MARIO BAUZÁ: SWING ERA NOVELTY AND AFRO-CUBAN AUTHENTICITY

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of Missouri-Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduced to jazz in his native Cuba, Mario Bauzá (1911-1993) immigrated to New York City in 1930 to take part in its active scene as an instrumentalist, and, by enhancing pre-existing musical practices with his arranging prowess, played an important role in the formulation of Afro-Cuban jazz. The Havana native earned impressive credentials as a member of Chick Webb's and Cab Calloway's ensembles in the 1930s and 1940s. With these groups he completed on-the-job performance training, held his first position as a musical director in the United States, and composed Swing Era big band charts. His prominence as a jazz arranger, however, is the result of works he later designed for Machito and His Afro-Cubans, which capitalize on Cuban instruments and rhythms.

Since the inception of jazz in New Orleans, performers and arrangers have assimilated Latin American musical practices. This is evident in the music of American composers, early jazz performers, and Swing Era big bands. In general, arrangers in the 1920s and 1930s treated Latin elements as a novelty. This is demonstrated in big band performances that bear Spanish-tinged titles, introduce Latin instruments, or contain Latin syncopated rhythms altered for the American public. It is not until the 1940s, with the creation of CuBop by Dizzy Gillespie and the emergence of Afro-Cuban jazz, that

¹ Hereafter, I use the term "Afro-Cuban jazz" to refer to any jazz charts with Cuban qualities, and the term "Latin jazz" to indicate music influenced by Caribbean or Latin American traditions. This distinction is made to avoid the notion that all Latin music, and therefore all Latino people, are "the same." My usage of terms is influenced by Lise Waxer, who defines similar parameters in "Of Mambo Kings and Songs of Love: Dance Music in Havana and New York from the 1930s to the 1950s," *Latin American Music Review* 15/2 (Autumn-Winter 1994), 139-76.

authentic Latin practices were truly adapted. The appearance of Cuban traditions in American jazz did not occur by happenstance, however; the direct involvement of Cuban musicians in New York jazz circles is documented in the personnel list of various ensembles.

Many authors make reference to Bauzá's participation in both big band and Afro-Cuban jazz ensembles during the Swing Era, but in their limited prose they fail to detail accurately or quantify his contributions. The lack of substantial research addressing his influence is due, in part, to the importance traditionally placed on the soloist and the act of improvisation by jazz historians;² neither is solely dependent on the arranger, making this role secondary to that of the performer. A few arrangers have been given credit for changing the course of jazz history: men such as Jelly Roll Morton, Don Redman, Fletcher Henderson, Duke Ellington, and Gil Evans made significant contributions to the development of big band styles. For Afro-Cuban jazz, similar acknowledgement has been allotted to Bauzá. In a 1975 article Joseph Blum made the following argument:

What we have yet to realize is that Mario Bauzá, who helped create Machito's band, came to New York from Cuba in 1926 and played with many of these early jazz bands. It was Mario Bauzá who got Dizzy Gillespie a trumpet chair with Cab Calloway—Dizzy Gillespie used Chano Pozo to create his Afro-Cuban sound, Charlie Parker later recorded with Machito—there was an underground stream of "real" Latin music alongside the jazz stream, which had little to do with Desi Arnaz, "Babaloo," or Cougie and Abbe.³

² Gunther Schuller, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 134-35.

³ Joseph Blum, "Problems of Salsa Research," *Ethnomusicology* 22/1 (January, 1978), 145. The date Blum provides for Bauzá's arrival in the United States coincides with his first visit to New York; he did not emigrate from Cuba until 1930. Chano Pozo (1915-1948) was a Cuban singer and percussionist who had cultivated social and religious roots in the Afro-Cuban musical traditions of Cuba. He emigrated to the United States in the

Gunther Schuller, moreover, in the *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* entry on "Afro-Cuban Jazz" recognizes Bauzá's fingerprint on the development of this style.⁴ In this short essay, Schuller, nevertheless, gives primary credit for the emergence of Afro-Cuban jazz to Gillespie and Machito. Gillespie, given his musical talent, interest in Cuban music, and popularity, was an important participant in the combination of authentic Caribbean rhythms and instruments and American jazz, and Machito was a significant Afro-Cuban jazz bandleader. Yet it was under the musical direction of Bauzá and in his arrangements that this "underground stream of 'real' Latin music" was codified.

Because Bauzá has been acknowledged as a central figure in the creation of this style, it is surprising that no study details the components of his music that justify the delineation of his later arrangements from earlier Swing Era charts. I address this gap by illuminating differences between music from the Swing Era that utilizes Latin elements as a novelty and the arrangements of Bauzá that employ Afro-Cuban materials authentically. An accurate assessment of Bauzá's contributions to the creation of Afro-Cuban jazz will result from quantifying and qualifying the approach to Latin traditions in these two bodies of work and then realizing the similarities and differences between the two.

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¹⁹⁴⁰s and was an important contributor to Gillespie's development of CuBop. Pozo was a practitioner of Santeria, a Cuban religion that combines Catholic and African deities. It is also a source of Afro-Cuban drum, chant, and dance traditions. Xavier Cugat (1900-1990) was a violinist, band leader, and film star, and Desi Arnaz (1917-1986) was a Broadway, movie, television, and radio personality best known as Lucille Ball's husband in real life and on *I Love Lucy*. "Babaloo" was the title of his character's hit song and is also a reference to the tune "Babalú" by Cugat. I could not identify Abbe.

⁴ Gunther Schuller, "Afro-Cuban Jazz," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (http://www.grovemusic.com; accessed 14 November 2006).

Literature Review

The evidence for this study is located in publications that address the history of jazz, those concentrating specifically on Latin jazz, biographies of American musicians, printed scores, and recordings. Most relate information about Bauzá in the context of his involvement with other artists, namely Cab Calloway, Dizzy Gillespie, Chano Pozo, Chick Webb, and Ella Fitzgerald. Besides biographical information and the superficial explanation that he combined Afro-Cuban and jazz practices, there is little, if any, significant discussion of his music in print.

My research is hindered because there are few sources dedicated solely to Bauzá. While there are many short passages in numerous books, on websites dedicated to jazz, and encyclopedias that provide general information or mention his activities in New York City during the 1940s, there is no single work that addresses his life and music at great length. The two primary sources for this topic are a twenty-one-page book of pictures and commentary prepared by Max Salazar and printed by the Caribbean Cultural Center in New York after Bauzá's death titled *Cubop! The Life and Music of Maestro Mario Bauzá* (New York: Ragged Edge Press, 1993)⁵ and a 1978 four-cassette interview of the musician recorded for the Smithsonian Institution Jazz Oral History Project (interviewer unknown), on file at the John Cotton Dana Library of the Institute for Jazz Studies at Rutgers University. Both contain biographical information—a superb chronology of Bauzá's career is found in the final pages of *Cubop!*, and the Smithsonian interview provides detailed information on the ensembles he performed with, the reasons he departed

⁵ This book is a version of an article written by Max Salazar that was published in *Latin Beat* I/6 (1991).

or was expelled from groups, his intentions in creating Afro-Cuban jazz, and his thoughts on other artists—but neither contains analysis of his music.

Publications with a broader approach—jazz dictionaries, encyclopedias, and historical overviews—make mention of Bauzá but do not allot a significant amount of text to his life or music. Gunther Schuller in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, for example, mentions him in passing in the "Afro-Cuban Jazz" entry, and Cristóbal Díaz Ayala and Barry Kernfeld contribute a paragraph on the general details of his career in the *Grove Music Online*. The most liberal treatment of the subject in a jazz history book is the recent publication *A New History of Jazz* (London: Continuum, 2001) by Alyn Shipton, who also notes the importance of Bauzá's relationship with Dizzy Gillespie in his biography of the trumpeter, *Groovin' High: The Life of Dizzy Gillespie* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). In these books, however, information concerning Bauzá is found in portions of the text concerned with either Cab Calloway or Gillespie; no section of the prose is assigned to the life and music of Bauzá.

While the availability of primary sources is a hindrance, this course of study is facilitated by the recent popularity of Latin jazz scholarship among musicologists. The amount of information published since the late 1980s is notable. A majority of these sources take the form of systematic historical surveys of Latin American musical developments and the migration of jazz. Thoughtful monographs—John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Isabella Leymarie, *Cuban Fire* (London: Continuum, 1997); and Ned Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music* (Chicago: Chicago

⁶ Gunther Schuller, "Afro-Cuban Jazz," *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2 vols., ed. Barry Kernfeld (London: Macmillan, 1988) I, 7-8; and Cristóbal Díaz Ayala and Barry Kernfeld, "Mario Bauzá," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (http://www.grovemusic.com; accessed 01 October 2007).

Review Press, 2004)—provide insight into this process by non-Cuban authors. In an effort to represent the Cuban point of view, publications by Leonard Acosta have been referenced: *Cubano Be Cubano Bop* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), *Descaraga cubana: el jazz en Cuba 1900-1950* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 2000), and *Otra Visión de la Música Popular Cubana* (Havana: Letras Cubanas, 2004).

Essays relevant to this discourse are available in journals committed to Latin music and Black music scholarship. Cited are Christopher Washburne in *The Black Music Research Journal*, Joseph Blum in *Ethnomusicology*, and Robin Moore in *The Latin American Music Review*. Numerous other essays published in the aforementioned journals provide both insight into and models for researching Latin American and Black music and have been valuable in designing my research approach.

Overviews of jazz history and biographies of American musicians supplement the aforementioned resources. Gunther Schuller's entry on Afro-Cuban jazz in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz* initiated my investigation, and his well-known monographs, *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (New York: Oxford Press, 1968) and *The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz, 1930-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) provided both background jazz history in general and a model for the following text. Information concerning the American composers addressed in the second chapter was gleaned from numerous jazz histories and verified through biographies. Facsimiles of the published scores were also central to the evidence presented in Chapter Two and were located in collections of the composers' work. For each example, the earliest found publication is analyzed.

Recordings are used to document thoroughly the dissimilarities between Bauzá's arrangements and other Latin-jazz fusions. A number of the cited charts were never published and may never have been written down. Therefore, to analyze the music of Don Aspiazu, Cab Calloway, and Machito and His Afro-Cubans, portions of charts are transcribed and inserted as musical examples. Many of the cited compact discs appear in reissued series and, in most cases, contain tracks from multiple limited play records. Box sets containing the collective works of an ensemble, such as Cab Calloway and Machito and His Afro-Cubans, have been informative as they allow for the chronological investigation of an ensemble's output.

Purpose of This Study and Methodology

Over the course of this study, I will identify differences between the application of Latin musical elements by Swing Era big bands and the use of Cuban instruments and rhythms in Afro-Cuban jazz. It is important to note that Latin jazz was being developed in the United States and Cuba before Bauzá's involvement, but his Afro-Cuban jazz arrangements added authenticity to the growing body of music. Defining authenticity in music can be a difficult task. My research, in order to avoid ambiguity, focuses on investigating jazz charts that include instruments and rhythms of Cuban origin. Comparing and contrasting the use of these materials in Swing Era big bands and the music of Bauzá reveals the historical significance of his arrangements.

⁷ Arrangements of five Bauzá charts—"Azulito," "Chu Cho," "Zambia," "Carnegie Hall

^{100,&}quot; and "Snow Samba"—are available for purchase at ejazz.com, but I do not focus on any of these charts in my research.

Following background information on the assimilation of Latin tenets by American composers around the turn of the twentieth century, the use of Cuban musical ideas as a novelty in Swing Era music will be detailed by quantifying and qualifying the rhythms, instruments, and musical fabric of recordings by Charlie Barnet, Woody Herman, and Cab Calloway. Arrangements from the latter's ensemble are of special interest because of the involvement of Bauzá in the late 1930s. They serve both as an example of Bauzá's influence on the application of Afro-Cuban elements in one particular ensemble in a pre-Bauzá and post-Bauzá setting and as a bridge to the discussion of the various applications of similar musical ideas in the Afro-Cuban jazz charts performed by Machito's band. In Chapter Four, I explain how the mature Afro-Cuban jazz style is exemplified by the music of Machito's group and illustrate Bauzá's influence over the creation of this ensemble's style.

In the closing chapter of this document I address the importance of Bauzá's activities and his legacy through two major factors: the continued performance of his arrangements by other musicians and the impact of his music on future jazz artists. This is realized with information on the multiple recordings of Bauzá's chart "Mambo Inn."

Biography of Mario Bauzá

Bauzá began his musical training at the age of five when he was introduced to the clarinet by his godfather Arturo Andrades, a music teacher in Havana. While studying at

⁸ Hereafter, to avoid confusion between Machito and His Afro-Cubans and the Afro-Cuban jazz genre I refer to the ensemble by the leader's name.

⁹ Biographical information is taken from the chronology in Max Salazar, *Cubop! The Life* and Music of Maestro Mario Bauzá (New York: Ragged Edge Press, 1993) and a tran-

the Municipal Academy of Havana and the Havana Conservatory—he received a degree in clarinet and declined the opportunity to pursue graduate studies in Milan—Bauzá initiated his professional career as a bass clarinetist with the Havana Philharmonic Orchestra and as a clarinetist with several commercial dance bands that performed Cuban popular music.

In 1927 Bauzá made his first voyage to the United States as a member of the popular Antonio Maria Romeu Orchestra, which had traveled to New York City to record for the Victor label. There Bauzá attended a Paul Whiteman show and was inspired to purchase a saxophone. After his return to Cuba, he immersed himself in jazz through recordings of Red Nichols and the Five Pennies and radio broadcasts of Duke Ellington. Dividing his time between two distinctive musical traditions (the orchestra and the dance band) became exhausting; for financial reasons, he chose to pursue a career in the popular realm.

By the late 1920s Cuban dance bands were performing American jazz, and Bauzá had become active in the Cuban jazz community. According to Bauzá, jazz bands in Havana flourished. The segregation of bands by race and the influx of American musicians who accompanied the establishment of Havana as a premier American vacation destination had yet to take place. Inspired by the radio broadcast of jazz ensembles from the United States and wanting to advance his jazz studies, Bauzá resigned from his profitable cabaret gig in Havana and relocated to New York City in 1930.

scription of the 1978 Smithsonian Institution Jazz Oral History Project interview with Bauzá. There are articles on numerous websites, including allmusic.com, allabout-jazz.com, and bohemiannews.com, that provide less detailed information to that found in the Salazar article and Smithsonian interview.

