

**Black Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs:
Marching Associations in New Orleans**

by

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Preface

The activities of the Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs constitute a long-standing, vital, and colorful cultural tradition among the Black residents of New Orleans. The clubs produce annual parades and funeral marches that are occasions for community, group, and individual expression. Social and artistic connections tie these clubs to many other unique aspects of New Orleans' culture, including Mardi Gras Indians and brass bands. Though vital and active, the clubs are nonetheless threatened by a changing economic and municipal climate. New approaches between the city and the clubs are necessary in order to strengthen and preserve their significant cultural contribution to the community. These clubs and their activities have never been systematically documented and studied. This research project is an attempt to fill that gap and is an important step in rectifying this oversight.

The Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs are virtually unknown outside of the Black communities which sponsor their activities. Study and documentation of these associations will provide important data which may be used by the clubs, as well as by municipal and academic institutions involved in working with them, to plan and interpret their activities. In addition, the report's overall descriptive review of the Black Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs will provide a data base for the development of programs, activities, museum exhibits, publications and, most importantly, further research, so that these voluntary associations may be understood as integral elements of the folk-life of the city's Black communities.

William Jankowiak, the principal investigator, worked in both the Baltimore and Los Angeles Black communities: first as a VISTA volunteer, then as an inner-city junior high school teacher. Although primarily a China specialist, who has

conducted field research for 2 1/2 years in Inner Mongolia, he has maintained a strong interest in Afro-American culture. In 1987, after being appointed as an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Tulane University, he immediately began working closely with a number of graduate students and colleagues who have also been conducting research in the Black community. In January 1988, he taught a graduate seminar on ethnographic field methods. Stimulated and encouraged by that seminar, three graduate students (Elizabeth Mozzillo, Helen Regis, and Christina Bolke Turner) began investigating the culture of the Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs. During the early stages of the investigation, Elizabeth Mozzillo had to withdraw from the project, Jankowiak, Regis, and Turner continued with the project.

In the interest of interpretive clarity and rich documentation, data and observations obtained before August 1988 and after April 1989 -- the six months that Jean Lafitte National Park and Preserve had specifically contracted work -- have been included. Without Jean Lafitte's encouragement and financial support, we would not have been able to enlarge the scale of the investigation and the quality of the data would not have been so rich. Nor would we have been able to draw upon the background information of Michael P. Smith, the project's photographer and long-time booster of the social clubs. Keith Calhoun, a photographer and long-time folk ethnographer of the social clubs also contributed to the study. Our study was enriched by their knowledge, advice, and suggestions. Smith's ideas on how Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve may be able to assist the second-line clubs were especially helpful, and we have incorporated a number of his ideas in the last chapter. While Keith Calhoun offered valuable insights and interpretations of our data, he did not participate in the analytical discussions that form the text of the report, nor

The report is a product of countless discussions between Professor William Jankowiak, the principal investigator, and Chris Turner and Helen Regis, who not only assisted in the collection of rich ethnographic data but also substantially contributed to the writing and editing of various sections of the report. In this way, the report is truly a collaborative project.

The purpose of the study was to investigate the social organization of the Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs, their involvement in the second-line parade tradition, and the extent of community participation in that tradition. The report does not focus on Black voluntary associations in the greater New Orleanian area per se, only those that paraded in 1988. Although Black Creoles formed second-line clubs in the past, they no longer do so and thus were not included in the report. Moreover, while the relationship between brass bands and the social clubs is examined, it is not the primary focus of the study.

There are four chapters in this report. New Orleanians typically and erroneously associated 'second-lining' with either Zulu, Mardi Gras Indians or Liddy Boggs 'doing the second-line' at a Mardi Gras Ball. In Chapter One the differences between the Carnival Krewes, Madri Gras Indians and Second-Line Clubs are highlighted. The Chapter also outlines the historical factors that contributed to the formation of the second-line festival. Chapter Two explores the ideological and sociological factors that promote conflict and tension within the clubs' social organization. Chapter Three examines the second-line parade from the point of view of performance. It that chapter the cultural uniqueness of the 'second-line' is analyzed. Chapter Four contains suggestions on how Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve can better support this uniquely Black New Orleanian cultural institution.

Our research methodology was as follows: we met once a week (usually on

Friday) before the upcoming Sunday parade to exchange information, discuss sampling procedures and follow-up questions. During the parade, designated members of the research team were responsible for counting the club members, non-parading members, on-lookers and second-liners. Second-liners were counted four times during the course of the parade. On-lookers, an index of degree of community participation, were counted in four block intervals over the course of the parade. In addition, we wanted to know the frequency in which specific dyades (e.g., male-female, father-child and mother-child) attended the parade. The above dyades were counted at the start, middle and near the end of the parade. Every Sunday evening the research team met to evaluate the data. During the middle of the week, we interviewed club members relaxing at their favorite bars. The bar proved to be an excellent arena to collect information about the non-parade aspects of the club's social organization.

We are grateful for the encouragement and many suggestions we received from our colleagues at Tulane University, Harvard University and Memphis State University. A preliminary report of our findings was presented in 1989 at the Southern Anthropological Association meetings in Memphis. We have especially benefited from valuable suggestions offered by Professor Victoria Bricker and Professor Jim Bell, Director of Black Studies and an Associate Professor of Anthropology at California State University, Los Angeles.

We would also like to thank Susan Davenport, Allison Peña and Dr. George Neusaenger of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve whose careful attention to previous drafts of the report contributed to strengthening its overall quality. Finally, we would like to express our deepest appreciation to Professor Munro Edmonson and Thomas Paladino whose meticulously editing of the final draft considerably strengthened and enriched the report.

Chapter One: Race, Hierarchy, and Cultural Expression

Introduction

New Orleans is a city rich in cultural celebrations that span social groups, ethnic identities, economic classifications, and its inherent, but underestimated, caste system. The best known festival is Mardi Gras. For those who live in New Orleans and participate in its social calendar and festive activities, Mardi Gras constitutes a small yet highly significant part of the city's festival tradition. New Orleans itself has been deeply influenced by two fundamentally different cultural traditions, one stemming from the African-Caribbean, and the other European (especially from France). Very early in New Orleans' history these two traditions syncretized affecting both the cultural form and performance style of the city's two most popular festival parade cycles: Mardi Gras and Black second-line.

In this chapter, we shall provide a brief historical sketch of New Orleans, a description of three major festival cycles, a discussion of the festival sponsors' club structures and organizations, and the meanings behind the symbolism commonly found in the different festivals. The historical forces that have shaped the emergence of the Black Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs, institutions which are the source of a vibrant, albeit often locally misunderstood, festival tradition.

Historical Background

New Orleans is located at the base of the Mississippi river. Its past cultural and economic exchanges with Europe and the Caribbean explain the anomaly of a very Catholic city in the deep South. A port city with links to St. Louis

and Chicago, it was a pivotal node within an elaborate system of international trade and commerce. Consequently, it developed only weak ties with its immediate hinterland. The early inhabitants were predominately Canadian, French, Rhemish, African and local American Indians. The majority of slaves brought to New Orleans were from West Africa (especially from Senegal) and Santo Domingo (latter Haiti). The Senegalese and Haitian slaves often spoke a mutually intelligible language.

The emergence of a more socially established Black community was partly due to the French decision to train slaves as skilled laborers and craftsmen within the city. This created a large population of slaves that moved freely through the city. After the introduction of the Code Noir in 1724, a body of laws that extended to slaves certain 'rights' that pertained primarily to race relations and inheritance, some urban slaves were able to buy their family's freedom (Fiehrer 1979). In addition to the Free Black, there was a related but culturally distinct racial category, the Free Creole Black, who was a product of the union between the French and Spanish settlers and African slaves. In time, these unions resulted in a distinct social class that was deemed neither Black nor White. It was sustained by the New Orleans tradition of the Quadroon Balls, which served as arenas in which light-skinned Creole women were introduced to rich young men. Children of the resulting unions were frequently raised in the French tradition, spoke French, and were educated in France prior to the Civil War. The Black Creole, prior to the Civil War, maintained a status as a non-Black, and was a racial classification recognized by the Louisiana Constitution, and this was modified only after the reconstruction era had ended. This classification helped to maintain French culture, while its vital presence in New Orleans provided needed role models of 'successful' non-whites, thereby allowing

the Free Blacks and slaves to take pride in their cultural traditions.

Louisiana was a Spanish colony from 1762 to 1800. French continued to be the official language, and Anglo-American settlers were shunned by French society, and thus forced to form their own neighborhoods and society in what is now the Uptown section of New Orleans. They were physically and symbolically separated from the earlier French population by the 'neutral ground' that divided Canal street.

The Uptown newcomers prospered and formed their own elite group, while the French section of the city simultaneously began to decline. By the time of New Orleans' Golden Age (between 1835 and 1860), a time of economic prosperity and growth, the two elite groups were becoming one social class formed along economic lines but preserving the ideal of old-family, old money, and cultured French aristocracy. During the Golden Age, partially in response to the massive European and Haitian influx of immigrants entering the city and settling in their own ethnic enclaves or neighborhoods, New Orleans' social elite began to develop more elaborate trappings of social distinction. This was eventually manifested in a more elaborate Carnival, which was designed as much to articulate social standing as to entertain.

The Civil War ended the distinction between Free and Slave Blacks. The Civil War also brought in its wake a radical reconstruction with profound implications for the social life of the city's elite. No longer in control, the local white establishment retreated into numerous secret societies such as the White League, which was formed in order to gain control of local politics by ousting the Radical military government. Concurrent with these events was the formation of the first exclusive men's clubs (Boston, Pickwick, and Louisiana) that sponsored one of the city's four original Carnival parading organization or

"Krewes" (e.g., Comus, Rex, Momus, and Proteus). Although New Orleans no longer has a White League, the membership of today's four most prestigious Carnival Krewes and three most exclusive men's clubs overlap and form interlocking social ties on the influential New Orleans governmental administrative boards, originally established by the Louisiana Constitution of 1873. These ties, albeit in a more modified fashion, continue today so that a close relationship has developed between the city's social structure and the organization of Carnival performance (Edmonson 1956).

Early Black Festivals

Information on the city's early festivals is sketchy at best. The earliest evidence of New Orleans' Black cultural innovation and persistence is that of masking as Native American Indians. By the 1700s, there is evidence that Blacks were masking as Indians in a number of Caribbean countries (Haiti, Trinidad, and possibly Brazil) (Orloff 1981). Scholars believe that this is due in large part to an African tradition of honoring local customs and showing respect for a host tribe by celebrating their feast days and adopting a similar style and dress. As early as 1781, there are reports of Blacks masking in New Orleans. In 1786, slaves were reported to have assembled in Congo Square (now Armstrong Park) and met with nearby Indian tribes (Huber and Bernard 1961). In 1817 these assemblies were limited to Congo Square, perhaps as a reaction to anxiety raised by the Haitian revolution over the loyalty of the New Orleans slave population (Blassingame 1973). In spite of this short-lived anxiety, New Orleans never prohibited (except for a brief period from about 1840-1845) large slave assemblies, which were held regularly every Sunday in Congo Square. The assemblies, were finally ended in 1862, but that did not long restrict the slaves

and former slaves from coming together to celebrate their heritage. Within five years, the slaves were freed, and the cultural traditions that had been maintained were articulated in a more forceful and public fashion (Blassingame 1973).

Although the first Black Benevolent Society was formed in New Orleans (1783), soon to be followed by a similar organization in Philadelphia (1787) (see Huber and Bernard 1961:67), it was not until the Reconstruction period that Blacks began to form numerous mutual-aid societies. By the early 1900s, approximately 80 percent of the New Orleans Black population belonged to some type of mutual aid society (Jacobs 1988:233). In time, some of these clubs (discussed in the next chapter) emerged as marching societies, thereby providing an infrastructure conducive to the development of a rich and colorful second-line festival tradition (see Schafer and Allen 1978). In addition, the clubs were the primary patrons for the city's Black street musicians who formed the brass bands that played during 'jazz' funerals and street parades. The street parade is, after the church, the second oldest Black cultural institution in North America.

Ironically, as the white elite withdrew into exclusive social clubs that transformed Carnival from an egalitarian celebration into statements of social rank and racial distinction, the city's Black population was forced to re-define itself, both pragmatically and symbolically, by actively participating in mutual-aid savings and insurance associations. The associations or clubs organized the second-line parades and provided the Black community with their own equivalent of a 'free' festival season. The street or 'second-line' parades celebrated an entirely different aesthetic, which in turn promoted a different performance style (discussed below). Both White and Black New Orleanian social identity are

intertwined with membership in specific clubs that carry different notions of sociability, performance, and cultural heritage.

The Social Structure of White Carnival

Culturally, New Orleans is the northernmost extension of the Caribbean. This fact has affected the way New Orleans celebrates Mardi Gras. Drawing upon cultural roots that are both capitalistic and aristocratic, New Orleanians have de-emphasized individual expression through the use of music, costume, and dance in favor of a Romanesque extravagance that displays social rank. Unlike the Carnival festivals popular in Haiti, Trinidad and in Brazil, New Orleans has always celebrated a kind of conspicuous consumption through the quantity of the 'gifts,' the scale of the parade, and the overall organizational performance of the parade. Local Mardi Gras is unique in that it has seldom been a time of intense violence and rampant disorder. This is not true of Mardi Gras in Caribbean cultures, where the display of wealth and social rank is not the festival's central aim. In contrast, that has been New Orleanians' only aim -- to display social rank.

This can be seen in the widespread 'ranking' of Krewes, which is readily acknowledged and recognized by most long-time New Orleanians (Edmonson 1956; O'Brian 1973). The four top-ranked Krewes, whose membership corresponds to three elite, men's clubs, were in existence before the turn of the century. These same Clubs/Krewes also sponsor balls, whose invitations closely correspond to the "old family" debutante affairs. Their position in the social and Carnival festival hierarchy is unchallenged. The next tier of Krewe ranking is more open and democratic, membership being tied less to social position and 'old money' and more to business, profession and 'new money.' However, these second-rank Krewes

are still exclusive and firmly stratified. They, in effect, seek the prestige of the four "deluxe" Krewes without the benefit of family background (O'Brian 1973). The hierarchy of ranking is less clear after this point, as the newer Krewes are often formed by neighborhood or fraternal organizations. (These Krewes are sometimes referred to as "trash Krewes" by the older organizations.) It appears that, although rank is set in the higher echelons, there is room for maneuverability among the newer and more democratic Krewes, a fact which, in turn, contributes to the rejuvenation of both New Orleans society and Mardi Gras. This fact makes Mardi Gras a very important cultural institution by which the city maintains social solidarity and cultural unity.

Top-ranked Krewes have more 'throws' (objects tossed into the crowd: plastic beads, cups, toys, etc.) than lower ranked Krewes, and these throws are newly purchased each year. The top four Krewes are usually not known for their innovations. However, Rex did introduce 'doubloons' in the late 1960's. When the innovation proved to be popular, the lesser-ranked Krewes adopted the "tradition" (Pool 1972). The lower a Krewe's position in the hierarchy, the greater the likelihood that it will use previous years' throws (both its own and those of others). As the number of throws available goes down, so may the quality and variety (penny candy instead of moon pies, rubber worms instead of miniature tambourines, etc.).

Other ranking distinctions are the number of motorized floats (ranging from about 12 to over 30), the number of bands (also ranked by popularity and distance traveled to participate), and the number of auxiliary groups participating. The number of onlookers is also important in ranking, but crowd numbers are tied to the opulence of the display, reputation of the Krewe, and timing of the parade. Also linked to the timing of the parade and its hierarchical ranking is the

location of the parade, only the primary Krewes and Zulu, the oldest Black Carnival club, pass through the Central Business District.

Mardi Gras Indians

The Mardi Gras Indians are organized in clubs that begin their preparation for Mardi Gras shortly after New Year's Day, but do not appear for the general public until "Fat Tuesday." The "Indians," dressed in elaborate bead and feather costumes, newly hand-crafted by the wearer each year, perform song and dance challenges in the African-American pattern of call-and-response. They "mask" in their own neighborhoods, joining up with fellow tribe members in the morning and meeting in grassy parks for challenges and performances later in the day. In recent years, their public activities have expanded and have become better known outside their neighborhoods and more acceptable to the general population, although their declared ethos calls for them to be "wild Indians," "gangs," or "tribes."

Before Mardi Gras, the Indians meet weekends in a designated neighborhood bar. The same bars are used every year, and maintain a designated area for the Indians to practice their routines. The time and place of practice is well-known both to potential audiences and to other tribes. This is important, since there is considerable visiting and "challenging" of the different "gangs" before the big day, and this helps to determine status and ranking. The practices consist of percussion music with a Caribbean rhythm, singing or chanting, and dancing. The dancing is usually reserved for friendly practice challenges. Costumes are not worn at this time, because the colors and motifs to be used on Mardi Gras are a closely-guarded secret and are not revealed until the tribes "come out."

The tribes generally have a flag boy, spyboy, wild man, second chief, and

big chief, in addition to the rank and file. There may be more than one spy boy and flag boy, a third chief, and a princess or queen. Frequently, members' children also come out but do not participate in the practices. Members will wear a "new suit" they have spent the entire year designing and sewing by hand. In addition, each tribe has musicians that follow the Chief, playing an assortment of drums, cowbells, tambourines, and percussion instruments. These musicians are not dressed in costume.

On Mardi Gras tribe members gather at the Big Chief's house, where the musicians have also gathered. Neighborhood followers wait in anticipation for a view of the Chief's new suit. After emerging, preening and displaying, and then adjusting his suit - the chief starts down the street, with members bringing up the rear. They proceed to their particular bar, closely followed by a crowd drawn primarily from the immediate neighborhood.

During the course of the day, the tribe will make forays through the streets. The spy boy(s) will go ahead to scout for other tribes. Routes are spontaneous, but each tribe knows the other's neighborhood. When another tribe is spotted, the flag boy relays the news by returning to the chief or by signaling with his staff. The chief decides whether to meet the other tribe. At times, the chiefs are close friends and no real challenge is made--only a display of suits and a banding together. If a real challenge is made, there are ritualized performances that include dancing between the two chiefs, the lowest-ranked Indians passing first.

The challenge consists of displaying the workmanship and originality of the suits in a ritualized movement. Other important aspects are the chanting and singing with a strong voice, and the ability to create new lines for basic, set chants. The challenge also involves ritualized dance maneuvers that resemble

fighting and physical attacks, but no actual physical contact is made. The conceding Indian will often throw to the ground some piece of equipment. The chief, however, never "bows down." The challenging chief is always at a disadvantage since he acknowledges the other chief's position in the act of challenging. When the two chiefs are finally face-to-face, they generally embrace and run briefly together on the streets, or retire to a bar to cool down.

The different tribes are also ranked among themselves, but the criteria are quite different from those of the Carnival Krewes, and their place within the group must be won or maintained yearly. The basic criteria, in order of importance, are: longevity, creativity, elaborateness and sewing-skill demonstrated by the individual outfits, fitness of voice (i.e., loudness, carrying capacity, and duration) and ability to ad-lib appropriate lines of the chants, dancing ability, neighborhood reputation, and the number and abilities of the members of the tribe. Music is important, but it is not used in ranking groups because there is never a lack of musicians. Indeed, the crowds frequently assist by bringing their own sticks or tambourines, or devising instruments by jangling keys against bottles or cans.

Black Second-Line Marching Clubs

In their own evaluation, Black Marching Clubs (or Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs) are not part of Carnival, but are Carnival-like in their parade presentation. These organizations meet year-round and conduct non-parade business (discussed in Chapter Two). However, they receive validation from the community and from other clubs by holding an annual parade on the club's anniversary. They are often referred to as second-line clubs because a crowd will follow behind the brass band making a 'second-line' as it weaves through the street.

Although the parades may occur at any time during the year, there is a primary season starting the Sunday before Labor Day and running until December. During this festival season, a different club will march almost every Sunday afternoon. It is an event that is eagerly anticipated by the community. The club's parade route often change from year to year. They are announced by the club members and interested neighbors either by word of mouth or by the distribution of route sheets. The fact that the clubs tend to go through the same general neighborhoods and stop at the same bars makes it easy for interested people to find the parade. The club members, however, do not necessarily live in these neighborhoods. Like the Mardi Gras Indians, each club has its favorite bar or bars, and the route chosen reflect this, since every second-line affiliated bar and Mardi Gras Indian bar is included in the route.

