AFRO-CUBAN PERCUSSION, ITS ROOTS AND ROLE IN POPULAR CUBAN MUSIC

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Abstract

This Master’s Report will address questions about Afro-Cuban music, focusing on Afro-Cuban percussion and music in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The first two chapters will address congas and timbales, which are two Afro-Cuban percussion instruments at the center of Cuban culture and music. The next three chapters will address danzón, rumba, and son. These chapters will provide analysis into the influences that shaped the music as well as analysis of the music itself. Chapter 6 of this report addresses Cuba’s impact on culture outside Cuba, relating but not limited to music, with emphasis on the 1930s into the beginning of World War II.

Throughout this report videos have been created to help explain topics of Afro-Cuban music to readers in a more interactive way. The purpose of these videos is to demonstrate how the instruments sound as well as what the instruments look like, how notation included in the report is realized, and generally to make the page come to life in ways that technology today now allows.
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Thanks to Dr. Nora Lewis for being a part of the committee, for her editing and for her teaching. Also, thanks to all three of my committee members for their help outside the classroom in dealing with the logistical parts of graduate school and planning for the future.

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Chapter 1 - A History of the Conga Drum

World percussion instruments have recently gained a great deal of popularity, and one of the largest upswings has been the interest in conga drumming in the 20th and 21st centuries. Not only have the drums become well known through players such as Mongo Santamaria, they have also changed shape and size as time has gone on. Conga drumming has radically changed over the last 140 years in several ways. The drums themselves developed from simpler African drums into modern instruments that utilize new technological innovations and performance techniques. Additionally, conga players have brought the drums to the world stage and slowly have changed the way societies, and particularly the United States, view hand drumming.

Terminology

It is appropriate to begin with terminology, as it gets muddled and can easily be misconstrued. Conga drums are also known as tumbadoras. The origins of the word “conga” are discussed later in the paper; tumbadora most likely comes from the phrase “que tumba,” which literally means the drum.1 Each of the three drums played by a conguero has a separate name used in popular Cuban music, which are important to know. The highest in pitch, approximately 10 inches across, is called the quinto. The drum of medium size, at approximately 11 inches, is called the conga, the tres dos, or the segundo. The lowest drum in pitch is called a tumba, tumbadora, or salidor. For the sake of clarity, the terms conga and tumbadora will be used to refer to the set of three drums or to any general drum of the three. The terms quinto, segundo,

and salidor will be used with respect to the specific sized drums. The video below shows what sounds the drums are capable of making and what they look like.

**Figure 1.1 Video describing the basic conga tones**

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**Origins**

Though the origin of the word tumbadora is straightforward, the origin of the word “conga” is more complex. Most people trace the history of the conga drum to the Bantú influences in Cuba. A few words could be the forebear of the word conga in Bantú: the word Dr. Fernando Ortíz identifies “nkónga” as the etymological root of conga. Others deem it simply as

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2 *History of Conga Drums*, accessed October 7, 2015, Online: http://artdrum.com/HISTORY_OF_CONGA_DRUMS.htm. Though all articles mention types of drums, this is the most complete summary of nomenclature.

the feminine form of the word Congo, which is the part of Africa where the Bantú people come from.4

The Bantú people brought to Cuba the primary ancestors of the conga drums, which are the makuta and the yuka drums. Both drums were part of the ngoma, which involves drumming accompanying singing in the Bantú tradition. As such, both drums were referred to as ngoma drums. The yuka drums distinguish themselves from the ngoma traditions somewhat as they evolved to be played using one hand and one stick.5 The makuta drums more closely resemble the conga drums, consisting of barrel-headed staves and heads fastened to the drum with either nails or tacks. Congueros would tune the drums by holding them close to a flame before a performance to draw out any excess moisture.6

Though the Bantú were perhaps the primary influence on the development of the conga drum, they were not the only influence. The Lucumí, which is a Cuban word to designate descendants of the Yoruba people of Nigeria, were also instrumental in the development of the conga drum and style. The batá and the bembé were both very important ancestors. The batá was used in sacred services, while the bembé was used in less private, more secular settings.7 Other important instruments of the Yoruba people are the iyesá, which are drums played most typically in sets of four at sacred services of the Santería. These drums and batá drums were often accompanied by the chekeré, which is a gourd covered with beads, and a metal hoe blade

7 Ibid., 9.
or shovel called the guataca. This metal sound was static and eventually evolved into the clave patterns known today.  

**Technical innovations**

The journey from African drums to the conga drums known today has its roots in both technological innovations and cultural necessity. In 1886, slavery was abolished in Cuba and population shifts began to occur. Many newly-free blacks began to leave plantations and move to more urban areas. With this cultural migration, new cultural communities were formed in cities such as Havana, and cultures began to mingle. This in part led to changes in the drums. During Spanish colonial rule and U.S. military occupation, African drums were frequently banned in Cuba. As a simple change, Cubans began to build the drum using staves, as a barrel is made. This change in construction was significant enough to differentiate the drums from their predecessors. The authorities allowed the players of these drums to perform with less interference than before.  

The next major development came in the form of tuning. Into the 1940s, the heads were still fastened to the drums by nails and tacks. This led to imprecise and inconsistent tuning. The exact person who pioneered lugs as a tuning mechanism is not known, but Carlos “Patato” Valdez and a man named Vergara from Havana both have claims to the design. Regardless of who was the designer, lugs changed the nature of the drums. They were now more consistent in their tuning and could be adjusted with much greater accuracy. 

Around the same time lugs were being added to the drums, people were experimenting with the materials used in the construction of the body of the drums. In 1949, Sal Guerrero and

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10 Ibid.
Armando Peraza worked together to create fiberglass congas for Guerrera’s big band. The fiberglass shells were stronger and projected more clearly over a large band. Peraza was the first to use these drums.11

Though synthetic heads are common now, they are a very recent development. Introduced by Remo in 1995, they changed how the drums sounded and could be used. Animal skins, which were the only viable option until 1995, had many great qualities in their sound but were less durable than synthetic heads, especially in outdoor settings. The sound is a little different, but advances in design and durability in any environment has made synthetic heads widely accepted and a trend in the percussion world.12

**Congueros and Important Figures**

Though the congas had been in Cuba, evolving for many years, no one truly documented them or their impact on Cuban culture until Fernando Ortíz. Born July 16, 1881, Havana, died there April 10, 1969, Ortíz did not start as a musician but rather as a lawyer and criminologist. His work on studying black criminals led him to delve into black culture in Cuba, a move that proved career altering. His studies led him to abandon criminology for anthropology, especially focusing on the African component of Cuban culture. His study of the African aspects of religion led him to study the arts, which he termed “Afro-Cuban.” His study of music, dance, and literature changed the way people perceived Cuban culture. Perhaps his most important work is *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar, first published in 1940). In this book Ortíz documents the relationship between crops and culture. His work would help to establish the importance of Cuban studies. The Fundación

12 Ibid., 11.
Fernando Ortíz continues his work in studying the roots of Afro-Cuban culture and makes sure that these traditional Cuban roots are not lost.13

Arsenio Rodríguez (born August 31, 1911, Matanzas, Cuba; died December 30, 1970, Los Angeles, CA) is one of the first and most important musicians who brought conga music to the world. Rodríguez was only one generation removed from slavery in Cuba, which was a major influence on him growing up. Rodríguez suffered an accident in his younger years (no one is sure exactly what age) that left him totally blind. As he dealt with the loss of sight that he was old enough to remember having, Rodríguez turned to music to help cope with this loss. Throughout his life, Rodríguez fought against racism, strongly identifying with his Congolese heritage and rejecting his Spanish last name.14 His passion for music and his unique style helped him to become the first bandleader with a conguero in the United States. In the 1940s and 1950s, Rodríguez was very popular and influential throughout the United States as he spread conga music and redefined its role in Latin jazz and more traditional jazz ensembles. Despite all he did for Latin music, he died in relative obscurity.15

As Rodríguez was bringing Cuban music to the United States, others were starting to tread the same path. One of these was Frank Grillo, more commonly known as “Machito.” Machito was born in 1909 in Havana, Cuba but made his way to New York.16 In his teens he was established as a singer and maracas player, and in 1937 his association with La Estrella

16 There is some discrepancy among birth dates of both Machito and Arsenio Rodríguez. The dates listed are the most common dates found.
Habañera brought him to New York permanently. He and Mario Bauzá, another Cuban musician, would form a band known as the Afro-Cubans, for which Bauzá remained the music director until the 1970s. Machito himself remained prominent as a performer, performing with jazz legends such as Charlie Parker and the Stan Kenton Orchestra. A performer to the end, Machito passed away on stage during a performance in London on April 19, 1984.17

Mario Bauzá’s influence did not stop with his collaborations with Machito and the Afro-Cubans. In 1947, Dizzy Gillespie wanted to find a conguero and came to Bauzá for a recommendation. Bauzá introduced Gillespie to a young man named Chano Pozo. Luciano “Chano” Pozo Gonzalez was born in 1915 and was still a relatively up-and-coming musician when he and Dizzy first met, but their collaborations changed the face of Latin Jazz. One especially noteworthy tune written by Pozo is Manteca, now a standard both in the Latin Jazz world and played frequently in more typical jazz bands. Chano Pozo’s influence was very significant but short-lived. In 1948, Pozo died in Harlem, New York in a bar fight.18

The influence of Pozo and Machito could not be ignored and impacted the next generation in Havana. One of these was Ramon “Mongo” Santamaria (born April 7, 1917, Havana; died February 1, 2003, Miami). He describes growing up in the same neighborhood as Machito, who had already gone on to fame and fortune in New York. Mongo grew up around music and was soon a part of that scene, wanting to play drums at an early age. Eventually, after a failed experiment with the violin, Mongo had a set of timbales, bongos, and congas at home and played every chance he had. Santería ceremonies, street performances, and guaguancó

dances were just some of the events he played at. At the age of 17, Mongo dropped out of high school. He and Candido Camero Guerra, another conguero, worked delivering papers to make money. Eventually, Mongo’s work with Pablito and Lilon took him to Mexico City in 1948, but New York City was still calling. “Machito was already there, and Chano [Pozo] was famous for playing with Dizzy Gillespie. I wanted people to know my music too, so I saved my money. In the days before Castro, there were no regulations, so by 1950 I was able to come back.”19 In New York, Mongo played with timbaleros Pérez Prado and Tito Puente before striking out on his own. It was in 1963, shortly after Mongo broke up La Sabrosa, that he collaborated with a young Herbie Hancock to record *Watermelon Man*. *Watermelon Man* was the first composition that introduced mainstream America to Afro Cuban music and made it onto the overall popular music charts. Mongo worked incessantly to make Latin music something that people would appreciate and relate to while keeping his roots to the music that came from Cuba and even from Africa.20 Mongo continued to play with his own band and collaborate with others even into retirement in Miami. He passed away in Miami in 2003, having left his imprint on Cuban music and leaving Cuba’s musical imprint on the world.21

Pancho Sanchez marks a major shift in the conga drum. Until now, almost all congueros who attained fame had originally been born in Cuba. The nature of conga drumming and the training occurs in Cuba and many of the best congueros in the world remain in Cuba to this day.

