding and experience through engagement with “different” music.⁹

*Globalization*¹⁰

In addition to the apparent contradictions raised by tourists and ethnographers, contemporary globalization contributes to a kind of cosmopolitanism that connects locals and tourists and loosens their identities as such. Clifford offers a helpfully succinct admonition that

the people studied by anthropologists [“locals”] have seldom been homebodies. Some of them, at least, have been travelers: workers, pilgrims, explorers, religious converts, or other traditional ‘long-distance specialists’ (Helms, 1988). In the history of twentieth-century anthropology, ‘informants’ first appear as natives; they emerge as travelers. In fact, as I will suggest, they are specific mixtures of the two. (Clifford 1997, 2)

Such mixtures proliferate, even, according to Dean MacCannell, as a result of the touristic encounter itself: “When tradition, nature and other societies, even ‘primitive’ societies, are transformed into tourist attractions, they join with modern social attractions in a new unity, or a new universal solidarity, that includes the tourist” (MacCannell 2013 [1976], 83).

⁹ To turn to a temporal dimension: running away for a Sunday and returning to the office on Monday conveys a frenzied, perhaps intense but likely little-understood encounter with difference, epitomizing the frivolity of the tourist experience, while the requirement for ethnomusicologists to spend substantial time in the field changes the experience of (and investment in) being “there.”

¹⁰ Two arguments against “the end of the touristic”: 1) “On the side of the new corporate subject, in a world that is rigid and homogenous, leaving home is the only way to mark it as distinct from other places; 2) movement of non-tourists: “does this mean that the majority of the world’s people do not stop and take notice of interesting objects and events, or attempt to understand these things and share their understanding with others? Not at all” (MacCannell 2013 [1962], 200).

Historical Trajectories of Tourism

Before proceeding to more detailed discussion of music's role in the touristic encounter, here I will step back to outline some historical trends in tourism as outlined by other scholars. This literature helps me to situate musical tourism, specifically in New Orleans and Havana, within a broader context, meanwhile prompting me to think through possible meanings of/behind tourism. The range for historical context begins in the late nineteenth century, what might be considered a kind of first wave of industrialization in which travel and entertainment, along with other aspects of life, underwent rapid and substantial change. For example, Robert W. Rydell (1987) and others (e.g. Boorstin 2012 [1962], Fauser 2005) describe how the international expositions of the late nineteenth century created new settings for encounter and modes of viewing that contributed to a kind of virtual tourism through facsimile. Ivan Light (1974), Catherine Cocks (2001), and Chad Heap (2008) address a turn towards the urban in touristic tendencies of the early twentieth century. Modern tourism bears the marks of these developments – in a kind of washing-over succession in which meanings are subtracted, added, and remixed – characterized by both enchantment with unreality (pure spectacle) and the desire to escape it.

MacCannell's seminal publication on tourism in 1976 proclaimed a new era, one of alienation in which the tourist had become “nomadic, placeless, a kind of subjectivity without spirit, a ‘dead subject’” (MacCannell 2013 [1976], xviii).¹¹ John Urry's (1990) “tourist gaze” took another critical look at the field, attempting a unified theory of tourism and enjoying a period of great utility, before coming under more recent critique prompted by its privileging of the sense of sight as the primary vehicle for tourist experience. I find this a productive move, particularly for reasons of

¹¹ Though not explicitly focused on tourism, Boorstin's 1962 monograph *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* similarly identifies a cultural malaise and restlessness in the United States (and the West) that he linked to the centrality of tourism in modern life in the mid-twentieth century.

embodiment and the perceived immediacy of *musical* experience suggesting that it is at least just as worthy of study as visual “attractions.” Even for those who are not musically inclined, music can *pervade* a touristic environment: in addition to being intangible, it can be overheard, potentially contributing to the overall sense of a place.¹²

After such reflections on tourism even within the academy, twenty-first century tourists face a renewed challenge as difference keeps changing shape: physical distance certainly does not mean what it used to in a hyperconnected, hypermediated world. Rather than focusing on stunning natural wonders as in the nineteenth century or seeking escape in a faraway “placeless place” (Sheller 2003, 122), twenty-first century tourists are likely to seek to hear, feel, navigate (inhabit), and taste their travel. Mimi Sheller gestures towards this model as she theorizes the consumption of the Caribbean in ways that go far beyond mere gazing. The rise of the importance of “experiences” (like those provided by Airbnb) rather than “sights” signals a shift in how travel and tourism are understood by all parties involved.¹³ In addition, cultural and heritage tourism has emerged as a solution to postindustrial (American) or “developing” (Cuban) economies, in tandem with the appetite for “experience” over gazing. I will return to these themes towards the end of this chapter where I sketch a taxonomy of tourisms to help me account for different kinds of encounters in New Orleans and Havana.

¹² Nineteenth-century accounts of travel in Venice, Italy, for example (including Richard Wagner’s), incorporate the musical sounds carried by gondolas into the sound – and identity – of the city itself (Barker 2008; Flagg 1853; Robinson and Anderson 2002).

¹³ See, for example, Pine and Gilmore (2011).

State of the Field: Music and Tourism

Ethnomusicology

Even as some scholars of tourism make compelling arguments that it is central and even constitutive of modern, “global” society, music and tourism remain relatively understudied. Apropos of Timothy Rommen’s assessment of scholarship on music tourism that Caribbean musicians who perform sonic emblems of the region remain “unknown, undocumented, and undertheorized” (Rommen, 2014, 1–2), I have been prompted to question the relationship between these sonic emblems and those who perform them as well as the ways that they shape, produce, and *are produced by* the touristic encounter. Serious and sustained engagement with the relationship between music and tourism has been largely neglected in ethnomusicology, and likewise music has been neglected by scholars of tourism (Rommen 2014, 2–4). Rommen explains the paucity of scholarship on music and tourism by identifying a tendency in tourism studies to focus on other aspects of tourism (demographics, sustainability) and the pattern in music studies of “readily acknowledg[ing] tourism while simultaneously resisting a focus on its import for and relationship to music” (ibid.). This latter stance in particular risks overlooking the agency of both the musician and the tourist as they confront each other in settings that are arguably the most common sites for “intercultural” encounter, however flawed that encounter might be.

Scattered articles by ethnomusicologists (e.g., Lau 1998; Rees 1998) address tourism explicitly, but without the focus on affect and agency (both individual and collective) demonstrated by Mason (2004), Sarkissian (1998), Baker (2016), and the contributors to a special 1999 issue of *The World of Music* on tourism (Vicki L. Brennan, Judith R. Cohen, Timothy J. Cooley, Mark F. DeWitt Martin Stokes, and Jeff Todd Titon). Scholars of World Music (e.g., Frith 2000; Haynes 2005; Keightley 2011) have referred to the phenomenon in terms of virtual tourism, working to inspire

travel, mediate the experience of being “there,” and serve as aural souvenir. Tourism is also discussed to some extent in other work, often as part of a monograph and therefore as part of a broader discussion about genre, race, or nation (e.g., Baker 2011; Bilby 2010; Cooley 2005; Feldman 2006; Hagedorn 2001; and Moore 1997). Two more recent edited volumes, *Sun, Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the Circum-Caribbean* (Rommen and Neely 2014) and *Sounds of Vacation: Political Economies of Caribbean Tourism* (Guilbault and Rommen 2019) make more substantial contributions to a field of study that takes the touristic musical encounter as its focus. *Sun, Sea, and Sound* puts forth the notion of “music touristics,” which “focuses... directly on the dynamics attendant to music prepared for the purpose of performance or sale within tourist networks and, by extension, on the musicians, audiences, communities, and media involved in these networks” (Rommen and Neely 2014, 7). The topics of the assembled contributions include the place of “native” music (Neely), media (Sheller), “sonic tourism” or virtual tourism through sound (Largey), intra-Caribbean professional musical touring (Smith), festivals (Camal, Meadows), sex (Lamen) and spirituality (Hagedorn),¹⁴ representing a number of productive avenues of inquiry. *Sounds of Vacation* addresses the ideal locus of Caribbean musical tourism in the form of the all-inclusive resort, attending to strategies of “sound management” and representation in the twenty-first century. (Notably, these volumes are not fragmented by the traditional linguistic divisions in Caribbean scholarship.)

Archipelagoes of Sonic Tourism

An archipelagic framework helps me to theorize musical-touristic encounters in New Orleans and Havana in several ways. Most broadly, the theoretical archipelago of music touristics can accommodate both cities, and as more than just circum-Caribbean “neighbors”: as related places.

¹⁴ Several of these chapters link to places that lie physically outside of the Caribbean as traditionally defined but within its sonic reach, particularly New York (Smith) and New Orleans (Meadows).

The stakes of their relation are the ways that the two locations (including their residents, their visitors, their pasts, presents, and futures) endure the real impacts of rhetorical, intellectual, and political separation. This framing takes inspiration from and enters into conversation with contemporary multi- and interdisciplinary efforts to revise approaches to “disparate” or otherwise fractured places – and even time.¹⁵ Although the archipelago has the potential for many and varied applications, it emerges as eminently suited to the Caribbean region.

Antonio Benitez-Rojo’s seminal model of the Caribbean, based in archipelagic literature (and other expression), coalesces in “la isla que se repite (the repeating island)” (Benitez-Rojo 1992).¹⁶ His characterization of this island – the Caribbean – is powerfully fluid, proliferating, and kinetic. At times it can also seem mysterious or opaque, but no less real. Taking a cue from Chaos, he notes that he wants to give the word “repeat”

“almost a paradoxical sense [...] where every repetition is a practice that necessarily entails a difference and a step toward nothingness [...]; however, in the midst of this irreversible change, Nature can produce a figure as complex, as highly organized, and as intense as the one that the human eye catches when it sees a quivering hummingbird drinking from a flower.” (Benitez-Rojo, 3)

The end of this chaotic repetition “is not to find results, but processes, dynamics, and rhythms that show themselves within the marginal, the regional, the incoherent, the heterogeneous, or, if you like, the unpredictable that coexists with us in our everyday world” (ibid.). The island that repeats itself is active, “unfolding and bifurcating until it reaches all the seas and lands of the earth, while at the same time it inspires multidisciplinary maps of unexpected designs” (ibid.). The perpetual dynamism that emerges in this description suggests the repeating island as a theoretical tool that can accommodate the more philosophical, imaginative aspects of bringing New Orleans and Havana

¹⁵ *Contemporary Archipelagic Thinking: Towards New Comparative Methodologies and Disciplinary Formations*, for example, “takes as its point of departure a more flexible definition of the archipelago, exploring it as a lens that may allow us to engage in interdisciplinary conversations about the ways in which space and time are resignified” (Stephens and Martínez-San Miguel 2020, 3).

¹⁶ I privilege the Spanish to highlight the agential implications of an island repeating itself, rather than simply – perhaps passively – repeating.

into relation, both in a scholarly sense and in a touristic one: the archipelago affords not only reorientation of the scholarly ear, but resonance with the insatiable touristic desire for renewal and expansion of experience.

In another iteration of the archipelago, Brian Russell Roberts and Michelle Ann Stephens's notion of an "archipelagic American Studies" helps me to conceptualize a relationship between New Orleans and Havana that is historical (through shared and entangled histories of colonialism, slavery, and imperialism, as well as a briefer period of connectivity through recreational travel), cultural (through hemispheric and regional "creolizations"), and theoretical (as represented by Benitez-Rojo) (Roberts and Stephens 2017). In proposing an expansion of American Studies' domain to include places "which have exceeded U.S. Americanism and have been affiliated with and indeed constitutive of ... notions of the Americas since at least 1492," they effectively open the field to a more integrated mode of inquiry that can better attend to real relationships, like the ones between Cuba and the United States that are often characterized as "forgotten" even if traces of them remain (ibid., 1-2). The archipelago unseats continental myopia, decentering the metropole and bringing "margins" into focus.¹⁷

I conceptualize the touristic encounters that take place in New Orleans and Havana (and beyond their borders, aided by music) to be part of their broader archipelagic relationship, as proximate and similar, yet dissimilar kinds of places: capital / backwater; Third World / First World; communist / capitalist. Through different kaleidoscopic framings, New Orleans and Havana sometimes appear and sound as refractions of sameness, though sometimes the friction of difference seems to sever connection. In addition to their musical resonances and regional

¹⁷ An aquatic turn is also foregrounded in recent work on the Indian Ocean, e.g., in Byl and Sykes 2020. In her own archipelagic work, Baker (2020) brings the "margins" of ("small") islands into focus. Though not explicitly archipelagic as a whole, Cocks (2013) sketches a kind of archipelago of White tourism in the Americas while Skwiot (2010) effectively incorporates Cuba and Hawai'i into an archipelagic United States, both demonstrating the utility of similar models of comparison.

refractions, similar problems (a collapsing economy) and similar solutions (the promotion of cultural tourism) are real and immediate concerns for their inhabitants in the present.

The archipelago not only allows me to “think together” these similar/different *places* (Sheller 2003, 2), but also their sounds and the way they are understood. The tourist imaginary that constructs “New Orleans” and “Havana” (or, “New Orleans and Havana”) forms its own archipelagic relationships with those places, as well as other “destinations.” What I earlier characterized as an unmoored bricolage in a description of prototypical modern tourism becomes more than a collection of “objects” or impressions emptied of meaning: it becomes alive in new configurations of connections.

Utopia(s)

I want to note the significance of an additional theoretical space that appears throughout the dissertation as a feature of the musical-touristic archipelago. “Utopia,” in its essence an imagined island that is home to an ideal society, becomes part of the touristic encounter in its abstraction and its idealism. I make a distinction between different kinds of utopianism – namely “curious” and “incurious” – in an effort to describe differing levels of agential engagement or interest on the part of tourists. Theoretically, encounters with difference can “enlarge our experience,” but, as Boorstin observed sixty years ago, “people go to see what they already know is there” (Boorstin 2012 [1962], 116).¹⁸ In terms of utopia, this incurious approach often means that unexamined narratives of tourism that exoticize or romanticize local culture are confirmed, rather than complicated, in the encounter. Curious utopianisms are more active, seeking out knowledge, experiences, and even

¹⁸ This tracks with Svetlana Boym’s claim of a shift in outlook in “modern” societies around the 1960s, which left behind “futuristic utopia” and turned towards nostalgia (Boym 2001, xiv).

solutions to real-world problems. Cuban scholar Luís Suárez Salazar (citing Franz Hinkelammert) defines his use of “utopia” in a way that insists on its agential qualities,

como una crítica sistemática del pasado-presente a partir de la perenne esperanza de que, en el porvenir, siempre será necesario edificar una sociedad y un mundo mejor que el que hasta ese momento se haya conocido (as a systematic critique of the past-present [stemming] from the perennial hope that, in the future, it will always be necessary to build a better society and world than that which has been known until that moment. (Suárez Salazar 2018, 150)

In either of these iterations (or of any yet-unidentified), the convergence of utopia and the archipelago opens the possibility for utopian archipelagoes, or archipelagic utopias: decentered, imaginative and future-oriented relations that include and interact (resound) with the touristic encounter.

Music as Virtual Travel/Encounter

The musical encounter itself can take place in a variety of settings: for example, through physical encounter with musical performers; a schizophonic encounter with sounds from elsewhere played on personal audio devices; a soundtrack that fills out the image of a place with non-visual information; an imagined encounter aided by literary descriptions of “sweet” or “savage” sounds.¹⁹ I have tried to account for some variety of these in the dissertation (physical encounters in Chapters 2 and 3, mediated and imaginative encounters in Chapter 4), but for the purposes of setting up a general theory of musical tourism I will begin here with the virtual tourism of listening-without-being-there, since this reduces the encounter to its barest minimum: a musical recording and an audience.

¹⁹ Guilbault and Rommen describe these latter forms in terms of a “mediation perspective” (Guilbault and Rommen 2019, 24).

Hearing and Listening

Pre-travel auditions may happen intentionally (listening) or by accident (hearing).²⁰ Decontextualized sound can work in subtle ways, building through different iterations into a sonic image of a place (e.g., the associations of brass band music with New Orleans, or *reggaetón* with Havana). In other cases, such sounds are the subject of inquiry and curiosity: the “tourist” does not “expect everything to be done to him and for him,” but wants to find out more. In his prologue to Jocelyne Guilbault and Timothy Rommen’s edited volume on music at all-inclusive Caribbean resorts, Steven Feld makes an explicit reference to recordings as virtual travel, and uses recordings to make his way back to the question of complexities of the region:

No, I’ve never set foot in the Caribbean, but I occasionally visit via the hundred or so Caribbean LPs, cassettes, and CDs in my music collection.... I’m thinking about the construction of Caribbean “music” and the exclusion of noises and silences, the presentation of “authentic” hybrid creole cultures and the representation of tourism. Then I ask, having just read this book, why and how do these widely circulated mediations erase or mute the very world historical complexities these essays reveal to be so poignant? (Feld 2019, 5)

Feld is in fact an ethnomusicologist, a “traveler” rather than a “tourist” in Boorstin’s sense, but this represents an approach to mediated music that is less distracted and more focused – one that may contribute to a directed kind of musical tourism that is oriented towards knowledge and understanding.

Scripts

Sounds of places circulate beyond their physical location, but the means and modes by which they do so have been inconsistent and varied. Guilbault and Rommen trace this extraction or abstraction to the early accounts of Caribbean music written by colonial elites and missionaries, identifying them as early tools of tourism in that later developments, including the growth of tourism in twentieth

²⁰ I remember making a request to my father, as he prepared for a trip to Denmark, to bring me a recording so I could hear what Denmark sounded like (listening); on the other hand, my sonic image of Cuba was established before I have any recollection of it taking shape, through its ubiquity in popular music and culture (hearing).

century were “predicated on the expectations and imaginaries that such written representations (and later recordings and radio broadcasts) conjured among potential vacationers” (Guilbault and Rommen 2019, 25). In this case, the limitations of the documentation early musical encounters drive home the point that even later representations (recordings and radio broadcasts, assumed to be more immediate/accurate/authentic representations) continue to be 1) limited in their own ways and 2) already beholden to earlier scripts.

Piling onto these scripts are circulating musics that accrue their own meanings outside of their original contexts. Sheller claims that the globalization of various genres of Caribbean music facilitates the touristic encounter, enabling the tourist or the virtual visitor “to slide more easily into the local context, where the sounds instantly produce a sense of holiday fun, relaxation, and dance. Such fluid musical mixtures, with their ‘infectious rhythms’, have become symbolic of ‘global culture’ and the newly proclaimed porosity and permeability of cultures throughout the world” (Sheller 2003, 180). This decontextualization of recorded musics frees them of their local significance and obligation, repurposing them for touristic enjoyment (rather than “serious study” or understanding): in a globalized, postmodern world, music becomes re-universalized through commodification.²¹ The “tourist,” as the ultimate outsider, desires some connection to the “local” of his or her destination but has relatively few tools with which to accomplish this. As alluded to by Simon Frith (2000) and Sheller (2003), music may serve as a catalyst for this sense of connection, even if the tourist does not conceive of it explicitly as such.

²¹ Jerome Camal points out that “The ‘listening ear’ shaped by colonialism and exoticism recasts roots reggae, steelpan, calypso, or zouk (all musical styles that have, at some point, carried an anticolonialist or anti-imperialist message) as evidence of inherent warmth, happiness, and laid-back personalities of Caribbean people” (Camal 2019, 29).

World Music

The desire for connection (even if it is realized through commodified sound) is evident, particularly when people express the conviction that music is more versatile and/or more powerful than other kinds of communication and can be employed to mediate mutual “intercultural” understanding.

Whether this is the case or not, the belief that it is powerful and may make some feel more comfortable engaging musically with “foreign” cultures than they would in other ways. World Music, as a recording category, offers a touchstone in the development of modern cultural tourism in providing a link to a more “serious” investment in different musics that values knowledge. The value system of World Music listenership also carries with it a kind of obligation of understanding: while earlier “world musics” circulated mostly on tourist recordings (such as those described by Keightley, as well as Sheller [2014], in addition to souvenirs purchased at the destination), the commercial category of World Music that emerged in the late 1980s was, according to many scholars of world music, bound up with anxieties about authenticity. (Again, the need to escape – to go nowhere – became the need to go *somewhere*.)

One of the more productive theoretical contributions of ethnomusicologists to the field of musical tourism is the scholarship that links world music to virtual travel. In his chapter on “The Discourse of World Music,” Simon Frith identifies the (perhaps somewhat disingenuous) distinction between tourist music and world music, noting that world music “depended from the start on a displayed expertise” (Frith 2007, 307). As evidence for this, he cites the extensive information included in world music recordings, from genealogies of the music to biographies of artists. “Proper appreciation of world music meant, it seemed, ethnomusicological knowledge rather than tourist memories” (ibid.). This ostensible rejection of the touristic notwithstanding, Frith detects a certain kind of modern Western/tourist attitude in the rejection of “Western pop artifice and decadence” in favor of the “authentic,” which he says in itself becomes the exotic:

This move is familiar enough from the long European Romantic celebration of the native (the peasant and the African) as more real (because more natural) than the civilized Westerner. The implication is that world musicians can now give us those direct, innocent rock and roll pleasures that Western musicians are too jaded, too corrupt to provide. World music thus remains a form of tourism (as *World Music: The Rough Guide* makes clear), just as “world travelers” are still tourists, even if they use local transport and stay in local inns rather than booking package tours and rooms in the national Hilton. (ibid.)

Here knowledge and naïveté collide: a demand for “serious” ethnomusicological knowledge gives way to fantasy and romanticization in idealizing “direct and innocent pleasures.”

The World Music Listener approach aligns with a certain kind of traveler to both New Orleans and Havana. I describe several ideal tourist types later in this chapter, but the World Music Listener in particular is often: of Baby Boomer age (and so attuned to the commercial musical trends of the 1980s that gave rise to World Music as a commercial category), politically left-leaning (again, impacted by social, cultural, and political changes of the latter twentieth century, and sympathetic to ideas of solidarity through cultural understanding and connecting), and college-educated (demonstrating a belief in the value of academic knowledge).²²

More generally, Frith’s assessment rings true of (exoticizing and essentializing) rhetoric about music in New Orleans and Havana by both locals and outsiders, though both may be ultimately tied to tourism: Ernie K-Doe’s famous claim that “all music came from New Orleans” places the city’s music in the authentic past (as do frequent musical and verbal citations of local forbears by performers onstage), while descriptions of rumba shows at Havana’s Callejón de Hamel are described by the Lonely Planet as “as raw and hypnotic as it gets, with interlocking drum patterns and lengthy rhythmic chants powerful enough to summon up the spirit of the orishas (Santería

²² Even as a new conservatism swept the U.S. and other countries in the 1980s, World Music represented an – albeit commercial – alternative to popular musics that could contribute to a cultural identity in opposition to conservative capitalism. MacCannell claims that music and games are examples of culture that function as modern community “because they permit anyone who knows the basic code to enjoy nuances and subtleties in the playing out of variations. Strangers with the same cultural grounding can come together in a cultural production...Their relationship begins before they ever meet” (MacCannell, 32). This connects both to the delicate balance between sameness and difference that is negotiated in tourism generally, and the importance of a certain degree of shared values for this kind of play and community to exist.

deities)” (Sainsbury and Waterson 2015, 115). This latter quote clearly identifies the “raw and hypnotic” character of the music in signature Afro-Cuban musical elements and makes a further claim to its authenticity in its “power” to summon spirits. Tellingly, this typically-brief, seemingly-direct-but-with-a-wink guidebook blurb is followed by direct reference to the threat of tourism, even if it ultimately relies on the power of authenticity to overcome it: “Due to a liberal sprinkling of tourists these days, some argue that the Callejón has lost much of its basic charm. Don’t believe them. This place can still deliver” (ibid.) Although the *Loneley Planet* is a guide for actual (rather than virtual) travel, we can detect expectations of authenticity fostered in more remote spaces, through acculturation to World Music. Given the early investment of World Music listeners in *knowledge* and *facts* about other musics, how does the “traveler” manage to claim engagement here? Unless they have done their own research, they are left knowing little more from this text than that Afro-Cuban culture is “raw and hypnotic,” that the sounds are exotic, and that they have magical powers. It is not hard to detect “celebration of the native (the peasant and the African) as more real (because more natural) than the civilized Westerner.”

Anahid Kassabian bolsters the model of the World Music listener as connoisseur and ostensible “traveler” (not tourist) in her examination of the Hear Music and Putumayo labels. The first of these claimed to cater to “curious, thinking adults” and invited them to “explore music you’ve never heard, and discover your next favorite record at www.hearmusic.com” (Kassabian 2004, 210). In this case, prior knowledge itself is not required, but an attitude of intellectual curiosity and serious investment is clearly conveyed. “Exploring” and “discovering,” though key words that apply to many kinds of tourism, are especially prevalent in more independent or “traveler”-type tourisms. (In contrast, terms like “relaxation,” “sophistication” might be more common for resorts, while “Noisy. Raucous. Nocturnal” sums up Bourbon Street on New Orleans’s official tourism website: both examples of what I categorize as “hedonist tourism” (Neworleans.com, n.d.) In her

discussion of “distributed subjectivity,” which she describes as developing “significantly in relation to listening, and especially in relation to listening to ubiquitous musics,” which leads to “the absence of focused attention, or, more appealingly, the presence of a multi-located attention,” she turns directly to the relationship between physical and musical tourism (Kassabian 2004, 213). This “distributed subjectivity” recalls the detached gaze of the *flâneur* or the omnivorous eclecticism that characterizes certain kinds of (“traveler”) tourism. At the same time, it has some of the same leveling qualities as the touristification of everyday life (Gotham 2007): Sorted by continent, Putumayo releases appear side by side, in a kind of soothing continuity and consistency with one another, alike in their foreignness.

Kassabian refers to Keir Keightley’s work on “around-the-world” music recordings of the mid-twentieth century as both virtual tourism and artifacts “tied in to various campaigns for gastronomic and literal tourism,” placing music in the role of not just as imagined travel, but as preparing an individual for *anticipated* travel (Kassabian 2004, 216). Sheller examines similar items, and pushes back against the recorded representations and expectations of authenticity: one of the stated aims of her chapter

is to suggest that there is no clear distinction between the “traditional” and the “modern” in the Caribbean, nor between “authentic” culture and “commercial” performance: they are always in touch with each other. In fact, each of these dualities is co-produced and codependent, part of a dynamic relation, and musical mobilities are crucially mixed with human, material, and cultural mobilities of various kinds (including the movement of bauxite, ships, workers, and tourists) that have together generated a distinctive form of Caribbean modernity. (Sheller 2014, 74)

Perhaps counterintuitively in terms of classic touristic definitions of “traditional” (old, authentic, pure) and “modern,” (new, inauthentic, compromised) it seems that this “dynamic relation” is also what appeals to the tourist ear; the mixtures and exchanges that make Caribbean modernity are also, semi-ironically, what make local “authenticity” in hybridity and creolization. The “porosity and permeability of cultures throughout the world” may be “newly proclaimed,” but in the Caribbean

(and elsewhere) it has always been so. Nonetheless, it is significant that these qualities afford the tourist entry.

World Music and Eclecticism

Perhaps the *Lonely Planet's* oblique language (that is, its refusal to name authenticity or exoticism) is (also) indicative of a kind of postmodern attraction to creolization and eclecticism. I see the former, as it pertains to musical tourism, as still tied to the moral universe of World Music in recognizing histories and connections. The latter refers more to the work of artists like David Byrne, who has employed diverse sounds to create a kind of pop-modernity. Indeed, the 1991 volume *Cuba Classics 2: Dancing with the Enemy* (compilation by Ned Sublette on Byrne's Luaka Bop label) brings these approaches into light linkage: Sublette's books on Cuban and New Orleans music (including connections between the two) are thorough and specific about shared and connected histories and practices. We might detect in his work a kind of celebration of New World creolizations in both *Cuba and Its Music* (2004) and *The World that Made New Orleans* (2008). A neat compilation of (importantly, post-Revolutionary) Cuban dance music seems to speak to both a broad investment in Cuban music (that is, not defined by the nostalgic longings identified by in the *Buena Vista Social Club* [Hernández 2002] nor a romanticization of revolutionary or radical sentiments associated with both Nueva Trova [Moore 2006] and Cuban hip hop [Baker 2011]) and a kind of eclectic refusal to be bogged down by the "seriousness" of deep traditions. The title itself hints at the unifying – and transgressive – powers of music, qualities consistent with Byrne's rock/pop sensibilities, as well as those of other World Music listeners as described by Frith.

The fluidity of postmodern musical meaning and the schizophonia of circulating recordings create a kind of field of play which effectively invites postmodern listeners into the kaleidoscope. Although "world travellers' are still tourists," is there a meaningful difference between tourists attracted to and invested in these New World creolizations and those who hear them as sonic set

dressings? Might we excavate in some tourists latent desires for New World solidarities? Or is this pure fantasy, both on my part as a researcher and for those who would claim to have such aspirations? As Kassabian attests, well-intended moral impulses are not always what they seem, nor are efforts to act on such impulses always welcome or productive.

Tourism and (as) Modernity

This dissertation takes up theories of tourism that consider it seriously, as integral to modern society (Boorstin 2012, MacCannell 1976), as a “cultural laboratory” in which people experiment with identities and social relations (as well as imagination) (Löfgren 1999, 7) and as influential in the way “we” (the hegemonic Western ear) hear and understand certain musics (Sheller 2003; Rommen and Neely 2014; Guilbault and Rommen 2019).²³ Clifford points to mobility and movement as key factors in cultural developments, claiming that “practices of displacement might emerge as *constitutive* of cultural meanings rather than as their simple transfer or extension” (Clifford 1997, 3).²⁴ MacCannell insists that tourism, as a specific form of travel (and mode of gazing, listening, and consuming), tourism “spreads itself rhizomatically through every intellectual, economic, cultural, and geopolitical domain” (MacCannell 2013 [1976], xvii). Similarly, Kevin Fox Gotham accounts for these seepages and fractal morphings in the notion of a “touristic culture”:

Since the 1960s, broad sociocultural transformations have blurred the distinction between tourism and other institutions and cultural practices, a development I refer to as a shift from a “culture of tourism” to a “touristic culture.” Today, a touristic culture denotes a process by which tourism discourses and practices increasingly frame meanings and assertions of local culture and authenticity. (Gotham 2007, 20)

²³ Indeed, Clifford’s “chronotope” of culture itself is “less like a tent in a village or a controlled laboratory or a site of initiation and inhabitation, and more like a hotel lobby, urban café, ship, or bus” (Clifford 1997, 25); the hotel chronotope speaks both to the centrality of tourism and its accoutrements and the ambivalence of belonging in the modern world.

²⁴ This both bolsters the relevance and legitimacy of tourism as a field of study and relates to theories of creolization and purity, both in tourism and in ethnomusicology: while the “authentic” has historically been considered the purely local, we more recently see (sometimes even simultaneously) a tendency of attraction towards hybridity and mixture.

These complicating and expansive perspectives help to establish tourism as a particular kind of movement that is no less powerful (or significant) because of its perceived commercialism and assumed frivolity; rather, it is quietly ever-present in our lives.

Agency

The approaches summarized here coalesce into a larger one that considers the creative, imaginative, and aspirational aspects of tourism, opening space for agency. Like the tourist gaze (Urry 1990) the tourist ear is constructed through difference. In a typical twentieth-century model, locals respond to expectations of difference, often under a kind of duress, threatening to make their “performances” (or “products”) – and, by extension, the encounter itself – arbitrary, inauthentic, and unmoored.²⁵ Elements of the destination are manipulated and packaged for consumption in ways that speak to the tourist’s own way of seeing/hearing and, particularly with music, can be plucked from their habitats and circulated freely.²⁶

This kind of cultural bricolage suggests certain vapidness in tourist travel and encounter, supporting notions of tourists and their local hosts as different kinds of victims of capitalist globalization. Yet tourism is not monolithic, nor does it lie outside of the realm of human agency: undercurrents of intimacy and desire complicate a purely materialist or economic perspective on what is admittedly frequently an exploitative system in which (often poor) hosts sell their culture and services to (often wealthier) outsiders. Working to better understand the inner workings and

²⁵ In his study of “right-of-way gentrification,” Sig Langegger notes the burden tourism places on locals to “perform rather than simply be” (Langegger 2016, 1804).

²⁶ This kind of tourist chauvinism is reflected in Boorstin’s account of the inversion of “discovery” in modern society, which becomes essentially synonymous with tourism: “More and more of our experience thus becomes invention rather than discovery. The more planned and prefabricated our experience becomes, the more we include in it only what “interests” us” (Boorstin 2012 [1962], 256).

motivations involved in the encounter may help us move beyond stereotypes of locals and tourists and toward a recognition of agencies that may help to bridge the conceptual gap between the two.²⁷

Stokes insists that incidents of touristic encounter are “situations in which people are often highly conscious of how things are being represented to them, or how they themselves are being represented to others. This consciousness does much to shape the way that things happen” (Stokes 1999, 144–145). The *way that things happen*, in turn, may shape “the way things are done,” impacting future scripting. Anthony Chronis claims that tourists shape imaginaries of place beyond what they are presented in commercial offerings through “refiguration,” bolstering the argument that that the touristic encounter is not merely exploitative or extractive, but creative (Chronis 2012, 1811). Stephen L. Wearing and Carmel Foley propose “the choraster” as a model of (specifically urban) tourist that accounts for a higher level of engagement than the classic *flâneur*: the choraster “is a person who practices place, who uses it, experiences it, and gives it social meaning” (Wearing and Foley 2017, 98.) In these assessments, we are encouraged to focus on the aspects of tourism that may not be easily identified, quantified, bought and sold, but no less play a crucial role in how tourism is acted out and experienced.

One of the central questions about the encounter between “tourist” and “local” is what kind of experience each seeks or anticipates; each has a certain kind of tourism that is desired and/or anticipated, and both must confront limitations in terms of what reality affords. Musicians also exercise agency in responding to or rejecting expectations about how they perform: they may appeal to cosmopolitan listeners through musical hailings, adhere to a tune or tradition to meet expectations of authenticity, insert their own, subtle ways of

²⁷ Indeed, just as tourism has tended more towards cultural and experiential modes since the mid-late twentieth-century, “locals” are also increasingly cosmopolitan (Rommen 2019, 41).

playing with these expectations, or refuse altogether to perform “sonic emblems of the region” (Rommen 2014, 2), pursuing instead other musical avenues.

The economic necessities of tourism, and the often top-down strategies that shape how they are met, can leave individual “agents” – tourist and local alike – feeling powerless, but a singular focus on economics and city planning falls short of addressing the real complexities of tourism. Musicians certainly perform, but they may make decisions about how they do so that allow them to maintain ownership over their music and culture, even in ways that may not register as resistant to tourist desires.²⁸ Working to better understand the inner workings and motivations involved in the encounter may help us move beyond stereotypes of locals and tourists and toward a recognition of agencies that may help to bridge the conceptual gap between the two.²⁹

Erasure and Construction, Disaster and Resilience

To sketch the full range of themes that run throughout the dissertation, I should note the reemergent phenomena of erasure and construction, and the tropes of disaster and resilience. In Shannon Dawdy’s account of Mexican connections with New Orleans, she points to the importance of what she calls “the contours of forgetting” (Dawdy 2019, 37). So named, forgetting is not unilateral or total, but subject to various forces. In what seems to be a nod to the dialectic tension of erasure and construction, she refers to two types of forgetting (originally included in Paul Connerton’s list of 7) that she mobilizes for her discussion: “forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity” and “repressive erasure” (ibid). In the complex of touristic encounter, we can often identify both.

²⁸ See Moore 1997, Rommen [UMD talk, 2014].

²⁹ Indeed, just as tourism has tended more towards cultural and experiential modes since the mid-late twentieth-century, “locals” are also increasingly cosmopolitan (Rommen 2019, 41).

One of the most significant similarities between New Orleans and Havana's musical tourism is the history of ambivalence towards Black music. Attempts to control Black musicmaking have included not only outright erasure (as in bans of public gatherings or certain instruments) but also more insidious kinds of "repressive erasure" that are at times recast as "constitutive in the formation of a new identity". The elimination of *cabildos* as racially exclusive and the later nationalization of Afrocuban traditions (including *son* under the republican government, and later *santería* and other "folklore" under the socialist regime) ostensibly served to unify all Cubans under a creolized national identity, but effectively eliminated sites of community, solidarity, and resistance that had survived – and helped their participants survive – for centuries.³⁰ The creolized national identity in this case serves double duty as domestic project and tourist attraction, presenting a destination untroubled by racial strife.

As suggested by the preceding example, erasure and construction take place in different registers of society, both "at home" and "abroad," both for domestic and international purposes, including tourism. Acts of erasure and construction tied to touristic images at the destination often align well with domestic projects like building a civic or national identity: New Orleans's Caribbeanness distinguishes it from "world-class cities" like Boston, Los Angeles, or Mexico City, but also from the neighboring cities of Lafayette and Mobile. As much as tourists from around the world consume New Orleans music, it remains "the birthplace of jazz," understood to be the heart and soul of American music. This situates New Orleanians and Americans as participants in the city's touristic image, even if they relate to it as "locals." In Havana, jazz of the early 20th century threatened a still-fragile Cuban national identity and represented to some the continued cultural dominance of the United States. Boosting *son* as a homegrown alternative required the (limited) acknowledgment of

³⁰ It is important to complicate this claim by acknowledging that top-down decisions about national culture do not equate with their full realization: the "contours" of forgetting, after all, may be complex.

Afrocuban contributions to what would be put forth as national music. Domesticating jazz as a subaltern expression with universal potential, as it has been represented after 1959, required a diminished focus on its immediate origins in the U.S. and an emphasis on different features, including its working-class origins. These revisions, as well as the broader social and political movements behind them, have impacted the way musicians see themselves and their responsibilities.

One form of forgetting that contributes to the formation of new identities might be applicable to forms of exchange that align with utopianism. The Caribbean has been a productive site for new models of scholarship that have thought together the region despite linguistic and historical fragmentations. Scholars of the Caribbean have contributed constructive and useful theoretical notions and models, like creolization (Stewart 1997) and the repeating island (Benitez-Rojo 1992); native genres of writing, like Alejo Carpentier's magical realism, intentionally disrupt the "reality" of Western history and hegemony. These constructions do not deny the past, but unseat it as the authority by which to chart the future. In this sense, "forgetting" is not repressive, but a mode of escape from a repressive present.

Key moments of trauma, like the Cuban Revolution, Hurricane Katrina, or the global pandemic that began in 2020, have varied effects as they occur and as they linger (and move) with their memories and consequences. Unlike the changing fashions of tourism that determine where tourists like to go and what they like to do, these events based in "the real world" set off revisions and reevaluations that come to bear on touristic imaginings and experiences. Hurricane Katrina remains a touchstone of disaster and resilience, and yet it is an ambivalent one as it is clear that the "recovery" itself engendered new disaster. Lynnell L. Thomas describes the potential brought by the storm – a potential partially and unevenly realized in the years since:

Hurricane Katrina... thrust the images and stories of black New Orleanians into the national imagination, forcing past and potential New Orleans tourists to confront a black New Orleans that existed outside the tourist construction. As a result, post-Katrina tourists expected and even sought out different stories of the city that might help them make sense of the devastation and tragedy that incorporate alternative images and

ideas – of African Americans, the Lower Ninth Ward, poverty, and racism – that have become part of the national discourse about New Orleans.” (Thomas 2014, 126)³¹

The “thrusting” of images of New Orleans into the national consciousness in such a fashion had widespread and enduring consequences. Although tourism did return to the city, it brought with it new risks to locals, including displacement and a shift in priorities that leaned even further to outside interests.

The disruptions caused by these events are characterized by displacement and loss which in turn are easily mobilized by tourism, both in recalling a lost past and in promising resilience in the future: “Before Katrina” becomes a prelude to claims of authenticity and insistence on Mardi Gras’s power to rouse carnivalesque spirits despite restrictions on social gatherings demonstrates that resilience has become well-established as a new touristic trope of the city. If the loss of 1950s Havana defines a certain U.S. American nostalgia, Calle Ocho in Miami has also become its own well-established tourist attraction. Throughout, destruction itself remains part of the appeal. When prompted to elaborate on what gives New Orleans its “soul” in comparison to other city’s Dawdy’s interlocutor Blue begins, “I think it’s basically the suffering of the people” (Dawdy 2016, 55). Though Blue is a local, the conflation of soul and suffering runs throughout tourism in New Orleans and Havana, as well as other destinations, especially in the Caribbean. (Musical) survival becomes a double-edged sword, as cultural resilience is interpreted – most often by outsiders – as an essential quality that lies outside of the realm of ordinary life and practical necessity. This decontextualization allows tourists to place a high ethical value on their own musical engagement while ignoring not only other, more problematic aspects of local life, but also the extent to which such fetishization reinforces and exacerbates them.

³¹ See Adams and Sakakeeny (2019), de la Fuente (2008), Thomas (2014), and Yaczo (2013) for examples of large-scale shifts following Hurricane Katrina, the Special Period, and the Cuban Revolution.

I need not point out that these displacements and losses have extremely different meanings to those who experienced them firsthand and those who imagine from afar: in the first place, there is the matter of choice in confronting the loss at all. In making a distinction between ruins of different temporal planes, Dawdy suggests a difference that is relevant to the variety of temporally-defined (or undefined) images of New Orleans and Havana and their divergent meanings for locals and outsiders:

While ancient ruins may indeed evoke a mode of timelessness – a fog – other ruins may provoke a bubble of reminiscence, or the sudden surge of a past reality into our present. Others, such as Katrina ruins, highlight rupture. These are all temporal modes of pastness, but beyond that lie their *moods* – their potential affects...erasure [of recent ruins] can be motivated by a desire to destroy the ruin's power to produce certain affects. Ruins from a foreign country may elicit a kind of orientalist erotics or a dreamy nostalgia for something once familiar, but the ruins of one's own home do something quite different. They reproduce trauma. (Dawdy 2016, 47)

These intimate and varied territories of remembering, recovering, or reconstructing what was lost hint at the difficulties of mutual understanding in tourism. I do not argue for the equivalence of “tourist” and “local” remembering in this case, but suggest that there are parallel processes at work which attempt to make sense of these crises as time goes on and narratives of self and other beg to be given direction as the two come into encounter.

In another example of local “paranarrative” that exists along with that of tourism, Velia Cecelia Bobes’s account of Havana’s changing identity after the revolution culminates in the description of the city as a “non-place,” a rhetorical emptying-out not unlike that in tourism imagery that represents the city as one of past glory. With “ruralization” of Havana in the 1960s, heightened by the closure of nightlife venues and restaurants the last private businesses were eradicated and the country mobilized for the anticipated Ten Million Ton Sugar Harvest of 1970. “Thus, the city gradually fades away, in terms of its physical space with blackouts, the deterioration of physical foundations the gradual reduction in the number of vehicles, the closure of entertainment spaces, the relocation of thousands of its residents to the countryside – becoming phantasmagoric and

unreal” (Bobes 2011, 21). Such urban decay and emptying-out is not unique to Havana, though the particular circumstances that led to it may be.

In the 1990s, the opening of the island to tourism, along with the appearance of dual market and dual currency, “put Havana back in a place of protagonism and centrality” in the national context, contributing to a situation in which “[t]ourism, family remittances, and self-employment are the new goals of the city inhabitant” (ibid, 25, 26). Coexisting in this domestic reemergence, are “publicity and tourism [that] have converted Cuba into an almost virtual country” (Iván de la Nuez, quoted in Bobes, 26). (This evaporation into the virtual realm is especially striking considering the limited mediation between Cubans and the rest of the world.³²) Bobes is ultimately compelled to *make sense* of Havana’s ruinous emptiness in a way that a tourist doesn’t: instead of loss, she also perceives revitalization (she closes with reference to “resurrections” and “hopes for renewal), but not necessarily that determined by tourist desires or prescribed and preferred by the government/tourist industry. In Bobes’s account, the emptiness of Havana is not a soft fading of past glamour, but a site of anxiety and contestation on the part of its residents: a site which has not been abandoned, but which continues to be lived every day.

Erasure and construction often (always?) take place simultaneously, creating a kind of breathless feeling to the study of tourism as it chases profits and tastes in a hyper-connected, often distracted social climate.³³ Indeed, when I began this project cruise traffic had just returned to Havana’s harbor and Cuba was momentarily a popular and visible destination for U.S. Americans. At the time I felt a need, like other tourists, to witness the “before” and “after” (as well as the “during”) of an anticipated change, not suspecting that the period of renewed access would be cut

³² Channels of communication like Facebook and the introduction of 3G internet on phones in 2019 have increased direct communication but remain subject to government intervention, as in July 2021.

³³ Movement itself can provide a setting for construction, as argued by Orvar Löfgren in the new movement of freeways, which “opened up a new mode of stillness, meditation, and daydreaming,” while sound mediates sights (Löfgren 1999, 69 & 73).

short by the Trump administration and then prolonged and complicated by the Covid-19 pandemic.³⁴ In this sense, tourism ebbs and flows in sometimes unpredictable ways as the vagaries of tourism markets move on as travelers search for novel experiences.³⁵ The friction of these disparate movements contributes to unsustainable situations in which extractive forms of tourism change local economies to reflect and serve their own images and then decamp swiftly to other locations.

The Hermeneutic Utility of Tourism

Returning to the larger significance of tourism as a field of study, Stokes affirms the hermeneutic utility of tourism, even if he remains dissatisfied with the term itself regarding its definition. In the following passage from the Afterword to an edition of *The World of Music* dedicated to music and tourism, the verbs he uses (though in a passive voice) hint at the realms in which agents may exercise their power, whether or not they are conscious of *having* agency in the face of the tourism industry:³⁶

Tourism is, certainly, a poor term. There are just too many different kinds of travel to be shoehorned into a single category. But the term does condense a knot of problems relating to how in modernity experiences of movement are *valorised* and *aestheticised* or *demonised* and *pathologised*, how difference is *constructed* and *managed* in situations of extreme commodification and cultural reflexivity, and how and under what circumstances communication takes place across the gaps difference establishes. (Stokes 1999 141; emphasis added)

Clearly, in confronting large-scale economic, societal, and/or or cultural forces, this agency in valorization, aestheticization, or demonization may not always be purely individual (tourism, after all,

³⁴ In response to recent reports of Covid outbreaks on cruise ships – some of the first sites of widespread infection in 2019 – the CDC recommended on December 30th 2021 that Americans avoid cruise ship travel, regardless of vaccination status.

³⁵ The consequences of passing interest in a destination, aided and abetted by much tourism media, are not elaborated in the media themselves, but they may be extremely disruptive as they restructure economies around a “resource” that falls suddenly out of favor or becomes inaccessible. One example is the plight of Havana residents who invested heavily in a driver’s license and a car with the goal of earning money as taxi drivers, only to be thwarted in their new endeavor by renewed restrictions on tourism.

³⁶ Tourism is the largest industry in the world (MacCannell 2013).

is a collective enterprise),³⁷ but this does not make it less significant. In any case, a recognition of the variability of experiences and desires implicated in tourism allows for a closer look into what kinds of sense is – and can be – made of the encounter (e.g., to engage with Feld’s questions about what Caribbean recordings *mean*).

A Taxonomy of Tourisms

In describing various types of tourism, I imply certain kinds of encounters between locals and tourists, some more problematic than others. The goal is to sketch ideal types that will help me to theorize musical tourism in New Orleans and Havana and decipher parallels and divergences in how they are negotiated by tourists and locals. My beginning taxonomy is suggested by literature that deals both implicitly and explicitly with tourism and elaborates particular types. Clifford (1997) Cooley (2005), and Thomas Thurnell-Read (2017) investigate certain types of tourists, while others allude to touristic perspectives and desires through certain kinds of advertising (Sheller 2014), recordings (Hernández 2002), activities surrounding music (Perna 2014), musical compositions and collaborations (Rios 2008; Butler 2014), or programming (Baker 2016). Throughout the dissertation, different types emerge as relevant to particular environments or practices; many of the ideal categories outlined below overlap or even split into contradictions, especially when applied to real-life situations, but they nonetheless serve to identify certain tendencies among subsets of travelers.

³⁷ For cultural productions to become signs and rituals, community is required: “Participation in cultural production, even at the level of being influenced by it, can carry the individual to the frontiers of his being where his emotions may enter into communion with the emotions of others ‘under the influence.’” (MacCannell 2013, 26).

Types of Tourism

“Hedonist” Tourism

- *“sun, sea, sand,” often with shades of vice; individuals participating are most likely to identify as “tourist”*

Gotham (2007) and Anthony Stanonis (2006) discuss the emergence of twentieth-century tourism in New Orleans, attending to both the unofficial, “demand” side, which depended largely on vice, and the official side, which involved decisions in city and state government about what kind of tourist destination the city was to be. In both accounts, city officials struggled to present the city to potential (most often white) visitors variously as an important economic node, a convention destination, or a romantic relic of European rule before turning to local creole culture as its main selling point. This has also proceeded with the acceptance of some degree of vice tourism over the years, as it has become entwined with the fun-loving image of the city, and with its music through the association of early jazz musicians with the Storyville red light district. As a type, the hedonist tourist may seek the excitement of New Orleans, or the rather different pleasure of an all-inclusive resort (though one might also ponder the precise difference between the two). In both places s/he could *enjoy* him/herself, without being concerned with cares left at home.

“Adventure” Tourism

- *experientially focused, characterized by notions of independence, may include “bucket list” tourism*

More casual, “backpacker” traveling is an alternative to the conventional tourism encapsulated by the hedonist or sightseer type. Such travel is often centered on the (often potentially transformative) experience of the individual. An example can be found in the 2006 book and 2010 film *Eat, Pray, Love*, in which an American divorcée sets out to find herself through the three verbs of the title in Italy, India, and Indonesia. Though not always enjoying herself, it is clear that the protagonist benefits more in the end for having struggled in the process.

Thurnell-Read (2017) describes the phenomenon of “bucket list” tourism, noting the tensions between supposed individuality and independence and others’ expectations. Bucket lists can include experiences as well as sights, but both are categorized and rated in similar ways. A particularly interesting aspect of the bucket list is its perpetual renewability (new lists for each new year, for example) even as it purports to be the final word. The author describes the tone of the sampled bucket lists in terms of life goals and fulfillment, suggesting their role in constructions of identity and selfhood, themes in common with the adventurer type tourist. For U.S. Americans, Cuba becomes particularly significant in this category as they rush to visit “before it changes”; the sounds of *son* are paired with images of crumbling colonial architecture and worn-but-cherished American cars, coalescing to form fantasies of the island as a time capsule of the 1950s. In other contexts, the adventure tourist may seek out alternatives to the “traditional” in other performance styles or genres (or, indeed, are likely to be open to stumbling upon something new to their ears) in pursuit of a more unique experience. MacCannell glosses the attitude of this kind of tourist well, in saying “to be *alive*, as opposed to merely existing or ‘surviving,’ it is necessary to be open to excitement, new prospects, to be attracted to difference, to break free of routines, to have an adventure, to change scenes and think new thoughts, to take a chance, and to have something to say” (MacCannell, xxii).

“Cultural” Tourism

- *“serious leisure”; individuals participating are likely to be knowledgeable about the destination and seek out educational experiences*

Perhaps a more refined, more conservative version of adventure tourism, cultural tourism also focuses on experiences, but within parameters conventionally defined as more edifying. This may include more studious types of backpackers, but also less intrepid types; all are interested in local

culture and history. Institutions are important for this kind of tourism: museums, theaters, and festivals engage these visitors with the place they are visiting, though the extent of this engagement may remain relatively minimal as they consume that which is presented to them *as* tourists. This category includes those travelers who are politically or ethically motivated to search out certain kinds of travel experiences, like those traveling to Cuba because they support the socialist cause. Musical examples include U.S. rap fans' interest in Cuban style as the authentic heart of the genre in its focus on social consciousness (Baker 2011) and jazz enthusiasts and revivalists creating a "home ripe for 'imaginings'" in New Orleans (Ekins 2013). Many members of the audience at the annual New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival would fall into this category, as many make return trips, cultivating a sense of familiarity with the musicians/sounds/places (including those outside of the festival site) they encounter over and over again. Like World Music fans, such visitors use knowledge about music and culture – and travel – as their own social and cultural capital.

"Professional" Tourism

- *Travel related to one's own profession (this could include musicians traveling for "inspiration")*

The category of professional tourist may not be as important or as prominent as the preceding types, but it is worth noting both as a possibly historically important category and as a complement to spiritual or seeker tourism (sketched in the next entry), in that both arguably move away from tourism conservatively and conventionally defined. Consuelo Hermer (1941) provides special advice for this kind of tourist to Cuba, recommending visits to dairy farms and police stations for those working in similar occupations at home. Given the tenor of relations between Cuba and the U.S., visits between the two have been regulated in such a way that one's work may allow or disallow travel, making the degree of "professionalism" of a visitor more relevant than it may be in other cases. Musicians can be included in the category of "professional" tourist, as amateur musicians

interested in other musics may travel for exposure and professional musicians travel seeking collaborators or teachers – and to enhance their own work and image through resulting media (e.g., Ry Cooder in Havana and Bela Fleck in Africa).

“Spiritual/Seeker” Tourism

- *Characterized by interest in spiritual/religious practices at the destination.*

Spiritual pursuits have inspired travel for centuries, arguably *inventing* tourism by some estimations. A particularly strong example of spiritual tourism from ethnomusicology comes from Hagedorn (2001), who accounts for the presence at *santería* events of foreigners who feel an affinity for that practice over any available at home. She herself became a practitioner, suggesting an overlap of professional interest and spiritual seeking. (A less directed type of seeking is represented in the 2010 film (of the 2006 book) *Eat, Pray, Love*, blurring the distinction between adventure and seeker tourisms.) Some might not immediately consider these more intentional kinds of travel as tourism, but I argue for their inclusion because of persistent attention to difference. Although this emphasis may differ between types (particularly when dealing with diasporic returnees, who might also be considered tourists), I see it as a consistent feature in many.

“Voluntourists,” Ethnographers, Diasporas

- *Travel by volunteers/cultural exchange groups, participants are LEAST likely to identify as tourists*

These types of tourism may be marginal compared to mass tourism but traveling for the purpose of work is particularly important in both cities in question. After Hurricane Katrina, hundreds of thousands of volunteers, many of whom traveled significant distances, became involved in recovery efforts in New Orleans. With regard to Cuba, the United States still officially forbids any tourist travel to the island, but grants access to organized educational and performance groups.

Ethnographers, too, could be productively considered tourists (Cooley 2005), rather than being excused from such a designation based on the fact that they are doing “serious work” in the field.³⁸ Diasporic communities returning “home” are also interesting candidates, especially considering particular variants in relationships to multiple sites of belonging (Baker 2016).

Resounding Archipelagoes: A Framework for Analysis

This theorization of musical tourism has attempted to account in some way for the ways in which tourism seeps into everyday life (“spreads itself rhizomatically through every intellectual, economic, cultural, and geopolitical domain,” in MacConnell’s words), and how music is particularly situated to mediate the touristic encounter. The archipelago, with its affordances of multiplicity, utopian imaginings, kineticism, and erasure and construction, emerges as a fitting framework to accommodate a subject that spills over in so many ways. In its very openness, it allows the moving parts room to move, breathe, and interact with one another. For this reason I use the term “resounding”: in the matrix of representation and repetition that makes the touristic archipelago, I want to make a point of making a distinction between re-sounding, which is replicative/unidimensional/static – a repetition of sameness – and resounding, which better conveys the [sonically and otherwise] resonant/sympathetic/imitative/mutual qualities of interaction and encounter.

The kinds of music that enter into the following accounts of music and tourism vary – just as I decline to choose a particular group of people to study, I am also reluctant to choose a genre, in favor of keeping an ear open to other kinds of musical mobilities as they accrue into musical place.

³⁸ Jerome Camal, in his wry and reflexive chapter in *Sounds of Vacation*, observes, “I imagine myself as more than a tourist, more than another white European male getting his groove on, but perhaps there is always and still a bit of the tourist in every ethnographer” (Camal, 77).

This allows me to take special note, for example, when I encounter a fully-dressed Mariachi band of Cubans in Habana Vieja, where passersby spontaneously join them in “Si Nos Dejan,” a Mexican ranchera. In the heart of touristic “Cuba,” which was sounded through regular iterations of well-known Cuban songs like “El Cuarto de Tula” or “Hasta Siempre [Comandante],” the sound of Mexico asserted itself, interjecting in my touristic expectations. (What does it mean to sound Jalisco in Havana, and to whom?)

Patterns of similarity emerge in some of the recognizable genres of New Orleans and Havana: examples of styles implicated in New Orleans’s touristic image include “jazz” (“Dixieland,” “modern”), brass bands (“traditional,” “modern”), piano music, bounce, and hip hop; in Havana, they include son, rumba, trova, salsa, timba, piano music, rap, and reggaetón. The proliferation of genres themselves gives the cities an added reputation of unbounded, fertile musicality, as does the facility of many local musicians in making creative use of this array in their compositions and performances. The perceived and professed respect for “tradition” combined with a characteristic impulse for “innovation” is yet another way that New Orleans and Havana captivate audiences with their sound.

As epicenters of music, New Orleans and Havana radiate and “repeat.” Laura Shearing’s description of musical epicenters underscores their entanglement with tourism, both in a practical sense (i.e., their reliance on agents for construction) and in their similar dynamics. “By their very nature, epicenters point towards and are shaped by agents and circumstances beyond the location where one perceives them; from them emanate a proliferation of cultural production, commentary, and mythmaking.” (Shearing 2020, 73). Tourism – the encounter with the musical epicenter – is part of this sending and receiving of “information” (sounds, practices, images, and ideas). It is a way of enacting the archipelago,

as a kinetic, relational space, making it resound with connections not only in the more “practical” arenas of cultural production and commentary, but also of mythmaking.

In agential encounters, Havana and New Orleans (as well as other musical cities) are sounded into being, both in the tourist and the local imaginary; employing theories of tourism that treat it as a mutable, creative space helps to account for agencies and meaning in what is often cynically understood to be a meaningless (or meaning-poor) encounter. The archipelago allows the encounter to be multidimensional – and valid: we can foreground tourism’s liminality and subtleties without disregarding the consequences of its extractive and transactional qualities, and we can count touristic perspective and encounter among the kinetic social forces at work in and around the Caribbean as they emerge in the work of archipelagic theorists. Tensions that are embedded in the touristic experience – between coherence and fragmentation, sameness and difference, self and other – are evident in “the island that repeats itself,” both on a cartographic and theoretical level. If the richness of Caribbean connections enchants the “tourist” (or social scientist, or ethnographer), perhaps we can perceive more richness in tourism itself through the lens of the archipelago.

2. Festival Practices

Carnival day, oh what a big affair
Carnival day, oh what a big affair
People crowd New Orleans, almost from everywhere
—Dave Bartholomew, “Carnival Day”¹

On the afternoon of Wednesday January 15, 2020, I’m waiting in the Plaza del Cristo in Habana Vieja for a second line parade featuring visiting musicians from New Orleans: the Trombone Shorty Foundation, Tank and the Bangas, the Soul Rebels, and Mardi Gras Indian Big Chief Monk Boudreaux. The event is described in the Jazzy Plaza program as a “second line conga...uniting local traditions of musical street festivities” (Jazzy Plaza 2020). I notice mostly White North Americans carrying camera equipment and New Orleans-style festival gear: feathered boas, parasols. One woman wears a T-shirt with Louis Armstrong’s face on it, framed by two trumpets in the style of skull and crossbones. I take the appearance of conga percussion (congas and a timbal resting on the pavement [figure 2.1]) as evidence of the impending “unification.” With the arrival of more of the New Orleans contingent, there is much excitement: everyone is thrilled at the opportunity to be here and clearly thrilled to be representing their “home town,” (though many are transplants, rather than native to New Orleans). The musicians are accompanied by organizers and media from NPR and New Orleans news. My own video recordings show the range of activity taking place in the square: Big Chief Monk Boudreaux: sitting on a bench being photographed (figure 2.2); a local man gliding placidly through the crowd with a heavy bag on his shoulder and others in his hands; a young food vendor reclining in a metal folding chair; a few puppies napping and playing in a rolling cage of the mobile pet vendor; school kids milling about in their uniforms. At the far end of the park, members of the Cuban comparsa congregate in their red, white, and blue outfits.

¹ The salient features of both this and Professor Longhair’s “Mardi Gras in New Orleans” for present purposes are: 1) the opening verse refers to travel and title refers to Mardi Gras; they share the same verse structure (AABC); they use a clave pattern with clave sticks, but the songs differ in overall rhythm and feel; they mediate tourist expectations (location, experience: “I want to see the Zulu queen”, “the Zulu king will be ballin’ on Rampart Street”); Bartholomew and Professor Longhair are both credited as inventors of iconic New Orleans musical styles .

Once the music has started, excited North American voices emerge over it in the recording as people greet each other in this “foreign”, but sonically familiar place. Cuban girls in a cluster on and around a picnic table clap and dance unreservedly. Before departing the Plaza del Cristo, the band launches into “When the Saints Go Marching In,” a sonic icon of their hometown across the water.



*Figure 2.1. Comparsa percussion in the Plaza del Cristo
January 15, 2020. (Photograph by the author).*



Figure 2.2 Big Chief Monk Boudreaux sitting for photographs in the Plaza del Cristo. (Photograph by the author).

As temporally limited but reiterated phenomena, festivals take on a particular quality that is at once specific (*this* festival, *now*) and general (this *annual* festival).² As part of the Jazz Plaza International Jazz Festival, on January 15, 2020, the assembled musicians crowding the streets of Habana Vieja with their music and their attendant revelers formed a node of international encounter between Cuba (the *conga*) and the United States (Trombone Shorty Foundation, Tank and the Bangas, the

² The two case studies in this chapter are nominally jazz festivals, but they are also more than “just” music festivals in that they present local (as well as national, regional, and otherwise-defined) cultural heritage. Such framing is but a slice of the range of what a festival can be: from community (rather than tourist-oriented) religious or seasonal festivals (e.g. seasonal festivals in Conima, Peru as described by Turino [1993]) to contemporary arts festivals (e.g. Burning Man in Nevada that takes place at “Black Rock City,” a temporary festival community) the thing that seems to unify such events is less the location or content than the pull towards common experience, shared in real time with other people.

Soul Rebels, Big Chief Monk Boudreaux); as a meeting of two different but related parading traditions, it was a collision of often mutually cited afro-diasporic musics and practices (figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3. “Second Line Conga” through Habana Vieja (with El Capitolio, modeled on the U.S. Capitol, in the distance). (Photograph by the author).