In New York Bauzá was employed by several small groups and bands, both as a saxophonist and trumpeter. He had learned the latter instrument so that he could record with Antonio Machin's *Cuarteto Machin*, a Cuban-led ensemble operating in the States. Bauzá's first engagements were with the ragtime pianist Lucky Roberts (1887-1968), Broadway arranger Joe Jordan (1882-1971), and the jazz violinist Leroy Smith (ND). He then joined the ensemble of Noble Sissle (1889-1975) in 1931 as a saxophonist, his last employment as a reedman as his later engagements were on trumpet. The following year Bauzá joined Chick Webb's band and also performed with Hi Clark and His Missourians, which later became Cab Calloway's big band. In 1933 he became Webb's musical director, his first appointment to such a position and a responsibility he held until 1935. During this time Bauzá wrote his first jazz arrangement, "Lona" (1934), and in 1935 persuaded the drumming front man to hire Ella Fitzgerald. Webb regretfully released Bauzá after the musical director had a disagreement over the band's wages with the manager of the Savoy Ballroom, Charlie Buchanan.¹⁰

After a two-year stint with groups led by Don Redman and Fletcher Henderson, Bauzá was hired by Cab Calloway in 1938. At this time he also established a professional relationship with Dizzy Gillespie and, feigning illness, sent the young trumpeter as his substitute one evening. Calloway, impressed with Gillespie's talent, hired the future jazz star who both roomed with Bauzá when the band was on the road and shared an interest in combining Caribbean and American musics. Calloway recorded several Latin-influenced tunes, notably Bauza's arrangements "Chili con Conga" and "Vuelva." After a clash of personalities and a disagreement over Calloway's rehearsal methods, Bauzá

¹⁰ Interview with Mario Bauzá [transcription of Tape 1] (Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 31.

left this band in 1940 to form a Latin group with his brother-in-law, Francisco "Machito" Grillo.

Machito and Bauzá set out to fuse Afro-Cuban music and jazz. Bauzá was not shy about his intentions and declared "I coming to get a big Latin band with an American sound." The resulting ensemble, Machito and His Afro-Cubans, recorded its first album in 1941 for Decca Records, but it was not until 1943 that Bauzá composed what is considered the first Afro-Cuban jazz chart, "Tanga." By the later part of the 1940s Bop had surpassed all other sub-styles of jazz among progressive players, and Bauzá assimilated aspects of this movement in the Machito's sound. During this period prominent jazz artists worked and recorded with the ensemble: Charlie Parker and Dexter Gordon performed with the band, and Stan Kenton recorded a chart titled "Machito" with the Machito's rhythm section in 1947. The ensemble rose in popularity, performed regularly at the Palladium Ballroom in New York City, and fulfilled engagements in Miami, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Bauzá continued working with Machito until 1975, when he left the band after a disagreement. During these thirty-five years, the band experienced a decline in popularity due to competition with other Latin bands in New York and the public's waning interest in Afro-Cuban jazz. 12 A resurgence occurred in the early 1970s due to the employment of new musicians, the reworking of older popular tunes, and a new audience.13

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹² Max Salazar, CuBop!, 13.

¹³ *Ibid*.

After leaving Machito's group, Bauzá formed his own ensemble in 1976. This venture got off to a slow start with an unsuccessful recording, but the group continued performing in the style formulated by its leader in the 1940s. In 1984 Bauzá received The City of New York Mayor's Award of Honor for Arts and Culture, a symbol of the Cuban musician's achievements and his importance to the New York City music scene. Two years later, in 1986, Bauzá formed what would be his last ensemble: Mario Bauzá and His Afro-Cuban Jazz Concert Orchestra. With this big band he received his first record contract as a band leader and recorded three albums for the German label Messidor Musik: *Tanga* (Messidor, 15819, 1992), *My Time Is Now* (Messidor, 15824, 1993), and *944 Columbus* (Messidor, 15828-2, 1993). These would be Bauzá's final contributions to the Afro-Cuban jazz idiom: he died of cancer on 11 July 1993 at the age of 82.¹⁴

From Bauzá's biography it can be surmised that he was a determined musician. This is most evident in his self-reliant approach to creating advancement opportunities. He taught himself the saxophone and trumpet to gain professional appointments, moved to New York to further his career, and co-founded a band when no others would perform the music he envisioned. His interest in personal improvement, however, did not hinder him from facilitating the progress of others, including Fitzgerald and Gillespie. For example, in forming his own ensemble with Latin tinges, Gillespie relied on Bauzá's expertise for hiring personnel, notably Pozo.

¹⁴ Peter Waltrous, "Mario Bauzá, Band Leader Dies; Champion of Latin Music Was 82," *The New York Times* (12 July 1993), B8.

I decided I wanted one of those guys who played those tom-tom things. I didn't know what they were called back then. So I contacted Mario Bauza because we were friends from way back. Mario took me down to 111^{th} street where Chano was staying . . . he came right on and started playing with us right then. ¹⁵

Cuban musicians Bobby Carcesses, who acknowledged that Bauzá sent a flugal horn to Havana when he was in need of an instrument, and Arturo Sandoval, who received a trumpet from the elder Cuban, also commented on his generosity.¹⁶

It is apparent by his dismissal from Webb's and Calloway's bands and his break from Machito that he was an outspoken and passionate man who would not stand for injustices. This character trait, for example, prompted his departure from an attempt by Latin musicians to be represented by the New York musicians union, Local 802, in 1937. Bauzá, of African Cuban descent, lambasted the gathering of mostly white Latino musicians and bandleaders who complained about how they were treated yet still hired along color lines. While these actions may have lost him jobs or caused friction with other musicians, they exemplify his attitude and approach to dealing with racial, social, and professional injustices and allow a glimpse of this musician's personality.

¹⁵ Dizzy Gillespie, quoted in Ira Gitler, *Swing to Bop: An Oral History of the Transition of Jazz in the 1940s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 292.

¹⁶ Bobby Carcesses, quoted in an unpublished interview by Nathan Miller (Havana, Cuba, 18 July 2005); and Arturo Sandoval quoted in Larry Binbaum, "Cubano Bopper and the Mambo King," *Down Beat* 9/6 (June 1993), 17.

¹⁷ Max Salazar, CuBop!, 9.

CHAPTER TWO

THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA: EARLY MUSICAL CONNECTIONS

Acculturation: Havana to New Orleans

By 1900 a common musical language existed in the United States and Cuba due, in part, to the introduction of Cuban rhythms in New Orleans music. Travel between the Island and the southern port city had initiated a cross pollination of ideas and practices.¹ This is evident in the creations of New Orleans pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869) and early blues performer W. C. Handy (1873-1958).² Jazz pioneer Jelly Roll Morton (1890-1941), moreover, is often cited for coining the term "Spanish Tinge," a credit to the Caribbean influence on his music.³ The fine-art piano pieces, blues arrangements, and early jazz recordings of these musicians provide documentation of this acculturation process. Both Gottschalk, a New Orleans native, and Handy, who was based in Memphis, made tours to Havana. In addition, there are several extant facsimiles of their music that exhibit the Caribbean influence on their compositions. These works are also useful for establishing the type of Caribbean musical devices assimilated by American musicians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The interviews and recordings of Morton, another New Orleans musician, provide insight into the effect of this synthesis on early jazz.

¹ For further discussion on the Cuban presence in New Orleans, see Christopher Washburne, "The Clave of Jazz: A Caribbean Contribution to the Rhythmic Foundation of an African-American Music," *Black Music Research Journal* XVII/1 (Spring 1997), 59-80.

² John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 27-28.

³ John Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz* (New York: Schrimer, 1999), 25.

The renowned American concert pianist, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, made several performance tours to the Caribbean, including extensive travel in Cuba—the first in 1853.⁴ The title of his character piece "Ojos Criollos: Danse Cubaine" [Creole Eyes: Cuban Dance] (1860) is an obvious signifier of Cuban influence on this American pianist, who borrowed, for the left hand of this work, the *habañera* rhythm—a syncopated pattern with Caribbean roots often found in the bass line of Latin-influenced American music. ⁵ (See example 2.1 for the *habañera* rhythm in 4/4 and example 2.2 for the *habañera* rhythm in 2/4.) This ostinato is derived from the traditional Cuban *tumbaó* bass line. Rhythmically, the *tumbaó* is more syncopated than the *habañera*; the tied eighth note in the *tumbaó* creates a lilt not found in the *habañera*. (See example 2.3 for the *tumbaó* rhythm.) This is, perhaps, the result of the latter being altered for application to nontraditional Cuban music. Use of the *habañera* rhythm can also be found in earlier works by Gottschalk—the initial right-hand rhythm of "La Bamboula: Danse des nègres" [The Bamboula: Dance of the Blacks] (1844), for example. ⁶

⁴ Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, ed. Jeanne Behrend (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 5. Gottschalk writes that his first trip to Cuba occurred in 1853, but Behrend claims this voyage took place in 1854.

⁵ This work was published for four hands in 1860 and then for two hands in 1864. Dates of publication are taken from facsimiles in *The Piano Works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk*, 5 vols., ed. Vera Brodsky Lawrence (New York: Arno Press and *The New York Times*, 1969), IV, 159. For the history of the *habañera* see Frances Barulich, "Habanera," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (http://www.grovemusic.com; accessed 16 November 2006).

⁶ Ned Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music: From the First Drums to the Mambo* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2004), 148.

Example 2.1. *Habañera* Rhythm in 4/4⁷



Example 2.2. Habañera Rhythm in 2/48



Example 2.3. Tumbaó Rhythm.9



By the turn of the century, the syncopation of the *habañera* was a popular compositional gesture, yet Gottschalk's application of Cuban musical elements went beyond the use of this ostinato. For example, an impromptu reworking of the popular Cuban tune "El Cocoyé" [The Cocoy] (1853-1854) in a 18 March 1854 concert for the Liceo Artísco y Literario de la Habana, included carnival rhythms from Santiago, Cuba, and was well received by the Cuban public.¹⁰ In addition, Gottschalk employed forty-five traditional

⁷ *Habañera* transcription by author.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ *Tumbaó* transcription by author.

drummers in a concert at the Teatro Tacón in Havana on 17 February 1860, the first documented example of Afro-Cuban drums in a fine-art setting.¹¹

Later pianists, specifically ragtime performers, also relied on the syncopation of the *habañera* rhythm. According to Ned Sublette, this pattern was "infused into the birth of ragtime." Benjamin R. Harney, in his *Ragtime Instructor* (1890), claims "RAG TIME (or Negro dance time) originally takes its initiative steps from Spanish music, or rather from Mexico, where it is known under the head name of Habanera, Danza, Seguidilla." From these examples one can deduce that the use of this syncopated bass line was common in the music of New Orleans.

The use of Latin materials in a turn-of-the-century large ensemble is heard in the music of the American bandleader W. C. Handy, who acquired an interest in Cuban music during a 1900 concert tour that included Havana. There he purchased a copy of the Cuban song "Hymano Bayames" and arranged it for his band. On the local music he commented,

¹⁰ S. Frederick Starr, *Bamboula!: The Life and Times of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 177-78.

¹¹ Ned Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 151-52. It is not surprising, considering the well-documented influence of the African-styled music made by slaves in the Congo Square on Gottschalk, that the composer was willing to perform with Afro-Cuban percussionists. ¹² *Ibid.*, 327.

¹³ Ben Harney, "Preface," *Ben Harney Rag Time Instructor* (Chicago: Sol Bloom, 1897), as printed in Edward A. Berlin, *Ragtime: A Musical Cultural History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 115.

¹⁴ Handy was a cornetist and bandleader known for his piano arrangements of the blues. For a detailed account of his life, refer to W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues: The Autobiography of W. C. Handy* (London: Shadwick and Johnson, 1957).

The Music of the island intrigued me. I never missed the concert of the one-hundred piece Havana Guards Band. More often I sought out the small, shy bands that played behind closed shutters on the dark out of the way streets where the passion flower bloomed in the heat of the night. More than thirty years later I heard the rhythm again. By then it had gained respectability in New York and had acquired a name—the Rumba.¹⁵

It is intriguing that Handy contends that this music "gained respectability" and "acquired a name" in New York thirty years later when it already possessed a name in Cuba. This is a reflection of the viewpoint prevalent in American culture during this era. The cultures of peoples in Africa and the Caribbean, while exotic and appealing, were inherently inferior.

Handy employed Cuban dance rhythms in his own music as early as 1912. The *habañera* is hinted at in the bass of "Memphis Blues" (1912), yet this part is never consistently the aforementioned rhythm and is notated as a dotted quarter followed by an eighth and two quarter notes over two-bars of 2/4 time. More obvious is his "St. Louis Blues" (1914)¹⁶—notated with the same rhythmic values as "Memphis Blues" but con-

¹⁵ W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues*, 52-53. Roberts suggests, in *The Latin Tinge*, 40, that the musicians Handy saw were *son* groups—*son* is a Cuban popular music style—while Acosta asserts, in *Descarga cubana: el jazz en Cuba 1900-1950* (Havana: Ediciones Union, 2000), 26, the American band leader was most likely listening to a *guaguacó*—a sub-genre of the Cuban folk-style rumba (the traditional Cuban percussion and voice folk genre, not rhumba—the stylized ballroom dance popular in early twentieth-century America).

¹⁶ W. C. Handy, *A Treasure of the Blues*, ed. Abbe Niles (New York: Charles Boni, 1949), 22. Dates after the song indicate publication dates as found on facsimiles in *A Treasure of the Blues*.

tained in the expected single bar of 4/4. By realizing the presence of the *habañera* in these two charts, the Latin influence on the early popular music of Handy is obvious.¹⁷

The *habañera* rhythm is similar to the syncopation of the tango—a dance craze initiated by Irene and Vernon Castle that swept the United States in the early twentieth century. While Abbe Niles, the editor of Handy's collection *A Treasure of the Blues*, asserts in his introduction that the bass line of "St. Louis Blues" is a *habañera* bass, Handy himself admits the influence of the tango on the chart in the following manner: "When *St. Louis Blues* was written the tango was the vogue. I tricked the dancers by arranging a tango introduction, breaking abruptly then into a low-down blues." ¹⁸ Differences between the two bass lines are minimal. Like many products of acculturation, the original was watered down to ease accessibility for the American public. Furthermore, the use of two different terms to describe the origin of the bass line of "St. Louis Blues" illustrates the generality of terms used by musicians to denote the Latin influence in American music. ¹⁹

¹⁷ Roberts's *The Latin Tinge* contains an undocumented quotation by Handy similar to the one provided on the previous page. He also notes that the piano version of Handy's "Beale Street Blues" exhibited elements of the *habañera* bass, but this is not mentioned in the work edited by Handy. It is evident, however, that this ostinato is embedded in the composer's music.

¹⁸ W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues*, 122.