The club members meet, line-up, and start parading from their favorite bar or meeting hall (such as the Elk's Club on Harmony St.) shortly after noon. The line-up for the parade follows a general pattern--a police car, followed a line of labeled luxury cars that may carry older members, queens, kings and long-time supporters or honorary members. All of the above is optional and varies with each club in the extent of its elaborateness and expense. Special vehicles are sometimes used, such as super-stretch limos, Model T antiques, and horse-drawn carts. The core of the parade consists of club members. They 'come out' in special coordinated, tailored suits, adorned with sashes, gloves, cigars, shoulder doves, emblems, fezes, etc. some carry extra trimmings such as fans, tambourines, umbrellas, baby dolls, and baskets. They dance (second-line) down the street, closely followed by their second-line band. Surrounding them are onlookers and friends who follow the band and the club through the streets and participate actively in the second-line. Many clubs have separate divisions of

young men or children, and a corresponding woman's club. In these cases, each division follows, in turn, with its own original, coordinated outfits and its own band and group of followers.

The onlookers are also active participants. Surrounding each band are serious second-liners who turn out for all the parades. They are usually young and male, and dance exhaustively and exuberantly along for the entire route. The next layer is a more mixed group, still predominantly young, who dance most of the time but less exuberantly. Another, more mixed group, of some older people and some with accompanying children, follows next. They walk in time with the music, dance a bit and encourage the core dancers and children to "get down," "jump up" or "show 'em what you've got." Streaming out along the margins are walkers and people picked up as the parade passes through the neighborhood. People watch from their doors, stoops, balconies and windows as the club progresses.

In contrast to the Mardi Gras Indians, hierarchical rank is more a complicated issue among the Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs. All the clubs share certain criteria, though individual clubs emphasize different cultural aspects. This stems from differing ideas about whether a club should emphasize traditional or contemporary cultural elements. This is an important topic that is continually being debated amongst the club members.

Some ranking criteria are shared with the Krewes and the Mardi Gras Indians, such as the number of consecutive years that a group has been able to sponsor a parade. Although tradition is valued, it is tempered by an acute concern for distinctiveness and style. This contributes to the club members, valuing creativity and innovation, as they are manifested through dress, auxiliary items, and improvements in the basic parade structure. Thus, the word "creative" is

synonymous with a good parade. For some clubs, the quality and expense of the outfits, accessories, and parade vehicles are primary considerations. For others, tradition and marching spirit rank higher.

Common to all the clubs is the desire for a good band--one that "don't never stop playing." Each club generally uses the same band every year, but in the interest of generating a better parade, the band is sometimes switched, or a new up-and-coming band is sought to play with an auxiliary division. The quality of the band is pivotal, because it helps generate crowd attendance and general excitement through music and dancing. One cannot second-line without the proper music. Also related to generating a spontaneous, rambunctious crowd is the number of divisions in a club, since each one has its own band and each division draws a large following. A final criterion is the reputation of members. This is the least important criterion used in ranking a club's overall performance.

Social Organization, Hierarchy, and Stratification

There are a number of cultural traditions in New Orleans. Each is a product of its own history and cultural configuration. For example, the Irish and the Italians have their own festival days but, unlike most Blacks, they also participate in Mardi Gras Krewe. With the exception of Zulu (which has gradually switched from being a second-line club to becoming a full fledged Carnival Krewe), and the Madri Gras Indians (who never aspired to be a typical Carnival Krewe), Carnival in New Orleans remains a Euro-American institution. The second-line parade and masking Indian are exclusively African-American cultural institutions. In this sense, there are two core festival traditions in New Orleans. Each has a distinct social organization, notions of hierarchy and cultural performance.

In the top-ranked social clubs and Carnival Krewes, family name, breeding, old wealth, property and position, and ethnic identity are of paramount importance. Without the proper qualifications that go with being born into the correct family, an individual cannot be an inner-circle participant (Raabe 1973). It is said that older elite women can predict with accuracy which Carnival Krewe a young girl will be associated with either as a queen, maid, or debutante. A man with more than one daughter may belong to more than one club. His decision will be based, in large part, on the probability of his daughters being selected as royalty and, therefore receiving a proper coming out. Edmonson, however, notes that this is not always the case: "many 'only daughters' will participate in more than one ball. The queen of Comus, for example, has often been the maid in Proteus and Momus" (personal communication). 'Consciousness of class' is reinforced through living in similar areas in the city, contributing to ready interaction and social distance from the greater New Orleans community.

Elite families are primarily involved in trade and finance, as owners or partners in private companies, law firms and banks. In the past, the elite dominated the political arena, but no longer have a monopoly on city government, possibly because of changes in voting rights and the advent of political machines. In addition, there have been conflicts between New Orleans elites and state political authorities. The upper class has lately begun to reverse this pattern. Today, it is involved in the city and state governmental boards and commissions, civic affairs, and holding positions in such organizations as the Bureau of Governmental Research, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Metropolitan Area Committee. While not entirely composed of the social elite, it is clear that the upper echelon of New Orleans society has an important effect on events or non-events in the city (Raabe 1973).

The second tier of Carnival Krewes draws its members from the ranks of aspiring newcomers who are primarily industry leaders and upper-level professionals. Status is less fixed and social/financial success can be achieved by individuals of different ethnic backgrounds such as Latins, Italians, and Jews. The presupposition is that such aspirants have acquired substantial financial resources and social position, which is something very difficult for most New Orleans Blacks to achieve. Even if Blacks had sufficient financial resources to join a white Krewe, segregation as law and custom prevented it. The Original Illinois club, for example, was found by Black 'old money' (Edmonson, personal communication).

Black elites in New Orleans, who follow the Euro-American cultural tradition, have formed analogous tiers of deluxe and first-class organizations, and they apply similar criteria of prestige. Members of deluxe clubs are invariably from old-line families considered to be of European Creole heritage and identify with their French/Spanish background---even to the extent of speaking French. They stage debutante balls and join exclusive clubs, but do not parade. Although this phenomenon is outside the range of this study, it is an important component of the continuum of social positions within New Orleans society.

At the lower end of the Carnival hierarchy are those krewes that have the least power and prestige. For example, the Zulu Krewe is co-terminous with the Zulu Social Aid and Pleasure Club. In New Orleans, Zulu is one of two primarily Black Krewes (the other is the Much Talked About Club (NOMTOC), located on the city's West Bank). With the exception of two whites who joined Zulu in the last few years, Zulu and NOMTOC remain essentially Black Carnival Krewes (Edmonson 1956; O'Brien 1971; Raabe 1971).

With the exception of Black Creole society, the ethos of New Orleans' Black culture is organized around the notion of community and active public participation within any celebration. Anyone who wishes to participate in Black expressive culture may do so regardless of profession, family, or ethnic identity. There are differences, however, between Mardi Gras Indians and Black Marching Clubs.

Mardi Gras Indians tend to come from the lowest socio-economic class. Based on our own fieldwork, it was observed that they live predominately in underdeveloped neighborhoods or low-income housing projects. Their orientation is limited to their own communities. Their organization rests upon a denial or rejection of the dominant White culture and is grounded in egalitarianism respect and status, being earned through personal charisma, creative ability, endurance, longevity and tradition. With the exception of the Mardi Gras Council, a recent innovation formed in 1987, the tribes have few formal organizations. Rather, they prefer to participate in friendly gatherings held at local bars. They have almost no social or economic power, though they may gain status and prestige in their own neighborhoods. The Indians no longer form the fierce street gangs popular during the 1880's-1950's; rather, they have become conscious of their cultural uniqueness and enjoy their newly-acquired status as cultural representatives of New Orleans folk culture.

Black Marching clubs are egalitarian. Since no one is barred due to family or ethnic identity. In this way, the Black Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs have embraced an egalitarian ethos. That ethos is repeatedly called into question, however, because of the need to have sufficient funds to maintain membership, as dues are collected, fines levied, functions sponsored, and necessary parade dress and equipment purchased. Regular meetings are held. They are, however, loosely

organized and do not follow formal organization procedures. Organization and leadership methods vary between clubs, some being more "democratic" than others. The degree to which the notions of egalitarianism and hierarchy are emphasized varies from club to club.

Clubs members, like Mardi Gras Indians, live in the 'inner-city' neighborhoods or scattered areas that form the marginal fringes between the Black and the White neighborhoods. Unlike the Indians, however, they tend to have well-paying jobs, own bars or businesses in the Black communities, and, in some cases, hold positions in city government. Because they are effectively excluded from elite society, they have developed an ambivalence toward mainstream values. Much more than the lower socio-economic groups, they accept the ideals of the White culture while retaining the ideals and reality of their own Black Culture. This mix is evident in the structure and symbolism of their parades.

Parade Structure and Symbolism

The white Carnival Krewes emphasize structure and position in their organization and parades. Their routes are always the same and follow main city arteries, including a passage through the main business district, and their parades draw tens of thousands of onlookers from all strata of local and national life. The status of clubs is set, and their social attitude is morally upright as befitting leaders of the community and its most prestigious members. They have designated, often exclusive, club houses.

Status and position are also set within the clubs' internal organization. The governing board and captain rarely change. When a position is relinquished, it goes to a hand-picked and groomed successor. The governing board makes all the decisions and carefully screens prospective members and guest lists.

Decisions are not challenged by the remaining members, whom all aspire to this pinnacle of pinnacles.

Social status, heritage, and wealth are highly valued, while creativity and innovation are less prized. There are both specialized float and costume designers. The musicians are hired from institutions such as high schools, military academies, and colleges--whose music recalls pomp and circumstance. The jazz band is often a Navy group or a traditional local white group. Club membership must be highly organized as it often numbers in the hundreds.

Parade symbolism demonstrates the Krewe's position at the top of the social hierarchy. The floats themselves emphasize distance by using height to elevate Krewe members above and away from the crowd. The members have no individual mobility, and must remain masked and remain on the float. The Krewe members remain anonymous for the mass of spectators.

The crowds fulfill their role by acknowledging this asymmetrical relationship. For example, a Carnival Krewe is evaluated by the quality of its throws. Although throws have no real monetary value, people still plead with a Krewe member to "throw me something, mister." The throws vary from random tosses without eye contact, to careful selection of an intended receiver, to throwing projectile-like beads into concentrated groups of people. The presentation of the "gift" signals the importance and prestigiousness of the Krewe member vis-a-vis the crowd.

In contrast, the Mardi Gras Indians emphasize through parade behavior and symbolism what anthropologists refer to as "anti-structural" themes (Turner 1982). Their routes are kept secret and unannounced, since they require no mass of followers to give them prestige. In fact, until very recently, the only onlookers were their own friends and neighbors, ranging from about 50 to 2000

people. The routes taken are informal, centered in their own 'backyard' neighborhoods and near their own always open clubhouse--the local bar. All participants are on foot and 'self-determined,' that is, moving when and where they wish.

The club itself is informal, with five to ten core members meeting in a casual, ad-hoc manner as friends. There are no dues or fines. Membership is flexible, and based only on one's desire and creative ability. Age and number of years of masking do correspond with rank and respect, but not with authority. No one issues orders or makes group decisions. There are few to make. Since each Indian is responsible for his own suit, and knows the necessary logistics of Mardi Gras, there is no need for direction. This is perfectly congruent with the anti-structural nature of the parade ritual.

Also congruent with anti-structural behavior is the Indians' attitude and reputation of being 'wild.' An Indian is 'free' and can "do what he wants." He moves to, and is filled with, a distinct Caribbean percussion beat, the antithesis of orchestra or marching band music. He makes his own music. He is his band. His costume is that of an outsider with extravagant flavors of the flamboyant Caribbean tradition (Orloff 1981). Although tradition demands that a suit not be bought, some Indians have their suits made. Some suits are collective creations of other tribal members working under the artistic direction of the member who will wear them. Regardless, they must be original, creative, and colorful. Part of their value is in the work necessary to produce them. It thereby reflects the characteristics of their designers and sewers.

Status has to be maintained year-to-year through "coming out" and through continued innovation. A frequent greeting is "Are you sewing?" The response is "I'm sewing." As in many cultures, longevity is an important factor in gaining

respect. For the Mardi Gras Indians, this holds both the tribe and the individual. Certain tribes have been in existence for so long that the name itself, such as Wild Magnolia or Creole Wild West, lends respect. Since Indians mask in the neighborhoods where they live, or used to live, respect is also gained individually by continuous "masking," even though one's tribe affiliation has changed. The respected Chief of the White Cloud Hunters is only thirty-five but has been masking continually since the age of twelve. If an Indian fails to mask or come out with a 'new suit,' his position slips in relation to his fellows. In sum, the cultural ethos of the Mardi Gras Indian parade is symbolized by individuality, creativity, community, commitment to tradition and achieved status.

The ethos of the Black Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs, or Marching Clubs, is mixed, varying between those of the Mardi Gras Indians and White culture. Their parades reflect this symbolically through a mixture of structural and anti-structural elements. For example, the clubs have specific officers, but they are elected by common consensus, change frequently, and lead through example rather than command. Authority is given and can quickly be withdrawn if a domineering style is adopted. Meetings are loosely structured, comments and ideas coming from all the members. They do not follow parliamentary procedure, but utilize a more amorphous round-table style. Anyone is welcome to join (there are all male and all female clubs but some are mixed), and one implicitly agrees to follow club mores and rules when he or she does so. In short, these clubs are extremely democratic. Membership may be forfeited. If one does not keep up with the financial obligations. Members are often behind in their dues but may be carried for months, if it is perceived that they will become "financial" again. The membership reaches about a dozen before the structure breaks down and a new club

is formed as an off-shoot.

Like the White Carnival Krewes, the marching clubs' parade costumes (primarily suits, hats, and shoes) are tailor-made for the group. Other items such as the sashes, baskets, and umbrellas, are hand-made and individually designed, much like those of the Mardi Gras Indians. Even tailored outfits are designed and created by the club. Whether an item is bought or made, there emphasis is on style, innovation and creativity. The values expressed are based on creativity and economic ability.

In contrast to the Carnival Krewes, the Marching Clubs hire brass bands not to lend pomp and ceremony, but to spark excitement and energy in the parade. Depending on the club, bands are sought out that can: 1) play traditional soft tempo second-line music, 2) play for four or more continuous hours, and 3) take contemporary popular tunes and play them in second-line fashion. The most traditional of the clubs, Young Men Olympians, prefers a strictly traditional band, while a younger club or a women's club may prefer a more innovative band because it can draw more people.

The Marching Club parades draw crowds numbering from 200 to 2000 and consisting primarily of Blacks. While they are in a neighborhood, people from that residential area will come out and then drop back when the parade moves on. Other participants come out for the entire parade. A number of participants are hard-core second line dancers, members of other marching clubs, Mardi Gras Indians, and friends and relatives of the club. Black Creoles and Black-Americans who follow White cultural traditions rarely come out either to participate or observe the parades.

Whatever the route and the crowd composition, both the club members and the community participants experience the festival by enjoying the music and street

dancing. Their attitude is "down-home," or down to earth, which makes for easy, friendly interaction between the crowd and the club. Members perform as individuals like the Mardi Gras Indians, but are expected to remain in a marching formation. That is, they perform flexibly as a club. As previously mentioned, luxury cars are often used and queens chosen, but they are not kept separate and elevated from the crowd. In fact, they often disembark to second-line dance with the club. The members gain prestige through achievement, creativity and competitive gift-giving between neighbors, on-lookers and other club members.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a historical and sociological framework for analyzing two unique New Orleanian festival traditions that draw upon completely different cultural traditions: one Euro-American and the other African-American. It has illustrated the structure and symbolism of the club organizations and parade dynamics. It has traced the relationship and impact of race, social class, and cultural heritage on the development of the two traditions, and has linked these two festival traditions to the unique development of New Orleans.

Although there have been periodic 'boom-bust' economic cycles throughout New Orleans' history, race has remained the great divide, keeping the two traditions distinct and vibrant. Under more usual circumstances, the two traditions would have merged and become parallel institutions, as did occur with the city's other ethnic populations. This did not happen because the two festival traditions developed independently and remained complementary. This has happened only once in North American history: in New Orleans, a port city that straddles both continental and Caribbean cultural zones.

Introduction

A pervasive thesis in the sociological literature of voluntary associations (i.e., groups organized around principles other than descent or residence) is that motivation is derived from position within the dominant social hierarchy. Scholars have argued that much of lower-class Black behavior can be explained as an attempt to compensate for relative 'status deprivation' (Myrdal 1949; Warren 1975). In emphasizing the relationship between social status and formation of consciousness, this scholarship has overlooked an equally important factor: the role of folk ideology in the formation of personal identity which, in turn, structures individual motivation for participating in certain kinds of voluntary association.

In this chapter, we will examine how two basic principles of voluntary association: 1) the idea of shared commitment, and 2) dedication to the achievement of some stated end, are continuously being refined and redefined, a process which contributes to the on-going discussion over the association's "proper" purpose. Specifically, we will examine the Black Social Aid and Pleasure Club as a social organization concerned with: 1) integration or social cohesion; 2) a prestige-conferring role; 3) a problem-solving role; and 4) expressive activities (Warren 1975:74). An organization's image is in need of constant management. The interplay between economic, political, and ideological factors that shape the club's organizational ethos are vividly revealed in the periodical struggles that break out within the clubs over purpose, commitment and

style.

History of New Orleans Benevolent Societies

At the turn of the century, sanitation was the most aggravating problem facing New Orleans. Topography and shortsightedness had combined to make the city a hygienic nightmare. Built on marshy ground, the city had a drainage problem, compounded until the twentieth century by the lack of a sewage system, which insured it would reek of filth (Hair 1976:87). Consequently, the mortality rates for both whites and blacks were extremely high (Farley 1970). Saxon reports that in 1853, during one of the city's annual yellow fever epidemics, over "forty thousand New Orleanians became ill with around 10,300 dying of the illness" (1928:231). In his study of New Orleans benevolent societies, Claude Jacobs (1988:21) notes that:

To some observers, death appeared to be so common among Afro-Americans following emancipation that their very ability to survive as free men and women was seriously debated. However, toward the end of the nineteenth century, attempts were being made in New Orleans to organize institutions to provide health-care services and train care professionals among blacks. The greatest providers of health care, however, were not black hospitals and centers for educating health professionals, but local benevolent societies.

It is difficult to determine when the first benevolent societies were formed. It has been suggested that the earliest associations began in New Orleans sometime in the late eighteenth century (Walker n.d.). A century latter these societies had become an integral part of life for both blacks and whites. At the turn of the century, "an estimated four-fifths of the local [Black] population belonged to benevolent societies... more than any other types of voluntary associations except churches" (Jacobs 1988:22). Thus, of the eighty-three benevolent associations for which Walker found dates of incorporation, fifty-seven percent were organized prior to 1900 (Jacobs 1988:23). In addition,

Jacobs found that "the books of the Girod Street Cemetery and Saint Louis Cemetery Number Two showed approximately two hundred benevolent societies building tombs in these two burial grounds alone" (Jacobs 1988:23). Black benevolent societies, in the days before the rise of black insurance companies,

provided the major form of social security against sickness, death, and poverty. They aided orphan asylums, Negro veterans, and the indigent; gave religious education to children; and fought against segregation and for racial uplift. For individual Negroes the societies provided status, a sense of belonging, some form of organized social life, a guarantee of aid to the sick and to the children and widows of deceased members. They also assured members an impressive and proper burial by paying for the bands to lead funeral processions, taking care of burial expenses, holding special rites over the body, marching in special regalia in the funeral procession, and wearing mourning badges for the deceased (Blassingame 1973:167-68).

Because black New Orleanians had developed the social insititutions to support one another, they had "the low rate of public dependency."

Through persuasion and intimidation, Huey Long forged Louisiana's present-day welfare system which, with the institutionalization of a state-wide Charity hospital system, reduced black concern for social security, dimishing the primary purpose for joining a benevolent society (Jacobs 1980). No longer worried about having to pay for a funeral and/or health benefits, blacks in New Orleans rejected those associations that functioned as miniature life and health insurance companies.

The transformation of benevolent associations into their modern form -- the Pleasure Club -- provided the larger community (i.e., non-club members) with a rich cycle of social events. This is not a new function, however. Since the early eighteenth century, if not earlier, there had been some kind of festival celebration unfolding in New Orleans' streets. Accordingly, Louis Armstrong comments in his autobiography that the clubs were always "trying to outdo each other and they certainly looked swell" (1954:224). He further comments that:

to watch those clubs parade was an irresistible and absolutely unique

experience. All the members wore full dress uniforms and those beautiful silk ribbons streaming from their shoulders - they were a magnificent sight. At the head of the parade rode the aides, in full dress and mounted on fine horses with ribbons around their heads. The brass band followed, shouting a hot swing march as everyone jumped for joy. The members of the club marched behind the band wearing white felt hats, white silk shirts (the very best silk) and mohair trousers. I had spent my life in New Orleans, but every time one of those clubs paraded I would second-line them all day long (Armstrong 1954:225).