In this chapter, I compare two jazz festivals – the Jazz Plaza international jazz festival in Havana and the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival – to assess how Havana and New Orleans

cultivate self-representation and to zero in on the ways each finds its way into the rhetorical and musical self of the other as represented through performances in Havana in 2020 and in New Orleans in 2017. Throughout, I continue to theorize musical tourism through the model of The Festival. Subject to the same forces of imagination and management, festivals offer tourists easy access to “local culture” in an exceptional context. Additionally, participants are afforded the opportunity to build on their experiences over time through repetition over time, a process which also serves to establish, manipulate, or negotiate identity and the interpretation of the event in terms of what it means for the city or nation, and for those who consume the city/nation represented musically and festively. In this chapter, the touristic construction of New Orleans via festivals emerges as a site of creolized, possibly utopian narrative, while Havana comes into view as a cosmopolitan city tuned into universal musical practices.³ In both, the tourist makes space for herself as an outsider through the perception of immediate access through the “universal language” of music.

The scene that played out that afternoon in Old Havana serves as a tangible, contained, and documentable moment that demonstrates the ways in which music facilitates and mediates encounter in festive contexts and raises the question of the role of New Orleans music in the sonic image of Havana. As the sound of “Saints” filled the narrow streets, New Orleans became part of the Caribbean and cosmopolitan soundscape of the Cuban capitol, highlighting the two cities’ participation in a musical and symbolic dialogue through which each incorporates the other into its own identity. That this was performed in a festive environment directs us towards the theoretical category of The Festival as a mode of representation and encounter that can serve as an introduction to the tourist experience itself, as it has historically served to shape categorizing, looking, and

³ This is not to say utopia does not come into play at Jazz Plaza. What I describe here are the “official” or dominating identities and impressions of the events; utopian experiences and imaginings at Jazz Plaza emerge more forcefully in Chapter 5, where I address the activities and remarks of the participating musicians.

listening practices of observers. Modern iterations, like the ones in the case studies of this chapter, provide a recurrent context for local representation through various kinds of encounters that serve as introductory experiences for tourists. At the same time, the presence of visitors themselves is critical, as Dave Bartholomew's lyric attests: they "crowd New Orleans [or Havana] from almost everywhere," contributing to the kaleidoscopic nature of the event. In order to establish the role of each city's music and its treatment of the other's in urban-sonic identity, I attend to The Festival as a provisional space in which themes of identity are alternatively preserved, renegotiated, and consumed by locals and outsiders.

Festivals as Sites of Encounter

Festive Touchstones, Festive Origins: Encountering the Other in Situ

As sites of encounter, the festivals of Cuba (if not Havana exclusively) and New Orleans occupy privileged places in the myths of their local music and culture. Early European chroniclers (e.g., Fernández de Oviedo and Antonio Herrera y Torsedillas) described the *areíto* of the Taíno, one group of the indigenous inhabitants of Cuba, as an event characterized by a frenzy of dancing, drinking, and music. Glossed by Ned Sublette as "musical orgies of a sacred character" (Sublette 2004, 63) it is not difficult to draw a kind of mythical parallel between the *areíto* and a certain kind of musical/festive transcendence that characterizes (tourist) festivals today:⁴ it is a temporary "space" outside of everyday time in which there is some kind of spiritual/philosophical/religious pursuit. In terms of origins, it is telling that the "first music" in Cuba was Taíno, and as such lost to the mists of time, as the Indigenous inhabitants were long thought to have disappeared early on in

⁴ Unless specified, I intend unqualified mentions of "festival" to include a wide range of festival practices, in order to account for the fluidity and perhaps indeterminacy of the "audience," as well as the "performers."

the violent history of European encounter in the Caribbean. Nonetheless, “*el indio*” has remained a touchstone of Cuban identity in the canonic racial and cultural trio of Europe, Africa, and America, evidently lending important authenticity and legitimacy to the bond between contemporary Cubans and their island through his pre-Colombian presence there.⁵

In New Orleans, the storied slave dances at Congo Square serve a similar purpose in crystallizing the origins of “New Orleans” – and even “American” – music. Although the “purity” of these events was different from that of the *areíto* (enslaved Africans were not indigenous to the land they danced on), they were distinctly localized Others to White observers and documentarians.⁶ Congo Square – formerly Beauregard Square, after a confederate general – now located inside Louis Armstrong Park, served as the site for the heritage fair component of the Jazz and Heritage Festivals of the early 1970s.⁷ It serves as the site for the annual Congo Square Rhythms Festival and, as of early 2020, weekly Sunday drum circles drew a community of dancers and musicians to this public setting, where they were also occasionally observed by visitors. Although “Congo Square” is a physical place, it also represents a mythical point of origin and authenticity for Afrodiasporic musics in North America.⁸

To bring us back to contemporary twenty-first-century encounter, festivals in Havana and New Orleans have recently served this purpose in reference to one another rather explicitly, in the “uniting” of local traditions exemplified by the second line at the Jazz Plaza International Jazz

⁵ I use this term to convey the abstraction or iconicity that characterizes Cuban representations of indigenous populations (for example, in the Hatuey brand of beer named after a celebrated Taíno chieftain).

⁶ Native Americans are, however, represented through Mardi Gras Indian masking traditions. This refraction of indigeneity is itself complex, born of violent encounter that forced Native Americans and Africans together on the peripheries of European settlements.

⁷ This localization of African (and later, African-American) musicmaking, the naming and renaming of the site, and the eventual use of the square for a modern festival celebrating “jazz and heritage” all serve as examples of erasure and construction attendant not only to what one might call “heritage management” in general (in that narratives are constantly revised to suit contemporary needs), but also to tourism and tourism marketing.

⁸ It is also the name of one of the stages at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival. In the 1979, management of this stage was split off from the rest of the festival and overtaken by a community of Black organizers (the Afrikan American Jazz Festival Coalition, also known as Koindu) who insisted on exercising more control over the representation of Black music and culture at a mostly White-run event (Wein 2014).

Festival of 2020 and in the inclusion of Cuba as the guest country at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival in 2017. These encounters, however, are also multivalent and multidirectional. They involve musicians of various origins (national, geographical, political, ethnic, racial, musical, etc.), festival organizers (academics, documentarians, managers), “locals” (e.g., the Cubans on the route of the second line who variously went about their business, peered out of their doorways with vague curiosity, or came out and engaged in the scene), and finally “tourists” (a category in which I have included myself by virtue of my outsider status). Of course the boundaries between these categories are themselves fluid: for example, the New Orleans musicians were at other moments tourists as they explored the city; “locals” were also performers as in the case of the organized group of dancers that emerged from a dance school on the route and performed choreographed movement amid the chaotic street scene (figure 2.4); “tourists” in this case would have ideally included international visitors who came for the festival but, perhaps due to the confusion over scheduling, ultimately seemed to include mainly those North Americans connected to the “Funky in Havana” project that brought them to Cuba from New Orleans.



Figure 2.4. Dancers join the second line along the parade route. (Photograph by the author).

Festivals as Modes of Display: Encounters with the Exotic to Embodied Communitas

In her dissection of Western practices of exhibition, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes the (arts) festival in the context of other modes of display such as the museum as “less didactic and less textual...in this way avoiding the awkwardness of discoursing about living people in their very presence” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 59). This strategy works for U.S.-Cuba relations in more ways than one in that it is perhaps not so much the living people who present the problem, but their governments which nonetheless play a large role in any encounter between their citizens.⁹ In any case, this ease of encounter through culture is supported by remarks from Quint Davis, the longtime producer of the Jazz and Heritage Festival, as he spoke to interviewers about the participation of Cuban musicians at the 2017 Jazz and Heritage Festival in New Orleans: “What we hear from the people out at the festival is that they’re having fun...so that’s a real bottom line and to bring Cuba and Cuban music is not, like some, you know, historical study, it’s a *spark*, it’s a *bonfire* for the festival” (Davis 2017). Specifically for “locals” in this case, access was facilitated by a degree of familiarity:

They have what they call a conga parade...and the Cubans weren’t sure, because it wasn’t a stage band, that we would know what to do. (*Chuckles/scoffs.*) I said “Oh, New Orleans? We know what to do – it’s called the second line [...] I think one of the great things too, is...that there’s nothing to *learn* about this music for New Orleans people. It may be stuff they haven’t heard – like they haven’t been in a rumba or something – but... when they hear it, it’s gonna be as natural to them as anything, you know? As a second line or anything, and there’ll be no adjustment. (ibid.)¹⁰

These last remarks also play with the trope of immediacy of experience, but with the added spin of familiarity through shared traditions: perceived similarity of parading traditions obviates the need for

⁹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s argument still stands in more general terms as well, as described by Helen Regis (1999, 2008, 2013).

¹⁰ With regards to “adjustment”: in one of my videos of the “second line conga” I noticed the *comparsa* dancers easily adopting the vertical style of dancing (“buckjumping”) associated with New Orleans, as opposed to the more horizontal and fluid movements of Cuban dancing.

“adjustment” on the part of audiences, thereby facilitating their participation.¹¹ Indeed, the pleasure and comfort of the familiar second line also served a mediating function of facilitating tourist engagement with the terrain of Habana Vieja at Jazz Plaza in 2020.

My sense of these events that are explicitly about international or intercultural encounter is one of trial or provisionality: the encounter between Cuba (Havana, but also Santiago de Cuba in the case of the Cuban contingent at the 2017 festival) and New Orleans, so musically self-evident as described by musicians and festival promoters, are nonetheless politically and sometimes culturally charged, and so limiting them to the arguably innocuous realm of entertainment diffuses the threat and “distracts” with sensorial pleasures.¹² Music is not apolitical, but it is often treated as such, allowing for easier engagement on the part of “outsiders.”¹³ The belief in music’s power to overcome barriers (exhibited as well by some cultural “insiders”), in addition to the provisional, or even experimental qualities of the festival suggests that such events might be productively theorized as temporary utopias: spatial and temporal emergences of “islands” in the archipelago of circum-Caribbean musical tourism.¹⁴

Of course, looking at festivals as sites of encounter is not separate from considering them as modes of display: perhaps it is precisely in this liminal space between that the touristic encounter becomes inviting to “outsiders” who are unfamiliar with and yet curious about local culture:

Tourists who have difficulty deciphering and penetrating the quotidian of their destination find in festivals the perfect entrée. Public and spectacular, festivals have the practical advantage of offering in a concentrated form, at a designated time and place, what the tourist would otherwise search out in

¹¹ Interestingly, Ariana Hall, the director of CubaNOLA arts collective, described discomfort and uncertainty on the part of some Cuban musicians when they visit New Orleans and are introduced to second line parades. Her assessment of their hesitation was that it has to do with historical tensions between the Cuban authorities and Afro-Cuban parading traditions in Cuba (Hall 2020).

¹² Foodways are also an integral part of many festivals, not least at the Jazz and Heritage Festival. In addition, cigars were a fragrant and iconically Cuban addition to the sensorium at the 2017 event.

¹³ For example, Paul Simon’s defense of his 1986 album *Graceland* as nothing more than a musical collaboration and thereby dodging questions about his stance on South African apartheid (Meintjes 1990).

¹⁴ This utopian perspective can also be usefully linked to more specific “-topias” including Josh Kun’s account of *audiotopias* based on Foucault’s *heterotopias* (Kun 2005, 23). Chapter 5 attends more closely to musicians’ remarks on the subject.

the diffuseness of everyday life, with no guarantee of ever finding it. Typically, local festivals are simply put on the tourist itinerary. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 59)

The spatial and temporal limits of festivals, then, distill local life into something visible (as well as audible, etc.) and consumable to those who would otherwise find more significant barriers to participation because of their outsider status. Echoes of encounter – welcoming the Taíno chieftain Hatuey, celebrating visits from European royalty – lend additional facility and ease to the festive displays of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries that exhibit an impetus to move away from overtly colonial and imperial practices of earlier models like world’s fair exhibitions. In addition, festivals also align conveniently with heritage tourism models that have emerged in the same era; they may require minimal additional preparation and investment and serve as built-in tourist “destinations” for communities that have few resources other than their “culture.” As cities struggling with loss of revenue resulting from political and economic changes in the 20th century, New Orleans and Havana are among many other cities in the world seeking to capitalize on tourism. Even where more substantial infrastructure is lacking (e.g. hotel rooms, public transportation), festivals can concentrate tourist activity in order to lessen the overall burden on the city.

The Western international expositions of the nineteenth century combined display and encounter in their range of exhibitions, which sometimes included living people. Such spectacles served as curated representations of the concerns, projects, and ambitions of imperial and colonial powers, in which peoples and customs from across the globe were imported and displayed in the same festive space as marvels of architecture and engineering. A map of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago shows how this diversity of attractions was organized, with “modernity” situated in the “White City” on the lakefront and the exotica of the Midway extending away from it to the West (figure 2.5).¹⁵

¹⁵ The rationality and linearity of the urban landscape works to domesticate the Otherness represented there.



Figure 2.5. Map of the grounds of the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893. (Library of Congress).

If the awe-inspiring displays of such expositions strove to contain and represent the world according to Western logics of progress, developments in anthropology and ethnography in the early twentieth century, as well as increasing focus on intangible heritage and everyday life and culture, contributed to the appearance of a different kind of festival characterized by a more humanistic focus.

Prominent academic figures such as Fernando Ortiz and Melville Herskovits, both of whom wrote seminal monographs and established academic programs on African and African American cultures,

joined folklorists and collectors such as Zora Neale Hurston and Lydia Cabrera in pursuing serious study of Afrodiasporic traditions, an important step in establishing these traditions as part of national heritage in the U.S. and Cuba. The establishment of the Archive of American Folksong (later the Archive of Folk Culture) in 1928 and the National Folk Festival Association (later the National Council for the Traditional Arts) in 1933 likewise represent important developments in U.S. American festival practices in that there would be national bodies responsible for both documentation and production/representation of “folklife.” In Havana, such tasks fall under the purview of the Director of Culture and Patrimony, which is under the direction of the Office of the City Historian (Bailey 2008).

The first Newport Jazz Festival, in 1954, introduced yet another shade of festival experience that would nonetheless circle back to the more ethnographic through the figure of George Wein, who, having produced the event, was called upon to replicate its success with a festival in New Orleans. Taking place in Newport, Rhode Island, the Festival was not intended to represent local heritage but instead imported jazz for local consumption. In the early 1960s, Wein was approached by a group of hotel owners who were keen to fill the slow season of late April with a festival to draw out-of-town guests (Hildebrandt 2009, 16). The first meetings fell through (among other obstacles, Wein’s interracial marriage presented problems for traveling to and staying in New Orleans), but several years later – and, significantly, with the aid of Allison Miner and Quint Davis, two eager if inexperienced budding festival producers themselves – the project got off the ground. It seems that while the New Orleans tourism sector had wanted a similarly upscale, concert-focused event like that at Newport – and one that capitalized on the city’s reputation as the birthplace of jazz. By the early 1970s trends had shifted, even if New Orleans leadership had been reluctant to accept it.¹⁶

¹⁶ Publicity about the event in this early era expresses concerns about the character of festival culture, evidently spurred by negative reactions to events like Woodstock.

Evening concerts were presented in hotel ballrooms and the Municipal Theater, while a “heritage fair” component – the purview of Davis and Miner – filled the park outside in Congo Square.

In the same period (post-1959), Cuban festivals dedicated to music and culture emerged as opportunities to solidify a national culture and engage musically with other countries under the revolutionary regime. The Festival de la Música Popular Cubana, organized by the Consejo Nacional de Cultura, first took place in August of 1962 at the Amadeo Roldán theater in Vedado and was comprised of five programs: “Tradición y Son Cubano” (Spanish Tradition and Cuban Son), “Cabildos Afro-Cubanos” (Afrocuban Associations), “Música Instrumental y Mixta” (Instrumental and Mixed Music), “Cancionero Cubano,” and “Folklore Criollo” (Creole Folklore). It was described in *La Tarde* as “[un] loable empeño de presentar [...] toda la historia musical de nuestra Patria, todas sus manifestaciones folklóricas” (a laudable endeavor to present [...] all of the musical history of our homeland, all of its folkloric manifestations) (Murdoch 1962). Robin D. Moore points out that other festivals of the 1960s – for example the Festival de la Canción (1965) and Encuentro Internacional de la Canción Protesta (1967) – often took place in Varadero or other beachfront areas, specifically to attract foreign visitors (Moore 2006, 71). The 1980s saw an expansion of genres represented, including cha cha chá (1986) and bolero (1987) – the fact that a rumba festival did not appear until 2007 suggests its status as “folklore” rather than national culture. The Festival de la Cultura Caribeña (or Fiesta del Fuego) (1981), and Festival Internacional de Folklore (1993) participated in broader global trends in the 1980s and 90s towards events – and tourism – that emphasized “multiculturalism” and heritage, trends which were well-suited to Cuba’s needs in the Special Period: a source of tourist revenue without a return to the sex and vice tourism of earlier eras.

Following the establishment of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival in 1967, folklife and heritage fairs also emerged under the auspices of state governments in the U.S. throughout the

1970s.¹⁷ Though the modes of presentation differ, the general atmosphere seems to have been one of community and authenticity, perhaps best exemplified in the naming of “Tucson Meet Yourself,” which first appeared in 1974. The purpose of the Smithsonian festival, according to its website, is “to collaborate with cultural practitioners, communities, and heritage professionals to spark curiosity, catalyze intercultural exchange, and create participatory experiences that nurture human connection” (Smithsonian n.d.). The verbs alone – “spark,” “catalyze,” “create” – suggest attention to the experiential aspects of a festival beyond mere gazing – or even gawking – that may have taken place at earlier “exotic” exhibits at international expositions. If the nineteenth century was broadly characterized by Western values of scientific categorization and control, the heritage and folklife festivals of the 1970s demonstrated a more reflexive character by turning the gaze “selfward,” toward the communities which they claimed to represent.¹⁸

Throughout the 1980s-2000s, the emergence of popular music and culture festivals worldwide was yet another element in the mix of festive practices that continues to influence touristic engagement today. While WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance) (1982) is perhaps more explicitly about intercultural connection and understanding, other arts and music festivals (e.g., Burning Man, 1986; Essence, 1995; Coachella, 1999) engage more with popular culture or an otherwise cosmopolitan – that is, non-folk – aesthetic. The ambivalence of these festivals as sites of encounter, entertainment, art, and heritage, suggests an appetite on the part of participants for postmodern eclecticism and bricolage that is not necessarily opposed to individual desires to have

¹⁷ For example, establishment of Maryland Folklife Program/Maryland Folklife Festival in 1974.

¹⁸ The range of traditions included in the projects of Maryland Traditions, the current incarnation of the Maryland Folklife Program, have shifted from “Maryland traditions” – represented in the archive largely by longstanding and rural practices associated with White communities – to a more flexible model of folklife-*in*-Maryland which includes immigrant traditions (e.g., Ethiopian coffee roasting, Puerto Rican bomba) and industrial heritage (including Baltimore’s Globe Poster and Sparrow’s Point steel mill).

meaningful experiences of the “new” or “different”. The diversity of agendas or interests notwithstanding, emphasis on shared experience remains crucial.

Cuba in New Orleans, New Orleans in Havana: Locating “Difference”

In terms of encounter and display, the New Orleans and Havana Jazz festivals differ from one another in how “jazz” and other locally claimed musics are presented. By 1973, the New Orleans festival had established its annual home at the Fair Grounds Race Course and Slots, a few miles from the French Quarter. Early iterations had taken place throughout the French Quarter, with an opening concert by Pete Fountain on the riverboat President followed by evening events in hotel ballrooms and clubs. The heritage fair portion of the event migrated to the Fair Grounds in 1972, but “mainstream” headliners like Nina Simone and B.B. King continued to play the Municipal Auditorium while more “local” or even “ethnic” genres of soul, jazz, gospel, cajun, blues, and “Afro-American” music accompanied crafts and foodways at the Fair Grounds (Appendix: New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival Program, 1972).¹⁹ Since 1975, the event proper has been fully contained at the Fair Grounds, although the night shows around town that are not expressly associated with the festival also draw festival audiences. The event’s metamorphosis and migration over time highlights problematic hierarchies that persist in more recent realizations of the festival as many of the stages preserve some version of the genre designations in the 1972 program (e.g., the Gospel and Blues tents, and the Jazz and Heritage and Fais Do Do stages) while the headlining acts, which have included Jon Bon Jovi, Fleetwood Mac, and the Dave Matthews Band, perform on the largest stage, sponsored by Acura. Although local celebrities like Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews, the Meters, Galactic, and members of the Neville family also appear on the Acura stage, the naming

¹⁹ Even the way the information is presented in the program book suggests a hierarchy among the musics presented: Simone and King each get a full page (including a large photo), touting the “Night of Stars” at the Auditorium, while the acts at the fairgrounds are described in prose under genre headings.

and programming of these spaces raises the question of which musics are marked (as local/ethnic/niche), and which unmarked.²⁰

Important to the discussion here is the role of the Cultural Exchange Pavilion, also called the International Pavilion. Since the 1990s, this space has featured artists from guest countries including Haiti, Mali, Panama, Brazil, Martinique, South Africa. In 2017, as I have mentioned, the guest country was Cuba. The choice of guests from Africa and the Caribbean strongly suggests that festival planners understand these places as having a particular relationship to local New Orleans music. In 2017 the Pavilion was the ostensible primary node of Cuban music at the festival, both literally in terms of layout, and figuratively in terms of naming. The physical location of the Pavilion (consistent year after year) can work in different ways for different visitors: on the positive side, the central location may be symbolically significant as a place of honor, and for those motivated to hear music from the guest country, the home-base centrality might be helpful.²¹ On the other hand, at the center of the racetrack along with the Folk Village, the tent is removed from the outer circuit of the other stages, potentially also removing it from the usual peregrinations of the non-Folk Village-oriented (figure 2.6). The pavilion itself is relatively small, a fact emphasized by the fact that it is also mostly enclosed (figure 2.7).

²⁰ These hierarchies, particularly as they relate to parading traditions, are elaborated by Helen Regis (1999, 2008, 2013), Shana Walton (Regis and Walton 2008), and Ruthie Meadows (2014). A comparison might be made between some of the themes of the stages and the five programs at the Festival Popular.

²¹ The site of “difference” here is literally nestled in the geographical heart of the festival, in contrast to the spatial organization of the Columbian Exposition.



Figure 2.6. 2017 map of the Jazz and Heritage Festival, showing location of Cultural Exchange Pavilion. (New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival).



Figure 2.7. Cultural Exchange Pavilion, housing Cuban artists and musicians in 2017. (Photograph by the author).

The Pavilion is not always occupied by a guest country: in 2012 it was dedicated to the local traditions of Mardi Gras Indians; the following year by American Indians; in 2015 it housed the NOCCA (New Orleans Center for Creative Arts), and in 2018 it served as a venue for the celebration of the city's tricentennial. Rather than suggesting an inconsistency or simply an issue of logistics, I read the choice of groups for the space as a site of negotiation of local identity: much like New Orleans's music, the city is read variously as quintessentially itself, quintessentially American, quintessentially creolized, etc. The interchangeability of local and international acts and communities within the Cultural Exchange Pavilion suggests that the presence of one rather than the other is in fact *unremarkable*, subtly domesticating Cuba in 2017 through its equivalence with other countries of

diasporic significance. The occasional presence of foreign performers also lends a kind of buoyancy to local identity, as foreign influences are kept constantly afloat and in play within the provisional and ephemeral space of the festival. Connections made at the Fair Grounds are not necessarily evident in more permanent examples of local culture and heritage (e.g., museums), privileging the festival as a medium that is agile, fluid, and adaptable.

Modes of display and encounter at Jazz Plaza in Havana align more with those of the earlier Jazz and Heritage Festival, presenting concerts on proscenium stages at theaters and other “appropriate” venues throughout the city, including mainstream, “high” cultural institutions like the Casa de la Cultura and the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes. The Second Line Conga was somewhat of an anomaly: it was one of only three events in the program located in Habana Vieja and the only one to take place outside of a proper venue. Many of these sites are in Vedado, historically a “modern,” affluent area along the coast east of Habana Vieja, the other, more concentrated tourist district (figure 2.8).²² The neighborhood is peppered with theaters and cultural institutions including the Museo de la Danza, the Casa de las Américas and El Gran Palenque, the home of the Conjunto Folkórico Nacional, and embassies, as well as other sites referencing cosmopolitan musical belonging via the Beatles, for example the Parque Lennon and the Submarino Amarillo nightclub.

²² Although ostensibly classless, Cuban society continues to be stratified, leaving many of the political and cultural elite who remain on the island in the desirable area of Vedado.

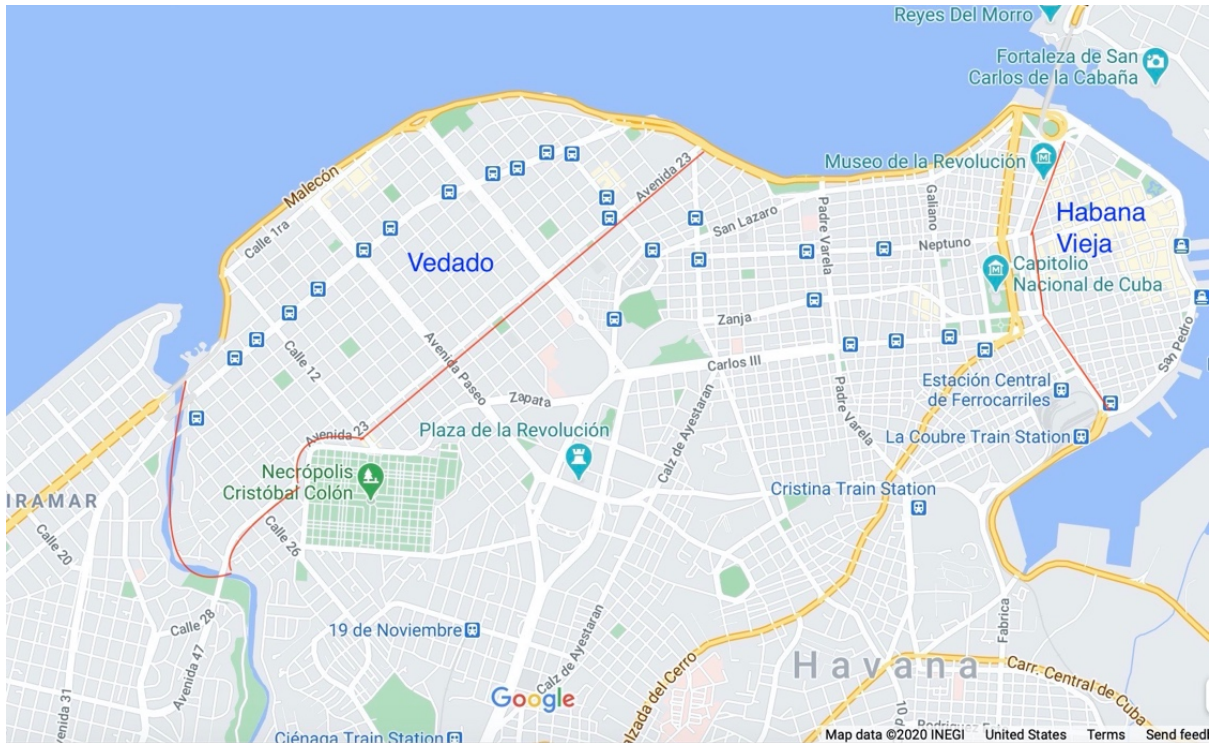


Figure 2.8. Iconic Havana neighborhoods: Vedado and Habana Vieja. (Google Maps).

As an international festival – the full title of the event is the Festival Internacional Jazz Plaza – rather than a celebration of *local jazz and heritage*, this cosmopolitanism plays a larger role, by my assessment, than it does in the New Orleans event. While it is the “rootsiness” of local and even international musics that gives New Orleans its local authenticity, it seems to me that cosmopolitan – even universalist – aspirations characterize Jazz Plaza, even as it remains rooted in Havana.²³ This universalism, rather than being truly universal, is manifested in the unmarked spaces of western cultural institutions and in the rhetoric that journalists and participants use to describe the festival and jazz in general. At the same time, state socialist motivations show through in early attempts to

²³ Havana itself, as the capital city, is often described as a kind of melting pot of the nation, bolstered by multiple waves of immigration from other parts of the island. (A negative perspective on this is represented in “La Habana No Aguanta Más,” a song by the Cuban group Los Van Van, in which the narrator complains of overcrowding.) It is also described as the ultimate island destination for those who wish to emigrate, situating it as a kind of pause-point in a flow northward, just as New Orleans is often conceived in the popular imagination as a site of departure from Anglo-America towards the Caribbean.

place blame for social tensions evident in jazz history with colonial and imperial powers. Two newspaper items from 1964 demonstrate these negotiations: the front page of *Rotograbado de Revolución* on February 17 of that year asks, somewhat rhetorically, “¿Es el Jazz Imperialista?” (Is Jazz Imperialist?), while an item in *Bohemia* from July 10 begins, “Hoy en día nadie acusa al jazz de imperialista...” (These days no one accuses jazz of imperialism....), concluding the paragraph, after a dismissal of an obsession with social and historical roots, with the proclamation that “hoy se ha convertido en un lenguaje mundial, en la música de nuestra tiempo” (today has been converted into a world language, into the music of our time) (Trejo 1964). Elaborating the obstacles and tensions in the domestication of this once-foreign music, *El Mundo* reported several years later, in 1968, on a seminar that took place at the Casa de la Cultura, the objective of which was described as one of explaining “la importancia del jazz como acervo cultural propiedad del pueblo americano y establecer las relaciones o influencias recíprocas habidas entre esa expresión musical y la música cubana” (the importance of jazz as cultural property of the American [i.e., not just U.S.] people and to establish relations or reciprocal influences between this musical expression and Cuban music”).²⁴ The event also included a paper on socio-economic aspects of U.S. jazz that assessed it as music of the vanguard and “the most exploited class,” as well as specifically Black art and expression. These “intellectual” discussions, rather than being sidelined as suggested by Quint Davis in New Orleans, continue instead to be foregrounded, as Cuban intellectuals and musicians situate themselves within the contradictions of the politics and culture of a postcolonial and post-imperialist socialist state.

Jazz Plaza began to come together in the early 1980s, long after these discussions were thrown into the foreground first at the appearance of U.S. jazz in the 1920s and then with renewed urgency following the 1959 revolution. In the interim, Cuba itself was confronted with how to integrate its own African roots and racist past into a national, raceless society. These aspirations are

²⁴ For explanation of anti-U.S. sentiments and early Cuban jazz, see Moore 1997.

still evident today, as in musician Bobby Carcassés's opening remarks at a Festival concert at the Teatro Nacional on January 14, 2020.²⁵ Introducing the song "Babalú," a popular composition written by Cuban composer Margarita Lecuona in 1939 in reference to the Santería *oricha* Babalú Ayé, he dedicated it to "todos los negros del mundo," acknowledging these Afro-Cuban origins, and then proceeded to remark on the mixed racial ancestry of Cubans, essentially including all Cubans in this category. (Carcassés himself would most likely be categorized as *blanco*, or White, in Cuba.) On the surface, and from my perspective as a U.S. American academic, I was perturbed by this claim of racial and musical unity from such a figure on the stage of the Teatro Nacional, if not exactly surprised. Where he saw shared national heritage, I couldn't help but glimpse appropriation – and not necessarily only by Carcassés himself, but also by Jazz Plaza and, ultimately, the state. My reaction was not just to the introduction, but also the performance of the song that followed: the instrumentation consisted of piano, trap drum set, congas, bass guitar, guitar, two saxophones and two trumpets, all arranged for the proscenium stage of the concert hall. After the first verse, a pair of young vocalists appeared: a fair-skinned woman in a short black dress with high heels, and a darker-skinned man in a white shirt, gold jacket and black pants. They swayed back and forth in with the precision of trained dancers as they take their microphones and beamed smiles to the audience and musicians (figure 2.9).²⁶

²⁵ Carcassés is a prominent Cuban jazz musician and one of the early organizers of the festival.

²⁶ The physical appearance of the duo is broadly consistent with tourist-oriented cabaret shows in Havana, from color of their skin and texture of their hair (the women are seldom "negra" but rather "mulata," while the men are more likely to be categorized as "negro") to their manner of dress, style of movement, and broad smiles. The addition of a dancer or two in these kinds of concert performances is also something I observed on several occasions, at different but similar venues.



Figure 2.9. “Babalú,” at the Teatro Nacional. (Photograph by the author).

Throughout the festival, the concert halls and theaters present international artists and prominent Cuban artists like Carcassés, NG La Banda, and Telmary, as well as many *homenajes* and other dedications to iconic Cuban groups like Irakere and the Conjunto Chapottín.²⁷ If these groups become “unmarked” in their appearance at the Teatro Nacional, just as Trombone Shorty graduates to “unmarked” status by his appearance on the Acura stage, then the Septetos and other groups relegated to outdoor spaces of the Pabellón Cuba and the Jardines de Coppelia (the popular al fresco ice cream “palace” in the heart of Vedado) remain marked as “traditional” and “local” both in genre and in performance space and accessibility: in contrast to the indoor events, the admission prices are lower and audiences were definitively more Cuban (and more Black).²⁸

²⁷ Carcassés and Telmary also have connections to New Orleans, both through performances at Jazz Fest 2017 and activities in late 2019, which included performances at Tipitina’s the famous Uptown venue dedicated to Professor Longhair, and a series of workshops and talks at Tulane University.

²⁸At most events, prices differ for foreigners and Cubans, usually at a rate of something like 5–10/1. Although I am unsure of the Cuban price at the Pabellón, my fee for entry was 1 CUC (= 1USD), compared with 20 CUC at the Teatro Nacional. Performances at the Jardines de Copellia were free.

These two outdoor venues are also along Calle 23, a main artery in Vedado that also serves as a kind of popular boulevard. In contrast, the Teatro Nacional is adjacent to the Plaza de la Revolución, out of the way of everyday life and overpowering in its monumental stature (figure 2.10.) In a video that I took one night at the Pabellón, the band launches into “La Guarapachanga,” a popular song from the 1960s, beginning with traditional rumba instrumentation and vocals (congas, clave, and call-and-response, harmonized in thirds and sixths); an older man in the foreground mouths the words and joins in the clave, clapping his hands; his partner, perhaps moved by recognition of an old favorite, rises demurely from her seat, straightening her clothes, and joins him, suddenly smiling and moving to the music (figure 2.11).²⁹ Partially due to the affordances of the space, the audience as a whole was more mobile and more vocal than that of the concert hall, dancing, singing, and shouting to friends and neighbors. To me, this felt more festival-like and more akin to the performances at the genre-themed stages at the New Orleans festival. These are the stages at which locals are easier to pick out and the boundaries between “insider” and “outsider” are most blurred, since one can at least occasionally spot friends and family of performers in the audience – this presence of community lends the performances added local authenticity.³⁰

²⁹ I have learned to use the ease of engagement with rumba clave as one way to assess who is Cuban and who is foreign in mixed crowds like this one – the rumba clave tends to be more difficult for Europeans and North Americans to master than the more familiar son clave.

³⁰ Will Buckingham, a University of Chicago colleague and veteran Jazz Fest performer, noted that this has changed over time. While performing at the festival once gained him access to backstage areas for the duration of the event, creating a festive atmosphere in private as well as public spaces at the Fair Grounds, recent restrictions reinforced hierarchies among local and national/international performers: clearing the backstage areas for more prestigious acts deprived him both of the backstage sociability he had enjoyed and safe storage for his instrument, ultimately making it impossible for him to stay and participate in the festival beyond his official performing obligations (Buckingham 2020).

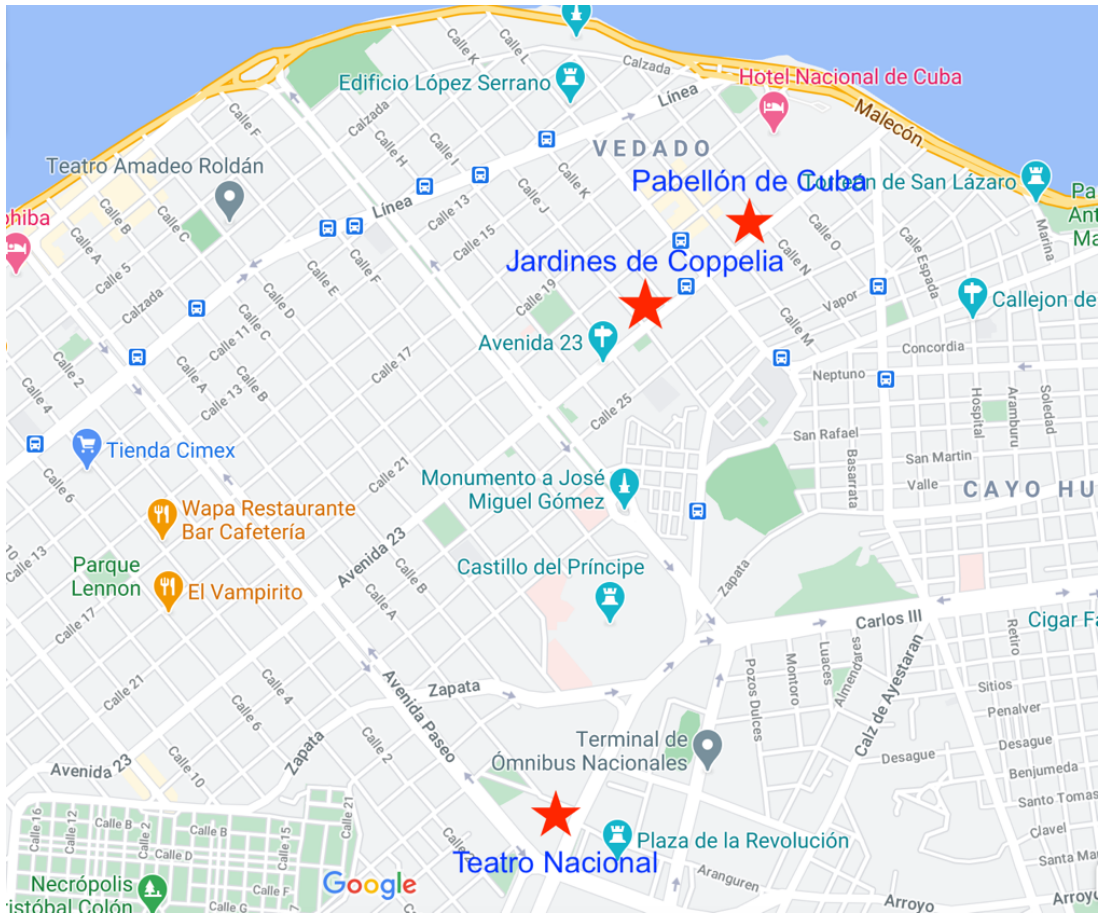


Figure 2.10. Festival venues at Jazz Plaza. (Google Maps).



Figure 2.11. “La Guarapachanga” at the Pabellón Cuba. (Photograph by the author).

Festivals as Tourist Spaces

As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues, festive phenomena are in many ways ready-made for touristic consumption. As temporally-limited, they work well with one of the basic definitions of tourism which has to do with time/place *away from the everyday* (Urry 1990). They may be (temporary) worlds in themselves, as starkly demonstrated by the construction and destruction of the White City at the Columbian Exposition.³¹ As repetitive, they also offer an opportunity to build on past experiences to create a sense of ritual and belonging.

Ritual and belonging were integral to early tourism in the form of pilgrimage: this was a form of travel not only for recreation, but also not solely for trade or practical purposes. The journey

³¹ This construction of a fantasy world is alleged to have influenced Walt Disney through his father’s participation in the construction of The City.

itself, of course, is also crucial to pilgrimage. Shared with others, it takes time, and some of that time is spent in leisure in which meals, stories, and perhaps even music are shared as well. My own experiences at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival resonate with these aspects of ritual, repetition, and shared experience: first introduced to the event by my father, I joined a tradition that he had established with his friends and their families. Joining later than others, I learned the customs and the customary way of being at the festival from the group. By the time I entered the scene, a kind of fluid routine had emerged. In fact, I often felt carried by the group and relished the total relinquishment of decision-making: each year, lodging reservations at the usual place (the R-Bar in the Marigny) had likely been completed by the previous October. When the official schedule appeared (“the cubes,” named for the blocks that represent the time, place, and duration of each performance), I could expect an ensuing flurry of emails from various parts of the country (and sometimes from Europe) containing flight confirmations of other participants. Closer to the date, phone numbers were exchanged to coordinate taxi rides from the airport, sometimes with friends of friends who had never met each other before. Each day of the festival, the custom was to spend the day at the fairgrounds, and leave nights open to more on-the-spot planning. Certain refreshments at the fairgrounds were greatly anticipated and impassioned discussion of favorites – crawfish monica, rosemint tea, cochon au lait – was performed year after year. Our party’s tradition determined that one night of the weekend was reserved for a show at Rock ‘N’ Bowl and that we were to don our “Sunday best” for the last day at the Fair Grounds.

Each year some things would change, and some would stay “the same”: the makeup of the group would shift as some members stayed home and new guests appeared (some, even though one-hit wonders, became legendary); stories from Jazz Fests past were recited and the loss of old authenticities lamented (“the *old* Rock and Bowl” was better than the new venue; “*before* Katrina” was something newcomers could never understand). As the years went on, it became evident to me

that perhaps *most* attendees have a similar experience of ritual and repetition of experience with a group of people – extending even to engagement with other “krewes.”³² Here, even “outsiders” find belonging in repeated common experience – an experience that also, importantly, joins them (us) with local artists they (we) encounter in the “same” space and time again and again. The audience at Jazz Fest includes residents and aficionados who may not easily be categorized as “local” or “tourist” – my reading of the festival is that it has succeeded in drawing not only visitors to fill the slow season, but a kind of affective community of participants that pride themselves on attachments to local culture.³³

More than the jazz festivals, Carnival has emerged as the iconic festivity in the (circum-) Caribbean. The local and local-oriented nature of New Orleans Mardi Gras, as well as the Havana carnival, are even more evident than they are in the jazz festivals, which confess to a greater extent to being tourist events.³⁴ Although thousands of visitors crowd the city, residents of New Orleans take genuine pride in Mardi Gras in a way that dodges the label of a “tourist event.” In Havana, the popular nature of the festival is reinforced by lowered food and drink prices – while refreshments at such events elsewhere might be double or triple the regular price, the Cuban government ensures low prices to ensure a genuinely popular festival.³⁵

The agendas of “locals” and “tourists” during carnival overlap in some areas and diverge in others. For example, both groups anticipate the excess, the orgiastic, and the unexpected, but for

³² A riff on Mardi Gras krewes, many groups at Jazz Fest come prepared with paraphernalia identifying themselves in the form of beer cozies, pins, and, most prominently, flags.

³³ This can even lead in some cases to elective permanent residence, as in the case of one of our group who eventually bought a home and retired in New Orleans. It had been his idea to attend the festival for the first time in the mid 1990s, after seeing a PBS documentary about it.

³⁴ When I asked Dr. Miriam Escudero (a professor of musicology associated with the Office of the City Historian in Havana) about such events in Cuba, she answered that they were intended for Cubans, with little to no regard for tourist interest. While this rings true of the public intentions of the Cuban government, I had trouble accepting the simplicity of her answer since the country relies to a large extent on income from the tourist industry.

³⁵ Prices of admission to the grandstand are also generally the same for Cubans and foreigners (although I would not be surprised if VIP tickets of some sort can be bought from hotels).

locals in these particular events, there is also a desire to see one's friends and neighbors – the familiar – in extraordinary circumstances. (For the visitor, the extraordinary circumstances themselves might be the experiential goal.) Furthermore, these two events involve specific traditions that are usually better understood by locals through their intimacy with them, afforded by their connections with friends and neighbors, their movement through the city, and their knowledge of local lore. Watching the Mardi Gras parades on St. Charles Avenue in New Orleans, a friend (“local,” though originally from Mississippi) explained to me (a “tourist,” or at least novice, though resident in New Orleans) that the marching bands that supplied the music funded their activities through the rest of the year on money earned from the parades and Mardi Gras balls. The abundance of marching bands was itself a novelty to me, not being from the South. Watching the Havana carnival with friends from Centro Habana, I was clued into the stories behind each traditional *comparsa*, the immense reputation and popularity of the spectacle provided by FEU (Federación Estudiantil Universitaria [Federation of University Students]), and the perceived vapidness of the cabaret-style dancers adorning the commercial floats in their sequined bikinis and feathered headdresses.

I propose that this social aspect of discussing the parade – an exchange between “novice” and “expert” is yet another feature that makes festivals inviting tourist destinations. Often the “expert” may only be slightly more expert than the novice, but there is pleasure in sharing the “expertise” one has *and* in being shown the ropes: it is an opportunity for both parties to engage, both with one another and with the event itself. Discussions about whose floats are the best, who has the best throws, who dances well and who dances badly – spill over from the specific event and become part of a continuous, or annually reiterated custom of *narrating* the festival.

A true carnivalesque inversion (Bakhtin 1984) may be too extreme to describe the actual experience of individuals in the examples I have presented here, but I wonder if the trope or myth

of such inversion contributes to a creative, even utopian fantasy that thrives in the exceptional, temporary space of the festival (“spark,” “catalyze,” “create”). I do not suggest that all participants engage in this fantasy – particularly if and when dynamics of privilege and power make such a fantasy an offense to the harsher realities of the situation – but perhaps only that the festival is itself the spark that allows or encourages it to happen for those so inclined. Of course, this is also not to say that the festival itself is a neutral entity. Tourist festivals especially are conceived with tourist desires – for example of authenticity, of connection, etc. – in mind. The kind of exceptionality built into festivals is integral to tourism and therefore makes sense as part of a sought-after experience. But even if tourists and locals experience the same event, the two groups may read that event in very different ways. This is clearest to me with regards to the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival: locals often feel taken for granted and undercompensated for the music and other services they provide – not just at the festival, but also more broadly within the city’s economy. With regard to particular musical experiences that might elicit different responses, a few songs come to mind: “Do You Know What It Means to Miss New Orleans,” which is frequently cited as a profound post-Katrina memorial to those who suffered through the hurricane but works equally well as a light tourist song-souvenir, and “When It’s Sleepy Time Down South” sung by Louis Armstrong, which romanticizes the old South that was in fact largely brutal and dangerous to people like himself.

Festivals and Identity/Interpretation: Encountering the Other at Home

The nature of the touristic fantasy I attempt to account for here is well-represented by the New Orleans Jazz Fest’s overall presentation as an event that embodies local pride, inclusiveness, and mutual understanding, although this is not an image presented just to tourists. These affective touchstones are demonstrated nicely by Mayor Mitch Landrieu’s remarks during a pre-festival press

conference in 2017, in which he called attention to historical and cultural resonances between New Orleans and Cuba:

First of all welcome, everybody, and to the Cuban people...welcome Mr. Ambassador, thank you so much for leading the effort to make sure...that we reconnect...the history of Cuba, the history of New Orleans, because we have been together for a very, very long time and we want that to continue...You know from time to time we'll tear ourselves apart about things in the city of New Orleans, but...we need Jazz Fest to remind us when we're at our best – when out of many, we become one. And there's no better example of it than Jazz Fest, and then specifically what it is we're doing to re-bind the ties that were torn from Cuba such a long, long time ago as it relates to who *we* are as a people. The city of New Orleans from 1718 through today – I think Havana's a little older than us, but anybody who walks along the streets of Havana – or by the way, if you just jump up to Quebec – you will begin to understand who we are and what we are as a people. And when we celebrate our diversity, and we celebrate what we've produced because of the convergence of our different art forms and our different music and our different food, you actually get what you're celebrating today, and there's no better example about the great values of New Orleans. So Mr. Ambassador I want to thank you for being here – everybody can see with their own eyes what some of the roots are of the second line and some of the things you see here today, and as New Orleans begins to commemorate her three hundredth anniversary and we reconnect with *all* of those countries that made us who we are, Cuba has been a very important player, and we are thrilled to have you back, Mr. Ambassador, as well as all of your musicians who are your cultural ambassadors that will hopefully pave a pathway to a brighter future for the Cuban people, for the American people, and certainly for the people of New Orleans. So congratulations, God bless you, and from the bottom of my heart, thank you. (Landrieu 2017)

In addition to remarking on historical connections, Landrieu also addressed issues of discord, both within New Orleans and, he hinted, between the two countries. In this way he presents the festival as a site of healing on a local and international level. Although the gist of his comments is clear, his remarks on connections are in fact temporally fragmented: for example, as he acknowledges, before we can *continue* a historical “togetherness,” we must in fact reiterate this connection – or, *re-connect*. The apparent contradictions in Landrieu's rhetoric reflect, perhaps, the confusion of trying to highlight cultural commonalities in the face of political divides.

To make sense of the aspirations and appeal of Jazz Fest for organizers and audiences, I turn to Cuban writer Antonio Benitez-Rojo and his notion of the “repeating island” which he uses to theorize connections among Caribbean cultures. The repetition entailed here is not replication, but a

kind of reiterative echoing that links the islands of the archipelago, “unfolding and bifurcating until it reaches all the seas and lands of the earth” (Benitez-Rojo 1992, 3). One tool that he employs to account for the kind of multiplicity and unfolding implicated in this model is that of narrative, elaborated by Jean-François Lyotard. Lyotard positions scientific knowledge – a kind of knowledge I see represented in the expositions of the nineteenth century – against, or rather “in addition to, and in competition and conflict with, another kind of knowledge”, which he locates in narrative (ibid, 167). Narrative, according to Lyotard, “is related to ideas of internal equilibrium and conviviality,” themes which I also perceive in the Jazz Fest: international guests are welcomed into the festival a kind of living, sounding icon of the city for the duration of the event – and ostensibly invited into dialogue with cultural comrades. For audiences, the encounter is multivalent and polyphonic in that they may see and hear collaborations between visiting and local musicians, but also in that they understand themselves to be “part of something,” a feeling of heightened participation afforded through the festive medium. In lieu of (or, again, in “addition to, and in competition and conflict with”) scientific knowledge – in this case “historical study” – the narrative of encounter at the festival is one that emerges from the academy or the archive into the lived experience of those present through sound and movement. Benitez-Rojo also perceives narrative as resonant with the modes of knowledge of “People of the Sea,” whose cultural dynamics, he says, are characterized by performance and rhythm. This is at once a powerful perspective in bringing together and making possible connections between Peoples of the Sea (that is, in this case, Cubans and New Orleanians), and a model, admittedly perhaps a utopian one, that appeals as well to certain metropolitan consumers as they try to find their own place in intercultural encounter.

What I see in the remarks of organizers and in the audiences to whom they appeal is a set of values that resonate with those of world music listeners as described by Simon Frith (2000), Anahid Kassabian (2004), and others in that music is understood by such listeners to be a meaningful

medium of connection with people different from oneself. Although many may stop short of actually claiming music to be a universal language, their attitudes suggest an alignment with this concept. Of course, apart from the pleasure of what they imagine to be a positive and reciprocal encounter, this connection also offers other benefits – for example, of social capital. If these listeners have certain values pertaining to understanding and communication, as well as the accumulation of social capital, they are also likely to be drawn to some elements of the festival that may be more educational than purely entertaining. I characterize a large portion of the Jazz Fest audience as connoisseurs or amateurs in the true sense of the word. They pride themselves on *already* knowing a fair bit about local music and culture and tend to be perennial attendees, cultivating a sense of belonging within these spheres. The main sites of educational elements are an interview stage, a “folk village” where occupations and crafts are demonstrated, and, of course, the Cultural Exchange Pavilion, which, by its very name if not *always* in the activities that take place within it, suggests an opportunity for education through an encounter with difference.

In contrast to the narrative of particular historical and cultural resonances evident at Jazz Fest 2017, the presence of New Orleans musicians at Jazz Plaza in 2020 seemed less exceptional in terms of the Cuban presentation of the event. (It *was* pitched as exceptional to potential U.S. visitors and audiences.) As I have already mentioned, the festival is identified with international jazz but features many Cuban artists. This framing points less to the international/intercontinental influences evident in *local* music than to the universality of jazz, albeit afforded to some extent by these common influences, and the cosmopolitanism of Cuban musicians who continue to excel in and redefine the genre. In fact, considering Carcassés’s hailing of “todos los negros del mundo” from the stage at the Teatro Nacional in the context of more general folklorization and integration of (particularly African-derived) cultural traditions by the Cuban state, we might read such acts as integral to a sort of historically flat cosmopolitanism that suggests equivalence or consistency in the

ways in which Cuba has musically engaged with the world over eras that have been drastically different (e.g., precolonial, colonial, revolutionary to name just one way to categorize changes in material and cultural circumstances). In my experience seeing New Orleans-based groups in Havana (which also includes Preservation Hall at the Teatro Nacional at Jazz Plaza in 2019), it was the groups themselves, rather than organizers, who tended to highlight the felt connections between the two cities. In the theaters where these events took place, the performers were introduced with scripted remarks that came across as more formal than those effused by Jazz Fest organizers; they seemed essentially no different from those I observed at other events at other, similar venues, no matter who was being introduced.³⁶ A list of accolades, they read to me as very similar to the introduction one might give a speaker at a conference.³⁷

In a conversation with Bill Taylor, the executive director of the Trombone Shorty Foundation and one of the organizers of the “Funky in Havana” trip, I learned that despite what he described as heroic coordination from an American liaison on the ground in Havana, in the end it was, by his account, as much a matter of convenience for the Cuban organizers that the arrival of the New Orleans musicians would coincide with the festival: they could simply add them to the program (Taylor 2021).³⁸ In my experience both in 2019 and 2020, the program does not appear until shortly before the festival, making this easy enough to do (Bill and I shared our bewilderment over this and looked at the timeline for Jazz Fest scheduling as a strong contrast). Even so, the acts

³⁶ These were often delivered by women whose general appearances might be best summed up as similar to a glamorous television newscaster (most likely young and light-skinned, with straight hair) or, alternatively, Afrocentric-folkloric (more likely to be older, of slightly darker complexion [though rarely what would be described as *negra*], possibly with textured hair but which may be covered).

³⁷ For example the presentation of the Conjunto Folklórico Nacional during the Caribbean Studies Association meeting in June of 2018 and an “Homenaje a Beny Moré” on February 19, 2019, both of which took place at the Teatro Mella in Vedado.

³⁸ Some of the venues that the New Orleans groups played in Havana (like the Teatro Nacional) were regularly booked as part of Jazz Plaza; others (like the Fábrica de Arte Cubano) were not.

from New Orleans appeared matter-of-factly alongside others, in contrast to the kinds of promotion Cuban musicians received in New Orleans in 2017.³⁹

More generally, in government rhetoric, scholarship on contemporary Cuba (e.g., Bodenheimer 2015), and the remarks and behavior of Cubans I know, I perceive a desire for equity and participation in the world that aligns with a cosmopolitan outlook in that it aspires to be in conversation with global cultures, media, and opportunities. I see this cosmopolitanism as an insistence on Cuban modernity and ability in the face of its image as a poor country clinging to Communism long after the end of the Cold War, or an island paradise “so near, and yet so foreign” as a mid-20th-century tourism slogan goes. As Ulf Hannerz describes it, cosmopolitanism – a certain kind of “openness” and “readiness” – is also a kind of competence (Hannerz 1996, 103). In this context, cultivation and performance of such (musical) competence jibes with a resistance on the part of Cuban musicians to being pigeonholed as anything less than world-class performers. I mean “world-class” in a colloquial sense that carries Eurocentric and classist implications: it has to do with tastes and values largely associated with the modern West. Although “Latin jazz” has become its own celebrated style, the ostensibly regional qualification compromises its universality.

Part of the insistence on equivalence comes from government rhetoric that touts the abilities and accomplishments of its people, but Cuban participants themselves – whether in the street during the second line or at the workshops with the Trombone Shorty Academy – demonstrated a readiness and competence to engage with New Orleans music that combined with a certain kind of confidence in the local to form what I will call a “serious” cosmopolitanism, in contrast to other varieties that can tend towards the frivolous or dilettante-ish.

³⁹ Curiously, the bands from New Orleans were described as just that, “Bandas de New Orleans,” rather than with a national designation like the other international guests.

Even as many Habaneros participated comfortably in musicking with New Orleanians whom they had most likely never heard of (no one I knew had), a Cuban acquaintance had specifically been looking forward to the chance to see one of the groups on the trip, Tank and the Bangas. I got the impression that this had less to do with any perceived musical connections between Havana and New Orleans than the popularity of the particular group and the possibility, afforded by residing in the capital, of seeing them. The diversity of reactions I noticed from locals in Havana to the groups from New Orleans, from ignorance/disinterest to casual amusement to anticipation and excitement, spills beyond what Quint Davis predicted for participants at Jazz Fest '17: an immediate yet historically-supported resonance. These engagements were not based on the historically-based script that shaped the narrative of Caribbean resonances at the Fairgrounds in New Orleans, but the cosmopolitanism at work may not be incompatible with narrative work as it allows for diverse encounters with the Other.

Conclusion

I have presented The Festival in this context as a site and mode of encounter that hearkens back to the touchstones of locally-specific slave dances in New Orleans and the *areíto* in Cuba and retains residues of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western manners of display, even as they have developed into more self-consciously interactive, engaged spaces. Festivals offer easy access to tourists in their spatial and temporal confinement as well as their repetition, as participants (both tourists and “locals”) are afforded the opportunity to build on their experiences over time, a process which also serves to establish, manipulate, or negotiate identity and the interpretation of the event in terms of what it means for the city and the nation, and for the visitors who consume the city/nation represented musically and festively. In comparing jazz festivals in New Orleans and Havana and the

featuring of guest musicians from each, I have made the case that New Orleans emerges as a site of creolized, possibly utopian narrative, while Havana comes into view as a cosmopolitan city tuned into universal musical practices. A notable difference in these two jazz festivals is that one takes place in the “most Caribbean city in America” and the other in the Northward-facing capital. If Cuban music tends to migrate with its practitioners to Havana (and then to the world), Havana becomes a site of encounter in a larger sense: a stage on which Cubans and foreigners meet on equal terms and share in cosmopolitan musicmaking. In contrast, New Orleans looks to the Gulf more receptively, seeking roots and resonances in shared musical languages. Dave Bartholomew’s reference to the people crowding New Orleans “almost from everywhere” aligns with the festive spirit facilitated, and even brought into being by the presence of visitors and the trope of New Orleans as a site of sediment, mixture, and creolization while Miriam Escudero’s assertion of the priority of Cuban audiences over tourists characterizes Jazz Plaza as an opportunity for Cubans to engage with international music without being compromised by it. If these two cities share much in terms of music and the need for tourism income, the political and practical demands of each creates not only different styles of presentation, but also different aspirations for what the festival can mean in terms of local, regional, national, and international relationships, and how these are understood in the past, present, and future.

3. Fixing Musical Encounters (Sites)

There's an underwater dance club
Down in New Orleans
If ya don't know, then you don't need to know, babe
Just exactly where it is
There's an underwater dance club...
–Quintron, “Underwater Dance Club”

On February 1, 2021, I prepare for a scheduled interview with Quintron, local organist, instrument maker, and electrician. Alerted by text message of his arrival, I meet my guest on the sidewalk in front my house, then open the rickety wooden gate to the narrow pathway that runs the length of the long shotgun house to the backyard, where I have arranged a makeshift al fresco interview studio (figure 3.1). Our meeting already feels clandestine – many such meetings do, amid the Covid-19 pandemic. Before I switch on the recording device, he remarks on the guidebook I have on hand for our conversation: New Orleans: The Underground Guide (Welch and Boyles 2018). Asking to keep certain details of our conversation private, he relays a falling-out with one of the writers over the publication, without Quintron's consent and for tourist consumption, of sensitive information related to underground events in which he was involved. “The reason the underground is beautiful and it is the underground,” he says in his conclusion of the account of the incident, “is that... secrets are beautiful. New Orleans is about secrets. And every secret doesn't have to be told – you have to dig for gold. And he disrespected that” (Quintron 2021).



Figure 3.1. Backyard interview. (Photograph by the author).

For this chapter on musical sites, I open with a lyric and vignette to bring focus to the nuances of space between public and private, tourist and local, within the musical cities of New Orleans and Havana. Entering through the side gate into the backyard, Quintron and I engaged in a discussion about “underground” spaces and how he represents New Orleans in his music, including the image of an underwater dance club. Even as this chapter moves towards the tangibility and permanence of urban environments, the ambivalence of tourism continues to trouble any singular narratives and

experiences of urban space¹. Furthermore, the desire for mystery and exclusivity evident in both the lyrics of “Underwater Dance Club” and in Quintron’s protectiveness over his privacy gesture towards a kind of “off the grid” (underground) touring that characterizes much of the rhetoric about visiting both New Orleans and Havana in tourism literature and popular culture.² Cautious of overextending aquatic metaphors (Hay 2006), I suggest that the medium/metaphor of water can be useful in theorizing the aforementioned troubling of singular narratives as well as the secrecy of the hidden. An aquatic and archipelagic model (that accounts for touristic desires and interpretation on a more individual, experiential scale) accommodates a constructive tourist imaginary that is more than a “tourist perspective” characterized by its failure to appreciate or understand. As I proceed to “fix” musical encounters within the space of the city, I foreground the placed (“down in New Orleans”) placelessness (“if you don’t know, you don’t need to know, babe / just exactly where it is”) of the underwater dance club – and its social, as well as literal caché – as an example of the way that place is played into being within touristic contexts.

A focus on particular sites serves the purpose of organizing (in this case the musical life of the city) through material storytelling – a practice regularly used in tourism in the form of neighborhood tours and museum exhibits³ In this chapter, I bring this approach into conversation with a different kind of storytelling, one I characterize as “utopian” in the sense that it operates within the realm of fantasy and imagination to create a “good,” but placeless place.⁴ Although in some ways these could be reduced to binaries (one being focused on the past, the other on the future for example – or an overemphasis on either objects or experience), I am interested here in how they come together in the ways that the spaces accrue meaning, With these approaches in mind,

¹ See Dawdy 2016 and 2017 for attentive accounts of interpretations of the physical environment of New Orleans.

² More examples of media portrayals of the cities are discussed in Chapter 4.

³ Material focus in tourism makes “the local” concrete and auratic.

⁴ Bruce 2008, xxi. This kind of utopian storytelling has something in common with “narrative” as discussed in Chapter 2.

I turn to urban spaces and the roles they play in the establishment of particular (sonic) images of New Orleans and Havana at three scales: 1) Districts, 2) Streets, and 3) Venues. These three registers are connected to one another through the logic of the city, but also through narrative mechanisms performed by locals and visitors that characterize the city as a whole as a musical place.⁵ By way of introduction to the sonic-touristic city in the three registers, I begin with a theorization of urban musical tourism that addresses elements of Quintron's underwater dance club and can be productively applied to both New Orleans and Havana.

Theorizing the Musical City

The (Sonic) Image of the City

By the early twentieth century, New Orleans and Havana had both gained a solid reputations as appealing destinations for U.S. Americans in search of revelry and diversion, often tied to vice tourism. Today, the cities continue to capitalize on their images as places of leisure and pleasure with distinct local histories, but with the significant addition of music and other elements of what might be classified as intangible cultural heritage. While both cities offer “world class” (read Western/cosmopolitan) tourist attractions like classical music performances and fine art museums, I focus here on the “unique,” (rather than “universal”) locally-grounded musics and experiences that play a central role in “cultural tourism” as described in Chapter 1, as well as related types that value a degree of investment or interest in understanding and/or participating in local life.