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of the term "Spanish" as used in American music to describe Caribbean influence, the etymology of the word "tango," and the relationship between tango and *habañera*, see Ned Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, 325-29. A similar problem with the usage of the terms "jazz" and "ragtime" in American popular music is described by Thomas Brothers in *Louis Armstrong's New Orleans* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 156. For the history of the tango, see Gerard Béhaguer "Tango," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (http://www.grovemusic.com; accessed 16 November 2006).

There also existed a brass band tradition in the United States and many South American countries that encouraged the acculturation process. During the 1884-1885 World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial in New Orleans, for example, a Mexican cavalry band offered programs, featuring Latin-American dances, that became the musical highlight of the gathering.²⁰ In addition, there is documentation, however limited, of South American groups performing on Mississippi riverboats as well as American brass bands and military ensembles collaborating in Cuba with Cuban musicians.²¹ These traveling ensembles assisted with the transfer of information that established a common musical language.²²

Jelly Roll Morton acknowledged the Caribbean influence on his music with his term "Spanish Tinge," the importance of which he related to Alan Lomax in the following manner:

Now [in] one of my earliest tunes, *New Orleans Blues*, you can notice the Spanish tinge. In fact, if you can't manage to put tinges of Spanish in your tunes, you will never be able to get the right seasoning, I call it, for jazz.²³

²² A similar process

²⁰ John Storm Roberts. *Latin Jazz*. 2.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3-18.

²² A similar process of acculturation, one that took place in Texas between bluesmen and Latin musicians, is documented in Peter Narvaez, "The Influence of Hispanic Music on African-American Blues Musicians," *Black Research Journal* 14/2 (Autumn 1994), 203-24.

²³ Jelly Roll Morton, quoted without documentation in Alan Lomax, *Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and "Inventor of Jazz,"* 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 62. For a detailed account of Latin elements in Morton's repertoire, see Charles Hiroshi Garrett, *Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music in the Twentieth Century* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 2004).

The "Spanish Tinge" to which Morton refers in "New Orleans Blues" (1925) is a syncopated rhythm in the left hand closer in nature to the tied *tumbaó* bass than the *habañera* rhythm.²⁴ A moving eighth-note figure interrupts the syncopated bass line with accents on beats three and four and, in the later portion of the chart (as heard on the cited recording), the bass gives way to a straight walking line. Morton's mixture of these two rhythmic figures in a single work is not uncommon; Roberts relates a comparable transition in the composer's 1924 recording of "Tia Juana." (ND).²⁵ Roberts also notes similar Latintinged bass lines in recordings of Morton's "New Orleans Joy" (ND), "Mama Nita" (1949), and a version of "Jelly Roll Blues" (1915).²⁶

Morton was likely introduced to Latin musical elements at an early age. His first guitar teacher was of Spanish descent, and it is possible, considering the long tradition of Latin-American guitar music, that this was the first formal training he received in these styles.²⁷ Morton also made trips to countries south of the United States, evident from his passport that shows travel to Mexico in 1921.²⁸ These encounters are examples of the

²⁴ The "New Orleans Blues" recording cited is issued on *The Saga of Mr. Jelly Lord*, Vol. 4 (Circle Sound, L14004, 1950). In a portion of an interview after the chart is over, Morton claims that the composition dates from around 1902 and that all the bands in New Orleans performed this work. Dates of publication for Jelly Roll Morton charts are taken from Appendix A of Howard Reich and William Gaines, *Jelly's Blues: The Life, Music, and Redemption of Jelly Roll Morton* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2003).

²⁵ John Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 27. ND denotes that no publication date was found for the preceding chart.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

²⁷ Howard Reich and William Gaines, *Jelly's Blues*, 16.

²⁸ Raúl Fernández, *Latin Jazz: The Perfect Combination* (San Francisco: Chronicle Book, 2002), 21.

manner by which New Orleans musicians acquired a Latin musical vocabulary, and one can deduce that similar experiences were available to a multitude of musicians in the Crescent City.²⁹

It is apparent that Caribbean music influenced fine-art pianists, band members, and early jazz performers in the Southern United States around the turn of the twentieth century. This is made obvious by their compositions, statements, and recordings. (See Table 2.1 for a list of previously cited early twentieth-century American music with documented Latin influence.) A similar process swayed Latin-American musicians, who were influenced by music from the United States. The acculturation process in Havana further developed the foundation necessary for the emergence of Afro-Cuban jazz.

Table 2.1. Early Twentieth-Century American Music with Documented Latin Influence.

Composer	Title	Date of
		Publication
Louis Moreau Gottschalk	"La Bamboula"	1844
Louis Moreau Gottschalk	"El Cocoyé"	1853-1854
Louis Moreau Gottschalk	"Ojos Criollos"	1860
W. C. Handy	"Memphis Blues"	1912
W. C. Handy	"St. Louis Blues"	1914
Jelly Roll Morton	"Jelly Roll Blues"	1915
Jelly Roll Morton	"New Orleans Blues"	1925
Jelly Roll Morton	"Mama Nita"	1949
Jelly Roll Morton	"Tia Juana"	ND
Jelly Roll Morton	"New Orleans Joy"	ND

²⁹ For a detailed account of New Orleans and the musical fabric of the city in the early twentieth century, see Thomas Brothers, *Louis Armstrong's New Orleans*.

Acculturation: The United States to Cuba

African-American soldiers introduced jazz to Cuba during the Spanish-American War (1898).³⁰ Following this arrival, parallel developments occurred in the United States and Cuba, trends that were continually affected by groups of Cubans visiting North American cities³¹ and the travel of Americans to the Island. The banjo and *tres* musician Santiago Snood is among the earliest documented African-Americans to take up residence and perform American popular music in Cuba.³²

During the early years of the twentieth century, musicians in Cuba were experimenting with jazz; *descargas* [jam sessions] were held in Havana as early as 1910.³³ Acosta notes that information on early Cuban participants in *descargas* is scant, making documentation difficult, but cites a group of Cubans who met regularly in a house on Chávez Street in Havana: Hugo Siam (guitar and banjo), Puncho Jiménez (*tres*), José Dolores Betancourt (bass), and Bienvenido Hernández (piano). He speculates on the participation of Snood in similar activities.³⁴

The opportunities for performing jazz in Cuba were increased because of Prohibition in the United States. Havana became the playground of wealthy, pleasure-seeking Americans. Large casinos and hotels were built to support the new tourist economy. As

³⁰ Isabelle Leymarie, *Cuban Fire: The Story of Salsa and Latin Jazz* (London: Continuum, 2002), 79.

³¹ Leonard Acosta, *Descarga cubana*, 16-17.

³² *Ibid.*, 24. A *tres* is a Cuban guitar consisting of three sets of strings tuned in octaves.

³³ Leonard Acosta, *Cubano Be Cubano Bop*, trans. Daniel S. Whitesell (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

early as 1920 the Havana Casino, Jockey Club, Plaza Hotels, Seville Hotel, and the Montmartre Club served as important centers of tourism with live entertainment consisting of grand-scale revues as well as dance music by smaller ensembles.³⁵ These groups, which Acosta likens to the society bands of Paul Whiteman and Guy Lombardo, at first consisted of Americans imported to Havana to supply the latest popular music.³⁶ While these ensembles performed dance music representing a watered-down version of American jazz, they were important for exposing jazz practices to the Cuban music scene and increasing the number of American-trained performers in Cuba.

After a day of performing in the entertainment bands of Havana, many American musicians hired to play tourist venues interacted with their Cuban peers. This resulted in late night and Sunday afternoon *descargas*, which exerted a powerful influence on the Cuban jazz community. In the late 1950s local enthusiasts organized clubs, notably the Club Cubano de Jazz, that invited established American jazz musicians to the Island to perform and, equally important to the Cuban musicians, to take part in *descargas*.³⁷

The tourism bands centered in the hotels, casinos, and amusement parks were, in keeping with the customs of their clientele, segregated, which led to the segregation of the previously integrated Cuban bands.³⁸ The creation of "societies of color" allowed for

³⁵ Isabella Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 80. Leymarie asserts that amusement parks employed big bands styled after the ensemble of Don Redman and Fletcher Henderson.

³⁶ Leonard Acosta, *Descarga cubana*, 44.

³⁷ Leonard Acosta, *Cubano Be Cubano Bop*, 160-62. The Club Cubano Jazz was established in 1958.

³⁸ Isabella Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 45. This segregation also led to the outlawing of indigenous music in Cuba at various times during the early twentieth century. For further discussion, also see Lisa Waxer, "Of Mambo Kings and Songs of Love: Dance Music in

the employment of black ensembles for black audiences. These groups performed repertoire similar to the white bands and provided an essential base for the later emergence of Afro-Cuban jazz.³⁹

Cuban musicians were eventually allowed to perform in casino and hotel bands. The owners of these establishments found it cheaper to hire local musicians than to accommodate foreign musicians.⁴⁰ To supply the desired swing music, the bands read charts from the United States or transcriptions arranged in Cuba, implying that musicians were often formally educated. Many hailed from the ranks of Cuban academia, military bands, *danzón* orchestras, and professional symphony orchestras.⁴¹ Unfortunately, there is no audio documentation of Cuban jazz bands from this time. American record companies naturally concentrated on jazz recorded by Americans.⁴² Indigenous Cuban styles,

Havana and New York from the 1930s to the 1950s," *The Latin American Music Review* 15/2 (Autumn-Winter 1994), 139-76.

³⁹ Leonard Acosta, *Otra Visión de la Música Popular Cubana* (Havana: Letras Cubana, 2004), 179. For Afro-Cuban jazz to develop, musicians would need a working knowledge of both jazz and Afro-Cuban practices. The presence of black swing bands in Cuba enlarged the number of Cuban musicians with this experience. I compare the importance of these black bands on the development of Afro-Cuban jazz to the role of black bands in the United States, such as that of Fletcher Henderson, on the emergence of swing in the United States.

⁴⁰ Leonard Acosta, *Cubano Be Cubano Bop*, 20. Acosta also argues that the exclusion of traditional Cuban instrumentation in Cuban jazz bands was not due to racism or segregation but rather a result of the arrival of jazz in Cuba as an already notated style.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 20. *Danzón* is a dance and music style transported to Cuba from Haiti. After the Haitian slave rebellion, French landowners fled to Cuba and later transplanted *danzón* orchestras.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 58. Due to the lack of recorded examples, only eyewitness accounts can be referenced for discussion of this topic.

including *son*, *guaracha*, and *rumba*, however, gained international popularity due to recordings of Cuban ensembles by American companies from the early 1920s on.⁴³

While jazz performances, recordings, and radio broadcasts of American popular music were accessible in Cuba, an entirely different strain of indigenous popular music was also developing. African, Spanish, and French music influenced a growing body of commercial music that Cuban musicians were expected to perform. These developments represent the Cuban root of Afro-Cuban jazz.⁴⁴ One element of this music, important to later discussions in this document, is the "clave."

Clave is an instrument and a rhythm that were both developed in Cuba during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The instrument consists of two cylindrical pieces of wood struck together. The rhythm is a pattern of five syncopated notes that serves as the organizing principle behind traditional Cuban music and Afro-Cuban jazz. (See Example 2.4 for clave rhythm.) The clave rhythm shown in Example 2.4 is a 2/3 son clave. The bar with two notes is called the two side of clave and the bar with three notes is referred to as the three side of clave. While son refers to a Cuban style in general, in this case it indicates the rhythm of the three side, and 2/3 designates which note grouping is

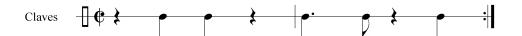
⁴³Isabella Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 44. For a detailed discourse on the popularization of rumba, see Robin Moore, "The Commercial Rumba: Afrocuban Arts as International Popular Culture," *Latin American Music Review* 16/2 (Autumn-Winter 1995), 165-98.

⁴⁴ Isabelle Leymarie thoroughly documents the development of Cuban popular music from its African roots to Latin jazz in *Cuban Fire*.

⁴⁵ Fernando Ortíz, *La clave xilónica de la música cubana* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1984), quoted without documentation in Ana Victoria Casanova Oliva, "Claves," *Instrumentos de la Música Folclórico-Popular de Cuba*, 2 vols. (Havana: Editorial de Ciencas Sociales, 1997), I, 70.

played first.⁴⁶ *Clave* can also be found in *rumba*, which displaces the final beat on the three side by one eighth-note later, and in 3/2, where the bar with three notes initiates the pattern. *Rumba clave* was developed from African 6/8 grooves and was utilized in Afro-Cuban folk music and dance; *son clave* was developed as a less syncopated rhythm to accompany popular music and dance.

Example 2.4. Clave Rhythm.⁴⁷



The previously discussed Latin patterns in American music can be found in this syncopated phrase; the three side being the same as the *tumbaó* bass. The presence of the entire *clave* rhythm in American music, moreover, will prove to be a delineator between the all-encompassing genre of Latin jazz and the Afro-Cuban jazz of Bauzá. The application of this single rhythm does not necessarily constitute an authentic Afro-Cuban approach, however. While the *clave* rhythm is an important organizing principle in Afro-Cuban music, the feel and essence of this music is the layering of multiple rhythms that creates a polyphonic rhythmic texture.⁴⁸ This difference will be addressed in the following chapter.

⁴⁶ Similar confusion is created by the use "swing" in American popular music. It is a genre, a stylistic era, a quality associated with jazz, and a specific cymbal pattern.

⁴⁷ Clave transcription by author.

⁴⁸ Leonardo Acosta, *Otra Vision de la Música Popular Cubano* (Havana: Letras Cubanas: 2004), 50.

Cuban Music in New York

After the migration of jazz to New York, American musicians continued assimilating Latin styles from South American nations and the Caribbean. This was, in part, the result of dance crazes. Following the tango, the rhumba, a stylized ballroom dance (not to be confused with rumba, the traditional Afro-Cuban genre), was inaugurated by the appearance of the Havana Casino Orchestra in 1930 in New York City. Riding on the success of the first Latin hit in the United States, "El Manisero" [The Peanut Vendor] (ND) by Moises Simons, recorded by Don Azpiazu and His Havana Casino Orchestra (1930), the rhumba swept the nation as the tango had before.

Quantifying the musical components of this chart provides a foil for recordings by American bands that employ a Latin influence. The difference between the two is Azpiazu's use of a traditional Cuban rhythm section and a horn riff based on *clave*. The percussion, trumpet, and vocal parts resemble those present in *sexteto* and *septeto* ensembles of Cuba;⁵¹ and the topic, a singing street vendor, is related to the *pregón* tradition of the Island.⁵² The rhythm section consists of maracas, *clave*, congas, string bass, and piano.