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As Sanchez was originally not from Cuba, his rise to being one of the world’s most famous conga players marks a historic shift in the instrument’s popularity.

Pancho Sanchez (born October 30, 1951, Laredo, TX) is the youngest of eleven children. As a child, Sanchez listened to the music of many greats: Machito, Tito Puente, and Cal Tjader, a jazz vibraphonist who also played with and mentored Mongo. Sanchez grew up singing and playing congas in his garage (he earned money to buy the drums by singing) to the music of Puente, Machito, and Tjader. His big break came in 1975 when Tjader held open auditions for a conguero. After performing a song, he was invited to perform the rest of a set. This led to a weeklong engagement and soon Sanchez was Tjader’s main conguero, which was a dream come true. Tjader mentored Sanchez and helped him form his own band. Tjader also encouraged the label Concord Picante, which was originally made to record Tjader’s Latin music, to sign Sanchez. Pancho Sanchez has since created 18 recordings, won a Grammy (awarded in 2000 for *Latin Soul*), and continues to play live shows around the world as they strive to meet the demand for an instrument that traces its roots through Cuba and back to Africa.

Over the last 140 years, the conga has grown in popularity by leaps and bounds, leaving the streets of Cuba for the top ten charts and conservatories around the world. Nearly every high school and college that teaches percussion is expected to have at least a set of two drums on hand as a standard requirement in the percussion repertoire, quite the journey for a drum whose

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23 Ibid.
immediate ancestors were outlawed on the one island where they once existed in the world. As the conga and its players have flourished and changed over time, they have transcended their own popularity and helped bridge the divide between purely cultural instruments and respected members of the rising world percussion community.

The final video of the chapter gives an example of a tumbao, which is a common rhythm for the conguero to play in a Latin jazz ensemble today.

Figure 1.2 Video demonstrating a conga rhythm, the tumbao
Chapter 2 - Timbales

The timbales play a major role in Cuban music. Tito Puente said of the timbales, “You can even dance to the timbales without anything else. That’s how important they are in the rhythm section. The timbale player keeps the band together with the clave.”¹

Terminology

For the sake of clarity, the term timbales will be used to describe drums constructed using Cuban materials and performance techniques as opposed to the French word for timpani. Up to that time, the drums will be referred to as timpani, which signifies a more European style of playing and a European design. With respect to the traditional set of two timbales, the two drums are referred to by gender. The hembra, or the female, is the larger drum, while the macho, or the male, is the smaller drum, which has a more aggressive sound.

Cáscara is a word that literally translates to mean shell or bark (blue). Typically the word cáscara also denotes a specific pattern that is to be played on the shell, which will be discussed later. When the physical shell of the drum is referenced, that reference will be in English as shell. Cáscara from here on will only refer to the pattern itself.

Pailas are another name for timbales, especially when used as pailas cubanas. The word pailas comes from the name of the bowls used to hold the sugar cane juice.² Several problems exist in translation and in practice that, though being accepted as commonplace in the United States, should be addressed. Pailas cubanos is specifically meant to refer to timbales, a fact that

¹ Tito Puente and Jim Payne, Tito Puente’s Drumming with the Mambo King (New York: Hudson Music, 2000), 57.
even the *Oxford Dictionary of Music* got wrong in 1973.³ The term paila should not be used to refer to any Cuban drum. Paila is also another accepted name for cáscara (the pattern), but that term will not be used in this paper for the sake of confusion. For the duration of this paper, timpani will be used for the European instrument of timpani, timbales criollos for the reduction in size of the timpani that occurred while they remained timpani, pailas cubanos for the use of the actual paila used as musical instruments, and timbales for the cylindrical-shaped instruments used today.

**Figure 2.1 Video describing timbale basics and the notation system**

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**History**

The journey of timpani in Europe to timbales, or pailas cubanas, is a long one. During times of colonization, all European countries shared their music and culture with the countries they colonized. France, during the times of colonization, settled the island of Haiti. Over time,

³ Ramos Venereo, “Paila,” 404.
France sought to increase the production capacity of Saint Dominique, and during the late 1700s brought numerous slaves across the Middle Passage to Saint Dominique. They brought so many slaves that the whites and free colored population were dramatically outnumbered. To put this in perspective, it is estimated that in 1789 in Saint Dominique (Haiti’s French name), the population included approximately 30,000-40,000 whites, 28,000-40,000 free people of color, and nearly half a million slaves. More than two thirds of the slaves in Haiti in 1789 had endured the Middle Passage. This is in stark contrast to the Spanish side of the island (currently the Dominican Republic). Here lived approximately the same number of whites and free colored people, but only about 15,000 slaves, and this was spread out over a larger area.4

France was very successful in increasing the production capacity of Saint Dominique, though at a cost they did not expect. The wealth of the whites in Haiti was extravagant. Concerts were performed by military bands, balls were held, and three theatre companies coexisted, which is remarkable considering that only 60,000 to 80,000 (whites and free people of color) of the population of 600,000 was tolerated at any of these events. As the wealth of the middle class increased, they gained enough to challenge the monarchy of France, helping to propel the French Revolution. The slaves, however, heard their message of liberty and equality as well. In August of 1791, the slave revolt began, and less than two months later, 1,000 whites lay dead.5 The 1790s continued to be a period of great unrest, which motivated many of the people of Saint Dominique to move from Haiti to nearby Cuba, bringing some of their culture with them.

5 Ibid., 111.
Cubans embraced French music and culture and began to blend it with their own rhythms and styles. The timbales did not immediately find a role outside of European music, though that was to change with the transition of the contredanse into danzón, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. The role of the timpani in Cuban ensembles at this point could be considered to change into that of timbales.

The Transition from Timpani to Timbales

Cuba benefitted greatly from the arrival of the refugees from Saint Dominigue, who were referred to as francés. Everyone from Saint Dominigue, regardless of color, was francés, especially as Haitian was tinged with connotations of instability. These new arrivals were mostly poor, though some managed to bring some of their possessions. More important than their possessions was the knowledge that the francés brought of agricultural practices, especially with respect to the cultivation of sugar and coffee. Though the majority of this part of Cuban history falls outside the scope of this thesis, it is important to note the relative increase in prosperity that Havana underwent as this had direct bearing on the musical history of Cuba, especially with respect to the European influences.

In the early 1800s, the contradanza begins to take hold. This will be discussed in much greater detail in chapter 4, but here it is important to note that when the contradanza begins to take hold, the timpani are a part of the contradanza.

No real evidence exists of timpani in Cuba before the 1800s, but the theatrical performances taking place in urban areas suggest that timpani were probably present in the final

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7 Ibid., 116-117.
decades of the 1700s. These drums were not often of the same quality used in Europe, but did increase in quality through the early 1800s as Havana’s musical culture expanded to rival that of almost any place in the United States. However, wealth was not nearly as prevalent among the black community, who also danced the contradanza. They would have used poorer materials to make their instruments as they strove to play music.

Timpani that were built in Cuba were often created using the empty steel barrels that oil was shipped in. These large barrels were cumbersome and difficult to play. It was only possible to mount one effectively on a stand or mount, thus making travel with these instruments quite difficult. For the sake of moving the instruments as well as for other reasons, Cubans were interested in creating smaller versions of timbales for use in playing and performing.

The timbales criollos are slightly smaller than timpani and were more suitable for indoors. These instruments are larger than pailas cubanos (timbales) and retain the hemispheric proportions of the original timpani. It is worth noting that “timbales criollos” has been retrofitted as a term for timbales today and taken out of its original context.

The next step in the evolution of timbales was the pailas cubanos, which are the closest ancestor to modern timbales. Timbales still go by the name of pailas cubanos, though this paper will use the term to recognize the ancestor, not the current timbales. These timbales would have been made from iron or copper bowls used to hold the juice of the sugar cane.

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9 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 143.

10 Ramos Venereo, “Paila,” 403.

Construction Transition

Pailas cubanos were closer to today’s timbales, but were still too bulky to carry around and move. Players would often take only one drum, which led in part to the playing the drum muffled, as multiple sounds were needed out of one drum. To solve this problem, players continued to make the drums smaller, using cylindrical olive crates cut in half with goatskin nailed to one side. It was now possible to mount two of these timbales on a single stand. This process began to happen in the first part of the 1900s, which prompted the use of diminutive terms to describe the instruments that were made smaller (timablitos, pailitas).

It is not well documented when timbales switched to metal shells, but most likely the interaction between New York, New Orleans, and Havana had a great deal to do with the changing of the materials used. Jazz especially had great deal of influence in the development of timbales in the first half of the 20th century. The influence from the United States of cylindrical and metal drums most likely had bearing upon the construction of the timbales.

The first addition of a cowbell to the timbales was in the late 1930s. Israel “Cachao” López (b. Sept. 14, 1918, Havana, Cuba; d. March 22, 2008, Coral Gables, FA) and his brother, Orestes (1908-January 26, 1991), made the addition of cowbell during the montuno section of

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13 Ibid.
15 Quintana and Silverman, Changuito, 17.
the danzón. This cowbell was added to the timbales setup. The style of the D section of the danzón, such as cha cha chá or mambo, determined which cowbell was more appropriate for the situation. Today’s typical timbales setup makes use of a cha-cha and a mambo cowbell as well as a woodblock.

Figure 2.2 Video describing the timbales attachments

Timbaleros of Note

Tito Puente (born April 20, 1923, New York, NY; died there June 1, 2000), also known as El Rey de Timbal, is perhaps the most famous timbalero of the 20th Century. Born in El Barrio in New York City, Puente grew up interested in music from a very early age. Puente was very active in music as a child, taking piano lessons, performing with his sister in dance competitions, and singing in a junior high vocal quartet. Puente did not start on the drums until

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18 Hahnfeld, *Timbales in Cuban Music*.
19 Ibid.
hearing Gene Krupa’s solo on Sing, Sing, Sing and was a drum set player before becoming a timbalero.

It is important to note that Latin music had always inspired Puente. He was actively studying piano with Victoria Hernández and was also studying with Luis Verona, who played with Machito’s group. His first drum set lessons were with a man Puente only remembered as Mr. Williams, who gave Puente knowledge about playing jazz but knew nothing about Latin music. Puente played drum set with a neighborhood group called the Happy Boys and first learned timbales from José Montesino, who played timbales with the group.