⁵ They also align with the way many tourism guides categorize urban space. *The Underground Guide* follows a traditional model in beginning its city orientation with neighborhoods, but subtly suggests a less traditional hierarchy of importance: it first addresses the Downtown (hip, gentrifying) neighborhoods of Bywater and the Ninth ward, then works upriver towards the French Quarter before moving onto the rest of the city. These brief summaries are followed immediately by the music venues section, suggesting the importance of those types of sites to “underground New Orleans.”

The sounding city has been explored by scholars working on historical cases in Italy (Atkinson 2016, Howard and Moretti 2009) and contemporary life in the twenty-first century (Klotz, Bohlman and Koch 2018 and Sakakeeny 2010 and 2013). As a body of literature, these sources highlight the importance of sound in urban space and its role in organizing, regulating, and renegotiating social life. Certain cities adopt their associated sounds as supreme in their identity, drawing tourists to visit the “birthplace” or “home” of popular musics like jazz (New Orleans), country (Nashville), blues (Chicago), rock and roll (Memphis) Motown (Detroit), or grunge (Portland).

Les Roberts’s (2014) study of Liverpool attends specifically to the mechanics of establishing musical place as tourist destination through the lenses of “contagious” and “sympathetic” magic, through which the symbolic capital of celebrity musicians is deployed to attract visitors. In turning to different kinds of sites, Roberts locates contagion in proximity to (or gazing at) “auratic sites” associated with individuals or events (e.g., the Hotel Inglaterra,⁶ the site of the first *son* recordings made in Havana) and “sympathy and imitation” in activities that engage in some way with practice (e.g., following a Sunday second line up St. Bernard Avenue in New Orleans.) (Roberts 2014, 22). These tenuous and temporary connections to the material space of the city make touristic musicscapes a viable solution to the economic needs of cities that have moved away from material production but possess attractive intangible cultural heritage.⁷ This intangibility facilitates music’s ubiquity (and its renewal and reproduction), filling in the “gaps” left by history and bringing the city to life: the void left by the absence of key figures or even more permanent physical structures can be

⁶ As a particular example of touristic encounter in and with the city, Moshe Morad engages with the aura of the hotel as a site of homoerotic inspiration and gay encounter in his essay “The Action Is at the Cuban Ballet” (Morad 2017).

⁷ This process also implicates what Kevin Fox Gotham describes as “a shift from a ‘culture of tourism’ to a ‘touristic culture’” that has taken place since the 1960s, as “broad sociocultural transformations have blurred the distinction between tourism and other institutions and cultural practices... Today, a touristic culture denotes a process by which tourism discourses and practices increasingly frame meanings and assertions of local culture and authenticity” (Gotham 2007, 20).

filled with sound and magic. In this sense, sound can work *as* magic, not only to conjure spirits from the past (e.g., Kermit Ruffins’s musical hailing of Louis Armstrong in his repertoire and playing style) but to bring the past into contact with the lived present, as listeners hear the music in real time as they also walk, dance, observe, and encounter – perhaps entirely ignorant of the particular past being brought to life.⁸

Inhabiting the Musical City: “Official” and “Underwater” Representations

There are multitudes of ways to understand and participate in the Musical City. I turn first to outward-facing media designed to represent the local and entice the outsider. These portray what I will call the Official Musical City: the sonic/musical image of the city as mediated through guidebooks, historic markers, tourism websites, and maps. Through these tools of the tourist trade, the city is made intelligible and accessible. Furthermore, they converge to reinscribe the significance of particular districts, streets, and sites (as well as traditions), while leaving others unacknowledged. Relatively new models of tourism media like the websites of distributed services like Airbnb are perhaps situated at the frayed edges of this official tourist-scape, though even they tend to cohere around certain attractions and activities. A more detailed discussion of various kinds of media representations is presented in Chapter 4, but I will mark the territory here by designating them the tools by which the Official Musical City is presented to potential visitors.

The Official Musical City of New Orleans includes festivals, colliding musical genres, street life, historic venues, and jazz legends. A summary of “New Orleans Music” on the tourism website Neworleans.com describes it this way:

⁸ This example is meant to illustrate a representative system of citation that those “in the know” would understand: to some, Ruffins’s may sound vaguely “like New Orleans” (particularly through his appearance on the HBO series *Treme*); another may recognize the emulation of Louis Armstrong in his playing; still another might understand the subtleties of adaptation Ruffins employs in his homage.

Always, forever, the city's music is its beating heart – especially true during Mardi Gras, Jazz Fest and other celebrations. The musical notes of jazz, brass, R&B, soul and many mixes fill the air along with night-blooming jasmine and other fabulous tropical fragrances. Walk down Frenchmen Street, the main artery of the Marigny neighborhood adjacent to the French Quarter and take in the vibrant blocks of cafes, music clubs and restaurants including Snug Harbor, d.b.a. and the Spotted Cat. New Orleans has produced its share of musical giants, from greats like Louis Armstrong, Dr. John and Allen Toussaint to contemporary acts like Trombone Shorty, Big Freedia and Hurray for the Ruffruff. Preservation Hall on Bourbon Street is always a hit but also visit the Mother-In-Law Lounge on Claiborne Avenue, Rock-N-Bowl in Mid-City, the Maple Leaf Uptown and Vaughn's [sic] in the Bywater. These local dives and music venues will keep you dancing all night. It's all part of the magic, part of the brilliant *je ne sais quoi* that is found only in New Orleans. (Neworleans.com, n.d.)

The music of the city is then represented in the following categories –in order – linked to more information: “Live Music This [Month] in New Orleans,” “Where to See Live Music Every Night of the Week,” “New Orleans Musicians A-Z,” “Music Clubs,” “Jazz Clubs,” “Frenchmen Street,” “Music Festivals,” “New Orleans Music History and Traditions,” “Music and Vinyl Stores,” “Cajun Dancing,” “Opera,” and finally, “Symphony Orchestra.”

As described here, the wealth of musical activity is also sustained by a deep history⁹ and enhanced by and conflated with other sensory pleasures (including “fabulous tropical fragrances” and “vibrant blocks of cafes”). The text dutifully names “districts” (the neighborhoods of the Marigny and French Quarter), streets (Frenchman Street) and venues (both in general and by name) as places worthy of attention, linked through music and (somewhat free, somewhat predetermined) tourist movement.¹⁰ The apparent hierarchy of importance suggested by the categories of music information puts live music at the forefront; musicians and venues are represented alongside “experiences” suggested by The Street ([as elaborated in this chapter](#)) and The Festival; “high” art and culture associated with elite European traditions come last. Even in the Official Musical City, references to “dives,” “magic,” and “*je ne sais quoi*” hint at the special excitement of the place.

⁹ The claim the of New Orleans's “Always, forever” musicality seems to temporally unmoor the city from the present and set it afloat between the past and future; time emerges again and again in tourism, paralleling its central role in heritage, as a “mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past” – and, arguably, directed towards the future (in terms of “education” or “preservation”) (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 369).

¹⁰ Not only are these worthy of attention, but also some amount of “understanding” (or investment), in that the description helps to map the city in the tourist's imagination, contextualizing these “entities” in terms of one another.

(Following this summary is a link to a blog called “Insider Music,” further emphasizing the apparent inconsistencies between tourism and secrecy represented by *The Underground Guide*: just as it is contradictory for a guide to be “underground,” a tourism website seems an unlikely place to find truly “insider” information.) Taken together, this summary shares much in common with other media accounting for New Orleans’s musical attractions.

Havana’s Official Musical City generally coalesces around its identity as a capital city that equals other cosmopolitan cities in its “high” cultural institutions and honors the traditions and expression of its residents – including musical training and labor. On the website for Havanatur, the Cuban state-operated agency, photos representing “city tours” are dominated by images of the Gran Teatro (both in the daytime and at night). The building – home to the Ballet Nacional de Cuba – is situated next to the Capitolio and on the border of Habana Vieja, close to the heart of the touristic city. The only explicitly musical experience offered at the moment (June of 2022) appears to be a show at the Tropicana, the famous venue in the ritzy area of Miramar that inserted itself into Havana’s touristic image in the 1930s, where it has remained ever since. The Cuba Travel “tourism portal” touts “[t]he high scientific, technological, and cultural development that our country has achieved [that] has led to the holding of increasingly prestigious congresses, events, festivals and fairs with a greater number of participants worldwide” (Cuba Travel n.d.). This prestige is complemented by a reference to encounter that seems to hint at something more dynamic and interactive: “Cuba possesses many attractions that encourage cultural encounters, that’s the reason why it is one of the most chosen countries to celebrate events, fairs and festivities in the Caribbean” (Cuba Travel n.d.). In this representation, cultural “development” and “encounter” take their place next to science and technology as components of a robust modern society in tune with the world.

The Official Musical City of Havana emerges slightly differently in the representations generated from abroad.¹¹ Outside the country, Cuba's music has dedicated audiences and amateurs all over the globe, and its exceptional status as a socialist country appeal to visitors likely to take particular interest in culture and politics. Music's (and socialism's) outsized role in the touristic image of Havana is not limited to U.S. Americans, though it emerges with particular importance for U.S. American audiences, due to both physical (and, to a degree, cultural) proximity and limited access. Because U.S. Americans have generally been prohibited by our own government from traveling to Cuba as "tourists," visitors have been funneled through particular channels – largely educational or religious, emphasizing professional tourism or voluntourism – to travel to a place that in fact also caters to more "hedonistic" audiences like the large numbers of Canadian tourists who frequent Cuba's beach resorts.¹²

Entities like Cuba Travel Services, Cuba Educational Travel, and Havana Music Tours cater to U.S. Americans who have enough of an interest in Cuba to make a special effort to get there. Like other travel sites, Cuba Travel Services (which teams with Southwest Airlines to provide visas for all of their commercial flights to Havana from the U.S.) offers a variety of "experiences" in Havana to potential travelers, including salsa lessons ("Immerse yourself in the ultimate Cuban experience" in a "fun and nurturing environment" [Cuba Travel Services n.d.], "Learn How to Salsa") and "Havana by Night" ("a mix of cultural, historical, culinary, and musical flavors" including a visit to the

¹¹ The comparison of site-generated tourism materials highlights some stark differences, most immediately that of volume of information. In general, information about Havana is more difficult to access (even from within the city itself). Another difference is the volume of opportunity: while the Neworleans.com text names particular venues, such naming comes across more as elaboration of general musical profusion, rather than a definitive list; in Havana, tourist materials tend to name the same dozen or so venues, which nonetheless span a range from "traditional," contemporary, popular, and classical musics. On a related note, the monumental musical touristscape of New Orleans is also more prominent than that of Havana, including murals, statues, plaques, and venues themselves commemorating musical traditions and individual musicians.

¹² One consequence of this is that permitted travel to Cuba becomes more organized, adhering more closely to mass tourism models. Visitors who might otherwise choose to experience Havana as a "traveler" or adventure-type tourist find themselves on the dreaded tour bus, being shuttled between attractions.

Tropicana [Cuba Educational Travel n.d. “Havana by Night”]). In its gallery of examples of offered “experiences,” Cuba Educational Travel (CET) offers two options for encountering Cuban music: “Meet Cuban Musicians” and “Private Concerts” (Cuba Educational Travel, n.d.), conveying an intimate and somewhat serious approach to educational/cultural tourism.¹³ In 2020, CET organized “Getting Funky in Havana,” a project spearheaded by the Trombone Shorty Foundation that brought musicians from New Orleans to Havana for a series of performances and “cultural exchanges.”¹⁴ Havana Music Tours likewise promises “discover[y] [of] the music, people, and art of Cuba” through “the most in-depth and immersive cultural tours you can find in Cuba,” led by pro musicians, musicologists, and Cuba travel experts” (Havana Music Tours n.d.). On this website in particular, the images of a gesticulating and colorfully-clad tour guide facing his audience on a Havana street, a crowded street with stilt performers, a classroom scene, and a view of a concert performance (*from behind the performers*) draw out a contrast to the staid and “mainstream touristic” images of the Cuban state agency. Taken together, the materials discussed here represent Official Musical Havana as prestigious, cosmopolitan, and well-trained, as well as organic, engaged, and open.

A counterpart to the Official Musical City represented in guidebooks, historic markers, maps, and other accoutrements and instruments of city officials and tourist bureaus, what I will call the “Underwater” Musical City lives in the imaginations of tourists with a sense of adventure – indeed, those who might characterize themselves as “travelers” rather than tourists at all.¹⁵ The term

¹³ The organization offers trips that focus on “different aspects of Cuban society, including agriculture, arts and music, cuisine, education, environment, health care, fashion, science and sports” (Cuba Educational Travel, n.d.). The focus on elements like education and healthcare are typical of much tourism literature intended for not only U.S. American, but also European audiences, emphasizing Cuba’s uniqueness in these fields.

¹⁴ The project is discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 5.

¹⁵ There is also the self-conscious or ironic tourist, who may take pleasure in the postmodern bricolage of tourism as its own kind of heritage (e.g. Weaver 2011).

I choose here is meant to riff on Quintron’s underwater dance club, as well as “the underground.”¹⁶ The secrecy implied here is not total, nor is it necessarily literal or intentional; it is intended to carry through Quintron’s characterization of the sanctity and desirability of private spaces and experiences in contrast to the overt and overtly mass-mediated Official Musical City. This variety of tourism is not ubiquitous or common to all destinations but does seem to play a significant role in both New Orleans and Havana. The vice tourism of drugs/booze, sex, and music in the twentieth century (not to mention that typical of port towns since time immemorial) set the stage for later associations of music, sensual freedoms, and authenticity of place.¹⁷ (The convergence of musical offerings with “nightlife,” even within the Official Musical City, supports a reading of urban musical encounter as somehow illicit.) Performers like Louis Armstrong, Jelly Roll Morton (both associated with their red-light-district origins in popular narratives), the Sexteto Habanero, and Rita Montaner reached cosmopolitan audiences through touring and recording; the “exotic”¹⁸ music they made combined with images conjured by authors like (legendary alcoholics) Tennessee Williams and Ernest Hemingway burnished an already-extant reputation of roguish romance that tends to persist, even as it also diversifies.

The sonic images of New Orleans and Havana – both “official” and “underwater” – possess qualities of creolization (gumbo and *ajiaco*¹⁹ are the respective culinary metaphors for local cultural

¹⁶ In addition, water works as a partially-obfuscating, shapeshifting, connecting medium. It fills in the space between “islands”: between self and other, between New Orleans and Havana. It also suggests a loss of individuality/Western hegemonic self (as in participatory music). The aquatic medium I refer to here is not oceanic (nebulous, unbounded), but shares qualities of the archipelago: social, dynamic, shapeshifting (based on OED definitions).

¹⁷ Basil Woon’s *When It’s Cocktail Time in Cuba* (1928) and Robert Kinney’s *The Bachelor in New Orleans* (1942) are representative of a certain kind of early-twentieth-century tourism that is distinctly masculine and somewhat shamelessly irreverent in its guidance to local urban recreation.

¹⁸ Moore 1997, 166.

¹⁹ This metaphor is credited to twentieth-century Cuban musicologist Fernando Ortiz. Adding temporal dimension to this metaphor, João Felipe Gonçalves reminds us that Ortiz “defin[ed] Cubanness as a process rather than an essence” (Gonçalves 2014, 447.) This characterization of culture as restless and never-finished resonates with the archipelago as defined by Antonio Benitez-Rojo (1992). This perpetual motion confronts the “always, forever” of New Orleans culture as described on Neworleans.com not in a contradictory way, but as another possibility of interpretation (in addition to that of “ancient” local tradition): New Orleans is not “always, forever” *the same*, but “always, forever” becoming though sound.

mixture), authenticity, and innovation: though they rely on “tradition,” the traditional musics of, for example, jazz and *son* are understood to be inherently creolized, thereby allowing them to continue to mix with new and different genres without compromising their local authenticity. Also present is the trope of musical ubiquity: the sense that that music is “in the air.”²⁰ (Indeed, it is often overheard as it spills through and over, and reverberates around physical barriers in the city.) Although this promise of abundance draws visitors, it can also contribute to a sense that the music is *naturally-occurring*, with the result that musicians have historically been underpaid for their labor and the specter of stereotype of the happy (poor) musical native is never far from the scene.²¹ Nonetheless, musical life in these two cities is indeed different from that in many North American and European cities from which most visitors arrive: it is often less formal, less rehearsed, and more participatory, improvisatory, and communal. (Even in Quintrón’s underground, to which access is limited, these same qualities hold true: in our interview, he relayed that the thing he missed most during the pandemic was parties; he does not see himself as a solo artist to be listened to, but rather *to be partied to*.²²) This perceived exceptionality makes a ready product to satisfy the modern tourist’s desire for *different experiences* through changed musical sociability. As I approach the categories of district, street, and venue, I do so with attention to the touristic desires and expectations outlined here.

²⁰ For an example, the two cities are musicalized in *A Tuba to Cuba* (2018) both through editing (using footage of the city and of performing percussionists) and through the statements of musicians: Clint Maedgen of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band effuses: “The soundscapes... the calliope comin’ off the river this afternoon, it’s just... how it interacts with the fire truck goin’ by, and the horse and buggy cuttin’ the rhythm with their hooves – that’s all music” (Herrington and Clinch 2018). Oscar Valdés, a drummer in Havana, calls Cuba “a magical and musical island,” similarly characterizing everyday sounds as musical: “even when dogs bark, they bark music” (ibid.). Reinscribed by both locals and visitors, these ideas of music as nearly naturally-occurring become part of the cities’ image. The trope of musical ubiquity is explored further in Chapter 4.

²¹ (5/21/21) As the global pandemic lifts in New Orleans, there is reported to be renewed respect for music as labor that has resulted in increased wages for musicians and service industry workers. Anecdotally it seems that venues and tourists are willing to pay for what they have missed over the past year.

²² In addition, his bullet-point biography on his website, which describes him in terms of pros and cons, puts forth claims that resonate with these notions of exceptional musicmaking, both within urban musical tourism and in the underground: “Exciting clothes, high energy, very raw / original. Always violent and interesting” (pros). “Sometimes unpracticed and distracted” (cons) (“Quintrón,” n.d.).

Music – especially vernacular music – plays a key role in mediating the city for visitors as they make their way through it: it invites the outsider in, paving the way to an encounter with difference within the universal/cosmopolitan/anonymous space of the urban environment. New Orleans and Havana draw outsiders not just for their tourist “attractions” proper, but also for the more nebulous perceptions of their urban vibrancy, often most readily located in movement and sound. At the same time, touristic “artifice” asserts itself and makes itself visible within (or against) the “organic” urban setting in the form of commercial offerings – like a jazz cruise on the Mississippi on the steamboat Natchez or a Buena Vista Social Club performance in Old Havana. The challenge for the adventurous tourist is to find their way beyond the tourist façade and into the “real” (secret/subterranean/subaquatic) life of the city – usually perceived to be distinct and separate from the tourist “bubble.” The Official Musical City itself is in fact peppered with winks and nods to local secrets and authenticities just within (or just out of?) reach of the tourist, suggesting the centrality of the Underwater Musical City even within the mainstream.²³ To theorize some of the particular qualities of urban tourism that come to bear on New Orleans and Havana, I turn to theories of “slumming.”

Urban tourism/ “Slumming”

The desire for the elusive, secret, or unexpected in tourism highlights the particular of appeal urban environments. The anonymity and density of the city facilitate the possibility of hidden worlds and chance encounters – the “underwater” city. Though modern cities are not made up of neutral spaces, tourism often creates a sense of borderlessness in its representations of urban life, drawing on a tradition of consumption-through-experience exemplified by the *flâneur*. This remains the case even as border-crossing, in both a geographical and figurative sense, is also part of the attraction. (I

²³ The archipelago accommodates the intermingling of and friction between the Official and Underwater Musical Cities.

point again to the breezy archipelago of districts, streets, and venues on Neworleans.com, as well as the bricolage of different places and their sensual pleasures that constitutes “Havana by Night”).²⁴ Cities can be at once familiar and strange (cosmopolitan and local); for visitors they are easy to access (served by major airports and other transportation routes) and intelligible (like other cities, maybe even “home”), allowing tourists relative freedom of movement, both within and beyond designated tourist areas. This freedom enhances and expands the potential for the visitor to inhabit the city as a choraster as described in Chapter 1: an individual who is engages with place through experience and gives it social meaning (Wearing and Foley 2017).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, urban touring practices that centered on urban spaces of “difference” set the stage for new kinds of experiential tourism. In the previous chapter I outlined some of the ways that spectatorship developed in exposition environments of incongruity and exoticism informed the touristic gaze. At the same time, both literal and literary visits to immigrant neighborhoods and red-light districts, coincident with the development of urban tourism more broadly, re-characterized such neighborhoods as places of entertainment and leisure rather than primarily as evidence of the social and moral failings of the poor. With the growth of urban populations in general, the city emerged as cosmopolitan and modern and tourists changed their habits, abandoning the peace and quiet of nature for the thrill of urban effervescence.

Lacking the history and sophisticated “high” culture of Europe, nineteenth-century tourism in the U.S. had focused on the unspoiled natural beauty of the landscape. American cities were not only perceived as dirty, alienating, and dangerous like their European counterparts, but also new, stripping them of the romance which other cities possessed. Catherine Cocks’s account of the rise of

²⁴ Organized tours of Havana’s nightlife became available to tourists as early as the 1920s (Cocks 2013, 69); one 1928 excursion included an evening drive along the Malecón and through Chinatown, a jai alai game, a visit to the Sans Souci nightclub and the Casino, to return to the ship at 2:30am. Around that time, Cocks claims that tourists had come to regard the city itself as “a giant nightclub” (ibid., 147–148).

American tourism during this period centers on the sterilization, quantification, and rationalization of the American urban landscape (Cocks 2001). The impersonal, consumeristic, totalizing vision, which depends heavily on a modern capitalist attitude, explains many of the characteristics of modern tourism and touristic behavior, but leaves some out. The remainder – the desire for mystery, grit, or the forbidden²⁵ – suggests an explanation for the slumming variety of tourism.²⁶

I propose slumming as a theoretical framework for tourism in New Orleans and Havana because both places benefit from a fascination with the forbidden that is not common to all tourist destinations yet seems to play a significant role in the touristic images of these two, as suggested in my gloss of the Underwater Musical City. Although both cities offer a number of tourist attractions that are essentially equivalent to those of other cosmopolitan cities (art museums, concert halls, historic districts and sites, distinct culinary traditions), what seems to adhere most closely to the *musical* tourism common to both is an attraction to the distinctly and authentically local, which is often cast in terms that range from earnestly hyperbolic to the intentionally obscure. An emphasis on uniqueness seeps into a wide swath of modern tourism that focuses more on experiences than earlier modes that relied more heavily on rational/accumulative sight-seeing as represented by the Grand Tour.

“Slumming” in the Victorian era was characterized by both prurient interests and reformatory ones, but as far as official rhetoric went, the latter was more prominent. In London journalists like James Greenwood and W.T. Stead reported what they saw in the workhouses and brothels of the urban underworld for the apparent purposes of moral reform. In New York, the photographer Jacob Riis went into the slums of Manhattan with the intention of exposing poverty

²⁵ “The very dread that attaches itself to this forbidden nether world seems to have been converted into an important factor in tourist motivation” (MacCannell, 75).

²⁶ Calling this the “remainder” suggests something excessive or superfluous, but my argument is that this remainder becomes a significant driver of tourist behavior, and perhaps one where we might find the utopian creation of the musical city.

and illness to those who might have the power to fix it. Although these reports were in many ways intended to be documentary tools, they also served as points of access to worlds that were avoided and even feared by the upper and middle classes: through words and images, these audiences could experience the thrill of the forbidden and even the repulsive without having to admit that they may have found it pleasurable, and with the ready excuse that their interest lay in moral uplift.²⁷

Recreational slumming also existed in this period, though it was mostly practiced by men.

By the early twentieth century, a version of slumming had emerged that was based less on the Victorian moralism of the previous century and more on humor, indulgence, and fun. The anonymity of the city continued to be an asset in these practices as they continued to expand. Urban exploration and boundary-crossing also came to be enjoyed by a wider demographic which included women. These shifts were facilitated by changes in attitudes towards urban living: not only was it becoming more common, but it was also increasingly understood as sophisticated, modern, and cosmopolitan, rather than grimy, utilitarian, and stifling. In his account of changes in New York nightlife around the turn of the century, Lewis A. Erenberg notes that

in the 1890s American popular culture began a larger reorientation away from confinement, restrictions, and conventions of the urban industrial society and the code of gentility. In working-class, black, and immigrant cultures, new institutions of amusement and leisure were growing into general respectability, offering immigrant children and middle-class urbanites visions of a more luxurious and experiential life... In vaudeville, ragtime, and cabarets, a popular culture was being created and transformed by new values. (Erenberg 1984, 61)

The convergence of growing respectability of “new institutions of amusement and leisure” and the desire of elites to mingle with the masses contributed to a kind of integration of marginal neighborhoods into the collective urban imaginary, partially achieved through entertainment itself: musical and theatrical entertainments brought the slums to non-residents and shaped their

²⁷ This moralistic aspect of slumming, though ostensibly eroded from the modes of slumming I wish to pursue here, is carried through to contemporary modes of “savior tourism,” often linked to “voluntourism,” in which privileged benefactors donate their time to local projects (often through religious organizations). For more on this, see Johnson (2019) and Adams (2019).

understandings of them. They also often led these audiences to the actual slums (Westgate 2014). Productions like *A Trip to Chinatown*, which opened on Broadway in 1891, cast immigrant neighborhoods as colorful places of adventure where foreign customs served as a backdrop to an exciting night out for middle class youth. The play could either serve as entertainment itself or inspire the audience to attempt similar escapades – it also served to designate the space in which “China” and its people could be found within the American city. The expressive culture of the slums,²⁸ whether represented fictionally on stage or performed in situ, was crucial in bridging the gap of experience and enticing outsiders to enter. This bridging occurred not only in Chinatowns, but also in New Orleans’s red-light district of Storyville, and around Havana’s harbor and coastal outskirts, leaving lasting impacts the cities’ touristic history beyond these sites of proper slumming.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau describes the individual and personal value in pedestrian departure from the rational map of urban space. He claims that spatial practices are multiple, working against totalizing schemas, that such personal acts of inhabiting are like a productive haunting, that “haunted places are the only ones people can live in – and this inverts the schema of the *Panopticon*” (de Certeau 2011 [1984], 108).²⁹ Here, the Panopticon can be taken as the totalizing and rationalizing visions of urban space put into place not only by city planners but also by tourist guidebooks and official city rhetoric (the Official Musical City). Taking this brief summary to my discussion, I argue that slumming is, in addition to what has already been described (an ambivalent fascination with and desire for urban encounter with difference) a productive practice

²⁸ Cocks argues for the importance of “culture” in opening the world to modern, 20th-century tourism: whereas earlier notions of race and difference were geographically- or climatically- determined, the location of difference in culture both eliminated the threat of change (leaving the tourist free to travel and return home intact) and allowed the tourist to perform a sort of belonging through cultural imitation (see, e.g. Cocks 2013, 164 and 189).

²⁹ “Haunting” takes on a special meaning here, too, in conversation with journalist Lafcadio Hearn’s affinity for ghostly tales. Hearn is frequently credited with authoring sensual and romantic images of New Orleans in the nineteenth century that have become iconic (Starr 2001).

that contributes to the emergence of the musical city as it informs the more “secret” tendencies of urban tourism.³⁰

Modern tourism is understood by Cocks to be rational, visible, structured, educational, and transparent – but slumming is none of these. In de Certeau’s description, habitability as a discourse of belief comes across as a crucially intimate and human element within the context of the alienating totality of the city:

It opens up clearings; it ‘allows’ a certain play within a system of defined places. It ‘authorizes’ the production of an area of free play (*Spielraum*) on a checkerboard that analyzes and classifies identities. It makes places habitable. On these grounds, I call such discourse a ‘local authority.’ It is a crack in the system that saturates places with signification and indeed so reduces them to this signification that it is ‘impossible to breathe in them.’ It is a symptomatic tendency of functionalist totalitarianism (including its programming of games and celebrations) that it seeks precisely to eliminate these local authorities, because they compromise the univocity of the system (de Certeau, 106).

The “local authority” here may be already extant in one sense (Havana and New Orleans are both characterized even locally as places in which appearances deceive and “real” life relies on secretive or circuitous practices that evade the Panopticon), but I argue that this bolsters the approach of the tourist, who takes the hint – already exaggerated through tourism media – and adopts it in their own practice as they seek the “best kept secrets” of the city. Seen in this light, slumming becomes not (only) a voyeuristic and entitled view from the Panopticon, but perhaps (also) an effort on the part of the individual to escape it.

³⁰ Henry Kmen suggests that after being briefly prohibited, Black dancing in Congo Square was reinstated, “probably because it was a convenient safety valve for the city slaves, while at the same time it provided a pleasant Sunday spectacle for visiting whites” (Kmen 1966, 229). In this case, the “slumming” desires of tourists may have played a role in concessions to Black music.

1. Districts

Theorizing the District

Taking up a twentieth-century model of tourism, I begin this three-part examination of urban spaces with “districts.” In its starkest sense, the ideal district-as-tourist-bubble is “the local” made intelligible and palatable.³¹ The culture of the urban Other (whether in Harlem or Chinatown) was often confined in the vice-ridden slum or immigrant ghetto and subsequently localized – even domesticated – into a “destination.” In New Orleans, the concentration of brothels in Storyville (1897–1917) represented an effort by New Orleans planners and elites to contain vice, resulting in the emergence of a musical district played into being by some of the city’s most famous and influential jazz musicians. These performers had a significant impact on the musical life of the city even after the closure of Storyville, as many of them subsequently made their way to Chicago and New York, bringing New Orleans the national (and international) reputation of the birthplace of jazz. Condensing brothels and their music within a single district put them under desired control, and yet the appeal did not wane. In spite of official efforts to suppress or control vice and associated Black music-making, the ultimate result was often that the authorities were forced to tolerate and even officially recognize that which they were trying to erase (Souther 2006). The reasons for this were clearly not always altruistic, but the power of the (White) tourist gaze also speaks to the importance of tourism in making the concessions that now serve to bolster the image of New Orleans as a center of Black music-making in the U.S.³²

³¹ As elaborated by Bailey (2008) and de Oliver (2015), these tendencies also go hand-in-hand with gentrification, which can also be considered adjacent to tourism as newcomers arrive and consume an area, even as they participate in reshaping it by their presence.

³² New Orleans draws a significant number of Black tourists as well, but before the late-Twentieth Century attitudes of those in power either assumed or desired a White tourist market.

New Orleans and Havana each have neighborhoods and districts that have reputations as cradles of local musical creativity (e.g., the Seventh Ward and Cayo Hueso) or nightlife zones (e.g., St. Claude and Vedado). These areas are “organic,” in the sense that they serve the community to a greater extent than a typical tourist bubble and they continue to host the kind of activity they are known for. They tend to have few markers of their status as tourist districts proper, positioning them within the territory of the Secret Musical City. I flag these districts to point out the diversity of the category and what it can mean for the city, but in an effort to ground this exposition in “traditional” touring practices before moving on to more fluid and contemporary modes, I return to the territory of the Official Musical City in the form of two historic districts that serve as touristic icons of New Orleans and Havana: the French Quarter and Habana Vieja.

Case Studies: the French Quarter and Habana Vieja

Historic districts often make suitable tourist districts because of distinctive architecture and an opportunity to use such physical traces to narrate the past and present (e.g., the colonial histories of Havana and New Orleans and their creolized cultures). The French Quarter and Habana Vieja are both well-established in this way: since the mid-twentieth century, preservation efforts in the French Quarter (part of a process of gentrification) and the relative lack of new construction in Havana (a result of a reshuffling of priorities and resources under the socialist government) have provided both cities with substantial material assets that make a convenient home for tourist activity.³³ Each city trades heavily on “history”, commonly represented through colonial architecture, which is easily

³³ The recognition of Habana Vieja as a UNESCO World Heritage site changed its significance for potential tourists as well as locals as well as tourists: According to Velia Cecilia Bobes, “[f]or the first time in its history, Havana and its residents recognize the populous neighborhood of Old Havana as something more than a heap of tenements” (Bobes 2011, 23). The area had been “previously excluded from the representation of the city,” but with the designation “Old Havana becomes representative of Cuban identity” (ibid.).

broadcast in visual media, from postcards that freeze images in time to music videos featuring sweeping coastal vistas.³⁴

Tied to these material traces, the cities both foreground their colonial pasts, not just in architecture but in their intangible cultural heritage, promoting the creolized forms that have become recognized all over the world. This creolization is handled differently in each context (as elaborated in case studies throughout this dissertation), but in both there is an onus on culture bearers and performers to find ways to account for the ambivalence of the past as they present tourist-friendly images of local music and culture. For New Orleanians and *habaneros*, the stakes are even greater than the representation of “us” for “them: they are often simultaneously in the position of creating and performing music that represents neighborhood, city, region, or nation, as well as the more expansive categories of cosmopolitanism and diaspora, all for audiences who may feel themselves connected through one, several, or none of these conceptual categories.

Maps of the two historic districts help to locate us not just within the cities, but also to remind us of the spaces beyond – particularly aquatic spaces that have historically served the cities’ economies through shipping and trade (figures 3.2 and 3.3). Indeed, New Orleans still runs paddle steamboats on the river offering jazz cruises. (One such excursion by Pete Fountain used to kick off the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival in its earlier years.) A guide published by the Cuban state tourist agency Infotur describes Havana as “la ciudad más cosmopolita de Cuba, situación propiciada por su privilegiada posición geográfica” (the most cosmopolitan city of Cuba, due to its privileged geographical position) (Infotur 2011).³⁵

³⁴ Gotham describes the creation of “delimited spaces to enhance tourist consumption” in New Orleans after WWII, emphasizing the intentionality behind such developments on the part of federal, state, and local authorities (Gotham 2007, 97).

³⁵ Again, these mechanisms by which the images of the cities are created also gesture towards the aquatic metaphors of flow as they relate to musical encounter, particularly flows that converge within and around the Gulf. Shannon L. Dawdy refers to 18th-century Havana as “not just a port, but a portal, positioned at the gateway of Spain and New Spain in the transatlantic journey” (Dawdy 2008, 113). One could easily think of New Orleans in a similar way, situated between the Gulf and the American interior.

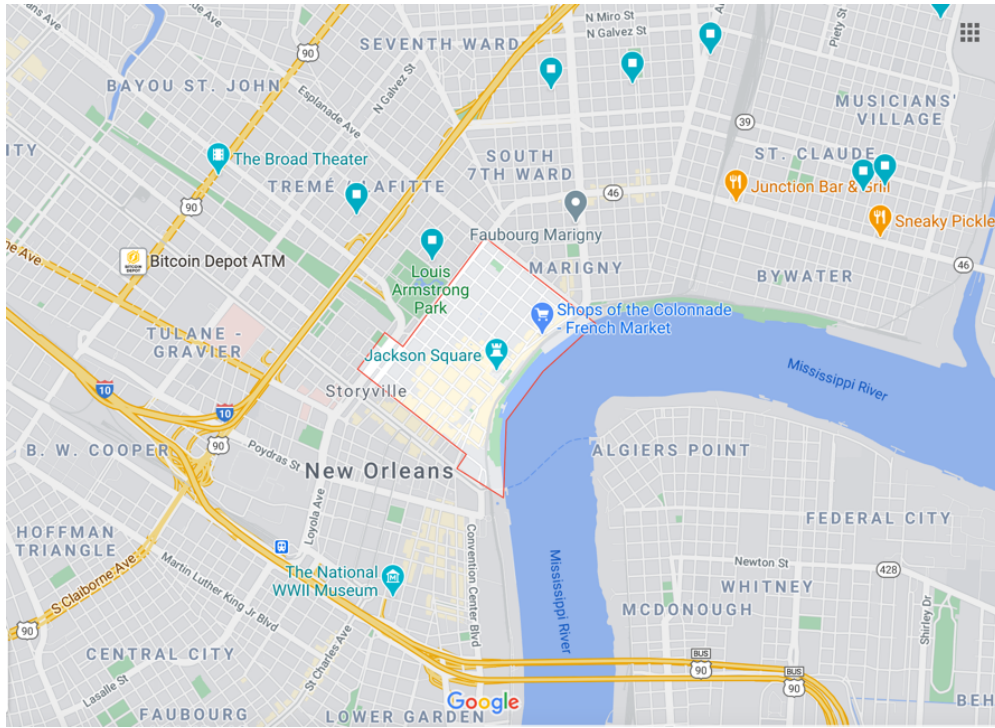


Figure 3.2. The French Quarter. (Google Maps)

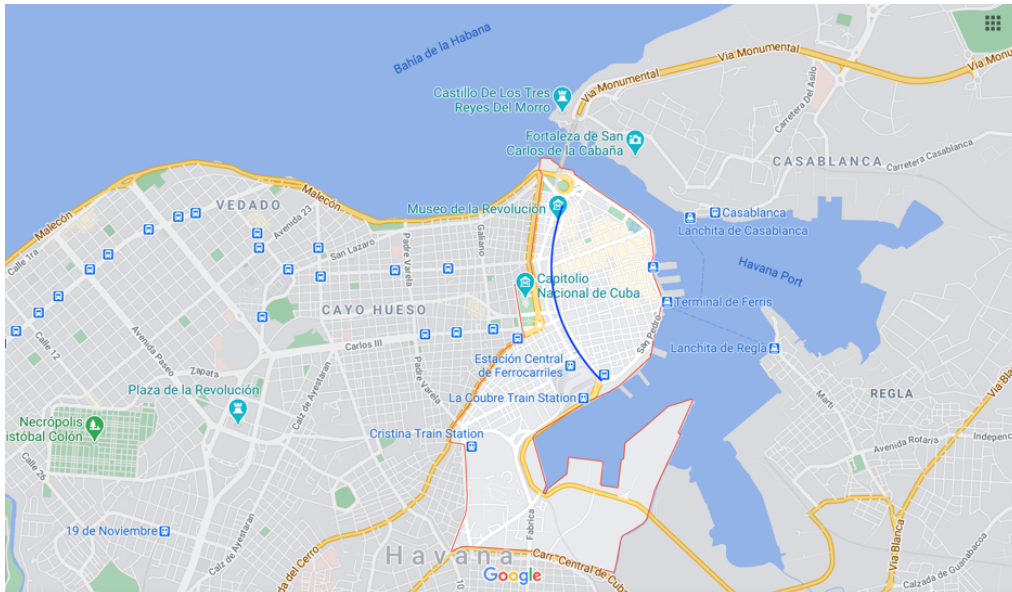


Figure 3.3. Habana Vieja. The red outline shows the official borders; the blue line represents the de fact border of the tourist district. (Google Maps).

Perhaps echoing the orientation towards the past that characterizes the touristic historic district, live traditional music is prevalent in both the French Quarter and Habana Vieja. The corners of the French Quarter host traditional jazz ensembles, brass bands, and ragtime pianists among statue posers, bucket drummers, and other types of performers that are also common in other cities. In Habana Vieja, one can hear mostly *son*, *danzón* and *charanga* with occasional salsa, but overwhelmingly acoustic. In both cases, the music performed indoors or in courtyards tends towards the conservative (that is, jazz in the French Quarter, *son*, *danzón* and *charanga* in Habana Vieja).³⁶ The sound animates the visual surroundings of the cobblestone streets and cracked plaster, aiding the tourist in their imagined retreat into the past. In both cases, the most immediate and permanent evidence of the tourist district is its colonial architecture, but one also knows the district by the proliferation and concentration of music there.

At the same time, both districts remain part of a larger urban environment and touristic economy: recorded music in the French Quarter (country, R&B, zydeco, bounce, soul, trap) blares from shops and bars, while in Habana Vieja it is more likely to come from a *bicitaxi* or a small group of young people, either on the move or gathered on a corner or stoop. It is, almost without fail, reggaetón. It is perhaps these “intrusions” that allow the tourist bubble to breathe, or otherwise commune with the space outside. Although the attraction of the district is due in part to its security as an intelligible space, these districts are not reconstructions or spaces for reenactment (as is the case in places like Colonial Williamsburg). Rather, they remain linked to the life of the city, providing the tourist respite from any “historical study”³⁷ and a chance to live in the moment and encounter

³⁶ In 2019 I also noticed more than one mariachi group in Havana: once overheard on the Malecón from a tall apartment building in Centro Habana and at least twice in Habana Vieja. I was told by a local friend that the musicians were Cuban, and it had been the fashion lately to hire them for private parties.

³⁷ This is a reference to a quote in Chapter 2 in which Quint Davis, the organizer of the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, remarks that the presence of Cuban musicians at the festival was *not* “some...historical study” but an energetic, embodied, and mutually-intelligible encounter between related musical traditions.

local residents. Indeed, the emergence of reggaetón in Habana Vieja can read as an insistence on the part of residents that the district is also *their* sonic space – it is not reserved for tourist fantasies of pre-revolutionary times.³⁸

2. Streets

Theorizing the Street

In many tourist districts of the late 20th and early 21st century, central pedestrian avenues serve as intelligible venues of encounter for visitors. The small-scale (theme park-like?) facsimile and icon of local life allows a visitor to inhabit the city without being overwhelmed by it. What follows is a brief summary of some of the affordances of The Street as a site of encounter.

Streets often form main arteries or hearts of tourist districts. For example, the tourist streets of Bourbon and Obispo are located securely within the boundaries of the French Quarter and Habana Vieja, respectively. The street, although a medium of movement through the district, can also represent the district in condensed form in that it is literally walled in and generally linear, making it better-defined and more intelligible to the visitor. Sometimes visible all at once, the street serves as the bare minimum of a tourist district and yet still hints at the natural (non-touristic) order of the city in its intersections and connections with elements beyond the tourist bubble.

As “naturally-occurring” phenomena of the city, streets lend authenticity to the experience of occupying them. (This may be particularly true of side streets, as they may possess a more substantial element of the unknown and connect the main streets to the rest of the city.) The mode of occupation is important: movement is crucial, whether the subject is moving themselves or

³⁸ Aaron Nyerges provides a compelling account of escape-from-ethnographic-authenticity via Alan Lomax’s recorded interviews with Jelly Roll Morton (Nyerges 2019).

observing the movement of others (perhaps from a sidewalk café).³⁹ Pedestrianized streets are perhaps the most common mark of a tourist district, but whether exclusively for pedestrians or not, walking generally remains the default mode of engagement.⁴⁰ Geographer Sig Langegger also notes that “the public right-of-way remains one of the few places newcomers and longtime residents come into contact” (Langegger 2016, 1815), making such spaces primed for the tourist in search of authentic local life. Even if residents are, in his assessment of gentrification, relegated to “performative objects of the tourist gaze”, there is also a sense in which the tourist blurs the boundaries of this gaze by sharing urban space and participating in urban mobilities and dynamics (ibid.).⁴¹ Particularly in the two cities in question— in contrast to Northern/”Anglo” urban environments – the street is a place that lives with sound, movement, and casual or accidental encounters (including those between locals and outsiders) that overflow into the (poly)rhythms of daily life. For locals, being “*en la calle*”⁴² is a way of participating in a kind of (circum-Caribbean?) urban life that becomes attractive to outsiders through its perceived warmth and spontaneity: both cities have reputations for the perceived ease, purity, or authenticity of everyday life that takes place within them.

In many cases, particularly in non-Anglo, non-Western, and/or touristic places, the street can also serve as a marketplace.⁴³ In both New Orleans and Havana, street vending proper is only

³⁹The experiential richness represented by walking also makes it the preferred activity of “the traveler rather than the tourist” (Löfgren 50). The (non-explicitly-tourist) urban denizen, too, uses streets to meander and gaze.

⁴⁰ A counter-example to this is motoring along Havana’s Malecón in a classic American car: a kind of retro-modern fantasy of the American dream of frictionless mobility played out along the literal edges of the water that represents not only physical, but economic and ideological distances between the two countries, and ultimately relegates Cuba to the U.S.’s own past.

⁴¹ In terms of the risk of becoming “performative objects of the tourist gaze” I wonder what kind of intervention into the sonic space of the district it really is for young habaneros to play their reggaetón: is the use of recorded music a targeted resistance to the tourist gaze/ear? Is it simultaneously a disruption of the expressly touristic sonic space and a refusal to perform bodily/aurally for the tourist by displacing musicmaking to technology? To my tourist gaze/ear, the opacity of Cuban youth itself becomes an “object” – a mark of authentic urban encounter.

⁴² The Cuban application of this phrase is equivalent to the English geographically non-specific statement, “I’m out.” I note this to emphasize that “*estar en la calle*” takes on a more figurative connotation that resonates with the touristic chronotope of the street that I am trying to establish.

⁴³ For another example of street-as-musical-marketplace, see Bohlman n.d.

one way in which the space is used as a marketplace. In the historic districts, performers take advantage of their surroundings to earn money from tourists. In Havana, locals strike up conversations with foreigners, sometimes with the goal of securing a financially beneficial relationship and also meet one another in the street to conduct everyday business transactions. The street as a space of visibility contributes directly to market-related activity, as Cubans are well practiced at seizing an opportunity and may enter into negotiations when some item – like a rare block of cheese – presents itself for sale.

One final feature of the street is that it is one of the places where the Underwater City emerges, notably in forms of tourism that relate to slumming. I have described slumming as connected to the formation of tourist districts as well, but in the register of the street it becomes a mode not just of gazing, but of moving through. The “secret” nature of the street is also real for residents – not just a matter of tourist desires for the illicit and forbidden. Matt Sakakeeny (2013) writes about New Orleans brass bands claiming urban space through sound generated by second line parades on streets in the Seventh Ward. In cases like these, the music is sounded publicly, but it is heard in diverse ways (overheard, trying-not-to-be-heard, actively listened-to) by diverse audiences (including “locals”, “tourists”, “visitors”, “performers,” “audience members”). In this sense, the secrecy is a matter of local knowledge and access; I hypothesize that this multiplicity itself forms part of the appeal for visitors whose previous experiences with live music have been much more contained (both literally and theoretically).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Street parades themselves are a defining feature of New Orleans’s cultural exceptionalism within the US.

Case Studies: Frenchmen Street and Callejón de Hamel

Two case studies, one from New Orleans and one from Havana, will help me tease out some of the nuances of The Street as a site of encounter in the context of musically-mediated tourism. Over the past decade or so, Frenchmen Street has superseded Bourbon Street as the hub of musicmaking in the tourist district of New Orleans.⁴⁵ Technically located in the Faubourg Marigny (just one block away from Esplanade Avenue, which forms the border with the French Quarter), Frenchmen Street has a more condensed feel than Bourbon Street: the few blocks between North Peters and Royal streets contain about a dozen live music venues, many of which host artists on a weekly basis (figure 3.4). The listings for these shows (and others around town) are broadcast on WWOZ, “Louisiana’s jazz and heritage station.” The presence of so many venues in such a small space throws them into comparison with one another: the Maison regularly books funk bands (e.g. Galactiphunk), while the Spotted Cat is strictly jazz, tending towards the traditional and acoustic. These two spaces are prestigious places to play, but Favela Chic, just yards away, has a reputation among musicians for being an undesirable venue as performing goes: the pay is not good and the audiences are often disengaged.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ George Lipsitz, in discussing early reactions to the damage wrought by Hurricane Katrina, emphasizes the now-erstwhile centrality of the latter: “the meaning of New Orleans rests with Bourbon Street, a tourist attraction characterized by excessive drinking, lurid sex shows, and music that simulates the golden age of Dixieland jazz. This New Orleans is a place to come to from somewhere else not a place to live in...” (Lipsitz 2006, 451).

⁴⁶ Neworleans.com describes Frenchmen Street as “crowded, buzzing and vibrant – [it] might just be the most consistently musical stretch of asphalt in New Orleans,” suggesting the frenetic energy of The Street as a space of urban encounter (one where anything might happen) (Neworleans.com n.d., “Music”).

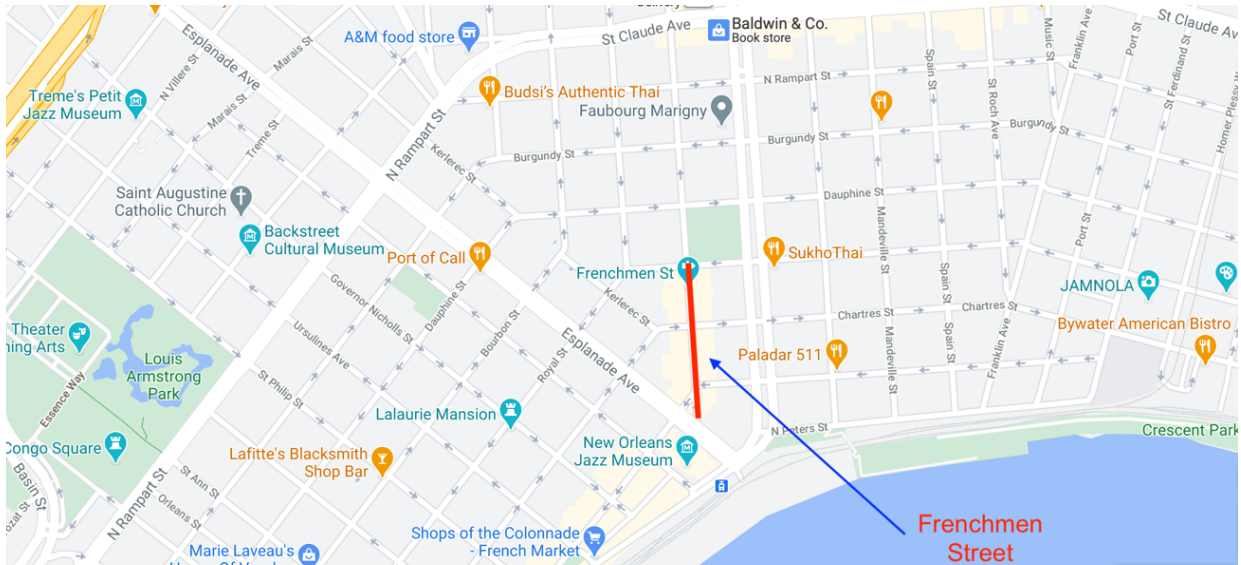


Figure 3.4. Frenchmen Street in the Faubourg Marigny. (Google Maps).

In fact, one complaint about Frenchmen Street has to do with its formation *as a street*: while some tourists make the street or a particular venue on it a destination with a specific purpose in mind, many others pass through with a much vaguer understanding of what goes on there. For all its communitas, The Street becomes a space of passive consumption for those who decline to engage with the music by entering into a club and paying the cover charge but instead choose to remain unattached and uncommitted. These passers-through are often accused of failing to hold up their end of the bargain as consumers by failing to compensate the musicians who provide the “atmosphere.” This is particularly true of musicians who perform on the street, like the brass band in figure 3.5. One effort to gently educate tourists about their obligations to local workers materialized in a “Good Visitor Guide to New Orleans” provided by the New Orleans Music and Culture Coalition (New Orleans Music and Culture Coalition, n.d.). The guide explains that the minimum wage for tipped workers is a dismal \$2.13 per hour, foregrounding the circumstances of local labor in the tourist industry that the industry itself would likely prefer tourists not to think

about. If one is inclined to be a “good tourist,” this should suffice to make plain to the reader that they have an obligation to local residents to pay them fairly.



Figure 3.5. A brass band performs on the corner of Frenchmen and Chartres Streets, February 4 2020. (Photograph by the author).

This ambivalence about culture and compensation runs through the tourist industry in New Orleans. The appeal of the city is often framed in terms of its openness, generosity, and vibrancy – qualities that tend to create friction when put into close contact with capitalist economic exchange. In addition, there is indeed a “different” sense of how business is done here, particularly for anyone visiting from outside of the South. The concept of “lagniappe” is a helpful example: “lagniappe” is something extra given free of charge as a kind of favor. For me as a newcomer, I understood the prevalence of the concept to mean that exchanges may not be as “dry” as they are in cities like Chicago, for example, but accrue something else within them. This clued me into a sense of mutual obligations within the community, linking residents in a sticky chain of mutual aid (represented most

explicitly in the Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs). However, this system is not necessarily intelligible to outsiders, and the perceived abundance of music and community in the city can lead visitors to believe, consciously or not, that it is a self-sustaining, “natural” state of affairs that has nothing to do with them, thereby relieving them of the obligation to participate.

In Havana, the Callejón de Hamel takes part in the appeal of the street, but with an added sense of cohesion and delimited space – characteristics of The Venue. The ambivalence of The Street as public urban space and tourist terrain flows into Havana’s Callejón de Hamel, an alley in the Cayo Hueso neighborhood of Centro Habana (figures 3.6 and 3.7). Featuring work by Salvador Gonzalez, a visual artist who spearheaded the project, the alley is framed by small bars, living spaces, and workshop areas, connected by a commitment to safeguarding and promoting Afro-Cuban music and culture (including culinary and medicinal traditions).⁴⁷



Figure 3.6. Callejón de Hamel in Cayo Hueso, Centro Habana.(Google Maps).

⁴⁷ The Callejón “tiene como primera tarea promocionar la cultura afrocubana en toda su magnitud” (has as its first task the promotion of Afrocuban culture in all its magnitude).”(Moré n.d., 21)



Figure 3.7. Local performers and an audience of Cubans and visitors at the Callejón de Hamel, January 6 2019. (Photograph by the author).

Like Frenchmen Street, there is no fee for entry into the Callejón, even for Sunday rumbas (which sometimes feature well-known groups, like Rumbatá from Camaguey province), but visitors are

encouraged to buy refreshments, recordings, and other goods and services to support the project and those who work there.⁴⁸

On my first visit to the alley, I met Kiki, a man of about 50 with dreadlocks and gold-filled teeth who lives a short distance from the Callejón. He politely introduced me to the specialties of the refreshment stand and explained the significance of the medicinal herbs growing in the garden located inside. He practiced his English (he told me he was also learning French) and joked about the superiority of American toothpaste. At the end of our first encounter, I compensated him for his time through the purchase of a CD.⁴⁹ Satisfied with this exchange, I returned later to ask Kiki for a recommendation for a percussion teacher, which quickly resulted in an arrangement in which I received instruction twice a week from Leo, a veteran performer at age 75, at Kiki's apartment. (They split my fee between them, Kiki receiving a kind of commission for making the connection.) In this way, The Street facilitated my entrance – as a foreigner/tourist – into the private space of a local home. In addition, it afforded me contact with Havana's music in a way that fulfilled certain tourist expectations of authenticity: as an older musician, Leo fits the ideal of community elder and culture-bearer; in addition, he has also encountered and earned auratic greatness through his performance with musicians like Benny Moré, Pello el Afrokán, and Tata Güines, which he relates in the unpublished manuscript of his autobiography.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ This was the case throughout most of my fieldwork from 2019-2020. On my most recent visit to Havana, in March of 2022, performances had resumed but the overall cohesion and robustness of the project was still suffering from the pandemic and resulting loss of tourism.

⁴⁹ As I got to know Kiki and his wife Maribel, they shared with me that selling CDs was a difficult business, since many tourists no longer owned the technology to play them. They were aware that many tourists purchased the CDs to be supportive of their work rather than for the express purpose of owning the recording. As of 2022, both had stopped working at the Callejón altogether. If the obsolescence of the medium they traded in made their careers precarious, the precarity of tourism itself amid the pandemic has put them and many others in dire economic situations.

⁵⁰ In my ethnographer-tourist view, the temporal remoteness and historical significance of these (excavated) events also resonates with the phenomenon of the Buena Vista Social Club and attending scholarship, but with an important difference: where nostalgia for the prerevolutionary sounds of the BVSC has been read as nostalgia for US control of Cuba-as-playland, Leo's collaborations with Cuban musicians of the 1960s and 70s, as well as his European tour of the same era, established him as a touchstone of *socialist*-era Cuban authenticity, bolstered by his own account of his musical labor during this period, which frames the creation of new rhythms (e.g. the mozambique) as a necessary defense against the intrusion of American imperialism, represented by rock and roll (Moré, n.d.). In addition to this auratic magic

As I spent more time at the Callejón and in Kiki's apartment with him, his wife Maribel, and Leo, I got a sense of the variety of strategies and techniques employed at the Callejón (and throughout Havana) to earn CUC (convertible currency) through engagement with tourists.⁵¹ I once overheard Leo refer to another worker at the Callejón as a "*jinetero*," or hustler. While all workers at the Callejón are eager to earn money from tourists, those described as *jineteros* are often pushy or dishonest, and such behavior is frowned upon not only by the authorities, perceiving that it is a deterrent for visitors, but also by other workers. I never had a negative experience at the Callejón and would not describe anyone I met there as a *jinetero*, but I did experience discomfort at times when I was approached by young men with the apparent intention of dancing and "just" enjoying the music and then being offered a salsa class at another location and time. Again, the ambiguity of The Street emerges: an appeal to sensorial enjoyment contained within it a request for economic exchange. These purported dance instructors weren't, as I understood it, proper workers at the Callejón – rather, they formed a category of local that semi-passively capitalizes on the presence of tourists in the city through casual relationships (more on this presently, in the case study of la Fábrica de Arte Cubano, a venue at the edge of Vedado).

At the same time, the open and public nature of the Callejón makes it a space that is, in fact, enjoyed by locals and foreigners together. When I asked Maribel about her (now-concluded) work at there, she emphasized an atmosphere of collegiality. Enjoying the activities at the Callejón herself,

supplied by my teacher, I was also participating in a kind of "sympathy and imitation" in terms of U.S. popular culture and musical tourism by following in the footsteps of Marlon Brando, who traveled to Havana in 1956 after being introduced to Cuban music in New York. For his stay, he reportedly chose a "modest hotel" in order to keep a low profile (Lam 2013). Though perhaps merely a matter of convenience for the star, this approach remains consistent with living "a different way" when away from home: a way that allows the tourist to disappear into the urban (musical) fabric of the city.

⁵¹ Cuba officially uses two currencies: CUP (Cuban pesos) and CUC (convertible pesos). The rate of exchange is approximately 24/1. Historically, the currencies were intended for use by Cubans and foreigners, respectively. Though the situation changes (often based on rumors of impending changes to the system), during most of my time in Cuba in 2019, CUC was the preferred form of currency for Cubans earning in the tourist industry.

she also found a supportive community of fellow workers (also from the neighborhood) and an opportunity – afforded by tourism – to make money and meet foreigners.

“[E]sa experiencia para mi fue muy bonita porque yo vine de la calle – no tuve escuela y no fui [...] nada. Pero me gustaba – me gusta las rumbas, me gusta interactuar, ves? [...] [A]hí en esos años tuve muchas experiencias, conocimos muchos amistades – como a ti” (That experience was very lovely for me because I come from the street – I didn’t have an education, I was [...] nothing. But I liked it – I like rumbas, I like to interact, you know? [...] In those years I had many experiences, we made lots of friendships – like with you) (Suárez Pérez 2022).

Although she is “from the street,” this did not preclude Maribel from making a good living and forming friendships with foreigners. On the contrary, her own affinity for rumba and “interaction” made her a suitable tourism worker for the Callejón, where visitors might like to interact with locals. One afternoon when I had come to watch Leo perform, he introduced me to a former (Cuban) student. Along with his wife (of Cuban descent), he was leading a group of German salsa dancers from Bremen on a tour of the city. The young Cuban couple seemed genuinely happy and excited to be introducing their group of German travelers to a culture and atmosphere that they clearly enjoyed, and their pleasure at visiting familiar people and places seemed to reverberate within the group, making the visitors feel connected.⁵²

3. Venues

Theorizing the Venue

Roberts claims that “Performativity...denotes a more active and participatory mode of urban cultural and spatial practice: memory-work in which the tourist re-creates, re-treads, re-inscribes and re-inhabits spaces of popular music memory” (Roberts 2014, 23). This gloss on the magical

⁵² A Tripadvisor reviewer called Adrian P describes the Callejon as “a magical place” in which the “the icing on top is the street party every Sunday at Noon” (Tripadvisor). Describing it this way suggests informality, but specifically local informality: “street parties” are not usually for tourists. (Another, traveltheglobe, says “music, dance and art come alive here”) (ibid.). Many reviewers remark on the diversity of “attractions,” including food, drink, music, dance, visual art, and education, hinting at the diverse attractions of a city street.

relationships to places enacted in musical tourism focuses on specific actions that tend towards mimicry. While it is true that some venues exhibit some version of this kind of literal reenactment, preservation, or revival (e.g., El Bodeguita del Medio or Preservation Hall), the two venues I have chosen as case studies for the spatial register of “venue” open the experience of a site to more creative, present- and future-oriented practices of engaging with the Musical City.

If districts condense the touristic city, venues can become auratic icons of it, as touchstones of belonging to a community (Roberts) or accumulation of experiences (Thurnell-Read 2017). In the touristic city, notable sites and venues become part of the language of “transparent themes” of tourism promotion and advertising (Gotham 2007, 95): venues like the Tropicana or Preservation Hall stand in for the cities themselves. (Indeed, even in a local level, venue names often serve as shorthand for kinds of experiences or scenes – which themselves are dependent on a range of other factors, including fellow participants.) Venues are built into the city in a way that they become their own kinds of “bubbles,” representing particular stories that contribute in their specificity to the overall musicality of the city more generally. This specificity of the venue contributes to a kind of exclusivity, which in turn can foster “record collector”-type competitions around local musical knowledge and experience. (Referring to venues by nickname or other unofficial designations is an indication that one is familiar and knowledgeable enough to go “off-script.”) Venues fit neatly into the traditional tourism category of “sites/sights,” and yet they are often defined by their less tangible and static attributes than the activities that take place within and around them, through which participants make and re-make their meaning.⁵³ Although there is a wealth of sites to choose from in New Orleans and Havana, I have chosen two venues that are significant in their respective musical touristic scenes, particularly as they relate to encounters between locals and tourists.

⁵³ In *Not Just Another Thursday Night: Kermit Ruffins and Vaughan's Lounge*, Jay Mazza succeeds in drawing out the extent to which the musician and the venue helped to “make” each other (Mazza 2013).

Case Studies: Mother-In-Law Lounge and La Fábrica de Arte Cubano

The Mother-in-Law Lounge is a venue in the Seventh Ward of New Orleans owned by celebrated local trumpeter Kermit Ruffins. Situated on Claiborne Avenue, the site forms part of a hub of Black nightlife that spans both sides of the boulevard on weekends and fills the space beneath the I-10 overpass with parked cars, music, and local residents. Tourists are also present, but the area has a significantly more local flavor than other nightlife districts like Frenchmen Street or even St. Claude.

