A Southern Italian Band Tradition Lives in Northeastern Ohio: Michael Lucente and the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band

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Introduction

In the tiny village of Lowellville, Ohio (population: 1,217) generations of Italian-Americans celebrate July 16 as they have done for one hundred and fourteen years. This is the community's annual *festa* (plural *feste*), or feast day of their patron saint. The first *festa* was celebrated in Lowellville in 1895. By this time, most Italian immigrants were poor laborers from southern Italy.[1] Enclaves like Lowellville provided them with some protection from discrimination and also a means of support. Such relatively-isolated communities also undoubtedly made it easier for distinctive Italian-American cultural signs (like the *festa*) to continue through multiple generations.[2] For many, the *festa* remains the highlight of the year and a sign of their Italian-American cultural identity. It is also the most important venue for one of their other distinctive signs: their own Lowellville Mount Carmel Band.

Nearly three-quarters of *festa* participants interviewed between 2002 and 2004 mentioned the band and/or the music as what *they* considered the most important or most meaningful aspect(s) of the *festa*.[3] Therefore, a great deal of time was spent listening to, recording, and transcribing the music played by the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band during this research. In addition to pieces played in specific *festa* ritual-contexts, the band's repertoire includes music completely unique to them, in the form of hand-written scores of compositions and arrangements by the band's founder, Michael Lucente.

Beyond relaying previously unwritten details about the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band's founding and early history, this paper will include discussion of instrumentation and specific experiences of band members. Special attention will be paid to the band's repertoire, including historical descriptions of pieces and their functions and contexts in Lowellville. Reinterpretation of the band as a result of the addition of female, non-Italian-descended, and non-Lowellville-resident personnel, as well as the recent influx of young members recruited from the local high school band, will also be discussed. Furthermore, new additions to the band's repertoire will be examined. Thus, this paper provides the first written account of the history of the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band, showing how the group and its repertoire function as signs of Italian-American cultural identity, and how these functions, along with changes in personnel and repertoire, have been integral to the band's longevity.

Michael Lucente and the Founding of the Lowellville Band

Michael Lucente was born in Italy circa 1875 and arrived in the United States around 1905 (Department of Commerce—Bureau of the Census 1920: 7). He conducted the West Aliquippa Italian Band in western Pennsylvania from 1905 until he retired in 1923. The group continued without Lucente until it finally disbanded in 1982 (Rocco 1990: 79, 103).

Lowellville also had its own band in the first decade of the 1900s, but no information is available for this group. The current band traces its history back to the one founded by Michael Lucente in 1927.[4] Band member Vincenzo "Bananas" Iudiciani confirms Lucente's previous position as conductor of the band in Aliquippa before he

decided to bring his music to Lowellville—a decision he made after "visiting his *paesans*[5] here [Lowellville]" (2002). Since Lucente started the Lowellville band, the group disbanded only once, during—and due to—World War II (1941),[6] but they reformed in 1946. Lucente himself taught most of the men how to play their instruments and how to read music notation. He used a collection of his own handwritten original compositions and arrangements, which he sold to the band for a total of twenty-five dollars before he returned to Italy in 1931.

Figure 1. The Lowellville Mount Carmel Band in 1930. Michael Lucente can be seen at the far right (photo courtesy of Geno's Family Restaurant, source unknown).

After Lucente left, the Lowellville musicians decided to continue with the help of the local Mount Carmel Society,[7] electing band officers and rehearsing three to four times each week. According to Iudiciani, they "never missed a rehearsal," even skipping double shifts in the mill for band practice (2002). The group was the pride of the village and bound to the community's identity: they tuned to the whistles of the trains that rattled

Lowellville's homes, they entertained locals with their rehearsing and felt competitive toward neighboring bands (Iudiciani 2002 and Bisconti 2003). In the 1930s and 1940s, band membership grew from approximately twenty-eight members to about thirty-four, eventually hitting thirty-eight.

Figure 2. The Lowellville Mount Carmel Band in 1937 (photo courtesy of John DePasquale).

Figure 3. The band in 1949 (photo courtesy of John DePasquale).

The band's most important venue has always been the *festa*. At the time of the band's inception, the celebration was just two days (July 15 and the feast day itself, July 16) and the band played throughout its duration. They began with a day-long procession starting at 3 p.m. on the 15th, in which they marched through the streets of the village, stopping at residents' houses to enjoy Italian-American foods and homemade wine. That evening they gave a concert and accompanied a *festa* ritual known as The Baby Doll Dance. The ritual has undergone many changes in the history of the *festa*, but the basic notion is the humiliation and burning of an effigy that represents the troubles and sins of the past year, performed as a means of purification and renewal for the feast day.[8]

Figure 4. Today's Baby Doll is an approximately twenty-foot effigy of a female figure, made from wood, bamboo, and papier-mâché and painted with the colors of Italy's flag: red, white, and green. The man inside the effigy dances while fireworks shoot from the doll's arms and ultimately from her head.