After looking for work playing in nightclubs in New York and New Jersey, Puente met pianist and manager José Curbelo (2/18/17 – Havana; 9/21/12 – Miami), who offered him a job. This was the beginning of a long and productive friendship. Puente and Curbelo played together, and later Curbelo’s uncle recommended Puente for a spot in Machito’s band, Machito and His Afro-Cubans, at the young age of 19. This was young to be percussionist in what many view as the premier Latin band of the time. Puente went on to play with several other musicians and bands before making his move. Federico Pagani, who had founded the Happy Boys, sought Puente out to play at the Palladium, and the Picadilly Boys were born.

Shortly after this Puente went out on his own completely with the first album Abaniquito. From here Puente continued to make records and played actively throughout the New York music scene and touring beyond that. Puente went on to have an incredibly active music career,

releasing over 100 albums, earning four Grammys on eight nominations,\textsuperscript{21} and shaping the way people view timbales.

Changuito (born Jose Luis Quintana January 18, 1948, Casablanca, Cuba)\textsuperscript{22} is a revolutionary timbalero and soloist. Changuito first began playing in Havana as a professional musician at the age of eight, and was regularly performing by the age of 12. At the age of 22, Changuito joined Los Van Van, one of the most popular Cuban bands in the world. Changuito’s work as a timbalero is perhaps most identified in his creation of songo, and his influence is still felt in the world of Afro-Cuban music today.

\textbf{Figure 2.3 Video showing cáscara techniques}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{video.png}
\caption{Video showing cáscara techniques}
\end{figure}


Chapter 3 - The Rumba

Rumba is an important style in Cuban music. The basis of rumba comes from African music, both sacred and secular. To understand the roots of rumba music, it is important to have an understanding of the tribes that influenced rumba and how Santería contributed to the rumba. Before delving too far into rumba, it is important to note that rumba is traditional Cuban music, while rhumba is the popular Cuban dance music that arrived in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. While danzón came from European influences, rumba has its roots in African tradition. These African roots survived well in Cuba in large part due to the presence and organization of cabildos, which were societies of Africans in Cuba designed to help new arrivals assimilate among themselves and to preserve culture. These societies were organized into groups based on where slaves came from, which when taken with the slave owners’ general allowance of drumming and culture to continue, helped to preserve the culture of the slaves in Cuba.1

Conga and the Bantú

The Bantú-speaking people are a part of almost all cultures in the Americas. The Bantú people were widely enslaved, ending up in Brazil, the United States, and throughout the Caribbean. The slave trade began with the Portuguese and continued for centuries after. People of the Congo readily adapted the slave trade, having some slavery within their culture already, and the sedentary farming practices of the Bantú made them easier to find and capture than other more nomadic people or people who lived deep in the African forests.2

The old kingdom of Kongo, which was firmly in existence by the fifteenth century, covers today’s Democratic Republic of Congo, Cabindo, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, and northern Angola. This region is what will be referred to as Bantú-speaking region, despite the fact that the Bantú language had pockets that reached beyond this area.3 The people will be referred to as the Bantú. The Bantú people spoke variants of the same language tree, but over 500 languages were present across many different tribes.4 The Spanish considered all of these to be part of the Congo as they assimilated the slaves into Cuba. This included Angolans who were not necessarily a part of the Bantú, as well as Mozambique people who were not part of the Bantú civilization but merely lived in the region.5

Palo was the religion of the Congo. It was preserved in Cuba through the help of cabildos, which helped people to hold on to their culture. Palo is much more secretive than Santería. It consists of magic and seeks to do what magic does. Palo emphasizes working with the dead, who have the experience of both the dead and the living and as such are wiser than the living.6 Though the religion was practiced in secret, drumming was involved occasionally. The makuta ensemble is described with three drums: the mula and cachimbo keeping time and the caja playing accents.7 This instrument is a direct line to the conga, and the three drums parallel those of rumba.

6 Ibid., 182.
7 Ibid., 188.
Abakuá

The Abakuá are a secret religious society of men in Cuba. They originated in Africa, in the region of Old Calabar, which is between Nigeria and Cameroon. The Abakuá formed in Cuba in the provinces of Havana and Matanzas. It is difficult to state definitively the nature of the Abakuá, in part because they were partially a religion and partially a brotherhood. In Africa these things were all interwoven.

The Abakuá consist of several major groups. Two of these are the Efor (also the Efut or Efó) and the Efik (or Efí). The Efor were native to the Cross river region, which is where Old Calabar is located. The Efik arrived in later, by the 17th century, seeking economic opportunity in the slave trade. Other groups, including the Qua, were also part of the establishment of the Abakuá in Cuba.

The Abakuá were feared in early Cuba. The Abakuá were most powerful in Havana and among the harbor workers. In Africa the Abakuá readily sacrificed slaves. This practice might have involved killing dozens of slaves at a time for occasions such as a funeral or the arrival of a ship into a port, and continued into the middle of the nineteenth century. Cuban Abakuá practitioners, or Ńáñigos, never participated in human sacrifice. Ceremonies involved animal sacrifice, though early practitioners of Abakuá were known for vendettas and grudges, some reaching back to Africa. Ńáñigos were easily identified by their dress and, for some, by the practice of filing their teeth down to a point.

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9 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 192.
10 Rodriguez, “Cuba,” 120.
12 Ibid., 197-198.
Percussion in ceremonies of the Abakuá involved a few different types of percussion. The guataca, or hoe blade, is played to keep the timeline. The fambá, a sacred area of Abakuá ceremonies forbidden to outsiders, houses a drum known as bonkó, which created the sound of Ekue. Sublette describes the sound of Ekue as a nonstop friction drum, akin to a Brazilian cuica or a lion’s roar in symphonic percussion. The wand, or the part of the drum that generates the vibration to create the sound, must be kept moist to make sound. This may be accomplished by water, or in some ceremonies, with the blood of a rooster. Though the sound of Ekue is not heard in today’s Afro-Cuban percussion music, the guataca is present in clave.

The Lucumí

The Lucumí, a people who were known as the Yoruba in Africa, were some of the last to arrive in Cuba, but had a significance on Cuban music. It is possible that the term Lucumí came from the Yoruba greeting “Oluku mi,” which translates to my friend. The kingdom of Oyó was in existence by 1400 in Africa, and became a military power through their cavalry and iron weapons by the 1700s. The Yoruba adopted some Muslim influences, but were distinctly a non-Muslim culture as evidenced by their inclusion on a list of cultures that Muslims were allowed to enslave.

Despite their military power, the Oyó Empire was conquered in wars from 1823 to 1836. The fall of Yoruba coincided with the significant increase in the Yoruba being taken as slaves to the Americas. It is worth noting the absence of the Yoruba in a list of plantation ethnicities.

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13 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 197-198. The word bonkó relates to bongó, but the term was known across a wide area of Africa and no evidence exists to suggest that this drum is related to the bongó today.
14 Ibid., 202.
17 Ibid., 208-209.
given by Reverend Abiel Abbot of Cuba in 1829. He mentions eight separate cultures of slaves being present in Cuba, but no mention of the Yoruba (or the Lucumí as they would come to be known in Cuba) is given. This is especially important when the time of slaves being transported to the Americas is considered. The United States ended the slave trade from Africa officially in 1807, with the law taking effect in 1808. Though slave ships continued to arrive in the United States to some extent, the number of slaves dropped considerably. In Cuba, however, slave ships continued to arrive until the 1860s, and the Lucumí were imported in such numbers that a significant portion of the population was disassembled, shipped piece by piece from one place to the other, and reassembled to some extent in a new location. Thus a wide cross-section of the Yoruba people, from priests to laborers to musicians, was present in Cuba by the 1860s.

The Lucumí religion eventually became Santería, which involves some combination of Catholicism and Yoruba religion. In Cuba only a few major and a few minor orishas, or deities, are honored with drums and dance. Thousands existed in Yoruba, but even gods can die if not kept alive by the people who worship them. When the Yoruba came in contact with the saints of the Catholic tradition, it was obvious that the saints were the white man’s orishas. Certain saints paralleled naturally with orishas, such as San Pedro and Ogún. The term Santería translates to “of the saints.”

It is important to note here that African religions are not generally exclusive of other belief systems. A Catholic Cuban could be a palero who practiced Santería as a member of a

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18 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 211.
society of the Abakuá without conflict from any of the religions except perhaps Catholicism. This inclusiveness is essential to how Santería survived. The santero hid in plain sight, practicing his beliefs under the guise and protection of the Holy Roman Church.

The Catholic Church in Cuba was notably more lax than the Catholic Church of Spain. Priests avoided the barracones, or barracks, of plantation slaves and made few earnest efforts to evangelize the slaves. As such, Santería was left alone in the barracones. It was in the barracones that slaves kept alive the religion of Yoruba, albeit with Catholic influence, and with the blessings of the owners, who had noted the improved health and work of slaves who danced. This dancing was largely done to batá drums, which invoked the orishas with their music.22

Drumming was and remains an important part of Santería. Religious ceremonies involve playing for the orishas, invoking them to be a part of the ceremony. The drums that invoke orishas are the batá drums. Three drums are involved in batá drumming: the okónkolo (the highest in pitch), the itótetele (in the middle), and the iyá (the largest drum, and the one that leads).23 Each drum has two heads that produce different pitches when played. The batá are unique to Cuba. The large influx of slaves from Oyó went primarily to Cuba and this happened largely occurred after other countries in the Americas had reduced or ended their slave trade.

While batá drums are used in secular music, the primary use, and the most profitable use of the drums for those trained in batá drumming, is for religious ceremonies. The batá talk, and those used in religious ceremonies are alive. To quote drum maker Juan Benkomo,

The drum is an orisha. It has a birthday, it eats, it has to be initiated with coconut. It has a life of its own. There are days when, to play the drum, it has to be asked if it wants to

23 Ibid., 85-86.
play, because if it says no, it should not be played. There are times when it’s tired, when it does not want to work.\textsuperscript{24}

The drums that are alive give birth to other drums through a ceremony. To have a drum that is alive is a rare honor as only 15 sets were thought to be in existence in 1950s Cuba.\textsuperscript{25}

Batá drumming is very polyrhythmic, and possesses an inherent sense of the African timeline, of which clave is a subset. This timeline was apparent in Cuban music before the arrival of the Lucumi, with claves themselves being in existence in shipyards during the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries. The concept of clave has been important in the music of Cuba for centuries, permeating contradanzas and danzones as well as other styles of Cuban music, but the polyrhythmic percussion of the Lucumi added the final layer to what was to become Cuban music.

It is important to note that other percussion came with the Yoruba to Cuba besides batá. Bembé drums were also used in secular music, which had some resemblance to conga drums. The Lucumí also had a tradition of religious chekeré music.