The club was originally opened by Ernie K-Doe in 1994 and named after his hit recording “Mother in Law,” released in 1961. Musician-owned venues are of particular interest in New Orleans as they are not uncommon: they include Preservation Hall in the French Quarter and Tipitina’s Uptown, in addition to an unknown number of “underground” spaces like Quintron’s underwater dance club. I choose the Mother-in-Law Lounge for a case study because it has now been passed from one local musician-celebrity to another, forming a kind of chain of custodianship within the local Black musical community, and because of the venue’s often-adversarial relationship with the city which tends to prioritize tourism over local (particularly Black) business owners and residents. This emerged explicitly through Ruffins’s social media posts over the course of 2020 and 2021 as he struggled to keep the club open and publicly questioned decisions by city officials that prioritized Bourbon Street businesses.

When I visited the Mother-in-Law on January 26, 2020, I was one of a few White audience members – a significant departure from my experiences on Frenchmen Street, for example, as well as other “tourist spaces.” I wondered if the other White patrons were tourists or perhaps transplants, like me. Over Lil Elt’s “Get the Gat” playing over the PA, a trumpeter warmed up with a few bars of the melody of “Jeepers Creepers,” a song associated with Louis Armstrong. Once the show had begun, I also noted the smell of marijuana in the air, which seemed appropriate, given Ruffins’s public references to his own consumption. The atmosphere was animated, full of

movement as friends greeted each other, danced, and goofed around. The saxophone player (and the only White member of the band) launched into “Somebody Roll the Weed” in a gruff vocal timbre I associate with Jamaican dancehall (figure 3.8).



Figure 3.8. “Somebody Roll the Weed”: TBC Brass Band at the Mother-in-Law Lounge, January 26, 2020. (Photograph by the author).

The TBC Brass Band, like Ruffins himself, represent local musical “tradition”; though tourists may have been present, they did not appear to define the atmosphere; the musical mention and presence of marijuana suggested a relaxed atmosphere of the “Underwater,” more than the “Official” Musical City (perhaps better represented by Preservation Hall, where the repertoire is “historically accurate” and audiences consist almost entirely of tourists sitting quietly in rows and applauding according to the etiquette of a jazz concert).

This scene took place in the courtyard of the Lounge: outdoors but not in public, an affordance of much of the local architecture and city layout. (Not long before, though, there was also a band in the street, as there often is on this section of Claiborne Avenue.) The walls of the Mother-in-Law form a *kind* of barrier, but one that seems permeable. Particularly after the closure of

venues in March of 2020, Ruffins’s often very personal social media posts (which included videos of him relaxing and working at home and in the Lounge) and streamed performances created a kind of intimate access to the space: static images of the exterior of the lounge were emptied of people and the inside seemed eerie and sad as the Barbecue Swingers livestreamed shows from an empty room. The occasional car driving by served as a reminder of the silence of the city beyond the Lounge itself, as Claiborne Avenue is usually busy with traffic. Throughout this same period, Ruffins’s communications, referring to everyday frustrations like car break-ins to ongoing struggles to keep the business afloat amid city-mandated restrictions, seemed to keep the Lounge alive as a neighborhood space.⁵⁴

The importance of the Mother-In-Law as a venue is more than that of a “tourist attraction,” though its touristic appeal reinforces it as such. In his conscious foregrounding of New Orleans’s musical past, Ruffins situates himself as a link in an unbroken chain of local musical life, both musically through his homages to Louis Armstrong (as well as his own central role in the bolstering of the brass band tradition with the Rebirth Brass Band), and materially and socially through the Mother-In-Law Lounge. Facilitated by the custodianship of its charismatic owner, the Lounge becomes a place where local musical heritage lives and becomes available to outsiders – not just as “heritage” but as popular culture, shared as it is in the moment, with local participants in an informal atmosphere.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Throughout the pandemic the Lounge periodically offered free meals to the community (a practice not uncommon throughout New Orleans in normal times but particularly needed at the time, even when venues were closed). In April of 2021, it offered a shot of liquor with a shot of the Johnson and Johnson Covid vaccine. These examples demonstrate the extent to which sociability at the Lounge extends into the everyday life of the community. When Ruffins invited festivalgoers to the Lounge from the stage at the 2022 Jazz and Heritage Festival, he effectively brought it back from its altered mediated state and into real, attainable embodied experience. *Being there* at the festival that day – even as a tourist – afforded one the opportunity to also be *there* at the Lounge that night: place meant something again. To me, the moment marked a long-awaited return to the kind of fieldwork that prioritized the privilege of embodied presence.

⁵⁵ As suggested, the availability to outsiders has much to do with Ruffins’s public conviviality. From the Congo Square stage at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival in 2022, he paused during his set to tout the Lounge: he insisted that Anjelika “Jelly” Joseph (who had just left the stage) was regularly there “smoking weed” and encouraged the audience to come later that night. In both his reference to the presence of another local musician – in a recreational mode – and in

La Fábrica de Arte Cubano is a cavernous multimedia arts space at the edge of Vedado, just across the Almendares river from the ritzy neighborhood of Miramar (figure 3.9). When it opened in February of 2014, it was a rare example of a joint venture between the government and private enterprise. As the name suggests, it features Cuban musicians, designers, and artists; the performers include singer-songwriters with acoustic guitars, DJs spinning dance music, classically-trained string ensembles, punk, funk, and heavy metal bands, and international acts (like those discussed in Chapter 5). It draws a significant number of tourists but also young Cubans, creating a cosmopolitan atmosphere sought by both groups.



Figure 3.9. Second floor performance space at La Fábrica de Arte Cubano, January 20, 2019. (Photograph by the author).

his personal invitation, he presented the Lounge as a place where all are welcome and urban musical intimacies are possible.

I went to La Fábrica on my first visit to Havana in October of 2014. A friend had connected me with her Cuban boyfriend, Francisco,⁵⁶ a film editor and native of Vedado in his late 30s, so I could see some of the city beyond Habana Vieja and start to get my bearings. I went with the friend I was traveling with (a state folklorist and fellow academic)⁵⁷ to our “guide’s” apartment overlooking the Malecón near the western edge of Vedado. Francisco entertained us as several of his friends arrived. Like him, they had grown up in the neighborhood and fit the general profile for its residents: White, “middle class,” and educated – several of them also worked in film.⁵⁸ (It is also worth noting that at least some, if not all, had traveled outside of the country.) Eventually, the question was raised of what we should do next; after some disagreement, and to the obvious reluctance of some (particularly Yuri, who worked as a DJ), it was decided that they would take us to La Fábrica. On the way there, Camilo, one of the filmmakers, explained that this was a new space that had recently opened and was very popular – specifically as something new and different (a little, it seemed to me, the way people would talk about new clubs in Los Angeles). Once we walked the short distance (and Yuri arrived with a pint of rum from the gas station stashed in his jeans) we sat in the garden courtyard, where the locals collectively explained their objections to the place: as far as their own habits and preferences, the La Fábrica was overpriced and pretentious. Their decision to take us there anyway may have been due to a lack of other options (Havana has relatively few compared to other cities of comparable size); but it was clear that they also felt a sense of obligation to do so, to show us something “interesting” in Havana that (other) people were excited about.

In February of 2019 I was in the second-floor courtyard of La Fábrica when I met Jaime Becerro, a 32-year-old resident of Lawton (officially named 10 de Octubre), a neighborhood a few

⁵⁶ I use pseudonyms for this group. Although they knew I was a researcher, I did not at the time secure explicit permission to use their names.

⁵⁷ We had both taken advantage of the opportunity to attend an international museology conference to get to Havana – a place we had been eager to visit but unsure how to go about it doing it.

⁵⁸ By this I mean that their parents generally held respectable positions within the socialist system.

miles to the South of Habana Vieja and Southeast of Vedado. He told me on that first meeting that he worked as an electrician, but although he was trained as such, he later confessed that he had, like many habaneros, abandoned that career for one in the informal economy (in this case an independent pawn business). Self-described as “*negro*” or “*mulato*,” Jaime is a different kind of patron of La Fábrica than the denizens of Vedado with whom I first went to the venue. He and his friends from Lawton traveled to the edges of Vedado weekend after weekend because “no hay nada que hacer en el barrio” (there’s nothing to do in the [my] neighborhood). Pressed on this, he conceded that there *are* places to go, including *bonches* or neighborhood parties, La Fábrica represented something different.

Always well-dressed, Jaime told me that he takes pride in his appearance when he goes out. (The filmmakers, on the other hand, seemed unconcerned with their informal appearance.) His general approach to La Fábrica seemed to align with that of other young Cubans there, of whom there were many each time I went in the early months of 2019: it was a cosmopolitan and modern space to go and see art and music, and to meet foreigners.⁵⁹ (Unlike the young men from Vedado, Jaime had never left the country – though he did for the first time later that year.) This encounter with foreigners was, as ever, possibly tied to other goals (e.g. convenient romances that might lead to emigration, as was sometimes evident in my conversations with Jaime’s friends as they told me about their foreign girlfriends), but the atmosphere at La Fábrica is different from that of other spaces in the city, for example the Callejón. Though the group from Vedado complained about the expense (\$2CUC for entry and \$2-\$6 CUC for drinks), the exposure and experience were worth the price of

⁵⁹ Some time later, Jaime mentioned to me that he disliked it when Black U.S. American visitors referred to La Fábrica as a space “for White people.” Given what I had read about persistent racism – and Cuban exclusion – in the Cuban tourism industry, I took special note of Jaime’s level of confidence in entering tourist spaces like hotel bars and, arguably, la Fábrica. His rejection of the idea that la Fábrica was a place “for White people” suggests that he was more interested in overcoming the racial mapping of the city than in pointing out its possible existence. (At the same time, I should make it clear that the crowd at the venue is in fact racially mixed – begging the question of what Jaime’s interlocutor meant by phrasing their remark this way.)

admission for Jaime and his friends. It also made the space a “private” one in which Cubans and foreigners were all paying customers, leveling the usual discrepancy between locals and visitors.⁶⁰

During the time I spent in Havana, Jaime and I would both visit La Fábrica for a lack of any alternative for a similar experience. For my research I also spent time in Habana Vieja and along Calle 23 (the main thoroughfare in Vedado), but few places offered the kind of bounty of experience afforded by La Fábrica, not only in the diversity of art and music, but also for observing and meeting other locals and tourists.⁶¹ When I shared this assessment with Jaime, he agreed. At the same time, the Malecón, the iconic seawall and site of local socializing and nightlife, often became the default destination of the evening when we had no particular plans. There, on “the street” – and the coast, the very margin of the city – was the next–best thing to the atmosphere at La Fábrica: a place to be, see, hear, and (casually) encounter, but without the explicit need to be, see, hear, and encounter anything in particular: a regular urban night on the town, rather than a tourist “show.” If the Malecón was ultra-public and quintessentially local, La Fábrica offered a similar sense of urban unpredictability but with the “protection,” afforded by tastes or the cost of entry and a certain cosmopolitanism that allowed foreigners like me to enter a space that felt familiar and locals like Jaime to leave “el barrio” behind. At the same time, the anonymity and spontaneity of the Underwater City seep into the specificity of The Venue.

Conclusion

⁶⁰ Of course this technical leveling of price does not mean a leveling in *cost*, as \$2 CUC was a significant sum for Cubans. In any case, the typical pricing system in Havana was different for tourists and Cubans, usually using a rate of \$1 CUP = \$1 CUC, making spaces like museums affordable to Cubans and “fair,” relatively speaking, for visitors with access to more money. (The rate of exchange is \$24 CUP = \$1 CUC.)

⁶¹ As an example, a venue like La Zorro y El Cuervo, a jazz venue on Calle 23, often asked around \$20 for admission. Once inside the small space, audiences are expected to remain seated and quiet.

The Mother-In-Law Lounge and La Fábrica make an incommensurate, but not pointless comparison. In a general sense, they share the features of the District and the Street, representing types of encounter with and within the Musical City, fulfilling some kind of tourist desire to experience something that they had been prompted to expect from the “local.” These spaces each hail the tourist ear in different ways, sometimes through a general sonic bounty and sometimes through specific sounds, at a specific place and time. More specifically, the two venues serve as small-scale, “enclosed” urban environments where encounter takes on a different kind of intimacy.⁶² For the Mother-In-Law, music and local heritage find a lively home where visitors can meet well-known musicians –as well as their friends and families – face to face as fellow bar patrons and music lovers. If the Mother-In-Law is “home,” then La Fábrica might, by contrast, represent “out there,” even as it represents “arte Cubana.” What the young men from Vedado saw as pretentious – even inauthentic – I was situated to see as a new and exciting side of Havana, geographically removed from the tourist district and its “traditional” musics. This side of Havana, it turned out, struck me as similar to other cosmopolitan places I had visited before – relieving me for the evening of my own sense of foreignness in the country. For Jaime, who had not left the country, the opportunity to connect with the world is afforded not just by the presence of foreigners (although this is part of the experience of the space), but by the encounter with the space as one of cosmopolitanism and (a certain kind of) equality.

These flickering and overlapping meanings of urban musical spaces underscore the depths of the Musical City. The idea of an “Underwater” Musical City inspired by Quintrón’s imagery helps to account for tourist desires for authenticity of experience in its promise of the ineffable. In the tourist imaginary, this “place” is at once everywhere and nowhere – though the specificity of the venue

⁶² “Enclosed” appears in quotations to emphasize a(n incomplete) *quality* of the space, rather than a more literal description that would imply a disconnection from the city around it. I am aware that my ethnography for these two venues in fact centers on outdoor spaces – further emphasizing this point (if in a rather literal way).

comes closest to containing and condensing it (in particular and varied ways) within its walls. In the Underwater Musical City, the tourist “goes with the flow,” perhaps into undiscovered coves and caves, “soaking” up local culture without drawing attention to themselves as an outsider; or, they may island-hop between notable nodes of musicality, ferried from one to another in a taxi. The *way* of being in the city matters here, perhaps as much as where one goes.⁶³

The constant rehearsal and renewal inherent to the *practice of tourism* also hint at productive interventions into its more problematic aspects. In his remarks about the betrayal of his privacy and (and that of his scene), Quintron does not denounce tourists or tourism as such. Rather, he frames the transgression as a matter of entitlement and lack of respect for the investment of time and effort that gains one truly earned access to the “beautiful” underground. The New Orleans Music and Culture Coalition, in publishing a “Good Visitor Guide,” likewise focuses on modes of behavior and engagement in encouraging outsiders to better support the music that fuels the city’s tourism economy. The title of the pamphlet, in one sense using “visitor” as a euphemism for “tourist,” also subtly shifts the identifier to something that is less definitive: something one *does*, rather than something one *is*. These local responses to tourism are constructive, not dismissive; they confront the negative consequences of living in the Underwater Musical City and offer suggestions for how to mitigate them.

The emphasis on moving in – and through – the city central to “slumming” and its offshoots joins readily with the metaphor of the musical-touristic city as an aquatic, archipelagic space characterized by its dynamism. A desire to be “immersed” in local culture frequently looks to the lively atmosphere of “the street”: a mode of passage rather than a mode of being. Here, one leaves the “bubble” or island of the tourist district – perhaps directed by individual agency, perhaps

⁶³ I reflect on my own experience in New Orleans and how my behavior in certain spaces has changed since I “became local”. (This is not entirely separate from my admitted occasional desire to *appear* local in some situations.)

by the flow of the city itself– traveling alongside locals and meeting them in their everyday lives; finally one arrives at the venue: a (newly emergent, recently-eroding, or solid and timeless) key of the archipelago.

Water-as-semi-obfuscatory, conductive and tangible medium seems a fitting tool with which to think about the “placed placenessness” of musical-touristic encounter in two marine-oriented cities that are perceived to defy continental and geopolitical boundaries – including the ones that keep them intellectually and conceptually separate – with particular strength. This submersion/saturation ostensibly hides local music from the tourist ear in the case of Quintrón’s coveted secrecy – but water is not opaque and in fact is a conductor of sound, in terms of both soundwaves and travel: we recall circulations of music and musicians that brought jazz to Havana and the “Spanish Tinge” to New Orleans. In an abstract sense, one can imagine the underwater club as an aquatic meeting place of musical influences, a decontinentalized, archipelagic space of musical meeting.

4. Media, Mobilities, and Transmission

On the afternoon of March 11, 2020, I visit Treme’s Petit Jazz Museum in New Orleans. I wait as Al Jackson, the museum’s founder, finishes a tour with a young couple from Mississippi. While I’m there, Ethan Ellestad, the founder of the New Orleans Culture Coalition, appears – he is there to see Mr. Jackson but offers some helpful information about his role at the organization and the city, as well as some helpful advice on navigating the musical spaces of the city as a White researcher.¹ Once these visitors have departed, Mr. Jackson gives me the tour: he highlights items hung on the wall, including bylaw booklets from the Negro Musicians Union and a score by Louis Moreau Gottschalk, providing a proud and authoritative interpretation of these artifacts and the individuals (and exchanges) they represent as instrumental in the development of the neighborhood’s iconic musical culture.² We conclude my visit with a conversation about media attention. Self-conscious of my own position as media(tor), I listen with some embarrassment as Jackson describes his stance on the explosion of representation of local culture since Katrina: “Now my fee is \$200 an hour. Everyone wants my knowledge for the price of a chicken dinner.”³

My visit to the Petit Jazz Museum that afternoon has stayed with me throughout my time in New Orleans. Still new to the city, I was surprised that before I had even embarked on my tour in earnest, I had happened upon someone in the nonprofit sector – specifically working to support music and musicians – who just happened to be stopping by to see a local cultural guardian who foregrounds his own mobility and cosmopolitanism gained in his military career and his independent touring since; I was treated to an intimate tour of an intimate space (after the departure of the Mississippi couple I was the only visitor and guided through the one-room display by Mr. Jackson himself); the tour highlighted local characters and history *as crucially local* and simultaneously referred to their

¹ Among his recommendations were to be respectful, spend time, and remember that some spaces are not *for* “us,” though we may still be welcomed observers and even participants.

² From the museum’s website: “Do you know where in the world jazz was born? Treme’s Petit Jazz Museum, founded by Treme local Al Jackson, will tell you the true story of jazz right here in Treme where it all first started” (Treme Petit Jazz Museum, n.d.).

³ Paraphrased from notes; not recorded. Mr. Jackson has consistently declined to record an interview without receipt of his desired fee. Photographs are also prohibited in the museum: another point of representational friction.

cosmopolitanism in pointing beyond Treme, New Orleans, Louisiana, and even the U.S.; and at the conclusion, I felt myself duly admonished against presuming any entitlement to local knowledge by virtue of my own “elite” outsider status (even if I was an academic, not a Hollywood producer).⁴

Following a chapter on urban space as the setting for the touristic encounter, I turn now to the agents and mobilities hinted at in this vignette, whose movements and exchanges construct and debate sonic ideas of what New Orleans and Havana are. The stakes of representation are evident in, if not limited to, Al Jackson’s refusal to cede his narrative rights to others for their own profit: for all the apparent celebration of New Orleans’s and Havana’s musical cultures, local musicians and other members of their communities often must work against established narratives and images – reproduced in tourism – to assert themselves on their own terms. Competing for space in the touristic terrain is a formidable body of extant “scripts” which inform the attitudes of potential travelers, their own desires and agendas, and an ongoing collapse of tourism and everyday life (MacCannell 2013 [1976], Lash and Urry 1994, Jansson 2018) often characterized by semiotic revision and abstraction.

Scripts: The Role of Media

Connections between Havana and New Orleans formed throughout the colonial era have been strengthened, redrawn, and renegotiated ever since, forming a kind of circum-Caribbean familiarity

⁴ My fieldnotes on the excursion conclude: “By the end I felt scolded again [after being playfully reprimanded at the nearby Backstreet Cultural Museum for spending Mardi Gras in the Uptown neighborhood of the Irish Channel] for not knowing important facts and dates, and for not spending time in Treme. I was grateful for Ethan, an urban planner and anti-noise-complaint crusader (also ‘from away,’ like me), who ...[was sympathetic to] my reservations about being ‘where I don’t belong.’” Although I considered myself well aware of the importance of Black cultural heritage in the city’s tourism economy, the attitudes displayed by those on the “production” side on this day impressed upon me the extent to which it is still undervalued; Mr. Jackson’s remark about “the price of a chicken dinner” makes the finer point that even if “the culture” is valued (e.g., in the HBO series *Treme*), those who make their living by it still struggle to be heard and valued on their own terms.

and resonance that is often highlighted as one of their special characteristics. The movement of people and media throughout the region have made possible the transmission of musical ideas and practices that continually draw and defy national borders (both in sound and in the rhetoric about it) over the course of shifting, sometimes contentious international relations, particularly between the United States and Cuba. “Ties of singular intimacy,” as U.S. President William McKinley once called them, have ostensibly vanished, along with the particular political projects that cast them as such, but “cultural workers,” scholars, musicians, and amateur enthusiasts often try to excavate and reinvigorate, reanimate, or revise them in the current moment.⁵ I suspect that the very dynamism of the region (born, in part, of its archipelagic relations) as much as the “fact” of its shared history and culture, contributes to its fascination for music enthusiasts and travelers: the drama of the “New World” – violent and creative – becomes crystallized in cultural creolizations, bringing traces of the past into the present to be reexamined and reinterpreted. Particularly in the context of restrictions on physical travel, the role of media takes on extra significance as travelers listen to “there” from afar, but also as they *imagine “there”* through disembodied sound.⁶ While the documentarily-minded may search for “authentic” local sounds that they cannot experience person-to-person, they and/or others may also seize on the freedom of schizophonia (Schafer 1977) to build alternative presents and futures.⁷ As with the models of Official and Underwater Cities as fostered in tourist literature in Chapter 3, media work to conjure notions of place that in turn shape expectations and understandings in and of the touristic encounter.

⁵ Laura Shearing (2020) likewise attends to a range of agents implicated in the creation and maintenance of musical “epicenters” in the Southern U.S., including folklorists, musicians, documentary filmmakers, workshop organizers, radio announcers, arts councils, and heritage workers (69–70).

⁶ David Lowenthal (1985) provides an example of the diversity of “media” that can shape one’s understanding of a place – particularly as an outsider: “My image of London is a composite of personal experience, contemporary media, and historical images stemming from Hogarth and Turner, Pepys and Dickens ... Past impressions often so trenchantly embody the character of places they override our own immediate impressions” (40).

⁷ Richard Ekins (2013), Keir Keightley (2011), and George H. Lewis (1996) attend to the descriptive/scripting capacities of music that relate directly to tourism.

In *Cuba and Its Music: From the First Drums to the Mambo* (2004), Ned Sublette presents a detailed history of Cuban music, giving significant space to New Orleans in the process. (It is noteworthy that New Orleans received its own treatment from Sublette in 2008 with *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square*.) As a historian, it is unsurprising that Sublette starts at the “beginning” (in this case with the geography of Spain – Columbus sails to America only on page 35), but I flag here a preoccupation with origins that runs through rhetoric about roots and authenticity on both sides of the Gulf of Mexico, as expressed by musicians, visitors, locals, museum curators, and others. Sublette goes back at least to the Spanish rule of New Orleans and Havana in the eighteenth century to identify “a sort of musical fertile crescent” fostered by the musical consequences of colonial rule, including the presence in New Orleans of military brass bands brought from Cuba, predating Jelly Roll Morton’s “Spanish Tinge” by nearly 200 years (Sublette 2004, 107). This mode of musical mobility – that of military dissemination (formal or informal) – has also been represented throughout ethnomusicological history. Such movements and encounters with difference have produced some of the iconic recordings of the field, like the Wilhelm Doegen’s POW recordings during World War I and jazz recordings made in New Orleans in the 1950s following the exposure of servicemen stationed there during World War II. J. Mark Souther (2006) identifies the latter mobility as a kind of proto-tourism or prelude to tourism, as these individuals returned to the city later as jazz-loving tourists (43–44). Gabriel Solis (2015) also mentions the importance of African American military personnel in disseminating Black musics in the mid-twentieth century (303).

Sublette and scholars in other fields, including ethnomusicologists Alejandro L. Madrid and Robin D. Moore (2013), and anthropologist/archaeologist Shannon Dawdy (2008), point to circum-Caribbean routes for trade and cruises (as well as military operations, criminal enterprises, and fleeing exiles) that once connected points in the Gulf of Mexico like New Orleans, Havana, and that

third storied point of the regional triangle of Afro-Cuban-influenced music: Veracruz. Dawdy suggests the possibility of precolonial routes as well supported by archaeological evidence of connections at least between Mexico and Louisiana (110). In terms of popular and touristic understanding, this can contribute to an almost geological determinism leading to a perceived timelessness of the connection. Indeed, Sublette veers into this territory, spending a fair bit of time in his books on both Cuba and New Orleans attending to geology and geography.⁸ This narrative of similarity and interconnectivity is at once a reality (with real residues and consequences) and a fantasy (of human connection). The music created in the circum-Caribbean encounter is understood to be unbounded by borders and the passage of time; the fantasy of connection bolsters contemporary utopian readings of Caribbean music as creolized ideal – a kind of (regionally-specific?) “universal language.”⁹

Scholarly affirmation (in this case in one of its most traditional forms: the printed word) of regional cultural connections is only one way of seeing/hearing the two cities together. Media and transmission of information are and have always been built into tourism networks as travelers rely on other authorities as well to plan their trips; from the academic materials foregrounded in the preceding paragraph to more commercial products, potential travelers (intentional/conscious or not) come into contact with “training” materials that shape expectations and desires of “there.” In addition to the more concerted “research listening” that might be done by connoisseur tourists, more ubiquitous popular music can also animate tourist expectations and desires, from songs about or in reference to a particular place (e.g., N.W.A.’s hyper-local “Straight Outta Compton” or Camila

⁸ See Madrid and Moore 2013 (117) for elaboration on Latin musical influences on New Orleans jazz and refutation of popular claims (e.g., that of Ken Burns’s *Jazz* [2000]) that jazz appeared somehow spontaneously on the northern shores of the Caribbean in America’s most unique city, not as a result of movements and transmissions linking it to its circum-Caribbean neighbors.

⁹ I do not intend the negative connotations of the word “fantasy” as frivolous or particularly *ungrounded* in reality; rather, I use it to emphasize the imaginative, productive, and constructive potentials of musical narrative. This tension between the universal or global and the specific or local is reiterated throughout the touristic image of the cities – as well as tourism itself (MacCannell 2013 [1976]).

Cabello’s tourist-tinged 2018 hit “Havana”) to national or regional genres that are, incidentally, often “hybrids” themselves (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 25). Non-”world music” listeners, though perhaps less self-conscious or self-aware in doing so, may also find themselves engaging musically with “others” with whom they have little else in common through commercial popular music.

Media that play into touristic imagery and expectations include the more commercially-directed realms of print and musical advertising, film, television, “world music,” social media, as well as variously transportable formats of sound reproduction that leak through in unintended or illicit ways, including Cuban radio audible in Florida, mid-century “mambo” LPs in New Orleans junk shops, and *paquetas semanales* (weekly packets) stored on USB drives through which music and other information is illegally imported to and disseminated within Cuba.¹⁰ Some media are explicit about their role in tourism practices (most obviously, guidebooks), and some less so – for example “artifacts”-turned-souvenirs, like an EGREM LP of Cuban “música bailable” from the post-revolutionary era (figure 4.1).

¹⁰ These are increasingly giving way to direct internet access for some accessible materials.



Figure 4.1. “Artifact”-souvenir from the author’s collection, 2014.

Among the souvenirs Langston Hughes brought back to New York from his 1930 trip to Havana were a pair of bongos and popular *son* recordings – sonic and material objects that became implicated in Hughes’s (and his collaborators’) development of international Afrodiasporic consciousness and art (Guridy 2010, 136). On my second visit to the Petit Jazz Museum, Mr. Jackson told me that he had given a souvenir tambourine from Havana to a young visitor. I paraphrase his explanation: “So that he could know, *yes you can travel there, these things are possible. These*

connections are possible.” Here, we see how items understood as “tourist souvenirs” can also be imbued with – and generative of – other meanings.

Among this messy variety of materials, some claim to be “fact-based,” appealing, perhaps, to the “connoisseur” or “culture vulture” tourist, while others make no secret of enhancing or romanticizing and exoticizing the destination through more playful representations, potentially attracting a “hedonist” or self-consciously cosmopolitan tourist, to whom local authenticity matters less. Some tourist activities are even organized explicitly around media consumption, like tours of sites featured in film and television. Others may have more to do with the consumption of a generalized image, whether it be tropical paradise, forbidden city, or “authentic traditions” meeting the “modern” world, all of which could be applied to both New Orleans and Havana, and indeed seem to form a kind of theme common to both.

Lafcadio Hearn, the nineteenth-century journalist (and world traveler) credited with “inventing New Orleans” through his writing (Starr 2001), provides many examples of literary romance and fantasy that remain identifiable in the city’s image today, suggesting the wide-ranging effects of a single kind of “text.” Here he describes an imagined arrival: “The approach to the city by river, must be in itself something indescribably pleasant. The white steamer gliding through an unfamiliar world of blue and green ... the waving cane; the evergreen fringe of groves weird with moss... as though one were sailing to some far-off glimmering Eden” (Heitman 2012). The image is characterized, first of all, by (aquatic) movement, but also by strangeness, ineffable sensual beauty, and timelessness, even as the movement *through* the scene towards the city also hints at the ephemerality of travel. The unabashed romance – which is not to say inaccuracy – of his writing at once “invents” New Orleans as a place of fantasy, serves as a historical artifact for doing so, and

blurs the specificity of place into the exotica of others – a multivalent “primary source” to be interpreted by other would-be travelers according to their own tastes.¹¹

In her 2016 monograph *Patina*, Dawdy summarizes the connection of romantic images – and material traces – with ways of being, suggesting the extended and varied consequences of representation: the work of writers like Tennessee Williams, William Faulkner, and Sherwood Anderson

disseminated literary postcards from New Orleans’s peeling paint and bougainvillea ever wider, colored with accounts of the city’s porous moral boundaries. Through these artistic representations, New Orleans became a foil for the rest of the nation, an imaginary island of colonial dissipation within a country relentlessly committed to moral and material progress. The patina aesthetic became a sign of an alternative way of life. (Dawdy 2016, 56)

The “patina aesthetic” as it applies to sound often centers around “tradition” and authenticity, and operates no less as a sign of an alternative way of life.

A (Rather Long) Ethnographic Moment in Brief: Mediating Distance in 2020–2021

To reflect briefly on the diversity and affordances of different types of media as they pertain to the project in the here and now: early in the pandemic I tuned into virtual shows in New Orleans and observed the accessibility of such mediation as fans typed in comments from far-flung parts of the world. It made my own “ethnographic” presence in the city seem, if not moot, definitely changed. Because of the specificity of the performance (for example, Kermit Ruffins at the Mother-in-Law Lounge in the Seventh Ward, Tank and the Bangas at Tipitina’s Uptown, Alex McMurray in his living room Downtown), I guessed that these events were of most interest to viewers (“visitors”) who had *already* seen a live show in New Orleans at some other time, suggesting that this mediation

¹¹ It is also interesting that Hearn says it must be “indescribably beautiful, suggesting that this is not even a romanticized account of a lived experience, but pure fantasy – somewhat surprising since he was a transplanted denizen of the city.

provided a way of *re*-connecting to a known entity and investing in it, both through donations and participation in the live stream. (It is also possible that these audiences had been exposed to the musicians on tour, adding another layer to the possibilities of accruing musical impressions.) Even if one did not manage to catch the live performance, it was often accessible afterward, further displacing the event from its spatiotemporal “origins” – and yet it seemed through the available commentary that audiences felt a moral obligation to stay positive about the efforts of the musicians and resilience of New Orleans music in general.¹² In terms of “scripts,” these mediated “live” performances encouraged a sense of participation in a local musical community, even from a distance.

In stark contrast to these gestures at connection and intimacy, I have on my desk a torn-out fragment from the July/August 2021 issue of *Vanity Fair* that hints at the ways in which “elsewhere” has receded into even further vagueness during the pandemic, until it is no more than a “splash” of color – particularly when access to that elsewhere has been so completely cut off (figure 4.2).¹³ The section is headed “Trending”; the only text, besides that which describes the products and lists their prices, is the following: “Set that out-of-office reply, swap the Zoom-bored for a surfboard, shake the dust off your socializing skills, and sink into the lucid colors of summer” (“Vitamin Sea,” 24). Just below, in the corner of the page, is an image richly saturated in varied shades of turquoise, titled *Swimming Pool in Cuba* by photographer Matthieu Salvaing, from the photography book *Havana*

¹² It seems that groundwork for this mode of engagement was laid in earnest in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, when volunteers and tourists found ways to legitimize their own “belonging” in the city through what might be broadly characterized as charitable work, in the form of either free labor or financial support. For a detailed account of how this affective economy contributes to detrimental impacts on the local level, see Adams 2019.

¹³ Early travel restrictions were unsurprising during the pandemic, but in November 2020 the U.S. government forced Western Union to stop payments from the U.S. to Cuba, cutting off a crucial means of support to Cubans. Although Cuba was slated to open again to tourists in November of 2021, my own initial searches for routes were somewhat futile – no less because of a new rule prohibiting even travel by private boat. This is a far cry from my last pre-pandemic trip in January of 2020, when it was still possible to purchase a flight online from Southwest (even if regulation determined that I had to change my stated purpose for going due to new restrictions put in place by the Trump administration). As the pandemic dragged on, communication between me and my Cuban interlocutors became sporadic and out-of-sync: our connection receded into the past as our countries became more isolated from one another, both in politics and divergent paths to pandemic recovery.

Blues.¹⁴ Among the other objects pictured on the page are a Hermès beach towel, a pair of large, bold earrings by Bottega Veneta in bright pink, a Chanel bag with what is commonly called “Hawaiian” print, a Christian Dior deck chair . . . and a Louis Vuitton surfboard.¹⁵

¹⁴ Salvaing’s other work includes photographs of striking domestic architecture in Switzerland, Brazil, Mexico, Morocco, and the Ivory Coast. A year later, the section featured pages dedicated to themes of “Wild Wild West” (“Rock stars shouldn’t get all the fun. Sling on some turquoise, some cowboy-worthy denim, the sunnies best-suited to the open road, then make like Jack Kerouac and beat it”) and “Continental Drift” (“What better inspiration than the splendor of the Mediterranean? Capture the allure of the European seaside in swirling blue skirts, Piscean pendants, and netted knits”).

¹⁵ In *Tropical Whites: The Rise of the Tourist South in the Americas* (2013), Catherine Cocks elaborates on the role of “the tropics” in developing modern notions of active (White) health: the consumption of tropical climate and culture, far from corrupting the White travelers as was feared in earlier, geographically-defined ideas of race, promised instead to revitalize them.

Vanities / Trending



FOR SHORE

1. Chanel bag, \$3,600. (selected Chanel boutiques)
2. Christopher Esber dress, \$830. (net-a-porter.com)
3. Dior Maison deck chair, \$1,200. (Dior boutiques)
4. Hermès towel, \$285. (hermes.com)
5. Bottega Veneta earrings, \$580. (bottegaveneta.com)
6. Guess shirt, \$69. (guess.com)
7. Vacation Classic Lotion SPF 30 sunscreen, \$20. (vacation.inc)
8. Louis Vuitton surfboard designed in collaboration with Alex Israel, price upon request. (selected Louis Vuitton stores)
9. Gucci nail polish in Marcia Cobalt 717, \$30. (sephora.com)
10. Jade Swim one-piece, \$220. (jadeswim.com)
11. Loewe shorts, \$1,150. (loewe.com)
12. Saint Laurent by Anthony Vaccarello sandals, \$525. (ysl.com)

Vitamin SEA

Set that out-of-office reply, swap the Zoom-bored for a surfboard, shake the dust off your socializing skills, and sink into the lucid colors of summer



Matthieu Salvaing's Swimming Pool in Cuba, featured in Havana Blues, out from Assouline.



Figure 4.2. "Trending." Source: Vanity Fair (July/August 2021).

Even the text seems to back off from its own invitation to *act* (*set* that out-of-office reply, *go* surfing instead of Zooming . . .) and ends by entreating the reader to passively *sink* into something as nebulous, and even whimsical, as “the colors of summer” – represented most explicitly here by the photograph of a crumbling seaside pool in Havana, the only “object” on the page that is already mediated through a photography book before its appearance in the magazine. In sum, while some media become charged with intimacies not otherwise afforded, some readily serve in what might be called the Pinterestization of, in this case, Havana, as it becomes aestheticized and reduced to color “inspo,” allowing it to slip (back) into surreality through the lens of the (U.S. American) tourist gaze.

To put a finer point on the work of the magazine page: the objects represented are, of course, *luxury objects* – including the photography book, but not what is represented in its images. In contrast to the glut of designer brand goods on the page, what is represented in the photo can easily be read as emptiness and decay, inhabited by a lone human survivor. (The emptiness of the photo has always struck me as problematic in this way, but after returning to Havana in March of 2022 to find the city notably emptier due to the pandemic, a strengthened blockade, and the resulting economic crisis, it seems an even crueler romanticization of the evidence of chronic struggle.) In his article on “post-tourism in the age of social media,” André Jansson (2018) addresses the blurring of boundaries between tourism and other areas of social life attributed in part to “intensified circulation of tourism related media content” (including satellite TV, video, and the internet) (101). He argues that this media saturation contributes to the performance of tourism according to media imageries, unseating the search for authenticity as one of tourism’s most central features.

From my perspective as a U.S. American born during the Cold War, Cuba has always felt distant. Both of the examples I have just discussed took place from my particular vantage point in New Orleans in 2020–2021, when I was unable physically to access Havana. In the absence of “real-life” tourism and the diminished self-mediation by Cubans relative to their visitors (due to limited

internet access but also a dearth of printed material, among other things) a situation emerges in which mediation is left in the hands of outsiders who may do with it whatever they please.¹⁶ Over 100 years later, one is reminded that the earliest recordings of Cuban music were made not in Havana (much less in Matanzas or Santiago de Cuba), but in New York.¹⁷ Circling back to the opening vignette, Al Jackson's frustrations over rights to representation – his right to own his voice – bring it out of the past and into the present.

Mobility and Media(tors): People, Musical Ideas, "Recordings"

To return to my encounter with the Petit Jazz Museum as a touchstone of mobility and transmission: in a matter of an hour or so, I had entered a public-facing representation of local heritage and found myself tangled in a web of (rather self-conscious) representations, from the foregrounding of the name of the neighborhood in the name of the museum (potentially at once riding on and pushing back against the explosive popularity of the television show), to the Gottschalk score on the wall, to Ethan's assessment of the role of Black music in the tourist industry as over-exploited and under-valued, to Mr. Jackson's remark about the assumed bargain price of his own knowledge and expertise. This collapse or telescoping of (touristic) mediation encouraged me to mobilize it as a framework for the present chapter. At the same time, I struggle to find a suitable way of accounting for all of this variety. As I attempt to create categories of analysis for the purpose

¹⁶ When I told Jaime Becerro, a young man in his early thirties from Lawton who goes out in Havana's tourist areas (Chapter 3), about Al Jackson's concerns about being recorded, he told me about an incident in which a European photographer had taken pictures of him, promising to share them with him afterward. Although he contacted her several times, she never shared the images and eventually stopped responding to his messages.

¹⁷ Sublette names Rosalía "Chalía" Díaz de Herrera "the first Cuban recording artist," beginning with a 1898 recording made in New York (Sublette 2004, 300); the first Cuban recording studio and company, Panart, opened in Havana in 1943. Its Cuban founder, Ramón S. Sabat, had gained his professional experience through his work at RCA Victor, Brunswick, and Columbia in the U.S., bringing international and cosmopolitan peregrinations to bear on the domestic recording industry.

of the chapter, I have somewhat reduced the variety of movement and circulation central to musical tourism to the (overlapping and intertwined) movements of people, musical ideas, and “recordings.”¹⁸

These categories are in reality at work in combination. Not to overcomplicate the choice, but the multiplicity of forces in the “encounter” begs consideration both discretely and *tout ensemble*, which is what I attempt to do in some form here. This effort towards a depth of connections takes inspiration from Madrid and Moore who, in their own discussion of circum-Caribbean transmissions, point out that that scholars have largely neglected *danzon*’s integral role as a “performance complex” that mediated different registers of movement, production, and consumption. They identify two common scholarly approaches to Caribbean connections to early jazz that miss the mark in terms of scope: one based in broad strokes of migration and foreign influence, the other narrowly focused on the music “itself,” based on publishing records or “discrete musical elements that link Afro-Latin music to ragtime and early jazz” (Madrid and Moore, 118). Lise Waxer’s nearly thirty-year-old article remarks on the significance of different mobilities (migration, tourism, radio, and recordings) in unmooring sounds from their “homes” offers an intervention into emergent contemporary scholarship that “opened a theoretical space in which to understand how, in the process of transcending geographic, social, and cultural domains, musical practices become rearticulated” (Waxer 1994, 140). Joined to different forces of production and consumption,” she continues, “they are adopted or appropriated for various, sometimes contradictory, ends and inscribed with different meanings than those which they had in their place of origin” (ibid.).

¹⁸ This also aligns with approaches in mobility studies.

People (Musicians, “Tourists,” and Diasporas)

The routes traced by Sublette, Dawdy, and Madrid and Moore were based on trade and other “functional” travel that would not be categorized as tourism and yet set the stage for tourist movements and imagery.¹⁹ Mary Louise Pratt (1992) offers compelling readings of colonial and imperial travel writings from the Americas and Africa and tracks their impact on later, more explicitly touristic perspectives and practices, complicating apparent distinctions between “serious” travel and tourism. Indeed, such serious travel is not unlike that of the ethnographer, who does not escape his association with the tourist in accounts like those outlined in Chapter 1. J. Mark Souther (2006) integrates realms of trade and commerce in his analysis of the development of New Orleans tourism since the nineteenth century, tracking changes in attitudes towards elements of local life that are now tourist attractions, like the French Quarter and Black and Creole intangible cultural heritage: much of the city’s history of tourism development was focused on attracting conventions and industry, which leaders saw as the real goal of tourism, and so city leaders turned to expositions such as the World Centennial and World’s Fair of 1984 to compete with other world-class cities. Visitors who happened to notice other things about the city – for example, soldiers and workers in World War II who enjoyed its music and nightlife – became integral in creating a touristic image of New Orleans not only for other potential tourists, but also for the city to foster and deliver in ever-more accessible and profitable packages.

¹⁹ See Simmel (1950) for trader-as-stranger.

Musicians

Some of those who travel for practical, rather than recreational reasons, are of course working musicians, like those Cubans who traveled to New Orleans for the 2017 Jazz and Heritage Festival, the New Orleanians who went to Havana for Jazz Plaza in 2020, or members of New Orleans's Preservation Hall Jazz Band who traveled to Cuba for their documentary *A Tuba to Cuba* (2017).²⁰ On some occasions – such as these festivals – the performers are featured as part of a self-consciously local attraction or event, but one that points back to the other (Havana to New Orleans or New Orleans to Havana), highlighting its significance in sometimes un- or under-articulated ways.²¹ On other occasions, as I discuss later, invested participants find ways of connecting to a place that *are* articulated, demonstrating a kind of energetic engagement that does not necessarily characterize much of traditional, passive “tourism.” On one hand, on tour, musicians serve as mediators in bringing the sounds of “there” to “here,” ostensibly offering audiences a glimpse of what “there” sounds like and potentially laying the groundwork for the construction of a touristic image that may also accrue through other media, as well as imagination, particularly if the potential tourist has not visited the place before. On the other hand, an encounter with a New Orleans musician away from home might remind the tourist (or displaced resident) of time spent in that city.

Souther credits touring musicians with bringing traditional New Orleans jazz to national audiences in the 1960s, particularly in their appearance at Disneyland: the success of a foray headed up by New Orleans recording studio owner Joe Mares (whose products were often packaged as tourist souvenirs with stereotypical imagery) with musicians Johnny St. Cyr, Pete Fountain, and Al

²⁰ The group also performed at Jazz Plaza in Havana in 2019.

²¹ See, for example, Chapter 2 for New Orleans mayor Mitch Landrieu's remarks on Cuba's presence at Jazz Fest; though there were surely more concerted and directed explanations of the shared and resonating cultural heritage of Cubans and New Orleanians than the mayor's cursory remarks in the press conference, they are nonetheless characteristic of public-facing narratives in general, particularly with regards to festivals in which academic types of training or familiarity are not required or even, perhaps, desired. And yet the “history lesson,” as Quint Davis might call it, makes its appearance anyway.

Hirt quickly led to regular shows by a six-piece band fronted by St. Cyr, which took place on the Mark Twain steamboat on the Disneyland River in 1961. Louis Armstrong performed on the boat as well, appearing in the “Dixieland and Disneyland” series and in an episode of “Disneyland after Dark” (figure 4.3)²².



Figure 4.3. Louis Armstrong performs on the Mark Twain riverboat in Disneyland, 1962. (Wandering Disney).

As described by Souther, the shows were wildly popular and in 1966 Disneyland opened New Orleans Square – the implication being that New Orleans music (re)created its own “home” in one of the icons of tourism itself. At the same time as Souther addresses the musical agency at play here, he compares Mares’s approach to that of “earlier promoters, notably those who exhibited ethnic peoples or recreated miniature resort lodges at international expositions” (112). The musicians

²² “Disneyland after Dark” – like the tour of “Havana by Night” (Chapter 3) – suggests a certain degree of secrecy, intimacy, or cache associated with nighttime encounter.

themselves did not need to travel farther to disseminate their music: tourists could not come to New Orleans Square, if not New Orleans itself, and take their musical impressions home with them. The 1930s “rumba craze,” as well as the earlier mania for tangos, sambas, and other Latin American vernacular genres, was fostered by less direct exports, often via “universalized” versions adapted for the stage by White middle-class composers. Although early international rumba stars were mostly White, Moore describes mixed-race and Black entertainers like Rita Montaner and Ignacio Villa as “cultural mediators ... [translating] working-class musical expression into a form acceptable to the middle-class public, yet legitimized its associations with AfroCubans through their very presence” (Moore 1997, 174). In another turn of the kaleidoscope, Moore remarks on the breakdown of tourist expectation when Europeans exposed to these shows were surprised to find an absence of Black performers at the first- and second-class cabarets that they were likely to attend in Havana (ibid., 182.)²³ In the next chapter I attend more specifically to musicians-as-mediators.

“Tourists”

Those who fall most readily under the term “tourists” to both New Orleans and Havana have historically been largely from the U.S. and Europe and mostly White.²⁴ Whether this has been true for the overall number of individuals who actually traveled is a different question, but before the 1960s Whites were often in a privileged position to travel, being wealthier and, importantly, *freer to move about* than non-Whites. This made them the most desirable demographic for many agencies focused on tourism development in the pre-Civil Rights era. Black travelers have formed a distinct if still under-represented/understudied group of tourists: Frank Andre Guridy (2010) and Lynnell L.

²³ In an engrossing account of the development of Andean folkloric-popular music, Fernando Rios (2008) attends to similar kinds of metropolitan mediations, though with different results.

²⁴ Tourism to Cuba after the Revolution and before the Special Period would have to be characterized rather differently, as leisure tourism was frowned upon by the communist government and the U.S.-imposed embargo did not allow for travel. Instead, much movement – both by Cubans and foreigners – was between the island and Soviet bloc countries.

Thomas (2013) have attended to Black tourism in Havana and New Orleans respectively, Guridy focusing on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and making connections to the Harlem Renaissance and Thomas turning to Black heritage as tourist *product* in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century; Souther addresses Black tourism sporadically in his book, but it seems that the reason he does not pursue the subject is because it is under-documented since most resources were aimed at attracting White visitors. He points out, for instance, that in the unsurprising fact that in the 1960s and 70s “for many African Americans a trip to New Orleans did not necessarily revolve around the white-dominated, racially exploitive attractions of the French Quarter with which the Greater New Orleans Tourist and Convention Commission [GNOTCC] emphasized in its appeal to mostly white and middle-class travelers ... As had been true for years, in the 1970s most visiting blacks supported black-operated businesses offering black entertainment in predominantly black areas of New Orleans” (Souther 2006, 172).

The skewed representation of and desire for Black tourism has continued today, as presented in an October 2018 piece in the New Orleans Tribune that argued for the importance of Black tourism to the city’s economy despite the fact that many tourist-oriented businesses continue to bypass Black travelers with their advertising efforts (Campbell-Rock 2018). Three years later, as the city struggled to recover from the pandemic and Hurricane Ida, an advertisement produced by New Orleans and Company drew criticism for representing the ideal tourist to the majority-Black city as White and middle-aged (MacCash 2021) (figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4. A New Orleans tourism advertisement after Hurricane Ida, as included in a news article reporting critical responses for its representation of race. (MacCash).

The representative erasure of Black tourism highlights the difficulty of talking about tourism in general. At the same time, the difference in touristic perspective and focus can help us expand the term “tourist” to attend as well to diasporas, generational “exiles,” and visitors with regional solidarities, rather than those represented in the New Orleans and Company advertisement.²⁵

Diasporas

Guridy claims tourism’s – and media’s – critical role in the development of an Afrodiasporic consciousness, even as Black tourists themselves were often ignored by White interests:

The cultural diasporization of the 1920s and 1930s was partially shaped by racialized imperial structures and their attendant ideologies. The popularization of Afro-diasporic cultures was influenced by the emerging tourist economy dominated by U.S. and European steamship companies and hotels. The emerging transnational entertainment industry, pioneered by U.S. record companies, commercialized the music of African American and Afro-Cuban musicians. (Guridy 2010, 110)

²⁵ In my experience, Cuban-Americans are always a majority presence on flights between the Miami area and Havana. Souther notes that before the 1960s, New Orleans as a city was so unwelcoming and dangerous to Black travelers that most who came did so to visit family and friends. Unable to stay at hotels, they usually lodged with their hosts, creating a very different kind of relationship with the city than that of a typical tourist (Souther 2006, 76).

Even though excluded from these tourist and entertainment economies as audiences, the mediation of a Black diasporic culture – even if it was by means that often escaped the control of its progenitors – had meanings and impacts on Black audiences that were different from White audiences and specific to them, ultimately playing a productive role in fostering connections throughout the hemisphere and the world. In practical terms, Black tourists operated under similar racist constraints in both Cuba and the American South but, emboldened by heightened visibility of Afrodiasporic arts and culture, they found ways of creating their own routes of travel to build a sense of community and connection among individuals separated by large distances and geopolitical borders (Guridy 2010, 152). Guridy orients a chapter on “Afro-diasporic linkages” between the Harlem Renaissance and the *afrocubanismo* movement around the relationship between Langston Hughes and Nicolás Guillén, situating both writers as mediators of hemispheric and diasporic consciousness (figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5. Diasporic and hemispheric collaborators Nicolás Guillén and Langston Hughes. (Alegria and Chrisman 1985, 55).

Although the dynamics of musical tourism – and race – in the region are more complicated than what appears here as more or less a Black/White binary, this example demonstrates some of the variety of experience that can complicate the notion of a touristic impression as one that is necessarily stereotypical, unsympathetic, shallow, and static. Furthermore, this cultural linking through tourism demonstrates the agential possibilities of the encounter and supports the argument

for tourists-as-agents:²⁶ through actual travel, Black tourists, along with intellectuals and entrepreneurs, forged their own paths to connection and managed to reclaim the Afrodiasporic culture represented in mainstream media for their own purposes.

Musical Ideas: New World Cosmopolitanisms, Musical Nationalism, and Ideas of Musicality

The transmission of musical ideas takes place through the movements of people and recordings, but also in spaces in-between. Before mechanical sound recording, composers and musicians captured sounds heard and overheard by imitation and inscription. Among the musical ideas that figure into the complex of sonic icons and tourism in New Orleans and Havana are particular rhythms, harmonies, and instruments that have come to be identified with local musics, as well as iconic snippets of melodies, for example those from “El Manisero” or “Jeepers Creepers.”²⁷ In these abstracted, fragmented forms, musical elements are selected and reapplied in different contexts, creating a different kind of schizophonia from that of sound recordings: one that is even more decontextualized and deconstructed. Musical ideas can be general or specific (“broad strokes” or discrete musical details as described by Madrid and Moore [118]) and multiple and overlapping in terms of “musical epicenters” as discussed by Shearing (2020, 76).

Musical ideas appear in nineteenth-century written accounts that claim to represent local life, for example, Lafcadio Hearn’s descriptions of vendor calls in New Orleans and the prevalence of *pregones* in Cuban *teatro vernáculo*. These particular examples also speak to the mechanisms by which

²⁶ Indeed, Guridy specifically describes the topic of his chapter as *the pivotal role of promoters and audiences* in the making of Afro-diasporic linkages,” likewise emphasizing agency (108). (Emphasis added.)

²⁷ I use this latter example to refer back to the warm-up scene at the Mother-In-Law Lounge in Chapter 3: against the noise of the audience, recorded music playing on the PA, and other musicians warming up, the short iteration of this melody played on a trumpet was unmistakable – and unmistakably local.

the sounds of the two places become musicalized and/or the musics become linked to everyday activities – an “ordinary exoticness” – in these urban spaces in the tourist imagination.²⁸

Descriptions of these sounds can sometimes be vague, as with much colonial writing that characterizes Other musics as mere noise or else mystifies the sound itself through its difference as primitive, strange, or otherworldly. They form part of a general description of a place, rounding out the mediated sensorium for readers who cannot sense the place for themselves. The *pregones* are purportedly more precise, mediating through loose imitation of specific sounds rather than their description.

New World Cosmopolitanisms: Gottschalk

Louis Moreau Gottschalk often serves as a touchstone of mediation of circum-Caribbean and New World sounds due to his sound-gathering-and-transmission throughout the region. Like Cuban composers of the early twentieth century, he adapted vernacular musics for the Western classical tradition, disseminating Afro-Caribbean-derived rhythms and tunes through “monster concerts” and sheet music, possibly influencing such pivotal figures in American music as Scott Joplin (Sublette 2004, 154). More than just music formed Gottschalk’s regional cultural milieu, suggesting archipelagoes of memory and construction Growing up in New Orleans with a grandmother and Black nurse who had fled from Saint-Domingue, he draws connections through his own memory of stories told at home in his journal on his first visit to Hispaniola: “I again found myself before the large fireplace of our dwelling on the street ‘des Ramparts’ at New Orleans” (ibid., 147). The description of how “the negroes, myself, and the children of the household formed a circle around my grandmother” conveys a sense of intimacy, but also fear of the unknown, hinting at the touristic

²⁸ This carries forward to a pair of clips in *A Tuba to Cuba* in which musicians themselves describe the everyday sounds of their cities in musical terms.

tension between the familiar and the foreign Gottschalk's "discovery" of Hispaniola as an adult is already read through pre-existing impressions formed in New Orleans – impressions that come across less as an ethnographic study or semi-detached observation of the Other, as we might categorize Hearn's clever vignettes, and more as lived and embodied in his own experience.

Gottschalk's compositions represented the region not just through sonic imitation: his use of "folk instruments" and local performers in his concerts adds layers to the sounding of regional connections, mixing "high" and "low" culture in ways that went beyond transferring a *pregón* to the piano. For example, for the premiere of *La nuit des tropiques* in Havana in 1860, he arranged for the *tumba francesa* society to travel from Santiago de Cuba and placed the leader in front of the orchestra (Sublette 2004, 151). Gottschalk's participation in Caribbean music also went beyond his own compositions: taking advantage of his connections, he helped his friend, Cuban composer Nicolas Ruis Espadero, publish his music in France, Spain, and New Orleans – exposure that helped Espadero to become, according to Sublette, "the most famous Cuban composer of his time" (ibid., 149). Gottschalk's creolizing and cosmopolitan practices, represented both in his movements and his work, seem to have constantly thrown him into the past/elsewhere, even as he continued to travel and compose in the present with goals for the future. "La bamboula (*Danse des nègres*)"²⁹ – purportedly based on a visit to Congo Square – and "Ojos criollos (*Danse cubaine*)"³⁰ were written from a spatial and temporal distance from their ostensible sources (Paris and Martinique, respectively): "here" and "there" become not interchangeable, but perhaps equivalent in remembering and composing. In this sense, I see Gottschalk as a prototypical New World cosmopolitan, creating new meaning in creolization rather than searching for primeval musical roots.

²⁹ The name "Bamboula" lives on in New Orleans, as the name of a bar, restaurant and live music venue on Frenchmen Street and in the name of the musical ensemble Bamboula 2000, founded by Luther Gray in 1994 and named in honor of Congo Square.

³⁰ "Ojos criollos" is credited with "an intriguing offbeat passage that directly anticipates jazz of the 1920s," according to Frederick Starr (Sublette 2004, 150).

Evidence of the reach of Gottschalk's cosmopolitan music – and a romantic sensorium – can be found in the scores represented here. “Bamboula” (figures 4.6 and 4.7) (a “*fantaisie*”) is dedicated to Isabella II of Spain and lists the publisher's outlets in Mainz, Antwerp, Brussels, Leipzig, Vienna, and London. “Ojos Criollos” (figure 4.8 and 4.9) (a “*caprice brilliant*”) includes an image of anonymous female figures – one playing a tambourine – dancing under palm trees and seemingly floating on an island of vining foliage. This publication indicates a network of publishing houses in Chicago, New Haven, and Rochester. That both were composed and published for piano bolsters their position as artifacts of middle-class cosmopolitanism.

L976.3
(780)
299
GOTTSCHALK, L. M.
Bamboula
c.4.

M^{me} Marie Audibert

à sa Majesté
ISABELLE II
Reine des Espagnes

BAMBOULA
Danse des Negres.

Fantaisie
POUR
PIANO
PAR
L.M. GOTTSCHALK.
de la Louisiane.

Op. 2. Propriété des Éditeurs Enregistré aux Archives de l'Union Pr. 1 fl. 50 kr.
M A Y E N C E
ANVERS ET BRUXELLES
chez les fils de B. Schott

Dépôt général de notre fonds de Musique. à Leipzig, chez C. F. Leode. à Vienne, chez H. F. Meissner.
à Londres, chez Schott et C^o 89, St. James's Street
10301.

RUE ROYALE N° 36
A. BILLON
ORLÉANS

3972

Figure 4.6. A cover page for Gottschalk's "Bamboula." (Tulane University Digital Library).

BAMBOULA
DANSE DE NEGRES.

L. M. GOTTSCHALK Op. 2.
de la Louisiane.

• Allegro. $\text{♩} = 112$.

PIANO.

The musical score is written for piano and consists of five systems. Each system contains a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major). The time signature is 2/4. The tempo is marked 'Allegro' with a quarter note equal to 112 beats per minute. The piece is labeled 'PIANO'.

Key performance markings include:

- mf* (mezzo-forte) in the first system.
- stacc.* (staccato) and *stacc. sec.* (staccato second) markings.
- ff* (fortissimo) markings in the second and third systems.
- p* (piano) and *f* (forte) markings.
- do.* (do) marking in the third system.
- Très marqué le 1er temp. de chaque mesure.* (Very marked the 1st tempo of each measure.) in the third system.
- sempre stacc.* (always staccato) in the fourth system.
- ff sec.* (fortissimo staccato) in the fifth system.

10501.

Figure 4.7. The first page of Gottschalk's "Bamboula." (Tulane University Digital Library).

L 976.3
(780)
399
GOTTSCHALK
Ojos Criollos
c. 2

5-



OJOS CRIOLLOS

(Les yeux Créoles.)

DANSE CUBAINE

Caprice brillant

pour deux mains

COMPOSÉ PAR

L.M. GOTTSCHALK.

NEW-YORK
WILLIAM HALL & SON 543 BROADWAY.

73

Chicago.
ROOT & CADY.

New Haven Conn.
SKINNER & SPERRY.

Burhester.
JOSEPH SHAW.

Entered according to Act of Congress, 1864, by Wm. Hall in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of N. York.

3917

Figure 4.8. Gottschalk's "Ojos Criollos." (Tulane University Digital Library).

OJOS CRIOLLOS

3

(LES YEUX CREOLES)

DANSE CUBAINE.

Brillante.

PAR L. M. GOTTSCHALK.

5963

Ent'd according to Act of Congress AD 1864 by Wm. HALL, in the Clerk's Office of the Dist Court for the South Dist of N. Y.

Figure 4.9. The first page of Gottschalk's "Ojos Criollos." (Tulane University Digital Library).

Musical Nationalism: The Mozambique

For Cubans, musical ideas from the North were part of a larger U.S. American cultural hegemony on the island from at least the 1920s and into the 1960s in Havana. In *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920–1940* (1997), Moore relates how musical publications and intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s encouraged Cuban audiences to listen to “national” genres like *son* and *danzón* rather than jazz, which composer and intellectual Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes characterized as “subversive” (260, n.9).³¹ Another, more contemporary instance of this tension between “local” and “foreign” musics emerged in the course of the percussion lessons I took in Havana in 2019 with Leandro “Leo” Moré. Born in 1945 in the Cayo Hueso neighborhood of the city, Leo began playing with neighborhood friends on street corners using found objects as instruments. Modeling themselves on Benny Moré, an “untrained” musician from Cienfuegos credited with bringing his Afrocuban roots into the mainstream, Leo and his cohorts made their way into mediated performances in the 1960s with television appearances and, in 1965, an international tour. By then, he had joined the group Pello el Afrokán y Su Ritmo Mozambique. In our lessons, Leo taught me the rhythms of various rumbas (including *guaguancó*, *colombia*, and *yambú*), as well as other popular twentieth-century genres of *son*, *songó*, *pa’ca*, *guachá*, *pilón*, *cha cha chá* – and the *mozambique*.³² In the process of imparting the last, he told me that this was a crucial rhythm for the survival of Cuban music at the moment of its inception in the 1960s, to combat the influence of rock and roll. In the manuscript of his autobiography, he is even more specific: rock and roll “tenía a la juventud cubana en una terrible condición de diversionismo ideológico” (had the Cuban youth in

³¹ In a 2016 conversation with Margarita, a guide for Amistur, she lamented the over-representation of Buena Vista Social Club-inspired *son* in Old Havana, claiming that *danzón* is, in fact, Cuba’s national music. This remark makes me wonder whether this was yet another rejection of “Americanization,” though in this case it was not foreign music itself but rather foreign tastes that threatened Cuba’s authentic musical national identity.

³² Aside from *son*, these are genres of the mid-twentieth century, reflective of Leo’s early performing career. Moore points out that the dance steps of the *pa’ca*, *pilon*, and *mozambique* come directly from *santería*, demonstrating the increasing visibility of Afrocuban culture in Cuban music of the time (1997, 224).

a terrible condition of ideological diversionism) (Moré, unpublished manuscript).³³ Indeed, the *mozambique* attracted the attention of Fidel Castro himself, who called on Pello el Afrokán (Pedro Izquierdo) to compose a song to mobilize workers for the sugar harvest (figures 4.10 and 4.11).



Figure 4.10. Pello el Afrokán meets with Fidel Castro in 1965. (Hoy, April 15, 1965; archives of the Museo de la Música, Havana).