⁴⁹ John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, 44.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁵¹ Isabella Leymarie defines these ensembles in *Cuban Fire*, 54-55. A *sexteto* was a six-person ensemble comprised of two singers who played *claves* and maracas, a *trés* or guitar, bongos, guiro, and bass. The addition of a solo trumpet formed a seven-member ensemble deemed a *septeto*. These groups were an outgrowth of the rumba and son traditions and viewed by Cubans as an alternative to the Europeanized *danzón* groups. They were, due to their African roots, outlawed during various periods in Cuban history and represent African elements in Cuban popular music.

⁵² Isabella Leymarie notes in *Cuban Fire*, 36-37, that *pregóns* are popular music renditions of the singing street vendor tunes, called *pregones*, once present in Cuba. Thomas

The tumbaó is allocated to the left hand of the piano and the bass, and the percussion section vamps on the same pattern. Harmonically the tune is basic; it alternates between tonic and dominant harmonies, common in popular music. The horn riff, constructed around the 2/3 clave rhythm, initiates on the first note of the clave pattern, responds to the beginning of the second bar, and ends on the final note of the ostinato.⁵³ (See Example 2.5 for a transcription of the rhythm section and horn riff of "El Manisero.") The composite rhythm created by this layering of complementary patterns is of primary importance in establishing the rhythmic drive heard in Cuban music. American big band arrangers did not, in most cases, appropriate these aspects in their adaptation of Latin practices.

Brothers emphasizes the importance of similar songs by vendors on the development of music in New Orleans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Louis Armstrong's New Orleans, 56-58.

⁵³ Don Azpiazu and His Havana Casino Orchestra [original recording 13 May 1930 to 1932] (Harlequin, 10, 1991). This is the earliest recording I found of "El Manisero." The liner notes list the vocalist and guitarist on this recording as Antonio Machin. The vocals are easily heard, but the guitar part is indiscernible.

Example 2.5. Rhythm Section and Horn Riff of "El Manisero," mm. 1-6.54



The opening tune from Azpiazu's 1930 New York City premier "Mama Inez" by Eliseo Grenet, also featured maracas, *claves*, guiro, bongos, congas, timbales, and dancers. A *Metronome* reporter referred to "Mama Inez" as "the most famous of the rhumbas and the Cuban equivalent to a lowdown 'hot' number." The musical material in this chart is similar to "El Manisero." Elemental harmonies support a vocal-styled melody

⁵⁴ Transcription by author. Letters above the conga rhythms indicate the performance of different tones on the drums.

⁵⁵ John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, 76.

⁵⁶ Metronome, quoted without documentation in *ibid.*, 79.

that is driven by a Cuban percussion section. These hits were not anomalies; this style of Cuban popular song prompted the production of a number of similar works.⁵⁷

The success of Latin popular music in the United States increased the presence of altered Latin elements in Tin Pan Alley songs and Broadway musicals. In addition, the American public became more receptive to Latin entertainers. The broad appeal of Xavier Cugat (1900-1990)—a violinist, band leader, and film star—and later Desi Arnaz (1917-1986)—a Broadway, movie, television, and radio personality best known as Lucille Ball's husband in real life and on *I Love Lucy*—indicates that the United States was a ready market for the dissemination of fads with a Latin flavor.

The migration of a large Caribbean population to New York City during the 1920s, due to the granting of American citizenship to Puerto Ricans in 1917, also served as a catalyst for this process. It increased the demand for authentic Latin music in New York City and aided the exchange of musical ideas between Latin-American and American musicians. The second assertion stems from the proximity of Harlem to *El Barrio*, the neighborhood where many Latinos lived after arrival in New York. Latin-American musicians could walk down the street to hear American popular music and jazz, while African-American musicians could do the same and hear authentic Latin music.

Social barriers, nevertheless, did exist that prevented the proliferation of Cuban ideas into American music. The pervasive racism of the time in the United States was directed to Latinos and Latin-American music, and while individual Cubans were wel-

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⁵⁷ Isabella Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 90-91. Leymarie notes that the recordings modeled after Azpiazu's hit in the 1930s include "Baba Rhumba" and "Rose Rhumba" recorded by Willie "The Lion" Smith, "I Get a Kick Out of You" recorded by Billie Holiday, and "La cucaracha" recorded by Louis Armstrong.

⁵⁸ Isabella Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 83-84.

comed into many bands in New York, African-Cubans were subjected to the same discrimination as African-Americans.⁵⁹ These viewpoints were also aimed at Latin-American music. For example, "El Manisero" was a hit in the United States, but one that carried a social stigma. Sublette explains:

Cuba didn't see itself as a nation of peanut vendors, but that was now its image to the world, projected internationally through music. A Faustian bargain had been made. Cuban music was henceforth a part of the American music scene, but at the price of being presented as a novelty, with cutesy ethnic stereotyping. That combined with the language barrier, obscured the fact of how important an influence Cuban music had already become on American musicians.⁶⁰

So, while Cuban music had been introduced to the United States, it was viewed by some as an inferior novelty. In addition, Robin Moore questions the authenticity of such ensembles by noting that the commercialization of Afro-Cuban music (traditional rumba) by white ensembles, like that of Azpiazu, is a "manifestation of the racism in the music industry" similar to the popularization of jazz by Paul Whiteman.⁶¹

The racism addressed by Moore is obvious in the following lyrics to "Mama Inez:"

⁶¹ Robin Moore, "The Commercial Rumba," 180.

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⁵⁹ Alberto Socarrás was a Cuban performer who operated in early American jazz groups including those of Clarence Williams. He is also accredited with recording the first jazz flute solo.

⁶⁰ Ned Sublette, Cuba and Its Music, 398.

Ay Mama Inez, Ay Mama Inez, Todos los negros toman café.

[Ay Mama Inez, Ay Mama Inez, All the blacks drink coffee.]⁶²

These lyrics are similar to American songs from the same era that made broad, and often derogatory, statements about African-Americans. Moreover, the performance of "Mama Inez" by a white ensemble (Azpiazu) heightened the negative implications of the chart. The novelty and exploitive nature of these tunes are evident, but they did sustain Cuban musical practices, however commercial or diluted, in the United States.

The presence of acculturated Latin elements in American music around the turn of the twentieth century, the influence of Cuban bands in the United States during the following decades, and the social circumstances surrounding these developments have now been summarized. In Chapter Three, the conspicuous adoption of Latin materials by Swing Era big bands will be documented utilizing the music of Charlie Barnet, Woody Herman, and Cab Calloway. The extent of Latin references in their arrangements varies but provides excellent evidence for comparison with the arrangements of Bauzá in Chapter Four.

⁶² Translation by author.

CHAPTER THREE

SWING ERA MUSICIANS' ASSIMILATION OF CUBAN RHYTHMS AND INSTRUMENTS

Swing Era music was a commercial commodity, and to maintain an audience, bandleaders had to keep up with current trends. In the 1930s this meant scoring Latin practices altered for American accessibility. In doing so, many Swing Era bands displayed little interest in full potential of Latin music, which can be attributed to its application as a novelty. The result in many big band charts is a superficial amalgamation of Latin music and jazz. In some cases only the title of the chart references South American or Caribbean musical practices, others introduce Cuban instruments but with a low performance quality, most have horn sections that swing in the American jazz manner, and each contains approximations of Latin American rhythmic textures.

Ensembles led by Charlie Barnet (1913-1991), Woody Herman (1913-1997), and Cab Calloway (1907-1994) exemplify these levels of acculturation. All three, operating in New York City during the 1930s and 1940s, recorded charts with Latin-influenced titles or with material that represented the type and quality of Latin musical components employed by Swing Era big bands. While these recordings do not exhibit a mature Latin jazz style, they do indicate the jazz community's readiness to adapt Latin elements to its repertory. They also reveal, perhaps, the degree of Latin influence the American public was willing to accept in big band arrangements. Calloway's charts, in turn, provide a superb view of the influence of Bauzá on this phenomenon as the ensemble recorded Latin-shaded charts both before and during Bauzá's affiliation with Calloway's outfit.

Swing Era arrangers adhered to a basic outline. Charts were initiated by an introduction that was followed by a primary theme area, which might be repeated. After the presentation of the main theme, arrangers scored a secondary theme or a solo section often based on the chord changes of the primary theme. Designated solo sections allowed space for individual musicians to improvise and were usually accompanied by ensemble figures consisting of woodwind and brass riffs. This portion of the work was often repeated, allowing for multiple solos, and was made distinctive by a variety of accompanimental figures. A return to the primary theme signaled the end of the arrangement.

Deviations from this outline are prominent in Swing Era recordings, however.

Arrangers sought to establish a unique voice with similar instrumentation and large-scale forms by juxtaposing improvised and improvisatory sections and by variations in ensemble scoring. A standard division of labor in the big band also aided in the codification of the Swing Era style. The rhythm group—piano, bass, drums, and guitar—provided chords and rhythmic pulse, and the melody group—woodwinds and brass—performed melodic material, solos, and accompanimental lines.

Charlie Barnet

The first Swing Era chart to be examined is "Redskin Rhumba" (1941), composed by Dale Bennett and adopted by Charlie Barnet's Orchestra as its theme song. It is a short work that introduced the ensemble at the beginning of performances and broadcasts and consists of a brass riff with long note values and a staccato saxophone riff over which Barnet himself solos on tenor saxophone. Musically this piece exhibits modal melodic lines and a groove on the toms that evokes the exotic. At the outset the percussion part is

similar to the representation of Africa as heard in the "jungle music" of Duke Ellington and Sidney Bechet, and there is no attempt by the arranger or the percussionist to make use of available Afro-Cuban percussion and rhythms. Instead of appropriating Latin musical materials, the horn and rhythm section members rely on the existing practices that represent the construction of the mysterious and foreign by American musicians, such as the use of gutbucket trumpet riffs that mimic Ellington's arrangements for Cotton Club floorshows. In all, this recording made no contributions to the development of Afro-Cuban jazz but rather continued commercial practices offered by other jazz arrangers.

The importance of this piece in the context of this study is the title, which is an example of the misuse of terms in American popular music. While it is intended to market the work as an exotic piece, it does not relate to the musical language of the recording. The word "rhumba" indentifies an American dance craze and suggests a Latinization of jazz, but the chart is void of authentic Latin percussion (replaced by the drum set), vocal elements, or rhythms. The term "redskin," moreover, is a derogatory term for American Indians, who have nothing to do with either popular American dance or Latin music.

The interest of Barnet in Latin music and musicians was not superficial, however.² After residing in Havana to avoid divorce litigation some time before 1933, he attempted to hire Cuban musicians, notably saxophonist Armando Romeu, to perform

¹ Leonard Acosta, Cubano Be Cubano Bop, 54.

² For a detailed account of Barnet's life, see Charlie Barnet, *Those Swinging Years: The Autobiography of Charlie Barnet with Stanley Dance* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1984).

with his New York band. Unable to gain acceptance in the New York musicians' union Local 802, Romeu was forced to return to Cuba.

Woody Herman

Unlike Barnet, Woody Herman (1913-1987), a Swing Era giant, recorded music that makes use of acculturated Latin practices. "Bijou" (1945), arranged by Ralph Burns (born 1922), shows evidence of this influence.³ This chart follows the general outline found in many Swing Era big band arrangements: an introduction, an A section, a solo section with various ensemble accompaniment, a B section with ensemble hits and continued improvisations by the soloist, and a recapitulation of the introduction. (See Example 3.1 for the form of "Bijou.") The introduction contains the first of the Latin-influenced material—a syncopated bass line, guitar flourishes reminiscent of the South American tradition, and layered sixteenth-note rhythmic figures.⁴ (See Example 3.2 for the opening eight bars of "Bijou.") The interplay of accents and rhythmic motives between the stringed instruments and the drum set as shown in Example 3.2 hint at the polyphonic cross-rhythms native to Cuban music. In addition, the drummer plays on the rim of a drum, which mimics Cuban percussion timbres and augments the Latin flavor of the introduction. The intensity created by the driving tempo of these eight measures is

³ For a detailed account of Herman's life, see Woody Herman and Stuart Troup, *The Woodchopper's Ball: The Autobiography of Woody Herman* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1991); and Gene Lees, *Leader of the Band: The Life of Woody Herman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁴ Harvey Turnball and Paul Sparks, "The Guitar: The Modern Classical Guitar," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (http://www.grovemusic.com; accessed 12 November 2007). The guitar is a prevalent instrument in South American folk music.

lost when the horns enter with a half-time feeling, but it is later recalled during the trombone solo and recapitulated in the final four measures.

Example 3.1. Form of "Bijou."⁵

Introduction	Theme Area 1		Transition	1	Trombone Solo		
Guitar, Bass, and Drums	a: ba	a nor Saxophone Solo o	ver Ensemble			Open Solo	c : d c Ensemble Figures
8 Bars	32 Bars			4 Bars		4 Bars	32 Bars
Theme Area 2 Transi		Transition	Recap of Introduction				
e : f e							
Trombone Solo over Ensemble							
32 Bars		4 Bars	6 Bars				

Example 3.2. Guitar, Bass, and Drum Set Parts to "Bijou," mm. 1-8.6



⁵ As performed on *Woody Herman: The Thundering Herds 1945-1947* [original recording 19 February 1945 to 10 December 1946] (Columbia Records: CK44108, 1988).

⁶ Transcription by author as performed on *ibid*.

The groove that is established in measure 9 to support the band's entrance mirrors the syncopation of Cuban music without utilizing the *habañera* rhythm. (See Example 3.3 for the bass and piano parts that support the primary trumpet riff in measures 9-16 of "Bijou.") The lack of a downbeat in either measure of the two-bar rhythmic cycle prompts the ensemble's lilt. This is executed in unison by the rhythm section (the drum set part accents all the bass hits), which allows the members of the horn section to swing their parts without interference from a rhythmically active accompaniment. While this lack of rhythmic layering, evident in the vertical alignment of the parts in Example 3.3, serves the overall tightness of the ensemble, it is rather elemental and less intriguing than the tension created in the opening eight bars. The forward motion of the opening sixteenth-note motive, moreover, is lost due to a slowing in tempo when the horns enter. The driving introduction, drum set part, and percussion timbres are closer in nature to those found in Afro-Cuban music than other Swing Era arrangements, but the horn section's sense of swing, the lack of non-swung syncopated rhythmic layers throughout the piece (essential in Afro-Cuban music), and the omission of Latin percussion mark this as another example of a swing band incorporating commercial Latin ideas into its music.⁷

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⁷ For examples of horn riffs, melodies, and drum breaks in jazz recordings that are constructed around the clave rhythm, see Christopher Washburne, "The Clave of Jazz," *Black Music Research Journal*.