**Baile Yuka**

In addition to the secular influences on Cuba, rumba was quite influenced by the yuka dance. Baile yuka was a secular, social dance where a couple would dance in the middle of a circle of onlookers. The tradition bore some resemblance to cockfighting, as the singers were known as gallos (roosters) and the couples engaged in controversias. This dance bears a striking resemblance to the yambú, which will be discussed soon.

The drums used for this dance were made from tree trunks, preferably avocado trees. Three drums were used in this dance, with the lowest in pitch, the caja, being large enough that it

\textsuperscript{24} Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 229.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
had to lean on something so that it could be played. The other two drums were the mula and cachimbo, and the guagua, which José Eladio Amát describes as “two sticks that are played against the side of a drum or box.”26 This dance was popular on plantations as Saturday night entertainment after a week of hard work.

**The End of Slavery**

The beginning of the end of slavery occurred in 1868 with the first Cuban revolution. October 10, 1868 is best compared to our July 4, 1776. It was not the beginning of a new country, but the beginning of the change that was to eventually free Cuba from Spanish rule.

Many Cubans fought for independence, and slaves were quite willing to fight for their freedom. Ten years later, the revolution had ended without achieving Cuban independence, but changes had occurred within the country. One notable change was that the Spanish government had noticed what the consequences of an oppressed population waiting to be freed would have when coupled with revolution. This, combined with technical innovations supplanting the need for slave labor and pressure from other European powers to end slavery, led to the beginning of the end of slavery in 1880. This process was phased in over the course of six years, and 1886 marks the definitive end of slavery in Cuba.

As slavery was ending, many slaves migrated from rural areas to urban centers, greatly swelling the size of these cities and causing a shift in the demographics of these towns. African culture was being suppressed, which led to innovations in the drums as well as the genesis of new musical styles.

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Rumba itself

Musical compositions called rumbas first appeared in theaters in the middle of the 19th century. These theatrical rumbas were different than the percussive rumbas to develop later, but some connection may have existed. Often stock characters in plays in Cuba were women of the street, or mujer de rumba, also known as a rumbera. These women were often featured in the show’s final number, which might have been a theatrical rumba.

All rumbas start with a similar structure, which involves an opening section called the diana. A second section that introduces the theme follows the diana, and only then does the rumba begin in earnest.27 The rumbas of Cuban folklore that grew into guaguancó, yambú, and columbia were developed around 1879, in approximately the same region of Cuba as the danzón. The first danzón was called Las alturas de Simpson (Simpson Heights) and was named after a barrio in Mantazas. This very barrio is where rumba was born.28

Rumba instruments

Before speaking of rumba, it is important to talk about the instruments that are customary in rumba. Congas are essential to rumba, as claves and the guagua. The three congas are played by different players, and in some situations cajones are substituted. All African drums had to deal with some persecution in their existence, and the players adapted the drums, as they had their religion, to hide in plain sight.

Cajones are box drums, which were made from shipping crates. The crates were taken apart and reassembled, with each piece being filed down so that the crate was tighter than it was before. Snares were added to some cajones. The quinto was often created with candle boxes,

28 Sublette, Cuba and Its Music, 257.
which were smaller. These drums were more portable than the yuka drums, and when the authorities came looking for drums, it was difficult for them to be too angry about the boxes in the corner.

Other instruments were similarly adapted. Claves were made from shipping pegs, which abounded in port cities. Congas, as mentioned previously, were made from barrels, and at times were termed mambis, which was also the name for a liberation army soldier. To quote Sublette, “It was a bogus name, of course, because they did not play these drums during the War for Independence (Ten Years’ War). But no, sir, Mr. Policeman. These are not African witchcraft drums. These are patriotic Cuban barrel drums – mambisas!29

Rumba clave is very important to understand. Like son clave (what is most commonly understood as clave in the United States), rumba clave comes from an interpretation of the African hoe blade pattern. Over time, some notes were omitted from the pattern, which became the version of clave seen in six-eight in the video below. This is the clave pattern that is used for six-eight rumba patterns. Rumba, especially guaguancó, is notated in cut time, and the clave pattern has slowly changed for rumba into the one seen at the end of the video.

29 Sublette, Cuba and Its Music, 265.
Figure 3.1 Video describing clave, and elaborating on the difference between son and rumba clave

**Yambú**

Yambú is perhaps the calmest of the dances, which perhaps explains why it was the first of the three rumba styles to fade in popularity. Now professional dance groups are the only play and dance to it. The yambú is a slower dance in which the dancers (male and female) imitate an older couple. The movements are much less aggressive than the guaguancó or columbia.

The yambú bears the strongest resemblance to the baile yuka. It evolved in the tradition of rumba that portrayed others, in this case an older couple, which is called mimetic dancing. Argeliers León refers to these dances, describing them as *rumbas de tiempo España*, or rumba

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from Spanish Time. He also documents another dance of this genre, called the Mama’buela (Mama-granny) where the male acts like a child who doesn’t want to go to school. The female portrays the grandma sending him. These dances, though historically popular, have faded in popularity today, leaving guaguancó and columbia as the active rumbas of today.

**Guaguancó**

Guaguancó is at the heart of rumba. It is the most popular of the three forms of rumba and continues to live on to this day. The video below will reference rumba. The first sounds heard are the Rumba claves and the guagua, which plays the rhythm notated in Figure 3.2 below. The boy is playing the guagua on a jam block, which can be used to replace some of the sounds formerly made playing the shells of drums (cáscara). The chekeré plays on the downbeat of the three side of rumba clave, which can help guide the ear of the listener while listening to such rhythmically polyphonic music.

**Figure 3.2 Guagua pattern, with rumba clave for reference**

The dancers (male and female pairs) are engaging in a type of mating dance, which involves the man attempting to dance towards the woman in a manner similar to that of a male

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32 Rodriguez, *From Afrocuban to Salsa*, 93.
chicken attempting to impregnate the female. When he is successful, the pelvis movement is called the vacunao.34

**Columbia**

The columbia is by far the most exciting of the rumbas, featuring a single male dancing exuberantly. He interacts with the quinto, who is playing in a soloistic manner. The two really have a duel of sorts.35 The Carabalí had a significant influence on the development of columbia.36 The columbia consists of a very fast six eight meter, where clave becomes blurred between six eight and cut time, or between triple and duple. Compare the columbia habanera in Figure A.3 of Appendix A with that of the yambú in Figure A.2 of Appendix A, especially clave and guagua. It is easy to see the relationship and how, as tempo picks up, the rhythms can adjust. For an American example, compare slow swing triplets on the ride cymbal to that of bebop. Here, as in rumba, the faster tempo creates an increased evenness and style becomes the key to the rhythm.

**The wave of popularity**

Rumba became increasingly popular in the early 20th century. Rumba ensembles were on the rise, moving throughout the country. The exuberance and energy of rumba, especially guaguancó and columbia, replaced the relative calm of the danzón and led to a major shift in the music scene of Cuba. Though rumba remained outlawed in most of Cuba past the end of Prohibition in the United States, rumba had an influence on numerous parts of Cuban music, and radically revolutionized son.

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34 Amát and Lanoue, *Afro Cuban Percussion Workbook*, 40
35 Rodriguez, *From Afrocuban to Salsa*, 93.
Chapter 4 - Danzón

Danzón is the Cuban music that is most rooted in European culture but became Cuba’s unofficial national dance in the early 1900s. The roots of danzón can be traced to the contradanza and, before that, to the contredanse. Tito Puente said of the danzón, “Danzón is the real typical Cuban cultural music and dance. Baqueteo is a style that most of the old Cuban timbale players played in danzón. It was taught to me by a Cuban named Montesino, when I was a young man.”1

History of the Contredanse

The contredanse was a popular dance in Europe in the 1700s. France, with its emphasis on dance, was a primary vehicle in the exporting of the contredanse. The contredanse might have taken several paths to arrive in Cuba via several paths as it was transformed into the contradanza.

One notable path is through Haiti. As has been previously discussed, numerous francés entered Cuba from what is now Haiti, bringing with them elements of their culture. They would certainly have had contredanses in their balls and salon concerts.2

A second path is through New Orleans. When the United States took possession of the territory acquired in the Louisiana Purchase, and New Orleans with it, many Spanish speakers went to Cuba. They might have brought the contredanse with them, having received it from those fleeing Saint Dominigue.3

1 Tito Puente and Jim Payne, Tito Puente’s Drumming with the Mambo King (New York: Hudson Music, 2000), 129.
2 Ibid., 39.
3 Ibid.
A third path is through England during their occupation of Cuba during the mid 1760s. The origins of the word contredanse may have as much to do with the English country dance as it does the French choreography of the dance into two lines facing each other.⁴

A fourth possible influence is Spain, which might have received the dance from France in the early 1700s. Zoila Lapique, a scholar of colonial Cuban music, identifies a book on dancing that contained eighteen contradanza melodies and was published in 1755, though Lapique does not show evidence of the bass line that makes the contradanza notably Cuban. Some of the melodies include rhythms inherent to the tango, which would most likely have come from Havana.⁵

To summarize, the contredanse probably came to exist in Cuba through a variety of these influences, each to a degree shaping what was to become the contradanza cubana.

**Contradanza and Habanera**

The contradanza was popular in the 1700s and spread throughout the world from Spain during that time, but it took a while for the dance to migrate to Cuba. The Cuban genre of contradanza grew out of a combination of influences. French contradanzas came across from Haiti, especially as slave revolts were occurring and the French were seeking a safe place. The trio of flute, violin, and piano was a very French influence, as was the style of contredanse, though the syncopation was not originally present. The syncopation that denotes a Cuban contradanza, or habanera as it came to be known outside of Cuba, came out of the combination of the African rhythms and influences with European music. This combination was significant

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⁵ Ibid., 119-120.
and scandalous as it marked a shift from European music influencing the slaves to the African heritage giving back through its rhythm and syncopation.

**Rhythms in the Habanera (Contradanza)**

In order to identify the rhythmic features that came to define the contradanza, it is easiest to listen to a contradanza with a guide for the figures that are present in the song. A traditional Cuban contradanza that would exhibit these rhythms is *San Pascual Bailón*. A recording is cited in the footnote, but any recording the reader has at his or her disposal would be of great aide in listening for and discovering the rhythms of the habanera.

As one listens to *San Pascual Bailón*, it is important to note a few of the underlying rhythmic figures that are present. Three are immediately noteworthy.

*The Tango, eventually called Habanera*

**Figure 4.1 The tango rhythm. Over time habanera also became synonymous with the name of this rhythm**

![The tango rhythm](image)

The first rhythm that will be examined is the tango rhythm, which is present in most habaneras. The tango rhythm can be found in Bizet’s “Habanera” from *Carmen* throughout the bass line. This rhythm pervades contradanzas and habaneras, helping to define their style. This rhythm also has become an integral part of Argentinean tangos.