³³ Although Leo did not emphasize the significance of the *mozambique* in terms of race or ethnicity, Moore (2006) describes it, in the context of a chapter on Afrocuban folklore, as unique in that it was an overtly Afrocuban rhythm and dance that was briefly promoted by the Cuban government. Marc D. Perry describes other instances of alleged ideological diversionism in Cuban popular music, most often pertaining to musics arriving from the United States, including rock and hip hop (Perry 2014, 74).

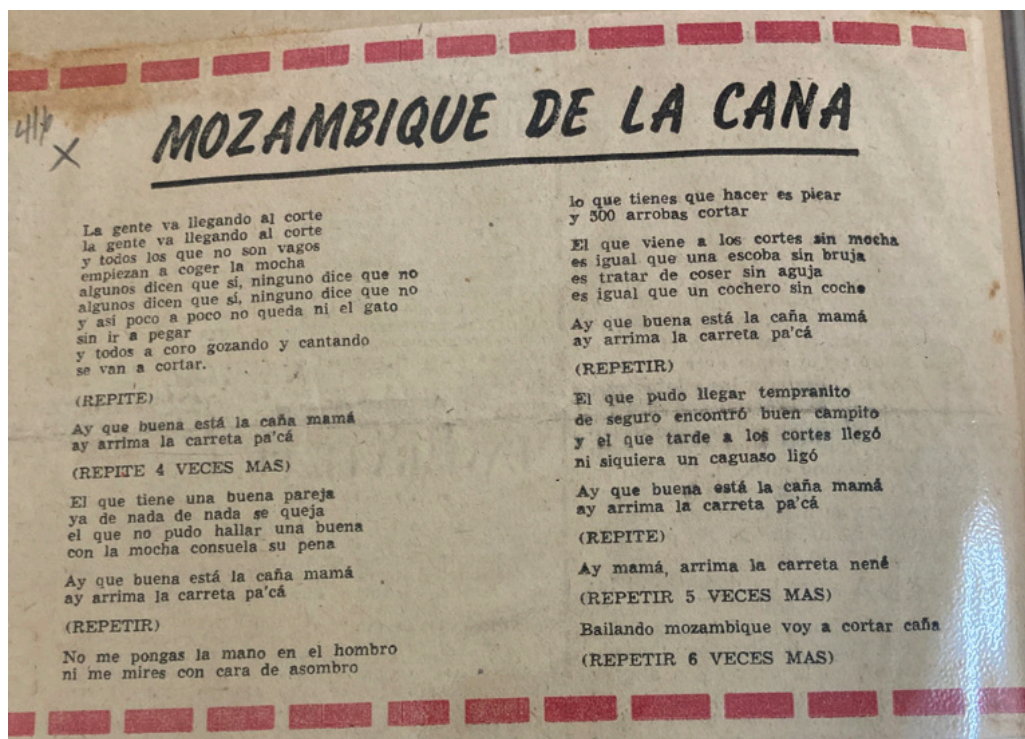


Figure 4.11. Lyrics for “Mozambique de la Caña, published in the Havana newspaper *Revolución*, April 13, 1965. (Archives of the Museo de la Música, Havana).

The implications of the success and popularity of the “musical idea” of the *mozambique* as a proudly Afro-Cuban music are multiple and can seem contradictory. Despite apparent gestures towards celebration evident in the formation of the Conjunto Folklórico and support of the *mozambique*, Moore notes that the 1960s were also a period of suppression of Afro-Cuban culture: Marxist attitudes towards religion drove *santería* out of public view and the post-racial project of the communist government ultimately contributed to an erasure of the specificity of Afro-Cuban expression in favor of a national one. This nationalization of Blackness – to borrow the title of Moore’s book – was evident even in a recent conversation I had with Leo. Intervening in my critical understanding of these developments, which I had largely gained from U.S.- and European-based

scholarship, he presented this nationalization not as an erasure, but as a unifying and forward-looking creolization.³⁴ Although later eras of Afrocentrism and diasporic connections have been identified with *timba*, rap, and *reggaetón* (Moore 2006, Bodenheimer 2013, Baker 2011), the timing and trajectory of Leo's own career – from impoverished street performer to government-contracted musician – may explain why he presents the music he plays as nationally, rather than racially, defined.

Ideas of Musicality: Saturday Night Live

To conclude the section on musical ideas and return us to more generalized touristic tropes, I turn now to a pair of skits from *Saturday Night Live* from 2018 and 2019, in which Cuba and New Orleans emerge as parallel entities reflecting, if not specific musical ideas, similar *ideas of musicality* (following precedents set in earlier eras, like the recording of *pregones*).³⁵ Aired just three months apart, the premise and format of the skits is identical: it begins with a group of friends waiting for an additional couple to meet them at a restaurant. When the couple finally arrives, they explain their tardiness by referring to a just-concluded vacation in exaggerated “local” accents (“Cooba” and “N’awlins” respectively). From here, the late-arriving guests relate their experiences in comically stereotypical

³⁴ Leo's position is elaborated in Chapter 5. Although the presence of Afro-Cuban influences in the *mozambique* is widely acknowledged, Leo explained why such music is not referred to as “Afro-Cuban,” but simply “Cuban”: “porque ya en Cuba no hay africanos. Cuando la cultura cubana se le nombraba la cultura afro-cubana, según ... los investigadores [fue] porque en aquella época [principios del siglo 20] todavía habían africanos en Cuba. (Because now in Cuba there are no Africans. When Cuban culture was named Afro-Cuban culture, according to researchers it was because in that era [the beginning of the twentieth century] there were still Africans in Cuba.)” (Interview, 3/11/22). This apparently simple and objective explanation, though valid in one sense, links culture with specific individuals in ways that may ultimately obfuscate or deny continuity with contemporary practice. The distinction between “Afro-Cuban” *people* and “Afro-Cuban” *practices* is glossed over in this account, suggesting the subtle means by which race – and, by extension, racism – can be rhetorically erased. Although I do not draw any particular conclusion as to why he did so, I find it noteworthy that Leo deferred to “researchers” in his explanation.

³⁵ The *SNL* skit is in fact called “Cuban Vacation.” Taking a cue from Wyndham and Read's reading of the reception of BVSC (2003, 503), I conflate “Havana” and “Cuba” here partially as an intentional adoption of the mediated perspective and partially out of convenience: such slippages notwithstanding, the pair of skits still works well together in forming a script – in this case less for touring itself than for *making fun of* tourists as they fall into prescribed modes of understanding and relating their experiences.

tourist terms, frustrating their interlocutors, who continue to attempt to bring them down to earth.
A pair of characteristic excerpts, edited for brevity, follows.

“Cuban Vacation” (aired October 13, 2018)

Heidi Gardner: Oh my god, is it 11:43 pm? . . . I’m sorry, you know we just got back from Cooba yesterday.

Seth Meyers: We’re jetlagged from the Cooba flight.

Melissa Villaseñor: Cuba? How long is that flight?

Aidy Bryant: Yeah, because we’re in Florida. . . .

Beck Bennett: Yeah, isn’t that the same time zone?

H. G.: Again I’m so sorry but – we are on Cooban time.

Keenan Thompson: OK so, the same time.

M. V.: So did you guys have fun?

[exchange of grunts/moans between S.M. and H.G.]

H. G. Fun?? I mean *everything’s* a party in Cuba.

S. M.: COOBA is alive with MUSIC and COLOR and WILD WOMEN IN THE STREETS [reaches out to touch K. T.]

H. G.: I mean, you know, they’re poor [making a pouty/sexy face, ?? grunts], but they’ve got *rhythm* . . .and they’re *dancin’* . . . [ongoing grunts and moaning from S.M.]

“New Orleans Vacation” (aired January 26, 2019)

H. G.: Sorry we’re movin’ so slow, we just got back from N’awlins.

James McAvoy: You know, movin’ like a gator down Bourbon Street.

H. G.: You know, when you’ve been to *N’awlins*, the slow gets inside ya and it sticks to ya bones.

J. M. Mm! Like N’awlins molasses!

K. T.: I grew up in New Orleans and I’ve never heard of ‘N’awlins molasses.’

H. G. Have y’all been to N’awlins?

A. B.: He just said he was from there.

K. T.: Yeah. You were there for two days!

H. G. Oh my god you’ve *got* to go to N’awlins. . . . You know it is *filled* with juicy jazz and squallin’ trumpets and teeny tiny lil’ crawdaddies.

J. M.: You put Paris in a swamp and that’s N’awlins in a nutshell, baby.

Both sketches conclude with the couple finding themselves engaging in an “authentic” local experience which turns out in fact to be ordinary robbery (first at an “authentic voodoo ceremony” and then at an “authentic Cooban rooster competition”). Together, they demonstrate the persistence of similar stereotypical imagery, as well as a kind of self-conscious mediation through this kind of comedy. What makes it funny is its familiarity: as the audience, we can relate to this scenario of hearing someone gush about their travels in ways that make us cringe, and may even reflect on the possibility that we ourselves have been guilty of it. That the two destinations inspired two nearly identical sketches is noteworthy: only two other sketches seem to play with tourism as a subject in a similar way, and each of these takes a different form.

The two paired sketches are so similar that they cannot but invite comparison (figures 4.12 and 4.13). Though music is not the overall subject of the sketches, musical ideas about Cuba and New Orleans appear throughout as they fade in and out along with the other tropes of color, authenticity, and sensory saturation. Indeed, this is part of what makes them part of this hyper-touristic image: the tourists hardly distinguish between sound and other senses and emotions; they clumsily adopt local ways of speaking and misunderstand *ordinary* events – like petty robbery – as *extraordinary*. Here, music (and musicality) fades into a general atmosphere.



Figure 4.12. "Cuban Vacation." (Saturday Night Live).



Figure 4.13. "New Orleans Vacation." (Saturday Night Live).

“Recordings”: Narrating Departure and Discovering Utopia

It could be argued that Gottschalk was “recording” what he heard throughout the New World in his compositions, but in this section I attend more specifically to sound recordings of the twentieth century, as well as documentary film. The allure of such recordings lies in part in their perceived immediacy, providing a glimpse of local musical life even from a distance.³⁶ As souvenirs like those gathered by Langston Hughes on his trip to Havana, recordings also may have helped him to remember and re-create experiences he had in Cuba after he had returned home to New York, continuing to sound diaspora.

Narrating Departure: Fictional Film (Gozar, Comer, Partir [2006])

Of the commercial recordings of the early twentieth century, I choose one that, in the iteration discussed here, draws attention to the ambivalence of “tourist music” in its appearance in a locally-produced film. The in-betweenness of the Cuban in the world that Pratt points out in Alejo Carpentier’s novels might be detected as well in the final scene of *Gozar, Comer, Partir* ([to] Enjoy, [to] Eat, [to] Leave) (2006), a film directed by Havana native, Arturo Infante. The last segment (*Partir*) attends to the worries and anxieties of Cuban emigration through an exchange between two friends as one packs her suitcase to leave. It concludes with a recording of “Cubanacán,” a light popular tune by Habanero, Ernesto Lecuona: on the surface, the song blends a kind of touristic image of Cuba with a local one, in that the narrator uses words of possession.

In this final scene, two friends meet as one packs her suitcase to emigrate, and they discuss what the traveler might expect “out there” (including pollution, violence, stress) and comment on the contents of the suitcase as it is filled. With each addition, the traveler is localized in her

³⁶ See Vincenzo A. Perna (2014) for a succinct account of Cuban music as mediator of tourist experience.

attachment to “home” as the two doubt that certain items might be inferior or unavailable at the destination.³⁷ The scene sympathetically and humorously highlights these attachments even as it revolves around an (*the?*) overarching theme in Cuban life: emigration.

Partir is more complex in terms of movement and belonging than I attempt to account for fully (for example, part of the concern is over the availability of proper food for an *orisha* that goes along in the suitcase, gesturing at a worry over spiritual and cultural sustainability after departure), but the very end of the segment – and the film – brings us back to music in a way that connects it to these complications and the ambivalence of belonging.

The “local”, offscreen, calls after the “traveler”: “Ciao, buen viaje! . . . Ciao. . . .” She then re-enters the apartment, smiling and softly laughing in the direction of her friend. She closes the door and bites her lip, pensive but still smiling, then sighs. The friend who stays, it so happens, is pregnant. As she lies down on the bed with an exhausted look, Lecuona’s composition comes in: identifiably antique due to the muffled sound quality, the habanera-like rhythm in the piano accompanied by maracas and claves mark the song as an early twentieth-century “art” composition. Bird sounds enter just before the change in scene; the next shot shows a window from the outside, protected by wooden shutters and metal bars. As the woman opens the shutters to the inside, we see that she has changed clothes and her hairstyle, suggesting that this might be the next day (or week, or month?). Her expression is a peaceful one, in contrast to the tiredness we just saw: she smiles as she waters the plants in the window box with a plastic pitcher and the melody of “Cubanacán” sounds for the first time, as a human-produced whistle: a kind of bridge between the “natural” sounds of birdsong and the sung verses to come. After the first line, the woman’s expression changes: her smile fades into a frown, and she begins to quietly sob. She brings a hand to her eye, as

³⁷ From my perspective as a foreigner traveling to Cuba, this is a poignant inversion of my own experiences with scarcity on the island.

if to calm herself, then rededicates herself to watering. She pours the water into her hand and splashes it over the plants, almost in distress (at the loss of her friend?) or frustration (at herself for being unable to contain herself?). The diegetic sounds of splashing water and crying mingle with the nondiegetic music and sound effects of nature (figure 4.14).



Figure 4.14. The “local” gives into her tears. (Comer, Gozar, Partir).

Finally, she gives into her sadness and leans against the window, gazing out. The next shot is from the inside of the house, behind the woman (figure 4.15).



Figure 4.15. Change in perspective to interior view. (Comer, Gozar, Partir).

It zooms in slowly, towards the open window as the volume of the music increases; we can no longer see the woman's face, but her pregnant body is more visible than ever and we can hear her still-sob-like breathing and see her body move with a few more sobs, before she appears to take a final calming breath as she puts one hand on her belly and reaches the other one out to touch the leaves of the plants. She looks down introspectively as the first sung verse begins: "Cubanacán, misterioso país del amor. . . ." Here, the woman turns away from the window, towards the camera, exposing her pained expression, before moving out of the frame, leaving the viewer looking past the shutters and the plants and the bars, through the open (but still barred) window (figure 4.16).



Figure 4.16. The empty “open” window. (Comer, Gozar, Partir).

We are left to contemplate this only for a few seconds, before the screen goes black and the credits begin, still scored by Lecuona’s romantic song of longing:

Cubanacán,
misterioso país del amor
donde forman tus cantos en flor
un vergel primoroso.

*Cubanacán,
Mysterious land of love
Where your songs flower
An exquisite orchard*

Cubanacán,
maravilla de luz y calor,
tu perfume despierta el ardor
con placer delicioso.

*Cubanacán,
Marvel of light and warmth
Your perfume arouses ardor
With delicious pleasure*

Cubanacán,
preferida del sol y del mar,
todo un nido evoca un cantar
de lejanos amores.

*Cubanacán,
Favorite of the sun and the sea
A nest that evokes a song
Of faraway loves*

Cubanacán,
guardaré tu recuerdo en mi ser
porque allí tengo yo mi querer
y mi más loco afán.

*Cubanacán,
I will keep your memory in my soul
Because there I have my love
And my most intense desire*

The multiple possibilities of meaning in the use of “Cubanacán” in this context points me back to New Orleans, where songs like “Do You Know What It Means to Miss New Orleans,” “When It’s Sleepy Time Down South,” and “When the Saints Go Marching In” occupy an ambiguous space in the realm of encounter and belonging as they serve as identifiable and iconic representations of the city to tourists but also performed and even adopted by locals as hometown creations. In this space of ambiguity, I wonder about the utility of Pratt’s insistence on the mutual influences in “contact zones,” which she defines as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination” (7). “The term ‘contact,’” she continues, “foregrounds the interactive, improvisational dimensions of imperial encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by accounts of conquest or domination told from the invader’s [tourist’s?] perspective. A ‘contact’ perspective emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other” (8). In other words: to what extent are these compositions “tourist music?”

Pratt attends to the mutually constitutive roles of “Europe” and “The New World,” pointing out the *assumed direction* of mobilities of people and ideas: “On the whole, an imperial tendency to see European culture emanating out to the colonial periphery from a self-generating center has obscured the constant movement of people and ideas in the other direction” (88). Lecuona and Carpentier were contemporaries in the elite and largely White national artistic movement of the early twentieth century. In her discussion of Carpentier, Pratt attends specifically to the apparent contradictions in his (national, racial, cultural) identity, his travels, and his work, emphasizing the challenge of creating coherent national cultures in the “New World” after long histories of colonialism: after being defined by this dynamic, how might Americans authentically move beyond it? It seems that the answer is neither wholly to reject European influences nor to embrace only those perceived to be

“indigenous,” but rather to move towards something more dynamic or complex.³⁸ In this sense, we might see tourism – particularly in the latter twentieth and early twenty-first century – as a force to be reckoned with. While the Americas have become largely (at least nominally) independent of European powers, the dynamics of exploitation and authority have been displaced: while it may no longer be the European who “discovers,” documents, arbitrates, and disseminates, do these activities remain the purview of the tourist (who may indeed still be European)? To return to the question of perspective in “tourist songs” as I have described the tunes above: what does it mean for locals to appropriate these representations?

Discovering Utopia: Documentary Film (Buena Vista Social Club [1999] and A Tuba to Cuba [2017])

If *Gozar, Comer, Partir* prompts questions of representation through its use of “Cubanacán,” documentary films like *Buena Vista Social Club* (1999) and *A Tuba to Cuba* (2017) claim, by virtue of their genre, to show the viewer something immediate and authentic.³⁹ The two films mediate musical notions of Cuba mainly for Western audiences through the movement of agents, particularly their main subjects, musicians Ry Cooder and Ben Jaffe.

Buena Vista Social Club

Tanya Katerí Hernández (2002) and Marivic Wyndham and Peter Read (2003) have remarked on the particular nostalgia evident in and promoted by the *Buena Vista Social Club*: in both readings, American and European audiences are treated to an ostensibly apolitical fantasy trip, lived

³⁸ Though they still fall short of tackling the issue, models of “Europe+Africa+America” and “*ajiao*” or “gumbo” seem to gesture towards this.

³⁹ I would have liked to address televised documentaries that interlocutors Terry Sims and Alexey Marti cited as influential in their initial, remote understandings of New Orleans in Baltimore and Havana respectively, before they both eventually became residents.

vicariously through the White savior figure of Cooder.⁴⁰ Tropes of discovery (in this case, a *re*-discovery) and rescue, both by a white Western man, are easily identified in the film. I do not dwell on the details here, as they are well documented in other work, but the focus on Cooder, both visually and aurally in crucial parts of the film and in terms of production, situate the film in rather closer proximity to colonial and imperial attitudes of extraction than producers and fans would likely be comfortable admitting (figure 4.17).⁴¹



Figure 4.17. Ry Cooder smokes a cigar by the waterfront as he watches his son Joachim and Orlando “Cachaito” Lopez play music. (Buena Vista Social Club).

Timothy Yaczo invokes Frith’s “Discourse of World Music” to draw a thread that connects certain values (authenticity, non-commercialism) associated with that category of music and listeners

⁴⁰ The possibility of apolitical musical collaboration is questioned in Louise Meintjes’s seminal article on Paul Simon’s *Graceland*.

⁴¹ Indeed, one is reminded of Souther’s comparison of Joe Mares to World’s Fair producers in what is presented as a victorious finale concert at Carnegie Hall.

with those of the *Buena Vista Social Club* album and documentary.⁴² He goes beyond nostalgia as a device for understanding the film – or rather through it, retaining its residues – to utopia.⁴³ In his description,

A fugitive, resurrected sound, the pre-revolutionary rhythms of the Buena Vista Social Club flood our contemporary musical landscape and provide a glimpse of the entire terrain anew: our present understanding of our musical and political evolution is recalibrated, and in doing so, spurs imaginative and alternate possibilities for political futures. (Yaczo 2013, 29)

He connects this kind of utopian possibility with Antonio Benitez-Rojo's repetitive, reiterative Caribbean machine, suggesting that utopian futures are not only the purview of White/Western "globalists" but of other travelers, perhaps like Langston Hughes, who mobilized what he had learned abroad and contextualized Cuban sculptor Ramos Blanco "as a figure relevant not just to Cuban art but also to the art scene in the United States," thereby "stak[ing] larger claims about the state of cultural production in the African diaspora as a whole" (Guridy 2010, 108). Through exposure to difference, tourists do not necessarily remain incurious and become ever more assured of their superiority as is claimed of much early tourism (for instance, in Victorian slumming); difference can also productively intervene in our existing understandings.

A Tuba to Cuba

A certain utopian vision of music's capacity to overcome divisions is on full display in the Preservation Hall Jazz Band's (PHJB) 2017 film, though concrete or practical possibilities and outcomes are less evident than in Hughes's and others' development of diasporic consciousness and art. *A Tuba to Cuba* casts the band's trip to Cuba as an excavation of forgotten cultural connections and a realization of a life-long dream of the group's founder Allan Jaffe, a jazz enthusiast and

⁴² This mode of attraction (e.g., political, educational, or activist) could be linked with other kinds of tourism like that associated with the Venceremos Brigades in the 1960s and recovery efforts after Hurricane Katrina, as well as musical tourism associated with genres like rap Cubano as described by Geoffrey Baker (2011).

⁴³ This connection stood out to me in particular in resonance with some gestures towards utopian thought around the touristic encounter in Chapter 3.

Philadelphia-born transplant who opened the venue in 1961 with his wife Sandra. Narrated by their son Ben, the “journey” is presented as one of discovery (of self and ostensibly other), magic, and music: an echo or retracing of his parents’ path to New Orleans, where they rescued a dying tradition from neglect and launched a racially inclusive revival.⁴⁴ *A Tuba to Cuba* situates New Orleans and Cuba as essentially and musically linked, both carving out a space of belonging for the PHJB in Cuba and taking up the charge of rescuing lost connections. Despite the claims of the film – particularly the opening voiceover – it largely fails to carve out a space for Cuban music in New Orleans. The mobility of people in the film reinforces this one-sidedness, as U.S. Americans travel to Cuba and insert themselves (and their narrative priorities) into its music, rather than the other way around.

Throughout the film, connections are located in the remote past and presented as essentially invisible outside of the film’s own efforts; New Orleans and Cuba (Havana as well as Santiago and Cienfuegos) are characterized as “magical” and “mythical” in their musicality; and actual, specific sonic similarities or connections are barely discussed in favor simple assertions of their existence. In Jaffe’s telling, the connection between New Orleans and Cuba is one of parallel histories, rather than ongoing and shifting exchanges. Unlike the *Buena Vista Social Club*, *A Tuba to Cuba* does not cultivate nostalgia for a particular historical period, but rather creates an almost mythical origin story in which the original sin of slavery gives birth to two twin musics that have been forever after estranged, greatly simplifying the story of direct and varied musical exchange ever since. Indeed, if Jaffe acknowledged the regional history past the early eighteenth century (though he never does identify it

⁴⁴ The tropes of self-discovery/improvement through musical encounter resonates with Cocks’s description of “the tropics” as a site of (White) healing and rejuvenation most evident in the 1920s and 1930s (coinciding with a worldwide popularization of African and Afrodiasporic music and dance). She describes this as the moment when “culture” became a way of safe access to the Other, in that it could be adopted and discarded at will; at the same time, though more socially progressive than the colonial apparatus that sent travelers to “the tropics” with an eye to settle, this approach of remaking “the destination” in one’s own preferred image might be compared with those of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century U.S. travelers in the Americas who only seemed to imagine how the tropics could serve *them*, within their existing worldviews (Cocks 2013).

with a date), he might have reflected on his own rather self-assured sonic presence in a country that once saw jazz not as “the bridge that connected everyone,” as he describes it, but an imperialist cultural invasion (Moore 1997).

Although the film is framed as a journey of discovery, it is surprising to realize that there seems to be so little actual discovery in the film: despite any proclaimed revelations or realizations like that of African connections, in Cuba Jaffe largely “discovers” that which he already knows to be there. He speaks authoritatively on Cuban music (e.g., the African origins of Cuban drums) and rarely uses the first-person singular, subtly enhancing the authority of his remarks by the use of the collective “we.” His statements are declarative, unreflective, and closed off from further questioning or consideration (e.g., “the roots of our music are firmly planted in Cuba. It’s what we have in common.”), leaving little room for new experiences to impact his preexisting worldview. Along the same lines, on the bus to Santiago de Cuba, saxophonist Clint Maedgen states whimsically “I feel something very familiar here. The presence of something very old.” The unquestioning stance represented in these remarks only confirms existing touristic ways of (mis)understanding a destination: reciting as if by rote the history of colonial-era connections via slavery and ignoring everything that has happened since (Jaffe) or vaguely re-imagining that history into the touristic-present (Maedgen) does little to foster actual communication and connection between Cuban and American musicians in the moment.

Another obstacle to such connections is the rhetorical relegation of Cubans to a magical world outside of the everyday. This happens throughout the film, for example when Jaffe casts evidence of persistence and ingenuity in the face of scarcity and poverty as “incredible expressions of passion,” rather than necessary means of survival. Although they may be both, Jaffe’s failure to acknowledge other possibilities betrays his incurious-utopian worldview in which musical healing is to be found everywhere he imagines – and declares – it to be. In a characteristic conflation of

musicality and healing generosity outside the realm of economic need, he says: “In spite of [the everyday hardships endured], music has brought so much joy to so many people. It’s a country that continues to give this beautiful gift of music.” Towards the end of the film, he speaks to unidentified and unseen interlocutors in a prologue to an *al fresco* performance outside of the vacant Museo de la Música in Havana: “It’s been an incredible two weeks. We’ve made new friends – friends for life, and we want to say ‘thank you’ and show our appreciation the only way we know how, and that’s music.” His insistence that music is a “gift” given freely fails to recognize the possibility both that Cubans might not see music in exactly the same (incurious-utopian) way he does and the potentials for real exchanges and communications that might change the material circumstances for musicians – and others – struggling to survive on the island. The conceit that the “only way” this North American knows how to show appreciation is through music – rather than through advocacy and exposure or economic aid – is a willful disregard of Cuba’s place *within* the ordinary world of politics and economics.

A subtler narrative presence in the film that seems to *actually* leave space for the kind of dialogue and knowledge transmission that Jaffe claims is that of PHJB drummer Walter Harris. In contrast to Jaffe’s incurious solipsism, Harris expresses something that could be characterized as a curious-utopian attitude towards the trip. While Maedgen’s and Jaffe’s musings on Cuba are imprecise and inwardly-focused, Harris expresses his impressions and the interest they inspire in ways that are specific and attentive to the encounter with difference. In his anticipation of the band’s arrival in Santiago, he says, “I’m hearin’ so much about the African culture, and knowin’ that that’s what the essence of it is. . . . I can’t wait to see what’s goin’ on over here in Santiago.” Harris doesn’t *already know*, but *can’t wait to find out* (figure 4.18).



Figure 4.18. Walter Harris of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band anticipates his arrival in Santiago de Cuba. (A Tuba to Cuba).

Harris's excitement at the prospect of further discovery allows the viewer to share his excitement, conveying a compelling sense of *genuine* education and discovery not tied to rescuing forgotten histories for the purported benefit of humankind, but to his own understanding of regional diasporic traditions. Furthermore, unlike what amounts to an aestheticizing tour of Cuban culture on the part of the film in general, Harris's curiosity seems to hold the promise of productivity: as a Black New Orleanian, he seems genuinely interested in other ways of being African-American, setting the stage for ongoing curiosity about and investment in the connection, something that the film in general fails to do. Music itself seems to have a more practical significance to Harris as presented in the film: while Maedgen finds inspiration in sounds plucked casually from his environment ("the soundscapes ... the calliope comin' off the river this afternoon, it's just ... how it interacts with the fire truck goin' by, and the horse and buggy cuttin' the rhythm with their

hooves – that’s all music”), Harris’s musical biography includes a four-year prison sentence during which he turned to drumming as a means of survival.⁴⁵ Using a set of drums in the prison gym, “that was the only moments I was ever able to escape from prison man, when I got on those drums ... Drums pretty much saved my life ... Yeah, drums – drums saved my life. “ Once again, this musician’s musical labor may be an expression of “passion,” but here we have a better idea of what that passion is made of, and that it is not purely musical. At the risk of over-emphasizing possible diasporic connections without Harris’s direct input, I suggest that this kind of semi-touristic engagement might echo the productive qualities of that discussed by Guridy, in which travel is used not for passive consumption of attractive sights and sounds, but rather for the constructive purpose of new *meaningful* connections between people living in different political, cultural, and economic circumstances despite the “ancient” diasporic connections that supposedly connect them *a priori*.

For all the claims of borderless and seamless musical familiarity and communion, a scene of international musical meeting in the street does not sound as smooth as we would expect: instead of an easy collaboration, the two musics seem to struggle to be understood by one another, each in its turn: the breathless tempo of the *santiagueros*, pressing on beats one and three, concludes, and we are taken out of the nearly frenzied energy by an abrupt shift to a swinging trombone line with the laid-back feeling of leaning on the off-beats. The conga musicians gamely join in, but the bystanders watch largely silent and immobile. For this moment, it seems as if the PHJB has hijacked the rhythm, coercing the Cubans to fall in line. (One participant shuffles his feet and hips in a movement reminiscent of the twist – a choreographic surrender, in my reading, the move being

⁴⁵ Elsewhere in the film, percussionist Oscar Valdés describes Cuba as “a magical and musical island,” similarly characterizing everyday sounds as musical: “even when dogs bark, they bark music.” Although each of these statements is uttered by a “local,” they are consistent with touristic tropes that can perpetuate primitivist stereotypes and place New Orleanians and Cubans outside of the ordinary world and in a magical and self-contained (and self-sustaining) world of their own.

somewhat out of the character of Cuban dance.)⁴⁶ The latter seem eventually to reassert some sonic control, bringing back the front-loaded rhythm of the conga. Despite claims of familiarity and easy engagement, what seems to *actually* transpire here is a sonic tug-of-war.⁴⁷

In another example, PHJB pianist Rickie Monie works with Cuban pianist Miguelito Nuñez, struggling to learn a Cuban piano rhythm. Monie first records Nuñez on video, then imitates Nuñez phrase by phrase before eventually attempting the passage on his own. After a playful scene of failure, Monie promises, “Next time I see you, I will learn it the way you play it, and I want to play it correctly.” This promise raises the question of what is so difficult to learn if the two musicians come from shared and mutually-intelligible traditions. Following this is the most explicit reference to actual sonic similarities in the whole film. It takes place almost as a backdrop, intercut with footage of Nuñez remarking on mutual understanding despite linguistic barriers: Monie goes to the piano and plays a phrase of the tune Nuñez had been teaching him, then goes back to his New Orleans style of playing. He identifies in each not a common rhythm, harmony, or melodic shape, but an ornamental riff that falls between basic elements of the piece.

If *Buena Vista Social Club* rescues older musicians from undue oblivion under communism, *A Tuba to Cuba* seems to avoid politics in focusing on early colonial histories in the remote past. A more direct comparison to the saviorism of the earlier film might be in Jaffe’s account of the founding of Preservation Hall itself, in which his parents rescued jazz from the Jim Crow South.⁴⁸ If the trip to Cuba was, as Jaffe offers several times throughout, a kind of repetition of his parents’

⁴⁶ One aspect of the film I have not been able to explore at length is the obfuscation of production itself: the Cuban participants in the film may likely have felt pressured to perform *according to what Jaffe expected or wanted* out of the film, raising the possibility that these connections and acts of recognition were not necessarily felt by the musicians themselves, but prescribed by the filmmakers.

⁴⁷ Another “collaborative” encounter with Santiago musicians yields similarly awkward results: the simultaneous iteration of different rhythms creates not a polyrhythmic whole but an almost-in-sync rhythmic friction, like different musics overlaid with – not conversing with – one another. Musical collaborations in Havana – specifically around *danzón* – seem to go more smoothly.

⁴⁸ Preservation Hall was founded in 1961, the same year that New Orleans became established on the waters of the Disneyland River.

journey to New Orleans, he never really explains how, beyond his father's aspiration to "go to Cuba and once again use music as a bridge to unite people." At no point does Jaffe acknowledge the privilege implicated here: an outsider, uncontaminated by local prejudices or obstacles, arrives to pull the wool from everyone's eyes and show that "musical conversation cancels out complication." Even taking such a mission at face value, the difference here is that Allan and Sandra Jaffe created what has been a genuinely productive and valuable cultural institution in the city that safeguards and supports local music and musicians, while the younger Jaffe's project fails to produce anything but a vague self-promise to "grow."⁴⁹ Indeed, in his own telling, local performers in the earliest incarnations of the PHJB benefited from the opportunity to make a decent living performing music, both in New Orleans and, importantly, in tour. If this was a kind of retracing of that journey, what did local Cuban performers gain in *A Tuba to Cuba*? Very little, it seems, but the film excuses itself from any obligation to them by painting their home as a magical musical paradise where they are happy to struggle on, sustaining themselves through the "gift" of music.

Conclusion

The constellation of media I have discussed here is in many ways disparate in its content, its reach, and its meaning, but together these "objects" present some consistent themes that come to bear on musical tourism. A major theme is representation itself: in representations of local life, "musical ideas" circulate often without credited authors, leading to contentious histories of recognition and

⁴⁹ "One of the important things we took away from our experiences in Cuba is, we've decided, as a band, to grow with the world around us. To grow from the experiences we have, to grow from the people that we meet, to grow from the knowledge we share, and that we receive. Something I've learned from [Preservation Hall Jazz band clarinetist] Charlie Gabriel is that musical conversation cancels out complication. You really sense that in Cuba. It's important to engage in a dialogue. You get more out of life when at your core you believe in the value of building bridges, and it's something we can all do" (*A Tuba to Cuba*).

appropriation. Those who are recognized often already move in privileged circles, like Gottschalk, who used his privilege to gain exposure for his musical interlocutors like Espadero. As is evident from RCA's first forays to Havana to present-day discussions about Black music in global music industry, recording has largely followed the same paths. Artists like Alexey Marti, Tarriona Bell, and Enrique Rodríguez, discussed in the next chapter, position themselves as agile and astute players in this system, insisting on pushing back against stereotypes and maintaining control over what *they* represent. Schizophonic media affords sonic access to eager listeners, but also to untrustworthy parties.

People, musical ideas, and recordings in motion work in concert as they encounter and interact with one another in the musical-touristic archipelago. The media that agents produce and consume become sites of construction – islands of images – that foster replication and revision (and even erasure). The sometimes uncontrollable semiotic powers of different media can acquire, particularly in popular/touristic culture, a fluidity that lends itself to imagination and fantasy (even as it claims to “document”), opening routes to utopia.

As they appear here, the utopias of tourism may be characterized by hopes of authenticity, connection, or healing (as in *Buena Vista Social Club* and *A Tuba to Cuba*), of overwhelming “thereness,” (characterized by a sensual immediacy like that described by Hearn and a connection *to the local*) or even overwhelming “everywhereness” (as in a mediated abstraction like those played out on *Saturday Night Live* or in fantasies of borderlessness). Making a distinction between different kinds of utopian imaginings – evident in tourist behavior and remarks – facilitates a discussion of what tourism can and does mean. While an incurious approach tends to reinscribe modes of travel and encounter that bear the traces of eurocentrism, colonialism, and imperialism, evidence of true curiosity in utopian imaginings suggests a less self-satisfied, more open and engaged encounter.

Tourists searching for authenticating histories may bring with them visions that are utopian but overly simplistic, like those put forth in *A Tuba to Cuba*, hindering their own abilities to see Cuba or New Orleans for what they are instead of what they are imagined to be: in their construction of utopia, which remains incurious about “the destination,” they erase the local and remake it according to their own desires. Incurious utopianism can perpetuate narratives and myths that are unhelpful at best and damaging at worst, as in Jaffe’s “bridge-building” fantasy that leaves Cubans on the other side of the embargo, thanking them for their hospitality only with a gift of what they themselves have so much of: music. The perceived exceptionality of the biographies of New Orleans and Havana, though often celebrated as the essence of their world-renowned circum-Caribbean cultures, can also become an obstacle to equity as the cities are mediated and constructed from afar.

Utopian readings of touristic media like *The Buena Vista Social Club*, however, need not preclude productive possibilities. A curious utopianism is attentive to possibility and poised to grasp at it – often with an eye (or ear) directed actively towards the future, rather than passively towards the past.⁵⁰ Such an approach to tourism has the potential to decolonize the practice of tourism through tourist agency, refocusing touristic desire towards, for example, collaborative, rather than extractive models. When Walter Harris turns his ear to Santiago, he listens for something outside of his established understanding of the world; in this, the encounter emerges in its most open form, rather than being predetermined by the baggage of “tourism.” A utopia may by definition always reside just outside of reality, but this does not mean that it can’t be a useful space in which to imagine, to paraphrase Yaczo (2013), alternative possibilities for musical futures that are directed and precise in their utopian aspirations. In the next chapter, I carry forward a focus on curious

⁵⁰ In this attentiveness and agency, curious utopianism has qualities in common with the choraster (Wearing and Foley 2017) as discussed in Chapters 1 and 3.

utopianism as a way to understand how contemporary working musicians make sense of (re)connections between the musics of New Orleans and Havana.

5. Archipelagic Utopianism: Musicians at Work

How would you like to spend a weekend in Havana

How would you like to see the Caribbean shore?

Come on and run away over Sunday

To where the view and the music is tropical,

You'll hurry back to your office on Monday –

But you won't be the same any more . . .

—Josephine Baker, “Weekend in Havana”

Can you hear it, can you hear the music?

Mind clears, spirit lucid

A New Orleans-Cuban fusion / ain't no gentrifiers, no colonizers

But Tank and the music / we do it for the culture

Whaaat! / We do it for the culture

For the spirit that keeps us hungry and wanting more

For it doesn't matter how many places you roam

There'll never be anything quite like home

—Tarriona Ball, “Caliente”

The lyrics of two songs, “Weekend in Havana” sung by Josephine Baker (a refrain drawn from Chapter 1) and “Caliente” written and performed by Tarriona Ball, present a kind of contrast between the fantasies of tourism (tropical music and views) and its realities (colonization and

gentrification). As a pair, they also present tensions between “home,” *exotica*, desire, and transformation. Two American Black women, both recognized for their bold costumes and performance styles, iterate the archipelagic/repeating island as a place of sonic desire.

Chapter 4 dealt with a range of “products” and experiences that demonstrate some of the means by which the tourist encounter is mediated, particularly from a distance. The main subject of this chapter is a group of musicians-as-mediators who perform in the ethnographic present, particularly during a period of my fieldwork between 2019 and 2022. These musicians do the work of sounding their cities (“sonic icons of the region” [Rommen and Neely], as well as neighborhood, nation, etc.) but disrupt, in their own ways, the particular kinds of nostalgia and incurious utopianism evident in the touristic “gaze” of *Buena Vista Social Club* (1999) and *A Tuba to Cuba* (2017) in favor of what I read as an energetic, archipelagic, and curious (and still touristic) utopianism that seeks to make connections to the past relevant in the present. In the hands of these artists, the “present” itself is not to be satisfied with remembering (or “preserving,” or “reviving”): it is galvanized by these acts for the future via musical construction. The re-sounding of the archipelago in these particular cases may be read in more dynamic terms: as a *resounding* archipelago, working across temporal spaces (including, importantly, the present), sonically at-play and in-flux.

The musicians I focus on in this chapter include participants in the “Getting Funky in Havana” project of 2020 (organized by the Trombone Shorty Foundation in New Orleans) and two percussionists from Havana: Leandro “Leo” Moré, who continues to live there, and Alexey Marti, who now lives permanently in New Orleans. These performers have all traveled and performed both from “here” and from “there,” sonically situating themselves in different ways. My perspective as a tourist-researcher has been impacted by how I encountered each of them: New Orleanians in Havana in 2020 as musical ambassadors of sorts from my newly adopted city, Leo in Havana as an iconic super-local in a touristic context (performing at the Callejón de Hamel and teaching

percussion to foreigners), and New Orleans “transplant” Alexey as a locus of intentionality in the musical creolization that is so often touted in both cities but rarely substantiated in concrete and contemporary terms.¹ It is worth emphasizing that these encounters also shaped my relationships with the cities themselves, suggesting that they have the potential to do the same for other visitors.

Musicians On Tour: “Getting Funky in Havana”

“Getting Funky in Havana” was a project organized by the Trombone Shorty Foundation of New Orleans to bring New Orleans musicians to perform in Havana during Jazz Plaza in January of 2020. Tank and the Bangas, the Soul Rebels, the Trombone Shorty Academy, and Big Chief Monk Boudreaux were joined in many of their activities by Cuban funk artist CimaFunk (Eric Iglesias Rodríguez) and his band, with whom they had begun a friendly working relationship following a pair of successful CimaFunk shows at the celebrated New Orleans venue, Tipitina’s, in 2019.² The itinerary included a percussion workshop with Cuban percussionists, a visit to the Amadeo Roldan Music Conservatory (in cooperation with the New York City-based Horns to Havana music project), a “second line conga” through Old Havana, a pair of shows at the Fábrica de Arte Cubano (F.A.C.), and performances at the Teatro Nacional and the Salon Rosado (“Getting Funky in Havana”).³ Although some events featured only one or two of the participants at a time, others brought them all together, making gestures toward “cultural exchange” – often limited to semi-

¹ I use the word “transplant” because that is often the word used for those who come from elsewhere to live permanently in New Orleans, often by choice rather than necessity. Although Alexey is also importantly an immigrant, his proclaimed and demonstrated affinity for the city makes his residence here affective, in addition to practical – a quality more often associated with the term “transplant.”

² The age range of the participants is noteworthy, as it skewed young – particularly when compared with the members of Buena Vista Social Club or the Preservation Hall Jazz Band. Big Chief Monk Boudreaux was by far the oldest member of the entourage at 77; at least one of the members of the Soul Rebels (Derrick Moss, one of the co-founders of the group) was near 50, but CimaFunk, Tank and the Bangas, and Troy “Trombone Shorty” Andrews were all in their early 30s, and the students of the Foundation all in their teens.

³ I discuss the F.A.C. as a venue in Chapter 3.

educational activities like the visit to the Conservatory and the percussion workshop – come to life in a less formal way. In other words, this was not the same kind of quiet, meditative search for roots evident in *A Tuba to Cuba*, but rather what sometimes felt like a breathless contemporary musical conversation characterized by a detectable *shared enthusiasm* for the project. It is not beside the point that the event also marked a moment in still-rising stardom for both Tank and the Bangas and CimaFunk: after Jazz Plaza the former group was on their way to a tour date in Tokyo before returning to the U.S. for the Grammy Awards, for which they had been nominated in the category of Best New Artist; the latter had been recognized with awards from the Primera Base World Music Festival and the Cuerda Viva Awards, among others (CimaFunk, n.d.).

As a group, the New Orleans musicians and CimaFunk are often identified with their cities (Rodríguez is originally from Pinar del Rio, West of Havana, but his career has required relocating his base to the capital). As such, they also represent – in their own rhetoric as well as that of observers – the “traditions” of their cities, which they characterize at different times as both specifically Afrodiasporic and creolized. This tradition of creolization also creates what appears as a tradition of its own: that of “innovation” and acceptance of novel influences.⁴

Musicians-as-Tourists

The ostensible role of “guest” participants in festivals and other events is often framed as one of musical ambassador, and the New Orleans musicians fulfilled that role in their engagements, educating audiences in some settings (e.g., the Conservatory) and simply “performing” the city in

⁴ This similarity draws out an interesting contrast between the images of the two cities that seems to beg for further consideration: New Orleans’s ostensibly lost cosmopolitanism makes this facility with creolization appear almost as a “retention” of musical practices of earlier eras like those of the *contradanza* and the *habanera*, but also as the logical “end” and site of sediment of all “American” music at the end of the Mississippi River. As demonstrated by Rodríguez’s relocation from Pinar del Rio for events like Jazz Plaza, Havana still holds its status as a cosmopolitan city, even if the usual abundance of exchange and encounter is relatively limited – even compared to New Orleans.

others (e.g., the Soul Rebels’ inclusion of the song “504” – a reference to the New Orleans area code – in their set list).⁵ While abroad, guest musicians may also become tourists themselves, whether seeking exposure, inspiration, or, indeed, a kind of cultural connection and resonance like those suggested by some kinds of tourism. Bill Taylor, the executive director of the Trombone Shorty Foundation addressed this aspect of hosting and traveling with musicians in both Havana and New Orleans. Bill had organized several excursions for Cimagunk to complement their own performances (figure 5.1), during which he and Collin Laverty (founder of Cuba Educational Travel) took their guests to hear, see, and participate in music throughout the city.⁶



Figure 5.1. Cimagunk plays with Big Chief Juan Pardo at Tipitina’s in New Orleans, November 14, 2019. Photograph by the author.

⁵ As suggested in Chapter 2, the presence of guest artists also enhances or elaborates the image of the host city.

⁶ Bill describes the warm reception of Cimagunk at Tipitina’s on the first trip as the catalyst for a second, which then set the stage for Jazz Plaza and further collaborations between the groups.

Their itineraries were not un-touristic: they included a Rebirth Brass Band show at the iconic Maple Leaf Bar on Oak Street, a second line, and an introduction to Mardi Gras Indian culture via Big Chief Juan Pardo. Bill characterized the chosen activities this way: “it’s kind of like when you have a friend visit New Orleans, you want to show them as much cool shit as you can” (Taylor 2021).⁷ Describing the response from the Cuban musicians, he said, “They fell in love with New Orleans. . . . Those guys were hilarious, they had so much fun.” The emphasis on humor and fun suggests just the kind of boisterous and joyful communing that much of this kind of musical exchange seems to aim at (ibid.).

In contrast, Ariana Hall, the director of the CubaNOLA arts collective described a perhaps unexpected level of discomfort for some of her Cuban visitors when attending a New Orleans second line: she observed that noisy street parades, though forming part of certain shared traditions, were not in fact something that the Cubans in question were particularly familiar or comfortable with (Hall, 2020). Quint Davis’s insistence (discussed in Chapter 2) that there would be “nothing to learn” for New Orleanians to learn from the Conga Los Hoyas at the Jazz and Heritage Festival may have been more or less accurate (in either case, it was effective/affective), but Hall’s observation demonstrates that different (national, cultural, racial) attitudes towards these practices are by no means shared by all potential participants. Despite the apparent openness of a tradition like street parading, this complicates notions of music as a “universal language” that breaks down barriers.⁸ The success of Rodríguez and his group’s introduction to New Orleans culture, then, must not be taken for granted but understood in the specific terms of their encounter. Rodríguez remarked in

⁷ These activities represent a certain *kind* of tourism – a heritage tourism or heritage-tourism adjacent variety that prizes authenticity and does not reject a certain amount of checklist-type travel.

⁸ The *apparent* openness of the tradition also leads some visitors to commit faux pas, as alluded to in the New Orleans Music and Culture Coalition’s “Good Visitor Guide”: “Many of our parades are participatory, but if you want to join in, it’s best to stay toward the back and out of the way of the band and parade members. Don’t block the path of the Grand Marshal and the band or jump in front and take photos. If someone asks you to move, please do so” (New Orleans Music and Culture Coalition n.d.).

2020 on a sense of familiarity on that first visit: “as soon as I get there and see the environment: the houses, the architecture, the people, the food – and then the music was like [“boom”]: this is home too. This is home too, this is Caribbean too” (Rodríguez 2020). This kind of recognition of “home” in another place or culture is what Quint Davis promised and what some of Hall’s guests may have failed to feel in a positive way, but Rodriguez and the other participants in the trip expressed this sentiment repeatedly.

In contrast to the discomfort described by Hall, the guest New Orleanians at Jazz Plaza in 2020 appeared to enjoy themselves and were unanimous in their public statements about the experience. They claimed it to be a positive and rewarding one, characterized by a sense of connection or belonging – many described it explicitly as feeling “like home.” Andrews described a cultural equivalence that dislocated his sense of place (“I forgot where I was”); Julian Gosin of the Soul Rebels located common origins in Africa as the foundation for musical intelligibility (“It was in my soul man, it’s in the blood – you know everything comes from Africa – the roots are here [in Havana], the roots are in New Orleans, so it was an easy combination to put together man”); Ball echoed these feelings of continuity and belonging, but her remarks also convey a sense of the dynamism of the archipelago, both recognizing the past (African origins) and framing survival (and reconnection) in terms of musical movement:

[At the second line in Old Havana], you just felt a sense of family, appreciation, love, *excitement* – all from the people in the balcony . . . just authentic, you know, genuine – these are all the words I think of when I’m thinking about this unique connection. I told somebody earlier: I felt like Africans were just dropped off everywhere and they made do with what happened to them, but the spirit continued and moved on through the rhythm, through dance, something that’s completely natural, something that can’t be taken away. You know, no matter where they dropped us off, we still found our way back to each other. That’s what it felt like. (Contreras 2020)

Bill Taylor synthesized and emphasized these impressions when I spoke with him and elaborated on the uniqueness of this trip in the context of the day-to-day touring of these musicians.

Oh it was deep. . . . It was deep, . . . I think coming from New Orleans and having the cultural experience that we had there. . . . You know a lot of these artists, they travel all over the place so. . . .

They're accustomed to traveling the world, but . . . being able to be in a place that's . . . equally as culturally rich, and the connections are *so* deep. . . . It wasn't at all like it was a gig, you know what I mean? Because [with] so many musicians, it's like "we're goin' on the next gig, and the next gig, and we're travelin' here" – all that just went out the window right away and [it] was like "we're here to have an experience," you know, "this is not about the money, it's about . . . the soul-enriching experience we're having here." So . . . every single musician I talked to was absolutely touched in a really really deep profound way by it, and you'd have to talk to them about why, but I think it has something to do with the deep similarity between the places. It's almost like you're connecting with something that is so similar to you but you never really knew, and all of a sudden there it is, and you're like "woah! Where has this place been?" Like "How have I not been here before?"⁹ (Taylor 2021)

The remarks from the musicians themselves bolster Bill's observation that there was a kind of shift from seeing the trip as a job to seeing it as a "soul-enriching experience" – something not out of the question for tourist. For example, Bill used similar language when referring to strategies to attract guests on the trip (whose financial contributions help to fund activities of the Foundation): he described the most likely market for participants as those looking for "a deep cultural experience." Though they were not performing themselves, these tourists arrived in Havana attached to the performers from New Orleans; by inserting themselves into the cultural connection through association with their local "representatives," these paying (rather than paid) participants may have enjoyed the trip more because of this felt intimacy through a chain of cultural familiarities. The chain of authentic connection might look something like the model represented in figure 5.2:

New Orleans-based tourist ➡ New Orleans musicians ➡ Cuban musicians ➡ Havana

Figure 5.2. Chain of access for guest visitors on Jazz Plaza trip to Havana, 2020.

⁹ Driving home Bill's comparison to other destinations "all over the world," Troy Andrews, reflecting on the impact of his first trip to Havana, at age 12: "The spirit captivated me and it felt like it was home. Like even still today, I've traveled all over the world and it still feels foreign to me, even if I've been places multiple times, but when I come here – this is my second time – I feel like I'm at home. . . . It is the same: food, music, culture, and community, and that's why I feel at home I'm guessin' . . . the people of Havana thrive off of music, thrive off community and food and the culture and that's exactly the same thing we have in New Orleans" (Contreras 2020).

Refractions of Tourism and Home

In another iteration of these affective linkages, I offer an example of an encounter of my own in the Parque Central during that week – one that reshaped my relationship with both cities as a researcher-tourist. The nature of this reshaping, it should be emphasized, is not drastic, but rather works as a kind of washing-over of the palimpsest, leaving deposits of memory that change what was there before. Sitting in the park with a local friend, I noticed Troy Andrews walking towards the Malecón after finishing a filmed interview. I called out to him with the intention only of letting him know he was recognized in this “foreign” place – a friendly acknowledgment of his stature. When he stopped and turned around – as if he had been hailed “for real,” and not just as a celebrity – I was surprised. His response emboldened me to approach him, suddenly aware of a certain kind of bizarre and temporary intimacy afforded by our “extraordinary” presence in Havana. After a brief exchange I found myself making yet another appeal to intimacy as I said goodbye: “See you in New Orleans!” (This was again a way of me letting him know that I knew who he was, but also of inserting into the encounter another point of connection.) That he responded by repeating the words back may only be evidence of nothing more than his politeness, but at face value it confirmed to me that at a minimum we recognized one another for a moment as fellow travelers – however different – tuned into both New Orleans and Havana: a version of the chain of access represented above that alludes to a more dynamic model that also accounts for the intimacies of shared experiences abroad.

During their trip to Havana, the artists from New Orleans also became tourists in a more explicit, specific sense in their music video of “Caliente,” a collaboration between the Soul Rebels, Tarriona Ball, and CimaFunk (CimaFunk n.d. a). The video shows images from the “Getting Funky in Havana” trip, using the final concert at the Salon Rosado as the central musical activity for the overlaid audio. In addition to footage of their performances (figures 5.3 and 5.4), the video shows

the musicians posing for photos on the Malecón (figure 5.5), greeting Cuban vendors in the Plaza de la Catedral (figure 5.6), and riding in vintage American cars (figure 5.7) – all standard tourist activities.¹⁰ (The very first image of the video is of a cruise ship entering Havana harbor at night.)



Figure 5.3. New Orleans bands with CimaFunk at the Salon Rosado, January 17, 2020. (“Caliente” music video).



Figure 5.4. New Orleans musicians perform at the Salon Rosado, January 17, 2020. (“Caliente” music video).

¹⁰ Notice, as well, the medium of clothing in the form of T-shirts: Julian Gosin wears one with a signature phrase from a local boutique in Havana at the final concert; Corey Peyton shows off his hometown from the back seat of a vintage American car.



Figure 5.5. Members of the Soul Rebels pose for photos along the Malecón. (“Caliente” music video.)



Figure 5.6. Tarriona Ball greets a local vendor in the Plaza de la Catedral. (“Caliente” music video.)



Figure 5.7. Soul Rebels Corey Peyton and Paul Robertson ride in a vintage American car. (“Caliente” music video).

Flashes of seething crowds in the theater and the streets, composed of Cubans and U.S. Americans (and perhaps more) of various skin tones are likewise similar to other media representations that gesture at the utopian aspirations of world music listeners as described in Chapter 1. The music, however, says something different: this is not the Buena Vista Social Club, brought out of the past for our contemplation of Afrocuban (also creolized) authenticity, but a collaboration between Black artists adopting and adapting different Black diasporic musics, even “each other’s”: Rodríguez sings Cuban-inflected funk influenced by his father’s Commodores cassettes;¹¹ the Soul Rebels are known as one of the New Orleans bands of the past thirty years to bring hip hop and other contemporary genres to their brass band format (which has roots, according to Sublette [2004], in Havana); and Ball, whose group was nominated for a Grammy in 2020, has attracted attention for her dynamic vocals and use of diverse influences, including gospel, rock, and what one member of the group has reportedly dubbed “Soulful Disney” (“Tank and the Bangas”).

¹¹ CimaFunk’s musical influences and interests extend beyond Cuba and the U.S and are at times explicitly diasporic (and utopian): his website describes him as “a pilgrim in search of new musical miscegenation and the reunion of black music. By bringing out the best in Cuban rhythms and traditions and infusing sounds and styles from Africa and the U.S., CimaFunk is redefining contemporary Cuban music as well as Afro-Latin identity and the fusion of black cultures” (Cimafunkn.d. a).

The lyrics, particularly those in Ball's verse, gesture towards not a world-music universalism, but rather a grounded diasporic connection based in musical sound:

Can you hear it, can you hear the music?
Mind clears, spirit lucid
A New Orleans-Cuban fusion / ain't no gentrifiers, no colonizers
But Tank and the music / we do it for the culture
Whaaat! / We do it for the culture
For the spirit that keeps us hungry and wanting more
For it doesn't matter how many places you roam
There'll never be anything quite like home

The reference to “home” here may be a nod to a literal home, but having heard these same musicians assert that Havana *felt* like home *to them* (as well as Bill's assessment of their experience) suggests something deeper and more dynamic. If so, the group's remark not only on a shared “culture” born of diaspora, but also shared current circumstances, with the reference to gentrification and colonization. Given the sentiments expressed throughout the tour, I suggest that “the spirit that keeps us hungry and wanting more” has the potential to gently transform “home” from a place of nostalgic memory to one of utopia: the spirit – alert, attentive, and curious – takes participants out into the world, later returning to inform and enrich the familiar. The nonspecific “home” in the lyric in combination with an emphasis on “a New Orleans-Cuban fusion” adds weight to the possibility of a multi-sited (if not unmoored) home, shared and yet individually meaningful.

In the mention of gentrification, we are thrown back into the Petit Jazz Museum with Al Jackson and Ethan Ellesdad fighting for ethical representation, but with what seems to be an added acknowledgment that *habaneros* – particularly Black ones – are subject to the same negative effects of (largely White) touristic consumption as (Black) New Orleanians.¹² These lyrics take on extra significance in the context of the actual, semi-touristic travel of the New Orleans groups in Havana: as U.S. Americans, these visitors were still outsiders,¹³ but ones that seem to understand more deeply what their presence meant in Havana, being residents (and products) of a tourist city themselves. *This* kind of connection – one that recognizes the real impacts of musical tourism in two regional cities in 2020, rather than a rehashing of well-worn historical links and extant sonic similarities – is one that I had hoped to draw out in this dissertation; I have found, however, that such observations of the contemporary state of affairs are far less common than those that locate meaningful similarity and solidarity far in the past.¹⁴

Alexey

(“The Cosmopolitan”)

Musicians whose peregrinations do not return them to their (literal) home can also become musical touchstones in their new local community, like Alexey Marti, a native *habanero* who immigrated to

¹² Strassman remarks on this explicitly in the commentary that frames an interview with Al Jackson aired on CBS in 2018: “Jackson opened the Treme Petit Jazz Museum last summer to display all these hidden treasures in this gentrifying neighborhood” (Strassman 2018).

¹³ I have heard anecdotally that as much as Black Americans may wish to find connection and solidarity in Cuba, for Cubans the most significant identification is a national one, complicating diasporic brotherhood among *yumas* and *Cubanos*. Melvin Butler has related his own disappointment when he found a similar attitude among Haitians, with whom he had hoped to achieve a certain degree of mutual recognition and understanding but who saw him primarily as a North American.

¹⁴ Ball’s take on the contemporary is consistent with her reputation as an artist: in the words of journalist Joshua David Stein, “Tank and the Bangas don’t conform to the jazz stereotypes trotted out in the lobbies of convention hotels or milked on Frenchman Street. It’s New Orleans but it’s New Orleans now” (Stein 2016).

New Orleans in 2008 and self-consciously negotiates his role in the local musical community by continuing to play Cuban music, but also blending it intentionally with that of his new home and refusing to be tokenized, pushing back against expectations of Cubanness. Alexey has become a regular participant in local productions as a veteran performer at the Jazz and Heritage Festival (figure 5.8) and a participant in the Jazz Museum’s “Cultural Connection” interview series.¹⁵ He also worked as a musician on the post-production of *A Tuba to Cuba* (2017).



Figure 5.8: Alexey Marti performs in the Jazz Tent at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, May 1, 2022. (Photograph by the author).

During our first meeting at Don Leoncio Cigar Bar on Canal Street, on August 8, 2021, Alexey asserted himself as an active and conscious mediator of Cuban music in New Orleans. In discussing his current projects, he played a track that he had recently produced – a “clean” sounding

¹⁵ According to the website, the series “highlights the roots, history and development of local and international musicians and how they have managed to make a cultural connection through music, the language that unites us all” (New Orleans Jazz Museum). Although the series invites individuals to speak for themselves, potentially (hopefully) specifying these connections, this description on its own does to remedy the typically vague rhetoric about them.

production of a jazz/R&B composition), remarking that people don't expect "that" from him as a Cuban. When I asked if he felt pressure to perform his Cuban identity, he laughed and said yes but, "I'm forty-five years old, I don't have time for that" (interview notes). In addition to unseating nationally-defined expectations, he said he tries to bring in the "vibe" of New Orleans to his music. In explaining his particular intervention into the well-established "common knowledge" of mutual influences, he noted that although many people talk about the connection, they can't seem to realize it in concrete or specific terms: when he asks for a demonstration ("play me something"), it fails to materialize. When I asked him how he planned to make the connection precise, he told me that he was working on a track in which he would combine New Orleans rhythms with the *mozambique*.

Although he was not as specific about the "New Orleans" rhythms he would use, the choice of the *mozambique* makes the connection both more concrete and more contemporary than other claims. The proposal to combine this midcentury, post-revolutionary music – which has also been interpreted as both national and Afrodiasporic – with "local" music makes audible to audiences a different "Cuba" and a different "Cuba-as-relates-to New Orleans" than is represented in allusions to shared histories and the *habanera*. In combining a more contemporary (but still temporally-removed) Cuban rhythm with the music of New Orleans, Alexey makes a case for an archipelagic relationship that was not broken with the Louisiana Purchase, the Revolution, or the embargo, but perhaps altered, emerging in delayed or unexpected ways in the present – in this case through his own musical memory and life experiences.

"Latin Night"

In early spring of this year, I went to a "Latin Night" that Alexey hosts on Friday nights. The show takes place at the Magnolia Mansion, a colonial-style hotel on the border of the Uptown Garden District neighborhood (figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9. Alexey Marti (congas) hosts “Latin Night” in Uptown New Orleans, April 15, 2022. (Photograph by the author).

On the night I went, it drew a small but seemingly familiar audience (I recognized one couple from a previous show; he called out to audience members by name – myself included – to encourage us to sing along or dance). Alexey had told me a few weeks prior that it could be very full, but it was important to keep the momentum week to week. There was no charge for entry, but the menu on the bar mentioned a two-drink minimum. As I entered, I recognized “Perfidia”; throughout the evening, he introduced songs sometimes by regional associations (e.g., “now we’re going to Cuba”) or genre (including *bossa nova* and *bachata*).

After the show, Alexey reiterated some of the things he had expressed at our first meeting: that he takes gigs like this one because they pay, but would prefer making other kinds of music. When I asked him what kind, he led me back inside where his phone was hooked up to the P.A.

system. He played some songs he had written: pop songs styled after Michael Jackson, Barry White, and Prince, with simple romantic lyrics. Smiling, he sang along, then interrupted himself, pointing out the versatility of a generic lyric: “only *you* know,” he kept saying – the implication being that the music served as a kind of framework for one’s own romantic biography.¹⁶

This versatility also extended to the way he imagined the music being *used*: he wanted it to make sense and be enjoyable to audiences in a variety of settings, for example in their homes, on a drive, at the club . . . and at a giant stadium concert. The sonic similarity to American pop music of the 1980s was clearly identifiable. Reflecting privately on nostalgia, I remarked to Alexey that the songs seemed already familiar, and he nodded in affirmation and gave me a knowing look: the familiarity was part of the strategy of appeal. It smooths the music into the semi-background, animating the listener without distracting her. The catchiness of the lyrics (he used the word “catchy”) could bring her back in, but in singing along she remains her own narrator. The impulse towards both universality and specificity here is not contradictory, but hints at an expansiveness that remains grounded: a kind of curious utopianism. Even as Alexey looks out to the world (literally, in the title of his album *Mundo*, as well as in his gregarious personality), many of the remarks he made the night of the show exhibit a sensitivity to the private space of the interior self.