Example 3.3. Trumpet, Piano, and Bass Parts to "Bijou," mm. 9-16.8



Cab Calloway

The titles of Cab Calloway (1907-1994) studied here require a binary examination: the first concerns the application of altered Latin practices as heard in the Calloway recordings of "Doin' the Rumba" (1931) and "The Conga-Conga" (1938), and the second

⁸ Transcription by author as performed on *Woody Herman: The Thundering Herds 1945-1947* [original recording 19 February 1945 to 10 December 1946] (Columbia Records: CK44108, 1988).

involves Calloway titles recorded with Mario Bauzá as an arranger and a member of the trumpet section, "Chili con Conga" (1939) and "Vuelva" (1939). By juxtaposing the Latin elements present in these two pairs of charts, the influence of Bauzá on jazz and Latin fusions before the consolidation of Afro-Cuban jazz is made apparent. This contrast is most conspicuous in the arrangements and performances of the percussion scores, but it is also evident in the horn parts. In addition, the lyrics of these tunes provide another avenue for insight into the continued commercialization of Latin music during this time.

The first Calloway tune to be investigated is "Doin' the Rumba." It is bizarre that the piece is not titled "Doin' the Rhumba." The inclusion of an "h" would be expected in the American music of the era, considering the popular dance was spelled "rhumba." Perhaps "Rumba" was used to heighten the idea of the exotic, but there is no evidence of the influence of the Cuban rumba here. In addition, the recording is dated by the use of a tuba instead of a string bass.

There is nothing about this arrangement that sets it apart from others that appropriate Latin ideas as a novelty. Except for a reappearing four-bar, syncopated rhythm, "Doin' the Rumba" is a straight ahead four-beat-to-the-bar swing arrangement; it does not vary from the expected instrumentation or rhythms of the Swing Era big band chart. The syncopated phrase intended to conjure the exotic is a dotted quarter note followed by an eighth note and two quarter notes, identical to the examples of the *habañera* rhythm

⁹ Gunther Schuller, *The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz 1930-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 329-30. In this prose Schuller defends Calloway against critics of non-instrumental jazz by citing the singer's quality of voice, the caliber of his material, and the fact that, unlike other male vocalists, he surrounded himself with a superior jazz ensemble.

cited in the previous chapter. The layers of interlocking rhythms found in authentic Cuban music, however, do not accompany this idea, which appears four times in the tuba and castanets. The latter is also problematic in that castanets by tradition are not Latin American; they are most often associated with Spain and Argentina. Yet the lyrics make reference to dancing the rumba in Havana. This loose approach to foreign instruments is similar in nature to the misuse of terms noted in the previous discussion of W. C. Handy and indicates the commercial nature of the song.

Unlike his abstention from Cuban instruments in "Doin' the Rumba," in "The Conga-Conga" Calloway appropriates the *claves* and maracas. This is most likely an attempt to add to the authenticity of the recording. Breaking from the Cuban rhythm section as exemplified by Azpiazu (see Chapter Two), however, this arrangement forgoes the congas for a low tom and a snare drum. ¹⁰ (See Example 3.4 for percussion parts in the opening of "The Conga-Conga.") Interestingly, the maracas and *claves* are not maintained throughout. This decision could be to assist with demarking portions of the chart, or, perhaps, the performers were unable to maintain the continuous motion needed to perform these parts. The drum set, moreover, replaces but does not assume the role of the congas. For example, in the opening the low tom is played in unison with the *tumbaó* rhythm. While the use of this syncopation references the Latin tradition, the doubling of this pattern does not supply the rhythmic polyphony provided by a traditional conga part.

¹⁰ Leroy Maxey is indicated as the drummer on this recording, but no credit is given to the other percussionists.

Example 3.4. Percussion Parts to "The Conga-Conga," mm. 1-4.11



The rhythmic intensity of this performance is increased during the clarinet solo by a snare drum pattern similar to a second-line pattern from New Orleans. (See Example 3.5 for the percussion parts to the clarinet solo in "The Conga-Conga.") This is also based on the *tumbaó* rhythm but allows Maxey more freedom to respond to the soloist and to add to the rhythmic propulsion of the recording than the opening low tom figure. In addition, this pattern provides another rhythmic layer to the existing musical fabric, which better represents Latin practices. It does not, however, provide the polyphonic cross rhythms of later Afro-Cuban jazz. To represent accurately Cuban traditions there must be an interplay of accents that does not occur when the same rhythm is performed on different instruments.

¹¹ Transcription by author as performed on *Cab Calloway and His Orchestra*, *Volume 2 Disc B* [original recording 10 December 1937 to 23 March 1938] (JSP Records, JSP914B, 2003).

Example 3.5. Percussion Parts to the Clarinet Solo in "The Conga-Conga." 12



While this chart does employ Cuban percussion, mistakes in the performance of the *clave* and maraca parts detract from the quality of the recording. The *clave* player makes an unsuccessful attempt at reentering during the trumpet solo, and the maraca player is unable to execute a clear rhythmic pulse or maintain the initial pattern after the first phrase. In addition, the *clave* ostinato is crossed with the vocals. The *clave* rhythm can be divided into a downbeat bar and an anticipation bar. The downbeat bar is the two side of the *clave*, and the anticipation bar is the three side. The *clave* becomes crossed when the three side is executed in a bar with a downbeat emphasis. In "The Conga-Conga," for example, Calloway's vocals are cast in the following pattern: a bar with a downbeat accent followed by a bar with more syncopation that anticipates the next measure. This can be represented in the following manner: 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2. While the downbeat of each group of two measures is weighted, every other bar has a heavier inflection. The *clave* pattern for this representation and the cited recording should be in 2/3, but it is not; hence the *clave* is crossed. The resolution of the rhythmic tension, furthermore, should take place on a strong beat in the *clave* rhythm, which in this case does

 12 Transcription by author as performed on *ibid*. The snare part notated is the basic rhythm on which Maxey improvises.

not.¹³ No percussionists are listed on the personnel list; so members of the band and Calloway himself most likely performed these auxiliary parts. This probably accounts for the poor execution on these instruments.

The horn arrangement for "The Conga-Conga" is standard for the time. In general, the ensemble is rhythmically tight and communicates a strong sense of swing, which presents a problem. The phrasing of the ensemble does not interlock well with the Afro-Cuban rhythms. Instead, there is a constant push and pull between the American swing nature of the horn section and the attempted Afro-Cuban expression in the percussion. The solo muted trumpet in the opening verse, nevertheless, does recall the *sexteto* and *septeto* ensembles of Cuba.

This conflict is evident in the tenor saxophone and trumpet solos. The tenor solo is laid back, exhibits a light, breathy tone, and utilizes long note values with a heavy sense of swing. These characteristics are expected in a Swing Era saxophone solo, but they do not serve the intended style of the chart. The trumpet solo is similar in nature to the tenor solo and, therefore, is not representative of the Latin rhythmic drive and phrasing heard in the trumpet solo of the previously discussed Azpiazu recording.¹⁴

The clarinet solo is more active rhythmically than the tenor and trumpet solos as it relies on a rapid eighth-note rhythmic pattern.¹⁵ The eighth notes are swung, but due to the fast tempo, the swing is minimized. The soloist also plays on the front of the beat and

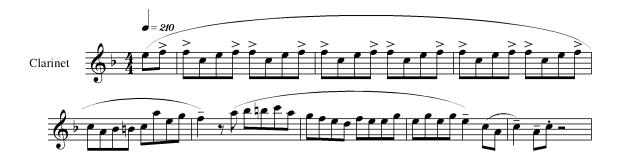
¹³ See Christopher Washburne, "The Clave of Jazz" for further discussion of the influence of the clave rhythm on jazz riffs.

¹⁴ The trumpet soloist is not indicated on this recording but was most likely Doc Cheatham.

¹⁵ Chauncey Haughton and Andrew Brown are listed as clarinetist and alto saxophonist on this record, but there is no indication of the soloist for this track.

increases the forward momentum with repeated pitches on beats one and three and the eighth notes preceding those beats. (See Example 3.6 for the clarinet solo from "The Conga-Conga," mm. 1-8.) These qualities intensify the percussive nature of the solo that recalls the rhythmic layering of Latin music, but the soloist depends heavily on a blues language not found in Afro-Cuban music. He cannot be faulted for this, however. Asked to perform on a chart that mixes jazz and Latin musical languages, he found a somewhat satisfying combination of the Latin rhythmic drive and traditional Swing Era soloing style.

Example 3.6. Clarinet Solo from "The Conga-Conga," mm. 1-8.16



The lyrics of this song must also be addressed. They emphasize the commercial nature of the song by commenting on the popularity of contemporaneous Latin-influenced dances. Most telling are the second and third stanzas:

¹⁶ Transcription by author as performed on *Cab Calloway and His Orchestra, Volume 2, Disc B.*

The Congo-Congo, at every Party Instead of gin now they servin' Bacardi. There's plenty to it So go right to it, And once you do it, you do it again.

The folks uptown gave up skitin' and scatin' The real lowdown Is they're all goin' Latin.¹⁷

The words "they're all goin' Latin" reference the popularity of all things Latin in the United States at the time and make no apology for the misappropriation of culture found in both the lyrics and music of this song. In fact, this is celebrated as the hip new trend, having usurped all that "skitin' and scatin'." The fascination for the exotic is mirrored in the way Calloway rolls the 'r' sound throughout the chart and is also imitated by the party attendees who, in an effort to be Latino, order a rum (Bacardi) drink instead of gin.

In "The Conga-Conga" Calloway's band is notable for its attempt at retaining authentic aspects of Cuban music in the employment of the solo muted trumpet, Afro-Cuban percussion, and the rhythmic drive of the clarinet solo. But the ensemble's lack of expertise in the performance and rhythmic layering of the maracas and *clave* and the group's overall swing feeling mark this as an instance of acculturation best described as the use of Cuban materials as a novelty.

Cab Calloway with Mario Bauzá

Bauzá refined the practice of incorporating Latin elements into Swing Era dance band charts while affiliated with Calloway's band. The Latin-tinged recordings by this ensemble during the Cuban's employment, while still exhibiting a number of the previ-

¹⁷ Transcription by author as performed on *ibid*.

ously-mentioned limiting factors, incorporate a tighter and more credible approach to the use of Cuban rhythms and instruments. In the liner notes to the box set of Calloway recordings, Sally-Ann Worsfeld acknowledges the difference in the quality of South American musical components in the group's recordings after Bauza's arrival with the following declaration:

He [Bauzá] added a new dimension to the orchestra with his arrangements of "Chili Con Conga" and "Vuelva," which, with maracas, congas, drums etc. in the rhythm section impart a more authentic "feel" than previous Calloway items in Hispanic mode, such as "Doin' the Rhumba" [sic] from 1931 and "Congo Conga" [sic] from August 1938.¹⁸

The "more authentic feel" that Worsfeld stresses is the result of his treatment of the Cuban rhythm section and horn section, which rely on short notes with a sixteenth-based subdivision rather than a triplet or swing approach. The change in how Latin elements were handled in Calloway's charts coincided with Bauzá's employment, so it can be deduced that the Cuban arranger obviously played a pivotal role in their creation.

A significant difference between the cited Barnet, Herman, and Calloway charts and "Chili con Conga" is the percussion arrangement and percussion performance. Unlike the previous selections, this song is scored for a larger percussion section that consists of maracas, *claves*, congas, and drum set. This is similar to the instrumentation of Cuban ensembles like that of Azpiazu. The drum set is problematic to any assertion of greater authenticity of Latin traditions because it is not employed in traditional Afro-Cuban music. The rhythms executed on this instrument, nevertheless, are both grounded

¹⁸ Sally-Ann Worsfold, liner notes to *Cab Calloway and His Orchestra Disc: D 1939-1940* (JSP Records, JSP914D, 2003).

in Afro-Cuban practices and integral to the overall rhythmic texture. (See Example 3.7 for the percussion parts to "Chili con Conga," mm. 5-8.)

Example 3.7. Percussion Parts to "Chili con Conga," mm. 5-8.19



In this arrangement each instrument is scored in a manner that collectively results in the rhythmic polyphony of Cuban music: the *claves* provide the basis of the groove, the maracas a short ostinato, the drum set accents the syncopated *bomba* note—the fourth sixteenth note of beat three—ingrained in a pattern complementary to that of the maracas, and the congas execute a syncopated solo that propels the motion forward. The characteristic vertical alignment of rhythms typical of other Swing Era charts is not found here. (See Examples 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 for the vertical alignment of accents and rhythms in Swing Era charts.) Instead, the layering of different ostinatos creates a dense rhythmic fabric. This is central to the overall arrangement of "Chili con Conga" as the rhythm section (percussion, bass, and piano) performs throughout the recording, accompanying

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¹⁹ Transcription by author as recorded on *ibid*.

Calloway's lyrics. The horn section, however, is heard on only one chorus of the melody.

The intricacy of the percussion arrangement in "Chili con Conga" is matched by the professional quality of the performance of the percussion parts. Unlike the maraca and *clave* performances in "The Conga-Conga," the percussion section in "Chili con Conga" displays obvious command of the Cuban tradition. There is no personnel listed for these parts, but the rhythmic accuracy and tone production on the *claves*, maracas, and congas lead me to believe that Calloway hired extra personnel for this recording session. This chart depends so heavily on the percussion component that it is easy to assume that ringers were hired. Competent performers could have been obtained through Bauzá's contacts with other Cuban musicians in New York City.

Instead of conflicting with each other as heard in "The Conga-Conga," the rhythm section and horn section complement one another in "Chili con Conga." The melody group is given a minimal role in this arrangement, but there are a number of indicators that the ensemble was better coached to perform over the syncopated Cuban percussion in this recording. Primary support of this assertion is that the ensemble utilizes a detached and staccato approach with sharp attacks and releases for rhythmic figures. By performing in this manner, the rhythmic integrity of the lines is sustained, which make them easily discernable over the percussion section. This in turn augments the horn section's forward drive. Therefore, the loss of momentum heard in the cited Herman recording and the aforementioned tension between the sections of the big band in previously discussed Calloway charts is supplanted with an unified approach to time and pulse.