The morning after the Baby Doll Dance (the feast day itself), the band played during a mass and procession. Although the celebration has since been extended to last more than two days, and the processions are no longer day-long events, the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band continues to be integral to these same basic *festa* elements (processions, mass, Baby Doll Dance, evening concerts) today.

Since early in its history, the band has also played for other local Italian-American communities' celebrations, in addition to their own *festa*. They played their first paid performance in the largely Italian-American neighborhood known as Brier Hill (in Youngstown, Ohio) on December 2, 1933, under the direction of Lucente's successor, earning a total of twenty-five dollars ($0.33 was paid to each member). They continue to play for similar celebrations today.

It was Lucente who decided the instrumentation of the band, which remains similar to that proposed by Roman band conductor and teacher Alessandro Vassella in 1894 as standard instrumentation for Italian bands (Whitwell 1984: 184-185). This instrumentation is primarily clarinets, saxophones, trumpets, trombones, tubas, bass drum, snare drum, and cymbals, although this line-up has always varied depending on available players.[9]

Lucente vigorously recruited young men, teaching each about music using *solfeggio*, and then assigning him an instrument and teaching him how to play. John DePasquale and Bananas Iudiciani were two such recruits. DePasquale was born February 8, 1916, and moved to Lowellville from the Abruzzi region of Italy in 1929. He joined the band at the age of 15, when Lucente began to teach him saxophone (which he continues to play in the band today). Iudiciani was born November 12, 1920, and was

also from Abruzzi. He came with his mother to join his father in the United States, arriving in Lowellville on October 4, 1926. He was only 9 years old when Lucente recruited him to play the E-flat horn. A few years prior to his death (he died in 2006), he began playing percussion because he was no longer capable of playing the horn for long periods of time. Throughout his tenure, Iudiciani also sang Italian songs during band performances.

Figure 5. John DePasquale circa 1939 (photo courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. DePasquale).

Figure 6. DePasquale at the *festa* in 2002 (all photos by Jennifer Johnstone unless otherwise indicated).

Figure 7. Vincenzo "Bananas" Iudiciani at the *festa* in 2002.

Figure 8. Iudiciani sings for the crowd (2002).

Although he remained in Lowellville with the band for only five years, Lucente left an enduring legacy: not only did he establish a band for Lowellville that continues to the present day, he also provided the group and the wider community with a unique collection of music, a collection that continues to be not only one of the most beloved aspects of their annual *festa*, but also one of their most distinguishing cultural signs.

The Music of the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band

Michael Lucente's compositions and arrangements survive today exclusively through their use by the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band. The unpublished scores—still in Lucente's own handwriting—are so secret and revered that members are not even permitted to keep copies for personal practicing. Instead, all copies are collected at the end of each rehearsal and performance. This handwritten collection is bound into two books (one of marches and another of symphonic literature—including opera transcriptions). The band also has a collection of published works in their repertoire.

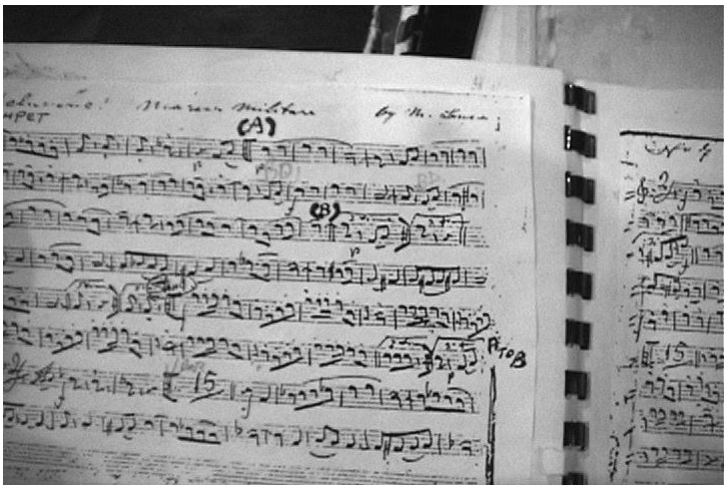

Figure 9. A trumpet-player's part for one of Lucente's original pieces.

One of the most important pieces in the collection is Lucente's arrangement of "Marcia Reale," originally composed by Giuseppe Gabetti (1796-1862).[10] Iudiciani describes the piece as "the National Anthem of Italy" (2002). This is not surprising given that it *was* serving that function when he and many other immigrants came to Lowellville in the early part of the twentieth century. As such, it became part of their annual *festa* and it continues to play an important role in the celebration today.