He continues by observing that "when all them clubs paraded it took nearly all day to see them pass, but one never got tired watching" (Armstrong 1954:226).

While scholars have focused on the social benefits of joining a benevolent society (Jacobs 1980), with the exception of Schafer and Allen's (1976) study of brass bands, they have overlooked an equally important, and unique, dimension of the black benevolent society: its responsibility for holding annual parades, balls and jazz funerals. It is this aspect of the traditional benevolent societies that continues to persist to this day.

Social and Pleasure Clubs: A Demographic and Social Profile

Unlike block associations that often draw members from different educational and economic backgrounds (Warren 1974), the social clubs' membership is relatively homogeneous. Many club members are employed in the city's civil service, while others may be successful private entrepreneurs (e.g., own their own bar, food service company, and so forth), or masons, dock workers, bus drivers, gardeners, or dry cleaners. Some are retired. Most importantly, Despite different income levels, social distinction is played down in favor of an egalitarian ideology.

A common problem all the clubs face is membership instability, which is a product of three factors: employment opportunities, personality conflicts, and ideological differences. These problems also faced earlier benevolent societies

which were in continual need of generating revenues (Jacobs 1988:25). Louis Armstrong notes in his autobiography that in the 1920's there were over twenty-five major clubs. Several of our older informants began to second-line, as children, during the Great Depression and noted that, prior to World War II, there were very few clubs second-lining. After the war, the clubs increased in size due to the economic take-off of the city. With New Orleans economy currently in a prolonged downturn, club membership is down. If the present trend is typical of prior membership cycles, the clubs should multiply when New Orleans enters a new growth cycle.

Given the New Orleans "boom-bust" economy, the clubs constantly search for new members to increase not only their stature as a "rising" organization, but also to expand the general parade fund. For example, in early 1987, the Buck Jumpers began a city-wide membership drive that involved leaving membership applications at a number of bars across the city. In addition, the Buck Jumpers fee was lowered from \$100 to \$50 to encourage new members. Other clubs rely upon the "old boy" network and attempt to recruit members via friendship ties, as well as by reducing their initiation fees. Club members take an active interest in expanding the club's membership, and it is a source of never-ending entertainment for members to speculate about prospective members. In fact, members devise ways to entice new members into joining the club. In one case, the members invited an individual to dinner and, after eating and drinking, the club president formally requested that he join. He accepted. He was well liked but nonetheless, every new member constitutes an additional source of much-needed revenue for the club.

Sociologists identify two types of associations. One draws members from a variety of social classes and ethnic backgrounds; the other draws its members from relatively homogeneous backgrounds. In those associations, where the

membership is from different social classes are more formal in organizational format. On the other hand, homogenous organizations do not follow a parliamentary format, the meetings of the New Orleans marching clubs are democratic and informally organized affairs that resolve issues through discussion and consensus politics.

All clubs are organized around a president who manages the clubs' symbolic and material resources by performing numerous duties: collecting dues, organizing fund-raisers, and assisting needy members. The president, with the assistance of the parade captain, has the important duty of arranging the parade route to pass specific streets (usually those where important and honored club members and/or their relatives live or gather) and bars which have supported various club activities. During the parade season the clubs may avoid those establishments that they believe have not demonstrated sufficient concern for the community. This fact is used by the clubs as a leverage against bars which are not considered to be 'generous.' Thus, bar owners who can realize between \$150 to \$400 of business whenever a club stops at their establishment are very cooperative, and agree to support the club and its band. The bar's "gift" is determined, in large part, by private negotiations in which the bar owners agree to contribute money, and to provide free drinks and/or sandwiches to the club members. The president is also responsible for paying the parade dues and hiring the required number of police officers, who function as escorts for the parade. Since these negotiations are deemed critical, the president's reputation and the club's ability to perform (one of the primary reasons for joining a club) are always tested during these negotiations.

The club president's abilities are also tested in his relations with other clubs. For example, due to a shooting that had taken place at the previous

year's parade (1987), the police had denied the Scene Boosters a parade permit. Frank Charles, the president of the Buck Jumpers who knew several city councilmen, interceded, and the Scene Boosters were able to obtain a parade permit. The motivation behind his intercession can be found in Charles's genuine concern for helping a club in which he had been a former member and towards which he still felt loyalty. He thus reinforced the bonds between the two clubs.

Another case that demonstrates the importance of an experienced club president is the selection process by means of which a new club, The Valley of Silent Men, obtained the help of Herbert Gettridge to start a new club. One of the widely-respected "old time" club members, this gentleman was asked repeatedly to become the president, and each time he refused but he finally agreed because:

they couldn't find anyone who had the experience who could manage the club. I told them that they should hire someone else but they insisted that I was the only one. After a while I agreed. So I am now [he notes proudly] a senior member in the Young Men's Olympian, the oldest club, and Valley of Silent Men, the youngest club.

The president of the Buck Jumpers became the club leader under different circumstances. He was chosen because of his economic success, likable personality, and ability to get things done. Another president, Jacob Johnson, was similarly selected for his experience and wisdom in leading Sudan, a downtown club that wanted to maintain a very traditional performance style. It is important to point out that although there is an on-going, good-natured competitive rivalry between the clubs over social honor, this competitive spirit takes on a new dimension between the club presidents, who prefer to articulate the club's ambitions in a more refined manner. In the largest clubs, such as Young Men's Olympian, the president often does not have the same authority as many several longtime individuals who have, through many years of membership, come to form its nucleus. In these clubs, the most important member is the grand

marshal, who has formal authority only during the parade, but who is often of sufficient temperament and personality to be the facilitator in a meeting.

In the largest clubs, the problem of size is well handled by the organizational method of the division. A division usually includes not more than twenty men. The clubs believe that once membership exceeds that number, counterproductive quarrels become a frequent occurrence. Beyond twenty members, a club will usually fracture. Young Men Olympian-Junior has adjusted to this propensity by portioning off its members into divisions and giving each division autonomy to do whatever it pleases. During their annual parade day, each division will 'come out' in suits that are strikingly different from each other.

The means by which a club raises its income have not changed from these of earlier benevolent societies. For example, Jacobs writes that, at the turn of the century, the benevolent societies raised revenue through "dues and special taxes, the most important being those levied for funeral expenses" (1988:25).

For instance, he repeats that

The Dues and Assessment Journal of the Francis shows that from 1918 to 1926 members paid \$1.00 monthly dues, \$1.00 funeral taxes, a \$1.00 membership application fee, a 50 cent fine for each absence from a funeral, 35 cent for a badge and a copy of the constitution, a 25 cent doctor's fee every three months, a 25 cent banquet tax, a 10 cent fine for each absence from a meeting, and a 10 cent special tax to the treasury (Jacobs 1988:25).

Today, clubs still raise funds via special taxes; but, they are fewer in number. Only one club, Young Men's Olympian-Junior, still assesses its members a one dollar funeral tax whenever a member dies. Other clubs do not. Every club has an initiation fee, and monthly dues range from \$3.50 to \$25 a month. For employed members, the dues are not considered steep. Given the fact that New Orleans's unemployment is the highest in the nation, finding and maintaining employment is not taken for granted, and its loss accounts for declining

memberships. Club charters state that a membership can be revoked if one falls behind two or three months in dues. In fact, clubs seldom enforce this rule until a member falls more than six months behind in his payments.

Besides the monthly dues, a series of fund-raisers help to enrich the club's coffers. These include: card parties, raffles, bus trips and dances. Reflecting the constant search for innovation, and the desire to feature exciting entertainment in their events, a variety of novel activities are constantly proposed. For example, Chances R, composed primarily of members of the Scene Boosters, holds an annual Mother's Day Dance that, since 1987, features a male and female stripper. To insure diligent boosterism, the clubs hold their members accountable for those tickets that they do not sell. In addition, clubs raise money by instituting a series of fines that are strictly enforced, which also provide a great source of club merriment. If a member misses a club parade or funeral, shows up out of uniform, fails to attend a club meeting, or does not perform his designated function at a club-sponsored event, he is sure to be fined. For instance, it is known among all the clubs that the Lady Buck Jumpers raise more money through fines than they do from membership dues.

The funds that most clubs obtain from fund drives are redistributed at their annual Christmas and Easter celebrations, or through their donation to community uplift organizations such as Total Community Action's "head start" program. The club gains community support with its ideals of economic assistance and altruism as means to individual and societal improvement. Those clubs which insist that it is appropriate to display material wealth during a parade, also insist that it is equally important to put something back into the community. This is the principal reason behind their continued support for a variety of non-parade activities. In this way, the clubs serve as a primary agent linking members and

their families with other club members and with the wider involved community.

New Orleans' Black community is not unique in the value it places on friendship. Given the community's limited economic resources, Black New Orleanians, like their white counterparts, rely upon a rich web of friends for a wide range of instrumental and expressive support. For club members, however, it means more than that. The clubs provide the opportunity to extend the web of friendships and therefore are sources of potential assistance. In this way, the clubs with their overlapping functions may visit one another at special events such as dinner parties, picnics, dances, and so forth, providing members with another arena in which to strengthen and expand their circle of acquaintances. It is not unusual for club members to emphasize their importance by noting the scope of their friendship network. For example, one club president, who was also a member of several other clubs, pointed out that "I know almost everyone in the city." Another long-time club member told me that he was "known within every important neighborhood in the city." Still another member who belongs to seven clubs told me that "when I die my funeral will be so long that it will be longer than Martin Luther King's. I will have a dozen brass bands leading my coffin."

Although members gain practical benefits from multiple club memberships, the primary motivation is a desire to be recognized and popular among the widest circle of friends and acquaintances. This desire is the primary catalyst behind starting up new clubs and/or joining others. Although longtime informants claim that the tradition of multiple membership still thrives, we found that there was more serial membership than overlapping membership. And those individuals who could sustain membership in multiplicity of clubs were admired for sustaining a tradition that very few could afford. In this sense, for many blacks, identification with the club is such an integral aspect of their identity that,

even after they have dropped out or the club has disbanded, they continue to talk, sometimes for three or four years after the fact, of their intentions of rejoining or starting a new club.

The clubs also provide a variety of entertainment services to the community, while also obtaining funds to stage a neighborhood parade. Although the vast majority of New Orleans whites have never seen a typical neighborhood Black festival, local Black politicians have, and know that the clubs' influence and importance exceeds their membership size. Thus, they are eager to be seen at the start of a parade, in a show of respect to the club. For example, several New Orleans City Councilmen, such as Johnny Jackson (an honorary member of the Buck Jumpers), James Singleton, and Lambert Boissiere appeared at several of the uptown clubs' parades. Mayor Sidney Barthelemy chose to attend the 1988 Buck Jumper's annual "Ball" in spite of conflicting engagements. The interest in being seen at a club's parade also extends to people who are running for political office. For instance, during the fall 1988 election campaign, we observed many such campaigners walking with the club and greeting the on-lookers. Significantly, in 1988, when Governor Edwards was running for re-election, he came to New Orleans and walked in a second-line parade. Besides politicians, the clubs also extend honorary membership to influential businessmen who have supported their activities either by contributing funds or utilizing their establishments.

The clubs' activities also have an impact on the local economy. First, the clubs will invest thousands of dollars in buying their suits from a tailor or several local merchants (e.g., Rubenstein Brothers), in addition to shoes at \$200 a pair, hats at \$60 per hat, and \$100 for accessories. The total outlay comes to about \$600 to \$700 per member. A few club members order their wares directly

from London or Africa. In sum, clubs spend between a low of \$2,400 (for four members) to a high of \$60,000 (for one hundred members) for their outfits. The eighteen clubs combined total spending, in 1988, was \$162,000. This figure does not include the cost of the brass band (\$600), limousine (\$50 to \$100 per hour) and rented cars (\$50 per day) to carry the honored ladies and children. If we tally these costs, we find that \$9200 was spent on brass bands, and \$6,250 was used to rent vehicles for a total of \$168,500. In addition, the clubs support the moonlighting shifts of the local police at \$75 per officer with a minimum of 6 (\$450) to as high as 14 (\$1050). After the cost of new marching uniforms, hiring local police is the most expensive component of the club's parade expenses. In 1988, the clubs spent a combined \$10,800 for police assistance, a fee that the Mardi Gras krewes do not have to pay. Overall, in 1988, the clubs poured a total of \$188,500 into the local economy.

The clubs also contribute to the growth of an informal economy that springs to life with every parade and provides a number of entrepreneurs with the opportunity to supplement their monthly income by collecting aluminum cans, selling beer from the trunks of cars and hand-carried "coolers," and hawking peanuts, hot dogs, and other small items. During a typical parade, we counted an average of ten people selling various items and seven individuals collecting aluminum cans to be redeemed at a nearby recycling center. Although we were not able to determine the scale of profit, it was regarded by the individual entrepreneurs to be sufficient to encourage their repeated attendance at the parades. In addition, the bars and stores located on the parade route do a brisk business, one that we were not able to calculate. If we assume that there are on average 15 sellers selling food and drink and that they make \$75 worth of sales per parade there is a net total per parade of \$1125, then the total amount for

the entire parade season would be about \$20,250. In this way, the clubs are directly and indirectly responsible for generating over \$208,780 annual spending in the New Orleans economy. If we use the economist's standard scale that every dollar spent will generate at least four additional dollars, then the total impact on New Orleans' economy is close to a million dollars annually. Compared to the \$300 million that Mardi Gras generates in the local economy, the \$200,000 plus that the Social Clubs generates is rather small. Nonetheless, it is a significant expenditure that has not been adequately recognized by local economists. It provides not only a supplemental source of income for community associations and individuals, but also provides local merchants with a steady clientele.

Neighborhood Ties: History, Culture, and Religion

Although New Orleanians continue to make the uptown/downtown distinction in daily conversation, it has lost much of the earlier social connotation which developed when geography and culture were coterminous with fact and imagination. Thus, 'Uptown' was associated with English, American entrepreneurs, wealth, large homes, racially mixed neighborhoods, and Protestant sects; whereas 'Downtown' symbolized French, Creoles, Catholicism, jazz, voodoo, Storyville, and a persistent inclination towards the Old World. Downtown was the Faubourg Treme, unique in that it is the only

settlement in the United States developed and settled primarily by free persons of color, who directed and dominated the culture, religion, economy, and architecture of the area. The community of free persons of color of New Orleans included immigrants from France and the French and Spanish colonies of the West Indies, some emancipated slaves, and children of New Orleans white men and their colored mistresses. White men maintained homes for their mistresses in Faubourgs Marigny and Treme (Martinez and LeCorgne 1986:5).

Today, the clubs continue to identify themselves as either a downtown or uptown club, as do the Mardi Gras "tribes." Accordingly, such club as Sudan, Money Wasters, Golden Trumpets, Avenue Steppers, and Gentlemen of Leisure are located downtown, while Young Men Olympian, Jrs., Buck Jumpers, Scene Boosters, Original Four, Ladies Zulu, Lady Buck Jumpers, and the Valley of the Silent Men are known as uptown clubs. Some members continue to join those clubs based in the neighborhoods of their youth. Others, while acknowledging nostalgia for their former neighborhoods, feel that friendship is more important for joining a particular club. Nonetheless, our survey found that 18 out of 25 of the members in the downtown clubs either lived, or had grown up, in the same neighborhood. In addition, our survey found that the largest and most prestigious clubs pull their membership from a variety of neighborhoods, and range in size from a high of 150 to a low of 5 members, with the typical size being around twenty. Significantly, Young Men Olympian-Junior, founded in 1885, is the oldest Black association in Louisiana and, with 150 members. It is also the largest black marching club in the city; on the other hand, The Valley of the Silent Men, formed in 1986, is the youngest club. In sum, neighborhood ties continue to be a significant factor in determining who joins a particular club.

Neighborhood ties also affect the second-liner's decision to follow a parade as it crosses 'invisible' neighborhood borders. People were quite frank in admitting that their primary reason for not continuing to follow the parade was in the words of one informant, because "I do not know anyone in that neighborhood who could help me if I got in trouble." This anxiety is evident in the crowd counts that we took both before and after the parade crossed a street that divided a neighborhood. Inevitably, there was a sudden drop in crowd size that would, after the parade had wound through several streets, slowly increase until

it was the same as or greater than it had been before it crossed a border street.

Religion is still an important feature of club membership. Martinez and Le Corgne note that:

Because of the Southern European culture of New Orleans, religious observances were an important part of the year... Many consider New Orleans the most important Catholic city in the United States ... [in this way] Catholicism has influenced the city's culture (1986:55).

Our survey of club membership found that the religious background of 61 members (83 percent) was Baptist, while the remaining 17 percent were Catholic. However, when neighborhoods are taken into account, the overwhelming number of downtown club members (n= 20 of 25 or 70 percent) were raised Catholic. Given New Orleans' unique history, it is not an accident that the city has one of that the largest populations of black Catholics in the United States, and that the majority of that population continues to live in the downtown districts. It is not surprising that the downtown clubs have the largest percentage of Catholic members.

Bars, Funeral Homes, and The Brass Band

For many New Orleans bars function as club houses and serve as centers for the distribution of information. Club members are associated with a specific bar. When someone wants to contact another person, he will call that person's favorite bar and leave a message that is always delivered. Informants were adamant in their insistence that there is an active grapevine which reports both scheduled and unscheduled parades and funerals. It was not by accident that we repeatedly saw core "second-liners" spontaneously arriving at unscheduled parades. Although they were not club members, their association with the local bars enabled them to learn about the clubs' non-scheduled social events.

The clubs are aware of the reciprocal ties with other clubs, and they go out

of their way to thank the bar owner (who is often a club member or honorary member). Clubs do this by dropping around the bar and routinely buying some drinks. In addition, they regularly help the bar owner pick up the tab when the other clubs who stop by during a parade. In this way, the club and bar maintain and celebrate a symbolic unity that is grounded in on-going ties of friendship and mutual support.

What is not immediately apparent is the value of loyalty to locality, a loyalty that often manifests itself in a powerful pull to continue to associate over a long period of time with a bar, a neighborhood club, or a local funeral home. For example, in the past, the relationship between a club and a specific funeral home was very close. This was due to the nature of the insurance policies that were linked to a club and policies arrangement with a specific funeral home. During the 1970's, the policies were modified to allow individual families to select their preferred funeral home. A consequence of this shift in the insurance policy has been a change in the role of the funeral director. He or she had previously been very active in forming ties and maintaining "good-will" through the occasional loan of a limousine to the clubs for certain non-funeral events, and by allowing them the use of the funeral home as a regular meeting hall. Without the direct contact between club and funeral home, the director has become less involved in the club's activities.

The traditionally ties of loyalty between clubs and brass bands continues to be a value within the marching clubs. There are at least eight brass bands (e.g., Chosen Few, Tuxedo All Stars, New Birth, Re-Birth, Pin Stripes, and Young Tuxedo) that perform regularly during the festival season. They are non-union, composed primarily of younger inexperienced members, who may in time develop a new and trendy style that will attract the largest following of second-liners.

Eventually, the band will either go union or play regularly for a particular night spot. Some of the more famous New Orleans' musicians perfected their craft while playing for the marching clubs. For instance, Louis Armstrong notes in his autobiography that he used to play in funeral bands when he was growing up on the streets (1954:228). More recently, the Dirty Dozen started out as a bunch of kids who played for "almost nothing," and in time emerged as a very popular street band playing a new and exciting sound. In time, they were invited to tour Europe and have recently cut their second album, and were featured on Elvis Costello's latest album. The club and brass band form a tacit understanding, or "social contract," that acknowledges an interdependence, so that, whenever the club performs at a party, march, or funeral, the band will be hired. In 1988, the standard fee for four hours of playing was between \$300 and \$600. Once a club has hired a band, the two are interconnected for the life of the club or the band - a fact that often results in a youthful club hiring an upcoming band that plays with the 'new' music, which may over time become established and, then, is replaced by the next generation of new street musicians.