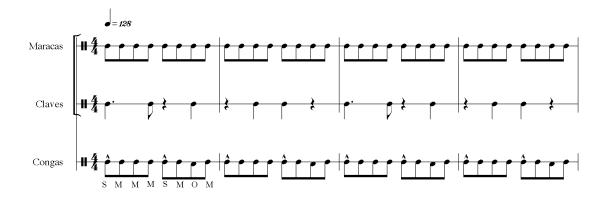
The drastic dissimilarity between "The Conga-Conga" and "Chili con Conga" was not happenstance. It seems apparent that the ensemble employed a different method for the creation of Latin-influenced dance music in 1939 than its members had in 1938. The close proximity of these recording sessions indicates that there was a catalyst for this process. Bauzá is the logical source of these changes. By applying his first-hand knowledge of Cuban practices, he was able to transform this big band's performance of Latin derived materials. It was likely, moreover, that the percussionists were selected under his direction and that he effectively communicated the overall style of the chart to ensemble members. There is little or no chance that this could have come about in Calloway's ensemble without Bauzá's direct involvement with the arranging process and in defining the ensemble's performance practice. Knowing that he was outspoken—the reason for his eventual dismissal from Calloway's band—also supports the probability that Bauzá was not content only to arrange the piece for this band, but that he was actively involved in the rehearsal process.

The lyrics of this song are similar to "The Conga-Conga." It is a commercial song about the American public's interest in all things Latin. Opening with a Spanish language greeting, Calloway then comments on a new dance that "when they topped with chili and romance" results in the chili con conga. He also sings about "Cuban jive" and urges the listener to "beat the bonga" and to "dip your hip and try to steal a kiss." These instructions resemble those in the lyrics of earlier tunes by Calloway. With this in mind, it is clear that the value of this recording, in the context of this study, is in the deviations in musical materials from the standard 1930s Latin jazz arrangement.

"Vuelva" is another Latin-tinged tune recorded by Calloway during Bauzá's tenure. This chart, like all Calloway tunes, is intended to accompany social dance. The ensemble consists of the expected horns, piano, and bass with the addition of a small Cuban percussion section: *claves*, maracas, and congas. The horn section plays a larger role in this recording than in "Chili con Conga" as its members perform a bulk of the melodic material. While their responsibilities are increased, their performance style does not complement the percussion rhythms. This disparity is evident particularly in the trumpet breaks, which at times are muddled and unclear, and in the heavy sense of swing communicated by the trumpet and saxophone soloist.

The percussion section performs traditional Cuban rhythms in "Vuelva." These parts are a simplified version of the *tumbaó* and represent authentic Cuban percussion practices altered for a commercial recording. While the accuracy and tone production suggest that the performers have knowledge of the Cuban performance practice, the rhythmic polyphony is not as dense nor as complicated as that in "Chili con Conga." (See Example 3.8 for the percussion parts to "Vuelva.") The difference in the rhythmic layering is due primarily to the lack of syncopated accents in the conga part. Instead of rhythmic variations with accents off the beat, the accents in this conga are aligned on the downbeats. Moreover, the *clave* is backwards just as it was in the recording of "The Conga-Conga." The result is a groove that does not prevent the horn section from performing with American swing phrasing.

Example 3.8. Percussion Parts to "Vuelva." 20



The Cuban percussion in this chart is executed by performers who are able to create good tones and maintain the groove throughout the song. The rhythms are altered for accessibility, but they also maintain a level of integrity not found in other Swing Era arrangements. The tension between the rhythm section and the horns is lessened by alterations in the percussion parts, allowing the ensemble to perform a fairly unified work that encourages the audience to dance. This reduces, however, the amount of authentic Cuban material in this chart.

An explanation of the different application of Cuban musical materials in "Chili con Conga" and "Vuelva" cannot be verified. They were recorded around the same time with the same ensemble, and Bauzá was involved with both charts. Therefore, it would make sense that they both were influenced by his knowledge of Cuban traditions. It may be that Calloway insisted on a more downbeat-oriented approach to time in "Vuelva" in order to support the horn arrangement and that Bauzá had little control over the production of this song. Both pieces, however, contain instruments and rhythms that are more authentic than any used to create other Latin-flavored Swing Era tunes.

²⁰ Transcription by author as recorded on *ibid*.

Disagreements over arrangements like "Vuelva" could have led to Bauzá's departure from the band in 1940. His assertion in the Smithsonian Interview was that he left because he disagreed with Calloway over his rehearsal methods and he thought that members of the band had a better grasp of what was needed to create quality music. It is possible that such disagreements occurred between Bauzá and Calloway about the approach to Cuban elements. While working with this band did allow Bauzá an opportunity to shape jazz charts fused with Cuban practices, he desired to create his own brand of Latin jazz. Bauzá's next musical venture was as an arranger for and the musical director of Machito and His Afro-Cubans. Charts that resulted from Bauzá's control over the creative process for this ensemble are investigated in the next chapter. These charts will prove that he was able to combine jazz and Cuban traditions in this ensemble in a manner that had not yet been heard in American popular music.

²¹ Mario Bauzá, quoted in Smithsonian Interview [transcription] (Tape 1), 37.

CHAPTER FOUR

MARIO BAUZÁ AND AFRO-CUBAN JAZZ AUTHENTICITY

Necessary Conditions for the Emergence of Afro-Cuban Jazz

By the 1940s the incorporation of modified Latin materials in jazz charts was common. The emergence of Afro-Cuban jazz was a departure from the existing standard; these arrangements boasted authentic Cuban practices. For this sub-genre to establish a foothold in American popular music several requirements had to be met: a pool of musicians with a working knowledge of both American jazz and Cuban traditions, the desire of these musicians to create a hybrid music, and an audience for the resulting recordings and performances. Under the musical direction of Bauzá, Machito and his ensemble satisfied these conditions, and Afro-Cuban jazz began to flourish in the United States.

A combination of jazz and Cuban music that was sensitive to the profiles of both genres could only be developed by individuals with a solid foundation in both. Before entwining the two, the creating musician must understand the characteristics of Cuban music and jazz. Bauzá's background in Cuban popular music ensembles before resettling in New York and his experience in the New York jazz scene, where he gained on-the-job training arranging charts for Chick Webb and Cab Calloway, resulted in his capability to handle aptly authentic Cuban materials in a big band setting. Unlike previous arrangers, he was not attempting to incorporate rhythms and instruments of which he had no knowledge. Therefore, in the music he created for Machito he was able to avoid the commercial trappings that characterized earlier Latin jazz charts.

Bauzá's brother-in-law, Francisco "Machito" Grillo, proved to be the perfect front man for such an ensemble. He had experience in both Cuban groups and Latin ensembles in the United States. Before he relocated to New York City in the late 1930s, Machito had been a member of several *sextetos* and *septetos* in Cuba, including Maria Teresa Vera's El Sexteto Occidente and El Sexteto Nacional. Once in North America, he joined several ensembles, notably Alberto Ignaza's group and the commercial dance band of Xavier Cugat. Machito lacked the big band experience of Bauzá, but his vocal style, which was first developed in Cuban ensembles, avoided the false accent and commercial approach evident in Latin-tinged charts by artists such as Calloway.

Drawing on their previous musical experiences, Machito and Bauzá formed a band with the intent of merging Cuban and American musical practices. ³ Had they relied on the approach to Latin material utilized by earlier groups, their music would not have been significantly different than that of Barnet, Herman, and Calloway. Rather, the forth-right acknowledgement of their desire to include authentic Cuban rhythms and instruments gave their ensemble a distinct purpose that resulted in a unique sound.

Machito and Bauzá required the services of musicians who understood how to perform Cuban music. This was especially essential for the members of the rhythm section. Bauzá could guide the horns from his trumpet chair, but the pianist, bassist, and percussionist had to deliver the rhythmic support for the rest of the ensemble.

¹ John Storm Roberts and Barry Kernfeld, "Machito," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (http://www.grovemusic.com; accessed 23 June 2007).

² *Ibid*.

³ Interview with Mario Bauzá [transcription of Tape 1] (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 40.

Had Machito and Bauzá been the only musicians in New York with a working knowledge of Cuban rhythms, their recordings would have been similar to "The Conga-Conga" by Calloway: a pale imitation of authentic practices executed by musicians with a superficial knowledge of Cuban music. The presence of Latino musicians in New York provided proper personnel. The original ensemble consisted of Frank Gilberto Ayala, piano; Bobby Woodlen and Mario Bauzá, trumpet; Freddie Skerritt and Johnny Nieto, alto saxophone; José Madera, tenor saxophone; Julio Andino, string bass; Tony Escolies, timbales; Billingi Ayala, bongos; and Machito, vocals and maracas. The participation of Latino musicians in the rhythm section was the only way for the ensemble to retain the Cuban rhythmic drive. Bauzá did hire black musicians to interject more jazz flavorings, but later rhythm sections continued to feature Latino musicians such as Rene Hernández, piano; Bobby Rodriguez and José Mangual, bongos; Luis Miranda and Chano Pozo, congas; and Tito Puento (1923-2000) and Ubaldo Nieto, timbales.

No matter how well Bauzá combined Cuban and jazz music, Machito's band still could not have succeeded, without a suitable club to perform in and a receptive audience. It was, perhaps, the lack of a venue and listeners that hindered Machito's first attempt to establish a Latin band in New York in 1939.⁸ By 1942 the ensemble's fan base was a

⁴ Max Salazar, Cubop!, 10.

⁵ There is no recorded evidence that there were American musicians in the United States who had a working knowledge of Cuban percussion in the early 1940s.

⁶ Max Salazar, Cubop!, 10.

⁷ Birth and death dates for the majority of these musicians were not indicated in the available sources.

portion of the Latino population in New York City. Bauzá recalled that it was members of the younger generation who championed their sound:

I said, well, the young generation began to like Machido [sic], because they never heard nothing like that, and they were familiar to them because they were born here, and the sound is familiar to them, and they really (inaudible). So (inaudible) nobody else. The Latin band that was here was a hinky-dinky band.⁹

Apparently the dense Cuban grooves attracted a young audience who were drawn towards the purer nature of Bauzá's music and who found the commercial nature of other Latin ensembles distasteful.

While young Latinos in New York were the initial recipients of the band's sound, the ensemble's later popularity with mainstream audiences is confirmed by engagements elsewhere: as the first black ensemble to perform at Miami's Mogambo club in 1945, concerts at Club Brazil in Los Angeles (which regularly featured Bing Crosby), and a standing gig at the Concord Hotel (an upscale summer resort in New York). By 1948, moreover, Machito's band attracted large crowds to the Palladium Ballroom in New York City on Sunday afternoons and Wednesday evenings. These performances, advertised under the moniker of "The Blen-Blen Club Presents Machito and His Afro-Cubans,"

⁸ John Storm Roberts and Barry Kernfeld, "Machito," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (http://www.grovemusic.com; accessed 23 June 2007). Roberts also suggest in *Latin Jazz*, 66 that the turning point for Machito's ensemble came when Bauzá joined.

⁹ Interview with Mario Bauzá [transcription of Tape 1] (Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 45-47.

were so popular that attendees were, according to Bauzá, lined up for two blocks several hours before the show started.¹¹

While live performances were the primary mode for the dissemination of Machito and His Afro-Cubans' music, the ensemble also recorded eight albums. In addition, a 1948 version of "Tanga" was featured on producer Norman Granz's 1949 project *The Jazz Scene*. ¹² (See Table 4.1 for Machito and His Afro-Cubans recordings.) Since 1993 a number of compilation discs, compact discs of previously unreleased recordings, and one box set (*Ritmo Caliente*) of the group's catalogue have been produced. (See Table 4.2 for compilation discs of Machito and His Afro-Cubans.) Machito made numerous other recordings as a leader, some with the involvement of personnel from the Afro-Cubans, but the albums listed here represent only the material recorded by Machito and His Afro-Cubans.

Table 4.1. Recordings by Machito and His Afro-Cubans.

Album Title	Date	Label	Matrix
			Number
Souvenir Album	1949	Decca	DL-5157
Inspired	1957	Tico	1045
Irving Berlin in Latin America	1959	Tico	1062
Machito Presents Fluta Nouva:	1963	Tico	1089
Maurico Smith			
Cha Cha Cha at the Palladium (Live)	ND	Tico	1002
Machito Y Sus Afro-Cubans	ND	Decca	74505
Mambo Holiday	ND	Columbia/Harmony	7040
Si:Si, No:No	ND	Tico	1033

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹² The Jazz Scene, perf. various artists (Verve, 314 521661, 1946).

Table 4.2. Machito and His Afro-Cubans Compilation Albums.

Album Title	Date	Label	Matrix
			Number
1941	1989	Palladium	PCD-116
Greatest Hits	1993	Charly	126
Caramboula: Live at Birdland	1995	Tumbao	24
(1951)			
Machito Mucho	1995	Charly	507
Mambo Mucho Mambo: The Com-	2002	Sony	CK
plete Columbia Masters			62097
Ritmo Caliente	2002	Proper Box	48

The Music

With the aforementioned extenuating circumstances in place, Machito and Bauzá shaped a music that was like none other in the United States. Two of Bauzá's thirty-six charts have been chosen to represent this phenomenon: "Tanga" and "Mambo Inn." The latter is credited to Bauzá, Edgar Melvin Sampson, and Bobby Woodlen. While there are numerous other recordings and arrangers who made significant additions to this body of work, these have been selected because "Tanga" is generally acknowledged as the first Afro-Cuban jazz chart, and "Mambo Inn" signifies the continuation of the arranging style established by Bauzá. 14

¹³The sum total of Bauzá's charts is taken from the list of his compositions on allmusic.com.

¹⁴ Max Salazar considers "Tanga" to be the first Afro-Cuban jazz chart in his liner notes to *The Original Mambo Kings*, perf. various artist [original recording 1948 to 1954] (Verve, 513876, 1993). Salazar's statement is also documented in John Storm Roberts, *Latin Jazz*, 67.

Bauzá first developed his concept of Afro-Cuban jazz during a gig in May of 1943. ¹⁵ The following Monday, he had pianist Luis Varona and bassist Julio Andino recreate a riff they had been vamping on during a set break the previous weekend, and Bauzá then dictated the horn parts by singing. ¹⁶ A spectator deemed the result as exciting as "tanga," an African word for marijuana, and thus the first Afro-Cuban jazz chart was created and titled. ¹⁷ "Tanga" represented a new type of arrangement for jazz afficionados and participants in the Latin popular song tradition as it drew inspiration from the ensemble's catalogue of *rumbas*, *guaracha guajiras*, and *boleros* as well as from Swing Era compositional procedures. ¹⁸

The music created by the Machito ensemble under Bauzá's direction presents a successful marriage of Cuban rhythmic phrasing and jazz arranging. It is the manner in which attention was paid to both traditions—instead of the sole reliance on the Swing usage of compromised Latin materials—that sets this music apart from previous syntheses of Latin and jazz styles. Several aspects of the music signify the Cuban influence on Bauzá's style: the instrumentation of the percussion section, the rhythmic polyphony of the percussion parts, the forward momentum created by these parts, the reliance on Cuban ostinatos in the bass and piano parts, the *clave* of the horn arrangements, the overall percussive nature of the horn performance, the agreement between the rhythm section

¹⁵ Max Salazar, *Cubop!*, 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸ The collection of recordings on *1941* provide the modern listener examples of the Machito's group performing these styles, which differed little from recordings by artists such as Don Aspiazu.

and horn section, the *montuno* and *mambo* section at the end of the work, and the vocals. The influence of the jazz arranging tradition is heard in the instrumentation of the horn section, the juxtaposition of horn riffs, and the harmonic language.