During the most sacred portion of Lowellville's *festa* mass (the consecration, in which Catholics believe the bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ), the band plays "Marcia Reale" outside on the church patio as fireworks are set off. Incredibly, the mass continues inside with entirely different music—which includes antiphonal singing by the priest and the congregation—while the band finishes the march. The fireworks, the loud upbeat march just outside the church's clear-glass windows, and the somber singing by multiple priests and a standing-room-only congregation inside the building combine to create an unforgettable aural and visual experience.

Italy's former anthem and royal march being used for such a unique function and in such a unique context provides the community with yet another element of distinction. Lowellville priest Father Gerald DeLucia aptly describes the use of this tune as a relic "but not in a dead sense, there's a tie-in to the history and the people" (2002). Moreover, being a unique arrangement by Michael Lucente, played from a score in his own hand-written notation, adds to its distinctiveness.

But the collection by Michael Lucente is not the only unique music in the Lowellville band's repertoire. In 1935, the band began playing a conglomeration of fanfares to accompany their imported Baby Doll Dance ritual. These four phrases come

from the fanfares of an Italian military division known as the *Bersaglieri*. Founded in 1836, the *Bersaglieri* became known for military prowess as well as for their ornate uniforms, broad-brimmed hats with large plumes, and rousing music (*Associazione Nazionale Bersaglieri: Sito Ufficiale a cura della Presidenza Nazionale* 2003).[11]

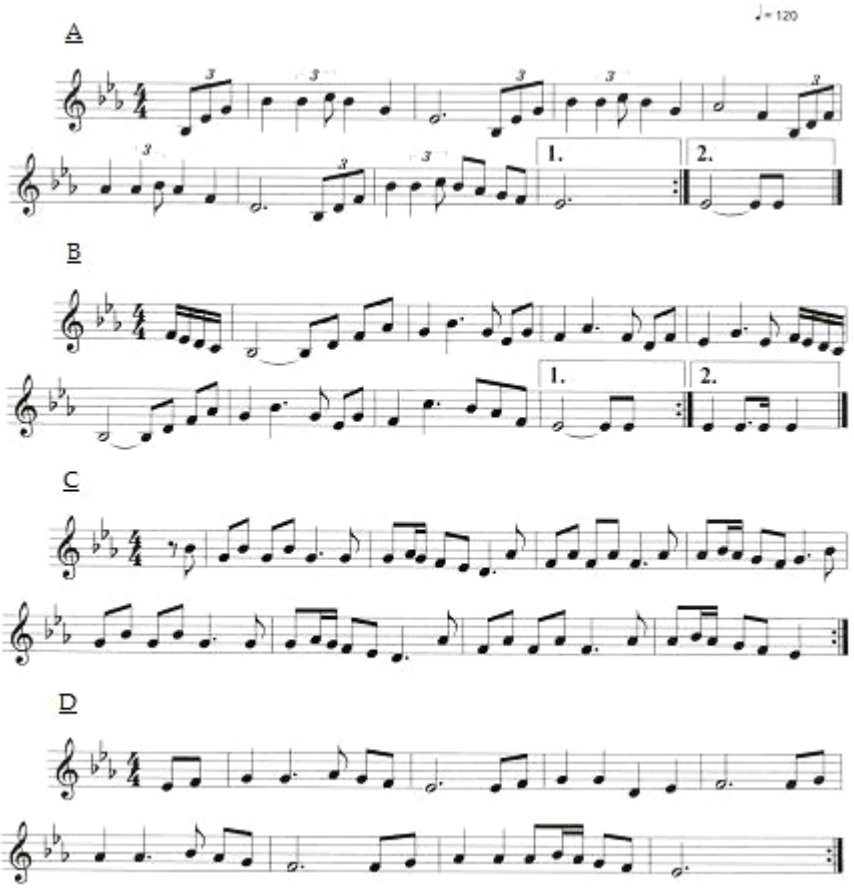

Figure 10. The melody played by the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band to accompany the Baby Doll Dance. The author has labeled the phrases A-D to facilitate analysis and discussion. As phrasing and articulation are inconsistent in the band's performances, any such markings are absent from this transcription (transcription by the author).