Social Class: Upward Mobility and Cultural Transmission

The Second-Line tradition is not a lower-class festival tradition. Our survey of the clubs found that half of the total membership had middle-class incomes of over \$20,000 a year. This raises an important question: given the dominant impact of Mardi Gras social organization on the city's cultural ethos, why do middle class blacks continue to participate in this type of festival tradition? Why do they not switch and join a carnival club? The answer lies in two different domains - parental and mainstream - manifesting themselves in an on-going tension between competing notions of festival and celebration. In our

census, the frequency of intergenerational kin ties was very strong. Out of a small sample of 26 members, we found that more than 9 (or 40 percent) members had a father, uncle or cousin, who was a member. Significantly, 60 percent of the current members were first-time members, suggesting that generation links, while important, are not the only source of recruitment. Equally influential was whether the members had second-lined (i.e., followed the clubs) as children. Every club member could recount how he was swept up either as a child or as a young man into the passion and excitement of the second-line festival. Informants were quite frank in admitting that they had paraded because "it's what my father or uncle did," or "we have been doing this since we were children," or "it's in my bones," or "I've watched it all my life and decided to join." The power and value of maintaining continuity within the previous generations can be seen in the comments of a grandparent who had stopped his truck so that his grandson, who was about 11 years-old, "would know something of this tradition." He further elaborated to a friend:

He doesn't know anything about this. When my daughter takes him to see this, she gives candy and soda and he never understands what he is seeing. He should. I did this when I was a young man and he will too.

In this way, identity is linked to continuity between generations by participating in and, therefore, continuing the second-line festival tradition.

Although informants affirmed the importance of sustaining the historical legacy, there are other factors that contributed to heightening an obligation to join a club. Our survey found a shift away from the father's to the mother's relatives (in particular her brother) who were influential in introducing the junior generation to the second-lining. Interviews with the senior members (i.e., those 60 years and older) found that the majority had fathers and/or

uncles on their father's side who had been members in a marching club. However, we discovered that for club members who were between twenty and forty years-old, there was a shift in the kind of kin who had the most influence. In sum, whereas the previous generation had followed their fathers and grandfathers, the next generation was influenced more by their mother's relatives, especially their mother's brothers.

In addition to the shift in intergenerational cultural transmission, the ending of segregation and the opening up of the city's economy with its accompanying urban renewal have impacted neighborhoods. Blacks have moved into new districts (especially East New Orleans), allowing mainstream notions of festival (i.e., Carnival) to compete openly with those of the traditional Black festival. The result is that the more middle-class club members, often 'lose their children' to mainstream values which regard second-lining as unsuitable activity. While this has led to considerable disappointment among the middle class club members, it has not presented a problem for working-class members who have much more success in transmitting their passion to their off-spring. Nevertheless, the clubs consciously recruit neighborhood kids into their parades in the hope that they will grow up with what one member expressed as "the love of dancing in their blood."

Club members' lack of success in inspiring their children to join the traditional Black festival cycle, rather than a Carnival society, stems from another, more powerful source; one that stirs disagreement in the New Orleans Black middle-class family: the battle between husband and wife over the desirability of the second-line festival tradition. Most wives of upwardly mobile club members regard second-lining as a 'primitive form of entertainment.' Consequently they are not at all sympathetic to the clubs, because so much of the

family budget is being spent on what one woman called a "waste" and another woman considered "useless activities." This is a constant source of irritation and the source of many family squabbles, the men continuing to participate and the wives going along by default. In the long run, the most wives have been able to do, at least partially, is to undermine their husbands' attempts to transmit the value of second-lining to his children. It is not insignificant that in those families where there is a continuous disagreement, we never observed a member's wife attend a single club activity. In retaliation, their husbands appearing at the club's social function with a girlfriend who actively support their commitment to the second-line tradition. In this way, the cultural ethos that forms the Carnival and second-line traditions is intertwined with the issue of class and conflicting views of social respectability.

Fission and Fusion: The Dynamics of the Great Divide

An important feature of the club's social organization is its size. This component is instrumental in affecting the life-span of a particular Social Aid and Pleasure Club. When a club reaches a certain size (around 30), there are internal pressures (discussed below) that seem to encourage splitting into smaller groups. In fact, the waxing and waning of a club's "vitality" is an important topic of conversation whenever members come together. During the course of these conversations, it is not unusual to hear members refer to their own and/or rival clubs' fortunes as either "expanding" or "declining." In the spirit of friendly rivalry, all enjoy critically evaluating one another's parade. Informants admitted that they could determine another's club's "vitality" simply by observing how they displayed their wealth (e.g., the number of cars rented, the quality of the marching uniforms, the organization of parade style, the

quality of dancing, the reputation of the brass band, etc.). In this way, economic and ideological factors shape the club's aesthetic presentation of itself, and, therefore, the community's assessment of its vitality.

The community's assessment of a club's vitality affects its ability to recruit new members, since people frequently want to belong to a club of rising status. Paradoxically, once a club attracts a lot of new members, social frictions inevitably arise from a diverse set of personalities competing for attention and gain. For example, one club temporarily disbanded after the club treasurer used the money for personal needs and, then, was not able to replace the money. Significantly, the club members liked him and, when he asked to be reinstated, the membership agreed reluctantly; however, every meeting was broken up by the members, attacking him for taking club funds. This was the only incident of 'theft' we found. However, it is understood that money is a powerful enticement and that the clubs that prosper follow establish procedures for documenting and protecting their money.

Besides the desire for expansion which can affect any club, regardless of size, clubs are faced with an organizational problem: how to expand without creating competing factions that will result ultimately in the club's demise. Most clubs fail. This only results in the formation of new clubs in a cycle of formation, separation, and re-formation. This has not been the case, however, for one club - Young Men Olympian-Junior, which has successfully circumvented the usual organizational and personal strains that pull most clubs apart. One organizational strategy used by Young Men Olympian-Junior is to form a separate division, whenever the club has over twenty active members. Today, in the Young Men Olympian-Junior there are five divisions that meet on separate nights of the week and are in charge of organizing their distinct dress and parade styles.

Thus, the older members who form the senior body of the club always lead the parade wearing their traditional white and black suits (which do not require any further financial outlay), while the other, newer divisions step out wearing the finest fashions and showing their latest dance steps. In this way, the Young Men Olympian-Junior has been able to accommodate new members into the club who want to compete, using fashion and dance, with the other clubs. There is another reason for Young Men Olympian-Junior's success: benevolence. A strong sales pitch used for recruitment is that Young Men Olympian-Junior provides more social benefits in the form of hospital funds and for funeral expenses (Young Men Olympian-Junior owns three crypts in a local uptown cemetery for the use of the membership). In addition, the historical significance being the oldest Black club in New Orleans is a powerful inducement to join and be part of history. It is a topic that members are quick to repeat in almost any conversation. The club's grand marshal declares that "long after the other clubs have disbanded, we will still be on the street."

Disagreements over the club's direction are often discussed in terms of innovation and respectability. Although clubs enjoy competing and are constantly thinking of new ways to innovate, the range of variation is restricted by three factors: 1) the organizational style of a marching club; 2) stress on the club's community involvement; and 3) an egalitarian ethos organized around the notion of fellowship. Because the clubs perceive themselves to be carriers of a historic mission - maintaining the second-line tradition that is organized around music, street dancing, and the display of elegance - they are limited in the scope and direction of the novelty that can be developed without fundamentally transforming the second-line into a carnivalesque krewe. Since it is not the intention of the membership to become a Carnival Krewe, the possibility of introducing "throws,"

floats, and marching high-school bands into the second-line parade is never discussed. In short, the second-line must retain cultural principles that link dance, music and the active participation of the community to a second-line festival - a unique New Orleans cultural configuration. The degree to which achievement, status, and wealth should be expressed within the parade. (e.g., the quality of the brass band, the cost of costumes and such extras as number and model of cars), is a matter of frequent debate.

Significantly, we have found that these debates often involve another value -- fellowship -- that is derived from the Baptist religious tradition. With the exception of Sudan, the issue of conspicuous display of wealth and/or fellowship generates tensions within every club. Often the complaint that the club is getting too expensive is understandably motivated more by a person's own economic situation than by his unqualified embrace of an egalitarian ethos. After all, membership is often a costly investment. It is rare that a club will have enough money to 'turn everyone out' for the parade. Increasingly, club members are sending their children in their place because they are cheaper to outfit to march, and renew their commitment to the next generation. This pragmatic concern for moderation is undercut by another equally important concern of the more-successful club members: the desire to display their wealth and, indirectly, their well-being. It should be pointed out that this display is part and parcel of a larger aesthetic concern for 'style.' The clubs are always looking for something different. The competition between the clubs can best be summarized in their own motto: "borrow, imitate, and improve." Thus, the clubs are in a competitive mode more than they themselves acknowledge.

Below are some examples of recent innovations that the clubs introduced into the second-line festival. In every instance, the innovation was regarded by

the other clubs and the community alike as an exciting addition to the second-line parade and in many cases the innovation involved greater financial expense. For example, some clubs believe it is important to change the colors of their parade suits, others think it is more important to have the suits made from the same tailor; others emphasize wearing similar colors, others make unusually fine baskets and fans, others practice new and exciting dance steps to be displayed during the second-line, and still drive limousines as escort vehicles along the parade route. In 1988, the Scene Boosters had sufficient funds to do something strikingly original, so they hired a helicopter pilot to fly the club's leaders and honored guests to the parade. The police, however, were concerned with public safety and refused to grant a landing license. The club members understood the concern, but still missed how "beautiful it would have been to see that chopper land."

While the American ethos of conspicuous consumption affects every club member, many members resist its pull, not because they lack the money, but rather because it violates two other equally important values: 1) fellowship that is characterized by congeniality, equality, and a de-emphasis on rank and conspicuous consumption; and 2) historical tradition. The spirit of fellowship can be seen in the club meetings conducted according to a consensus as opposed to a factional format, in the way in which the club members assist one another outside the club meetings, and in the friendly spirit expressed at other club functions. This is not to say that the clubs are not divided over personalities. They are. The point is that because of their commitment to the ideal of fellowship, they do not publicly express negative feelings toward other members. In this way, the ethos of fellowship contributes to creating a pleasing sense that everything is fine with the club. The ethos of fellowship also affects how

the club responds to the second-liners, who are welcome to participate in the parade either as part of the band or as backup dancers. Whenever the clubs stop at a bar for refreshments, poorer members of the community are seldom denied a beer and sandwich. One's ability to pay seems irrelevant in this instance. After a funeral parade, the club members go to the deceased's home to have dinner; and it is not uncommon for some impoverished second-liners, (though they never knew the deceased) to follow the club and eat what the family has prepared. I never saw anyone turned away who requested a dinner plate.

Besides fellowship, the club's idea of style acts as a powerful restraint on the more successful members' desire to display their wealth. The disagreements that divide the club are expressed, within the framework of the second-line festival tradition, so that they are always about questions of style and never of form. This ethos acts as a restraint on the second-liners' proclivity to copy the larger, politically and economically dominant Carnival Krewes, organized around an ethos of rank and pageantry. In contrast, the second-line parade emphasizes elegance in music and dance and artistic creation. The disagreements that erupt among club members are often over rival interpretations and performance modes but never involves the feasibility of forming a Carnivalesque Krewe. To create the latter would be to undermine the second-line tradition and turn the club into a "Krewe." The second-line tradition stands as a stylistic contrast, an aesthetic alternative, to the Krewes. Although everyone believes it is "important to put on a show", there are considerable differences over what kind of show should be performed. Some clubs stress their unity and organizational elegance by maintaining a slow well-paced, decorous parade. For example, in 1988, the week before their parade, the Buck Jumpers walked the entire parade route so that they could demonstrate what the club president termed

"organized style." Some clubs such as the Young Men Olympian-Junior, also stress that they "know how to do it right," as evidence of their club's cultural superiority. Some clubs attempt to express elegance and excellence by traveling in a luxurious limousine, while others stress the visually exciting color patterns of suits and shoes. Others emphasize the quality of their baskets, fans, and umbrellas (which are either bought or individually constructed) to demonstrate their artistic talents. Still other clubs, especially the Lady Buck Jumpers, use a form of precision team-dancing as a signal of their club's vitality and artistic sensibility. In sum, every volunteer association must reconcile the need for unity with the desire for distinctiveness.

The character of interaction in the clubs -- intimacy, conflict, fission, competition, mobility, and political alignment -- is not unlike every small group interaction. The symbols that associations use to advance their interests are couched in both mainstream and local values. The ideological tension that arises in the clubs results from competing in two different value systems: one mainstream and the other traditional. How a club reconciles this tension will determine its long-term vitality. The tension involves competing notions of style; it is rarely over what should be performed. The clubs know that if they are to continue the tradition of their grandparents, they will have to "follow the music," thereby demonstrating their unity and distinctiveness through costume, music, dance, and artistic sensibility. Hence it is the performance, and not the demonstration of wealth through secondary activities that remains central to the second-line tradition. As long as the club members embrace this ethos, they will continue to maintain a separate and uniquely New Orleans festival tradition.

Introduction

New Orleans is a city of festivals. Irish clubs parade on St. Patrick's day while Italians choose St. Joseph's day. Krewe's parade on Mardi Gras, but only the Black Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs have the second-line parade. Renowned musicians from Louis Armstrong to the Dirty Dozen Brass Band made their start playing for the anniversary parades and funerals of New Orleans' social clubs. But the question is: Why is the second-line parade performance style so unlike the aesthetic traditions embraced by New Orleans' other racial and ethnic groups?

Whereas the Irish and Italian parades walk past the crowds, second-line parades are fundamentally interactive. This is not to say that the former do not have any exchanges with the audience. They do stop ever so often to interact with their audience, as when the St. Patrick's Day paraders exchange a flower for a kiss from a pretty lady in the sidelines. But this exchange is intermittent and constitutes a break in the parade, whereas the interaction at second-lines is constant, and, in fact, only briefly interrupted by the parade stops. The observers in this context are participants, whose dance and song are drawn out of them by the infectious rhythm of the music. The "parade" which winds and weaves through the back streets of New Orleans is one body--the club, band, and second-line so tightly bonded together that the name of the parade derives from the non-club participants who fall-in with the club and 'join in the melee--the second-liners. Unlike the interaction in the Irish parades, the reciprocity of club and non-club is not actualized through the passing of an object, but rather is entirely played out through the dance movements. In the white parades, the crowd of on-lookers participates largely through watching and rarely through marching

along with the paraders. This is opposite of what happens in the Black community. When a brass band swings down a street, a line quickly forms behind it, forming a marching crowd. In this way, only Blacks have second-lining.

This distinct performance style is structured by the same call and response pattern as in Black churches, and is characterized by a persistent and good-willed antagonism between the paraders, or club-members, sponsors of the parade, and the "second-liners" --participant-observers who follow the clubs through the neighborhoods. This antagonism is expressed in the parody of their dance and lyrics improvised to the brass band music. This dialectic cross-cuts all other themes in the second-line parade--community, continuity, celebration, homage to origins, having fun and just 'doing it right.' Another distinctive aspect of these parades is their close relation to funeral parades. They are in form and performance style indistinguishable, and in fact, the club anniversary parades often make explicit references to death in the midst of their celebrations of the continuity of life. The fast tempo music of the brass band is commonly interrupted by a slow and dignified funeral dirge as the parade moves past a deceased member's house. Parade goers at the Money Wasters' parade wore button pins bearing the laminated photograph of a recently buried member. The memory of a dead brother or sister is often recalled in this way. This commemoration adds a layer of seriousness and a depth of emotion unknown in the city's other parade traditions. Similarly, funerals are full of references to one's participation in the parading tradition in life. The funeral as a whole is the celebration of a person's life, while the club parade is a celebration of the vitality and continuity of the club itself. The networks of the individual are highlighted in the former case, the networks and relations of the club as a whole are underlined in the latter.

Costume

Distinctiveness and unity are two important themes that structure the clubs' relationship to the second-line. The most dramatic and visually exciting means of displaying distinctiveness has always been through dress. For example, the crowd arrives in shorts, jeans, and tank tops, whereas the members arrive elegantly dressed in contemporary suits. Beyond this, people unaffiliated with any club, but who have a friend or relative in the parading club will wear, in a show of support, the club colors, and thus declare their separation from the amorphous second-liners.

If the club is large (30 or more members), it will be divided into a number of different divisions (i.e., units of twenty). Each division usually wears a different colored suit so as to mark its distinctness, while still following the club's Grand Marshall--a symbol of their organizational independence and internal cohesion. For example, the Scene Boosters, which had four divisions this year, had each division dress differently, but all wore some shade of green, expressing the dominant unity of the club over the independence of the divisions.

Significantly, the women's and men's divisions of the Buck Jumpers did not wear matching colors, implying that they are not as closely associated as their name suggests. Moreover, in rankings of second-line clubs, a major criticism of one organization--the Ladies and Gentlemen of Leisure--is that "you couldn't tell the difference between paraders and the second-liners." The club was a young, small organization with modest means. It formed only one division, dressed in simple white shirts and black satin pants, as opposed to the elaborate dress suits worn by many clubs. Their parade did not generate the dynamic tension which makes a second-line parade exciting. It was therefore consistently ranked last by our

informants.

Fellowship

Whenever a club journeys down a street where another club has its club house (usually its bar), a welcoming committee, composed of the bar owner and/or affiliated club members, goes outside to greet the club, thereby extending ties and neighborhood identity. Beer, Kool Aid, sandwiches, and red beans or chicken wings--all convey the hospitality of the club. They usually appear in front of a corner bar under its sloping tin roof, but sometimes on the porch of a private home. The place is often decorated with a sparkling lettered sign naming the parading club and wishing it well.

Sometimes other club members dress up in their parading uniforms to greet, through dance, the in-coming parading club. For example, when the Money Wasters approached Sudan's home bar at the corner of Kerlerec and St. Claude, the two older members of Sudan appeared two blocks before in last year's costume, carrying spectacular handmade and decorated umbrellas and baskets of lace and emerald green satin. The younger members of Sudan, all between the ages of 20 and 30, wore their club T-shirts with an emblem on the front and the wearer's name printed across the shoulders, and walked out into the street and held hands, forming a double line from the bar's entrance to the street corner. Mr. Jake, the president of Sudan, faced the first Money Waster in a classic "show me all you've got" dance competition, then let him pass to the bar entrance, where refreshments awaited him. He did the same with the second and third, until finally he "challenged" the club president. This is the hardest dance, the two men inches from each other, with the brass band immediately behind them, holding nothing back. They danced powerfully in their hot uniforms, the human chain of

Sudan club members holding the pressing crowd back. In this way, the clubs demonstrated distinctiveness and unity through common participation and celebration of the second-line folk festival.

Dance

The club members' dancing style both mimics and parodies the second-liners'. The most unusual fact is that unisexual dancing is such a prominent aspect of the parade. It is rare to see men and women dancing together. When they do so, it is understood that their "relationship" overrides gender solidarity -- an important and unstated aspect of the parade. Although most of the clubs are men's clubs, there are four active women's clubs (Lady Buck Jumpers, Fun Lovers, Lady Zulu, Second-Line Jammers and Avenue Steppers) that are known for being able to dance with energetic endurance for the entire parade. It is acknowledged, however, that the best dancers are not male or female club members, but rather the virtuoso second-liners'. In the second-line, men do nearly all the dancing. Their dance is the most athletic, strenuous and erotic. In one sense, second-liners make up for what they lack in material wealth with their sheer athletic prowess: in the amplitude of their leaps, the intensity of their bump and grind, the daring of their stunts, and the endurance of their dance, which is sometimes sustained for hours. Out of these groups emerge clowning acts, such as climbing up a tree or walls, humping a telephone pole, dancing on the roofs of cars, and tumbling over parked cars (once even when the owner was standing right there with soapy water in a bucket washing it)! Since most of the clubs are men's clubs, and all of the virtuoso second-line dancers are men, both are being observed and evaluated by women who are laughing, joking and commenting on the performances as they walk to the music. While the younger women admit enjoying the antics of the

men, the older women do not. For example, Miss C. J., president of the Second-Line Jammers, said while walking at the Golden Trumpets' parade: "I like to walk up front... away from all the crowds. I like to go to see the dancing,...so long as they ain't got no humbug, with people beating up on each other." What does this say about the power relations embedded in the ritual dance of the parade?

Judith Hanna, in her comparative study of Dance, Sex and Gender, has noticed a difference between performer and observer: "the non-dancing positions being more powerful and male dominant" (Hanna 1988: 121). Here we clearly see the reverse, with men performing and proving their erotic vitality through the dance, while women watch. It is the women who have the more powerful role of spectator vis-a-vis the male performers.

In more formal arenas of American dance, Hanna observes that:

contemporary women's dance serves as a metaphor for their power. Because men have a range of vehicles to express their identity and will, the dance is of less importance to them than to the women and youth (Hanna 1988:95).

In Black societies, the positions of men and women may be reversed, with young men taking up the avenue of dance as their way to express their identity in terms of grace, strength and potency. Women have other avenues of expression, such as their work and their leading role in the family.

The power of dance as an expression of self "is related to its popularity and accessibility" (Hanna 1988:19). Since Black folklore is a product of an oral culture, literacy is not the exclusive basis of expression. This fact increases the importance of the message sent through the dancing. Because dance and sexuality share their instrument--the human body--dance has a tenacious hold on people's attention. The dance is captivating and, though it does not receive much recognition, dance continues to move and persuade us about what it is to be male and female (Hanna 1988:13).