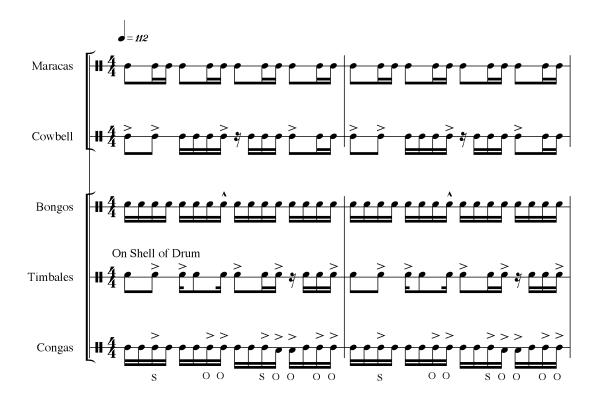
A closer inspection of how "Tanga" was constructed reveals Bauzá's various points of departure. The percussion component of this chart is derived directly from the Cuban dance band tradition: cowbell, timbales, bongos, congas, and maracas. 19 The recording quality muddles the high frequency instruments—cowbell, maracas, and patterns on the timbales shell—but alternate takes released on the 1994 reissues of *The Jazz Scene* reveal that all these instruments were in use at this session. There was, perhaps, no one playing the *claves*, but the *clave* rhythm is heard in the accent pattern of the *palito* rhythm, which is executed on the shell of the timbales. (See Example 4.1 timbale part for a rendition of the *palito* rhythm.) The performance quality of these percussion parts is impressive. There is no deviation from the intended rhythmic foundation, and the tone production is, even with the limitations of recording quality from the late 1940s, superb. (The only American big band discussed in this document that approached this ensemble in terms of percussion performance was Calloway in the recordings that involved Bauzá, one reason I deduced that ringers were hired for that session.) The lack of a drum set is an obvious departure from the percussion treatment in Swing Era big band charts. Because there was no such performer in Machito's ensemble, there was no need to create a part for this instrument.

The rhythmic polyphony of this chart is created in the same manner as it was for Cuban popular music of the time. (See Example 4.1 for the basic percussion parts to

¹⁹ The 1948 recording of "Tanga" that appears on Granz's *The Jazz Scene* is analyzed for this document. This is the earliest recording I found of this chart.

"Tanga.") Each part is fashioned with respect to the *clave* rhythm yet contains accents that propel the music forward. The result is the Cuban "feel" or "swing" to the music that the young audience found so invigorating.

Example 4.1. Basic Percussion Parts to "Tanga."²⁰



The bass and piano parts complement the percussion score. The bass line is cast in the Cuban *tumbaó* rhythm, which accents the eighth note anticipating beat three. This ostinato is essential in creating the Cuban sensibility and adds another layer to the rhythmic polyphony of the piece. In later phrases Roberto Rodriguez (string bass) intensifies his part by improvising around the *tumbaó* and mimicking the *palito* rhythm. In the

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²⁰ Transcription by author as recorded on *The Jazz Scene*. These are the basic parts around which the performers improvise.

opening, Reneé Hernandez (pianist) sets out the pulse for the group by vamping on a repeating pattern of two sixteenth notes and an eighth note but his part is not audible after the initial statement in this recording.

The horns function well within this rhythmic context. Because *clave* was the organizing principle used to create all parts, the rhythmic disagreement that was obvious in charts described in Chapter Three is not present. Rather, in "Tanga" there is an overall rhythmic harmony throughout the ensemble. For example, the opening wind statement is a chord with staggered entrances divided among the brass and woodwinds with each attack on a 2/3 *son clave* beat. Rhythmic tension is established in this portion of the piece by initiating the phrase on the pick-up note to the first full bar and then emphasizing both the second beat of *clave* on the two side and the second beat of *clave* on the three side with brass punches. This tension is relieved when the passage is resolved in the second full bar of the phrase. (See Example 4.2 for composite rhythm of the primary horn statement in "Tanga.") The subsequent riffs and Machito's vocal entrance are shaped similarly around the *clave* rhythm.

Example 4.2. Composite Rhythm of the Primary Horn Statement Attacks in "Tanga."²¹



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²¹ Rhythmic reduction by author as recorded on *ibid*.

Bauzá also appropriated large-scale forms from Cuban popular music by including montuno and mambo sections in the back half of this arrangement. Orestes and Cachao Lopéz had developed these structural divisions in their *danzón* arrangements during the 1930s.²² The *montuno* is a solo section with percussion accompaniment that is often followed by the *mambo*, which consist of unison ensemble riffs.²³ In "Tanga" the montuno takes place 2'05" into the chart with an alto saxophone solo by Eugene Johnson supported by the rhythm section.²⁴ After a brief recapitulation of the opening horn phrase, the *mambo* section begins with a tenor saxophone solo by Flip Phillips (b. 1915) supported by a saxophone riff with brass punches. Because the brass and saxophone sections do not execute a unison riff, there is a slight deviation from the *mambo* concept. This can be attributed to the practice of juxtaposing reed and brass timbres in Swing Era horn arrangements, however. Keeping with the overall rhythmic unity, nevertheless, these background riffs are based on the *clave* rhythm; there is a strong downbeat in the first half of the bar followed by a more syncopated second half. (See Example 4.3 for the rhythm and basic harmonies of the ensemble riff at the outset of Phillips's tenor saxophone solo with underlying clave rhythm.) Later in the solo the intensity of the accompaniment is heightened by the addition of ostinatos in the brass parts. The congruent performance of the saxophone and brass riffs is discernable to the listener because of the en-

²² Isabelle Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 113. See Isabelle Leymarie, *Cuban Fire* for a detailed account of the history of the *danzón*. *Danzón* is a Cuban dance style developed from the *contradanse*, which was brought to the Island by French landowners after an eighteenth-century slave revolt in Santa Domingo. It did not gain respectability with the Cuban upper class until the late nineteenth century.

²³ *Ibid*.

²⁴ The three takes of "Tanga" recorded for *The Jazz Scene* session range from 4'55" to 6'55" in length. The version studied in this document is 5'11" long.

semble's crisp articulation. The pointed, percussive phrasing in the horns creates distinct rhythms that resist blending into a cacophony of sound. This style of articulation is a mainstay in Afro-Cuban jazz recordings.

Example 4.3. Rhythm and Basic Harmonies of the Ensemble Riff at the Outset of Flip Phillips's Tenor Saxophone Solo in "Tanga" with Underlying Clave Rhythm.²⁵



The words to "Tanga" ignore the commercial trappings of Latin-influenced big band songs. Machito initiates the lyrics with the phrase "La Tanga llego" [The tanga, I arrive], which turns into a call and response passage between Machito and members of the band. After the opening statement, there are no more lyrics; the focus is placed on the instrumental parts. The absence of words that make reference to the commercialization of Latino culture in the United States is significantly different from Calloway's approach, which puts emphasis on these concepts. In contrast, the only aim of Machito's lyrics in "Tanga" is to introduce the song.

The influence of Bauzá's Swing Era big band experience on "Tanga" is realized in the instrumentation of the horn section, the manner in which he handles the brass and reed sections, and the involvement of a well-known Swing soloists. The horn section at the 1948 recording session consisted of four saxophones and three trumpets. The lack of

²⁵ Transcription by author as recorded on *The Jazz Scene*.

trombones is a departure from the big band ensemble, but the expanded saxophone and trumpet sections are akin to the make-up of Swing Era big bands. Moreover, the manner in which Bauzá arranges for these forces—juxtaposing woodwind and brass riffs—is derived from Swing Era practices. Similar treatments of these timbres are heard throughout the big band repertory. In addition, the inclusion of a tenor saxophonist solo by Flip Phillips indicates Bauzá's desire to privilege improvisation and feature aspects of bona fide jazz.²⁶

The general stylistic principles established by Bauzá in the creation of "Tanga" became a model for later arrangements. The chart "Mambo Inn," which is accredited to Bauzá, trumpeter Bobby Woodlen, and Grace Sampson, was recorded by Machito and his sidemen in 1952 and exemplifies the continuation of this style. A description of the percussion score, a melodic line, and the large form of "Mambo Inn" illuminates the similarities between the two creations.

The instrumentation of the percussion sections remains basically the same as in "Tanga"—timbales, bongos, congas, and cowbell—as does the high level of performance. In "Mambo Inn," however, the *claves* are heard in later parts of the recording. There is, moreover, a greater variety of backgrounds created by different combinations of percussion instruments in "Mambo Inn" than in "Tanga." Percussion instruments are added and silenced to help demark musical sections. For example, the *claves* and bongos do not enter until the second horn statement; the cowbell is not layered in until after the first ensemble unison rhythms, heightening the intensity of the song; and there is a ride cymbal underneath the tenor saxophone solo. The addition of a ride cymbal indicates an

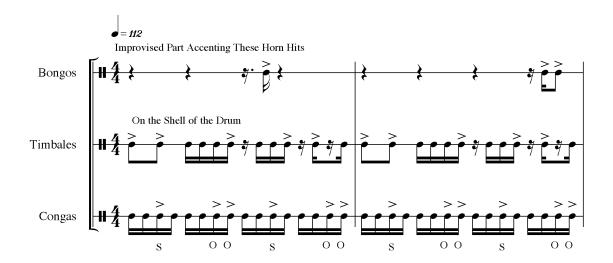
²⁶ Phillips is best known for his work with Woody Herman's First Herd. He also performed with Benny Goodman and Red Norvo.

expansion of percussion colors in the Afro-Cuban jazz tradition, but a jazz ride cymbal pattern is not utilized. Instead, a variation of the *palito* rhythm is executed.

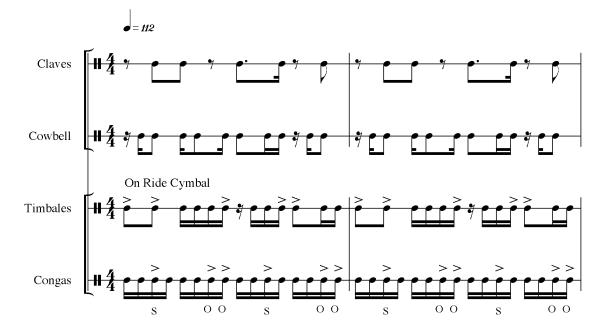
Like "Tanga," the percussion and horn parts in "Mambo Inn" are also constructed around the *son clave*.²⁷ (See Example 4.4 for the percussion background to the second horn riff in "Mambo Inn" and Example 4.5 for the percussion parts to the tenor saxophone solo.) The syncopated "swing" of Cuban music is heard in the interplay between the accent patterns, and the *clave* rhythm is obvious in the horn arrangement. Each melodic horn riff is initiated, accented, and then resolved on a *clave* beat. The primacy of this rhythm is apparent in the melody of this chart: the first two notes of *clave* are accented, followed by tension created with syncopation on the three side that is resolved with a strong downbeat in the following measure. (See Example 4.6 for the initial four bars of melody in "Mambo Inn" with underlying *clave* rhythm.)

²⁷ See Chapter One for definition of *son* and *rumba clave* rhythms.

Example 4.4. Percussion Background to the Second Horn Riff in "Mambo Inn." 28



Example 4.5. Percussion Parts to the Tenor Saxophone Solo in "Mambo Inn." 29



²⁸ Transcription by author as recorded on *Mambo Mucho Mambo: The Complete Columbia Masters*, perf. Machito and His Afro-Cuban Orchestra. [original recording 1 February 1951 to 18 March 1952] (Columbia, CK 62097, 2002).

²⁹ *Ibid*.

Example 4.6. Initial Four Bars of Melody in "Mambo Inn" with Underlying *Clave* Rhythm.³⁰



There are distinct parallelisms between the large-scale forms in "Tanga" and "Mambo Inn" as well; the *montuno* and *mambo* sections are present in both. In "Mambo Inn" the tenor saxophone solo and piano solo are separated by a recapitulation of the primary theme and accompanied by percussion, which correlates to the *montuno* section. And, as expected, this is followed by horn riffs with the reintroduction of the cowbell, which elevates the energy and drive of the closing statement and marks this as a *mambo* section. The influence of jazz arranging lingers, however. The juxtaposition of horn riffs, use of muted trumpets in three-part harmony, and the manner in which the brass and reed timbres are controlled are all based on this American tradition.

While there are similarities between "Tanga" and "Mambo Inn" in the overall arranging approach, differences do exist in the horn articulation. In "Mambo Inn" there is a sharp biting sound only hinted at in earlier recordings of "Tanga." During the period of time between the two documented recording sessions (four years), this type of articulation would have been phased out of the music had it been an undesirable quality, but in-

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³⁰ Ibid.

stead it was intensified. It was in 1952 a more rehearsed and seasoned ensemble than it had been in 1948 so it can be deduced that the ensemble purposefully cultivated this performance style.

It is obvious that Bauzá blended two musical styles in a new manner and that the inclusion of definitive Cuban musical elements sets these recordings apart from earlier Latin jazz attempts. The lasting effects of this music are evident by the performance of Bauzá charts by other jazz artists and the influence of authentic arrangements on later musicians. These topics will be addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Bauzá played an important role in the combination of Cuban music and jazz in the United States and the style he refined while arranging for Machito made a lasting impact on the jazz scene. This is evident through two major factors: the adoption of his arrangements by other jazz performers and the influence of this style on later artists.

By the mid-1950s jazz bands were expected to include Latin tunes in their repertoire. James Lincoln Collier recognizes this in *The Making of Jazz* by observing: "Today the use of Latin forms in jazz is a cliché, but at that time [late 1940s] it was not." The foundation for this adoption had been laid in the 1930s and 1940s, and swing ensembles, like those of Count Basie, Duke Ellington, and Cab Calloway, continued performing Latin jazz tunes in later decades. Basie's recording of Bauzá's "Mambo Inn" on the classic album *April in Paris* (1955) stems from this practice. At its finest playing swing, his band does not handle the Latin tune as smoothly as the groups directed by Bauzá, but the jazz audience expected to hear Latin jazz, and Basie was willing to deliver. Similar to the use of jazz soloists on Machito recordings, Basie augments his swing ensemble with veteran Afro-Cuban percussionists José Mangual (bongos) and Ubaldo Nieto (timbales)—two members of Machito's ensemble. These men added true Cuban percussion practices to Basie's version of "Mambo Inn," which features a timbale solo and two piano breaks accompanied by percussion and closes with a bongo solo with ensemble hits.