All four of these phrases are embedded in variously named pieces on several recordings of *Bersaglieri* music, with disparities in the combinations and orderings of the phrases.[12] Such disparities suggest that Lowellville's band may have developed their

own distinct order of *Bersaglieri* fanfares to use for the Baby Doll Dance, which has never been notated (and the band has no desire to; they are proud to learn it by ear as their predecessors did). Alternatively, they may be playing a set arrangement of phrases whose composer/arranger is now forgotten. It would not be surprising if they did create their own unique conglomeration of these melodies, since this kind of mixing is common in Italian band music and because the *Bersaglieri* fanfares have been used in other arrangements in Italy.[13]

In sum, recordings used in this research confirm the *Bersaglieri* fanfares as the source of all four phrases of this melody, but it remains unclear exactly how and why the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band chose these particular phrases, or this distinct order, back in 1935.[14] Perhaps the choice was linked to the Baby Doll's former appearance, which instead of being a volunteer inside a giant effigy (as found in present-day celebrations), was a man wearing a large felt hat from which he released pigeons (Iudiciani 2002). The *Bersaglieri* also wore such hats, though any connection between the two is purely the author's speculation. Iudiciani stresses that any melody could be used and that the choice was arbitrary (2002).

What is clear, however, is that through their context and function within the *festa*, these four *Bersaglieri* phrases have lost their military identity and become something different in Lowellville: the community's own traditional Baby Doll Dance melody. Most interviewees (2002-2004) displayed a reverent and enthusiastic knowledge of the tune, but had no idea it had any military origins.[15] These reactions suggest that in Lowellville this melody has become something unique through its distinct context and function. Iudiciani explains how the Mount Carmel Band tried to use something else

once and only once: participants booed and complained, so they returned to what he calls "the March of the *Bersaglieri*" (2002).

Changes in the Band: New Personnel, New Repertoire

Despite the consistent use of Lucente's music (including his arrangement of "Marcia Reale") and the *Bersaglieri* fanfares, both played since the 1930s, the band and its repertoire have undergone many changes. As noted earlier, the group fluctuated in size in its first couple of decades, ranging from twenty-eight to thirty-eight members. These numbers continued to vary throughout the century, with current membership numbering about twenty-five (Susany 2009).

The size of the group is not the only change in the make-up of the band. They were an all-male group until 1989 when Toni Lynn Bisconti was asked to join (Bisconti 2003). Four of Toni's uncles had been founding members of the band, and given her fierce pride in being a Lowellville Italian-American, she was a welcome addition to a band whose future seemed uncertain as older members were dying and new recruits were few. In 2006, there were eight women in the Mount Carmel Band and today there are seven who regularly play with the group; one is the band's manager.

In addition to changes in size and gender, the band, with its declining numbers, began to hire local musicians from neighboring towns. These recruits included people who were not only from outside the village of Lowellville but some who were not of Italian descent: two factors not seen in earlier guises of the band.[16] Today, these members are an invaluable part of the band's survival.

Despite these changes in personnel, the group has not entirely lost its Italian-American, Lowellville "insider" identity. Several young dedicated Lowellville natives work hard to perpetuate the village's band tradition. Conductor Bob Antonucci (also Lowellville High School's band director) joined when he was in college and has since recruited many of his high school students (Antonucci 2003).[17] Bisconti (who is in her thirties), and other young Lowellville natives Ralph Morrone (who is also in his thirties) and Joe Ballone (in his mid-forties) proudly continue to play with the band today, the eldest having been a member for over 30 years now (Bisconti 2003, Ballone 2003, Morrone 2004).

In 2003 and 2004, five other young Lowellville natives (ages 16, 16, 19, 21, and 26 at the time), all Iudiciani recruits, were interviewed (Donatelli, Jamis, Susany, and Flora 2004, Colaneri 2003). Of these five, only two are still with the band, but a sister of one (age 23) and at least three additional young musicians (two 22-year olds and one 17-year old, all recruited by Antonucci) have since joined, meaning there are at least six musicians age 26 or younger in the band today.[18]

One of the young musicians from those initial interviews is Lauren Susany (trumpet, age 24), who joined the band was she was just 16. Like many, she had family members who were formerly in the band and Iudiciani convinced her to join. Then about five months before his death, Iudiciani asked that Susany help him and observe how he handled various band-managing tasks. In addition to booking gigs and managing the budget, Iudiciani was in charge of the scores, keeping the revered Lucente collection at his home along with other unsorted band paraphernalia. After Iudiciani died, Susany was the natural choice to be his successor. She had the support of the last remaining original

member, John DePasquale, who worried about the future of the band without Iudiciani at the helm. DePasquale encouraged Susany to take on the responsibility of managing the band. Susany received no contention from fellow band members about taking on this position, although she faced a bit of resistance from people seeking to hire the group for gigs, as some were less than enthusiastic to find a young—and female—musician in charge (Susany 2009). However, after three years, Susany notes that any doubt or hostility from these people has diminished significantly (2009).

Susany's sentiment that she would play with this band until the end of her life (2009) was fervently repeated by many of these interviewees. They stress the fun they have with the group, and joke about their movements ("we don't march, we just stroll…") resembling those of a traditional southern Italian village band (Susany 2009). They also poke fun at their intonation: when they play in tune, they laugh about not playing like they're "supposed to" traditionally (Susany 2009). The reverent loyalty of these young Italian-American members will ensure the band's continuity. Their pride in their Lowellville origins and in their Italian-American ancestry is apparent, and their enjoyment during the band's performances is obvious.