In contrast to the virtuosity and apparent disorder of the second-line, the club attempts to show unity by being well organized. But this is not always easy. The inherent tension between the values of club unity and individual expressiveness are another distinguishing dimension of the second-line parade. For instance, at a Money Wasters' parade, one of the club members made the Grand Marshal furious because he kept stopping the parade to do 'the gator,' thereby causing the entire parade to fall behind schedule and putting it in danger of not completing the parade in the allotted four hours. The particular club member did not appreciate the Marshal's fury, and a fight was narrowly prevented by the timely intervention of two club members who pushed the enraged member aside and walked him down the street until he had settled down enough to rejoin the parade. During the course of the parade, the Grand Marshal often becomes the focus of tension which stems from pursuing contradictory values: striving to maintain the integrity of the group at the expense of individual expressionism. Individual expression is a primary motive for participating in the parade. Club members look forward to the parade day as their day to perform, to show off, and to be seen. They talk of the day not in terms of the club's day but rather as "my day." For this reason, the Scene Boosters' Grand Marshal is an honorary member of the club, who is supposedly chosen because he owns a bull horn as well as a dry cleaning establishment where all the club members get their suits cleaned. He is also someone they do not have to deal with the rest of the year, a fact that leaves the regular members' relations unscathed after the parade.

In summary, the dance expressions observable in the second-line as opposed to the club's "first line" are radically different from "stereotypic nonverbal gender behavior." Moreover, they are also very different from the normal relations between the sexes in the Black community, that is, relations in other

public modes of interaction. The same club members, at club-sponsored dances and balls, exhibit what could be termed 'very mainstream' modes of dancing, networking, and socializing. It is the context of the second-line that elicits the performances which define both club member and second-liner alike.

Within the parade, unity and distinctiveness are expressed first of all in the processional order--whether a club member is walking or riding, whether a follower is second-lining behind the club from stop to stop or riding in his own car to the parade stops. The parade is usually led by a police vehicle, followed by a designated carrier of the club's banner along with the American flag (optional). If several clubs are parading together, all the banners will lead the parade side by side. The first division marches very formally in two single lines, and immediately behind them is the brass band and a group of second-liners. If there are any other divisions, they will follow in a similar order (e.g. club, band, second-line). If the parade is particularly large, mounted police will frequently ride behind the band. The amount of space they leave for second-liners depends on the idiosyncratic disposition of the police. If there is a separate Junior division (important for rejuvenating the club), it will march in front of the women's division. If there is a motorcade, the cars will be parcelled out to ride in front of each division. Mardi Gras Indians, if any appear, will either join or follow behind the brass band.

The largest crowds followed Rebirth, a new and innovative brass band, regardless of the division's or club's reputation. For this reason, the division hiring Rebirth is often placed last, so that its throng of followers (who are usually the youngest of the second-liners) will not interfere with any other division.

The two types of second-liners tend to arrange themselves in distinct

spatial order: the hard-core second liners will stick right with the band and move in tight, nervous groups. The casual second-liners, who include most of the women, men with children and older men, will either be slightly ahead of the club division or between divisions, a good distance from the core group. A police squad car always closes the parade.

The second aspect of the use of space is created by the movement of the parade through the city. Its targets--certain bars, households, and streets -- force it to slice through and link various neighborhoods. History is an important factor in shaping the club's parade route. If a club member has been killed the previous year, or if the club president's store or home is nearby, the club will pass by as an act of homage. A club parade route links disparate neighborhoods and past and present late night haunts into a larger social web that binds and defines neighborhoods and social space within the city. In our survey of the uptown and downtown parade routes, we found that, despite some variation, there are core avenues and streets that every club recognizes and wants to be seen parading through. Thus, the Buck Jumpers link Central City to the Carrollton area with their parade route. The Money Wasters connect the Treme area with the Seventh Ward, which is adjacent to it but separated by Esplanade and N. Claiborne Avenues (very real boundaries to the residents of the two neighborhoods). Meanwhile, the Scene Boosters wind their parade through the various sections of Central City, and Sudan stays pretty much within the confines of Treme. But all uptown clubs move down Washington and South Claiborne Avenues, and all downtown clubs include Esplanade, Orleans and North Claiborne in their routes. According to Cornelius Scott, an elder and respected informant, more clubs used to march between downtown and uptown before the city imposed its four-hour parading limit. Before 1977, the parades would start at ten in the morning

and continue until seven or eight in the evening. Clubs are now forced to be more selective in designing their routes. Their reduced parades, and consequently, diminished exposure, may be the reason why some city residents feel that second-lining has decreased in the last fifteen years. What is interpreted as a decline in the tradition could be simply the result of bureaucratic control over parading. This view is confirmed by several informants who believe that there are more clubs today than when they were growing up.

Endurance and Reputation

The saying that Rebirth "don't never stop playing" or in the words of one woman, "Rebirth is the best band ever, they'll play for you forever," illustrates the ethos of endurance which is widely held by both club members and second-liners. Walking four hours in the September sun can be trying, but it would be impossible without the perseverance and fortitude of the brass bands.

The same attitude applies to the dancing of club members, who should not stop as long as the band plays. The club's efforts to cover as much ground as possible affirms its relationships with bars and friends throughout the city. This can make the parade's schedule a strain, as mentioned above. How these tensions are worked out is an important factor in the rating of the club's performance by the community, as well as by the police department. The longevity of the club and second-line bespeaks the larger continuity and endurance of the traditional Black parade as a cultural institution.

Music and Numbers

The style of the performance that a club selects does affect the way the community will participate in a second-line parade. Through careful planning of

their parade route and hiring the proper brass band, the club contributes to the type and size of the crowd that will follow the parade. We found, for example, that whenever a parade passes by a housing project, the size of its crowd doubles. The clubs are aware of this, and some clubs are proud of the size of the audience. However, some clubs, especially the older ones, are not as concerned with turning out a huge crowd as they are with maintaining order. However, if a housing project is located between two important parade stops, the more traditional clubs attempt to compensate by rapidly marching through those streets. Sometimes this results in leaving behind a sizable portion of second-liners. Another strategy to reduce the size of the crowd is to parade only on broad, roomy streets with a neutral ground (or median) which allows the crowds to spread out. In their 1988 parade, the Buck Jumpers employed both strategies.

The choice of band also influences parade size. If the band (e.g., Pinstripes or Chosen Few) plays more traditional melodies, they will draw a smaller, older crowd than Rebirth. Several informants pointed this out, and our observations confirmed their impression. Given a choice in a parade with more than one division, the young "hard core" second-liners will follow Rebirth. But older club members prefer the sound of the more traditional bands that they grew up with and find it difficult to dance to the "faster" music. A large club with several divisions (each with its own band) can please everyone. Surprisingly, it is usually the women's division, if there is one, that hires Rebirth. One club president suggested that crowd size is the reason that the women's division is put at the end of the parade, thereby letting the larger crowd form in the rear and not hamper another division's performance.

There are two reasons why three of the four women's divisions (Fun Lovers, Lady Buck Jumpers and Controllers) hire Rebirth. First, given that the women's

divisions are more recently formed, they are less tied to a particular band, and, therefore, have the opportunity to start a "contract" with a new band. Second, the women admitted enjoying the largely young male second-liners who follow and dance around their club.

The range of contacts and associations that a club has in the community also affects the turn out for the parade. It is very common for friends, relatives, neighbors and co-workers to come out to show their support, as well as have fun, whenever their favorite club parades. These boosters will often wear the club colors; a woman, may wear a corsage made by the club with the same ribbon, lace, or flowers that members also wear. They will usually be the ones who follow the parade through to the end and join the club members for the party afterwards. Often they wait for the parade at one of the bars (usually air-conditioned!) on the parade route in order to greet and follow them down the street for a few blocks, returning to their cars and driving to the next bar to await the club's arrival. For the club's friends and relatives, this day of leisure, conversation and good will is a secondary, but, by no means insignificant, aspect of the second-line festival.

Lyrics: as Parody

The tunes played by the brass bands are largely instrumental; however, we observed on numerous occasions groups of youth parodying the tunes by inverting the meaning of the unspoken, but widely known, lyrics in order to subvert the clubs' middle class values. For example, a line in a popular anti-drug song like "Your sister, your brother, leave that pipe alone," becomes transformed into "We're rollin' with the rush, leave that pipe alone" which implies a new drug of choice (rush) rather than the original anti-drug stance. The use of the pun as

one-upsmanship can also be found in the behavior of other club members who often improvise new lyrics to old songs. Thus, when the Lady Buck Jumpers hear the band playing "Don't worry, be happy," they immediately broke into "Don't worry we're coming." suggesting that people should not despair at the pitifulness of this particular parade because the Lady Buck Jumpers are coming to "do it right."

Weather and Violence

Abrahams points out that many of America's festivals are holdovers from our agricultural heritage (Abrahams 1983:171). Since the parades are outdoors, there is always a chance that it will rain and the parade will be cancelled or will, at best, have to continue in the rain. If the parade is cancelled before the band plays a single tune, then the club does not have to pay anything; however, once the band starts to play they must pay for the entire day's effort. On the other hand, the police are paid regardless of whether or not the club parades. Thus, the weather is a constant worry and a ready source of speculation. This is also one of the reasons why the clubs attend church on the morning of their parade. The clubs recognize that they are not entirely in control, even on parade day. Their vulnerability on parade day goes beyond the rainy skies. There is always, even on the sunniest autumn day, hovering over the marching clubs the threat of violence in the second-line crowd.

'Route sheets' acknowledge the problem in their closing slogans and disclaimers. Some samples are as follows:

"Have a wonderful time. We are not responsible for second-liners." (Golden Trumpets)

"Enjoy yourself! Be nice! Be careful! Thank You!" (Young Men Olympian, Jr.)

"We are not responsible for disturbances....Have a good time!" (Jolly Bunch)

"Have a peaceful day and have fun 'LEAVE YOUR WEAPONS HOME' (Original N.O. Buck Jumpers)

"Enjoy. Don't destroy." (Money Wasters)

Sudan has by far the most elaborate comment:

"Sudan...ask that you honor the memory of our deceased brother Archie Chapman by (1) Being SMART-leave trouble at home, (2) Being WISE-Help a brother live, (3) Having Fun-DANCE, DANCE, DANCE. Thanks for your cooperation in making this Event a Success."

Thus, Frank Charles, president of the Buck Jumpers, said the purpose of going to church is to "bless the parade, for good weather, good time, and tradition." The churches love to have the clubs, as, each year, they usually donate \$500.

The Funeral: In Life As In Death

Innovation extends beyond the grave. People are always looking to be unique--even in death. Before getting to the cemetery, there is much variation in the music played from funeral to funeral, but it is mainly jazzy second-line music which consistently follows three parts: (1) dirge (2) cutting the body loose (3) playing hard and fast (and the clowning that goes with it). The dancing during most of a funeral is strikingly less sexual than that found at the second-line marches. But it is at its wildest, and **most intense**, after cutting the body loose, where it rivals the sexual dancing seen at any of the club's anniversary parades. It is evident through the performance of "showing respect" and "clowning" that sex and death are not seen as contradictory.

The mood and specific form of the funeral largely depends on the person who died: church, route (bar, house), band playing his tune, homemade signs and banners which always use the person's nickname (sometimes exclusively) - all

reflect the deceased's individual personality, including weaknesses and possible unflattering information. The funeral procession, through its choice in the songs played, the neighborhoods and bars visited, makes a poignant statement about the life of the deceased (where he lived, the streets he walked on, the houses he visited and the places he frequented). These funerals are, perhaps, less gloomy than the mainstream Christian funerals because there is less denial of death--an everyday reality in the Black neighborhoods of New Orleans. Judith Hanna in her study of dance and attitudes toward the body notes that: "Rejection of the body... reflects the inability to come to terms with the passing of time and death." (Hanna: 1988:124). Neither denial is operating here. This view is further clarified by James "Mimmy" Hastings, a local street poet, when he says about jazz funerals:

"You cry when you come into the world, rejoice when you leave. If you've been involved in the parades and the music all your life, you don't want to go out any other way."

The sense that one's escort into death should follow one's way of being in life is born out in the funeral of "Uncle Ratty." He was a long-time second liner and a small-time drug dealer who sold just enough to get by and lived in the bars, especially the Caldonia Bar. He died with no money, yet he was given the largest funeral people had ever seen. It was "even bigger than Geddes Willis" (the prominent Black funeral home owner), with crowds reaching 2,500 people. He was so well-liked that the funeral home saw an opportunity to earn the respect of the community and offered to bury him for free. It was a good promotion. The band (a composite of Olympia, Chosen Few, All-Stars and Rebirth) also played for free. The night before at the wake, Sylvester, a community folk ethnographer of jazz funerals, recalled:

We marched the coffin up and down the street. We brought it into the bar [the Caldonia] and before we closed the coffin, we put reefers into the coffin,

'cause that's how he made his living. We also marched the coffin to the street corner where he used to hang out.

He added:

Reputation is important, I remember, when someone died who wasn't liked. He had a lot of money but only two blocks of people showed up. Today, Uncle Ratty had no money, and 5 or 6 blocks of people show up.

It is not just the music that brings people into the street to follow a funeral; respect and homage to the deceased are also fundamental values that give shape both to the jazz funeral, and the second-line parade. Thus the Black festival links the club to the bar, band, church, and funeral home.

Zulu: The Link Between Second-Line and Mardi Gras

Zulu, the carnival organization, constitutes a cultural bridge between Mardi Gras and Second-Line - New Orleans' two most popular parading traditions. It was initially founded as a Social Aid and Pleasure Club which parodied Rex on Mardi Gras, thereby joining the second-lining and Mardi Gras parade traditions. The rise of Zulu gave many Blacks, excluded from the Carnival organizations, a way to participate in Mardi Gras through the burlesque of Rex.

The immense popularity of this new Carnival organization among New Orleans Blacks is indicative of their feelings about a holiday that, until the ending of segregation, had excluded them. Whites who are not members of Krewes can still participate in the revelry through public costuming and private parties. For many Blacks, in their roles as servants, cooks, waiters, nannies and housekeepers, Mardi Gras was not a holiday. It was a day of work. Thus it is appropriate that the Black population's first 'public' involvement in Carnival would take the form of parody. In this way Zulu, the burlesque of Rex, constitutes the pride of Rex (and therefore of Mardi Gras). Both are

indispensable to the festival.

Before the 1960's, Zulu had no set route and was like other second-line clubs. In time, however, a new generation of Zulu realized that it would not be able to sustain a commitment to participating in both parade traditions and earn the public's respect as a legitimate Carnival organization. Gradually the club withdrew from parody and mimicry of the Carnival parade. Today Zulu resembles a mainstream white Krewe with its floats carrying hundreds of members high above the crowds, its plastic beads thrown to begging on-lookers, and its use of high school marching bands rather than strictly brass bands. In the mid-seventies, its route changed to include St. Charles Avenue, the predominant path for standard Krewes. Significantly, many of the second-line club members interviewed avoid the Zulu parade, preferring to come to the Mardi Gras Indian celebrations in the predominantly black neighborhood surrounding A. L. Davis park. For many second-liners, the elements (e.g., music, dance, parody, costume, fellowship, etc.) which shape and define the second-line festival tradition hold different meanings from those found in Mardi Gras. In this way, both the second-line clubs and the Indians participate in a common performance ethos which Zulu has chosen to ignore.

Chapter Four: Practical Suggestions

Introduction

The clubs are facing a number of problems today which threaten their survival. All have been hurt by an economic squeeze and hit hard by the effects of tightening municipal controls over the parades. The cost of production of these non-profit celebrations, including dress suits and other items, reaches thousands of dollars for each individual. Band and police fees add to an already heavy economic burden. Club members are often drawn from lower-income groups, and rising unemployment and general inflation are forcing many clubs to near extinction. Municipal restrictions have severely limited parade times and, hence, the overall character of the parade. Unlike the recent past (ca. 1977), clubs now are required to hire police escorts - an expense that they feel is unnecessary. Underlying the clubs' difficulties is a pervasive lack of understanding about their functions and importance as bearers of a traditional New Orleanian cultural institution. For many middle and upper-class residents of the city, these groups are not understood and consequently are not seen as viable or important cultural entities. It is indeed ironic that, in a city that prides itself on treasuring its historical heritage, there is more awareness of the fragility of the natural environment than there is of the second-line festival tradition - a cultural tradition which is responsible for the creation of jazz.

Unique to New Orleans, the second-line parade is, after the Black church, the second oldest Black cultural institution in North America. Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve can foster greater awareness and understanding of this tradition through performing a variety of educational and administrative services which join the club and city into a more understanding

cooperative arrangement.

The following suggestions involve a minimal increase in the Park's operating expense but will, if followed, contribute significantly to promoting a friendlier, more supportive social environment in which the clubs can operate. By bringing about proper recognition, the park will contribute to protect the vitality of the second-line parade--a truly exceptional New Orleans historical institution and one fundamental to the continuation of the city's musical heritage.

1) **Arrange Conferences and Exhibitions**

It is easy to forget that it has only been within the last ten years, due largely through the efforts of the New Orleans Jazz Festival, the Hogan Jazz Archives, the National Geographic Society, and the international media, that the Mardi Gras Indians have become re-evaluated as a viable cultural institution that no longer embarrasses nor seems merely a cultural oddity to city officials. If New Orleanians understood the historical origins of the second-line culture and its importance to the continuation of the city's living jazz tradition, then the Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs might also receive similar respect. The Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs should be seen as carriers of another, albeit largely ignored, festival calendar and, therefore, should have the same respect that is currently extended to those clubs which participate in Mardi Gras. Without more informed and knowledgeable citizens, the clubs will remain open to possible erroneous interpretations. For example, informants repeatedly pointed out to us that the city council attempted, in 1979, to outlaw the "second-line" parade because it was deemed a 'cultural eye sore.' Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve might be able to contribute to reducing cultural misunderstanding, if it

explored the feasibility of sponsoring some of the events and activities listed below:

- a) an annual seminar and conference that bring local and national scholars together to discuss the cultural significance of the second-line parade;
- b) annual exhibitions that include guest speakers and photographic representations which would focus on the celebration of the 'second-line' as a cultural institution;

2) **Tourism**

If the second-line parades could be placed within a proper historical perspective, they would have broader appeal to those tourists interested in an authentic, truly recreational and historically vivid experience. Black "carnival" continues all year round, and it constitutes an excellent source for a new kind of cultural tourism, thereby expanding New Orleans' tourist market. Specifically, we suggest that Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve:

- a) Enter into a serious dialogue with the clubs and the city in order to determine to what extent tourists, and, in particular, Black tourists, could participate without disrupting the "second-line" tradition.
- b) Explore the feasibility of funding performances by
the Mardi Gras Indians (in Armstrong park in the fall) and the
Brass Bands and Second-Line Clubs (in the spring).
- c) Conduct a seminar designed to inform the police about the
historical significance of the second-line festival and its place
within New Orleans culture and economy.

- d) Explore the feasibility of establishing a Black Cultural Center in New Orleans.

3) **The Park Ranger as Auxiliary Parade Supervisors**

The most expensive aspect of the parade is the police cost for traffic and crowd control. It would be a prudent and far-reaching gesture for the city to provide year-round police services to the traditional parading clubs and at no extra charge. This would greatly help many marginal clubs who could not otherwise afford the \$500 to \$1200 per parade supervision costs. In addition, we noticed that there is an underlying tension between the clubs who prefer unrestricted all-day parades and the police who insure that parades end within the designated time period. Much of this tension is compounded by some, but, by no means every, policeman's lack of appreciation for the importance and value of the event.

The tension between duty and festival spirit is amply revealed in a few of the arguments that we witnessed during the course of the parade season. Inevitably, these arguments are over "going too slow" and the police urging the paraders forward with strong verbal reprimands, use of their police sirens or by driving their cars through the crowd, thereby disrupting the band and the dance.