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The Tresillo

Figure 4.2 - The rhythm of the Tresillo, which is derived from the habanera

The tresillo rhythm is derived from the tango rhythm above. It adds tension by eliminating the resolution to beat three that was present in the tango. This rhythm came to be present on the “three side” of son clave, which is the side of clave that builds tension.

The Cinquillo, called in Saint Dominigue the catá

Figure 4.3 The Cinquillo rhythm

The cinquillo rhythm, shown above, is quite similar to the tresillo rhythm shown in the previous figure, but it has two extra notes. The extra notes would be deemphasized in performance practice, serving primarily to drive the music along. The cinquillo rhythm, more than either of the other two rhythms, creates a great deal of tension. This rhythm, though important, is not present in San Pascual Bailón. It will, however, be important to note this rhythm when looking at the timbales pattern played in the danzón.

\[\text{Sublette, Cuba and Its Music, 134.}\]
Carmen

Georges Bizet’s Carmen (1875) demonstrates how the style was used and taken from Cuba to influence other countries. The rhythm of the habanera, seen in figure 4.1 above, is present throughout much of the music, giving the piece its exotic feeling. It is also worth noting that such a piece in Bizet’s time was appropriate to demonstrate the exoticism associated with Carmen. The habanera, with the flavor of Cuba ingrained within it, was the perfect vehicle for Carmen’s not-so-proper aspect of her character to be known to the audience.

Notably Carmen is really twice removed from Cuba. Bizet, accidentally or intentionally, stole the tune for Carmen. Composer Sebastian Yradier (1809-1865), of the Basque region of Spain, wrote the tune El Arreglito and Bizet thought it was a folk song. In any case, at least Yradier got credit for La Paloma, another famous contradanza.8

Danza

The Danza evolved from the contradanza. Over time the name was shortened as the dance moved indoors. Though the two dances would have been quite similar around the time of the transition, eventually the danza came to be a slightly gentler dance, and more appropriate for indoors. Danzas tended to be in two-four time in the A section and six-eight in the B section9. This dance was typically used for upper class. The danza is also a couple’s dance, which is a transition from the line dance of the contradanza.10

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8 Sublette, Cuba and Its Music, 248.
9 Ibid., 135.
Danzón

Danzón literally means large dance, or large danza. The first danzones were played in the 1850s as variations of the contradanzas and danzas, making them longer with variations to allow more dancing.\textsuperscript{11} This meant that the danza grew from a binary form into a five-part rondo.\textsuperscript{12} It was not until 1879 that the first danzón was published. \textit{Las alturas de Simpson} was written by Miguel Failde (1852-1921) in the Cuban province of Matanzas.

\textit{Las alturas de Simpson}\textsuperscript{13}

The structure for the timbales is defined by José Eladio Amát in Figure B.1 of Appendix B, and is closely related to the güiro part in the recording. It is important to note how the sections of a danzón fit together, and then to look at how the percussion part fits together. Listen for the cinquillo and the release in alternating measures of the baqueteo, which will be described in more detail below.

\textit{Danzón form and percussion}

The form of a danzón is generally ABACA or a variation of this form. The first half of the A section is accompanied by baqueteo, as are the B section and C section. The baqueteo, which can be seen in measures 1 and 2 of Figure B.1 in Appendix B, can be played with the measures in either order, though it is more common for it to be presented in the form shown in Figure B.1. The A, B, and C sections are all closed forms, or forms of a predetermined length, though it does not need to be the same as the example presented by José Eladio.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{11} Puente and Payne, \textit{Tito Puente's Drumming with the Mambo King}, 40.
\textsuperscript{13} Miguel Failde, “Las Alturas de Simpson,” 3:34, Posted June 18, 2010, accessed April 1, 2016, Online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UI2NFbGnsqU. A recording can be found here.
\end{flushleft}
The baqueteo is only one of the accompanying patterns played by the timbales. The second half of the A section is the pasillo, which is the transition section. Here the rhythm of the cinquillo is repeated three times and the music builds tension before resolving.

**Figure 4.4 Video demonstrating timbales in the danzón**

*Instrumentation*

Danzones emerged with many various instrumentations, growing over time. The original danzón grew out of the French trios that consisted of flute, piano, and violin (these were common for danzas), though other instruments were added. Eventually the charanga ensemble emerged, which consists of flute, violins (frequently a pair if not four), piano, bass, güiro, timbales, and later congas.\(^{14}\)

Danzones were also played by *orquestas típicas*, which had a different instrumentation. The *orquesta típica* earned its name for the use of typical European orchestral instruments in the

\(^{14}\) Puente and Payne, *Tito Puente’s Drumming with the Mambo King*, 129.
new setting of more traditional Cuban music. It was probably first used to describe the danzón orchestra of Miguel Failde who created the first danzón. His ensemble consisted of cornet, valve trombone, figle, two C clarinets, two violins, contrabass, timbales, and güiro. A figle is a type of ophicleide. Tito Puente describes a slightly different orquesta típica, omitting the figle. The danzón grew in popularity throughout the early 1900s until son arrived in Havana.

**Adaptations of the Danzón**

Over time, son became more and more popular. By the time it moved to Havana in the 1930s, it was threatening to overpower all other music in Cuba. Danzón and the musicians who played it were forced to adapt or lose popularity to other mus. In the face of this challenge, several adaptations occurred.

**Montuno**

A montuno with respect to a section of music refers generally to a section of a piece that has an open form and (often) more rhythmically active music. This was first developed in son, which will be discussed later. For now, it will suffice to say that the danzón moved from a five-part rondo to a five-part rondo with a bonus section at the end, which was the montuno. This addition of the montuno, sometimes called a danzonette, took the best things that son had to offer and added it to the end of the danzón in a way that was largely consistent with the style.

The montuno of the danzón grew into other sections that split off to become songs of their own. The mambo was a direct result of the montuno section of the danzón. Basically, it is

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17 Puente and Payne, *Tito Puente’s Drumming with the Mambo King*, 129.
18 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 393.
the montuno of a danzón without the rest of the danzón. The cha cha chá was born in a similar way. Eventually danzón-chas and danzón-bos became cha cha chás and mambos.
Chapter 5 - Son

Son, from the word sonar (to sound), has had many meanings, but Cuban son is a genre that arose in the eastern part of the island and became one of Cuba’s most popular musical styles. Its influence on dance music makes it one of the, if not the, most important genre of Cuban music.¹ For the rest of this report, son will specifically address son cubano, or Cuban son.

Roots of Son

Son came from different parts of the very eastern region of Cuba; with people of Guantánamo and the Sierra Maestra range both claiming a part in the development of son.² Guantánamo in particular is home to the roots of changüí, a forerunner of son that had similar instrumentation.³ A revival group called Changüí de Guantánamo has an instrumentation similar to the original changüí performers, which is bongó, tres, marimbula guayo (a guiro variant, often simply played on a washboard), and maracas.⁴ Changüí and son both have their roots in the culture of the Bantú people.

Because son arose on the eastern part of the island, the people singing and playing son were vastly different. Oriental Cuba had not experienced the same sugar boom as the Occidental Cuba, and so the later waves of slaves brought to Cuba were not delivered here. This means that the Yoruba, who were primarily taken to Cuba after 1830, did not come in any significant

² Ibid., 124.
³ Olavo Alén Rodríguez, From Afro Cuban Music to Salsa (Berlin: Piranha Records, 1998), 63.
number to Oriente. Here the majority of slaves had come from the Bantú regions of Africa, and their traditions were not altered or supplanted by the Yoruba.\textsuperscript{5}

Another major consequence of slaves not being delivered to the Oriente is that a significant gap in time occurred where other slaves freshly from Africa did not continually affect these slaves. As a result, the slaves in eastern Cuba, where son was born, were significantly more creolized than the slaves of the western portion of the island. Slaves from Africa were continually added to the slave population of western Cuba and the rigors of the sugar plantations there made the likelihood of generations of slaves in western Cuba significantly less of a probability than in Oriente.

This creolization of the slaves in eastern Cuba, especially when considered with respect to the slaves in western Cuba, is a significant factor in the music that became son. Many of the polyrhythmic elements that define rumba are lacking in the original iterations of son. The basis of son is the estribillo, or repeated chorus, that is often sung antiphonally. This aspect of son is preserved even after son becomes popular around the island.\textsuperscript{6}

**The Spread of Son to the West**

The spread of son across the island has a great deal to do with the military movement of troops throughout the island. Though son might have spread to Havana in small instances, the spread of the Permanentes (an army created by the United States) around 1909 was the most noticeable agent of mixing music from the eastern part of Cuba with the western part of the island. The Cuban army routinely rotated soldiers to unfamiliar areas, so that people who were


from Oriente moved to Occidente and Occidente to Oriente. With Oriente traveled son and with the Occidente rumba.⁷

As son came to Havana, it had already evolved, moving from a single line to rhyming couplets. In Havana, blacks already prevalent playing guaguancó took to son, introducing their own musical elements. This son rumbeao, or son with rumba influences, caught on for the next ten years as groups formed using any available instruments.⁸

**The Instruments of Son**

Victor Records made the first recording of son as a sextet in 1918. This son sextet standardized the instruments of son to a large degree. The sextet consisted of botijuela, guitar, tres, bongó, claves, and maracas (the last to played by singers).⁹ These are the main son instruments, a few of which will be discussed in more detail.

Though the mbira, or sanza, is not an instrument used in son, it has had a great impact on the instruments used in son. The mbira was an instrument played in Africa to pass the time. It could play polyphonic music and was often used to play a repetitive line over and over. This pattern came to be called a guajeo, and is what the montuno developed from. The mbira came to influence the development of the tres and the marimbula.¹⁰

The botijuela, which is a smaller botija, is a jug that serves as a bass voice in the ensemble. This jug was sung into to amplify the bass voice, a method similar to that used in black jug bands of Kentucky.¹¹ Another bass voice that was common to son groups was the

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⁸ Ibid., 334-335.
⁹ Ibid., 340.
¹⁰ Ibid., 337.
marimbula. This instrument consists of a resonating box and metal strips whose length gave their pitch. A descendent of the mbira, this instrument had a larger box than the mbira and fewer strips, or notes. It is pitched lower generally than the mbira. Often the marimbula played only a few notes, not unlike a simple bass part in three-chord or four-chord rock. Both of these instruments, though common in the beginning of son, gave way to the bass by the 1920s, whose flexibility and use in jazz made it the more mainstream option.\footnote{George List and John M. Schechter, “Marimbula,” \textit{New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments} 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed., edited by Laurence Libin 3/401 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).}

\textbf{Figure 5.1 Video showing the marimbula and the bass tumbao pattern}

The tres is an instrument similar in shape to a guitar but smaller. The tres has three pairs of strings that are spaced apart, making it easy to play the pairs of strings as if they are a single note, similar to a 12-string guitar but with half as many pairs. The tres represented the treble portion of the mbira in pitch, though not in playing style. The tres was used to play guajeos and

eventually montunos. Tuning a tres depends on one’s preferences. The strings are tuned in pairs either to be in unison or tuned to the octave. Today’s tres is tuned frequently to a G C E while in the past it has been A D F#. The bongó is a distinctly Cuban instrument despite its African influences. The Bantú word for the group of instruments that plays son is “bunka,” which also was used to describe the boxlike instrument that was the predecessor of the first bongó. The drums, like many drums with African influences, have a hembra and macho for low and high respectively. Bongó were at one point made from hollow logs, but modern construction techniques have changed the practice.