Given the long history of the band, their repertoire has remained surprisingly consistent, due at least in part to the uniqueness of the Lucente collection and the traditions involving specific melodies for specific aspects of the *festa*. In addition to the Italian pieces, American marches and patriotic tunes have also long been part of Lowellville's repertoire. This is not surprising when one considers not only the nationality of the band's membership (only John DePasquale, who at age 93 is still

playing saxophone in the band today, was born in Italy), but also the pride in American citizenship among Italian-Americans, particularly following WWII.[19]

However, new repertoire is added occasionally. For example, Nino Rota's original music for Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather* movies (Paramount Pictures, 1972, 1974, and 1990) is a regular feature of the band's concerts and is very popular with audiences—both Italian-Americans and non-Italian-Americans alike. Although it remains debatable whether or not the portrayal of Italian-American culture in popular media (such as in these films) is positive, such romanticization of Italian ethnicity has helped make those with Italian ancestry—who were once severely discriminated against—a salient and somewhat popular group in the U.S.[20] Additionally, for many Italian-Americans, these popular portrayals are a way of making their cultural signs known to a wider audience and can function as a celebration of their heritage, and as such they remain a source of pride for some. This is evidenced not only by the popularity of this part of the band's repertoire but also in interviews about Italian-American cultural signs, in which interviewees often explained to the author: "you know, like in *The Godfather*."

Many Lowellville residents are proud when people from outside the group learn of their band and refer to seeing similar bands in these movies or in other film and television scenes shot in southern Italy. In doing this, people outside the group are drawing connections between the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band and a salient image of southern Italian culture, albeit one discovered through popular media. To the band, *The Godfather* score is just one of many pieces they play, but to many in the band's audiences, it distinguishes the Lowellville band as recognizably Italian. Despite

additions such as this to their repertoire, however, it is rare for the band to purchase new music because of their small budget: they receive only about $650-$750 per gig, leaving approximately $25-$30 per player, with some money being kept in the account to supplement the players' checks at lower-paying gigs (Susany 2009).[21]

By being adaptable enough to add new people and some new repertoire, the Lowellville band has kept its performances varied and has kept itself relevant to modern demographics. By keeping Lucente's scores protected and a part of their performances, they have managed to retain an entirely unique repertoire. Their repertoire of Lucente's music, along with other traditional pieces used in distinctive *festa* contexts, is enhanced by the inclusion of more modern compositions that are particularly popular with audiences. The major contribution of female musicians alone is proof of how the band's continued flexibility has benefited them and allowed them to continue for eighty years. Hiring non-resident and non-Italian-descended members has given the band the support it needs. And as always, enthusiastic Lowellville natives, whose dedication to the group is fueled by pride in their Italian ancestry, continue to drive the band today.

Discussion and Conclusions

By founding a band for the village of Lowellville, Michael Lucente, like many immigrants, was bringing a tradition from his former home to his new home in the United States. But Lucente did not just start the band, he recruited and taught residents how to play and provided them with a unique repertoire from which they could build and grow. It is clear how his contributions have given this community a lasting, distinctive Italian-

American cultural identity: they have their own village band with its own Italian repertoire, part of which is exclusive to them.

It is also clear how dedicated members and flexibility in membership criteria has allowed the group to continue to the present day. Today the band remains comprised of the same instrumentation as the original band, and performs many of the pieces that were in the repertoire at the time of its inception. Perhaps most importantly, the band continues to provide music for the annual *festa* as an integral part of the celebration and its various rituals.

The Lowellville Mount Carmel Band has added new repertoire, and has relaxed its criteria for membership. Moreover, playing in the band is fun, and remains a salient and meaningful sign of Italian-American cultural identity for many musicians. As such, the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band has been able to continue for eighty years in its role as sole guardian of Michael Lucente's music and provider of the music essential to the community's annual *festa*. Changes in the band were, and will always be, inevitable. But the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band continues to play Lucente's works and *festa* pieces such as "Marcia Reale" and the *Bersaglieri* fanfares, just as their predecessors did. The band also continues to be one of the Lowellville community's most distinctive and most valued cultural signs, and a source of pride for many generations of Lowellville Italian-Americans.[22]

Epilogue

On August 14, 2009 (during the final editing of this article), the band's entire collection of documents—which included the Lucente scores, both originals and copies—

was destroyed in a house fire. Fortunately, no one was hurt in the blaze, but the eighty-year old arcana are gone. What now will become of Lucente's music? Although the documents—invaluable relics of Lowellville's heritage—are gone, most members did learn these tunes by ear (Lucente's scores were notoriously difficult to read). Director Bob Antonucci has his conductor's copies, and the band is currently planning to create new scores with the aid of memories and recordings (Lauren Susany, Band Manager, personal communication).