The perception that the police are not sympathetic contributes to a resentment among the club members who believe that the police are negligent in their duties as paid public servants and, sometimes, take special pleasure in exerting control over the clubs through the issuing of permits, and their hard-and-fast enforcement of the city ordinance limiting parades to four hours. Even if the paraders fully intend to finish on time, they are irritated by the constant police threat to break up the parade. In this way, the police

"details," as they are called, are seen by the clubs as an insensitive extension of the City's control over the second-line tradition, a tradition that the city seems only begrudgingly to acknowledge. We, therefore, suggest that Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve:

Explore the feasibility of establishing an office of ombudsman to direct the center of Black culture and maintain close relationship between the clubs and the city. At present, Officer French, who issues parade permits and arranges the city's parade schedule, has been serving as a de facto ombudsman. While we were conducting our research, we did not hear any complaints about the way he interacted with the clubs. We found him to be always courteous in responding to our queries. By suggesting that the Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve study the feasibility of creating an office of ombudsman, we do not wish to cast doubts on Officer French's performance. We do believe, however, that an ombudsman, whose primary purpose will be to interface between the city, the Jean Lafitte Historical Park and Preserve and the clubs, would, in time, play an important role in assisting the clubs in scheduling and promoting their annual parades. In addition, the office could serve as clearing house for information about the clubs and their ever changing activities.

4) Crowd Control

Police attitudes vary according to the type of parade they are escorting. The occasional fist-fights that break out at a Saints' football game, are seen as an unfortunate but not critical by-product of the event. The same is true of the disturbances that occasionally erupt during Mardi Gras or, especially, during St. Patrick's day parade. However, when physical violence erupts during a second-line parade, the police interpret the second-line parade as potentially

more violent than other New Orleans festival events. Yet there is no evidence to support this interpretation.

Nevertheless, the police insist that it is imperative that there be between five to twelve police officers at a parade. Not only do they note that fights that take place at the parade, but the police also report on any "incidents" that take place during the course of the parade, and thereby imply that the club was somehow responsible. This is an unfair implication. The clubs have no control over who will use the parade as a "pay back" for a bad gambling debt, a soured drug deal, or whatever. It must be stressed that the "incidents" that occasionally take place during the course of a parade are not the result of some emotional instability provoked by the up-beat music and sensual dancing of the second-liners. Rather, they are known "pay backs" designed to increase a person's reputation as an enforcer. A number of clubs attempt to avoid such situations by shunning the narrow streets which crowd the paraders into too tight a space, in favor of wider avenues and by hiring a band that plays slower music; however, even those clubs cannot escape a "payback." It is important to note that, if there were no second-line parades, the "paybacks" would only take place at a local bar, church or during the Saints football game. It is incorrect to blame the clubs or the second-liners for any killings that may occur during the parade season. To do so is a gross misunderstanding of the parade as a social and cultural institution, and must be seen as an indirect condemnation of the clubs and the second-line tradition.

Sylvester, a folk ethnographer, has given a lot of thought to the relations between the clubs and the city. He told us that:

They say that there are too many of us, there's gonna be trouble [but] it never be the ones in the parade [who commit the crimes], it be the ones that following. . . If something does happen, that's something that happens through the two parties. If it be fight, it be the outsiders. That's the

way it always goes. If something happens at a second-line or the Indians, they blame us. They need the jazz funeral. They need the Mardi Gras Indians. The only thing they don't need is the Marching Club. [But] they all the same. It's a one triangle. You can't pick the one from the other.

We found that there were very few violent incidents that took place during the entire parade season. In the 16 parades that we attended from the beginning to the end, we observed only four minor fights and one shooting, which was entirely unconnected with the parade but which used the parade as a cover. We recommend, therefore, that the Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve:

- a) explore alternative avenues whereby it may be able to assist the clubs in reducing their annual marching expenses.
- b) Fund a study to determine the frequency of violence that occurs during a Saints' football game, the Irish and Italian Festivals, the Jazz Festival and Mardi Gras. Only after comparable data is collected and analyzed will it be possible to validate empirically whether any one ethnic festival is more violent than another.

In summation, Alan Lomax argues that a society's little traditions that make up larger societies are just as important as the greater traditions. In agreement, Feintuch (1988:4) notes that "our planet is an agreeable and stimulating habitat because of the diversity of the life-style... But cultural systems, like the natural one, represent delicate balances." Ironically, it is during the interface between these two processes -- development and continuity -- that local cultures vanish. By demonstrating enlightenment and responsible leadership Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve can contribute to enhancing the various communities' appreciation of New Orleans' other, largely unknown, festival cycle, and in this way, strengthen its historical mandate to identify,

interpret and protect what is historically and culturally unique to New Orleans,
Louisiana and North America.

APPENDIX

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CLUBS THAT PARADED IN THE 1988 SEASON

<u>Club</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Starting point</u>
Lady Zulu	Sept. 3	Jackson Ave.
Valley of Silent Men	Aug. 16	Dryades Street Red Lantern Bar
Jolly Bunch	Sept. 18	1805 Simon Bolivar Pete & Alice Lounge
Young Men Olymian, Jr.	Sept. 25	1921 Harmony St. Elk's Club
Golden Trumpets	Oct. 16	Orleans & N. Tonti Seafood Shack
Original 4	Oct. 23	Armstrong Park
Money Wasters	Nov. 6	N. Claiborne & Urselines Ave.
Sudan	Nov. 13	St. Claude & St. Bernard
Scene Boosters	Nov. 20	Dorgenois & Thalia Rose Tavern
Buck Jumpers	Dec. 11	2519 S. Saratoga St. Glass House
Ladies & Gentlemen of Leisure	Dec. 18	Pauger & N. Derbigny Boss Place

Second Line Clubs Cross Participation in Other Clubs' Parades

Young Men Olympians

Dady Buck Jumpers
Money Wasters
Avenue Steppers
Kool & the Gang
Harold Dejan (Olympia)
Mighty 13
Rude Girls

Original Four
Sudan
Mellow Fellows
Algiers Steppers
Dirty Dozen Band
Get Fresh Crew
Wild Tchoupitoulas

Money Wasters

Second Line Jammers
Scene Boosters
Zulu
Original Four
Buck Jumpers
Lady Buck Jumpers
Algiers Brass Band
Calender Girls
Bourbon St. Bruisers
Tutti Montana (Yellow Pocahantas)

Avenue Steppers
Fun Lovers
Golden Trumpet
Jolly Bunch
Sudan
9th Ward Steppers
Algiers Outlaws
Original 9th Ward Rollers
Seven Belles Saving Club
Bo Dallis (Wild Magnolias)

Golden Trumpets

Mellow Fellows
Scene Boosters
Second Line Jammers
9th Ward Steppers
Young and the Restless
Bonton Club
St. Thomas 10 Steppers

Zulu
Original Four
Jolly Bunch
Lady Zulu
Sudan
GANG
Fun Lovers

Original Four

Buck Jumpers
Avenue Steppers
Lady Buck Jumpers
Young & the Restless
Cool Steppers
Xavier Prep Yellow Jackets
5 Boosters Club
Fun Lovers

Scene Boosters
YMO
Algiers Steppers
Algiers Outlaws
Seven Belles Saving Club
Bourbon St. Bruisers
Larry (Golden Eagles)

Sudan

Scene Boosters
Buck Jumpers
Money Wasters
Lady Zulu
Seven Belles Saving Club
GANG (growing achievers
of new generation)
Untouchables Booster Club

YMO (5th division)
Original Four
Zulu
Golden Trumpets
Algiers Brass Band
Club Silver Dollars
We Got Style, Inc.
Furious Five

Bars on Parade Routes

Jolly Bunch*

Uptown/Downtown
Pete and Alice Lounge
Kelly's Bar
Charles' Corner Bar
Toney's Green Room
Ladies Lounge
King's Lounge
Golden Trumpets

Downtown
Homer's Bar
Dew Drop
Grease Bar
Funmaker Lounge
Charles' Corner Bar
Winnie's Bar

Stop

Money Masters

Downtown
Abe's Lounge
Funmaker
(name)
Saloon's Bar
Place
Sander's Bar
Bar
Caldonia Bar
Bar

Queen's Stop
Scene Booster's

Uptown
Charles' Corner Bar
Jim's Bar
B & R Bar
Bar
JR's Place
The Steppin Stone Lounge
Sandpiper Lounge

Young Men Olympian Jr.

Downtown
Elk's Club
Twin Den
B & R Lounge
Kelly's Bar
Two Jax Bar

Original Four**

Uptown
Glass House
Verlene's Green Room
B & R Lounge
Kelly's Bar
Downtowner's Bar
Peggy's Bar
Two Jax Bar
Roland's
Burnell's Bar
Joyce's

Sudan

Downtown
Roland's
Calendar Girl's Bar (no
Sudan's Bar (no name)
Boss'
Clara's Bar
Bailey's
Winnie's Bar
Candelight
Ladies Lounge

Second Line Jammers

Downtown
Star Lounge
Horace's Bar
Pamela's Bar
Downtowners Bar
Glass House
The Candle Light
Wise Hurricane
Mahogany 10
Kelly's
Two Jax Bar
Abe's Lounge
The
OT's Lounge

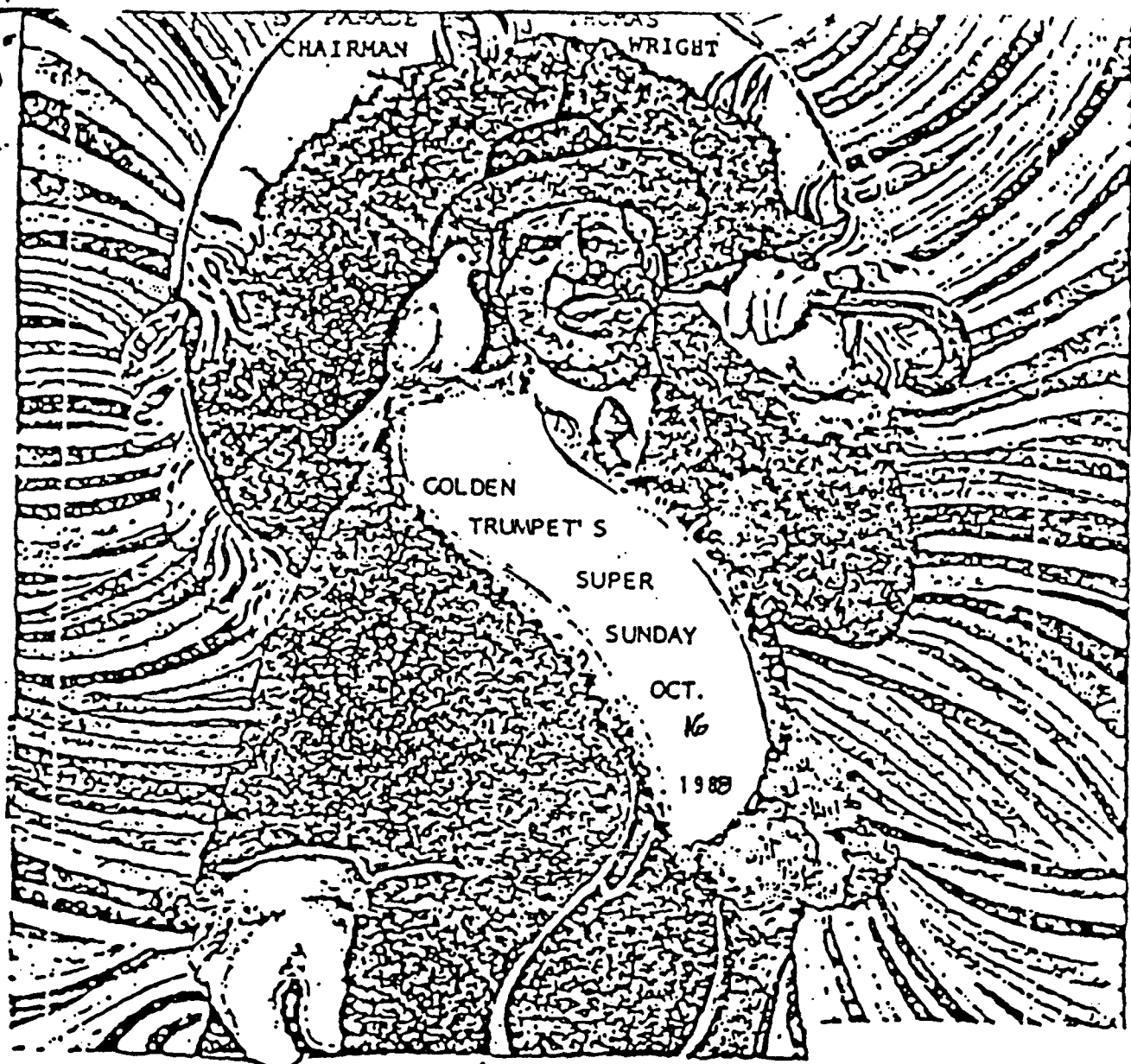
Original Buck Jumpers***

Leisure
Glass House
Winnie's Bar
Pleasure Simons & Company
Shelton's Place
Charles' Corner
Lounge
E & C Lounge
Bar

Uptown
QT's Lounge

Ladies & Gentlemen of

Downtown
Boss' Place
Club
Caldonia Bar
Sidney Brown
Hollow Point
Dooley's Bar
Streamline Tavern
Dew Drop Inn
Leo Social and
Broadway



Doneta Phillippe
QUEEN

PARADE ROUTE

PARADE STARTS AT ORLEANS AVE. AND N. TONTI ST. - BACK ORLEANS TO N. DORGENOIS LEFT ON DORGENOIS TO ST. PETER STOP HOMERS BAR. UP DORGENOIS TO BIENVILLE OUT BIENVILLE TO N. JOHNSON LEFT ON JOHNSON TO CONTI STOP PEGGYS BAR. BACK CONTI TO N. GALVEZ STOP VERLENE'S GREEN ROOM. DOWN GALVEZ TO ORLEANS RIGHT AT ORLEANS TO N. ROBERTSON STOP GREASE BAR. CONTINUE ORLEANS TO N. VILLERE DOWN VILLERE TO ST. PHILIP STOP AT ROLAND'S FUNMAKER LOUNGE. DOWN VILLERE TO ST. BERNARD RIGHT AT ST. BERNARD STOP BURNELL'S BAR U TURN BACK ST. BERNARD STOP DOWNTOWNERS BAR. CONTINUE ST. BERNARD TO A.P. TUREAUD TO GALVEZ STOP R.J. JAZZ ROOM. LEFT AT NEW ORLEANS TO N. ROCHEBLADE TO A.P. TUREAUD STOP WINNIE'S BAR UP A.P. TUREAUD TO ST. BERNARD TO CLAIBORNE RIGHT AT CLAIBORNE TO URSULINE RIGHT AT URSULINE TO JOYCE'S STOP 2029 URSULINE. LEFT AT JOHNSON TO ORLEANS RIGHT AT ORLEANS TO TONTI. PARADE DISBAND

HAVE A WONDERFUL TIME...
WE ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR SECOND LINERS



PARADE ROUTE

ORIGINAL FOUR SOCIAL & PLEASURE CLUB

DATE: SUNDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1988

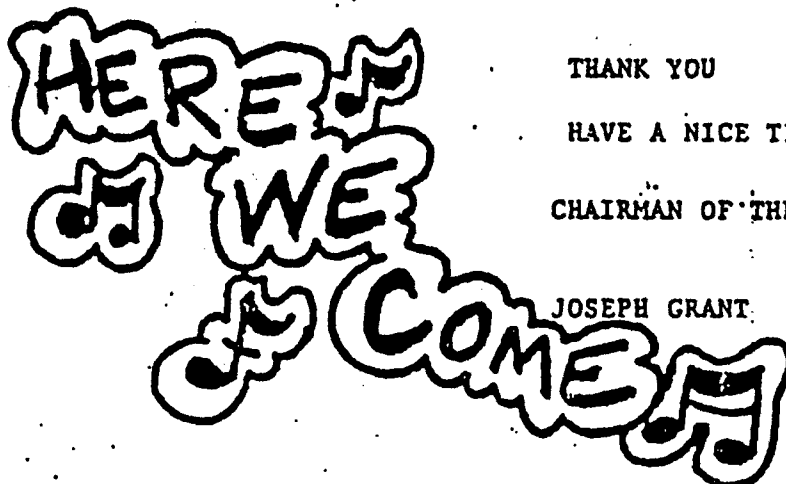
STARTING: ARMSTRONG PARK

TIME: 1:00 P.M.



NORTH RAMPART TO DRYADES STREET, UP DRYADES STREET TO PHILLIP STREET UP
PHILLIP STREET TO DANNEEL STREET, TURN RIGHT ON FOURTH TO SOUTH SARATOGA
TURN RIGHT ON SARATOGA STREET (STOP: GLASS HOUSE) OUT SARATOGA TO SECOND

STREET BACK SECOND STREET LA SALLE TURN LEFT ON LASALLE TO SIXTH STREET,
(STOP: DEW DROP) DOWN LASALLE TO SIMON BOLIVAR TURN LEFT ON ST. ANDREW
TO LIBERTY STREET TURN LEFT ON LIBERTY STREET AND (STOP: TWO JAX) DOWN
LIBERTY TO JACKSON AVENUE, TURN RIGHT ON JACKSON AVENUE TO FRERET STREET,
TURN LEFT ON FRERET TO SECOND STREET TURN RIGHT ON SECOND TO MAGNOLIA
STREET TURN RIGHT ON MAGNOLIA STREET TO FIRST STREET (STOP: B-E-R-LOUNGE)
UP MAGNOLIA STREET TO JACKSON AVENUE TURN LEFT ON JACKSON TO SOUTH CLAIBORNE
AVENUE TURN RIGHT ON CLAIBORNE AVENUE (STOP: KELLEY'S BAR) UP SOUTH CLAIBORNE
TO MARTIN LUTHER KING AVENUE TURN LEFT ON MARTIN LUTHER KING TO SOUTH GALVEZ
STREET TURN LEFT ON SOUTH GALVEZ TO WASHINGTON AVENUE TURN LEFT ON WASHINGTON
AVENUE (STOP: CHARLIE'S CORNER) DOWN WASHINGTON TO FRERET STREET (DISBAND)



THANK YOU

HAVE A NICE TIME

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

JOSEPH GRANT



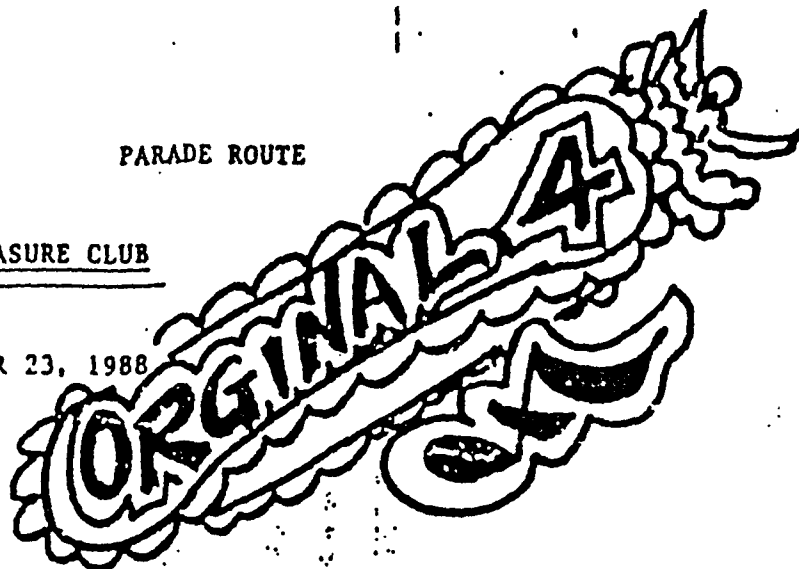
PARADE ROUTE

ORIGINAL FOUR SOCIAL & PLEASURE CLUB

DATE: SUNDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1988

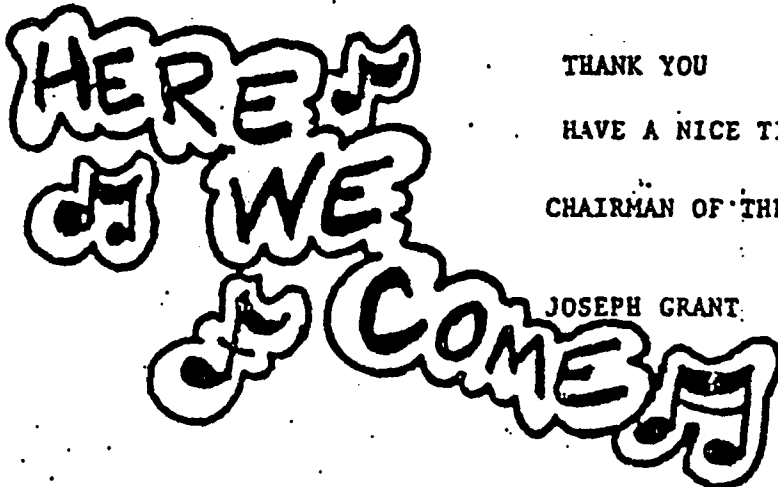
STARTING: ARMSTRONG PARK

TIME: 1:00 P.M.