The bongó made possible many styles and sounds possible, all on one drum. The bongosero (bongó and bell player) could emulate guaguancó, imitate the quinto, create sounds similar to the iyá of batá, or even play long tones reminiscent of Ekue. This range of style reaches out to the Bantú, Lucumí, and the Abakuá, bringing all of these sounds to the public ear.¹⁶

Some friction existed with these sounds in public, especially with that of Ekue. Sublette draws the parallel to gangsta rap first being heard in polite American society.¹⁷ The Abakuá did face persecution, as did all drums being played with hands as this time. European-minded musicians did not distinguish between the Cuban conga drums and the African tambores yukas. Their distinction was simply that performing with sticks was proper and civilized, while playing

¹⁷ Ibid.
with hands was not. As such, regulations were passed saying sticks were a requirement to play the bongó.\textsuperscript{18}

At least some portion of the rise in popularity of son cubano can be attributed to its ease of setup. A danzón required literate musicians and heavier equipment. Each player can carry their instruments of son as they disappear from the authorities, who were banning all types of black music. This now included son and danzón as well as rumba.

**The Growth of Son**

Son’s popularity slowly grew to overtake that of every other musical style in Cuba. The danzón craze gave way to son. The lyrics of son spoke to everyday life while the danzón was instrumental music. The steps and rules of the danzón gave way to the freedom of son, where dancers were free to do their own steps. This freedom fueled the son boom of the 1920s.

The estribillo of son, which in today’s music is most akin to the “hook” in popular music, was catchy and got people into the dance, the montuno is when the dance really started. Montunos, which grew out of the repeated pattern played by the tres, started to pick up tempo. The vocalist, and eventually others, started to solo, demonstrating their musical prowess. Eventually singers departed from lyrics relating to the estribillo and began to exhort the crowd to keep dancing, keep partying, and this went on for hours at a time.\textsuperscript{19}

**The Affect of Son on Other Music**

Soon son was changing the way other styles were performed. Danzoneros, who up to now had been the sought-after musicians, were losing in popularity to son, and took steps to bring their music back into the mainstream. Eventually, the mambo was born out of the addition

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 345.
of a montuno section to danzón, in 1938. The danzón cha caught on and soon became a viable dance form of its own. In a similar way, cha cha chá was born out of another variation of a danzón montuno later on, in 1951.\textsuperscript{20}

Son adopted other styles, such as guaracha and guajira. They transformed into a guaracha-son, which brought elements of the up-tempo guaracha into son and the montuno to the guaracha. This guaracha-son is an important element of the mishmash of styles that is today referred to generically as salsa. Similarly, the guajira took on a montuno, and soon all of these dances had become a part of the son cubano style.

The Machado presidency marks the climax of son. Gerardo Machado (born Sept. 28, 1871, Santa Clara, Cuba; died March 29, 1939, Miami Beach, FL) was president of Cuba from 1925 to 1933,\textsuperscript{21} and he encouraged the growth of son until the revolution of 1933. Sextets, such as the Sexteto Habanero, Sexteto Occidente, and the Sexteto Nacional, were recording in New York in the 1920s. Eventually trumpets were added to some of these groups, including the Sexteto Habanero and the Sexteto Nacional, which became septets. Trumpets became popular additions to the solo sections of the montunos.

Soneros were becoming increasingly popular and were making inroads into more and more areas of society. Cuba in the 1920s had private social clubs, largely based on race, which increasingly turned from danzón to son in the mid-1920s. These sociedades were not the only place where son was growing in popularity. Academias de baile, which were places that offered dances with women for a nickel or dime as a cover for prostitution, would employ son bands to

\textsuperscript{20} José Eladio Amát and Curtis Lanoue, \textit{Afro Cuban Percussion Workbook} (Lexington, KY: Thor Anderson, 1998), 32.

play music in the background for the dancing that was their cover. Soneros with greater experience would often play at encerronas, which were multi-day parties hosted by men of privilege (and political protection). These parties had all of the necessities: food, alcohol, women, and a talented son band.

As son was growing in popularity, the trio was also starting to become a popular outlet for son. Trio son would often consist of two guitars and percussion (usually either claves or maracas depending on the song). This ensemble, though not ideal for parties or clubs, was perfect for the radio, now making its way through Cuba as well as the rest of the world. Radio broadcast son to the Caribbean, including Puerto Rico and Mexico, and at night even to New York. Fewer radio stations existed at this time, and radio waves could travel thousands of miles. The return was also true, and Havana received an influx of jazz, blues, and many other styles that slowly changed the sound of Cuban music.

The end of the 1920s and the 1930s, however, marked a decline in musical productivity within Cuba as the country descended into chaos and revolutions. These years mark a decline in Cuban education, productivity, and turn towards violence, planting the seeds of unrest that would later grow into the Cuban revolution that put Fidel Castro in power.

**Revolution: Machado Falls, Batista Rises**

Machado ascended to the peak of his power in 1928. Though his corruption and the corruption of his predecessors had eroded at support for the government from Cubans, American support was still high. The 1920s meant economic success, and the American government was still supportive of Cuba as long as the problems were underneath the surface. Additionally, Prohibition was in effect in the United States, while alcohol was legal and inexpensive in Cuba, making it an ideal destination for Americans who wanted to get away. Previous Cuban
presidents had made deals with American companies to invest in hotels and even build a casino in Cuba.

In 1928 Machado was able to host the Pan American Conference, which was attended by Calvin Coolidge among others. This notably marked the first time a sitting president of the United States visited Cuba, and was the only time a U.S. President visited Cuba before Barack Obama arrived in Havana in March of 2016. Similar to 2016, the arrest of those opposed to the government preceded the arrival of the President. Four suspected Communists were arrested for putting up propaganda posters with anti-imperialist messages. After Coolidge left town, fisherman caught a shark with human remains inside. The wife of one of the protestors identified the cuff links and clothes as belonging to one of the protestors. All four had been dumped in the water in chains, alive or dead, to be eaten by sharks. Machado took the only logical step at this point – he banned shark fishing.22

Machado’s administration took some steps for, and others against, the black population of Cuba. He wore all white often, which was important to Santería, but continued to prohibit the drums, adding prohibitions to those that already existed. To quote Ned Sublette,

“You could not play a conga drum in a hotel ballroom during Machado’s administration. For that matter, you could not be black in a hotel ballroom, which was pretty much the same prohibition, since no white people knew how to play drums with their hands.”

Dr. Desiderio Arnaz the second, Machado’s mayor in Santiago, banned the conga, allowing the comparsa for a time, but eventually banning that as well. Arnaz’s resolution in 1929 banned, “every kind of comparsas, or ‘parrandas’ that use as music the bongó, and other similar instruments.”23 Arnaz’s son was Desiderio Arnaz III, more commonly known as Desi. Desi

22 Sublette, Cuba and Its Music, 369.
23 Ibid., 371.
Arnaz went on to marry Lucille Ball.

1929 marked a turning point in the reign of Machado. It was that year that Machado assassinated Julio Antonio Mella in Mexico, which lowered his standing internationally. As Cubans grew increasingly discontented with the status quo, Alejandro García Caturla identified Afro-Cuban music with politics in an article, stating that it is the music of all Cubans.

The stock market crash and global recession also marked the year 1929. Sugar prices tumbled, tobacco crashed and construction stagnated. The depression that ensued caused a rise in liberal sentiments around the world, and Cuba was different.\textsuperscript{24} Chaos began with bombs and unrest boiling over. The early 1930s in Cuba were tumultuous for the entire population.

The first general strike against the government occurred March 1, 1930. Later that year, a rally occurred at the university in Havana, where the student president was martyred. November marked a suspension of rights guaranteed by the Cuban constitution. The Hotel Nacionál, completed December 12, opened to an overwhelming lack of tourism given the state of Cuba and the world.

In 1931, the ABC society formed. This secret society set out with the goal of inspiring terror and destabilizing the government. The name ABC related to the organization of the society, which consisted of cells. The uppermost cell, led by person X, was cell A and consisted of seven people besides X. Each of these people led a cell B, in which they had seven people, who in turn led cell C, and so on.\textsuperscript{25} The ABC society worked towards the overthrow of the government and bringing about the implementation of the Platt Amendment, which entitled the United States to intervene in Cuba based on certain conditions and allowed for the creation of

\textsuperscript{24} Donald Mabry, “Machado, Gerardo (President 1925-1933).”

\textsuperscript{25} Sublette, \textit{Cuba and Its Music}, 404.
naval bases (notably the naval base in Guantánamo Bay). The bombings, attacks on Machado supporters, and general anarchy began in the early 1930s and continued for years.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4, 1933. One of his first actions was to push for the end of Prohibition, which further decreased tourism in Cuba. As Cuba was falling farther into chaos and seemed less and less likely to pay its debts, Machado’s time was limited. April 14, 1933 saw seventeen bombs explode in Havana alone. This pace continued as efforts to destabilize the government saw more and more basic government functions decrease. Illiteracy reached 60% towards the end of Machado’s term. Students (though with the university closed since 1930, this title is somewhat misleading) continued to be at the center of unrest.

With Hitler rising in Germany, Roosevelt did not want Cuba to be a continual source of uncertainty. In May, American Ambassador Sumner Welles arrived with the mission of sorting out the problem that was Cuba. August 6, 1933 saw a transportation strike that put Havana at a complete standstill. Factories shut down and nothing was open. On August 7, Welles delivered to Machado a resignation for him to sign. Faced with the withdrawal of support from the army, Machado signed and fled the country on August 12.