Liberation through Jazz, a “Universal Music”

The particular quality of expansiveness that emerges here is also evident in the way Alexey explains his relationship with “jazz” in an interview on “¿Qué Pasa New Orleans?” in 2019 (Marti 2019). He begins by referring to an “afición” (love) for American music among Cuban musicians, born from geographical proximity, shared media (specifically radio), and shared knowledge among musicians.

¹⁶ Alexey’s emphasis on audience participation likewise suggests an understanding of the importance of engagement to make his music popular and profitable, but also a kind of trust in his audience to be agents in their own imaginative musical constructions.

He suggests that jazz represents a kind of musical facility that overflows its own particular applications: he describes it as “una música muy intelectual y muy bonita . . . que ayuda mucha a conocimiento del músico” (“a very intellectual and lovely music . . . that contributes much to the knowledge of the musician”). Alexey mobilizes this knowledge and this facility in his own music: although he performed extensively in Cuba before coming to the U.S. in 2008, he did not have a formal music education and was intent on pursuing a degree in music at the University of New Orleans. He often mentions his experience there as one that was pivotal for his development as a composer and performer.

When the interviewer asks him what “sentimiento” (feeling) jazz gives him, his answer is that it gives him a sense of freedom: “Libertad. De expresarte sin limitaciones . . . una libertad muy . . . interna, muy importante, internamente . . . eso es el ‘main goal’ del jazz: libertad” (“Freedom. To express oneself without limitations . . . a freedom that’s very . . . internal, very important, internally . . . this is the ‘main goal’ of jazz: freedom”). In Alexey’s remarks, jazz emerges as a toolkit that can be applied to his own compositions to realize more fully his own particular musical desires: a “universal music” (“música del mundo . . . que ya pasó a un estilo clásico” [“a music of the world . . . that has become a classical style”]) that contributes to his own musical agency (“para mi es muy bonito, tener las posibilidades de expresarme con libertad – mis ideas [sobre] jazz” [for me it’s very nice, to have the possibility to express myself freely – my ideas [around] jazz”).

Leo

(“The Local”)

In a final example of musician-as-mediator, I return to Leandro “Leo” Moré, whom I discussed briefly in Chapter 4 with regards to the “musical idea” of “Cuban” rhythms. I pick up the thread

here, elaborating on his performing and teaching career to account for the ways he mediates from “home” in his native neighborhood of Cayo Hueso in Havana. Leo represents, performs, and teaches Cuba/Havana/Cayo Hueso through his percussion lessons and through his biography (not just the “fact” of this biography, but also its representation in an unpublished manuscript, as well as in our recorded interview), which follows a trajectory from a musical youth on street corners to televised performances and international travel, on to teaching and performing back in his native neighborhood (figure 5.10). Although these days he remains in Cuba, he has taught many foreigners like me, and he has played with groups that occupy prominent places in the canon of twentieth-century Cuban music, at home and abroad.



Figure 5.10. Leo teaches bongó in Cayo Hueso, March 11, 2022. (Photograph by the author).

Beginning in the 1950s, Leo's continuous performing career spans different eras of Cuban music as it is often categorized (i.e., pre-revolutionary, revolutionary, Special Period), situating him

now, at age 77, as an authentic culture-bearer of more than half a century of Cuban music.¹⁷ Leo's role of mediator is rather different from Alexey's, a divergence that tracks with general generational trends. Coming of age in the Special Period, Alexey is open about his rejection of what he sees as the limitations on (many different kinds of) freedom on the island and revels in his newfound freedom to express himself "without limits" in his new home. Leo, meanwhile, aligns himself with revolutionary narratives of national music and local cultural pride.

Mediation through Teaching

I met Leo through the Callejón de Hamel when I was seeking out a teacher in January of 2019. As a tourist-researcher, I was at once interested in the "content" of the lessons and the way that I, as a foreigner, would/could participate in Cuban drumming. Although I have never asked him directly who his students are, I know from my own observation that they include visitors from Europe, East Asia, and America.¹⁸ As we come and go, he both delivers on and intervenes in our expectations of what we hope to learn.¹⁹

For my purposes Leo was a good fit as a teacher. Although I came with no specific musical objectives beyond learning some basics, he first directed me away from the more challenging *bongó* and towards *tumbadora* (congas), through which he introduced me to a variety of rhythms, some of which – like the *pilón*, *pa'ca*, and *mozambique* – had remained on the sidelines of my research (which,

¹⁷ He is respected as such by his fellow performers and his students: when he invited me to observe a rehearsal with the Grupo Tata Güines, I noted that other members of the group often deferred to him in moments of doubt about the execution of particular passages. At the Callejón and in Cayo Hueso, he is often greeted cheerfully by acquaintances, many of whom call him "Profe," whether or not they themselves are his students.

¹⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 3, I was at the Callejón on the occasion of a return by one of his former Cuban students who now lives in Germany. Along with his wife, he was leading a tour for a German salsa class from Bremen.

¹⁹ The role of student-tourist as mediator is a particular one: when I casually mentioned to Leo that Marlon Brando had come to Havana in the 1950s seeking out percussion lessons, he took an immediate interest and asked me to print out the article I had found on the subject. (I myself had been interested that an American movie star was invested in traveling to "the source" to gain musical knowledge.) Having accumulated a small archive of videos and notation from our lessons, I am aware of the vulnerability of a teacher who stays "at home" and sends his students back into the world with his knowledge.

with its focus on tourism, had exposed me to other genres like *son*, *rumba*, *rap*, and *reggaetón*).²⁰ I was not disappointed to be redirected, but pleased to follow his lead and learn these unfamiliar rhythms, not least because Leo himself was an active participant in the musical moment of their popularity.

In contrast, he told me on my visit in March of 2022 that he had just received a student who had agreed to work with him only to be disappointed when she abandoned him for another percussionist associated with Osain del Monte and gives classes online. Osain de Monte was one of the guest artists at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival in 2017; in discussing the incident with me, Leo mentioned that he thought maybe the woman was from New Orleans, or else had visited there. Though the details were unclear to Leo himself, the flow and valences of Cuban musicality in New Orleans seemed to play a role in this particular encounter – or the abbreviation thereof. I wondered if the international visibility of Osain del Monte – both in touring and online – had compelled this student to change her plans to attach herself to a more prominent percussionist.

Leo was clearly upset by this “betrayal,” as he phrased it, but other relationships work to his advantage, not only in bringing more dedicated students, but also in facilitating other opportunities. For example, a Polish student, Monika Grucza, helped him to print the unpublished autobiography that he shared with me in 2019. By sending the document abroad with me, Leo sent his own musical reputation, perhaps with the (tacit) hope of recognition. When he asked me, in 2022, if I might be able to help him find some teaching or performing opportunities in the U.S., I turned to the manuscript as a Curriculum Vitae and revised my own position as student to that of potential agent or collaborator, along with Grucza, who had come before me.

²⁰ I should mention that in addition to the rhythms themselves, Leo’s particular pedagogy emerged as especially important to him – another unanticipated aspect of our lessons. Untrained in any kind of percussion notation, he uses vocalized sounds to convey rhythms; when written, they appear with a series of marks that indicate duration and timing. Being somewhat at sea amid this mostly-verbal system at first, I meticulously noted the rhythms first in Western bar notation [perhaps a useful exercise but largely an ineffective strategy] and box notation [more suitable]. Leo reacted to this with both laughter and respect, appreciative of my dedication to document and the different skill set I used to do so.

The Mozambique

Although I have not asked him explicitly about the “extramusical” content of his lessons, I have assumed that it remains standard, as when he elaborated on the role of the *mozambique* as a unifying national music. In 2019, Leo had explained (though in less explicit terms than in his autobiography) how the *mozambique* had arrived in Cuban popular music poised to entice Cuban youth away from rock and roll (as recounted in Chapter 4); when I had a chance to return to the conversation in 2022, he went farther, claiming that the rhythm and accompanying dance fulfilled another need related to outside influence: that of eliminating racism:²¹

[E]n Cuba en ese momento [1963] . . . había necesidad de que ocurriera algo así para limpiar mucha[s] incidencia[s] que habían en el país todavía. Por ejemplo todavía aquí en Cuba quedamos rasgos de racismo. . . . Las mujeres blancas no querían que sus hijas blanquitas salieron con un negrito – todo eso. Pero ya cuando surge este ritmo ya se junta todos. Se juntan los blanquitos con los negritos, porque todos . . . de la nueva generación querían ir detrás del mozambique. Y ahí, por ese paso, ya se mata lo que es el racismo. Ya se unen toda[s] las raza[s], y ya no había madres que pudiera decir a una niña que no fuera con un negrito, porque ya estaba todo el mundo junto.²²

(In Cuba in this moment [1963] . . . it was necessary for something like this to happen to cleanse many “incidents” that still existed in the country. For example here in Cuba we still had racism, that White women didn’t want their White daughters to go out with a Black guy – all that. But when this rhythm came out everyone came together. The Whites and the Blacks came together, because everyone . . . of the new generation wanted to follow the *mozambique*. And by this, racism was killed. All the races united and no longer were there mothers who could say to their daughters that they couldn’t go out with a Black guy, because everyone was together.). (Moré 2022)

Moore describes the dance steps for the *mozambique* as derived from *santería* (Moore 1997, 224), making a case for the increased visibility of Afrocuban culture. In his manuscript, Leo does not emphasize these origins, describing it instead as “estilo y pasos nunca vistos y por cierto suave, agradable con un charisma y exclusividad única” (“a style and steps never seen before and certainly smooth, pleasant, with a unique and exclusive charisma” (Moré, n.d.). The novelty and visceral

²¹ In much Cuban discourse (e.g., music scholarship, museum exhibits, and state rhetoric, as well as popular accounts), racism is located in the past, during Spanish colonial rule and U.S. American imperialism. This both rhetorically erases the problem in the present and places the blame for it on “outside” forces.

appeal, rather than any conscious cultural promotion, is primary in this account. In his telling, the *mozambique* was so irresistible to the youth that it overcame racism, giving even mothers in the previous generation no choice but to accept the newly racially mixed society of their children.

The implied emphasis on both the innocence and the power of youth mirrors, in a way, that of music itself as presented here (as well as in other ostensibly a- or para-political narratives):²³ neither the *mozambique* nor the behavior of its young fans is presented here as overtly political. Rather, through “just” having fun, together they “killed” racism, almost as a side effect. In neither of these scenarios – the combatting of foreign musical influence or the elimination of racism – is the *mozambique* presented as *intentional* in these acts, but rather as arriving at the right place and the right time to fulfill a particular national need. Even so, the unifying power of music is credited with achieving with ease (and, importantly, with *joy*) objectives that otherwise may otherwise have presented serious challenges and (more) explicit cultural reorientation.²⁴

That the *mozambique* seemed to figure prominently in Leo’s own life and in the history of twentieth-century Cuban popular music – to the point that Alexey chose it as a way of linking the musics of New Orleans and Havana – appeared to me as a specific and “contemporary” intervention, although the height of its popularity is now over a half-century in the past. When considered in dialogue with the other artists discussed in this chapter, the popularization, rather than the folkloricization, of movements and sounds of *santería* in their incorporation into popular music – by “insiders” – brought “Afrocuban culture” into a cosmopolitan space, much in the same way the other artists bring (often Afrodiasporic) “tradition” into contemporary popular music.

²³ See Meintjes (1990) for a canonical account of the ability of music to pass as apolitical.

²⁴ At the same time, Leo credits the *mozambique* with *making things happen*, as suggested by the subheading for the section in his manuscript: “[I]ncidencias políticas y musicales ocasionadas por el ritmo mozambique” (“political and musical incidents caused by the *mozambique* rhythm” (Moré n.d.).

El Grand Music Hall de Cuba: The Mozambique Abroad

In the early 1960s, Bruno Coquatrix, the director of the Olympia Theater in Paris, arrived in Havana to recruit a group of musicians for a six-month tour under the name “El Grand Music Hall de Cuba.” In Paris, which itself has an established history of mediation in not only *Afroubanismo* but also jazz and other vernacular musics of the Americas,²⁵ footage of the event – available on YouTube – shows young, presumably French people sometimes looking bewildered at the assembled legions of Cuban percussionists but also, crucially, *participating* and dancing, led by the performers (“El Gran Music Hall de Cuba en Paris”). Leo describes the effect of the tour this way: “[El Music Hall] causó una gran sensación en esos países europeos. Ya que hasta esta fecha no se había visto nada igual en Europa, y mucho menos una agrupación como la de Pello el Afrokán. Había que ver cómo en cada país que visitábamos, la gente se movía al compás de este ritmo” (“[El Music Hall] caused a great sensation in these European countries. Until then nothing like it had been seen in Europe, much less a group like that of Pello el Afrokán. You had to see how in each country we visited, the people moved to this beat.”) (Moré n.d.).

The magic of the *mozambique*, then, did not end with the unification of Cubans, but extended to unification among individuals of different nationalities. Although I heard Leo’s remarks about the unifying powers of the *mozambique* with critical reserve in the context of what I have understood about persistent racism (and classism) in Cuba, the narrative he presents, in combination with the images in the footage, certainly speaks to certain touristic ideals of community-through-musical-participation.²⁶

²⁵ The “authenticity” of this vernacularism is complex in terms of origin and representation. For example, as explained by Rios (2008), the “Andean” *siku* music that arrived in Paris in the 1950s was already cosmopolitanized by elite Argentine artists in Buenos Aires.

²⁶ As with other genres of the twentieth century, such as jazz and rumba (as well as other American genres like tango), this reflection or refraction through foreign ears may have bolstered the *mozambique*’s stature back at home.

The tour organized by Coquatrix, which included engagements in Germany, Spain, and the Soviet Union, in addition to France, was comprised of 120 artists, including the most popular Cuban artists of the moment: Los Papines, Los Zafiros, La Orquesta Aragón, Elena Burke, Celeste Mendoza, and Pello el Afrokán y Su Ritmo Mozambique (figure 5.11). Leo notes that most of the participants were young (he himself was 20).



Figure 5.11. Leo (top right) with Pello el Afrokán (top center) in Havana, 1966. (Moré n.d.).

The youth of these “ambassadors” suggests a comparison to the younger members of the Funky in Havana project and complicates the notion of the kind of authenticity that Leo now represents in his later years: while older performers may possess a kind of gravitas earned over a lifetime, younger ones seem to represent a certain kind of energy, innocence, *and curiosity* in their touring performances. For Leo – and other members of the group – this opportunity to tour was a first opportunity for international travel (in order to do so he and others were able to be fast-tracked to obtain their musician credentials, even though they had not been formally trained). The novelty of

such a situation was undoubtedly exciting to them, in contrast to the kind of normalcy that might set in once an international show becomes just another gig, as described by Bill Taylor (Chapter 4).

Although Leo emphasizes nation over race in the way he talks about music (in contrast to North American racial discourse, he uses specific identifiers like “Yoruba” or “Abakuá” rather than “African,” “Black,” or “Afrocuban”), the centrality of the *mozambique* also stands out to me as a point of connection between him and the other musicians discussed here in its emphasis on continuity with African traditions. Though the designation itself is racially coded in my North American training (and perhaps also in the Cuban context), Leo’s self-identification as a “*rumbero*” first unseats the locus of legitimacy or authenticity from race onto music. Like Julian Gosin, he also makes essentialist claims to a particular kind of musicality – “Cuba es un país tan rico en lo que es . . . el arte, y la cultura, nuestra arte – es un país tan rico. Aquí, la gente nace con eso” (“Cuba is a country so rich in art and culture, our art – it’s a very rich country. Here the people are born with that”) – but this musical essentialism is linked to *Cuba*, not particularly to Africa (Moré 2022).²⁷

Archipelagic Refrain: “Good Time”(February 2022)

Recently, in researching the “Getting Funky in Havana” concert series that took place in January of 2020, a music video from the Soul Rebels provided food for thought on the topics of nostalgia, the archipelago, and utopia – recurring themes in the dissertation. The song, “Good Time,” featuring Denisia and Big Freedia, is a party song (“leave your worries, leave your cares / ‘cause a good time is in the air”), with no particular lyrical or sonic references to the themes (Soul Rebels). The video, however, says more: opening in a backyard barbecue scene, the rounded edges of the frame and the saturated colors immediately index a 1970s aesthetic (figure 5.12), which is then reinforced

²⁷ Likewise, Alexey refers to Cuba as “the most musical island in the world.”

throughout the video with cinematography reminiscent of Super-8 home movies and 1970s-inflected clothing and accessories (e.g., trombonist Corey Peyton’s white bucket hat) (figure 5.13).²⁸



Figure 5.12. *Nostalgic mediation.* (“Good Time” music video).

²⁸ The presence of stereotypical or borderline kitschy iterations of “the tropics” in this video (like Hawaiian shirts and palm tree cocktail glasses) might benefit from further discussion.



Figure 5.13. Retro attire. (“Good Time” music video).

The “home movie” clips are interspersed with other footage with a smoother, more contemporary style. Big Freedia, New Orleans bounce ambassador, appears at 2:20 of the 3:54 video, incongruously against a backdrop of open water with a sea breeze gently blowing through her hair (which is mostly covered by a marching band-style hat, to go with her jacket and epaulettes) (figure 5.14).



Figure 5.14. Big Freedia in “Good Time.” (“Good Time” music video).

A bit stunned by this change of location, I watched with renewed attention as the remainder of the video alternated between the backyard barbecue and clips of what becomes a maritime fantasy of high seas twerking, first observed through Big Freedia’s onboard spyglass. More than a new location and setting for the video, to me the boating scenes offer a heightened sense of fantasy and irreverence. From what could ostensibly be an actual family gathering (men playing dominoes,²⁹ kids firing Super Soakers and sliding down an inflatable slide), we find ourselves transported to a playful (aquatic) space far outside of the domestic backyard.

Collectively, the artists who participated in “Getting Funky in Havana” express in their remarks and through their music a respect for “tradition” (often explicitly Black local expression) and an openness to and appetite for “innovation” (through engagement with diverse contemporary musics). In terms of “nostalgia,” which in the touristic contexts of these two cities can easily become a problematic romanticization of racially oppressive pasts (e.g., Hernández 2002, Thomas 2014), a

²⁹ Notably also a favored, even stereotypical, Cuban pastime.

turn towards the 1970s and 80s as suggested in “Good Time” and in CimaFunk’s iconic haircut (figure 5.15) brings Black musics like funk and *timba* into nostalgic focus.^{30,31}



Figure 5.15. CimaFunk’s style pays homage to Black artists of the 1970s and 80s. (Sánchez and Lucar 2020).

In combination with the stated concerns and ambitions of the artists (including references to African heritage, Afrofuturism,³² as well as attention to the importance of “tradition” and exposure) this nostalgic focus contributes to what I call an archipelagic utopianism – one that works in space and time. By this I mean a vision of an imaginary future created out of the “archipelago” of musical and

³⁰ In the short video “Electrifying Havana with Afro-Cuban Funk,” Rodríguez explains: “[m]y hair identifies me and also identifies a generation that was before me, which is the black generation that was here in the 70s and 80s. And I also identify with the negritude and with the pride of being black and having this type of hair. Yes, your hair is not bad, it’s different” (Translation from subtitles) (“Electrifying Havana”).

³¹ The latter twentieth century was also a period of Black political empowerment in New Orleans: the first Black mayor, Dutch Morial, took office in 1978 and the appearance of the Greater New Orleans Black Tourism Center in 1986 and “Koindu,” a Black-run marketplace at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, represented successful efforts on the part of Black New Orleanians to take control of city management, including that of heritage and tourism.

³² NPR’s “Live Sessions” describes CimaFunk as “a UFO on the island’s music scene” (Live Sessions n.d.)

touristic iterations of Havana and New Orleans. In this context, “nostalgia” need not be restorative or reflective (Boym 2001), but perhaps critical (Dawdy 2016), mobilized towards alternative futures. I do not claim to know the significance of Big Freedia’s maritime mobility in “Good Time,” but with the archipelago on the brain, I wonder if at least the open sea represents a kind of freedom in its placelessness: freedom to “have a good time,” to experiment musically,³³ to travel,³⁴ or to be oneself.³⁵

Conclusion

With her claim of “no gentrifiers, no colonizers,” Tarriona Ball situates her own presence in Havana in 2020 in the context of the long *durée* of history between the U.S. and Cuba and New Orleans and Havana, up to and including the present moment in which locals face similar challenges in musical cities with economies that rely on cultural tourism. In so doing, she swiftly acknowledges the past while refusing to be entranced by it, demystifying New Orleans and Havana and bringing them into the realities of the twenty-first centuries. Not entranced by the past, she attends to her experience in the present – her own firsthand experience of being *there*.

³³ CimaFunk remarks on the freedom to experiment in “Electrifying Havana,” acknowledging the intimidation of not being musically “trained”: “[y]ou think that if you don’t know the notes, you don’t have the musical knowledge, that is, until you give yourself the freedom to experiment with/experience it” (Partridge 2019). CimaFunk’s name also carries in it an explicit reference to freedom from enslavement: “CimaFunk is a cimarrón [fugitive slaves who settled in the wild to lead a free life in Cuba], a free being defying classification,” . . . a pilgrim in search of new musical miscegenation and the reunion of black music” (CimaFunk n.d.).

³⁴ In an interview with Felix Contreras during her trip to Havana, Tarriona Ball alludes to difficulties of movement as part of her remarks on how much it meant to the group to travel to Cuba: “we don’t like that there are so many restrictions on coming and leaving here, ‘cause – I mean, as a human being it is your right of this earth is to experience different people, different cultures, different traditions, travel the world. Nobody owns no part of the world to me, and I don’t really like that, so . . . everybody deserves to know” (Contreras 2020).

³⁵ Bounce, retains strong associations with the Black queer community of New Orleans. Even though it has reached mainstream audiences (and queerness itself has become more widely accepted since the genre’s origins), one can imagine that freedom of personal expression holds particular value for artists like Big Freedia. Katey Red, an early star, alludes to the dangers of such expression: “I know a lot of the boys listening didn’t like homosexuals. But I got over my fright. And they liked the music so much, they was like, Fuck it” (quoted in Berk).

In this chapter, transformation emerges as a key element in musical-touristic encounters. Versions of the transformation and (self-)discovery of tourism are articulated through musical activity: the collaborations between the traveling New Orleans artists and CimaFunk (both throughout Jazz Plaza and in recordings) and their statements on mutual feelings of warmth and familiarity both affirm the musical and cultural significance of each and draws them “toward” each other; Alexey’s musical education in the United States became a tool with which he can better express himself (sometimes in ways that disrupt expectations of a Cuban performer); for Leo, his first trip abroad transformed him into a professional musician *and* an ambassador for revolutionary Cuba, a role that he recounts today partially through his teaching of the *mozambique*. These transformations are often realized through articulations of freedom in some form: freedom to move about in the world, freedom to express oneself musically, and even the freedom afforded by a “good time,” as evident both the Soul Rebels video and in CimaFunk’s collaboration with George Clinton on the track “Funk Aspirin,” in which Clinton proclaims, “freedom is free of the need to be free. . . . You are free to shake your rump tonight!”

The musical transformations that take place in this chapter are often both grounded and directed, giving them a curious-utopian cast. This contrasts with Ben Jaffe’s boldest claim to transformation in *A Tuba to Cuba* (Chapter 4), in which he makes a vague collective promise on behalf of the band to “continue to grow.” In their curious utopianism, musicians in this chapter appear as agents in a kind of critical nostalgia, one that appears self-aware and attentive to the breadth of the claim that “fantasies of the past determined by needs of the present have a direct impact on realities of the future” (xvi). In this, they avoid both a break with the past that would signal an “end of (musical) history” (Baker 2011, 146) and a nostalgia that ignores or even romanticizes the problems of the past (Hernández).

The temporal awareness of these artists flows together with the potential implicated in the transformative powers of tourism with intention for the future. Remembering his own first trip to Havana at age 12, Troy Andrews remarked on the significance of the trip for its youngest members:

I wanted the kids to get an opportunity to see the world and understand what music can do for human beings and bring people together and also I wanted to bring them here especially because of the culture and I wanted them to see how close we were, and also get the Cuban kids to play with the kids from New Orleans and we have a *meeting* of cultures . . . it was just very important because I remember like I said, being twelve, it stuck with me and I'm pretty sure that this experience – especially since the kids can't use their phone they get to have a real experience here. I'm happy about that because they get to be present in the moment. They won't never forget it and hopefully they leave here with some . . . Cuban music knowledge in their brains where they can always put that into whatever music that they're gonna create, and hopefully we do the same: we leave some of New Orleans here, until we meet again. (Contreras 2020)

The desire to not just teach young participants what *he* knows, but to have them “be present in the moment” and bring the experience forward in the music *they* create, reminded me of Al Jackson's gift of the souvenir tambourine to a young visitor to the Petit Treme Jazz Museum: as he described it, it was not representative of a (problematically vague) “gift of music” as Jaffe called it in *A Tuba to Cuba*, but the gift of *tangible, audible* possibility, which that young person could take with them into their own future experiences and actions.

Illustrating the multivalent capacities of nostalgia and utopia, Eric Rodriguez acknowledges the capacity of “tradition” and self-discovery to be transformative. In his interview with Felix Contreras, he draws a comparison with New Orleans through an honoring of tradition and roots, and articulates a desire to let audiences know that they remain active. When Contreras asks him whether “it's like discovering a little more of yourself,” Rodriguez answers: “yeah of course . . . you discover a *big* part of yourself. . . . After that, you seem [sing?] different, you act different, you believe different . . . it's a lot of unconscious, subconscious stuff that you start to do and you start to believe . . . that you don't know how, you don't know why, but something that it starts to catch you” (Contreras 2020). This intervenes in the notion of “tradition” as stagnant or self-contained, bringing it to act on the present through a contemporary performer. It also unseats the trope of “discovery”

as performed by Ry Cooder and other “discoverers” like some of the producers of the earliest Jazz and Heritage Festival, whom Henry Hildebrandt described as young White outsiders “finally recognizing what had been going on for decades and generations” (Hildebrandt 2009, Jazz and Heritage Archive). Reorienting the act of discovery towards the musical self (or otherwise the musical “home”) casts the discoverer in the role of active participant in dynamic practice, not as privileged, objective “outside” observer of timeless tradition.

In the context of this chapter, Big Freedia’s appearance in the video for “Good Time” points to two additional types of transformation: that of sonic icons themselves (Rommen and Neely) – and to the liberating potential of recreation. The iconicity of brass bands for New Orleans music has been complicated not only by other distinctive forms of local music like bounce (evident in the song both sonically and through Freedia’s appearance), but also by the wide-ranging collaborations of the Soul Rebels and the divergently-influenced pop of Tank and the Bangas. Alexey’s and Leo’s emphasis on the *mozambique* turns attention away from more audible Cuban genres like *son* or *reggaetón*, while Alexey at other moments goes farther, abandoning his expected sonic citizenship for U.S. pop music.³⁶ Particularly given bounce’s associations with queer and Black communities, it seems appropriate to read such “party music” with a critical lens that acknowledges the real, “serious” benefits of partying and bodily expression (Hunter 2000, Krasnow 1993).

These benefits are rarely made explicit in the music, which brings me to the possibility of ambivalence and opacity in the musical work I have discussed in this chapter. In the context of popular music – especially when entangled with tourism – it is reasonable to read the “utopian” gestures I’ve noted in more pragmatic terms: a desire on the part of the artists to reach the widest

³⁶ This “transformation” of Cuban music in the ears of tourists is not easily or quickly achieved. Alexey’s show at the Magnolia Mansion was suggestive that *son* remains the primary association with Cuban music among U.S. Americans: when he clapped a rumba clave, encouraging the audience to join him within a few bars it had become the more familiar *son* clave in the hands of these “*extranjeros*.”

possible audience. The explicit lyrical rejection of gentrifiers and colonizers in “Caliente” is rare; the references to common Black diasporic culture and musical influence hold a more implicit critique – one that is primarily positive and inclusive (rather than negative and exclusive) and might more easily invite “outsiders” to listen.³⁷ Particular musical and stylistic references to the past, though significantly different from those of *Buena Vista Social Club* and *A Tuba to Cuba*, are still temporally removed from “us” now, creating the possibility of outsider comfort through nostalgia. In other words, the familiar and ostensibly shared (cosmopolitan) musics of James Brown and Michael Jackson may be safer sonic territory in which to “encounter the other” than more contemporary or politicized genres or figures. At the same time, these references signify a diasporic consciousness that links its Cuban and U.S. American members in ways that fall outside of contemporary political machinations.

To return to the more apparent and touristic aspects of “Good Time,” it is worth emphasizing that enjoyment does not appear in this dissertation as only the purview of tourists. From the touristic activities of the New Orleans artists in the images of “Caliente” to Bill Taylor’s remark about the Cubans having fun and being “hilarious,” to Leo’s animation of European audiences and Alexey’s pop music aspirations, enjoyment is part of how these artists mediate in the archipelago. I am reminded also of Quintron’s remark in February of 2021 that what he missed most about the pandemic was playing for parties; even if the value he places on secrecy and the underground contrasts in many ways to the open and popular modes of musical encounter as described and enacted by the artists in this chapter, that a point of similarity emerges through *the desire for the sociability of party music* affirms the importance of enjoyment and pleasure in the musical

³⁷ Alexey explained his rejection of explicitly sexual lyrics in his more “contemporary” as reluctance to participate in a kind of one-upmanship of extreme obscenity, but also a desire to make his audience comfortable. (He never said specifically that this would be more lucrative for him, though this may be part of the equation.) This particular example revolves around gender and sexuality, but one can easily imagine a similar move around issues of race in cities where many residents are Black and many visitors are White.

encounter. It is this same desire that attracts visitors through the promise of its fulfillment in a multiplicity of media (as discussed in Chapter 4), including that of these musicians, creating resonant affective connections.

Resounding spans time in a way that is fundamentally different from re-sounding. The resounding connections discussed here partake of a curious utopianism (at times with the potential of a critical nostalgia) and also soundtrack (touristic) “Good Time[s].” The encounters facilitated through music in this chapter are “deep” and transformative, but also enjoyable. To “take things seriously” – in the sense of being curious and attentive and open to transformation – is not to *not* enjoy oneself. Indeed, taking pleasure in music is one way to affirm its importance and its power.

Excursus: Carnival

As an “object,” carnival exhibits patterns of tourism erasure and construction that bear on musical tourism in both cities by serving as an index or litmus test of cultural visibilities and priorities in its many incarnations and meanings. As an iconic “experience” of circum-Caribbean tourism, carnival invites tourists into a temporary liminal space in which they can feel part of something even as “outsiders”(Chapter 2). At the same time, the local meanings of carnival – and other street parading practices – have been negotiated in different registers of secrecy and opacity, working out the power dynamics of the city. For all the imagery of bacchanalia, carnival in New Orleans and Havana have also been cultural sites of repression and enforcement of cultural conservatism.

Carnival is well-represented and its complexities fruitfully examined in other scholarship (including Abrahams 2006; Bakhtin 1984a, Benitez-Rojo 1992; Bettelheim 2001; Gotham 2002, 2005, and 2007; Moore 1997; and Souther 2006). The focus of this dissertation has been on New Orleans and Havana as musical cities in a broad sense, making carnival’s outsized role in the touristic image of New Orleans (if less in that of Havana) somewhat difficult to address. As a solution, I address it in this excursus, which focuses on Mardi Gras 2021 in New Orleans as a[n atypical] case study. I frame the zoomed-in account of a particular experience of Mardi Gras within the context of carnival as a site of representation situated at once at the heart of the local and at its margins, in its encounter with the tourist gaze. Throughout, carnival becomes a representation of the city itself in idealized form: spectacular but controlled, open yet exclusive, ephemeral but timeless, overflowing, and elusive.

Carnival in New Orleans and Havana

In general terms, carnival is understood as a pre-Lenten celebration of worldly excess and an opportunity to invert the everyday.¹ As a ritual, carnival serves a social purpose: the construction of a festival with traditions of masking allows participants to form different, temporary social relationships, but the oppositional or subversive qualities of Carnival have been debated, disputing overly simplistic or optimistic readings that ignore other mechanisms of control that limit Carnival's revolutionary power.

In New Orleans, non-Anglo (and non-American) associations have added a layer of exoticism to the city's signature festival, even as it was appropriated by a new elite class after the Louisiana Purchase. As New Orleans came under the control of cultural outsiders, this group modified carnival to suit their needs, establishing themselves as legitimate leaders of the city and enhancing the event's visibility with public parades (Stanonis 2006). Contrary to popular imaginings of (*French*, but not *American*) New Orleans as racially integrated and harmonious in comparison to other U.S. cities, tensions related to race (as well as class and local belonging) have played out in krewe memberships and on Carnival routes: old line krewes were slow to drop their racially exclusive membership policies (with some refusing to parade rather than pledge nondiscrimination as late as 1992) and access to the main parade route of Canal and St. Charles Streets were famously denied to the first and most prominent Black Uptown rolling krewe of Zulu until 1968.² The same

¹ This is a generally-accepted interpretation, though Bakhtin's (1984a, 1984b) reading of carnival's subversive capacities has become commonplace enough to invite substantial critique (see, e.g., Moore 62, 177).

² Krewe of Zulu website provides this date, though Souther (2006, 213 and 141) asserts that 1969 was the year that the change was made.

year saw the appearance of the Krewe of Bacchus, created for tourists who wanted to participate in the local event.³

The history of carnival in Cuba is likewise charged and varied. Historically, the touristic importance of the festival has come up against political and racial upheaval, as well as the needs of local residents. From the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century, power struggles of the nation were played out in Havana's carnival, as elites tried to maintain political and cultural dominance amid societal change. According to Moore, campaigns against Afro-Cuban *comparsas* (parading groups, traditionally based in neighborhoods) in the 1910s "can be understood as part of a larger movement to modify Cuba culturally and to permit the dissemination of only those images of the nation that conformed to a middle-class European norm" (Moore 1997, 71). Even so, carnival attracted thousands of foreign visitors to Havana in the early twentieth century (*ibid.*, 80). In 1937, after a near-total ban of *comparsas* since 1916, the effects of the Great Depression and low demand for sugar prompted leaders to reauthorize of the *comparsas* (with added control, including the planning of a route which was to be approved in advance) in the hopes of increasing tourism. (This was also a moment in which African and Afro-diasporic art forms had become commercially popular in Europe and the U.S.) In 2019, Havana's carnival included Tropicana-style cabaret dancers atop motor-driven floats, interspersed with the neighborhood-based *comparsas* and the floats of locally/civically-oriented organizations, like the university's student federation, suggesting ongoing revisions of representation and meaning in a local-touristic context. Whatever the subversive

³ The krewe's website describes this moment as one in which "New Orleans had been losing its luster slowly but surely. There was a lot of talk around town about what should be done to give a spark to the celebration [...] What emerged was a rebirth of the vision [bar and restaurant owner Owen Edward Brennan] conceived almost 20 years earlier: The Krewe of Bacchus" (Krewe of Bacchus, n.d.).

potentials of Carnival, for Havana and New Orleans, the constraints of tourism have long come to bear on what kinds of subversion are tolerated.⁴

At the same time as secrecy and opacity may be mobilized to repressive or subversive ends (as described in detail by the scholars who write about the topic), these qualities in combination with the more overt festivity of carnival contribute, I argue, to its touristic appeal. The ineffability and multiplicity of the “event” combine with the unknown (or yet-to-be-discovered) to create an ideal of authentic, spontaneous experience – similar to the attraction of The Street and the Underwater City (Chapter 3). Since the nineteenth century, the secret and exclusive societies of elite Uptown krewes have captured the imagination of outsiders, while the clandestine movements of Mardi Gras Indians have been the subject of more recent scholarship and popular media. (The preparations, ongoing throughout the year, are also conducted in secret.)

The allure of Mardi Gras remains attached to a promise of a unique experience. Although the 1970s marked a period of expansion in terms of krewes and their memberships, participation still holds a claim on belonging to the city: a way for “tourists” to become part of a local spectacle in which they are “gazed” upon by other tourists. While New Orleans Mardi Gras has been touristically streamlined (including the tasks of crowd management and cleanup), carnival in Havana seems, by comparison, to retain more of its popular (that is, unregulated, informal) aspects.⁵ Although under tight societal control in a more general sense, I understood from my interlocutors (and partially from my own observation) that the population of Havana became more inclined to public drunkenness and violence during the festivities.⁶ For the tourist, the festivals – as part of the life of the city –

⁴ Street parading more generally is also a space of negotiation of urban power dynamics. Regis, Meadows, Sakakeeny, and DeCoste address parades as local (tourist) culture.

⁵ Interestingly, some of the aspects that *are* regulated or formalized are things like food prices: instead of the price-gouging that characterizes U.S. festivals, prices at Havana’s carnival are lowered as a governmental gesture in support of the popular nature of the event.

⁶ Although Cuba is generally extraordinarily safe for an American city, my friends from Cayo Hueso insisted on walking me home after the parades. Street festivals in general seem to encourage caution: when I told a friend from Miramar that I had passed through a street festival on Galiano in Centro Habana, he warned me that such situations can turn violent,

become spaces of ephemeral encounter and spatiotemporal uniqueness, understood through the tourist imaginary and sensorium: *This is New Orleans at Mardi Gras; This is Havana at carnival*. As I proceed to a discussion of Mardi Gras 2021, it is helpful to return to Moore's summary of an agile approach to *comparsas* (for which he credits Hebdige), which might be applied to carnival in general: "Perhaps, as Hebdige suggests (1988, 83), it is better not to think of *comparsas* as a single cultural phenomenon or object, but rather as 'many objects at different "moments" ... at different (real and mythical) times (in different conjunctures in relation to imagined pasts and futures) seen from different perspectives for different purposes,' and in shifting frames of contextually-derived meaning" (Moore 1997, 85). This approach insists on carnival's multiplicity, relationality, and its affective and agential potentials, suggesting the ineffable appeal of the Underwater City and the affordances of the archipelago and setting the stage for the account of a particular instance of carnival celebration

Mardi Gras 2021

After spending the early months of 2019 in Havana, I finally arrived in New Orleans in November of that year to complete the second "half" of my fieldwork for this comparative project. My months in New Orleans before the Covid-19 pandemic now seem strangely hectic compared to the silence and immobility that followed: I traveled to see my family for the winter holidays and to the Jazz Plaza festival in Havana; I moved a couple of times, between neighborhoods; and, being new to the city, I felt myself swept up in the build-up to Mardi Gras weeks earlier than I had anticipated. After Mardi Gras 2020, I had imagined, I would begin to settle into the regular rhythm of the life of the

particularly when fueled by alcohol. Whereas public drunkenness is rather accepted and even encouraged in New Orleans, norms regarding alcohol consumption in Cuba generally appear to be more conservative. Public drinking is legal in both places.

city. Instead, I found myself approaching the event a year later with very different questions from those I had had the year before.

The autoethnography of this section serves two purposes: first, it reflects my particular situation of being still “new” in a city where social life – especially for a stranger – had been largely suspended (it also reflects the more general experience of *all* residents of New Orleans who were officially advised against practicing their most celebrated ritual); second, it allows me to “isolate” Mardi Gras 2021 as one of many fragments in what has felt a particularly fragmented few years. This isolation, however, is also archipelagically viable, as it relates to other parts of the dissertation (and the other sections of this excursus). Though now located in the past, the prose that reflects the excursus’s timeliness, I maintain “now” as a moment of particular uncertainty becomes my effort to emphasize the particulars of a series of moments: carnival itself, and my ongoing efforts to make sense of it.

Spring 2021

How to Approach Mardi Gras 2021?

I ended Mardi Gras 2020, my first experience of New Orleans Carnival, feeling like I had only just begun to understand the event: the next year, I expected, I would have the advantage of past reconnaissance: I would know just how early things get started (January 6th), which parades to see where (traditional, institutional krewes with floats and marching bands roll Uptown, more informal marching krewes make their way on foot downtown); and where the musicians come from (local high schools for the traditional parading krewes, more rag-tag ensembles for the marching krewes). Perhaps I would even join a krewe myself. (I never did.)

That reconnaissance, of course, means something different now, as I try to make sense of Carnival 2021. After a year of very limited fieldwork (I did my best but could not shake the feeling

of suspension as I found myself just *waiting* for music to return), Mardi Gras 2021 seemed to present an opportunity to review, revisit, or re-set. Having been left with the impression that I had only just scratched the surface the previous year, I approached this year with apprehension, still trying to keep it all in my head and make guesses about what might happen based on what I already knew. I was glad to have seen what a Mardi Gras “should” look like so I would know what was missing as I went out photographing empty and silent streets. The “Krewe of House Floats,” a city-wide effort to adapt Carnival to the limitations of social distancing, was, particularly through its national representation in the media, the most visible effort towards keeping Mardi Gras (and New Orleans’s social life) alive (figure Ex.1).



Figure Ex.1. House Float. (Photograph by the author).

Carnival 2020 was, of course, more than just my first time witnessing it. It is now understood that it amounted to days – if not weeks – of unmitigated early spread of Covid-19 in New Orleans, making it one of the first Covid hotspots in the United States, on par with larger cities on the East and West coasts, including New York and San Francisco.⁷ The virus hit the city early, and hard: The krewe of Zulu (the most prominent and historically Black krewe) had already lost five members by March 31st; the number eventually reached seventeen as reported later in the year (WBRZ 2020, Truong 2021). Though New Orleanians are quick to say that Mardi Gras isn't *for* tourists, the presence of thousands of tourists no doubt increased the threat to the city, and to their hometowns on their return.

The significance of Mardi Gras 2020 as a super-spreader event throws the 2021 event into sharp focus as we take stock – individually and collectively – of all that's happened in the interim. But the habit of marking the time – particularly *festival* time – takes on extra significance as Mardi Gras 2021 offered not only a vantage point from which to reflect on the year before, but a comparison to other Carnivals that fell during crises of one kind or another. By looking to troubled Carnivals past, I was pursuing one way of making sense of its present.

Historic Context: Mardi Gras Cancelations

The list of dates when Mardi Gras parades in New Orleans have been canceled is not all that short. However, it was a common occurrence in the press around the event in 2021 to headline a piece rhetorically questioning the continuance of Mardi Gras, hinting at the novelty of current circumstances, listing off a surprisingly long list of dates when Mardi Gras *was* canceled, insisting on its irrepressible nature, and concluding that while it might be different this year, Mardi Gras lives on.

⁷ Later, I noted the grouping of these three cities as unique within the U.S. for attracting foreign tourists in the 1930s (Cocks 2013, 158).

Most often, the trope of resilience was trotted out in its most locally quintessential form: Hurricane Katrina.

Before turning to that problem, however, I engage in my own cursory historical comparison. Two prior cancellations especially caught my attention: the suspension of much activity during wartime (1917–1918, 1942–1945, and 1951) and the cancellation of festivities during outbreaks of illness (1879, 1919) (Mardi Gras Guide 2021). The war years allowed for alternative activities like a single consolidated Mardi Gras ball at the Municipal Auditorium (1942) or gathering on Canal street to buy war bonds (1943) (Guise 2021). The 1951 Krewe of Patria seemed a precursor to the 2021 Krewe of House Floats in that it abandoned the traditional competition between organizations and joined together as a citywide effort to boost morale.

The outbreaks of contagious disease, however, were handled differently than they were in 2021. In 1879, the Krewe of Rex went ahead with their parade, but Comus redirected funds and efforts instead to food distribution. Somewhat bizarrely, activities in 1919 continue to escape me: the year is often lumped into WWI cancellations, but is cited (more convincingly) by one source as a casualty of the Spanish flu, which had emerged in New Orleans in the fall of 1918 (Broach 2020, Guise 2021).

The cancellation of Mardi Gras parades in 2021 was announced in early December of 2020. Instead, “Yardi Gras” and the “Krewe of House Floats” emerged as alternative modes of celebration. I heard from friends, family, colleagues, and advisors from afar about these developments as they were reported in the national media. From my vantage point, I was dubious. Following a year of making do with online and unadvertised music-making that failed to even approximate the normal musical life of the city, I was personally discouraged, but I also didn’t see much to coax me out of my discouragement.

I had seen a handful of these “house floats,” which did indeed echo the real floats, using the same style of decoration (made by the same artists) as the mobile versions. Still, they sat silent and static, which had a perplexing effect on me. Yes, this is New Orleans; yes, this is Carnival; yes, this is “authentic” float decoration – but as a stand-in for a multisensory spectacle that is dependent on temporal as well as spatial and mobile aspects, the houses seemed uncanny, and ultimately a failure. Having just met with my dissertation advisor, I had been set the task of “thick description” of Mardi Gras 2021. The question that immediately arose was: “How do I describe ... nothing?”

“Thick Description”: Mardi Gras Day

On Mardi Gras morning, having awoken rested, sober, alone, and in my own bed, I open my front door and look towards the river: I see no one, and hear nothing but the ambient noise of St. Claude. I decide to go for a jog and head for Crescent Park along the river, only to find it closed, presumably to keep people from gathering. I head towards the French Quarter.

Crossing into the Marigny, I see a man in a witch hat glide by on roller skates, heading North on Franklin Avenue. As I reach the intersection, I see that he was headed for a small gathering of people outside of Big Daddy’s bar.

Although my outing was in many ways practical (I wanted the exercise, there was nothing else to do, it was a way to get to the French Quarter), my getup as a sober morning jogger put me in a strange position as I encountered costumed celebrants. “Happy Mardi Gras!” They called out. I answered meekly, feeling actually *socially*, not just physically distant. All the same, I smiled at even this simple exchange: Mardi Gras was canceled, but here we still were, marking the day.

I keep going, taking the occasional video to capture the stillness and silence. In one, a car finally drives by playing “Mardi Gras in New Orleans” by Professor Longhair, a local Carnival classic.⁸

⁸ This status has been reinforced by its prominence in the post-Katrina Mardi Gras episode of HBO’s *Treme*.

On Royal street, I notice the prominence of other sounds in the absence of music (and shouting, laughing, general partying): water dripping from a gutter (maybe melting ice from the freeze the night before); someone's television from behind a shuttered window ...

I make my way to Bourbon street, and the scene is even more shocking than it was on Sunday night when I got off my bike to take a photo and a policeman remarked, "You look lost." ("I'm not lost," I had assured him, snapping a picture of the nearly-empty street.) (figure Ex.2)



Figure Ex.2. Bourbon Street on Mardi Gras Day, 2021. (Photograph by the author).

As an icon of the (touristic) city itself – and during its most festive time – Bourbon Street was blockaded and nearly vacant. The surrounding bars (indeed, not just those in the French Quarter but all around the city) had been closed since the previous Friday to ensure a minimal risk of gathering and Covid spread. The days leading up to Mardi Gras had seemed an inverse of their regular selves, becoming quieter and more still each day, until finally here I was on Mardi Gras morning where even ordinary practices that have been allowed and encouraged during the pandemic – like outdoor gatherings and go-cups – were now prohibited. If New Orleans had survived a year of Covid, you wouldn't know it here.

As different as Mardi Gras was *for me* this year, one thing stayed the same, and that was my feeling of never being quite where I “should” be. I had gathered, by way of often-repeated and unsolicited advice to just enjoy the day and to not make plans, that this can be a problem for any Mardi Gras neophyte. It's impossible to see *all* of Mardi Gras in any year, but with the apparent digital availability of information, bolstered by press chatter, as well as the relatively few things to actually witness, the pressure to see *something* compounded. I was led to believe that there was something out there I should be seeing, but I had trouble seeing anything that felt like anything at all.

Digital Peregrinations

In the days leading up to Fat Tuesday, I had begrudgingly tuned into the digital mediation of the city outside my door, which touted the power of Carnival to surmount the challenges even of a global pandemic. In general, the information I found was eerily lacking: promises of persistence and resilience rang hollow in the face of a considerable lack of acknowledgment about what *was* happening (i.e., how people were *really* dealing with this).

Neworleansmardigras.com looked much as it always did, save the red banner across the top, like a temporary emergency warning rather than an acknowledgment of major and ongoing global disruption and local struggle and suffering: “PARADES IN GREATER NEW ORLEANS HAVE BEEN CANCELLED IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY DUE TO COVID-19” (Mardi Gras New Orleans, “Mardi Gras Parades Latest Victim of Covid-19” 2021). This announcement was accompanied by a hyperlink which I could click to “Learn More.” On the linked page, the text explained simply:

Because of the threat of Covid-10, there will be no traditional Carnival parades in Orleans or St. Tammany parishes in 2021. Other ways to celebrate, including virtual parades, the Joan of Arc stationary parade, and houses decorated like floats, are currently under consideration.

Jefferson Parish is not ruling out holding parades later in 2021. Originally, they were planning on Memorial Day weekend but that has now been nixed.

Check back here for updates and follow us on Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. (ibid.)

On the same page, there was a link to an article that said “Read: Bacchus goes Virtual.” Having already been disappointed to find out what this actually consisted of, I clicked on the link anyway:

If Macy’s can do it on Thanksgiving, why can’t Bacchus? On November 23, The Krewe of Bacchus announced that its 2021 parade will be virtual.

Bacchus is introducing a new “Throw Me Something Bacchus!” mobile app that will bring Carnival and New Orleans to every corner of the world in a safe, COVID-free way.

How do you do throws, you ask? According to Bacchus Captain Clark Brennan, the app gives its users the ability to catch and collect virtual throws every Sunday during Carnival season. What’s more, players will be able to create their own avatar, trade throws with other players and even trade select virtual throws for actual throws.

Then, on Bacchus Sunday, February 14, 2021, you will be able to stream the live parade in the app. Imagine! More than 1,600 Bacchus members will be virtually tossing their floats signature throws as well as personalized throws. (Mardi Gras New Orleans “Bacchus” 2021)

It’s this kind of thing that confuses me about Mardi Gras, this year especially. The flatness of the website in comparison to the reported legendary bacchanalia of the event; the alleged, apparent

simplicity of transferring such an event into virtual reality; and the actual paucity of said reality. At the risk of being pedantic, I include such dry, apparently semi-useless texts here to foreground these qualities in the way that I experienced them as someone eager to *actually see what Mardi Gras was*. I was not about to be satisfied by replacing the crush of humanity with whatever dismal process might earn me digital throws.

The evidently positive remark that the app would “bring Carnival and New Orleans to every corner of the world” has become a particularly troubling element of the pandemic, as the local is digitized and distributed. I had arrived in New Orleans to conduct fieldwork – *in-person* fieldwork, which is the touchstone of my academic field. Shortly after my arrival, the field of musical tourism became officially 100% digital, providing access to those who were *not* physically present, and making my physical presence seem pointless, or else questionable.

One medium that I *have* come to find useful over the past year is text messaging and other modes of private, direct messaging, rather than public websites and social media. I found that my personal communications with others were more grounded in reality as I learned through word-of-mouth about unadvertised shows and more nuanced experiences of the fallout from the pandemic. Particularly surrounding Mardi Gras, these exchanges exposed a degree of apathy and disappointment in others that I was also feeling but that was inadequately addressed in much media reporting.⁹ Text communications with local friends throughout Carnival 2021 confirmed that I was not the only one who was about ready to give up: a friend in the Irish Channel (across town from where I live) relayed that none of her friends were doing anything and spirits were low. “In truth my two friends who are most likely to know anything are insisting there is no Mardi Gras,” she said.

⁹ Again this provides an interesting contrast to national media coverage following Hurricane Katrina, after which locals pushed back against negative portrayals that represented the city as a lost cause.

Real-Life Fieldwork

Nonetheless, I made an effort to go out looking for signs of life. On a bike ride Uptown on Sunday, February 14th (the Sunday before Mardi Gras) I happened to pass by a house float honoring local bounce icon Big Freedia (figure Ex.3). Like most of the others I saw, it stood vacant when I passed by. Occasionally these empty scenes would be soundtracked by a speaker placed somewhere on the porch (though I do not recall one here).¹⁰ The canned music had the effect of enhanced melancholy: the tinny sound seemed almost like mockery, foregrounding absence of the richness of sound and experience usually at play. The replacement of live musicians with recorded music was a necessary evil, given the limited resources of individual homeowners in comparison to Mardi Gras krewes, but particularly when even the residents of the house were absent, I felt a kind of sadness at the abandonment of the recorded sound out in the cold: it seemed inhumane.¹¹

¹⁰ Leading up to Mardi Gras, and considering the relative permanence of the house floats, it made a certain kind of sense to include such a meager gesture towards festiveness, but I was surprised that it continued through Mardi Gras day.

¹¹ Yet another element of Mardi Gras alienation 2021 was, of course, the lack of socializing, specifically with *strangers*. This has been a challenge throughout the year, as even when restrictions were initially loosened, all advice was to meet only with individuals already close to you. This meant that any Mardi Gras event that *did* take place, in whatever limited capacity, was inherently limited due to the lack of usual spontaneity and inclusion.



Figure Ex.3. "Queen of Bounce House," February 14, 2021. (Photograph by the author).

I made my way around New Orleans over the next few days, continuing my quest for material for my thick description. That weekend was unusually cold, putting a final nail in the coffin of the season for many. I did, however, manage some semblance of a festive experience on Mardi Gras evening, when everything usually winds down. The cold had abated mid-afternoon, and reluctant revelers slowly began to make their way out into the streets, though still in limited numbers. Abandoning plans to meet a friend across town and succumbing to the Mardi Gras spirit of going where the day took me, I stayed in the Ninth Ward and walked through the Bywater with a neighbor friend. On our walk, I was delighted to see that a house I had been noticing for its decorations had finally come alive: a burlesque show was taking place on the porch, featuring a dance between a Covid virus particle and a man in a lab coat. In the driveway, a keyboardist played

and sang “Fever” as observers watched from the street (figure Ex.4). From the stage, the Covid particle and doctor tossed pink masks printed with “Show Float,” the theme of the house, into the audience (figure Ex.5).



Figure Ex.5 “Show Float.” (Photograph by the author).



Figure Ex.5. Tangible throw: a mask from Show Float. (Photograph by the author).

On our way back out of the Bywater, my companion and I stopped by an outdoor party where we met a handful of new people before heading home, reasonably satisfied that we had done our best at Mardi Gras.

Conclusion(?)

This Mardi Gras season has been of a piece with my experience of music in New Orleans this year, though perhaps a more extreme experience of disorientation and apprehension. The official (or anyway online) rhetoric of optimism, though not absent in real conversations, has created an eerie sense of disconnect between the narrative of resilience in the city and the real struggles of those who live in it. Media – particularly social media – have come under increased scrutiny and criticism this

year for their role in the spread of disinformation, admittedly a more insidious and often intentional variety of the kind of digital information I am referring to. Yet the “answer” to everything remains the internet, particularly as we are physically isolated from one another, and this can take us away from lived experience. This expectation that we abandon the latter for the former and survive unscathed has been periodically criticized over the past year, but it largely persists.

The bland optimism about Mardi Gras that I resist isn’t only a digital problem. The printed *Mardi Gras Guide* gives a similarly flat account of things. Even the full-page announcements from the major krewes proclaiming the phoenix-like character of Mardi Gras and the city looked visually empty. It makes them eerie and almost unreal: the vacancy of the image hints at something not-quite-there, almost a kind of admission of the emptiness in the proclamation itself (figure Ex.6).

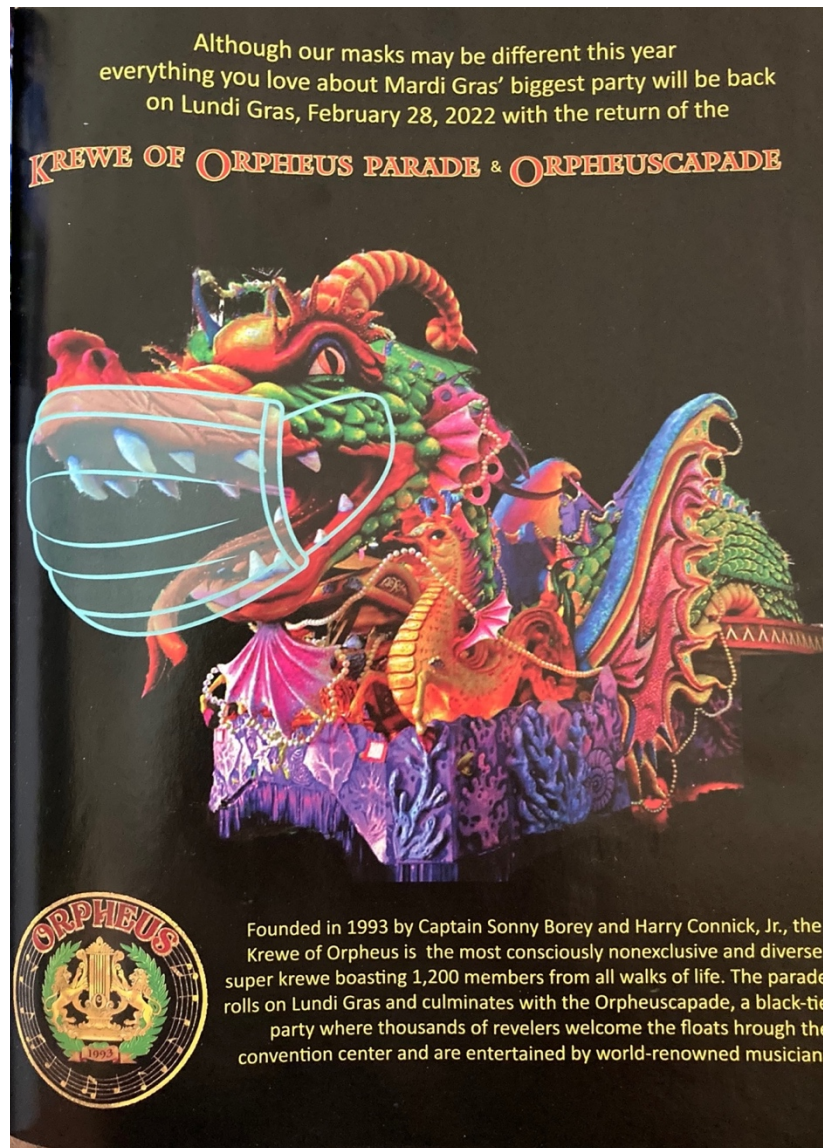


Figure Ex.6. Selection from Arthur Hardy's annual Mardi Gras Guide, 2021.

Confronting these wisps of evidence (evidence-in-absence), I find myself in the position of having my confidence in my own experience compromised: how is it possible that Mardi Gras continues unabated when I see nothing and hear silence? One aspect of New Orleans that I think will help me work through this problem is that of its perceived exceptionality. Like the rest of the world, New Orleans has suffered from the pandemic. But it *cannot* be like the rest of the world, because it is New Orleans. I am thinking of Adams and Sakakeeny's recent volume on the subject, *Remaking New*

Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity (2019), and I am encouraged by the contributors that maybe New Orleans is finally ready to be exposed as *unexceptional*. Katrina, the quintessential crisis, heightened the city's exceptionality as a damned but loveable place with a symbiotic though strained relationship to American Identity. The cultural heritage of the city, intangible and tangible, was reinforced as a touchstone of its exceptionality. Covid has happened everywhere and forced "culture" into uncomfortable and isolation, threatening both the exceptionality of the city and the trope of its irrepressible cultural expression. This threat, however, may not be what it seems: it may instead be a release from "savage slot" (Trouillot 2003) of exceptionality and a way forward into equity.

2022

In June of 2022, it remains somewhat unclear what purpose "Yardi Gras" served for New Orleans. If it remained an uncanny experience for residents, its mediated appearance through news outlets reinforced the narrative of disaster and resilience in the city, though this time the volume and reach of disaster were much greater and more ubiquitous than after Hurricane Katrina, increasing the possibility that it would go unnoticed, or else just-noticed in passing. It is likely that the Krewe of House Floats created meanings that will develop over time and take time to discover: as time passes, residents and others – in a context of unusually pronounced separation and distance during carnival – will likely reflect on the moment in ways that change the meaning of carnival 2022 ("the present") and those yet to come. Indeed, Mardi Gras 2020 became laden with an unexpected and tragic meaning for the city just as it concluded. The city's unfortunate fame in the first weeks of the pandemic influenced a series of decisions by local government to keep it from happening again. As I have suggested, it can also be read as a last moment of a certain kind of exceptionalism that has characterized the image of the city for at least the past sixteen years: New Orleans made the news

alongside New York and San Francisco, but was soon swept up in the more general flood of tragedy that followed.

In its representation of the city, carnival has never been “objective,” in that it might show it in accurate, intelligible terms, but it brings out certain dynamics in society, bringing them to life in public spectacle, even if that spectacle remains opaque. “Society” in this case includes those “outsiders” who gaze and participate through tourism, as we can see from the impact of the outside gaze on carnival practices over time. The malleability of the “timeless tradition” allows it to go dormant when necessary and reemerge triumphant, but raises the question of how and when – and for whom – its meaning is changed.

Epilogue: Palimpsests

Anticipating Havana's opening to tourists in November of 2021 and eager to take advantage of the suspension of duties on imported medicine, I began my search for flights early. The process was frustrating and confusing, my searches often being met with error messages that I was unsure how to interpret (figure Ep.1). The silent and yet often chirpily cheerful tone of airline websites belies the lack of transparency and utter frustration of navigating pandemic-era international travel ("wanna look for another day?") while generalized information ("This is either because service is paused for this destination, we aren't flying there yet, or we only fly to/from there on certain days. But ...") leaves the potential traveler dubious as to its accuracy with regards to the particular destination. Online searches such as "travel to Cuba 2021" turned up equally inconsistent, inaccurate, outdated, and unhelpful results. Reminded of my experiences trying to track down Mardi Gras in 2020, I wonder at the opaqueness and totalizing power of the Internet that constructs a narrative (tourist travel to Cuba via Southwest is reinstated; Mardi Gras will be better than ever) that erases real experiences (flights and information aren't available; Mardi Gras did not materialize).

The screenshot shows the Southwest Airlines website interface. At the top right, it displays user information: "Hi, Hannah 100,870 points My Account | Log out Español". The main navigation bar includes "Southwest" logo, "FLIGHT | HOTEL | CAR | VACATIONS", "SPECIAL OFFERS", "RAPID REWARDS®", and a search icon. A prominent pink error message box is centered on the page. It features a red exclamation mark icon and the heading "Wanna look for another day?". The message text reads: "We don't have any flights from New Orleans, LA - MSY to Havana, Cuba - HAV on 01/05/2022. This is either because service is paused for that destination, we aren't flying there yet, or we only fly to/from there on certain days. But our [low fare calendar](#) can show you the next available flights, by month, for your getaway." Below the message, there is a link for "Error details" with an upward arrow icon. At the bottom of the error box, technical error details are listed: "Error detail 1: rVmNylCxS526nVrBAgNFHQ : 29ee8d5b-1c86-4a91-9934-b16e64da52d0 : 400521204" and a timestamp: "12/13/2021 - 16:34:51". Below the error box, the "Book a Flight" button is visible. At the bottom right of the page, there are links for "Why Fly Southwest®?", "Travel Tips", and "Special Accommodations".