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PHILLIP STREET TO DANNEEL STREET, TURN RIGHT ON FOURTH TO SOUTH SARATOGA
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AVENUE (STOP: CHARLIE'S CORNER) DOWN WASHINGTON TO FRERET STREET (DISBAND)

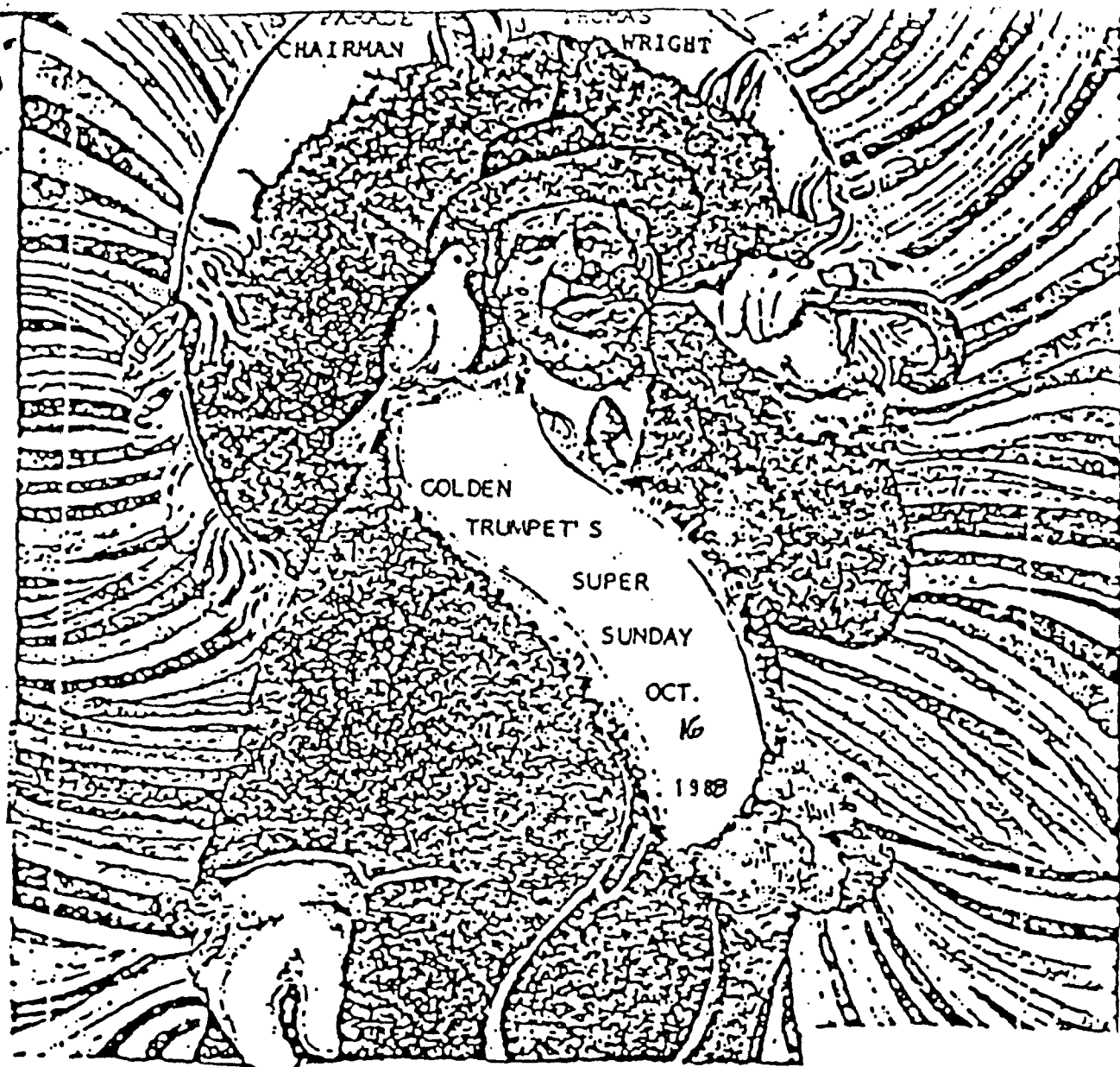


THANK YOU

HAVE A NICE TIME

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

JOSEPH GRANT



Doneta Phillips
QUEEN

PARADE ROUTE

PARADE STARTS AT ORLEANS AVE. AND N. TONTI ST. - BACK ORLEANS TO N. DORGENOIS LEFT ON DORGENOIS TO ST. PETER STOP HOMERS BAR. UP DORGENOIS TO BIENVILLE OUT BIENVILLE TO N. JOHNSON LEFT ON JOHNSON TO CONTI STOP PEGGYS BAR. BACK CONTI TO N. GALVEZ STOP VERLENE'S GREEN ROOM. DOWN GALVEZ TO ORLEANS RIGHT AT ORLEANS TO N. ROBERTSON STOP GREASE BAR. CONTINUE ORLEANS TO N. VILLERE DOWN VILLERE TO ST. PHILIP STOP AT ROLAND'S FUNMAKER LOUNGE. DOWN VILLERE TO ST. BERNARD RIGHT AT ST. BERNARD STOP BURNELL'S BAR U TURN BACK ST. BERNARD STOP DOWNTOWNERS BAR CONTINUE ST. BERNARD TO A.P. TUREAUD TO GALVEZ STOP R.J. JAZZ ROOM. LEFT AT NEW ORLEANS TO N. ROCHEBLADE TO A.P. TUREAUD STOP WINNIE'S BAR UP A.P. TUREAUD TO ST. BERNARD TO CLAIBORNE RIGHT AT CLAIBORNE TO URSULINE RIGHT AT URSULINE TO JOYCE'S STOP 2029 URSULINE. LEFT AT JOHNSON TO ORLEANS RIGHT AT ORLEANS TO TONTI. PARADE DISBAND

HAVE A WONDERFUL TIME...
WE ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR SECOND LINERS

YOUNG MEN OLYMPIAN JR.

PARADE ROUTE

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1988

Leave Elks Hall 1921 Harmony Street, out Harmony Street to Dryades Street - to Second Street, back Second Street to Danneel Street (STOP) Twin Den; up Danneel Street to Washington Avenue, back Washington Avenue to Magnolia Street, Down Magnolia Street to First Street (STOP) B&R Lounge; Down Magnolia Street to Jackson Avenue, back Jackson Avenue to South Claiborne Avenue (STOP) at Kelly's Bar.

Down South Claiborne Avenue to Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd.; Out Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd. to South Rampart Street, Back South Rampart Street to Felicity Street; Out Felicity Street to South Liberty Street (STOP) Two Jack's Bar. Up South Liberty Street to Simon Boulevard, up to LaSalle to Washington Ave., Out Washington Avenue to Danneel Street; Up Danneel Street to Harmony Street, out Harmony Street to "1921 HARMONY STREET" where parade disbands.

BE NICE!!!!!!

ENJOY YOURSELF!!!!!!

"THANK YOU!!!!"-----"THANK YOU!!!!"
(NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR SECOND LINERS)

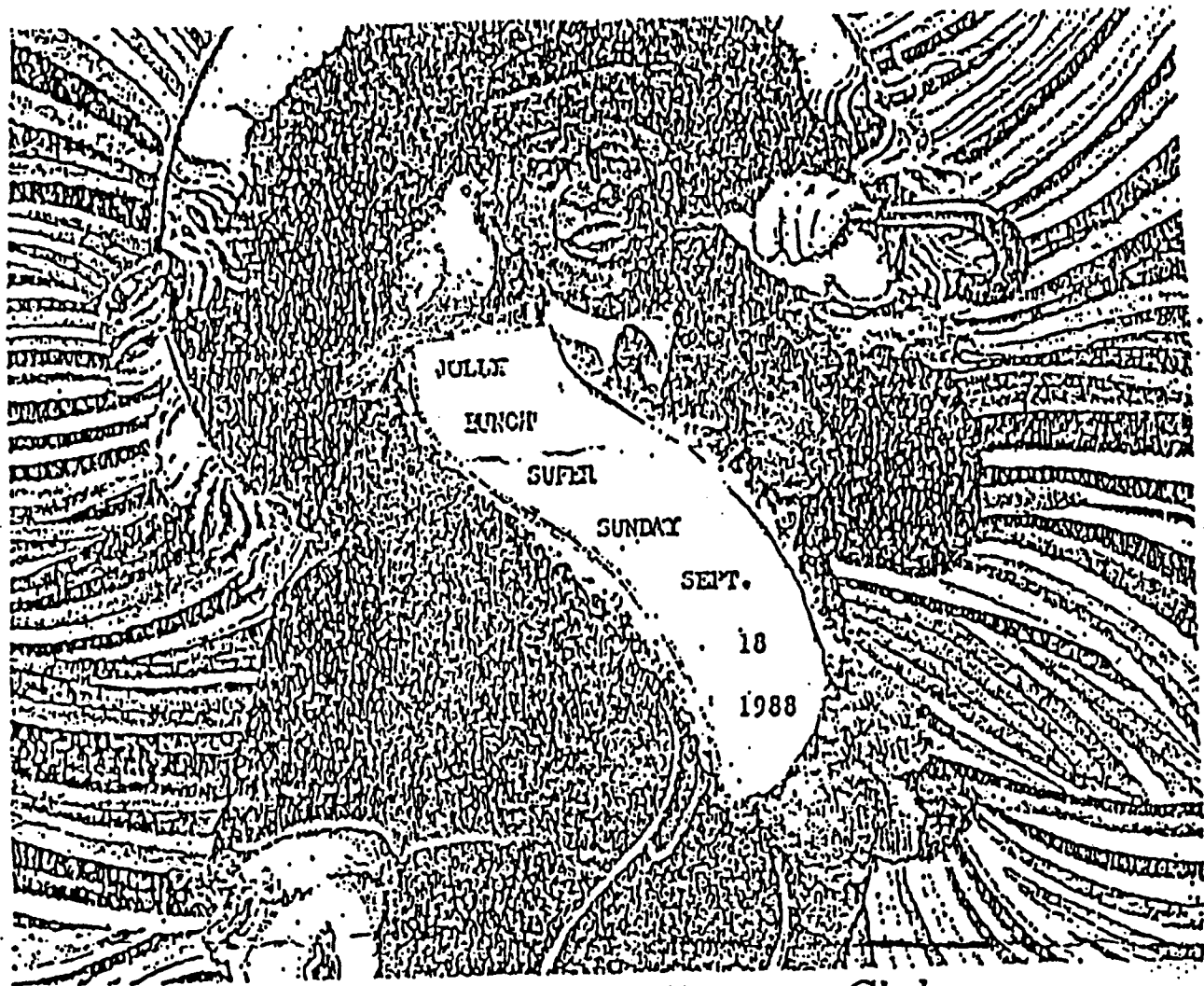
PARADE CHAIRMEN: ALFRED CARTER
NORMAN DIXON
EUGENE WOODARD

102

HAVE FUN!!!!!!

BE CAREFUL !!!!!!

9/25/88



Jolly Bunch Social & Pleasure Club Annual Street Parade

Starting Place: 1805 Simon Bolivar

Starting Time: 1:00 PM

Formation time is at 12:00 noon, parade is to start at 1:00 p.m. The official route is made up at Pete and Alice Lounge located at 1805 Simon Bolivar. Start of parade 1805 Simon Bolivar St., travel up Felicity to So. Claiborne to Kelly's Bar (stop). Up So. Claiborne to Washington Ave., right on Washington to Charles' Bar (stop) at Galvez and Washington, right on Galvez up Galvez to Earhart, left on Earhart over the over pass to Gravier, right on Gravier to Galvez, Left on Galvez to Toney's Green Room (stop); down on Galvez right to Bayou Road on to Gov. Nicholls down to Gov. Nicholls to 1524 Gov. Nicholls (stop) out Gov. Nicholls to 1233 Gov. Nicholls (stop) out Gov. Nicholls to St. Claude right on St. Claude to Ursuline right on Ursuline to Villere left on Villere to Orleans right on Orleans to Ladies' Lounge (stop) back Orleans to White, right on White to St. Ann, right on St. Ann to King's Lounge, break - up approx. 5:00 p.m.

We Are Not Responsible For Any Disturbances
Caused By Second Liners.

HAVE A GOOD TIME!

HONEY MASTERS PARADE ROUTE

DATE: NOVEMBER 6, 1980

TIME: 1 PM TO 5PM

START: (ABE'S LOUNGE) NORTH CLAIBORNE AND URSULINE AVENUE UP NORTH CLAIBORNE AVE.
TO ST. PHILLIP. MAKE A LEFT AT ST. PHILLIP TO N. VILLERE ST. (STOP) ROLAND'S
PUNYAKER INN. UP ST. PHILLIP TO TREME ST. LEFT AT TREME TO GOV. NICHOLS (STOP)
CALENDAR GIRLS DOWN TREME TO ESPLANDE AVE. RIGHT TURN AT ESPLANDE TO ST. CLAUDE
LEFT TURN AT ST. CLAUDE TO KLEREC ST. (STOP SUDAN CLUB) DOWN TO ST. CLAUDE TO
ST. BERNARD (STOP SALCON BAR) LEFT TURN AT ST. BERNARD TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE. RIGHT
TURN ON N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO TOURS ST. U TURN AT TOURS TO N. CLAIBORNE. UP
N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO PAUGER ST. RIGHT TURN AT PAUGER ST. TO N. DERBIGNY (STOP
BOSS PLACE) LEFT ON N. DERBIGNY TO ST. ANTHONY. LEFT ON ST ANTHONY TO N. CLAI
BORNE (STOP CLARA'S BAR) RIGHT TURN AT N. CLAIBORNE TO ST. BERNARD AVE. RIGHT
TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO ROUSSELIN ST. U TURN AT ROUSSELIN ST. TO ST. BERNARD
AVE. (STOP SANDER'S BAR) UP ST. BERNARD AVE. TO N. DORGENOIS ST. U TURN AT
N. DORGENOIS ST. DOWN N. DORGENOIS ST. TO A. P. TUREAUD (STOP BAILEY'S BAR)
RIGHT TURN AT A. P. TUREAUD TO N. TONTI ST. (STOP WINNIE'S BAR) UP A. P. TUREAUD
TO ST. BERNARD AVE. LEFT TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE. UP
N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO ESPLANDE AVE. LEFT TURN AT ESPLANDE AVE. TO N. ROBERTSON
(UP N. ROBERTSON ST. TO ST. PHILLIP ST. (STOP CALDONIA BAR) UP N. ROBERTSON TO
(STOP CANDLELIGHT BAR) UP N. ROBERTSON TO BASIN ST. (STOP LADIES LOUNGE) RIGHT
TURN AT BASIN ST. TO ORLEANS AVE. ORLEANS AVE. TO N. ROMAN ST. U TURN AT AT
N. ROMAN ST TO 1720 ORLEANS AVENUE (STOP QUEEN'S) UP ORLEANS AVE. TO N. CLAI
BORNE AVE. TO MAKE A LEFT AT N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO URSULINE AVE.

DISBAND ABE'S LOUNGE

PARADE CHAIRMAN ALFRED LAZARD

MONEY MASTERS PARADE ROUTE

"THE CONTROLLERS"

THE CANDLELIGHT STEPPERS

DATE: NOVEMBER 6, 1988

TIME: 1 P.M. - 5 P.M.

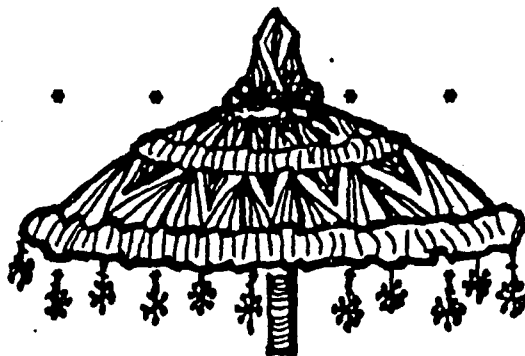
START: (ABEL'S LOUNGE) NORTH CLAIBORNE AND URSULINES AVE.

UP N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO ST. PHILIP ST., MAKE A LEFT AT
ST. PHILIP ST. TO N. VILLERE ST. (STOP - ROLAND'S FUNMAKER INN).
UP ST. PHILIP ST. TO TREME ST., LEFT AT TREME ST. TO GOV. NICHOLLS
ST. (STOP - CALENDAR GIRLS). DOWN TREME ST. TO ESPLANDE AVE.,
RIGHT TURN AT ESPLANDE AVE. TO ST. CLAUDE AVE., LEFT TURN AT
ST. CLAUDE AVE. TO KENEREC ST. (STOP - SUDAN'S CLUB). DOWN
ST. CLAUDE AVE. TO ST. BERNARD AVE. (STOP - SALOON'S BAR). LEFT
TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE., RIGHT TURN ON
N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO TOURO ST., U-TURN AT TOURO ST. TO N. CLAIBORNE
AVE., UP N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO PAUGER ST., RIGHT TURN AT PAUGER ST.
TO N. DERBIGNY ST. (STOP - BOSS PLACE). LEFT ON N. DERBIGNY ST. TO
ST. ANTHONY ST., LEFT ON ST. ANTHONY ST. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE. (STOP -
BLAIR'S BAR). RIGHT TURN AT N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO ST. BERNARD AVE.,
RIGHT TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO ROUSSELIN ST., U-TURN AT ROUSSELIN
ST. TO ST. BERNARD AVE. (STOP - SANDERS BAR). UP ST. BERNARD AVE.
TO N. DORGENOIS ST., U-TURN AT N. DORGENOIS ST., DOWN N. DORGENOIS
ST., TO A.P. TUREAUD AVE. (STOP - BAILEY'S BAR). RIGHT TURN AT
A.P. TUREAUD AVE. TO N. TONTI ST. (STOP - WINNIE'S BAR). UP A.P.-
TUREAUD AVE. TO ST. BERNARD AVE., LEFT TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO
N. CLAIBORNE AVE., UP N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO ESPLANDE AVE., LEFT TURN
AT ESPLANDE AVE. TO N. ROBERTSON ST., RIGHT TURN AT N. ROBERTSON ST.
TO ST. PHILIP ST. (STOP - CALDONIA'S BAR). UP N. ROBERTSON ST.
(STOP - CANDLELIGHT BAR). UP N. ROBERTSON ST. TO BASIN ST. (STOP -
LADIES LOUNGE). RIGHT TURN AT BASIN ST. TO ORLEANS AVE., ORLEANS
AVE. TO N. ROMAN ST., U-TURN AT N. ROMAN ST. TO 1720 ORLEANS AVE.
(STOP - QUEEN'S STOP). UP ORLEANS AVE. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE., LEFT
AT N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO URSULINES AVE., LEFT AT URSULINES AVE.

DISBAND: ABEL'S LOUNGE

"ENJOY AND DON'T DESTROY"

NOW YOU'VE
SEEN THE REST



NOW COME ON
AND SEE THE BEST

LADIES & GENTLEMEN OF LEISURE
SOCIAL AND PLEASURE CLUB



WE DEDICATE THIS PARADE TO OUR DECEASED MEMBER:
MAURICE B.K.A. - BUCK

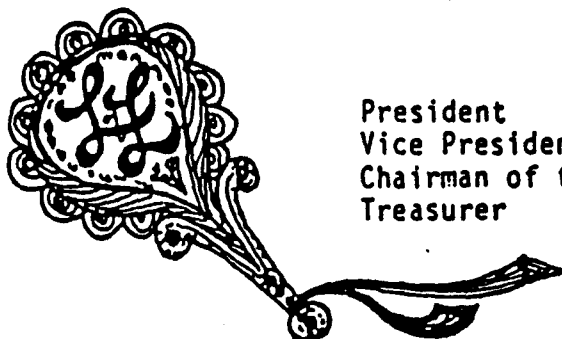
DATE: DECEMBER 18, 1988

TIME: 12 NOON

PARADE ROUTE

- START: AT BOSS PLACE. Pauger & N. Derbigny, right on N. Derbigny to St. Anthony Street, St. Anthony to N. Claiborne, up N. Claiborne to St. Bernard, back St. Bernard to A. P. Tureaud to N. Rocheblave, U-Turn.
- STOP: AT WINNIES. Up A. P. Tureaud to N. Miro, right at Miro.
- STOP: AT 1534 N. MIRO. Up Miro to Orleans, right on Orleans to Dorgenios. U-Turn at N. Dorgenios to Orleans, out Orleans to N. Villere, left at Orleans & Villere.
- STOP: LEO SOCIAL AND PLEASURE CLUB. U-Turn at Villere to Orleans to N. Claiborne, right on Claiborne, down Claiborne to St. Phillip, right at St. Phillip to N. Robertson Street.
- STOP: CALDONIA BAR. Out St. Phillip to Villere, left on Villere, down Villere to Esplanade, left on Esplanade to N. Claiborne, down N. Claiborne to St. Bernard, right on St. Bernard to St. Claude.
- STOP: SIDNEY BROWN. Out St. Bernard to N. Rampart, left at McShane Place, down McShane to Pauger, left at Pauger & St. Claude, back Pauger to N. Claiborne, right at Claiborne to Touro, U-Turn at Touro & Claiborne, right at Pauger & Claiborne to N. Derbigny.