¹ James Lincoln Collier, *The Making of Jazz: A Comprehensive History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), 359.

² April in Paris, perf. Count Basie and His Orchestra [original recording July 1955 to January 1956] (Verve, 341521402-2, 1997).

In contrast to the Cuban style of the timbales and bongos, which recalls the percussion arrangements on recordings by Machito, drummer Sonny Payne executes a swing hi-hat pattern throughout the chart, and bassist Eddie Jones performs eighth notes on beats two and four instead of utilizing the *tumbaó* bass line. Moreover, the horns, while communicating a strong sense of swing, fail to execute ensemble phrases with the rhythmic intensity heard on the Machito recording. The sum of these factors results in rhythmic conflict between the Cuban percussion and the remainder of the ensemble, making it obvious that Basie's big band was accustomed to performing swing charts and not Latin jazz charts with Afro-Cuban jazz percussionists.

Basie's outfit was not the only one to record "Mambo Inn." Thirty-nine other artists including the small groups led by pianists Michel Camilo (b. 1954) and George Shearing (b. 1919), vibraphonist Cal Tjader (1925-1982), reedmen Paquito D'Rivera (b. 1948) and Sonny Stitt (1924-1982), and the large ensemble of Tito Puente, have recorded this chart. (See Appendix A for a complete list of available "Mambo Inn" recordings.) The release dates of these albums show both the immediate impact of Bauzá's arrangement—Tjader's 1954 and Puente's 1955 recordings—and its lasting influence—the large number of albums released and re-released after 1990 with the chart. In true jazz fashion, these artists put their musical fingerprints on this tune. Their adaptations include a 32-bar song head followed by solos (Shearing and Tjader), big band performances similar to the original by Machito and His Afro-Cubans (Puente and D'Rivera), and expanded harmonies with funk-influenced Afro-Cuban drum set patterns (Camilo). No matter what the

³ See allmusic.com, "Mambo Inn" for a complete listing of "Mambo Inn" recordings.

artist's approach, however, Afro-Cuban percussion and rhythms are featured, and the organizing *clave* principle is emphasized in each version.

The subcategory of American music most indebted to Bauzá's developments is the mambo. Bandleaders such as Tito Puente, a percussionist in Machito's ensemble before he established his own band, and Tito Rodriguez (1923) based their ensembles and styles on the music of Machito. Puente's recording of "Mambo Inn" pays homage to this influence, as it is similar in instrumentation and form to the original Bauzá arrangement. The popularity of Afro-Cuban jazz and mambo waned in the late 1950s, however.

American youth were drawn to the ostinatos of early rock and roll and jazz fusions with the Brazilian samba in the 1960s. But after World War II Cuban rhythms had become part of the standard jazz language. Bauzá himself acknowledged this change to Fernando Gonzalez in an interview, in which he comments on rehearsing the Harvard University Jazz Band for a performance in December of 1990.

When I started there were not many Latin musicians around and the American musicians didn't know about this music . . . Now it's easier. These kids have had the benefit of hearing this music for years. They grew up with it.⁵

Recordings by Bauzá and others from the 1940s and early 1950s had provided material for players in later decades to study, creating a generation of jazz artists familiar with authentic Cuban practices.

⁴ See Michael J. Budds, *Jazz in the Sixties: The Expansion of Musical Resources and Techniques* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1990) 85-95 for an overview of the influence of samba and rock and roll on jazz in the decade following the advent and sub-

sequent popularity of Afro-Cuban jazz.

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⁵ Mario Bauzá, quoted without documentation in Fernando Gonzalez, "The Father of Afro-Cuban Jazz Comes Full Circle," *The Boston Globe* (7 December 1990), 65.

American performers were not the only artists to benefit from the early Afro-Cuban jazz recordings. Well into the 1950s musical ideas continued to travel to and from Cuba with some ease. Radio broadcasts, recordings, and concert tours by musicians from the United States were not hindered in the island nation until the Cuban Revolution in 1959. Even after political events strained relations between the American and Cuban governments, Latin jazz flourished in Cuba well into the 1970s as ensembles like Irakere, Afro-Cuba, and La 440 continued creating jazz infused with Cuban instruments and rhythms. The Machito recordings from the 1950s had made an impact on the music of these artists. Oscar Valdés, a founding member of Irakere, related the importance of listening to Afro-Cuban jazz recordings, including albums by Machito and Bauzá, on the development of his band's style:

Because a musician that does not listen to music does not evolve. So we listened to Afro-Cuban music of the style of Machito, Mario Bauzá, and other musicians, Mongo Santamaría, with other styles, other forms. But maybe we did something a little more profound, no? Because what we did was incorporate everything—including the language, the traditional Afro-Cuban melodies. But this other foundation served us well as a guide because the musician has to be constantly studying and listening in order to be up-to-date with new stuff that's happening and what new direction he is going to take.⁷

Recordings that modeled authentic Cuban practices were the points of departure for Irakere, but its members did not simply recreate these practices. Instead they continued to augment the Cuban nature of the music by "including the language" and the "traditional Afro-Cuban melodies." This manner of enhancing existing arranging

⁶ Isabella Leymarie, *Cuban Fire*, 260-65.

⁷ Oscar Valdés in an unpublished interview by Nathan Miller and Lilian Lombera, trans. John Finn (Havana, Cuba, July 2005).

methods is similar to Bauzá's extension of Swing Era normalities. By continually increasing the authentic Cuban materials in Afro-Cuban jazz, groups like Irakere were carrying on Bauzá's approach to jazz arranging.

In the 1970s American artists also continued the practice of featuring Cuban percussion, rhythms, and artists on albums. Among the best-selling jazz albums of all time, Herbie Hancock's *Head Hunters* (1973), which rose to number one on the 1974 *Billboard* jazz album list and thirteen on the pop album list, utilizes Cuban percussion and rhythms throughout.⁸ In addition, these musical materials made their way into the rock and roll tradition with artists like Santana, whose 1969 self-titled album would eventually sell two million copies.⁹

More important than the lineage of influence, perhaps, is the ownership artists gave Bauzá over Afro-Cuban jazz and the credit he himself took for its creation.

Gillespie cited Bauzá as "the first to combine the music of blacks in the United States and Afro-Cuban music." For his part, Bauzá states in an interview with Gonzalez, "Now they call it Latin jazz, but its Afro-Cuban jazz. It's something I created." Ironically, considering his contributions to the development of Afro-Cuban jazz, Bauzá was pushed into obscurity from the 1950s to the 1980s as the focus of jazz shifted to cool, funk

⁸ *Head Hunters* perf. Herbie Hancock [original recording 1973] (Columbia, CK-47478, 1992). *Billboard* information available at allmusic.com.

⁹ Santana [original recording 1969] (Columbia, CK-65489, 1998).

¹⁰ Dizzy Gillespie, quoted in a PBS documentary, cited by Jesse Hamlin, "A Real 'Mambo King'/Bimbo's Show by Mario Bauzá, Who Got Jazz to Cuba," *The San Francisco Chronicle* (13 June 1992), C:3.

¹¹ Mario Bauzá, quoted without documentation in Fernando Gonzalez, "Mario Bauzá Combines Tradition, Innovation," *The Boston Globe* (16 October 1988), 93.

fusions, and electronic influences. While Bauzá continued working with Machito and his sidemen during much of this time, he did not record an album as a leader until two years before his death (1991), when the American public's musical interest was piqued by all things Latin once again, as evident in the "Latin Explosion" in American popular music and the heightened attention given to both new and old Latin jazz artists during the 1990s.¹²

¹² The term 'Latin Explosion' refers to the rise in popularity of Latino artists, such as Enrique Iglesias (b. 1975), Ricky Martin (b. 1971), and Marc Anthony (b. 1968), in the United States during the late 1990s. See

www.http://biography.jrank.org/pages/3117/Iglesias-Enrique-1975-Singer-Songwriter-Earned-Recognition-Through-Latin-Explosion.html for a brief overview of this period.

APPENDIX A

AVAILABLE "MAMBO INN" RECORDINGS1

Album	Release Date
Verve Jazz Masters 57	1949
Jazz Piano Heatwave	1950
Billy Taylor Trio with Candido	1954
Ritmos Calientes	1954
April in Paris	1955
Mamborama!	1955
Pair of Pianos	1955
Candido	1956
Complete Capitol Live Recordings	1958
Latin Bit	1962
Best of Tito Puente [RCA]	1965
Live at North Sea '82 [Top Ten Hits]	1982
Live at North Sea '82	1982
Demasiado Caliente	1990
Moment's Notice	1991
Best of Latin Jazz: Compact Jazz	1992
Blue Bossa	1992
	Verve Jazz Masters 57 Jazz Piano Heatwave Billy Taylor Trio with Candido Ritmos Calientes April in Paris Mamborama! Pair of Pianos Candido Complete Capitol Live Recordings Latin Bit Best of Tito Puente [RCA] Live at North Sea '82 [Top Ten Hits] Live at North Sea '82 Demasiado Caliente Moment's Notice Best of Latin Jazz: Compact Jazz

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¹ List taken from allmusic.com and contains recordings that are currently available. The indicated dates are the album's date of release or most recent reissue and not the original recording date.

Hendrik Meurkens	Clear of Clouds	1992
Enrico Domingo	Strictly Mambo Dancing	1992
La Playa Sextet	Exciting New La Playa Sound	1993
George Shearing	On the Sunny Side of the Strip	1993
Various Artist	Ballroom Collection	1994
Francisco Montaro	Ballroom Dancing, Vol. 2: Mambo	1994
René Touzet	Best of Rene Touzet	1994
Machito	Bongo Fiesta	1995
Hilton Ruiz	Jazz Cafe: Latin	1995
Cal Tjader	Jazz Collective	1995
Edgardo Cintron	Musica Caliente	1995
Various Artist	Salsa/Latin Jazz Classics	1995
Enrico Domingo	Strictly Dancing [Box]	1995
George Shearing	Count Basie, Lester Young and the Stars of Birdland On Tour: Recorded Live in Topeka, KA	1996
Lou Donaldson	Jumpin' Jazz: Real Jazz for Those Who Feel	1996
Michel Camilo	Thru My Eyes	1996
Count Basie	April in Paris [Japan Bonus Tracks]	1998
Various Artist	Club Salsa	1998
Tito Puente	Dance Mania '98: Live at Birdland	1998
John Padilla	Here's Johnny	1998
Laskar Reese	Laksar Reese Quintet	1998
Nettai Tropical Jazz Big Band	Live in Yokohama Japan	1998

Machito & His Salsa Big Band	Machito	1998
Billy Taylor	Best of Latin Jazz [Ace]	1999
Ronny Jordan	Brighter Day	1999
Tito Puente	Carnival	1999
Various Artist	Cuba [West Wind]	1999
Sonny Stitt	Keepers of the Flame	1999
Various Artist	Latin Jazz [Disky]	1999
Various Artist	Latin Jazz [HMV]	1999
Mario Bauzá	San Francisco Jazz Festival, Vol. 4: 1999	1999
Paquito d'Rivera	Tropicana Nights	1999
Nettai Tropical Jazz Big Band	Tropics for the World, Vol. 2	1999
Various Artist	Blue Mambo	2000
Johnny Pacheco	Early Rhythms	2000
Billy Taylor	Fiesta! The Jazz Giants in a Latin Mood	2000
Ernan Lopez-Nussa	From Havana to Rio	2000
George Shearing	Just for You: Live in the 1950s	2000
Pérez Prado	Mambo Party: Perez Prado 2000 - Club Remixes	2000
Rickey Woodard	California Cooking 2	2001
Grant Green	Jazz Latino: The Hottest Latin Jazz	2001
Grant Green	Roots of Afro-Cuban Jazz	2001
Various Artist	Blue Instrumentalists: Guitar	2002
Don Baaska	Colonel	2002

Hendrik Meurkens	Colors of Latin Jazz: Mambo Mania!	2002
George Shearing	Definitive George Shearing	2002
George Shearing	Latin Jazz: La Combinación Perfecta	2002
Machito	Mambo Mucho Mambo: The Complete Columbia Masters	2002
Johnny Pacheco	Mi Musica Es Para Ti	2002
Grant Green	Simply Jazz: Jazz Cafe	2002
Lou Caputo	Urban Still Life	2003
George Shearing	87	2004
Mario Bauzá	Afro-Cuban Jazz	2004
Various	Best Latin Jazz Album in the WorldEver!	2004
René Touzet	Cuba: The Essential Album	2004
Dalton Brothers Trio	Great River Jazz	2004
Johnny Pacheco	Latin Kings	2004
Robby Young	Look of Love	2004
Grant Green	Lounge It: Recado Bossa Nova	2004
George Gee Big Band	Settin' the Pace	2004
Jaime Valle	Vital Signs	2004
Tito Puente	20th Century Masters - The Millennium Collection: The Best of Tito Puente	2005
Count Basie	Complete Clef/Verve Count Basie Fifties Studio Recordings	2005
Walfredo de los Reyes, Jr.	Cuban Jazz Con Sabor Sin Timbal No Se Pue Bailaros	2005

Johnny Pacheco	Latin Jazz [Mastercuts]	2005
George Shearing Quintet	Latino Jazz	2005
Latin Rhythms Band	Lost Paradise	2005
Skip Healy	Out of Time! The Skip Heller Trio Live in Philly	2005
Billy Taylor	Prestige Profiles, Vol. 2	2005
Johnny Pacheco	Simply World	2005
Grant Green	Best Jazz 100	2006
Tito Puente	Best of Tito Puente [Snapper UK]	2006
Various Artist	Blue Note Explosion: Back Down to the Tropics	2006
Mario Bauzá	Cuba [2006]	2006
4 Friends	Dzanga	2006
Various Artist	Heart Beat	2006
Mambo Zombies	Mambo Zombies	2006
The Now & Then Trio	Now & Then Trio Plus Friends	2006
Mark Teixeira	Saturday Night & Sunday Morning	2006
Grant Green	Latin Bit [RVG]	2007
Machito	Mambo at the Palladium, Vol. 1	2007
John Basile	Time Will Reveal	2007
Billy Taylor Trio	Best of Out of the Cool, Vol. 2	ND
Various Artist	Big 3: Live at the Blue Note	ND
Lars Erstrand	Four Brothers	ND

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