Figure Ep.1. Erasure of routes and access. (Southwest Airlines website).

It has been difficult to escape the feeling that we are in a period of transition, although the stakes and the outcomes may still be unclear. Acts and events of erasure and construction – such as ideological revisions resulting from social or political change or “recovery” from disaster – continue

to emerge with the vividness and confusion of the present. This dissertation began in a period of what I understood as parallelism and mutual inflection in the images of New Orleans and Havana in the way they appear (sound) to tourists. The ensuing events – including widespread racial justice protests and political upheaval surrounding a presidential election in the U.S. and rare public outcry and demonstrations calling attention to the effects of inflation, a strengthened embargo, and scarcity of food and medicine in Cuba – took place against a backdrop of (and were themselves influenced by) the global pandemic that began in 2020. Meanwhile, trust in media and the utopian promises of the Internet have diminished, as evidenced by the proliferation of politically-driven conspiracy theories and a growing consensus that the Internet is “bad for us” in so many ways.¹ These developments, in addition to periods of enforced isolation and separation on a variety of scales, from the individual to the national, would seem likely to change the ways we return to tourism. Whether and how that becomes true may take time to decipher in some cases. In others, the effects are already so extreme and so evident that it is hard to imagine how things could continue “like before.”

I had thought that this conclusion would be about pulling together key themes in the acts of touristic image-management in New Orleans and Havana to reach some conclusions about what they teach us about each place, as well as the two in relation to one another. I have written about how things were, and how they were becoming; as New Orleans leaves the pandemic behind and Havana struggles on, I am compelled to write about a doubtful moment. I revisit earlier drafts of this conclusion, retrieving time capsules:

As I write in late December of 2021, the Omicron variant is causing renewed disruption, despite the appearance of vaccines in the U.S. a year ago: thousands of flights are canceled due to infections among airline workers and infected cruises once again appear in the news. In July, during Cuban protests over the dire economic situation on the island (exacerbated by the prolonged suspension of tourism), internet access was shut down, limiting the exchange of information within and outside of the country. In this context, the daily erasures and constructions of access and common experience accrue in what seems to be a chaotic jumble, another shifting palimpsestic layer that seems, at the

¹ The appearance in 2020 of the film *The Social Dilemma* is one example of such a reading of contemporary society.

moment, still too new and alive to interpret alongside other, more historical developments: online and in other media, the neat erasure of practical difficulties of travel (“just choose another date!”) and the consequences of the global pandemic in favor of the construction of a happier interpretations (“Mardi Gras lives on!”) seem simultaneously banal and out of place. The question remains whether the frictions created or exacerbated by the pandemic (including those relating to social justice, climate change, and politics) might lead to substantial or lasting change in the tourism industry as tourists and destinations reevaluate themselves and their priorities with a focus on the uncertain future.

At the same time, I move through these moments continuing to think through music and contemporary tourism as it has emerged in my research: as an imaginative space of connection, encounter, and utopia, reliant on the agency of its participants and intimately linked with the legacies of European colonialism and imperialism.² The similarities, parallels, and connections between New Orleans and Havana as musical cities have been altered by current circumstances, modifying encounter and bringing divergent responses to the catastrophic suspension in tourism. Their reputations for exceptional resilience, though intact, begin to fray as the pressure to survive becomes unsustainable and the “particular” experiences of neglect, economic need, and ecological disaster become more common. The archipelago continues to hold them in relation, underpinning palimpsests of sameness and difference.

Authentic Pasts and Utopian Futures

The touristic visions elaborated in the preceding chapters are by their nature selective in their contents and attributed meanings. Both cities invite and accommodate a range of tourisms, but the kind that seems most specifically linked to place are the varieties that revolve in some way around heritage, history, and/or “culture. These elements – the framing of which is subject to revision – are understood as “keys” to the exceptionality, authenticity, or uniqueness of a place: integral ingredients

² Despite the public celebration of New World creolizations as essential to the cities’ uniqueness, management, and representation of New Orleans and Havana as epicenters – both heritage and novelty (Shearing 2020) – has often been granted to traditional power groups.

in its construction as a tourist destination. (Even in contemporary musical culture, these traces linger and remain meaningful as artists acknowledge musical lineages.) Aspects of local heritage that are somehow recovered or saved from oblivion are often attributed particular value, not only by virtue of their close call with erasure, but also because of what that erasure could or would mean.³ Through the reclamation and reevaluation of physical and cultural “ruins,” heritage becomes a hopeful avenue to recovery through the sale of the construction in the global capitalist economy, constantly remaking itself along the way.⁴ It is – on the surface at least – not just a way of remembering the past, but of mobilizing it, bringing to bear on the present (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995). For New Orleans and Havana, a subtext of contemporary touristic attraction seems to be a tension between a nostalgia for an authentic past and an impulse or desire to overcome the problems of that past through reimagined, possibly utopian futures.⁵ Between these stands a present that is often problematic in relation to both. These impulses – the nostalgic and utopian – are not contradictory, but rather complementary: neither the “objects” of nostalgia nor the society of utopia can be truly grasped. Rather, these concepts serve as tools to account for (in a humanistic, rather than an “objective” sense) our own cultural understandings of the world (as in Dawdy 2016, 8). As psychological, rhetorical, and imaginary tools, they erase and construct to their appropriate ends. For nostalgia this often means the erasure of negative realities and construction of a romanticized past; for utopia the construction of an ideal future/place entails a similar erasure of negative elements that are perceived as barriers to the realization of that ideal.

³ This goes for the “discovery” by Western/global audiences of artists like Ibrahim Ferrer and for objects like Fats Domino’s piano, retrieved from his damaged home in the Lower Ninth Ward where Domino himself was rumored to have died. (He survived the flood and died in 2017.)

⁴ Besides heritage tourism proper, even other types of tourism to New Orleans and Havana connect in some way to the projects fostered under the aegis of “heritage” in both places: music in particular can serve as a backdrop to hedonist tourism or a point of focus for volunteer or educational tourism.

⁵ This is a tension most evident in “serious” types of tourism that bear the mark of some kind of ethical or moral obligation of understanding “the destination.”

Authentic Pasts

The use of the past for touristic purposes is well researched and critiqued across a variety of academic fields (e.g., heritage studies, tourism studies, sociology, literature, music, anthropology, and cultural studies). In touristic contexts – particularly those charged with educational or spiritual potential – the search for an authentic or instructive past is often attached to claims of attempts to understand the self and/or other.⁶

In New Orleans and Havana, desires for understanding often turn to history, and ultimately to a kind of nostalgia for lost connections. In tourist and scholarly narratives (e.g., Madrid and Moore 2013, Rommen and Neely 2014, Waxer 1994) these connections, as well as other elements of history, are claimed as important but obscure: lost cosmopolitanisms and archipelagoes of sound are mourned and treated as secret (“unknown,” “underground,” “forgotten,” “neglected”), even as the cities and their regions are each rhetorically provincialized in the contemporary moment by that very nostalgia that locates “modernity” – as globalization and creolization – in the past.⁷ In this sense, the tourist imagines with awe the era when New Orleans and Havana were at the forefront of global connections as described by Sublette (2004, 2008) and Dawdy (2008), mapped – though often in mysterious, glimpsing, or otherwise inchoate terms – in music. At the same time, the musical cities attract by virtue of their real or imagined isolation and uniqueness in terms of U.S./Western hegemonic audiences: New Orleans as the Caribbean city on the verge of extinction and Havana as the crumbling island behind the embargo.

⁶ Recall Ben Jaffe’s claims to understanding in *A Tuba to Cuba*: “Understanding our [New Orleans musical] history is understanding the elements that formed who we are. And part of that is understanding Cuba.”

⁷ Contemporary provincialization is of a piece with the problematic exceptionalism that distances New Orleans and Havana from the lived, contemporary, *metropolitan* world.

Utopian Futures

Tourists come with an urge to “recover” or “discover” something of the past that is attractive in the present, suggesting that the past is more than a place to revisit but can be productive in imagining a different future. Through recovered or discovered connections and experiences (e.g., “forgotten histories” and participation in local social life, particularly through music), tourists engage in a social project of aspirational belonging.⁸ Particularly when faced with local loss or struggle, tourists build utopian futures as they see themselves as participants in rectification.⁹

Tourism also opens utopian space for “travelees” (Pratt 1992) as they imagine more prosperous or otherwise ideal futures, often enabled by the mobilization of local ruins and heritage.¹⁰ Within the parameters of marketing and management oriented towards tourist desires, travelees – both individually and collectively – may be strategic about how they wish to engage with constraints and what expectations and limits they place on their own participation.¹¹ They build utopian futures by asserting their place in local representation, as Al Jackson does when he claims to tell the “real history of jazz.” For Jackson in particular, his plans for rebuilding monumental New Orleans indicates a utopian impulse that could be realized in material terms: unlike Jaffe’s “building bridges” with Cuban musicians, Jackson’s attention to the everyday monumentscape of his native city endows it with significance as a tangible site of negotiation through which he hopes to expose and celebrate the contributions of Black and other individuals who have been intentionally erased from this public medium of collective memorialization.

⁸ This belonging may be to the “destination,” as when transplants become “NOLA-ier than thou” as described by Dawdy (2016, 72), but other possibilities include diasporic and cosmopolitan belonging, creating connections between “local” and “tourist,” that may not be direct but make their way home anyway.

⁹ For example, Sandra and Allan Jaffe’s founding of Preservation Hall (Chapter 3).

¹⁰ Though at the time of our interview her experience at the Callejón de Hamel was in the (nostalgic) past, Maribel Pérez Suárez expressed her attachment to the place largely in terms of the community around it. She emphasized ideals of trust, creativity, collaboration, and mutual responsibility, suggesting utopian potentials of the project.

¹¹ For an account of local renegotiations of heritage tourism in Havana and New Orleans, see Hearn (2004) and Thomas (2014), respectively.

I have framed utopian aspirations as “overcoming” the past, although such an act often entails some acknowledgment of the past. It might entail what Dawdy refers to as “critical nostalgia” (Dawdy 2016), a term that complicates Svetlana Boym’s (2001) two types of nostalgia – restorative and reflective – by introducing an engagement that turns decisively to the future, even as the past remains a necessary component of the concept, positioning connections to the past in a more dynamic, diverse mode of construction. As she describes that mode, “Its purpose is not to roll back time, but to goad the future” (143-144).¹² Although the past serves as a source of heritage and nostalgia, many locals and tourists have little or no interest in the kinds of “revisiting” that tourism marketing has historically offered. Many scholars have successfully argued that Black, Indigenous, and working-class culture has been appropriated at various scales for the profit and benefit of largely White and wealthy society, and yet few have addressed the effect that touristic images and narratives refracted through this representational system have on visitors who identify with those cultures so represented.¹³ Unfortunately, the kind of erasure required for appropriation has also largely applied to patterns of tourism management and documentation: the invisibility of minority touring in the archive has created a lacuna that scholars now attempt to fill (e.g., Guridy 2010).

The curious utopianism I have proposed in the dissertation – one that is practiced by both tourists and travelees – does not ignore or deny the past, but makes productive use of it through its connections to the present. Lynnell L. Thomas frames this essential connection succinctly, if negatively, in the description of a particular failure of equity in divergent treatment of the French Quarter and Claiborne Avenue, the “Main Street of Black New Orleans,” now buried under the I-10

¹² In justifying the necessity of the term, she notes that while “Boym identifies nostalgia as primarily an idea existing in the heads of actors and the words of writers, I am interested in nostalgic *practices* and material *things* as world-making” (ibid., 7). Although her research is based in the tangible world of “things,” the approach afforded by critical nostalgia works just as well for intangible culture.

¹³ Lynnell L. Thomas (2014) claims that her contribution “offers the first focused history of African American tourism in New Orleans and one of the first histories of African American tourism in the United States,” but tourist perspectives are virtually nonexistent (24). Instead, she ultimately focuses on analysis of African American culture as part of New Orleans’s tourist product, a nonetheless valuable contribution to the field of research.

overpass originally planned for the riverfront in the French Quarter: “The irony, of course, is that city leaders opted to *preserve a fictionalized past and stereotyped representations of blackness* while refusing to *sustain the living cultural traditions* and folkways created and practiced in the ‘Tremé” (144; emphasis added). The danger in looking to the past is not the past itself, but the severing of the past from the present in an effort to erase problematic connections (in this case, enduring patterns of racism) and construct tidy and self-contained images packaged for sale (the racially proximate but temporally distanced French Quarter as the heart of the city).

A certain attentiveness and agency is evident in Edouard Glissant’s proposal of a “degeneralization” as a corrective to the “generalization” of the West, suggesting a productive, utopian turn in how we might understand (archipelagic) Caribbean culture:

For centuries “generalization,” as operated by the West, brought different community tempos into an equivalency in which it attempted to give a hierarchical order to the times they flowered. Now that the panorama has been determined and equidistances described, is it not, perhaps, time to return to a no less necessary “degeneralization”? Not to a replenished outrageous excess of specificities but to a total (dreamed-of) freedom of the connections among them, cleared out of the very chaos of their confrontations. (Glissant 1997, 62)

Such a framing frees the archipelago from continental filiation without going “backwards” into chaos. The “freedom of connections” is “dreamed-of,” emphasizing the agency in such conceptions (as well as those he challenges). This freedom, it seems, is not amorphous or directionless, but rather shares the dynamism of the archipelago. A “return” to specificities is insufficient: degeneralization requires new approaches to making sense of them.

Touristic narratives of connection risk rehearsing old habits of romanticization and stereotyping unless they bear on the present in attentive ways such as Alexey Marti’s recollection and reiteration of the *mozambique* that brings both “Havana” and Marti’s lived experience into contemporary New Orleans music. To the extent that the *mozambique* represents any kind of nostalgia (of Marti’s upbringing in Havana, of performing across the island, or of a moment of

mainstream celebration of Afro-Cuban culture in Cuba and the world), it delivers on the promise to “goad the future” in a way that complacent (“incurious”) claims often fail to do.

Interventions/Revisions of Renewal

As I situate this dissertation within broader scholarship about New Orleans and Havana, a pair of edited volumes stands out to me as insightful, critical, and attentive to the baggage of the established images of the cities and remembered pasts as they confront presents and futures that defy, exceed, or contradict those images: *Havana Beyond the Ruins: Cultural Mappings after 1989* (Birkenmaier and Whitfield, 2011) and *Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity* (Jessen and Sakakeeny, 2019). Going “beyond” the ruins and exceptionalism rhetorically positions the volumes as pushing back against these two tropes, but with a hopeful tone. Rather than destruction or erasure in the name of “progress” or development, going “beyond” suggests that residues of the past may be brought through and addressed in the process; it implies the potential of an accumulative perspective on what comes next, allowing the past to stay with us even as we move beyond it. Looking “beyond” does not actually suggest that Havana is not ruinous or that New Orleans is not exceptional, but encourages a productive complication of such images that allows the cities to live and breathe beyond their (often touristically-defined) images.

Music and tourism are not central or even explicit concerns of the books, but come to bear on many of the discussions contained in them; few of the “cultural mappings after 1989,” for example, are untouched by the Special Period’s renewed reliance on tourism, and indeed tourism plays an outsized role in revamping the city as public spaces are reorganized and reinterpreted and residents change their movements, habits, and goals in accordance with the new logics of the tourist industry. Likewise, the subject of music in *Remaking New Orleans* is subsumed within larger arguments about belonging (Regis 2019), recording technology and its consequences – including

recordings like Lafcadio Hearn's (Nyerges 2019), and Carnival (Smith 2019). In essence, music and tourism are implicit in these texts as they turn to other, perhaps more "relatable" topics such as immigration, city government, and cultural sustainability – that is, topics that disrupt the supposed exceptionalism of the two cities and place them in the context of urban problems that are also confronted by other cities around the world. In this sense, music and tourism's ubiquity is not foregrounded (as exceptional) but forms part of what is, in fact, a familiar context of struggles over urban survival.

"Excursus on Return" (Return to Excursus on Carnival)

In this conclusion titled "Palimpsests," I take a moment to return to the excursus on carnival, this time as a moment in the past. Having recently returned to Havana and been stunned by its silence, I reflect on the temporal disjunctures of touristic nostalgia and exoticism, and the grim realities that leave Cuba "still" in the pandemic as the U.S. moves "past" it. In a matter of days I had left a New Orleans that had finally returned to Mardi Gras, reasserting itself as a festive city open to outsiders (figure Ep.2),¹⁴ and arrived in a quiet, sanitized, and masked Havana (figure Ep.3). The evening I arrived – a Saturday – I passed by the major intersection of streets 23 and M at the end of Vedado. At 7PM, when I would expect it to be bustling with people catching buses and cars, meeting friends, going to cafés and bars, and waiting for movie tickets, it was virtually empty.

¹⁴ At times, however, the crowds seemed thinner than before. I wonder whether vaccine and test requirements for bars and restaurants impacted attendance.



Figure Ep.2. Frenchmen Street on Mardi Gras, March 1, 2022. (Photograph by the author).



Figure Ep.3. Calle 23 and M in Vedado, March 5, 2022. (Photograph by the author).

Although Cuba reopened to tourists in 2021, the industry has not recovered.¹⁵ Vaccine and testing requirements may be an additional unwanted hurdle for potential travelers; in addition, scarcity of resources, paired with drastic inflation, make it difficult to maintain an attractive tourist destination. (Although Cuba remains exceptionally safe for travelers, these circumstances also contribute to an increase in scams and property crimes.) While discussing the current situation with Jaime Becerro, he suggested that the government's failure to acknowledge the situation makes things worse: the few tourists who do arrive have negative experiences, setting off a wave of discouragement to other potential visitors.

The city is changed in ways that seem permanent. Before I went, I knew things were bad. Once I arrived, my friends told me in person: "Hannah, cosas están malas." They said this with a gravity that was new, and discussions about emigrating that seemed more theoretical before had become urgent. The hushing and emptying of Havana made the vanishing of *my* time there (as tourist-researcher) feel somehow complete: I can't shake an ironic sense of echo (erasure/repetition?) when I think of the "opening" in 2016. The people who had helped me on my way and become central to my experience may soon disperse, making it impossible for me to "go back" again.

All of this suggests new mappings of music, tourism, and resilience. The productive potentials of repetition are, in addition to being archipelagically utopian, bound up in the tropes of resilience that burden New Orleans and Havana with their own "self-sufficient" survival in times of crisis. It is difficult to maintain a sense of optimism for the future when the trope of resilience rings hollow. Mardi Gras was not "the same" in 2022 as it was before. Here is the signature iconic resilience of New Orleans, crystallized: it may be different, but it cannot die. Even as New Orleans

¹⁵ During my visit, Jaime Becerro pointed out to me that the few tourists who were arriving at the time were mostly Russian; they would soon disappear as fallout from the war in Ukraine began to keep them home.

continues to draw “transplants,” outside investors, gentrifiers, and multinational companies – and in the face of catastrophe that seems at every turn to open the floodgates (Adams and Sakakeeny 2019, Gotham 2005, Gotham 2007) – its “survival” has been deemed important enough to ensure. In Havana the disruption of everyday life for nearly two years and the literal, physical emptying out of the city makes it more difficult to imagine how it will recover.

A float in the Krewe de Vieux parade during Carnival 2022 confronted the trope of resilience by identifying the real problems it excuses. Behind a giant Kermit the Frog stood a façade, crowned by the words “AIN’T EASY BEING RESILIENT,” plastered with boards representing contemporary challenges of living in the city, including bad roads, power outages, canceled festivals, and pandemic precautions (figure Ep.4).¹⁶ The inversion of “The Big Easy” returned to my mind frequently as I heard my Cuban friends repeat as a kind of refrain to conversations about everyday life: “no es fácil.”

¹⁶ Following Hurricane Ida, a resident interviewed on local radio likewise acknowledged and challenged the deflecting powers of resilience rhetoric and highlighted immediate need at a time of crisis: “I’m tired of this ‘NOLA Strong’ – we NOLA hot, NOLA agitated right now.” In another material and artistic expression of similar local frustrations a poster titled “Adios Banda Ancha” (“Goodbye Broadband”) by Idania del Río, Gabriel Lara and Celia Ledon (sold at the Havana boutique Clandestina) features a Tyrannosaurus Rex – a reference to the image that appears on a screen to indicate a lack of internet connection – grasping two ends of a severed internet cable. A black band with yellow lettering, reminiscent of caution tape, stretches diagonally across the image, foregrounding the words “país en construcción” (“country under construction”).



Figure Ep.4. Krewe de Vieux, February 5, 2022. (Photo courtesy of Laura-Zoe Humphreys).

Resounding Archipelagoes

New Orleans and Havana have similar regional histories and a record of interchange that, though subject to various forms of political control, continue to this day. Due in part to these similarities, they have capitalized on similar reputations over the years, both internally or domestically and as objects of the tourist gaze/ear: they are constructed as spaces free from the constraints of metropolitan, Anglo, or American authority; as sites of authenticity in the face of inauthentic late capitalism; a location of “narrative” and a meditative space for the Utopia of the Repeating Island (Benitez-Rojo 1992); a node of common history through which to (re)build diasporic and creole (hemispheric) bonds in the postcolonial era.

I choose to highlight similarities to overcome the erasure of connection that seems to hold sway over popular understandings of the two places, but differences have their own significance, and may also be instructive: the domestic notions of New Orleans as backwater in contrast to Havana's cosmopolitanism, for example, might help to triangulate regional relationships in a way that goes beyond a metropolitan-"Third World" divide. If Havana is provincialized through its Caribbeanness, New Orleans may be metropolitanized by its history of Caribbean commerce; indeed, seeing each in relation to the other (that is, not only in relation to The Metropole of Western hegemony) could invite alternative imaginings and possibilities that could give weight to a reemergent archipelago.

New Forms of Tourism?

I began this dissertation with the aim of examining the workings of the musical-touristic encounter and try to decipher a path forward for more ethical kinds of tourism that "think together" the Caribbean and the United States – to acknowledge linked histories that do more than divide into First World-Third World, Metropole-Colony and present opportunities for sympathetic or empathetic modes of engagement in which the "tourist" and the "local" see one another in compassionate terms. This may disrupt models of center-periphery that ignore and discourage alternative modes of exchange: interests in common current circumstances (like those expressed by New Orleans artists in "Caliente") may forge new solidarities like those fostered by Black Americans and Afrocubans during the Cuban War of Independence, the Harlem Renaissance, and the Special Period. Furthermore, it makes these exchanges visible, filling in a sparse archival picture of Black tourism.

The history of tourism is loaded with violence: colonial "discoveries" were linked with directed projects of control and domination, even if individual travelers saw themselves as participants in "universal" projects of enlightenment and development. Today, forms of control

have shifted, as when locals are deprived of rights in favor of touristic development or their intangible culture is appropriated for sale to external markets beyond their control. The twentieth and early twenty-first century saw a diversification of movements and motivations (Gibson and Connell 2005) as well as a proliferation of tourisms concerned with authenticity and social justice.

The heritage tourism that has proved popular and lucrative in both New Orleans and Havana has given way to lighter, less “uptight” but no less invested forms of cultural tourism. This tourism is likely to be practiced by those engaged with social media and the internet and is likely to include groups formerly excluded by traditional tourist marketing (as indicated by Thomas 2014, Souther 2006). For all the flattening that may occur through mediation (recall the reduction of Havana to pure color), this accessibility may also remove traditional barriers, affording a more intimate and co-created experience. Individuals engaged in this kind of tourism mix the perceived lightness of popular culture with the “seriousness” of responsible and attentive visitorship, not by preserving Cuba’s forbiddenness (as in David Byrne’s *Dancing with the Enemy*) or insisting on New Orleans’s martyrdom (as in *Treme*) – that is, engaging with well-established tropes and images – but by tuning into actual circumstances and events. An ethical tourism could mobilize tourist and local agencies to recalibrate the encounter to one that aligns with local needs.

As I continue to struggle to interpret current constructions and erasures in a particularly tumultuous moment, I wonder if these new forms of tourism indicate a significant break with the past. Although struggles for social justice were already afoot before 2020 (indeed, the production of “Caliente” was already well in the works before the pandemic and the explosion of racial justice protests in that year), the intense focus on issues of violence, citizenship, human rights, and cultural property have overtaken popular culture to a notable extent. Might this mean that as the pandemic lifts, potential travelers are likely to exhibit changed modes of travel, and “travelees” to changed

modes of “hosting?”¹⁷ Instead of the voluntourism that in fact fails to disrupt extant systems of power (Adams 2019), might a new(ly) invested tourism take advantage of the diversity and accessibility of the Internet to provide travelers alternative ways to engage with local communities?

During the first and most severe shutdown of the pandemic, local business owners (including Kermit Ruffins) and ordinary social media users posted lists of local Black-owned businesses to share with their followers to encourage support. This kind of information has the potential to draw “ethical” tourists away from Bourbon Street and even Frenchmen Street, and into the shops, bars, restaurants, and workshops of Black residents who have been neglected by centralized tourist bureaus – an extension of the NOMCC’s “good tourist guide” Although social media is also charged with emptying even tourism of its significance (with destinations and experiences amounting to nothing more than attractive content¹⁸), is it possible that the collapse of tourism and everyday life could have positive, not (just) negative effects as “outsiders” integrate the destination into their mediated worlds, side-by-side with “home?”

New Orleans’s status as a tourist and party city put it at the front lines of the pandemic more than once, and the city weighed the advantages of imposing restrictions that were met with vocal opposition from local business owners. In Cuba, the increased isolation of the island, in combination with the rigidity of state socialism, drove Cubans to protest in rare numbers in July of 2021. In the meantime, the past two years have played out differently on either side of the Gulf, making picking up “where we left off” difficult, if not impossible. But the events that have filled that time, and the social awareness that has made its way into everyday experience, may contribute to

¹⁷ For examples of reevaluations of tourism economies during the pandemic, see Venice’s cruise ship ban and Hawaii’s cooperative efforts that “focus on sustainable destination management rather than marketing” (Murphy 2021). Though the former has been discussed for decades, the pandemic offered a moment of reflection and visibility that made its success appear indicative of changing priorities and the assertion of local rights (Pianigiani and Bubola 2021).

¹⁸ For one account of the pitch of contemporary tourism in 2019, see Lowrey 2019.

fresh perspectives on tourism that do more than extract and instead contribute to sustainable practices and productive encounters.

Bibliography

- Abbate, Carolyn. 2016. "Sound Object Lessons." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69 (3): 793–829.
- Abrahams, Roger D. 2006. *Blues for New Orleans: Mardi Gras and America's Creole Soul*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Adams, Thomas Jessen, and Matt Sakakeeny, eds. 2019. *Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Adams, Vincanne. 2019. "Neoliberal Futures: Post-Katrina New Orleans, Volunteers, and the Ongoing Allure of Exceptionalism." In *Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity*, edited by Thomas Jessen Adams and Matt Sakakeeny. Durham: Duke University Press, 288–306.
- Alegría, Carmen and Robert Chrisman. 1985. "Langston Hughes: Six Letters to Nicolás Guillén." *The Black Scholar* 16 (4): 54–60.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 1998. "Cosmopolitan Patriots" in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, edited by Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 91–114.
- Arikoglu, Lale, and Meredith Casey. July 1, 2020. "How to Shop for Meaningful Souvenirs." *Women Who Travel*. Podcast, 33:08.
- Arjona Pérez, Marta. 2003. *Patrimonio cultural e identidad*. Havana: Oficina del Historiador.
- Arnoldi, Mary Jo. 2012. "From Timbuktu to Washington?: Reflections on the 2003 Mali Program at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival." *Africa Today* 59 (1): 3–24.
- Atkinson, Connie Zeanah. 1997. "Whose New Orleans? Music's Place in the Packaging of New Orleans for Tourism." In *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places*, edited by Simone Abram, Jacqueline Waldren, and Donald V. L. Macleod, 91–106.
- Atkinson, Niall. 2016. *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Bærenholdt, Jørgen Ole et al. 2004. *Performing Tourist Places*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Bailey, Nick. 2008. "The Challenge and Response to Global Tourism in the Post-modern Era: The Commodification, Reconfiguration and Mutual Transformation of Habana Vieja, Cuba." *Urban Studies* 45 (5/6): 1079–96.
- Baillie, Britt, Afroditi Chatzoglou, and Shadia Taha. 2010. "Packaging the Past." *Heritage Management* 3 (1): 51–71.

- Baker, Geoffrey. 2011. *Buena Vista in the Club: Rap, Reggaetón, and Revolution in Havana*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- _____. 2011. "Underground Music in Havana." *Latin American Music Review* 32 (1):1–38.
- Baker, Jessica Swanston. 2016. "Black Like Me: Caribbean Tourism and the St. Kitts Music Festival." *Ethnomusicology* 60 (2): 263–78.
- _____. 2020. "Small Islands, Large Radio: Archipelagic Listening in the Caribbean." In *Contemporary Archipelagic Thinking: Towards New Comparative Methodologies and Disciplinary Formations*, edited by Michelle Stephens and Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 383–402.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1984a. *Rabelais and His World*. Trans. by Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1984b. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Translated by Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Barker, John W. 2008. *Wagner and Venice*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.
- Barzel, Tamar. 2015. "From the Inexorable to the Ineffable: John Zorn's *Kristallnacht* and the Masada Project." In *New York Noise: Radical Jewish Music and the Downtown Scene*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 86-144.
- Beavers, Karen. 2008. "Lead Man Holler: Harry Belafonte and the Culture Industry." (Ph.D. Dissertation) University of Southern California.
- Bell, Jonathan. June 23, 2015. "Hospitality Hero Driven by Community Values." *Royal Gazette*. Accessed June 30, 2022. <https://www.royalgazette.com/tourism/news/article/20150423/hospitality-hero-driven-by-community-values/>.
- Benitez-Rojo, Antonio. 1992. *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Benjamin, Jules R. 1990. *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution: An Empire of Liberty in the Age of National Liberation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Benjamin, Walter. 2002. "The Flâneur." In *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 416–55.
- Benjamin, Walter, and Hannah Arendt. *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Berk, Brett. March 11, 2010. "New Orleans Sissy Bounce: Rap Goes Drag." *Vanity Fair*. Accessed April 14, 2022. <https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2010/03/katey-red-starts-a-band>.

- Bettelheim, Judith. 2001. *Cuban Festivals: A Century of Afro-Cuban Culture*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Bilby, Kenneth M. 2010. "Surviving Secularization: Masking the Spirit in the Jankunu (John Canoe) Festivals of the Caribbean." *New West Indian Guide* 84 (3–4): 179–223.
- Birkenmaier, Anke, and Esther Whitfield, eds. 2011. *Havana Beyond the Ruins: Cultural Mappings after 1989*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Blassingame, John W. 1973. *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bobes, Velia Cecilia. 2011. "Visits to a Non-Place: Havana and Its Representations." In *Havana Beyond the Ruins: Cultural Mappings after 1989*, edited by Anke Birkenmaier and Esther Whitefield. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 15–30.
- Bodenheimer, Rebecca M. 2009. "La Habana no aguanta más': Regionalism in Contemporary Cuban Society and Dance Music." *The Musical Quarterly* 92 (3/4): 210–241.
- _____. 2013. "National Symbol or a 'Black Thing'? Rumba and Racial Politics in Cuba in the Era of Cultural Tourism." *Black Music Research Journal* 33 (2): 177–205.
- _____. 2015. *Geographies of Cubanidad: Place, Race, and Musical Performance in Contemporary Cuba*. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press.
- Bohlman, Philip. V. n.d. "Encounter." Unpublished manuscript.
- _____. 2002. World Music at the "End of History." *Ethnomusicology* 46 (1): 1–42.
- Boorstin, Daniel J. 2012 [1962]. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Boym, Svetlana. 2001. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bravo, Eva Silot. 2017. "Cubanidad 'In Between': The Transnational Cuban Alternative Music Scene." *Latin American Music Review* 38 (1): 28–56.
- Brennan, Vicki. 1999. "Chamber Music in the Barn: Tourism, Nostalgia, and the Reproduction of Social Class." *The World of Music* 41 (3): 11–29.
- Breunlin, Rachel, and Helen Regis. 2009. "Can There Be a Critical Collaborative Ethnography?: Creativity and Activism in the Seventh Ward, New Orleans." *Collaborative Anthropology* 2: 115–146.
- Broach, Drew. March 13, 2020. "Spanish Flu Hit New Orleans Hard, But There Are lessons for Today's Coronavirus Fight." *Nola.com*. Accessed February 18, 2021. https://www.nola.com/news/coronavirus/article_d430f5f8-657e-11ea-8e4a-8b5b4e421afe.html.

- Brown, Bill. 2004. *Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- _____. 2015. *Other Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brown, Sarah Black. 2014. “Krishna, Christians, and Colors: The Socially Binding Influence of Kirtan Singing at a Utah Hare Krishna Festival.” *Ethnomusicology* 58 (3): 454–480.
- Bruce, Susan, ed. 2008. *Three Early Modern Utopias: Utopia, New Atlantis and The Isle of Pines*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Buckingham, Will. February 10, 2020. Interviewed by Hannah Rogers. Recorded Interview. New Orleans.
- Butler, Melvin. 2014. “Haitian *Djaz* Diplomacy and the Cultural Politics of Musical Collaboration.” In *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present* edited by Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto, Damien Mahiet. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 209–29.
- Byl, Julia, and Jim Sykes. 2020. “Ethnomusicology and the Indian Ocean: On the Politics of Area Studies.” *Ethnomusicology* 64 (3): 394–421.
- Byrne, David, executive producer. 1991. *Cuba Classics 2: Dancing with the Enemy*. Luaka Bop, audio CD.
- Camal, Jerome. 2019. “Touristic Rhythms: The Remix.” In *Sounds of Vacation: Political Economies of Caribbean Tourism*, edited by Jocelyne Guilbault and Timothy Rommen. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 77–106.
- Campbell-Rock, C.C. July 30, 2018. “300 in Black: Tourism in New Orleans.” *New Orleans Tribune*. Accessed April 8 2022. <https://theneworleanstribune.com/300-in-black-black-tourism-in-new-orleans/>.
- Carpentier, Alejo. 1946. *La música en Cuba*. México: Fonda de Cultura Económico
- _____. 1974. *Concierto Barroco*. México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
- Carter, Perry Labron. 2019. “Looking for Something Real: Affective Encounters.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 76: 200–13.
- Cary, Stephanie Hom. 2004. “The Tourist Moment.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 31 (1): 61–77.
- Cashman, David. 2014. “Corporately Imposed Music Cultures: An Ethnography of Cruise Ship Showbands.” *Ethnomusicology Review* 19. Accessed June 30, 2022. <https://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/printpdf/journal/volume/19/piece/797>.
- de Certeau, Michel. 2011 [1984]. “Walking in the City.” In *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 91–109.

- Chhabra, Deepak, and Eunhye Grace Kim. 2018. "Brand Authenticity of Heritage Festivals." *Annals of Tourism Research* 68, 55–87.
- Chomsky, Aviva, Barry Carr, and Pamela Maria Smorkaloff, eds. 2003. *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Chronis, Anthinodoros. 2012. "Between Place and Story: Gettysburg as Tourism Imaginary." *Annals of Tourism Research* 39 (4): 1797–1816.
- Cimafunk. n.d. a. "Cimafunk." *Cimafunk*. Accessed July 1, 2022. <https://cimafunk.com/>.
- _____. N.d. b. "Awards/Premios." *Cimafunk*. Accessed April 21, 2022. <https://cimafunk.com/2018/03/29/awards/>.
- _____. 2020. "Caliente." Music video, posted March 6, 2020. Youtube. Accessed October 27, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OGa8g5dj5HM>.
- Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cocks, Catherine. 2001. *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 2013. *Tropical Whites: The Rise of the Tourist South in the Americas*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Cohen, Judith R. 1999. "Constructing a Spanish Jewish Festival: Music and the Appropriation of Tradition." *World of Music* 41 (3): 85–113.
- Conforti, Joseph M. 1996. "Ghettos as Tourism Attractions." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23: 830–42.
- Contreras, Felix. January 30, 2020. Interview with Troy Andrews, Tarriona Ball, Julian Gosin, and Eric Iglesias Rodriguez. *All Songs Considered*. NPR. Accessed January 29, 2022. <https://www.npr.org/2020/01/29/801061608/tank-and-the-cubans-a-week-in-havana>.
- Cooley, Timothy J. 1999. "Folk Festival as Modern Ritual in the Polish Tatra Mountains." *World of Music* 41 (3): 31–55.
- _____. 2005. *Making Music in the Polish Tatras: Tourists, Ethnographers, and Mountain Musicians*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- _____, ed. (2019). *Cultural Sustainabilities: Music, Media, Language, Advocacy*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Corbett, John. 2004. "Brothers from Another Planet: The Space Madness of Lee 'Scratch' Perry, Sun Ra, and George Clinton." In *Extended Play: Sounding Off from John Cage to Dr. Funkenstein*. Durham: Duke University Press, 7–24.

- Cubadebate. February 28, 2017. "Reabra la Piragua con un concierto de los Van Van." *Cubadebate.cu*. Accessed December 30, 2021. <http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2017/02/28/reabre-la-piragua-con-un-concierto-de-los-van-van/>.
- Cuba Educational Travel. N.d. "Private Trips." <https://www.cubaeducationaltravel.com/travelhtml>, accessed 6/9/2022.
- Cuba Travel. N.d. "Events in Havana, Cuba." <https://www.cubatravel.cu/en/destinations/havana-cuba/events>, accessed 6/10/22.
- _____. N.d. "Events, Fairs, and Festivities in Cuba." <https://www.cubatravel.cu/en/what-to-do/events-in-cuba>, accessed 6/9/2022.
- Cuba Travel Services. N.d. "Learn How to Salsa." <https://cubatravelservices.com/rezgo-experiences/details/229067/learn-how-to-salsa/>, accessed 6/9/2022.
- _____. N.d. "Havana by Night." <https://cubatravelservices.com/rezgo-experiences/details/191659/havana-by-night-dinner-included/>, accessed 6/9/2022.
- Davis, Quint. 2017. Interviewed by Javier Olondo. WDSU. Video.
- Dawdy, Shannon Lee. 2008. *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- _____. 2016. *Patina: A Profane Archaeology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- _____. 2017. "The Prostitute and the Dandy; or, the Romantic Complications of Capitalism as Viewed from New Orleans." *Critical Historical Studies* 4 (2): 179–207.
- _____. 2019. "La Catrina: The Mexican Specter of New Orleans. In *Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity*, edited by Thomas Jessen Adams and Matt Sakakeeny. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 35–54.
- de la Fuente, Alejandro. 2001. "The Special Period." In *A Nation For All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 317–339.
- _____. 2008. "The New Afro-Cuban Cultural Movement and the Debate on Race in Contemporary Cuba." *Journal of Latin American Studies*. 40: 697–720.
- _____. 2008. "Recreating Racism: Race and Discrimination in Cuba's Special Period." In *A Contemporary Cuba Reader: Reinventing the Revolution*, edited by Philip Brenner et al. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 316–25.
- Deacon, Harriet, and Rieks Smeets 2013. "Authenticity, Value and Community Involvement in Heritage Management under the World Heritage and Intangible Heritage Conventions." *Heritage and Society* 6: 129–143.

- DeCoste, Kevin. 2017. "Street Queens: New Orleans Brass Bands and the Problem of Intersectionality." *Ethnomusicology* 61 (2): 181–206.
- Desmond, Jane. 1999. *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- DeWitt, Mark F. 1999. "Heritage, Tradition, and Travel: Louisiana French Culture Placed on a California Dance Floor." *The World of Music* 41 (3): 57–83.
- Dowling, Robert M. 2007. *Slumming in New York: From the Waterfront to Mythic Harlem*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Dunbar-Hall, Peter, and Chris Gibson 2004. "Djabugay – Language, Education, Tourism, Music." In *Deadly Sounds, Deadly Places: Contemporary Aboriginal Music in Australia*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 152–69.
- Duncan, James, and Derek Gregory, eds. 1999. *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*. New York: Routledge.
- Ekins, Richard. 2013. "The Making of a Musical Mecca: 'Goin' Home,' New Orleans, and International New Orleans Jazz Revivalism." *Popular Music History* 8 (1): 29–45.
- "El Gran Music Hall de Cuba en Paris." N.d. *Youtube*. Accessed April 11, 2022. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GbzHanA4cAI>.
- English, Daylanne K. and Alvin Kim. 2013. "Now We Want Our Funk Cut: Janelle Monáe's Neo-Afrofuturism." *American Studies* 52 (4): 217–30.
- Erenberg, Lewis A. 1984. *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890–1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Evans, Harriet, and Michael Rowlands. 2015. "Reconceptualizing Heritage in China: Museums, Development and the shifting dynamics of power." In *Museums, Heritage, and International Development*, edited by Paul Basu and Wayne Modest. New York: Routledge, 272–94.
- Fascell, Dante B., and Jaime Suchlicki. 2001. *Fascell on Cuba: Selected Speeches and Statements on the Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro and U.S.-Cuban Relations*. Miami, FL: Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami.
- Faulkner, Larissa Jeanne. 2004. "Integration in Action?: Belafonte, Black Authorship, and the Limits of Media Subversion 1955–1969." Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa.
- Fausser, Annegret. 2005. *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.
- Feld, Steven. 2019. "Prologue." In *Sounds of Vacation: Political Economies of Caribbean Tourism*, edited by Jocelyne Guilbault and Timothy Rommen. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1–7.

- _____. 2000. "The Poetics and Politics of Pygmy Pop." In *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh. Berkeley: University of California Press, 254–279.
- Feldman, Heidi Carolyn. 2006. *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Fenlon, Iain. 2007. *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Fernandes, Sujatha. 2003. "Fear of a Black Nation: Local Rappers, Transnational Crossings, and State Power in Contemporary Cuba." *Anthropological Quarterly* 76 (4): 575–608.
- Flagg, Edmund. 1853. *Venice: The City of the Sea, From the Invasion By Napoleon in 1797 to the Capitulation to Radetzky, in 1849*. New York: C. Scribner.
- Foucault, Michel. 1986. "Of Other Spaces." Translated by Jay Miscowiec. *Diacritics* 16 (1): 22–27.
- Franklin, Jonathan. December 30, 2021. "People Should Avoid Cruise Travel Regardless of Their Vaccination Status, the CDC Says." NPR. Accessed December 31, 2021. <https://www.npr.org/sections/coronavirus-live-updates/2021/12/30/1069253312/cdc-cruise-ship-travel-covid-19>.
- Frith, Simon. 2000. "The Discourse of World Music." In *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh. Berkeley: University of California Press, 305–22.
- Gámez Torres, Nora. 2012. "Hearing the Change: Reggaetón and Emergent Values in Contemporary Cuba." *Latin American Music Review* 33 (2): 227–60.
- Garrett, Charles Hiroshi. 2008. *Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music and the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Getting Funky in Havana. N.d. "Getting Funky in Havana: A New Orleans – Havana Cultural Exchange." Accessed April 7, 2022. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5daf5cfbc6ef27112d003552/t/5e308db8a5823179ccf09f83/1580240321947/Getting+Funky+In+Havana+%281%29.pdf>.
- Giblin, John Daniel. 2017. "Touring and Obscuring Poverty: Urban and Rural Cultural-Heritage Tourism." *Heritage and Society* 10 (2): 128–146.
- Gibson, Chris, and John Connell. 2005. *Music and Tourism: on the Road Again*. Buffalo, NY: Channel View Publications.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Gillen, Jamie, and Mary Mostafanezhad. 2019. Geopolitical Encounters of Tourism: A Conceptual Approach. *Annals of Tourism Research* 75: 70–78.
- Gladstone, David, and Jolie Préau. 2008. Gentrification in Tourist Cities: Evidence from New Orleans before and after Hurricane Katrina. *Housing Policy Debate* 19: 137–175.
- Glissant, Édouard. 1997. “Expanse and Filiation.” In idem, *Poetics of Relation*. Translated by Betsy Wing. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 47–62.
- Gonçalves, João Felipe. 2014. “The Ajiaco in Cuba and beyond: Preface to “The Human Factors of Cubanidad” by Fernando Ortiz. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4 (3): 445–80.
- Gotham, Kevin Fox. 2002. “Marketing Mardi Gras: Commodification, Spectacle and the Political Economy of Tourism in New Orleans.” *Urban Studies* 39(10): 1735–56.
- _____. 2005. “Tourism Gentrification: The Case of New Orleans’ Vieux Carre (French Quarter).” *Urban Studies*. 42(7): 1099–1121.
- _____. 2007. *Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture, and Race in the Big Easy*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gottschalk, Louis Moreau. 1864. *Ojos Criollos*. New York: William Hall & Son.
- _____. N.d. *Bamboula*. London: B. Schott.
- Goulding, Christina and Avi Shankar. 2011. “Club Culture, Neotribalism and Ritualised Behaviour.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 38 (4): 1435–53.
- Grabow, Sven, and Jenny Walker. 2016. “Inclusivity and Multivocality in Socio-Political Archaeologies and Culture Heritage Management: Reflections, Trends, and Tensions.” *Heritage and Society* 9 (1): 25–56.
- Graziano, Teresa, and Valentina Erminia Albanese. 2020). “Online Place Branding for National Heritage: Institutional Strategies and Users’ Perceptions of Mount Etna (Italy). *Heritage* 3: 1539-1558.
- Guilbault, Jocelyne. 1994. “Créolité and the New Cultural Politics of Difference in Popular Music of the French West Indies.” *Black Music Journal* 14 (2): 161–78.
- _____. 1997. “Interpreting World Music: A Challenge in Theory and Practice.” *Popular Music* 16 (1): 31–44.
- Guilbault, Jocelyne, Edouard Benoit, Gage Averill, and Gregory Rabess. 1993. *Zouk: World Music in the West Indies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Guilbault, Jocelyne and Timothy Rommen, eds. 2019. *Sounds of Vacation: Political Economies of Caribbean Tourism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Guise, Kim. February 10, 2021. "Mardi Gras: Cancelled for the Duration." *National WWII Museum*. Accessed February 18, 2021.
<https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/mardi-gras-canceled-world-war-ii>.
- Guridy, Frank Andre. 2010. *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Hagedorn, Katherine J. 2001. *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- _____. 2014. "Resorting to Spiritual Tourism: Sacred Spectacle in Afro-Cuban Regla de Ocha." In *Sun Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the Circum-Caribbean*, edited by Timothy Rommen and Daniel T. Neely. New York: Oxford University Press, 289–305.
- Hall, Ariana. December 11, 2020. Interviewed by Hannah Rogers. Recorded Interview. Phone (New Orleans).
- Hall, Stuart. 2008. "Cosmopolitanism, Globalisation and Disapora." In *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives*, edited by Pnina Werbner. New York, NY: Berg, 345–61.
- Hannerz, Ulf. 1992. "The Global Ecumene." In *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press, 217–330.
- _____. 1996. "Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture." In *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. New York: Routledge, 102–11.
- Hansing, Katrin. 2001. "Rasta, Race and Revolution: Transnational Connections in Socialist Cuba." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27 (4): 733–747.
- Harvey, David. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Conditions of Cultural Change*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Hay, Pete. 2006. "A Phenomenology of Islands." *Island Studies Journal* 1 (1): 19–42.
- Haynes, Jo. 2005. "World music and the search for difference." *Sage* 5 (3): 365–85.
- Havana Music Tours. N.d. <https://havanamusicstours.com/>, accessed 6/9/2022.
- Heap, Chad. 2008. *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885–1940*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hearn, Adrian. 2004. "Afro-Cuban Religions and Social Welfare: Consequences of Commercial Development in Havana." *Human Organization* 63 (1): 78–87.
- Hearn, Lafcadio. 1905. *Chita: A Memory of Last Island*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

- Heitman, Danny. 2012. "Lafcadio Hearn in New Orleans." *Humanities* 33(3). Accessed November 2, 2021. <https://www.neh.gov/humanities/2012/mayjune/feature/lafcadio-hearn-in-new-orleans>.
- Hermer, Consuelo. 1941. *Havana Mañana: A Guide to Cuba and the Cubans*. New York: Random House.
- Hernández, José M. 1993. *Cuba and the United States: Intervention and Militarism, 1868-1933*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Hernández, Tanya Katerí. 2002. "The *Buena Vista Social Club*: The Racial Politics of Nostalgia." In *Latin/o Popular Culture*, edited by Michelle Habell-Pallán and Mary Romero. New York: New York University Press, 61–72.
- Hernandez-Reguant, Ariana, ed. 2009. *Cuba in the Special Period: Culture and Ideology in the 1990s*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Herrington, T.G. and Danny Clinch, directors. *A Tuba to Cuba*. Preservation Hall Films, 2018. 1 hr., 22 minutes.
- Hildebrandt, Henry. 2009. "Oral History: Henry Hildebrandt 4/21/2009." New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Archive. Audio Recording.
- Hiller, R. Scott. 2016. "The Importance of Quality: How Music Festivals Achieved Commercial Success." *Journal of Cultural Economics* 40 (3): 309–334.
- Hirsch, Arnold R., and Joseph Logsdon, eds. 1992. *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Howard, Deborah, and Laura Moretti. 2009. *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hunter, Tera W. 2000. "Sexual Pantomimes, the Blues Aesthetic, and Black Women in the New South." In *Music and the Racial Imagination*, edited by Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 145–64.
- Infante, Arturo. 2007. *Gozar, Comer, Partir*.
- Infotur. 2011. *Cultura Cubana*. Industrias Gráfica Caro, S.L.
- International Council for Traditional Music. 1988. *Come Mek Me Hol' Yu Han.* Kingston: Jamaica Memory Bank.
- Isar, Yudhishthir Raj. 2014. "UNESCO, Museums and 'Development.'" In *Museums, Heritage, and International Development*, edited by Paul Basu and Wayne Modest. New York: Routledge, 33–55.
- Jansson, André. 2018. "Rethinking Post-Tourism in the Age of Social Media." *Annals of Tourism Research* 69: 101–10.

- Jazz*. 2000. Directed by Ken Burns.
- Jazz Plaza. 2020. Festival Program.
- Johnson, Cedric G. 2019. "What's Left for New Orleans? The People's Reconstruction and the Limits of Anarcho-Liberalism." In *Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity*, edited by Thomas Jessen Adams and Matt Sakakeeny. Durham: Duke University Press, 261–87.
- Juárez, Ana M. 2002. "Ecological Degradation, Global Tourism, and Inequality: Maya Interpretations of the Changing Environment in Quintana Roo, Mexico." *Human Organization* 61 (2): 113–124.
- Kassabian, Anahid. 2004. "Would You Like Some World Music with your Latte? Starbucks, Putumayo, and Distributed Tourism." *Twentieth-Century Music* 2 (1): 209–23.
- Keightley, Keir. 2001. "Reconsidering Rock." In *The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock*, edited by Simon Frith, Will Straw, and John Street. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 109–42.
- _____. 2011. *Un Voyage via Barquinho: Global circulation, Musical Hybridization, and Adult Modernity, 1961–69*. In *Migrating Music*, edited by Jason Toynbee and Byron Dueck. New York: Routledge, 261–87.
- Kepecs, Susan. 2002. Saving Old Havana. *Archaeology* 55, 42–47.
- Kinney, Robert. 1942. *The Bachelor in New Orleans*. Garret County Press.
- Kirillova, Ksenia, Dan Wang, Xiaoxiao Fu, and Xinran Lehto. 2020. "Beyond 'Culture': A Comparative Study of Forces Structuring Tourism Consumption." *Annals of Tourism Research* 83: 1–11.
- King, Laura, James F. Stark, and Paul Cooke. 2016. "Experiencing the Digital World: The Cultural Value of Digital Engagement with Heritage." *Heritage and Society* 9 (1): 76–101.
- King, Thomas F. 2008. "Who Makes It Heritage?" *Heritage Management* 1 (1): 99–112.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1995. "Theorizing Heritage." *Ethnomusicology* 39 (3): 367–80.
- _____. 1998. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Klotz, Sebastian, Philip V. Bohlman, and Lars-Christian Koch, eds. 2018. *Sounding Cities: Auditory Transformations in Berlin, Chicago, and Kolkata*. Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Kmen, Henry A. 1966. *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791–1841*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

- Koo, Tay T.R., Christine Lim, and Frédéric Dobruszkes. 2017. "Causality in direct air services and tourism demand." *Annals of Tourism Research* 67: 67–77.
- Korstanje, Maximiliano Emanuel. (2013). The Sense, Landscape and Image. How the Tourist Destination is Replicated in Postmodernist Times. *Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural* 11: 55–65.
- Korstanje, Maximiliano Emanuel, and Babu George. 2017. "The end of Tourism as We Know It: Neoliberalism, Thana- Capitalism, and Touring." In *The Rise of Thana-Capitalism and Tourism*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 14–28.
- Krasnow, Carolyn. 1993. "Fear and Loathing in the 70s: Race, Sexuality, and Disco." *Stanford Humanities Review* 3 (2): 37–45.
- Krewe of Bacchus. N. d. "Our History." *Krewe of Bacchus*. Accessed June 24, 2022.
<https://www.kreweofbacchus.org/about-bacchus/our-history/>
- Krüger, Simone, and Ruxandra Trandafoiu, eds. 2014. *The Globalization of Musics in Transit: Music Migration and Tourism*. New York: Routledge.
- Kun, Josh. 2005. *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lam, Rafael. September 9, 2013. "Marlon Brando Loved Havana's Nightlife." *Granma*.
<http://www.granma.cu/idiomas/ingles/culture-i/9agost-MarlonBrando.html>, accessed June 30, 2022.
- Landrieu, Mitch. 2017. Press conference. *nola.com / Times-Picayune*. Video.
- Langegger, Sig. 2016. "Right-of way Gentrification: Conflict, Commodification, and Cosmopolitanism." *Urban Studies* 53 (9): 1803–21.
- Langley, Lester D. 1968. *The Cuban Policy of the United States: A Brief History*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Lash, Scott, and John Urry. 1994. *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage.
- Lau, Frederick. 1998. "Packaging Identity through Sound?: Tourist Performances in Contemporary China." *Journal of Musicological Research* 17 (2): 113–34.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 2012. *Tristes Tropiques*. New York : Penguin Books.
- Lewis, George H. 1996. "Beyond the Reef: Cultural Constructions of Hawaii in Mainland America, Australia and Japan." *Journal of Popular Culture* 30 (2): 123–135.
- Lewis, Martin and Karen Wigen. 1999. "A Maritime Response to the Crisis in Area Studies." *American Geographical Society* 89 (2): 161–68.

- Li, Jing, Philip L. Pearce, and Hera Oktadiana. 2020. "Can Digital-Free Tourism Build Character Strengths?" *Annals of Tourism Research* 85: 1–15.
- Light, Ivan. 1974. "From Vice District to Tourist Attraction: The Moral Career of American Chinatowns, 1880–1940." *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (3): 367–94.
- Lionnet, Françoise. 2008. "Continents and Archipelagoes: from 'E Pluribus Unum' to Creolized Solidarities." *PMLA* 123 (5): 1503–15.
- Lipsitz, George. 2006. "Learning from New Orleans: The Social Warrant of Hostile Primitivism and Competitive Consumer Citizenship." *Cultural Anthropology* 21 (3): 451–468.
- Litka, Stephanie. 2013. "The Maya of Cobá: Managing Tourism in a Local *Ejido*." *Annals of Tourism Research* 43: 350–369.
- Live Sessions. N.d. "Cimafunk." NPR. Accessed April 7, 2022.
<https://livesessions.npr.org/artists/cimafunk>.
- Löfgren, Orvar. 1999. *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lowenthal, David. 1985. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lynch, Kevin. 1960. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: Technology Press.
- MacCannell, Dean. 2011. *The Ethics of Sightseeing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 2013 [1976]. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York, NY: Schocken Books.
- MacCash, Doug. October 26, 2021. "New Orleans Tourism Ad Didn't Reflect Demographics of City, Prompting Apology and Removal." *Nola.com*. Accessed April 4, 2022.
https://www.nola.com/news/article_beb12480-36a3-11ec-9204-2707a809417a.html.
- MacMillan, Ian. 2015. "Fascination, Musical Tourism and the Loss of the Balkan Village (Notes on Bulgaria's Koprovshtitsa Festival)." *Ethnomusicology* 59 (2): 227–261.
- Madrid, Alejandro L., and Robin D. Moore. 2013. *Danzón: Circum-Caribbean Dialogs in Music and Dance*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Malcomson, Hettie. 2014. "Aficionados, Academics, and Danzón Expertise: Exploring Hierarchies in Popular Music Knowledge Production." *Ethnomusicology* 58 (2): 222–253.
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. 2006. "Post-continental Philosophy: Its Definition, Contours, and Fundamental Sources." *Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise* 1 (3): 1–29.
- Manuel, Peter. 1993. *Cassette Culture: Popular Music and Technology in North India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Mardi Gras New Orleans. N.d. "Mardi Gras Parades Latest Victim of Covid-19." Accessed February 18, 2021. <https://www.mardigrasneworleans.com/news/mardi-gras-parades-latest-victim-of-covid-19>
- _____. N.d. "Bacchus." Accessed February 18, 2021. <https://www.mardigrasneworleans.com/news/bacchus-goes-virtual>
- Marshall, Wayne. 2009. "From Música Negra to Reggaetón Latino: The Culture and Politics of Nation, Migration, and Commercialization." In *Reggaetón*, edited by Raquel Z. Rivera, Wayne Marshall, and Deborah Pacini Hernandez. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 19-76.
- Marti, Alexey. 2019. "Qué Pasa New Orleans."
- Mason, Kaley. 2004. "Sound and meaning in Aboriginal tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 31 (4): 837-54.
- Massey, Doreen B. 2005. *For Space*. London: SAGE.
- Mazza, Jay. 2013. *Not Just Another Thursday Night: Kermit Ruffins and Vaughan's Lounge*. New Orleans: Threadhead Press.
- Meadows, Ruthie. 2014. "Jockomo Fee Na Nay!": Afro-Caribbean and Afro-Creole Sensorialities and the Festivalization of New Orleans's Musical Tourism." In *Sun, Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the Circum-Caribbean*, edited by Timothy Rommen and Daniel T. Neely. New York: Oxford University Press, 238-64.
- Medina, Laurie Kroshus. 2003. "Commoditizing Culture: Tourism and Maya Identity." *Annals of Tourism Research* 30: 353-368.
- Meintjes, Louise. 1990. "Paul Simon's *Graceland*, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning." *Ethnomusicology* 34 (1): 37-73.
- Merriam, Alan. 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press.
- Miller, Kiri. 2003. "Americanism, Musically: Nation, Evolution, and Public Education at the Columbian Exposition, 1893." *19th-Century Music* 27 (2): 137-155.
- Mirabal, Nancy Raquel. 2017. *Suspect Freedoms: The Racial and Sexual Politics of Cubanidad in New York, 1823-1957*. New York: New York University Press.
- Mitchell, Myles, David R. Guilfoyle, Ron Doc Reynolds, and Catherine Morgan. 2013. "Towards Sustainable Community Heritage Management and the Role of Archaeology: A Case Study from Western Australia." *Heritage and Society* 6 (1): 24-45.
- Moore, Robin D. 1997. *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

- _____. 2006. *Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 2016. "The Danzón, North American Racial Discourses, and Reflections on Early Jazz." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (3): 321–337.
- Mora, Amalia C. 2014. "Where the River Meets the Sea: Music Tourism and the Production of Westernness." *Ethnomusicology Review*. Accessed June 30, 2022. <https://ethnomusicologyreview.ucla.edu/content/where-river-meets-sea-music-tourism-and-production-westerness>.
- Morad, Moshe. 2017. "The Action Is at the Cuban Ballet." *The Gay and Lesbian Review Worldwide*.
- Moré, Leandro. N.d. "Rumba, Mi Vida." Unpublished manuscript.
- _____. March 11, 2022. Interviewed by Hannah Rogers. Recorded interview. Havana.
- Murdoch. July 28, 1962. "Croniquilla del Festival." *La Tarde*. (Archives at Museo de la Música, Havana.)
- Murphy, Jen. December 30, 2021. "Hawaii is Rethinking Tourism. Here's What That Means for You." *Bloomberg*. Accessed December 30, 2021. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2021-12-30/hawaii-is-rethinking-tourism-here-s-what-that-means-for-you>.
- Narangajavana, Yeamduan, Luis José Callarisa Fiol, Miguel Ángel Moliner Tena, Rosa María Rodríguez Artola, and Javier Sánchez García. 2017. "The Influence of Social Media in Creating Expectations. An Empirical Study for a Tourist Destination." *Annals of Tourism Research* 65: 60–70.
- Natarajan, Radhika. 2014. "Performing Multiculturalism: The Commonwealth Arts Festival of 1965." *Journal of British Studies* 53 (3): 705–733.
- National Gallery of Art. 2015. "Kadir López." *National Gallery of Art*. Accessed April 11, 2018. <https://www.nga.gov/audio-video/audio/lopez-bird.html>.
- Nettl, Bruno. "On World Music as a Concept in the History of Music Scholarship." In *The Cambridge History of World Music*, edited by Philip V. Bohlman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 23–54.
- New Orleans Jazz Museum. N.d. "Cultural connection." *New Orleans Jazz Museum*. Accessed April 21, 2022. <https://nolajazzmuseum.org/events/2021/4/27/culturalconnect>.
- New Orleans Music and Culture Coalition. n.d. "Good Visitor's Guide to New Orleans; or, How You Can Help New Orleans Music Thrive and Survive." <https://maccno.com/good-visitor-guide-to-new-orleans/>, accessed 4/9/21.