Machado’s flight sent the country into chaos. Desiderio Arnaz Jr. was imprisoned, which was as fortunate a fate as he could have hoped for. Perhaps 1,000 people were killed within the week. Houses burned and looting of the supporters of Machado ensued with gusto. The

26 Treaty Between the United States and the Republic of Cuba Embodying the Provisions Defining Their Future Relations as Contained in the Act of Congress Approved March 2, 1901, signed 05/22/1903; General Records of the United States Government, 1778 - 2006, RG 11, National Archives.

presidential palace was sacked, and all of this was documented on newsreels, to be shown to an American public.²⁸

The next president of Cuba was Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, the son of a revolutionary who began the 10 Years’ War in 1868. Céspedes took office August 13. His presidency was twenty-one days. Turmoil continued in Cuba. The Sergeant’s Revolt put Fulgencio Batista (1901-1973) effectively in power for years to come.²⁹ Batista would combat revolts against him for the next few years, but by May 1934, the United States and Cuba had negotiated a new treaty and revolution was dead.³⁰

**Cuban Music Abroad**

As instability in Cuba increased, the rest of the world was catching on to Cuban music. Son cubano was making its way around the world, though outside of Cuba people were not as concerned with the proper naming of Cuban styles. Son, as it spread around the world, was called by a more exotic sounding name: rumba. Rumba was also called rumba, as was guaracha, guajira, etc. The Anglicization of rumba added an h to the word, creating rhumba, which would become the term for son in the United States in the 1930s and 1940s.

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²⁸ Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 412-413.
²⁹ Ibid., 432.
³⁰ Mabry, “Revolution of 1933.”
Chapter 6 - Movement of Popular Cuban Music to U.S.

Cuban culture in the early 1930s was in utter disarray. The University of Havana was closed, illiteracy was high, and chaos reigned in the streets. After Machado’s expulsion and the quelling of rebellion, Cuba entered into a relative state of calm, and of cultural growth. Ramón Grau San Martín, Cuba’s president from September 20, 1933 to January 4, 1934, enacted numerous reforms that changed the rights of Cubans, though not always changing their lives. Women could vote, land was redistributed, and the workday was reduced to a maximum of eight hours.1 Some of these changes, such as the eight-hour workday, were difficult to implement while jobs were dramatically lacking in the country, but the ideas of the revolution were finally starting to reach into the government.

In 1937 the University of Havana was reopened.2 Turmoil was finally settling down and in 1940 a new Cuban constitution was ratified. Batista won a largely successful democratic election and held office without major incident, ceding power at the end of his term as mandated by the constitution. The United States was supportive of Cuba, and purchased the entire national sugar crop of Cuba for a good price and minimal tariff from 1942 through 1947.3 This prosperity made it possible for music and culture to grow and shine in Cuba.

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Resurgence of Black Music

In Cuba, laws passed that prohibited the hand drums, especially the conga, were repealed in the mid 1930s. This didn’t mean that black music was immediately reintegrated into society. The process was a slow one, with several important steps along the way.

Fernando Ortíz organized the first public secular performance of batá drums in 1935. Special drums had to be made for the occasion, but it was evidence that Cuba as a nation was coming to accept and respect the views of black culture. This event was symbolically a landmark of historic proportions. The music of the Lucumí had made it through attacks from its Islamic neighbors in Africa, the Middle Passage, slavery, wars, and racial persecution to the point where it was again being recognized in public as a culture and music of worth.

Comparsas and congas (in this case the dance) were also permitted by the end of the 1930s. With respect to popular music of Cuba, separation still existed between accepted styles of music and those that were not yet accepted by the public at large. Danzones were now accepted and to a large extent old news. The advent of son had caused the decline in popularity of danzón. The danzonette was now being played, and other innovations would come at the end of the 1930s.

Son reemerged from the revolution of 1933 with its popularity largely intact, though the revolution had disrupted employment opportunities for musicians. Some of society’s negative connotations of son were now gone, and it had become a viable music for Cuba as a whole. Rumba, the music of the barrio, was still seen in the same way gangster rap was first viewed in the United States. It was not recorded and was not for the public at large.

Following the revolution, America was again clamoring to hear Cuban music, which mean that the recording companies were again looking for musicians to record. Due to numerous musicians worth mentioning in the expansion of Cuban music to the United States and beyond, it is inevitable that some important musicians will be omitted from this report. This story will begin with the reemergence of Cuban radio.

Cuban Radio

One of the consequences of Cuba settling down again was the emergence of popularity of the radio. The first recording studio in Cuba outside of radio stations did not open until Ramón S. Sabat opened the label in 1943, which means radio stations were up to this point constantly on the lookout for live talent. Cuban musicians who were looking to make a name for themselves had two main options: house bands for radio shows and amateur radio contests.

Radio stations such as CMQ and CMBL (better known as Suaritos) formed during this time. CMQ had the first permanent recording studio in Cuba, while Suaritos was devoted to music and had a policy of all music. By 1939, Havana had thirty-four medium-wave radio stations, or the equivalent of AM stations. Despite a lot of recorded music on air, many had live shows and live music for radio shows, which gave ensembles many opportunities for musicians to make money with their craft. By 1940, anyone who was established as someone was on a daily broadcast of some sort.

For musicians who were not yet famous, radio outlets were still possible. On December 1, 1937, *La Corte suprema del arte* began, which was an amateur radio hour on CMQ. Numerous famous singers were a part of the show: Ned Sublette lists “Celia Cruz, Merceditas

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6 Ibid., 437.
Valdés, Regina Burgues (later known as Elena Burke), Olga Guillot, Tito Gómez, Rosita Fornés, Ramón Veloz, and many others.” The show offered a chance for unknown contestants to vie for prizes of fifteen, ten, and five pesos (set by the Cuban government as a one-to-one equivalent of dollar) for first, second, and third prize. Contestants could enter repeatedly, and build up a name for themselves. Cuba was finally satisfying its appetite for music and culture that had been created and exacerbated by revolution and instability.

**Americans Recording Cuba**

Cubans were not the only ones craving Cuban music. Americans who had begun to discover Cuban music from the recording sessions done in the 1920s were craving. Cubans had still been writing music, but it had not been reaching the masses well in Cuba, let alone in the United States of America. Recording companies absent since before the fall of Machado set up a marathon recording session in Cuba from June 15 to June 17 of 1937. RCA Victor was the driving force behind the recording session taking place in Vedado, a section of Havana. Numerous groups (twenty four in all) recorded during these three days, but the second group from the end was Casino de la Playa. Before going into the significance of these recordings, it is important to know more about two of the key figures to Casino de la Playa: Miguelito Valdés and Arsenio Rodriguez.

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7 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 436.
8 Ibid., 436-437.
9 Ibid., 444.
**Miguelito Valdés**

Miguelito Valdés (born September 6, 1912, Havana; died November 8, 1978, Bogotá) was a major figure in Cuban music. Valdés was born to a Spanish father and Mexican Yucatec mother, making him mestizo as opposed to mulato. His father died when he was young and his mother moved him from the barrio of Belén to that of Cayo Hueso. Miguelito worked as a mechanic by age eleven, and later as an amateur boxer, winning twenty-three bouts.

Valdés’s birth and appearance qualified him as white, which opened doors for his career. His upbringing in Cayo Hueso taught him all of the black traditions and music. He was a sonero who knew rumba and was comfortable with fast tempos. His music was fast, and he would sing four or eight times as fast as the main lyrics of the song. Valdés occasionally played a conga, but Casino de la Playa was a Cuban jazz band, and the conga had not truly entered the rhythm section yet. While playing at the casino Valdés’s band is named for, he shared the stage with a tresero who would come to have an impact on his music and work.

**Arsenio Rodríguez**

Arsenio Rodriguez was already discussed in the first chapter of conga music, but it is important to recognize his influence in Cuba. Rodríguez started as a drummer; his uncle played with some of the great numberos of his generation and taught Rodríguez the drums. Rodríguez played numerous other instruments as well, including marimbula and the botijuela, but eventually Rodríguez found the tres and settled on it. Rodríguez was black, and as such could

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12 “Miguelito Valdés.”
13 Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 442.
not be a part of Casino de la Playa’s band in the 1930s; instead he became an unofficial consultant to the group.

**The Recording Session**

Being the penultimate group in that three-day recording session from June 15 to June 17, supplies were running low. The group was only allowed to have six takes. This recording session was in many ways a new beginning for Cuban popular and dance music, especially as it is known in the United States. Though the music was groundbreaking in many ways, perhaps the most notable among the six tracks was *Bruca maniguá*.

**Bruca Maniguá**

*Bruca maniguá* was the first Arsenio Rodríguez composition ever recorded.\(^{14}\) The tune was significant for its lyrics as well as its style. The style was a new style, called “afro-son.” The tune was set to clave, but with a variant on the tango rhythm (see Figure 4.1 for comparison) underlying both sides of the clave rhythm, as seen in Figure 6.1.

**Figure 6.1 Underlying rhythm of Bruca Maniguá set against clave**

\[\text{Figure 6.1 Underlying rhythm of Bruca Maniguá set against clave}\]

The lyrics of *Bruca maniguá* were also groundbreaking in the world of Cuban music. Many of the lyrics were in what Sublette refers to as “neo-Bozal,” which is a language created by

mixing African and Spanish spoken only by first-generation arrivals from Africa. The words of the song speak of the plight and the difficulties of slaves. An excerpt is below.

Yo son carabalí – I am Carabalí
Nego de nación – Black man of a nation
Sin libetá – Without freedom
No pueo viví – I cannot live

Mundele acabá – White man finished off
Con mi corasón – My heart
Tanto maltratá – So mistreated
Cuerpo dan fuirí – They kill my body

The words of *Bruca maniguá* spoke to problems that people in Cuba were still struggling with. It is also a credit to Valdés that as a white singer he did not sound ridiculous singing the song. Valdés was yet more bold, and “sang a bit of palero lengua (into his soneos)—still a daring thing to do, let alone for his recording session: ‘Abre cuta güiri ndinga’ (Open your ears and hear what I say).”

By December of the same year, Xavier Cugat, a major figure in Latin music in America who will be discussed in more detail later, had recorded the song. Cugat was recording and working without black players due to restrictions on his band at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel. The irony of this situation is there to ponder.

The racial scene in Cuba was not much better, and would not improve for a few years. Valdés had around him some of the top musicians in Cuba, including Arsenio Rodríguez, Chano Pozo, who was making a name for himself as comparsas were again becoming popular, and Ramón Castro, who was a bongosero of note. These three musicians were black and couldn’t

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16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
take the stage of Casino de la Playa.\textsuperscript{18} They were in the recording sessions and were the musicians of choice whenever the audience could not see who was playing, but racial discrimination was all too real and present at the time.

**Havana’s Musical Network**

As Cuban musicians were performing around Havana, numerous groups formed, disbanded, reformed, and reorganized. Everyone seemed to know everyone, and a certain communal experience existed within the Havana community. Rodríguez eventually formed his own band in Havana, employing for the first time two trumpets, and later going on to add a third and a fourth trumpet. It is thought that the addition of trumpets in mariachi bands influenced this decision, but whatever the influence, the Cuban conjuntos were becoming popular, and Rodríguez was on the cutting edge. As mentioned before, Rodriguez was one of the first, if the not the first, to have a conga in his band and to be the first bandleader with a conguero, in or before 1942.\textsuperscript{19} Rodriguez also began the process of playing with a campana, or bongó bell. This changed the role and the importance of the bongosero.