Lucente's music has not been lost with the old pages that held his illegible notation. Instead, it lives on as long as Lowellville's musicians continue to play it and teach it to new band members. Although the destruction of this priceless archive is tragic, these dedicated musicians will undoubtedly do whatever it takes to continue the Lowellville Mount Carmel Band's eighty-year tradition and bring its unique repertoire back to life once again.

Notes

[1] The majority of these immigrants were from south of Rome. Many hoped to earn money in the U.S. and then return to Italy. See Alba 1985: 22, 40, 47-8.

[2] The term "cultural signs"—in addition to "markers"—is used since they function as such in a semiotic sense (specifically, Charles Peirce's basic definition of a sign as a vehicle for meaning, the meaning or information assigned to or accessed by that vehicle, and this process in the mind, see Buchler 1955). Examples of such signs include, but are not limited to, birthplace/geographic origins (ancestry is quite often a sign, but it is not the only one, nor is it even necessary), similar personal experiences, language, and of course, music. The result of this identity-creating process is perceived membership in a group whose boundaries are marked by these signs. "Cultural identity" is used here to describe this ever-changing process. "Reinterpretation" is the term used to stress how cultural signs are not simply handed down to the next generation, but instead are given new forms, functions, meanings, etc. to make them relevant in the current context. See also Herskovits 1948: 1, 7 and 1951: 125, McCready 1983: xix, Alba 1985: 9-10, Kazadi wa Mukuna 1990: 104-106, Cohen 1997: 129, and Wallman 1998: 198. Lowellville's *festa* is the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, a celebration devoted to one particular variant of Mary, the mother of

Christ, which is common among southern Italian and Italian-American communities. The author conducted fieldwork at this *festa* from 2002-2004, with a focus on how various aspects of the *festa* were used by participants as markers of distinction in creating Italian-American cultural identity. As a graduate student in ethnomusicology, the author was particularly interested in the band, its repertoire, and the function of the band and the music in this celebration.

[3] Forty-one interviewees were asked to describe the most important or most meaningful aspect of the festival, and twenty-nine answered "the band" and/or "the music of the *festa*." All interviews were conducted by the author and recorded on either cassette or video. Research also included interviews with fifteen members of Lowellville's Mount Carmel Band (in addition to the forty-one mentioned previously). Additionally, thirty-three questionnaires were completed by festival participants for use in this study, and ninety-seven more were collected from anonymous junior high students from Lowellville, with questions pertaining specifically to the music of the *festa*. In 2009, further interviewing and observation of the band was conducted by the author.

[4] The previously undocumented history of this band was recounted to the author by Vincenzo "Bananas" Iudiciani, who joined the band in 1929 and played in it until his death in 2006, and John DePasquale, who joined in 1930 and continues to play with the band today. All information in this section comes from these two interviewees (with confirmation by various other older *festa* participants) unless otherwise indicated (Iudiciani 2002, 2003, 2006, and DePasquale, 2002, 2003).

[5] Southern Italians have a predilection toward dropping the final vowel of Italian words (Dr. Laura Buch, Musicologist, Youngstown State University, personal communication). The descendents of southern Italian immigrants from Lowellville and the surrounding areas (including those in the author's family) consistently do the same. Hence, a word like "Paesans" (used here with the English language's plural *–s* instead of Italian's *–i)* is an Italian-American pronunciation of "*paesani*," which refers to fellow townspeople, friends.

[6] According to a handwritten account left in the band's music collection, they lost just one player to the war (Susany 2009).

[7] Mutual benefit societies in Italian-American communities provided a means for helping immigrants deal with financial troubles brought on by death and illness. Lowellville's Mount Carmel Society (officially *La Fraterna Societal della Madonna del Carmine*) was founded by the village's first Italian immigrant, Pietro Pirone, who helped many fellow Italians move to Lowellville and find work there (DeLucia 2002). Like most, Lowellville's club is divided by gender, and formerly served as providers of sick and death benefits in addition to maintaining the local religious cult. Today it is responsible for staging the *festa*. See also Brown 1999:40.

[8] It is interesting to note that Aliquippa (which is about 40 miles east of Lowellville) is not only connected to Lowellville by Lucente (as his former American hometown and the location of his first Italian-American band), but they are also the only other American community outside of Lowellville known to practice The Baby Doll Dance during their annual *festa*. The practice was brought to these villages by southern Italian immigrants, though the two communities have slightly different interpretations (for instance, the Italian-Americans in Aliquippa have two "dolls" dancing simultaneously). See Rocco 1990: 105-110, 158-9. According to older *festa* interviewees in Lowellville (as well as DeLucia 2002), the effigy is a figure of the Italian *la strega*, or witch. No one interviewed during this research knew why then the effigy is called the Baby Doll.