- Neworleans.com. n.d. "Bourbon Street: New Orleans' Famous Bourbon Street is Famous for a Reason." <https://www.neworleans.com/plan/streets/bourbon-street/>, accessed 7/22/21.
- _____. n.d. "New Orleans Music: The Sound of the New Orleans Embrace and Charm." <https://www.neworleans.com/things-to-do/music/>, accessed 6/9/22.
- Nichols, Francis Morgan, and Eileen Gardiner. 1986. *The Marvels of Rome*. New York: Italica Press.
- Nikolopoulou, Konstantina. 2019. Grass-Roots Initiatives and Bottom-Up Musealisation Mechanisms in Urban Space: The Case of Heraklion Crete. *Heritage* 2: 1912–1926.
- Nogués-Pedregal, Antonio-Miguel. 2019. "Anthropological Contributions to Tourism Studies." *Annals of Tourism Research* 75: 227–237.
- Nyerges, Aaron. 2019. "Phony City: Under the Skin of Authenticity." In *Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity*, edited by Thomas Jessen Adams and Matt Sakakeeny. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 72–92.
- de Oliver, Miguel. 2015. "Gentrification as the Appropriation of Therapeutic 'Diversity': A Model and Case study of Contemporary Urban Renewal." *Urban Studies* 53 (6): 1299–1316.
- Onciul, Bryony, Michelle L. Stefano, and Stephanie Hawke, eds. 2017. *Engaging Heritage, Engaging Communities*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press.
- Pacini Hernandez, Deborah and Reebee Garafolo. 1999. "Hip Hop in Havana: Rap, Race, and National Identity in Contemporary Cuba." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 11–12: 18–47.
- Palmer, Robert 1995. *An Unruly History of Rock & Roll*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Partridge, James. 2019. "Electrifying Havana with Afro-Cuban Funk." *Youtube*. Accessed April 21, 2022. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghNYoja0pUg>.
- Pérez, Louis A. 2003. *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Pérez Rivero, Pedro. 2015. *De la Habana Somos: Aproximaciones a la identidad cultural habanera*. Havana: Ediciones Boloña.
- Pérez Sarduy, Pedro, and Jean Stubbs, eds. 2000. *Afro-Cuban Voices: On Race and Identity in Contemporary Cuba*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Perna, Vincenzo. 2014. "Selling Cuba by the Sound: Music and Tourism in Cuba in the 1990s." In *Sun Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the Circum-Caribbean*, edited by Timothy Rommen and Daniel T. Neely. New York: Oxford University Press, 44–69.
- Perry, Marc D. 2016. *Negro Soy Yo: Hip Hop and Raced Citizenship in Neoliberal Cuba*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Pianigiani, Gaia and Emma Bubola. July 13, 2021. "Italy's Government to Ban Cruise Ships From Venice." *The New York Times*. Accessed December 30, 2021.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/13/world/europe/venice-italy-cruise-ship-ban.html>.
- Pine, B. Joseph and James H. Gilmore. 2011. *The Experience Economy*. Boston. Harvard Business Review.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge.
- "Quintron." N.d. *Quintron and Miss Pussycat*. Accessed 6/1/2021.
<http://www.quintronandmisspussycat.com/qformations.html>.
- Quintron. February 1, 2021. Interviewed by Hannah Rogers. Recorded Interview. New Orleans.
- Radano, Ronald and Philip V. Bohlman, eds. 2000. *Music and the Racial Imagination*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Ramsdell, Lea. 2012. "Cuban Hip-Hop Goes Global: Orishas' 'A lo cubano'." *Latin American Music Review* 33 (1): 102–133.
- Rapp, Tobias. 2009. *Lost and Sound: Berlin, Techno, und der Easyjetset*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Rees, Helen A. 1998. "'Authenticity' and the Foreign Audience for Traditional Music in Southwest China." *Journal of Musicological Research* 17 (2): 135–61.
- Regis, Helen A. 1999. "Second Lines, Minstrelsy, and the Contested Landscape of New Orleans Afro-Creole Festivals." *Cultural Anthropology* 14 (4): 472–504.
- _____. 2013. "Producing Africa at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival." *African Arts* 46 (2): 70–85.
- _____. 2019. "Local, Creole, Native, Black: Claiming Belonging, Producing Autochthony." In *Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity*, edited by Thomas Jessen Adams and Matt Sakakeeny. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 138–161.
- Regis, Helen A. and Shana Walton. 2008. "Producing the Folk at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival." *Journal of American Folklore* 121 (482): 400–40.
- Rios, Fernando. 2008. "La Flûte Indienne: The Early History of Andean Folkloric-Popular Music in France and its Impact on Nueva Canción." *Latin American Music Review* 29 (2): 145–89.
- _____. 2012. "The Andean Conjunto, Bolivian Sikureada and the Folkloric Musical Representation Continuum." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 21 (1): 5–29.
- Roberts, Brian Russell and Michelle Ann Stephens, eds. 2017. *Archipelagic American Studies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Roberts, Les. 2014. "Marketing Muscapes, or the Political Economy of Contagious Magic." *Tourist Studies* 14 (1): 10–29.
- Robinson, Mike and Hans Christian Andersen, eds. 2002. *Literature and Tourism*. New York: Continuum.
- Roig de Leuchesenrig, Emilio. 2016. *Cuba and the American War for Independence*. Seville, Spain: Escandón Impresores, for the Oficina del Historiador (Havana).
- Roland, L. Kaifa. 2006. "Tourism and the *Negrificación* of Cuban Identity." *Transforming Anthropology* 14 (2): 151–62.
- _____. 2013. "T/Racing Belonging through Cuban Tourism." *Cultural Anthropology* 28 (3): 396–419.
- Rommen, Timothy. 2011. *Funky Nassau: Roots, Routes and Representation in Bahamian Popular Music*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- _____. 2014. "Introduction: Music Touristics in the Circum-Caribbean." In *Sun, Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the circum-Caribbean*, edited by Timothy Rommen and Daniel T. Neely. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1–14.
- Rommen, Timothy, and Daniel T. Neely, eds. 2014. *Sun, Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the Circum-Caribbean*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rydell, Robert W. 1987. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at the American International Expositions, 1876–1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Said, Edward. 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Sainsbury, Brendan, and Luke Watson. 2015. *Lonely Planet: Cuba*. Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd.
- Sakakeeny, Matt. 2010. "Under the Bridge": An Orientation to Soundscapes in New Orleans." *Ethnomusicology* 54 (1): 1–27.
- _____. 2013. *Roll with It: Brass Bands in the Streets of New Orleans*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Sarkissian, Margaret. 1998. "Tradition, Tourism, and the Cultural Show: Malaysia's Diversity on Display." *Journal of Musicological Research* 17 (2): 87–112.
- Sawyer, Mark. 2006. "Racial Politics in Miami: Ninety Miles and a World Away." In *Racial Politics in Post-Revolutionary Cuba*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 154–174.
- Schafer, R. Murray. 1977. *The Tuning of the World*. New York: Knopf.

- Schlereth, Thomas. 1991. *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876–1916*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Schwartz, Rosalie. 1997. *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Scribner, Charity. 2003. “Object, Relic, Fetish, Thing: Joseph Beuys and the Museum.” *Critical Inquiry* 29 (4): 634–649.
- Sears, John. 1989. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seymour, Al. September 18, 2012. “Tourism Needs Truth and Honesty.” *Royal Gazette*. Accessed June 30, 2022. <https://www.royalgazette.com/opinion-writer/opinion/article/20120918/tourism-needs-truth-and-honesty/>.
- Shearing, Laura C.O. 2020. “Sounds of the Modern Backwoods: American Old-Time Musics, Heritage, Place.” Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago.
- Sheller, Mimi. 2003. *Consuming the Caribbean*. New York: Routledge.
- _____. 2014. “Cruising Cultures: Post-War Tourism and the Circulation of Caribbean Musical Performances, Recordings and Representations.” In *Sun, Sea, and Sound: Music and Tourism in the Circum-Caribbean*, edited by Timothy Rommen and Daniel T. Neely. New York: Oxford University Press, 73–121.
- Simmel, Georg. 1950. “The Stranger.” In *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, translated by Kurt Wolff. New York: Free Press, 402–8.
- Skwiot, Christine. 2010. *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai‘i*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Slobin, Mark. 1992. “Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach.” *Ethnomusicology* 36 (1): 1–87.
- Smith, Felipe. 2019. “‘Things You’d Imagine Zulu Tribes to Do’: The Zulu Parade in New Orleans Carnival.” In *Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity*, edited by Thomas Jessen Adams and Matt Sakakeeny. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 93–116.
- Smithsonian. N.d. “Smithsonian Folklife Festival.” <https://festival.si.edu>, accessed 10/13/20.
- Solis, Gabriel. 2015. “The Black Pacific: Music and Racialization in Papua New Guinea and Australia.” *Critical Sociology* 41 (2): 297–312.
- Soul Rebels. 2019. “Good Time.” Music video, posted August 8, 2019. *Youtube*. Accessed April 21, 2022. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P72i2B2jOQM>.

- Souther, J. Mark. 2006. *New Orleans on Parade: Tourism and the Transformation of the Crescent City*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Stanonis, Anthony J. 2006. *Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism, 1918–1945*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Starr, S. Frederick, ed. 2001. *Inventing New Orleans: The Writings of Lafcadio Hearn*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.
- Stein, Joshua David. April 22, 2016. “The true blues of New Orleans.” *Financial Times*. Accessed June 30, 2022. <https://www.ft.com/content/9cba849c-057c-11e6-9b51-0fb5e65703ce>.
- Stephens, Michelle, and Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel, eds. 2020. *Contemporary Archipelagic Thinking: Towards New Comparative Methodologies and Disciplinary Formations*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Stewart, Charles. 1997. *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Stewart, Susan. 1993. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Stokes, Martin, ed. 1994. *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Providence, RI: Berg.
- _____. 1999. “Music, Travel, and Tourism: An Afterword.” *The World of Music* 41 (3): 141–55.
- Stoppani, Teresa. 2008. “Venice, Time, and the Meander.” *Log* 12: 131–143.
- Strassman, Mark. April 21, 2018. “Preserving the Relics Found in Treme, the Birthplace of Jazz.” *CBS*. Accessed April 21, 2022. 4/21/2018. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/treme-new-orleans-jazz-fest-treme-petit-jazz-museum/>.
- Stratford, Elaine, Godfrey Baldacchino, Elizabeth MacMahon, Carol Farbotko, and Andrew Harwood. 2011. “Envisioning the Archipelago.” *Island Studies Journal* 6 (2): 113–30.
- Su, Rui, Bill Bramwell, and Peter A. Whalley. 2018. “Cultural Political Economy and Urban Heritage Tourism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 68: 30–40.
- Suárez Pérez, Maribel. March 11, 2022. Interviewed by Hannah Rogers. Recorded interview. Havana.
- Suárez Salazar, Luís. 2018. “Las utopías de la revolución cubana. Una mirada en las proximidades de su 60 aniversario.” In *Encrucijadas abiertas: América Latina y el Caribe. Sociedad y pensamiento crítico Abya Yala (Tomo II)*, edited by Alberto L. Bialakowsky, Nora Garita Bonilla, Marcel Arnold Cathalifaud, Paulo Henrique Martins and Jaime A. Preciado Coronado. CLASCO, 149–81.

- Sublette, Ned. 2004. *Cuba and Its Music: From the First Drums to the Mambo*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press.
- _____. 2008. *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press.
- “Tank and the Bangas.” N.d. *Wikipedia*. Accessed April 21, 2022. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tank_and_the_Bangas.
- Tartar, Elizabeth. 1987. *Strains of Change: The Impact of Tourism on Hawaiian Music*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Taylor, Bill. February 2, 2021. Interviewed by Hannah Rogers. Recorded Interview. Zoom (New Orleans).
- Taylor, Timothy. 2007. *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Teo, Peggy and Brenda S.A. Yeoh. 1997. Remaking Local Heritage for Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24: 192–213.
- Thomas, Lynnell L. 2014. *Desire and Disaster in New Orleans: Tourism, Race, and Historical Memory*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Thornburg, Jack. 2017. Eco-Tourism and Sustainable Community Development in Cuba: Bringing Community back Into Development. *Journal of International and Global Studies* 9: 18–37.
- Thurnell-Read, Thomas. 2017. “What’s on Your Bucket List?: Tourism, Identity, and Imperative Experiential Discourse.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 67: 58–66.
- Titon, Jeff Todd. 1999. “The Real Thing?: Tourism, Authenticity, and Pilgrimage among the Old Regular Baptists at the 1997 Smithsonian Folklife Festival.” *The World of Music* 41 (3): 115–139.
- Tomlinson, John. 1999. “Global Modernity” in *Globalization and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- de la Torre, Marta. 2013. “Values and Heritage Conservation.” *Heritage and Society* 60: 155–166.
- Torres-Saillant, Silvio. 2016. “The Hispanic Caribbean Question: On Geographies of Knowledge and Human Landscapes.” *Small Axe* 51: 32–48.
- Trejo, Mario. July 10, 1964. (Unknown Title). *Bohemia*.
- Treme Petit Jazz Museum. N.d. “Treme’s Petit Jazz Museum.” Accessed October 27, 2021. <https://www.tremespetitjazzmuseum.com>.

- Tripadvisor. Accessed June 10, 2022. https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g147271-d318995-Reviews-Callejon_de_Hamel-Havana_Ciudad_de_la_Habana_Province_Cuba.html.
- Trouillot Michel-Rolph. (2003) *Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness*. In *Global Transformations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Turino, Thomas. 1993. *Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Truong, Thanh. February 15, 2021. "Covid's impact on Zulu Is Immeasurable." *4WWL*. Accessed February 18, 2021. <https://www.wvltv.com/article/news/health/coronavirus/covids-impact-on-zulu-is-immeasurable/289-11a7186c-daeb-42b7-804a-ffe47fe1e0e7>
- Urry, John. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage.
- Van Hoof, Herman and Eusabio Leal Spengler. 2006. *A Singular Experience: Appraisals of the Integral Management Model of Old Havana, World Heritage Site*. Havana: Oficina del Historiador.
- Vidon, Elizabeth S. and Jillian M. Rickly. 2018. "Alienation and Anxiety in Tourism Motivation." *Annals of Tourism Research* 69: 65–75.
- "Vitamin Sea." *Vanity Fair*, July/August 2021.
- Wade, Leslie A., Robin Roberts, and Frank de Caro. 2019. *Downtown Mardi Gras: New Carnival Practices in Post-Katrina New Orleans*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Wafula, Mukasa Situma. 2019. "Culture, Creativity and Practice (E)valuating the Kenya Music Festival as a Transnational Music Space." In *Music Practices Across Borders: (E)valuating Space, Diversity and Exchange*, edited by Gláucia Peres Da Silva and Konstantin Hondros. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 61–84.
- Waite, Gordon, and Michelle Duffy. 2010. "Listening and Tourism Studies." *Annals of Tourism Research* 37 (2): 457–477.
- Wandering Disney. 2021. "Disneyland and Jazz." *Andrewlong7*, 3/1/2021. Accessed June 21, 2022. <https://wanderingindisney.com/2021/03/01/disneyland-and-jazz/>.
- Warde, Alan, David Wright, and Modesto Gayo-Cal. 2007. "Understanding Cultural Omnivorousness: Or, the Myth of the Cultural Omnivore." *Cultural Sociology* 1 (2): 143–63.
- Watanabe-O'Keilly, Helen. 2014. "'True and Historical Descriptions'? European Festivals and the Printed Record." In *The Dynastic Centre and the Provinces: Agents and Interactions*, edited by Jeroen Frans Josef Duindam and Sabine Dabringhaus. Boston, MA: Brill, 150–159.
- Waxer, Lise. 1994. "Of Mambo Kings and Songs of Love: Dance Music in Havana and New York from the 1930s to the 1950s." *Latin American Music Review* 15 (2): 139–76.

- WBRZ. April 1, 2020. "NOLA's Krewe of Zulu Deals with Heartbreaking Effects of Virus Following Mardi Gras." Accessed February 18, 2021. <https://www.wbrz.com/news/nola-s-krewe-of-zulu-deals-with-heartbreaking-effects-of-virus-following-mardi-gras/>
- Wearing, Stephen L., and Carmel Foley. 2017. "Understanding the Tourist Experience of Cities." *Annals of Tourism Research* 65: 97–107.
- Weaver, David. 2011. "Contemporary Tourism Heritage as Heritage Tourism: Evidence from Las Vegas and Gold Coast." *Annals of Tourism Research* 38: 249–267.
- Wein, George. 2014. "Oral History: George Wein 4/29/2014. New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Archive. Audio Recording.
- Welch, Michael Patrick, and Brian Boyles. 2018. *New Orleans: The Underground Guide*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Wenders, Wim, and Lucy Walker, directors. 1999. *The Buena Vista Social Club*. Arte; Instituto Cubano del Arte e Industria Cinematográficos; Kintop Pictures; Road Movies; Filmproduktion; Wim Wenders Stiftung, 105 minutes.
- West-Durán, Alan. 2004. "Rap's Diasporic Dialogues: Cuba's Redefinition of Blackness." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 16 (1):4–39.
- Westgate, J. Chris. 2014. *Staging the Slums, Slumming the Stage: Class, Poverty, Ethnicity, and Sexuality in American Theatre, 1890–1916*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Willhardt, Mark and Joel Stein. 1999. "Dr. Funkenstein's Supergroovalisticprosifunkstication." In *Reading Rock and Roll: Authenticity, Appropriation, Aesthetics*, edited by Kevin J. H. Dettmar and William Richey. New York: Columbia University Press, 145–72.
- Witzleben, J. Lawrence. 1997. "Whose Ethnomusicology? Western Ethnomusicology and the Study of Asian Music." *Ethnomusicology* 41 (2): 220–242.
- Wong, Jehn-Yih, Lee, Shu-Ju, and Lee, Wen-Hwa. 2016. "Does it really affect me? Tourism Destination Narratives, Destination Image, and the Intention to Visit: Examining the Moderating Effect of Narrative Transportation." *International Journal of Tourism Research* 18: 458–468.
- Woon, Basil. 1928. *When It's Cocktail Time in Cuba*. New York, NY: Horace Liveright.
- Wright, Leigh. 2020. *Local Life: New Orleans*. New Orleans: Pelican Publishing.
- Wu, Hung-Che and Chi-Han Ai. 2016. "A Study of Festival Switching Intentions, Festival Satisfaction, Festival Image, Festival Affective Impacts, and Festival Quality." *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 16 (4): 359–394.

- Wunderlich, Annelise. 2005. "Hip Hop Pushes the Limits." In *Capitalism, God, and a Good Cigar: Cuba Enters the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Lydia Chavez. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 65–77.
- Wyndham, Marivic and Peter Read. 2003. "Buena Vista Social Club: Local Meets Global and Lives Happily Ever After." *Cultural Geographies* 10: 498–503.
- Xiao, Fang, Juwen Zhang and Bill Long. 2017. "The Predicament, Revitalization, and Future of Traditional Chinese Festivals." *Western Folklore* 76 (2): 181–196.
- Yaczo, Timothy. 2013. "¿Y Tú, Qué Has Hecho De Mis Ritmos? The Buena Vista Social Club and the Repeating Island." *Thamyris/Intersecting* 26: 27–42.
- Yano, Christine R. 2003. *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- _____. 2015. "Plucking Paradise: Hawaiian 'Ukulele Performance in Japan." *Japanese Studies* 3 (3): 317–330.

Appendix: Excerpts from the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival Program, 1972.

The program shows the range of genres represented at different venues in the city.



1972



Schedule of Events

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Wednesday, April 26 - Steamer President - 8 P.M.

JAZZ ON THE RIVER

THE WORLD'S GREATEST JAZZ BAND

PAPA FRENCH & THE ORIGINAL TUXEDO ORCHESTRA

Thursday, April 27 - International Room - Fairmont Roosevelt Hotel - 8 P.M.

INTERNATIONAL JAZZ CABARET

PRESERVATION HALL JAZZ BAND
ROOSEVELT SYKES
GEORGE FINOLA SEXTET
ARMAND HUG, RAYMOND BURKE
WALLACE DAVENPORT
STORYVILLE JAZZ BAND

Friday, April 28 - Main Ballroom - Jung Hotel - 8 P.M.

JAZZ AT THE BALLROOM

RONNIE KOLE
WILD BILL DAVIDSON, BARNEY BIGARD
SWEET EMMA
PERCY HUMPHREY SEXTET
MURPHY CAMPO SEXTET

NEW ORLEANS RAGTIME ORCHESTRA
THE LOUIS COTTRELL ORCHESTRA
BOB GREENE - TRIBUTE TO JELLY ROLL

Saturday, April 29 - Municipal Auditorium - 8 P.M.

NIGHT OF STARS

NINA SIMONE
B.B. KING
GIANTS OF JAZZ
ART BLAKEY, DIZZY GILLESPIE, AL MCKIBBON, THELONIOUS MONK, SONNY STITT, KAI WINDING
JAM SESSION FEATURING
JIMMY SMITH, KENNY BURRELL & OTHERS
TUXEDO BRASS BAND
MARDI GRAS INDIANS

THE NEW ORLEANS JAZZ AND HERITAGE FOUNDATION is a non-profit organization dedicated to the celebration of the music of New Orleans and Louisiana which has been so instrumental in the growth and development of American music. The profits, if any, will be used to preserve and nurture the musical community of New Orleans.

The officers and directors of the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Foundation wish to gratefully acknowledge the Miller Brewing Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin and the other underwriters whose contributions have made this festival possible.

Schedule of Events

MUSIC

Jazz:

Olympia, Eureka, & Tuxedo Brass Bands, Lou Sino & the Bengals, James Rivers, Porgy Jones, Kid Sheik, Fairview Christian Marching Band, Santo Pecora, Tony Fougerat, Al Belletto Quartet, Southern University (B.R.) Jazz Band

Blues:

Roosevelt Sykes, Fred McDowell, Robert Pete Williams, Clifton Chenier, Babe Stovall, Percy Randolph, Silas Hogan's Baton Rouge Blues Band featuring Guitar Kelly, Big Joe Williams

Soul:

Willie Tee and the Gators, Professor Longhair, Snooks Eaglin, Margie Joseph, Deacon John

Country/Cajun:

Meyers Bros. Bluegrass Boys, Allen Fontenet & the Country Cajuns, Hubert Davis and the Season Travelers, The All-Star Mamou Cajun Band

Gospel:

Zion Harmonizers, Gospel Inspirations, Anne Pavageau and Choir, Ott Singers, Youth Inspirational Choir, Sister Gertrude Morgan, New Orleans Spiritualettes, Macedonia Male Choir

Other:

Mardi Gras Indians, Bongo Joe, Othar Turner & The Ridding Stars

Special Guest Appearances At Heritage Fair

Friday: Jimmy Smith

Saturday: B.B. King

Sunday: Giants of Jazz

FOOD

Red Beans & Hot Sausage - Buster Holmes Restaurant
Boiled Crawfish - Broadview Seafood Company

Po-Boys - Vaucresson's Cafe Creole
Oysters on 1/2 shell - La. Oyster Festival, Galliano
Hot Tamales - Manuel's Hot Tamales
Muffellatas - Sir Thomas Catering
Fried Chicken - Second Mount Triumph Missionary Baptist Church
Italian Ice Cream - Angelo Brocato's
Greek Foods and Pastry - Greek Ladies Philotochos Society
Miller's Beer, Hot Dogs and Soft Drinks - Fair Grounds Catering
Jambalaya - Gonzales Jambalaya Festival
Gumbo & Stuffed Peppers - Chez Helene
Shrimp Potpourri - Don's Seafood Co. & Ponsaa's Mid-City Restaurant
Shrimp Sauce
Picante-Larry's Villa
Natural Foods and Juices - Jerusalem Gardens
Soybean Food Samples - La. Soybean Festival, Jonesville, La.
Pralines - Claudia and Jeanne Dumestre
Sno-Balls - Sir Thomas Catering

CRAFTS AND DISPLAYS

Jazz Records and Books - The Shell Game & All That Jazz
Jazz Photographs - John Donnels
Jazz History - New Orleans Jazz Museum
La. Indian Crafts - Claude Medford and the Koasati Indians
Oyster Industry Display - La. Oyster Festival
Shirts, Leather Clothes - Mignon Faget
Toys, Dolls, Books - Friends of the Cabildo
Jewelry - Michael Curtis
Portraits - Genesis Gallery
Varied Crafts - Brass Roots Crafts Co-op
Kites - The Kite Shop
Candles - Maurice Robinson, Roger Boyd
Leather Work - Tom Ingram
Varied Crafts - Alternatives
Robes, Kaftans-Cruz Sanchez
Glass Work - Barber Shop Gallery
Flowers - Jo Anne Cleavenger

Special Guests of Heritage Fair

Friday - Gov.-elect Edwin Edwards
Saturday - Former Gov. Jimmie Davis
Sunday - Mayor Moon Landrieu

JAZZ ON THE RIVER

Wednesday April 26th

The Mississippi and the famous side and stern wheelers that migrated up the mighty river helped build the legends of New Orleans jazz. Musicians such as Louis Armstrong, A.J. Piron, Johnny St. Cyr, Fate Marable, Johnny Dodds and Pops Foster played on the "S.S. Sidney", "The S.S. New Camelia" and the "S.S. Capitol". Many of the older jazzmen recall excursions on Lake Pontchartrain from West End to Mandeville. This romantic tradition is remembered on Wednesday, April 26th when the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival begins with an evening cruise on the sidewheeler "Steamer President".

The featured bands will be "The World's Greatest Jazz Band" and "Albert French's Original Tuxedo Orchestra", featuring the fiery blues vocals of Blanche Thomas.

"The World's Greatest Jazz Band" was organized through the efforts of Mobile born Richards D. Gibson. The nucleus of this band was formed in Aspen around 1953.

The bass player, Bobbie Haggart and Yank Lawson the trumpet player are the leaders. They worked with the Bob Crosby Bearcats of the thirties. Haggart is the composer of such memorable tunes as "Big Noise from Winnetka" and "South Rampart Street Parade". Trumpeter Billy Butterfield's dynamic solo on Artie Shaw's version of "Stardust" proved him to be one of the best trumpet players in jazz history. Ralph Sutton does the piano work and is considered to be today's foremost exponent of the stride piano styling of Fats Waller and

James P. Johnson. Other members of the WGJB include Bob Wilbur on soprano sax and clarinet, Bud Freeman on sax, Vic Dickenson and Eddie Hubbell on trombones and Gus Johnson on drums.

They had the honor of playing at President Nixon's Inaugural Ball and were the toast of New York when they opened in the "Riverboat", a nightclub in the Empire State Building in the fall of 1968.

The New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival is most fortunate to have such a "great" and experienced group to start the 1972 celebration.

The Original Tuxedo Orchestra was born in the Tuxedo Dance Hall in 1910. The band broke up during the depression but after the second World War reappeared under the leadership of Oscar "Papa" Celestin. He hired Albert French to head another group to help handle all their engagements but because French became so popular, Celestin put him back into his group to protect himself.

After Celestin's death in 1954, Eddie Pier-son became leader and soon after, Albert French took over. The band now is composed of Jack Willis, tpt.; Joseph "Cornbread" Thomas, cl.; Homer Eugene, tb.; Jeanette Kimball, p.; Frank Fields, bass; Louis Barbarin, drums and "Papa" French on banjo. The band can be heard regularly at Heritage Hall on Bourbon Street.

INTERNATIONAL JAZZ CABARET

THURSDAY APRIL 27th

International Room of the Fairmont-Roosevelt Hotel

When New Orleans Jazz was born, the idea of a "concert" was unimaginable. It was in the steamy, seamy downtown cabarets that people were juking to the sound of the new combos. Wine, women and song were the order of the day in this "informal" atmosphere where the party never stopped and one band followed another. In keeping with our feeling for the Jazz Heritage that is New Orleans, Thursday and Friday night at the New Orleans Jazz Festival, we afford the opportunity to again enjoy our native music in the original cabaret style.

On Thursday night "International Jazz Cabaret" opens at 8:00 in the International Ballroom of the Roosevelt Hotel. The evening begins with the music of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band. The leader of the Preservation Hall Jazz Band is Percy Humphrey. Percy studied trumpet under his grandfather, James Humphrey, an early jazz "professor". He has been in the Eureka Brass Band since 1935 and has been leader since the second World War. His dance band which plays regularly at Preservation Hall is composed of six of the cities' finest musicians including Paul Barnes, cl.; Chester Zardis, bass; Clement Tervelon, tb.; Sing Miller, p.; Narvin Kimball, bj.; and Dave Oxley, drums.

One of the highlights of this evening will be the presence of pianist Roosevelt Sykes-the Honeydrinker. Sykes is one of the most popular blues musicians in the world and tours Europe regularly when he is not playing concerts at universities throughout the country. His classic composition "The Night Time Is The Right Time", as well as many of his other hits have made him a living legend. Roosevelt worked in Chicago for thirty years but moved back to New Orleans in 1968. He has been featured at the Heritage Fair for the past three years.

George Finola is one of the youngest exponents of traditional jazz, but it was not until 1961 that he started teaching himself the cornet. His style is unique and brilliant as is the group he leads which plays nightly at the Maison Bourbon.

Banjo player, Danny Barker is the star of this group. The multitalented Mr. Barker comes from a family of jazz musicians. He began playing professionally at the age of fifteen and migrated to the north to New York playing with Cab Calloway. He appeared in two feature films with Calloway and has been on many television shows. He is well known as a raconteur and is a prolific writer. He has

contributed to many books on jazz and was Assistant Director of the New Orleans Jazz Museum. Other members of the band include Manuel Crusto on clarinet, Frank Moliere, piano and Worthia "Showboy" Thomas on trombone. Armand Hug's first job was at the Fern Taxi Dance Hall on Iberville and Burgundy. He was paid a dollar a night. When he became well known his employment branched out and he played at an open-air dance pavillion and at all day picnics at Milneburg. Mr. Hug has been in New Orleans throughout his career and has played nearly every major night spot in New Orleans. He will be joined on Thursday night's program by one of New Orleans' most creative jazz artists', Raymond Burke.

Burke made his own instruments and played on the streets in spasm bands from the time he was a child. His style is an expression of accumulated experience right in the middle of New Orleans jazz development. Both he and Armand Hug demonstrate a quality of genius which sets them apart.

Wallace Davenport says that Louis Armstrong is the first sound he remembers hearing. The two main influences on his music are Armstrong and Miles Davis. He and his band perform at the Paddock Lounge and are one of the hottest bands in the city. Davenport has had experience in all types of jazz having played with nearly all local brass bands, Alphonse Picou and Papa Celestin followed by 15 years with Lloyd Price, Lionel Hampton and Count Basie. His drummer, Ernest Elly was in the Air Force Band and played with Ray Charles for three years. When Elly moved back to New Orleans a short while ago he contacted his friend Wallace who turned him on to traditional jazz by playing records of Paul Barbarin and Baby Dodds. Other members of Wallace's band include Lars Edegran, p.; Curtis Mitchell, bass and Jimmy Niehaus, clarinet. Wallace was featured at the 1971 Manassas Festival in Virginia where he recorded a long awaited album, "Darkness on the Delta".

The Storyville Jazz Band is composed of Ellis Marsalis, on piano, Bob French, drums, and leader George French, bass and vocals, Teddy Riley, trumpet and Otis Bazoon, Cl. Ellis is a pioneer of contemporary jazz in New Orleans and is presently the professor of jazz history at Xavier University. Bob and George French are the sons of Albert. Bob played for his father before starting his own group. George has provided the bass lines on many recording sessions and is a superb vocalist.

Jazz at the Ballroom Friday April 28th

THIS EVENINGS' PROGRAM IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF JOSEPH SHARKEY BONANO

The cabaret style concert at the beautiful ballroom of the Jung Hotel on Friday night is highlighted by appearances by Wild Bill Davison and one of New Orleans' most illustrious sons, Barney Bigard.

Clarinetist Albany Leon Bigard is from one of the oldest Creole families in the city. He was tutored at an early age by the Tio family and Johnny Dodds. Buddy Petit led the first big-time New Orleans band in which he played. When Joe "King" Oliver began recruiting sidemen for his opening at the Royal Garden, he was referred to Barney, who went to Chicago in 1924. In 1928 he was induced to join Duke Ellington's band where he remained until 1942. He joined Louis Armstrong's All Stars in 1946 and stayed until 1955 when he went to Los Angeles to lead his own combo. As a young man in New Orleans his unusual tones earned him the nickname "the Snake Charmer". His unique style became one of the instantly identifying features of the Ellington band during his fourteen year tenure.

Wild Bill Davison began playing the banjo and mellophone in high school in Ohio. He made his recording debut on cornet in 1924 and went to Chicago in 1927 to play with theater bands. Following this period he led his own bands in Milwaukee for ten years. Davison has what critic John S. Wilson has called "the cockiest, sassiest, even blowsiest trumpet style in jazz".

"Sweet Emma" Barrett is a New Orleans tradition. She began her musical career in the 1920's when girl pianists were the rage with Black orchestras. She was so young when she began her professional career that Oscar Celestin had to get permission from her mother to let Emma play in his band, which she became a regular member of in 1923. She played on the steamers "Sidney" and "Capitol" and it was on one of these dates that she was privileged to play along with Louis Armstrong.

Emma will perform with members of the Percy Humphrey Orchestra, which includes Paul "Polo" Barnes, cl. and sax, who once toured with King Oliver. Barnes kept a diary of his years with Oliver which is an important jazz document. The drummer, Dave Oxley, who once toured with Bessie Smith, is well known for his dramatic rendition of "St. James Infirmary". Narvin Kimball, banjo player, led his own band which played at Dixieland Hall in the 1960's. Bassman, Chester Zardis worked with such outstanding bandleaders as George Lewis, Chris Kelly, Kid Rena and Kid Howard. Trombonist Clement Tervelon works with the Young Tuxedo Brass Band and led his own band in the sixties.

Murphy Campo was born in New Orleans and started playing trumpet in grade school. He received his only formal training while attending Holy Cross High School. He played with Santo Pecora before going on his own in 1957. His troupe which appears at the Famous Door, includes Al Herman, tb.; Pete Monteleon, p.; Arthur Seelig, bass; Milton Zschiedrich, drums; and Oscar Davis on sax and clarinet.

The New Orleans Ragtime Orchestra could be called the most unusual orchestra in the city. The band was formed in 1967 under the leadership of a gifted young Swedish pianist, Lars Ivar Edegran. The music this orchestra produces comes directly from the early written orchestrations of ragtime and popular compositions. The John Robichaux Orchestra, one of the early dance bands which played these arrangements, was one of the most continuously active bands in New Orleans history. Robichaux's nephew and namesake is the drummer in this group. Orange Kellin, another young Swedish man plays clarinet. The very capable bass player is Frank Fields. Lionel Ferbos is on cornet and Paul Crawford of the Crawford-Ferguson Nightowls and the Olympia Brass Band plays trombone. The most charming instrument in the orchestra, though, is the violin which is mastered by jazz historian and collector, William Russell.

Clarinetist Louis Cottrell began his musical career at the age of fourteen with "The Original Golden Rule Band". He studied under Lorenzo Tio and Barney Bigard and toured with the Don Albert Orchestra from 1929 to 30. Louis and his Dixieland Band which included most of the men in this current group toured Vietnam for the State Department in 1967. He performed with the Onward Brass Band at the Newport Jazz Festival in 1968 and at Carnegie Hall in 1970. He is currently working at Economy Hall with Alvin Alcorn on trumpet, Walter Lewis on piano, Waldren Joseph on trombone, Placide Adams on bass and Louis Barbarin on drums.

Bob Greene is not a professional musician but he sure can make a piano sing. A resident of Alexandria, Virginia, Bob frequently comes down to New Orleans to sit in with the Preservation Hall Bands. Bob played a selection of Jelly Roll Morton's songs in Jelly's style at the 1969 New Orleans Jazzfest that was critically acclaimed as the highlight of the show. Bob has been invited back this year and will again play his tribute to Jelly Roll.

Chicago born Ronnie Kole came to New Orleans at the suggestion of his friend Al Hirt. Kole and his group played Hirt's club in 1963 and were so well received they have made New Orleans their home.

The Night of Stars

NINA SIMONE

On stage, Nina Simone is regarded as an "experience" as well as an act. She has the awareness and ability to evoke strong emotions from her listeners; to build her music on those emotions, and to feed them back again into the crowd. Press reviewers invariably make particular note of her "spell-binding" effect on audiences. No Nina Simone performance is the same as anyone preceding it, and whether you like her or not, you can never sit back and be indifferent to her. Both fan and foe alike—she has many of each—seem to sense the magnitude of this dynamic woman's presence. It is not surprising that audiences have labeled her with a string of epithets varying all the way from "witch" to "avenging angel."

Although Nina's 1959 recording of "I Loves You Porgy" is considered a classic jazz piece, it would be inaccurate to categorize her singing as strictly Jazz. She sings in the jazz, pop, folk, and gospel idioms with equal brilliance. Her keyboard ability also displays a

rare extent of musical breadth, ranging from the studied discipline of a concert pianist to the improvisational and imaginative scope of a jazz musician.

At the age of four, Nina was playing piano by ear; at seven she was also playing organ. A few years later she began to study classical piano. After graduating as valedictorian of her high school class, she studied at the Julliard School of Music and at the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia. In the summer of 1954, Nina took her first nightclub job because she needed the \$90 dollars a week it paid. As she began to play, Nina was informed that she also was required to sing. She had never sung in her life, but she improvised and was a success.

Tonight Nina will be backed by the following musicians—Don Pullen; Organ, Leopoldo Fleming, Nadi Quamar, Warren Benbow; Percussion.





Photo: Glen Craig

B.B. KING

"if Nat Cole could sing in nightclubs and be a great popular singer; if Frank Sinatra could sing his songs and be a great person; if Mahalia Jackson could sing spirituals and be great — why couldn't I be a blues singer and be great" asked B.B. King some years ago.

The general public has finally realized what blues fans and musicians have known for years — that B.B. King, the "Blues Boy from Beale Street," is truly a great musician and vocalist. With his guitar, "Lucille" tenderly cradled in his hands and his powerful anguished voice, B.B. toured the "chittlin' circuit" of small black clubs and halls playing one-nighters for over twenty years. Only in the past several years has B.B. been playing the major entertainment tours, festivals, and auditoriums but by now he has played them all.

Even though B.B. King has achieved the star status he has always deserved, he still thinks nothing of playing in 40 cities in 40 days, resting for 4 or 5 days and heading out for 40 more cities.

The man loves to play the blues. He knows the blues.

Watch and listen as B.B. carresses Lucille, coaxing her to wail, picking her clear, crisp, and clean, urging her to tell his story. He talks to Lucille and she talks to him-- and for him.

B.B., of course, can also talk for himself. His vocals from the early "3 o'Clock Jump," "Sweet Sixteen," and "Everyday I have the Blues," through "Rock Me Baby" and "The Thrill is Gone," to those on his latest album "L.A. Midnight" attest to B.B.'s virtuosity as a singer.

He is the king or, as they say, "Can't nobody play and sing the blues like B.B. King."

Accompanying B.B. is Sonny Freeman; Dr, Wilbert Freeman; bass, Joseph Burton; Tb, Bobby Forte; Ts, Louis Hubert; Bs, and New Orleans resident and jazzman Earl Turbinton on Alto and Soprano Sax.

The Giants of Jazz



We are indeed fortunate and proud to present the first United States appearance of a group of musicians that truly could be called nothing but the Giants of Jazz.

George Wein, producer of the Newport and New Orleans Jazz Festivals, was the inspiration behind the organizing of the Giants. "I felt the Giants were necessary to jazz at this time," said Wein. "Having Gillespie, Monk, Blakey, and the others work together will focus the attention of the entire world on what a great music jazz is. Great artists like the Giants, working together can only produce great music."

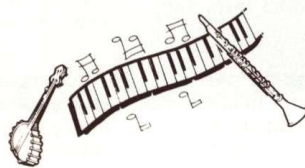
Recently, the Giants went on a world tour that included Australia, Japan, Israel and most of Europe on both sides of the Iron Curtain. At each performance, the individual and combined brilliance of the Giants staggered the audience. Jazz fans and writers were left with the feeling that they had either seen music history being created or had been dreaming their wildest fantasies.

Along with the late Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie and Thelonious Monk were the founders of the movement in the 1940's that completely changed the course of jazz and for that matter all related music. Monk was the high priest, the creator who laid the foundation upon which the incredible improvisations of Gillespie shocked the generations of musicians who had been influenced by Louis Armstrong. The drummer was no longer simply a time keeper. His creativity became an integral part of the melodic improvising of the entire group. Art Blakey, with roots deep in Jazz history, having played with Fletcher Henderson in 1939, created his own style that influenced thousands of drummers.

Kai Winding was born in Denmark. He first achieved fame and won polls as featured trombone player with Stan Kenton's orchestra. Later he teamed with J.J. Johnson in the world renowned J & K Trombone Quintet.

Sonny Stitt is perhaps the greatest of the alto saxophonists to follow in the footsteps of Charlie Parker. Equally proficient on alto and tenor, Sonny personifies the meaning of the word swing in jazz.

Al McKibbin, bassist, played from 1948 to 1949 with Dizzy Gillespie when that group was showing the way to young musicians in America. He also played for seven years with the George Shearing Quintet.



Jam Session

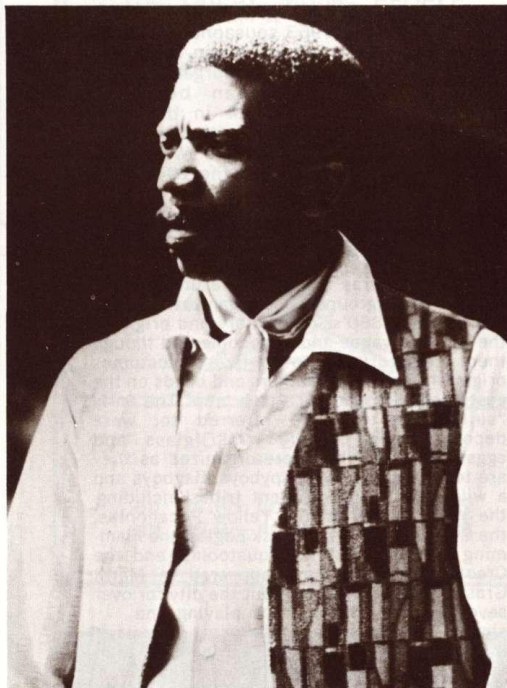
Two renowned Jazz musicians, organist Jimmy Smith and guitarist Kenny Burrell, will form a solid nucleus of talent to start off Saturday Night's Jam Session. As they begin to cook, to feel each other's vibration, they are liable to go off in almost any direction, pursuing any tangent. Each has the technical skill, the improvisational creativity and the artistic sensitivity to compliment the other. Together they build a groove which is then used as a base from which each can travel independently. A musician in a jam session is affected by every other musician present but each plays what he wants; whatever he feels. Having played together intermittently for many years Jimmy and Kenny know each other's styles, likes, dislikes and idiosyncracies. Kenny was the guitar player on Jimmy's famous "Midnight Special" album released in 1961 among others.

To simply say that Jimmy Smith is the best Jazz organist in the world would be doing him a disservice because it was Jimmy who introduced the Jazz world to the huge Hammond organ. There had been previous jazz exponents of the Hammond, but none had exposed its' true potential; none had Jimmy's expertise. Without Jimmy Smith, the organ might never have risen to prominence as a great jazz instrument.

When Jimmy and his Hammond first burst upon the scene, it was evident that he was advanced far beyond other organ players. Early in his career, Jimmy became "The Incredible Jimmy Smith". As his fame grew, keyboard men flocked to him wanting to find the answers to the mastery of the Hammond. Jimmy helped them willingly. He was not a selfish man.

Today Jimmy is an established star, an acknowledged grand master of Jazz and his attitude towards helping young musicians remains unchanged. Jimmy dreams of having a school to teach music fundamentals to future generations of Jazz Greats.

Kenneth "Kenny" Earle Burrell, a soft-spoken gentleman is acclaimed by musicians and critics alike as a master of the jazz guitar. Kenny began his career as a guitar student while in high school. He worked locally in his



Jimmy Smith

Photo Ronald Page

native Detroit until his graduation from Wayne State University.

In 1955 he joined and toured with the famous Oscar Peterson Trio. Later, while he was working on a master's degree, he returned to the music world as a leader of his own group. He also played with Benny Goodman, Sammy David, Jr., Tony Bennett and of course, Jimmy Smith.

Twice winner of the Downbeat International Critics Poll, Kenny Burrell has established himself as a premier talent among guitarists both on the stage and in the recording studio.

With so many musicians in town for the Jazz Festival, the stage should be well supplied with Jazz greats of all styles who will take part in the jam.

The Young Tuxedo Brass Band

The Young Tuxedo Brass Band was founded by clarinetist John Casimir in the mid 1930's. After his death in 1963 sousaphonist Wilbert Tillman took over. When Tillman became ill, the current leader Andrew Morgan assumed his post. Andrew Morgan began his professional career in 1924 in the Young Superior Band. He worked with his brother Sam during the twenties, the WPA Brass Band, ERA Orchestra and in the 1940's with

Kid Rena at the Brown Derby.

Members of the Young Tuxedo Brass Band include on trumpets, Albert "Fernandez" Walters, Clive Wilson and Reginald Koeller. On trombone, Frank Naundorf, Walter Peyton, bass, Emile Knox, bass drum, Lawrence Trotter, snare, Herman Sherman, alto sax, Morgan on tenor sax and the Grand Marshal is Darrell Johnson.

The Mardi Gras Indians

The Mardi Gras Indians are a unique New Orleans black group whose organization dates back to the 1880's. The history and origin of the group is vague and undocumented though there are theories as to the type of costumes originally worn. The feathers and beads on the costumes today are relatively new. The early "suits", as they are referred to, were decorated with bottle caps, glass and eggshells. The tribes were organized as they are today, with a chief, spyboys, flagboys and a wildman. Many different tribes including the Wild Magnolias, the Yellow Pocahontas, the Golden Eagles, the Black Eagles, the Flaming Arrows, the Wild Squatoolas, and the Creole Wild West have appeared in Mardi Gras celebrations throughout the city for over seventy years. Tambourine playing and singing and dancing are a foremost interest at the Indian "practices" that are held on Sunday evenings for months before Mardi Gras. The songs, accompanied by tambourines, cowbells, and various other percussion instruments, are patterned after African songs of call and response. The rhythms reflect a rich blend of the African, Caribbean and French Heritage. The lyrics sung by the lead singer are sometimes, but not always, improvised. Each singer has his own lyrics to a particular song. The lyrics describe his life as an Indian, the members of his tribe, experiences such as poor treatment in prisons and being separated from his tribe. There is an "Indian language" of terms used to describe their rituals and other aspects of Indian life. The Creole Wild West, an early tribe no longer in existence, incorporated French phrases into tribal songs. These phrases are still popular today and are frequently heard, though the meaning may not be even close to the original French. The response line is the same throughout the song. The title of the song is the response line. Some of the titles of an Indian's traditional repertoire include, "My Big Chief's Got A Golden Crown", "Haiko, Kaiko", "To Way Pakaway", "My Indian Red"-the Indian prayer, "Oo Na Nay", "Corrine Died On The Battlefield".

The suits which are designed and made by the men who wear them are decorated with beaded pictures of Indian heroes, wild animals, birds, flowers and geometrical designs. Glass beads are used along with sequins, velvet,

rhinestones, mirabou, lace and ribbon. The suits are worn Mardi Gras day, St. Joseph's Night and then are dismantled. The beadwork pictures or "patches" are left intact to be included on a future costume.

During the practices and on the street Mardi Gras day the Indians dance in a fashion not unlike types of African dancing. Usually two men dance together, bending their knees, swaying from foot to foot while turning in a circular motion. The arms are held outstretched and there is much ballyhooing. When the men are in costume this dancing is very effective for showing off the costume. Mardi Gras day when a member of one tribe meets another, a dance such as this is done as a greeting. In the past when the tribes met there might be some bloodshed, nowadays the meetings are peaceful. The area in back of City Hall to Perdido from Claiborne to Galvez is where most of the fights would talktake place. This area was known as "the battlefield", thus the song "Corrine Died On The Battlefield" came about. Throughout the Caribbean, Indian costumes of the style of the American Indian can be found. None of these costumes can compare with the work of the hundreds of black men of New Orleans who mask as Mardi Gras Indians. The Indians are a thriving organization and an asset to the heritage of New Orleans.

Bo Dollis and the Mardi Gras Indian band emerged as a musical force in the black community of New Orleans two years ago with their recording of "Handa Wanda", an authentic tribal Mardi Gras Indian song composed by Bo Dollis, Chief of the Wild Magnolias, accompanied by the New Orleans soul piano genius of Willie Tee and an all star group of New Orleans soul musicians. Since then, the group, consisting of Monk Boudreau, Chief of the Golden Eagles, his spy boys, James "Alligato r June" and Johnny Tobah; Bubba, Crip and Gate, has played dances in the I.L.A. Auditorium and a concert at Tulane University which became a dance by the evenings end.

The tribal ritual of a Mardi Gras Indians' performance is unique in terms of beauty and power. The group's music is an indigenous form of Afro-Caribbean-Funk and together with Willie Tee's group, "The Gatur's" spans the range of contemporary improvisational jazz as well.

Louisiana Heritage Fair

The Fair Ground — April 28, 29, 30 — Noon to 6 PM

The Louisiana Heritage Fair, though conceived three years ago by producer George Wein, has its precedent some twenty years ago when the first Newport Folk Festival was created as a living exhibition of native American crafts and music. Here in Louisiana, however, the tradition of getting together at the Fair Grounds for such a celebration is over one hundred and fifty years old. It was in 1815 that the first Louisiana Agricultural and Mechanical Exposition took place on the very grounds which the 1972 Louisiana Heritage Fair is found.

The Fair Grounds, in operation since 1872, took its name from these celebrations, and it is a great pleasure to renew the tradition once more, again the Fair Grounds is a fairgrounds! It is our hope that the fair will expose and promote the unique culture of the people of Louisiana to the multitude of jazz fans, newsmen and vacationers from throughout the United States and the world who migrate here each spring to attend the New Orleans Jazz Festival. Native Louisianians and visitors alike share the opportunity to enjoy the music, crafts and food for which our state is justly famous.

FOOD

Mr. Upton Diez and Mr. Ed Braud, past and present world champion Jambalaya chefs from Gonzales, Louisiana, Jambalaya capital of the world, will be cooking hundreds of gallons of their specialty in giant cast-iron kettles over open wood fires. The Louisiana Oyster Festival in Galliano is providing oysters on the half shell, and Broadview Seafood Co., only three blocks from the Fair Grounds, will be serving up three pound sacks of freshly boiled crayfish. Don's Seafood rounds out the seafood selection with boiled crabs, shrimp and crab croquettes. A veteran of the Newport Jazz Festival and Berkeley Folk Festival, Buster Holmes' reputation as the king of red beans and rice and hot sausage, which he earned here in New Orleans, is now going nationwide, and he'll be serving them hot at the Louisiana Heritage Fair.

Chez Helene, one of the most famous black restaurants in New Orleans, will treat festival goers to gumbo and stuffed peppers. From the Second Mount Triumph Missionary Baptist Church comes fried chicken and potato salad. Starting with one push cart near Carrollton and Canal, Manuel and his hot tamales became a New Orleans favorite, and his large kitchens will be turning out his "hot" and "very hot" specialties.

Two of New Orleans' classic sandwich meals, the poor boy and the Muffaletta, will be represented. Vaucresson's Cafe Creole is serving po-boys, and Sir Thomas Catering is preparing the unique blend of spice meats, cheeses, olive salad, and a large round bun, known as the Muffaletta.

Representing one of the state's important products, the Louisiana Soybean Festival in Jonesville, will be giving out free samples of various soybean food products. Once a month Larry Dallas, proprietor of Larry's Villa, hosts a Sauce Piquant party where he gives out servings of his own favorite food specialty. This month Larry's party is at the Fairground.

For dessert you can choose what flavor syrup you want on your sno-ball: a cup of finely crushed ice that is a necessity in every neighborhood over the long hot summer. Or have a slice of Angelo Brocato's Italian Spumone Ice Cream, which he has been making since 1905.

The Greek Lady's Philotochos Society, an organization of the only Greek Orthodox Church in New Orleans is preparing pastry recipes from the old country, along with ouzo, a traditional form of Greek liquor. Claudia and Jeanne Dumestre, the two young ladies roaming the grounds in long calico dresses and sun bonnets will have home-made pecan rhines.

The Fair Grounds Catering Service, directed by George Rhode, is providing the beer, soft drinks, peanuts, popcorn and cotton candy which are a necessity at any fair.

CRAFTS

Barbra Byrnes' shop "Shell Game and all That Jazz" will present a selection of jazz and blues recordings, reference and song books. John Dannels, an official U.S. Navy Combat Artist who was the proprietor of the Starving Artists Gallery, will show an exhibition of jazz photographs.

The New Orleans Jazz Museum, an affiliate of the New Orleans Jazz Club, has been a source of information to Crescent City visitors for over twenty years. This year the Louisiana Heritage Fair has donated them the use of a booth in which Justin Winston will prepare a New Orleans Jazz History Exhibit.

The Louisiana Oyster Festival from Galliano has a specially designed Oyster Industry Display. Mignon Fetgets' crafts include silver cast sand dollars and custom leather clothing. She has also designed a special Jazz Festival Tee Shirt. The Friends of the Cabildo have hand made dolls from throughout Louisiana, old time iron toys, and a large selection of Louisiana books, prints and maps. Michael Curtis is a silver and brass worker from Abita Springs; and the Brass Roots Co-op, also centered across the lake, is headed by Courtney Miller and produces jewelry, leather work and pottery.

The famous pastel portrait work of Jackson Square will be represented by the Genesis Gallery. Sally Fontana's Kite Shop will be flying their homemade and imported wares. Tom Ingram's leather crafts include moccasins, belts, hats and purses, while Maurice Robinson and Roger Boyd make multi-colored candles using driftwood.

Mary Crawford and Darlene Smith are co-owners of Alternatives, which contains a myriad of hand crafted items including painted velvet clothes, pottery and macrame. Mary is also making Olympia Brass Band Tee Shirts.

Cruz Sanchez has Middle Eastern style robes and caftans and Steve Hartnett creates Tiffanysque lampshades, aquariums, fountains, and wind-chimes from glass bottles. Jo Ann Clevenger is responsible for the brightly colored flower carts which rove the grounds.

The large and artistically talented Indian population of Louisiana will be represented by a delegation from Eunice headed by Claude Medford, Jr. The Tribes represented this year are the Tunica of Avoyelles Parish, the Houma from Terrebonne Parish, and the Choctaw and Kossati of Jefferson Davis Parish.

BRUCE BRICE

One of the most unusual aspects of the fair is the tent containing an exhibition of the work of the young black New Orleans painter, Bruce Brice. His wall-murals in the Tremé section of the city, where he grew up, depicting the vital jazz history of that area of the city are now local landmarks.

MUSIC

As the Heritage Fair is an integral part of the New Orleans Jazz Festival, its focal point is the musical heritage of Louisiana. Approximately thirty groups will perform each day on five stages around the site. The finest local and area Jazz bands, Cajun musicians from Mamou and Crown Point, Gospel Groups, blues singers and country and Bluegrass performers from the Old South Jamboree in Walker, La. makes this fair a one of a kind musical event.

SOUL

The anchor man of the Soul Music portion of the fair is the immortal Professor Longhair, who began his own style of piano playing in New Orleans in the late '30's which later came to be known as rock and roll. Joining the Professor is another legend in his own time, blind vocalist and guitarist Snooks Eaglin. Willie Tee and the Gators are one of New Orleans' most popular soul bands, playing Willie's own style of jazz/funk; also on the soul side is Deacon John and Duckbutter, led by the guitar of Deacon John and the drumming of New Orleans jazz great James Black. Margie Joseph has received national prestige for her first album release, and is backed up by the crescent cities own Twilight.

JAZZ

The Heritage Fair will showcase literally all forms of jazz music from traditional to contemporary. Al Belleto and his quartet, featured Friday and Saturday, are the host band in the New Orleans Playboy Club. Continuing in the Modern vein the Festival welcomes the Southern University (Baton Rouge) jazz combos, under the direction of premier jazz clarinetist Alvin Batiste.



Hubert Davis & The Season Travelers

Photo: Jules Cahn

Porgy Jones left New Orleans in 1959 as a trumpeter for Joe Tex and played the Soul Circuit with the Temptations, Jerry Butler, the Impressions and Otis Redding before settling into the New York jazz scene and playing with Horace Silver and Sonny Stitt among others.

Another native Orleanian who put in his roadwork years, is the talented, multi-instrumentalist, James Rivers. James has gained tremendous popularity performing on alto and tenor saxophones, flute, harmonica and occasionally, bagpipes.

In the more traditional jazz vein, the Heritage Fair is proud to present the maestro of the trombone, Santo Pecora, and his Tailgate Ramblers. He is now the popular master of ceremonies at Bourbon Street's Famous Door. George "Kid Sheik" Colar has led New Orleans jazz bands for years as well as being one of the anchor trumpets of the Olympia Brass Band. He and his Storyville Ramblers will be featured in the Fair on Sunday.

Tony Fougerat is one of the great white masters of the traditional style of jazz trumpet, and we are pleased to announce his classic performance on Friday. Lou Sino and his red hot trombone are now the feature attractions in the Royal Sonestas' Economy Hall.

Of course the heart of any New Orleans Jazz Celebration must come from the marching Brass Bands and the Louisiana Heritage Fair boasts three of the finest, the Eureka, the Olympia, and the Young Tuxedo, along with special guests, the Fairview Baptist Church Christian Band.

GOSPEL

New Orleans has long been recognized as the nation's foremost Gospel singing community and the Heritage Fair has been fortunate in being able to present some of the outstanding individuals and groups from that community. The popular Zion Harmonizers, a vocal sextet under the direction of Sherman Washington, is the longest standing professional gospel group in New Orleans. From the Morning Star Baptist Church in the French Quarter came Sister Anne Pavageau and her ladies choir. Sister Idell Williams and her street-corner caravan can be found somewhere on the fair grounds, as can the unique tabernacle of the preacher, healer, songster and self-taught religious painter, Sister Gertrude Morgan.

Elder Ott and the Ott Family Singers are a sanctified group from the west bank of the river. On Friday, for their first appearance in the Heritage Fair, is the all female quartet known as the New Orleans Spiritualettes. The Macedonia Male Choir are back for their second year in the Heritage Fair. They are under the direction of Mrs. Camille Hardy, the chairman of the city wide user's board.

The heritage of New Orleans Gospel music appears to be in good hands as it lives in the hearts of the spirited young people who comprise the Gospel Inspirations.

COUNTRY - CAJUN

Sylvia Sammons is a folk singer in the pure American Tradition. Her ballads date back to the eighteenth century. The Myers Brothers Bluegrass Band is the only original Louisiana bluegrass group in the state, and recorded in the fifties under the name of the Louisiana Honeydrippers, featuring Bucky Woods on fiddle, Lum York on bass, and V.J. and J.C. Myers on banjo and guitar and vocals, their same personnel today. Hubert Davis and the Season Travelers are from North Carolina, but have moved to our neck of the woods and currently appear at the Old South Jamboree in Walker, Louisiana. Hubert Davis (formerly with Bill Monroe) is on banjo, his wife Rubye on guitar and vocals Bill Fortenberry on guitar and lead vocals, Hubert and Rubye's daughter, Shelby Jean on bass and vocals, and brilliant dobro player, Mike Dikus.

A very special highlight of the Country Music portion of the Fair will be a guest appearance by ex-Governor Jimmy Davis on Saturday. An excellent country singer, Gov. Davis retains a noble spot in the all time American Music Hall of Fame for his composition of "You Are My Sunshine".

Allen Fontenot has had a fiddle for thirty three years now, and he and the Country Cajuns are from Southern Louisiana, where they play their exuberant brand of Cajun music.

Paul C. Tate of Manou, president of the Louisiana Folk Foundation, has arranged for his area's finest and most famous Acadian musicians to return to the Louisiana Heritage Fair. Members of the All Star Mamou Acadian Band

include Cyprien Landreneau, accordion; Adam Landreneau, fiddle and Revon Reed on triangle. Also to be featured are Nathan ABSHIRE AND THE Balifa Brothers; Isom Fontenot, Savy Augustine, Harrison Fontenot, Sady Courville and Bois Sec and Sons. These world famous musicians peak and sing in the remarkably well preserved French of the 16th century.

Born on a farm near Opelousas, Clifton Chenier is the most famous Zydeco musician in the world. With his brother Cleveland on rub board, his recordings and concerts have been immensely popular throughout Louisiana since the fifties.

BLUES

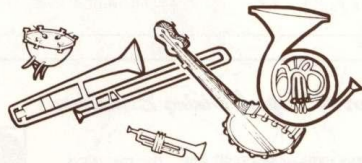
As there are different types of jazz, so too are there many forms of the blues. Robert Pete Williams is a self-taught Louisiana country bluesman from Rosedale, who now tours Europe and the United States regularly. Roosevelt Sykes, a renown blues and boggie pianist, vocalist, and composer since the twenties, has done numerous albums and tours. Babe Stovall is the resident blues minstrel of the French Quarter and Jackson Square, and his two finger picking style and steel bodied guitar are unique in the folk-blues world. Harmonica virtuoso Percy Randolph plays his own composition as well as jazz tunes, marches and Creole melodies.

Silas Hogan has played the blues around Baton Rouge since he was seventeen. He joined a trio featuring his friend, Guitar Kelly in 1966 and they have been together since.

AFRO—AMERICAN

Other Turner and the Ridding Stars are a unique Afro-American musical group, a country drum and cane fife Corps. Featuring Napoleon Strickland on fife, the group usually plays for large picnics. Another unique form of Afro-American folk culture will be found somewhere on the grounds in the person of "Bongo Joe". Originally from Florida, George Coleman and his fifty-five fallon oil drum instruments has traveled the South playing, whistling, and singing for people wherever they gather.

Perhaps the most unique form of Afro-American culture to be found in the Fair is the Mardi Gras Indians. They have blended their African heritage (seen and heard in their tambourine playing, singing, and dancing) with American Indian motifs of dress and the Caribbean feel of a Carnival organization.



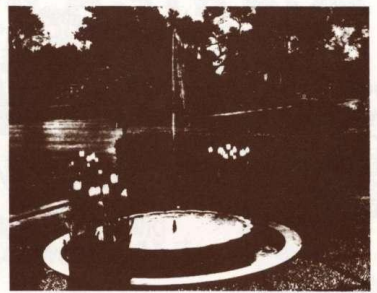
Alligator June

Photo: Mike Smith



Longue Vue Gardens

in historic New Orleans, Louisiana



One of the nation's exquisite estate gardens is now open to the public.

Longue Vue Gardens, located on the estate of Mrs. Edgar B. Stern within minutes of world-famous Canal Street in New Orleans, is an enchanting oasis of beauty in the heart of a busy city. Here enclosed Spanish courts display the charming features of Mediterranean gardens—soothing greenness, walls draped with vines, fountains that whisper enchantment, the fragrance of roses, jasmine, sweet olive and citrus trees, and the color of flowers used with artistry and restraint like "jewels on a dress" that change with the seasons. Here too are small intimate gardens that invite meditation—the Yellow Garden, the Portico Garden, with its stately tree roses and boxwood, and the Wild Garden, which features a pastoral wood and trees and shrubs native to the Gulf Coast.

Longue Vue, Hodges Gardens, Rosedown, Jungle Gardens and Rip Van Winkle are featured in a new film, "Great Gardens of Louisiana", a 16mm, 28-minute production in natural color.

For information on the film or group tours, write Longue Vue Gardens, 7 Bamboo Road, New Orleans, La. 70124