Mil Diez formed as a radio station in 1943, broadcasting the party’s view. They also had a mission to bring nationalist views on culture and music to light, so the radio station had an ambitious music department. They ended up with the two biggest names in Cuba on the radio: Arsenio at 5 P.M. and Antonio Arcaño at 7 P.M. Antonio Arcaño Betancourt (born December 29, 1911, Havana; died there June 18, 1994)\textsuperscript{20} was a major figure in Cuban music, notably leading the group that Israel and Orestes Lopez played in during 1938.

\textsuperscript{18} Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 448.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 479.

New York Scene

As evidenced by the speed of music traveling from Cuba to New York, the Big Apple had an active and thriving music scene with plenty of room for Latin music. The switch to Latin music is intentional here, as New York already had a significant Puerto Rican population before Cubans began coming in large numbers, and Puerto Ricans had their influence on Cuban music and Cubans as they arrived. The music scene in Havana had created an atmosphere where numerous musicians met each other, collaborated, and fostered learning within each other, and it expanded in New York as Latin American musicians supported each other.21 New York offered numerous benefits, including better pay and living conditions as well as the ability to play in bands of mixed race.

Xavier Cugat (b. January 1, 1900, Gerona; d. October 27, 1990, Barcelona)22 was a Spanish-born musician who specialized in Latin music. His music revolutionized much of the dance and music scene that was around as he spread and fueled the dance craze of the 30s and 40s.23 A consummate businessman, he played for the Waldorf-Astoria, which meant that his orchestra didn’t employ blacks for a time. Cugat was one of the first big-name Latin recording musicians to make it in the Americas, in part due to his business savvy. He at one point syndicated his orchestra, starting multiple orchestras of Xavier Cugat in various cities around the United States.24

21 Sublette, Cuba and Its Music, 460.
23 Ibid.
24 Sublette, Cuba and Its Music, 452.
Mario Bauzá (born April 28, 1911, Havana, died July 11, 1993, New York City)²⁵ was a Cuban musician who made his way to New York earlier than many of the other Cuban musicians who eventually immigrated to New York. He was influential in Latin music in New York both as a trumpet player and as a musician who connected with Cuban musicians coming to town. His trumpet styling was a familiar sound in Cab Calloway’s band, and he served as a mentor for young John Birks (Dizzy) Gillespie. Besides helping Machito connect with the music scene, Bauzá helped to provide introductions for many young Cuban musicians in the New York scene.²⁶

Bauzá played in Chick Webb’s band by 1933, which was one of the premier bands of New York. Here Dizzy Gillespie would get to sit in, and Bauzá was the lead trumpet. In 1938 Bauzá moved into Cab Calloway’s band. Dizzy also subbed for Bauzá in Calloway’s band, though Gillespie left the band after a fight that involved Calloway receiving a superficial wound from a knife.

Bauzá’s brother-in-law, Frank “Macho” Grillo, was one of the next Cuban’s on the scene. Another percussionist mentioned in Chapter 1, Macho changed his name to Machito and began his career as one of the best Latin bandleaders, playing some jazz standards but mostly Cuban music. Miguelito Valdés came to New York in 1940, and Bauzá introduced Valdés to Cugat, who took him on as the lead singer.²⁷

One thing that helped propel Cugat’s band at this time was the ASCAP strike of 1941. The strike had a significant impact on the music being published and heard. Part of the strike


²⁶ Sublette, Cuba and Its Music, 459-462.

²⁷ “Miguelito Valdés.”
rules consisted of a ban on all music being played on the radio by ASCAP composers. ASCAP, at this time, was very selective of its membership, refusing to let in “hillbilly, Negro, and Latin composers.”28 These composers went to Broadcast Music, Incorporated, or BMI, the scab broadcaster’s organization. One example of this phenomenon is Duke Ellington, who couldn’t get his music played. At this time, he really started to promote the tunes of Billy Strayhorn and Mercer Ellington, who were BMI members.29 Valdés recorded Babalú for the third time, and in what would become his most popular arrangement of this tune, on March 14, 1941. This recording became the best-selling album Cugat ever released.

**Story of Desi Arnaz**

Desi Arnaz (born March 2, 1917, Santiago, died Dec 2, 1986, San Diego, CA)30 and his father had come to America after his father was released from prison in 1934. They settled in Miami, a place that had little of the Cuban population that it does now, as most Cubans had returned to Cuba after the fall of Machado. Though some question the musical ability of Desi Arnaz, few people doubt his wit and charisma.31 Desi, in his first band, dealt with the struggles of getting the dance floor filled by subbing his band in for the previous band one member at a time so that the crowd wouldn’t have the opportunity of a set break to leave the floor.

Cugat, while in Miami, hired Arnaz to come to New York to be in his band. The job opportunity only lasted six months, which is when Cugat began the syndication of his band. Desi ended up in charge of the Miami group with Cugat’s name and help, and popularized the


29 Ibid.


conga line in the United States on his first night in charge. This happened on December 30, 1937 when, with Cugat’s band that arrived only hours before largely incompetent, Desi thought back to the conga and comparsas of his youth (the ones his father had outlawed just a few years ago) and brought those into his band. He taught the orchestra a basic one, two, three, kick, and suddenly had the whole club doing a conga line. Ironically, this fad that Desi had helped to kick off, which did have some roots in other places, was felt as far away as New York and Havana.

The club where the conga line started, a Miami beach bar, was christened La Conga. A La Conga opened up in New York, and the popular song in Cuba for the year 1938 was Rafael “Mañun” Ortíz’s *Uno, dos y tres*. The comparsas that Desiderio Arnaz had shut down as the mayor of Santiago were restored and more by Desi Arnaz.

Arnaz went on to have a memorable career in show business. He was on Broadway at the age of 22, and playing at the New York club La Conga every night from after the show until close. He met Lucille Ball in 1940 in Hollywood on the set of *Too Many Girls*, and much of their career in show business is well known. Desi Arnaz’s influence in bringing Cuban culture to the stage, albeit in a self-deprecating way at times, caused elements of Cuban culture to be felt throughout the world. In 1991 Michael Daugherty wrote a chamber work for symphonic Winds entitled simply *Desi*, featuring a bongó player with sticks, and virtually all the audience would know the reference.

**Assembling Today’s Latin Band**

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, changes were being made to the traditional bands that played Cuban music. The percussion section was undergoing various changes especially as the

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33 Ibid.
style of different pieces called for different percussion, and bands needed to become more versatile. Many of the changes that brought the modern concept of Latin Jazz percussion to where it is today were made by Arsenio Rodríguez in Havana, and spread to the United States quickly. Rodríguez’s group still didn’t have a timbalero, but the addition of the conga to a son group was a significant change to how groups were playing. The addition of a bongó bell for the bongosero during louder sections of the piece also greatly changed how the music was performed.

The final piece of the puzzle came together in 1944. Machito added conguero Carlos Vidal to his band for the setup of timbales, conga, and bongó, which made the group into the full and cohesive unit commonly known today. This sound has been typical of Latin jazz bands for years, and while some variance occurs within different bands, these three instruments are the traditional heart of Cuban percussion.

**Cuban Influence Today**

Cuban percussion instruments have moved from novelties to serious classical instruments. Beginning with Louis Moreau Gottschalk, experimentation has existed with various Cuban instruments in orchestras, though it took time for the concept to catch on. Amadeo Roldán wrote pieces entitled *Ritmicas*, and *Ritmicas 5*\(^{35}\) and *6*\(^{36}\) make use of Cuban percussion extensively. These pieces, written in 1930, are some of the earliest percussion ensemble music, and are based on clave. They make extensive use of bongó, claves, conga, timbales, and maracas

\(^{34}\) Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 473.


among other instruments. Edgard Varèse also uses Bongó, claves, maracas, and güiro in Ionisation, premiered in 1933.38 Aaron Copland used claves and other instruments in his symphonic works, most notably Danzón Cubano and other Latin American-influenced works from that time, and percussion music has come to embrace these various instruments. Today it is common for percussion parts to call for a specialized knowledge of hand drumming techniques in music of high school and middle school difficulty. In under a century, hand drumming has gone from a taboo forbidden in Cuba to an encouraged activity for elementary schools, with workbooks devoted to teaching young students to play drums with their hands.

Many of the religions of Cuba, and of those based on polytheistic Africa, are still viewed today with some trepidation. Television today often uses examples of Santería or of voodoo when invoking something strange or mysterious. Two examples that have occurred within the last year are those of Orange is the New Black and Grimm.

In Orange is the New Black, at the end of season two, an inmate of Latin origin feels that another inmate has crossed the line in her behavior. This inmate places a spell on her, with the goal of getting her out of the way. In the end, the character is removed from the show, and the viewers are left to ponder whether the spell had any power over her fate.39 The writers of Orange is the New Black generally portray Santería in a more authentic light than other shows on television.

In the television show Grimm, an episode deals loosely with the idea of Santería, but though the terminology is used correctly with respect to Santería and a santero, it is merely used

39 Orange is the New Black, “We Have Manners. We’re Polite.,” Netflix, 1:32:51. June 6, 2014.
as a springboard to launch the storyline into unknown territory and provide a kind of vague, shadowy link between reality and fiction.\textsuperscript{40}

\textbf{In Conclusion}

While feelings of doubt still exist around many things unknown, especially those from the Caribbean, these stereotypes are fading. The acceptance of Cuban percussion into the world of symphonic and classical percussion as well as its acceptance by Cuban and American society at large shows how much opinion and perception can change in a short time. As Cuba opens its doors to the world, it can only be hoped that Cuban music and Cuban culture continue to impact society for the better.

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Appendix A - Rumba Examples

The workbook written by José Eladio Amát contains many examples of rumba. It is worth noting the variance that occurs between regions, and for this purpose the examples selected from guaguancó and columbia will be the examples from Havana.

Figure A.1 Guaguancó Habanero from p. 42 of *Afro-Cuban Percussion Workbook* by José Eladio Amát
Figure A.2 Yambú from p. 45 of *Afro-Cuban Percussion Workbook* by José Eladio Amát
Figure A.3 Columbia Habanera from p. 46 of Afro-Cuban Percussion Workbook by José Eladio Amát
Appendix B - Danzón Example

Figure B.1 An example of a danzón as notated by José Eladio Amát in his book *Afro-Cuban Percussion Workbook*, p. 31
Figure B.2 The continuation of José Eladio Amát's sample danzón on p. 32