[9] Vassella (1860-1929) adds also flugelhorns (including a contrabass flugelhorn) and a bass trombone (in place of the tuba) to what the author observed in Lowellville 2002-2004 and to what can be seen in photos from the 1930s and 1940s, though the poor quality of the latter makes it difficult to tell if these instruments were present then or not (but Iudiciani did formerly play an E-flat horn). It is not surprising that the instrumentation would vary in a small village like Lowellville. Such variety would have been typical of rural bands in southern Italy as well (Rocco 1990: 55, 81).

[10] Gabetti was a bandmaster in an Italian infantry regiment (*Banda Musicale Giuseppe Gabetti* n.d.). According to an article in an 1899 edition of *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, "Marcia Reale" was currently "being played on every public appearance of the King or members of the royal family in Italy" (689-690). Used during the Savoy monarchy to accompany the king, it served as Italy's national anthem until Italy became a republic in 1946 and a new anthem was composed (Andriano Bassi n.d. and DeLucia 2002). Although the fascist hymn "Giovenezza" was used during Mussolini's reign, "Marcia Reale" was still used and was played again as the national anthem at his fall in 1943 (Time Magazine 1943, History News Network 2005, and Lou Alfano's Italian Anthems Page, 2000). See also http://www.fritaleco.com/english/nationalanthem_en.html (20 November 2005) and http://geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/7189/state_flag.html (29 June 2006).

[11] See also Fitzpatrick 1998: 104, Kids Europe 2005, and Trvelyan 1919: 83.

[12] For example, one piece called "Bersaglieri March" includes three of Lowellville's four phrases in the following order: D, C, B (Deutschmeister Band n.d.). However, phrase C on this recording differs notably from Lowellville's: Lowellville's C is only heard in the low brass on the second half of this middle section, which takes the place of a repeated phrase. Thus, for the first phrase of C, this recording includes a different melody entirely (more reminiscent of D than of C), while the second time a loud counter-melody (high winds and trumpets) is heard over Lowellville's C phrase (which is in the lower winds and brass). This piece begins with an eight-measure introduction before beginning phrase D, and like Lowellville's Baby Doll Dance music, the phrases (D and B in this example) are repeated. In another example, a piece titled "Flik e Flok," Lowellville's phrases A and B are heard, but these are played before and after two unfamiliar phrases, so that the form is: A, unfamiliar phrase 1, unfamiliar phrase 2, B (La Garibaldina 1972). Like the previous example, this piece begins with an introduction and each phrase is repeated. Another source for this piece, one with a slight variation in the title ("Flik-Flok"), also begins and ends with Lowellville's A and B phrases as described above, but the unfamiliar phrases (1 and 2, the same as above) are played only once through (*Associazione Nazionale Bersaglieri* 2005). Despite this truncated middle section, both "Flik e Flok" and "Flik-Flok" use the same four melodies, two of which are used in Lowellville. Finally, this piece was found again (with repeated middle phrases as in the first example) under the title "Flic Floc," but Mamprin was listed as the composer (Corpo Bandistico dell'Azienda Tramviaria di Milano 1957). This is the only source that includes a composer. Mamprin was also credited with writing two other Bersaglieri fanfares on this record: "Marcia d'Ordinanza dei Bersaglieri" and "Passo di Corsa dei Bersaglieri." However, the latter title also appears as "Passo di Corsa" on both La Garibaldina 1972 and *Associazione Nazionale Bersaglieri* 2005 with no composer listed. The data are inconclusive in determining whether Mamprin is the original composer of these pieces or if he is listed here as an arranger.

[13] Band Manager Lauren Susany recalls seeing a transcription of the Baby Doll tune when she joined the band—it was comprised of fingerings accompanied by little lines indicating contours in the melody ("…like an EKG with trumpet fingerings under it"), but its illegibility wasn't an

obstacle: she, like everyone else, learned it by ear (Susany 2009). The use of *Bersaglieri* phrases in other contexts in Italy was confirmed in personal communication with Salvatore Attardo, Professor and Head of Literature and Languages, Texas A&M University Commerce, while the tendency for Italian band music to include a mix of various melodies was discussed in conversation with Wayne Gorder, Professor and Director of Bands, Kent State University. As for changes in these phrases by the Lowellville band, Iudiciani notes that the *Bersagleri* used to "double-time" to this tune, and that it should be faster and more staccato than it is played in Lowellville (2002). All recordings of *Bersaglieri* music used in this research confirm the latter. Although Lowellville's tempo and articulation are not consistent, all of these recordings were much faster in tempo and more staccato than any of Lowellville's Baby Doll Dance performances observed by the author.