DISBAND AT BOSS PLACE



President
Vice President
Chairman of the Board
Treasurer

- Mr. Huey Journee
- Mr. Johnny Shields
- Mr. Kevin Zardies
- Mr. Roland Journee





SECOND LINE JAMMERS
DEC. 4, 1988
STARTING TIME: 1:00 P.M.

STAR LOUNGE -3906 St. Bernard Ave; St. Bernard to Gentilly.
Gentilly to Broad, Broad to Barracks. U-turn.
Stop at Jim's Bar.
Start---Broad to Esplanade, right on Esplanade to Derbigny. Cross
over against traffic on Esplanade.
Stop--- MAHOGANY 10
Start-- Continue against traffic to Claiborne, left on
Claiborne with traffic to Touro: left U-turn at Touro.
Stop---PAMELA'S BAR.
Start--- Claiborne to St. Bernard, left on ST. Bernard.
Stop--- DOWNTOWERS BAR.
Start---St Bernard to Rampart, right on Rampart to Barracks.
Stop--- JR'S PLACE
Start--- Barracks to Treme, right on Treme to Esplanade, left on
Esplanade to Claiborne, left on Claiborne to Ursuline.
Stop--- ABE'S LOUNGE.
Start--- Claiborne to St. Phillip, left on St Phillip to Robertson
right on Robertson to THE CANDLE LIGHT.

****DISBAND****

THANKS FOR YOUR TIME

WE BE JAMMERS

Clara 'C.J.' Joseph
President

Vernita 'Peaches' Thompson
Vice President

PARADE CHAIRMAN - CLARENCE "SPORTY" JONES
 PRESIDENT JUNIOR BUCK JUMPER'S
 ZENJA "READIE" FIELDER
 PRESIDENT LADY BUCK JUMPER'S
 LOTTIE IRVING
 PRESIDENT MEN BUCK JUMPER'S
 FRANK CHARLES III



Start:
 GLASS HOUSE 2519 S. Saratoga St

DECEMBER 11, 1988 12:00 PM.

UP S. SARATOGA ST TO SECOND ST. ----- LEFT ON SECOND TO S. LIBERTY ST.
 LEFT TURN ON S. LIBERTY DOWN S. LIBERTY ST TO SIX ST. ----- RIGHT ON
 SIX ST TO LA SALLE ST. ----- RIGHT ON LA SALLE STOP DEW DROP INN

DOWN LA SALLE ST TO WASHINGTON AVE ----- LEFT ON WASHINGTON AVE
STOP Q T'S SPOT

OUT WASHINGTON AVE TO MAGNOLIA ----- LEFT ON MAGNOLIA ST TO TOLEDANO ST
 UP TOLEDANO ST TO S. CLAIBORNE AVE ----- LEFT ON S. CLAIBORNE AVE TO
 GEN. TAYLOR ST U TURN ON GEN TAYLOR TO S. CLAIBORNE AVE AND AMELIA ST.
STOP SIMMONS & COMPANY

DOWN S. CLAIBORNE AVE TO WASHINGTON AVE ----- LEFT ON WASHINGTON AVE
 TO S. PRIEUR ST. STOP SHELTON'S PLACE

OUT WASHINGTON AVE TO S. GALVEZ ST. GRAND STOP CHARLES CORNER

OUT WASHINGTON AVE TO S. ROCHERLAVE ST. STOP HOLLOW POINT LOUNGE

OUT WASHINGTON AVE TO S. BROAD ST. ----- RIGHT ON S. BROAD ST TO THALIA ST.
 RIGHT ON THALIA ST STOP DOOLEY'S BAR

UP THALIA ST TO S. DORGENOIS ST. ----- RIGHT ON S. DORGENOIS ST TO
 WASHINGTON AVE ----- RIGHT ON WASHINGTON AVE TO S. JEFF. DAVIS PKWY
 LEFT ON S. JEFF. DAVIS PKWY TO ERATO ST ----- RIGHT ON ERATO ST TO
 OLIVE ST AND AUDUBON CT. STOP E & C LOUNGE

OUT OLIVE ST TO BROADWAY ST ----- OUT BROADWAY ST STOP BROADWAY BAR

RIGHT ON FIG ST TO PINE ST ----- RIGHT ON PINE ST TO FORSHEY ST
 DOWN FORSHEY ST TO FERN ST ----- LEFT ON FERN ST STOP STREAMLINE
 TAVERN

DOWN FERN ST TO EARHART ST ----- LEFT ON EARHART ST TO PINE ST LEFT
 ON PINE ST TO FORSHEY ST ----- RIGHT ON FORSHEY STOP BROADWAY ST
 AND FORSHEY ST. CERT TOWN PARK DISBAND

DON'T WORRY

BE HAPPY

WE'RE COMING

SUDAN

SOCIAL & PLEASURE CLUB

4rd Annual Street Parade. NOVEMBER 13, 1988

Start 1:00 pm St. Claude & St. Bernard

St. Bernard to Marais Street, (right) Marais to Pauger Street
(left) Pauger Street to N, Robertson Street (left) Robertson
Street to St, Bernard Ave. (right) St. Bernard to Claiborne Ave.
(left) Claiborne to Urusline (stop) Claiborne to Dumaine Street
(right) Dumaine to Roman (left, stop in middle of block) Roman to
Orleans, (right) to Rocheblave, U-Turn on Orleans, to Claiborne
Ave. (left) to St Phillip, (right) to St Claude, (left) to Urusline,
(left) to Treme (stop) Ursuline to Villere (right) Villere to
St. Bernard, (right) to St. Claude.

-----Disband-----

SUDAN

Ask that you honor the memory of our deceased brother
ARCHIE CHAPMAN.

by

1. Being SMART - Leave Trouble at Home
2. Being WISE - Help a Brother Live
3. Having Fun - DANCE, DANCE, DANCE

Thanks for your cooperation in making this Event a Success.

SUDAN

SOCIAL & PLEASURE CLUB

all designs and decorations by
SUDAN SOCIAL & PLEASURE CLUB

- 1988

HONEY WASTERS PARADE ROUTE

DATE: NOVEMBER 6, 1980

TIME: 1 PM TO 5PM

START: (ABE'S LOUNGE) NORTH CLAIBORNE AND URSULINES AVENUE UP NORTH CLAIBORNE AVE. TO ST. PHILLIP. MAKE A LEFT AT ST. PHILIP TO N. VILLERE ST. (STOP) ROLAND'S PUMPKIN INN. UP ST. PHILIP TO TREME ST. LEFT AT TREME TO GOV. NICHOLS (STOP) CALENDAR GIRLS DOWN TREME TO ESPLANDE AVE. RIGHT TURN AT ESPLANDE TO ST. CLAUDE LEFT TURN AT ST. CLAUDE TO KEELEC ST. (STOP SUDAN CLUB) DOWN TO ST. CLAUDE TO ST. BERNARD (STOP SALCON BAR) LEFT TURN AT ST. BERNARD TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE. RIGHT TURN ON N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO TOURS ST. U TURN AT TOURS TO N. CLAIBORNE. UP N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO PAUGER ST. RIGHT TURN AT PAUGER ST. TO N. DERBIGNY (STOP BOSS PLACE) LEFT ON N. DERBIGNY TO ST. ANTHONY. LEFT ON ST ANTHONY TO N. CLAI BORNE (STOP CLARA'S BAR) RIGHT TURN AT N. CLAIBORNE TO ST. BERNARD AVE. RIGHT TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO ROUSSEAU ST. U TURN AT ROUSSEAU ST. TO ST. BERNARD AVE. (STOP SANDER'S BAR) UP ST. BERNARD AVE. TO N. DORGENOIS ST. U TURN AT N. DORGENOIS ST. DOWN N. DORGENOIS ST. TO A. P. TUREAUD (STOP BAILEY'S BAR) RIGHT TURN AT A. P. TUREAUD TO N. TONTI ST. (STOP WINNIE'S BAR) UP A. P. TUREAUD TO ST. BERNARD AVE. LEFT TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE. UP N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO ESPLANDE AVE. LEFT TURN AT ESPLANDE AVE. TO N. ROBERTSON (UP N. ROBERTSON ST. TO ST. PHILIP ST. (STOP CALDONIA BAR) UP N. ROBERTSON TO (STOP CANDLELIGHT BAR) UP N. ROBERTSON TO BASIN ST. (STOP LADIES LOUNGE) RIGHT TURN AT BASIN ST. TO ORLEANS AVE. ORLEANS AVE. TO N. ROMAN ST. U TURN AT AT N. ROMAN ST TO 1720 ORLEANS AVENUE (STOP QUEEN'S) UP ORLEANS AVE. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO MAKE A LEFT AT N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO URSULINE AVE.

DISBAND ABE'S LOUNGE

PARADE CHAIRMAN ALFRED LAZARD

MONEY WASTERS PARADE ROUTE

"THE CONTROLLERS"

THE CANDLELIGHT STEPPERS

DATE: NOVEMBER 6, 1988

TIME: 1 P.M. - 5 P.M.

START: (ABE'S LOUNGE) NORTH CLAIBORNE AND URSULINES AVE.

UP N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO ST. PHILIP ST., MAKE A LEFT AT ST. PHILIP ST. TO N. VILLERE ST. (STOP - ROLAND'S FUNMAKER INN). UP ST. PHILIP ST. TO TREME ST., LEFT AT TREME ST. TO GOV. NICHOLLS ST. (STOP - CALENDAR GIRLS). DOWN TREME ST. TO ESPLANDE AVE., RIGHT TURN AT ESPLANDE AVE. TO ST. CLAUDE AVE., LEFT TURN AT ST. CLAUDE AVE. TO KLEREC ST. (STOP - SUDAN'S CLUB). DOWN ST. CLAUDE AVE. TO ST. BERNARD AVE. (STOP - SALOON'S BAR). LEFT TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE., RIGHT TURN ON N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO TOURO ST., U-TURN AT TOURO ST. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE., UP N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO PAUGER ST., RIGHT TURN AT PAUGER ST. TO N. DERBIGNY ST. (STOP - BOSS PLACE). LEFT ON N. DERBIGNY ST. TO ST. ANTHONY ST., LEFT ON ST. ANTHONY ST. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE. (STOP - CLARA'S BAR). RIGHT TURN AT N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO ST. BERNARD AVE., RIGHT TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO ROUSSELIN ST., U-TURN AT ROUSSELIN ST. TO ST. BERNARD AVE. (STOP - SANDER'S BAR). UP ST. BERNARD AVE. TO N. DORGENOT'S ST., U-TURN AT N. DORGENOT'S ST., DOWN N. DORGENOT'S ST., TO A.P. TUREAUD AVE. (STOP - BAILEY'S BAR). RIGHT TURN AT A.P. TUREAUD AVE. TO N. TONTI ST. (STOP - WINNIE'S BAR). UP A.P. TUREAUD AVE. TO ST. BERNARD AVE., LEFT TURN AT ST. BERNARD AVE. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE., UP N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO ESPLANDE AVE., LEFT TURN AT ESPLANDE AVE. TO N. ROBERTSON ST., RIGHT TURN AT N. ROBERTSON ST. TO ST. PHILIP ST. (STOP - CALDONIA'S BAR). UP N. ROBERTSON ST. (STOP - CANDLELIGHT BAR). UP N. ROBERTSON ST. TO BASIN ST. (STOP - LADIES LOUNGE). RIGHT TURN AT BASIN ST. TO ORLEANS AVE., ORLEANS AVE. TO N. ROMAN ST., U-TURN AT N. ROMAN ST. TO 1720 ORLEANS AVE. (STOP - QUEEN'S STOP). UP ORLEANS AVE. TO N. CLAIBORNE AVE., LEFT AT N. CLAIBORNE AVE. TO URSULINES AVE., LEFT AT URSULINES AVE.

DISBAND: ABE'S LOUNGE

"ENJOY AND DON'T DESTROY"

NOW YOU'VE
SEEN THE REST



NOW COME ON
AND SEE THE BEST

LADIES & GENTLEMEN OF LEISURE
SOCIAL AND PLEASURE CLUB



WE DEDICATE THIS PARADE TO OUR DECEASED MEMBER:
MAURICE B.K.A. - BUCK

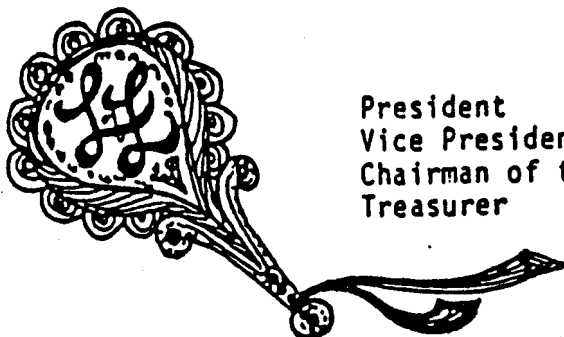
DATE: DECEMBER 18, 1988

TIME: 12 NOON

PARADE ROUTE

- START: AT BOSS PLACE. Pauger & N. Derbigny, right on N. Derbigny to St. Anthony Street, St. Anthony to N. Claiborne, up N. Claiborne to St. Bernard, back St. Bernard to A. P. Tureaud to N. Rocheblave, U-Turn.
- STOP: AT WINNIES. Up A. P. Tureaud to N. Miro, right at Miro.
- STOP: AT 1534 N. MIRO. Up Miro to Orleans, right on Orleans to Dorgenios. U-Turn at N. Dorgenios to Orleans, out Orleans to N. Villere, left at Orleans & Villere.
- STOP: LEO SOCIAL AND PLEASURE CLUB. U-Turn at Villere to Orleans to N. Claiborne, right on Claiborne, down Claiborne to St. Phillip, right at St. Phillip to N. Robertson Street.
- STOP: CALDONIA BAR. Out St. Phillip to Villere, left on Villere, down Villere to Esplanade, left on Esplanade to N. Claiborne, down N. Claiborne to St. Bernard, right on St. Bernard to St. Claude.
- STOP: SIDNEY BROWN. Out St. Bernard to N. Rampart, left at McShane Place, down McShane to Pauger, left at Pauger & St. Claude, back Pauger to N. Claiborne, right at Claiborne to Touro, U-Turn at Touro & Claiborne, right at Pauger & Claiborne to N. Derhigny.

DISBAND AT BOSS PLACE



President
Vice President
Chairman of the Board
Treasurer

- Mr. Huey Journee
- Mr. Johnny Shields
- Mr. Kevin Zardies
- Mr. Roland Journee





SECOND LINE JAMMERS
DEC. 4, 1988
STARTING TIME: 1:00 P.M.

STAR LOUNGE -3906 St. Bernard Ave; St. Bernard to Gentilly.
Gentilly to Broad, Broad to Barracks. U-turn.
Stop at Jim's Bar.
Start---Broad to Esplanade, right on Esplanade to Derbigny. Cross
over against traffic on Esplanade.
Stop--- MAHOGANY 10
Start-- Continue against traffic to Claiborne, left on
Claiborne with traffic to Touro: left U-turn at Touro.
Stop---PAMELA'S BAR.
Start--- Claiborne to St. Bernard, left on ST. Bernard.
Stop--- DOWNTOWERS BAR.
Start---St Bernard to Rampart, right on Rampart to Barracks.
Stop--- JR'S PLACE
Start--- Barracks to Treme, right on Treme to Esplanade, left on
Esplanade to Claiborne, left on Claiborne to Ursuline.
Stop--- ABE'S LOUNGE.
Start--- Claiborne to St. Phillip, left on St Phillip to Robertson
right on Robertson to THE CANDLE LIGHT.

****DISBAND****

THANKS FOR YOUR TIME

WE BE JAMMERS

Clara 'C.J.' Joseph
President

Vernita 'Peaches' Thompson
Vice President

PARADE CHAIRMAN -CLARENCE "SPORTY" JONES
 PRESIDENT JUNIOR BUCK JUMPER'S
 ZENJA "REAGLE" FIELDER
 PRESIDENT LADY BUCK JUMPER'S
 LOTTIE IRVING
 PRESIDENT MEN BUCK JUMPER'S
 FRANK CHARLES III



UP S. SARATOGA ST TO SECOND ST. ——— LEFT ON SECOND TO S. LIBERTY ST.
 LEFT TURN ON S. LIBERTY DOWN S. LIBERTY ST TO SIX ST. ——— RIGHT ON
 SIX ST TO LA SALLE ST. ——— RIGHT ON LA SALLE STOP DEW DROP INN

DOWN LA SALLE ST TO WASHINGTON AVE ——— LEFT ON WASHINGTON AVE
STOP Q T'S SPOT

OUT WASHINGTON AVE TO MAGNOLIA ——— LEFT ON MAGNOLIA ST TO TOLEDANO ST
 UP TOLEDANO ST TO S. CLAIBORNE AVE ——— LEFT ON S. CLAIBORNE AVE TO
 GEN. TAYLOR ST U TURN ON GEN TAYLOR TO S. CLAIBORNE AVE AND AMELIA ST.
STOP SIMMONS & COMPANY

DOWN S. CLAIBORNE AVE TO WASHINGTON AVE ——— LEFT ON WASHINGTON AVE
 TO S. PRIEUR ST. STOP SHELTON'S PLACE

OUT WASHINGTON AVE TO S. GALVEZ ST. GRAND STOP CHARLES CORNER

OUT WASHINGTON AVE TO S. ROCHEBLAVE ST. STOP HOLLOW POINT LOUNGE

OUT WASHINGTON AVE TO S. BROAD ST. ——— RIGHT ON S. BROAD ST TO THALIA ST.
 RIGHT ON THALIA ST STOP DOOLEY'S BAR

UP THALIA ST TO S. DORGENOIS ST. ——— RIGHT ON S. DORGENOIS ST TO
 WASHINGTON AVE ——— RIGHT ON WASHINGTON AVE TO S. JEFF. DAVIS PKWY
 LEFT ON S. JEFF. DAVIS PKWY TO ERATO ST ——— RIGHT ON ERATO ST TO
 OLIVE ST AND AUDUBON CT. STOP E & C LOUNGE

OUT OLIVE ST TO BROADWAY ST ——— OUT BROADWAY ST STOP BROADWAY BAR

RIGHT ON FIG ST TO PINE ST ——— RIGHT ON PINE ST TO FORSHEY ST
 DOWN FORSHEY ST TO FERN ST ——— LEFT ON FERN ST STOP STREAMLINE
 TAVERN

DOWN FERN ST TO EARHART ST ——— LEFT ON EARHART ST TO PINE ST LEFT
 ON PINE ST TO FORSHEY ST ——— RIGHT ON FORSHEY STOP BROADWAY ST
 AND FORSHEY ST. GERT TOWN PARK DISBAND

DON'T WORRY

BE HAPPY

WE'RE COMING

110

"LEAVE YOUR WEAPONS HOME"

SUDAN

SOCIAL & PLEASURE CLUB

4rd Annual Street Parade. NOVEMBER 13, 1988

Start 1:00 pm St. Claude & St. Bernard

St. Bernard to Marais Street, (right) Marais to Pauger Street
(left) Pauger Street to N. Robertson Street (left) Robertson
Street to St. Bernard Ave. (right) St. Bernard to Claiborne Ave.
(left) Claiborne to Ursuline (stop) Claiborne to Dumaine Street
(right) Dumaine to Roman (left, stop in middle of block) Roman to
Orleans, (right) to Rocheblave, U-Turn on Orleans, to Claiborne
Ave. (left) to St Phillip, (right) to St Claude, (left) to Ursuline,
(left) to Treme (stop) Ursuline to Villere (right) Villere to
St. Bernard, (right) to St. Claude.

-----Disband-----

SUDAN

Ask that you honor the memory of our deceased brother
ARCHIE CHAPMAN.

by

1. Being SMART - Leave Trouble at Home
2. Being WISE - Help a Brother Live
3. Having Fun - DANCE, DANCE, DANCE

Thanks for your cooperation in making this Event a Success.

SUDAN

SOCIAL & PLEASURE CLUB

all designs and decorations by
SUDAN SOCIAL & PLEASURE CLUB

- 1988