[14] Iudiciani also explains that Aliquippa, Pennsylvania uses entirely different music for their Baby Doll Dance (2002). No one in Lowellville knows what songs are used in Italy for the effigy-burning ritual.

[15] Many interviewees hummed or sang (and in many cases, danced to) the melody during their interviews. In fifty-six recorded interviews (fifteen band members and forty-one participants), twenty-six people (about 46%) mentioned the Baby Doll Dance as either their favorite aspect or one of the most meaningful or unique aspects of the celebration. The accompanying march is obviously a salient part of this important ritual: out of thirty-three printed questionnaires, twenty-nine people (nearly 88%) answered that they would recognize the Baby Doll Dance music should they hear it outside the festival, but only three of these people (all band members) knew it had any military connections; the rest had no idea where the melody originated. In a separate survey, seventy out of ninety-seven anonymous Lowellville junior high students (72%) claimed that they would recognize the Baby Doll music outside the festival, but only two knew of any Italian military connections. It should be noted that these interviewees were not tested on their knowledge of the tune, but instead were only asked if they knew it. However, the many people who sing along to this wordless melody during the ritual support the author's conviction that the tune is well-known among participants.

[16] Rocco describes similar changes for bands in western Pennsylvania (1990: 54, 74-75). Today, the Lowellville band is comprised of musicians with Italian ancestry and without, some from Lowellville and some from other cities.

[17] Antonucci grew up with the celebration and describes it as "an integral part of who I am." He actually lives just outside the village but his primarily Italian-American family is from Lowellville (2003).

[18] There may be more, but these were the only young musicians the author actually spoke with in 2009. Band Manager Lauren Susany confirms that the band is increasingly younger overall as it builds membership: many of the older players can no longer walk in the processions, and the band is now comprised primarily of musicians in their 20s, 30s, and 40s, with far fewer older players than when she started over eight years ago (2009).

[19] The two World Wars in particular caused many Americans to question the national loyalties of the newer immigrants. Many Italians, particularly in the second generation, fought for the United States' military and were eager to "Americanize" at this time. Furthermore, they were encouraged to adjust to American society by their first-generation parents who had not adjusted on account of their plans to return home. See Orsi 1985: 19-20, Jane Adams (from 1897) in Iorizzo and Mondello 1971: 93, and Alba 1985: 77-9.

[20] These portrayals can be found in *The Godfather* films but also in HBO's popular series *The Sopranos* (HBO Original Programming, 1999-2007), among others. Specifically, there are extensive scenes of a *festa* procession held in New York City in *The Godfather, II*, and scenes of a southern Italian village band in *The Godfather*. Lowellville's Italian-Americans, like the subjects of these popular portrayals, descend from southern Italian immigrants, who suffered extensive discrimination from earlier immigrant-groups, including the more wealthy northern Italians. Government studies declared their inferiority and quotas were set limiting their immigration (McLaughlin 1904: 341-2 in Iorizzo and Mondello, 37, Alba 1985: 66, 68, and Iorizzo and Mondello 1971: 64-6, 75). Of course this discussion of popular media is in no way meant to suggest that the many achievements of Italian-Americans in the last century haven't been instrumental in transforming outside opinions of group. Instead, it suggests the power of film and television in helping to shed light on why music like the score from *The Godfather* series might be valued right alongside traditional pieces imported by the immigrants. Many interviewees specifically mentioned scenes from *The Godfather* movies (including those featuring the Italian and Italian-American bands) as points of reference in describing their families' experiences to the author. The Lowellville Mount Carmel Band members also joke about their resemblance to the southern Italian bands featured in these films, noting similarities in appearance (including uniforms), sound, and movements (Susany 2009).

[21] Obviously, the low compensation per gig ($25-30 maximum) is hardly enough incentive to perform in the band, given that performances last a couple of hours. Thus, it is clear that members are in the group for their own enjoyment and/or because membership in this band is somehow meaningful and rewarding, as many noted in their interviews. Still, the money helps to pay for individual's transportation costs (Susany 2009).

[22] Though exact answers vary, these participants all noted that the *festa* music was special to them because it is Italian, uniquely theirs, and/or an important part of their heritage/traditions: Father Gerald DeLucia 2002, Mary Hudak, Bananas Iudiciani, John DePasquale, Archie DeRusso, Rosemary Memo, Phyllis Nolfi (one of several participants without Italian ethnicity who celebrates this identity because of her husband and their children), Joe Alfano, Rocco Schiavello, Anthony Colaneri, Vera Pelligrini, Bob Antonucci, Beverly and Richard Bisconti, Lynn Opritza, Debbie Donatelli, Toni Lynn Bisconti, 2003, and Celia Nolfi Conti 2004.

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