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Dwight Paul Sweeney

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THE CONNECTORS OF TWO WORLDS: CHANO POZO, DIZZY
GILLESPIE, AND THE CONTINUITY OF MYTH
THROUGH AFRO-CUBAN JAZZ

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Interdisciplinary Studies

by
Dwight Paul Sweeney, Jr.

March 2005

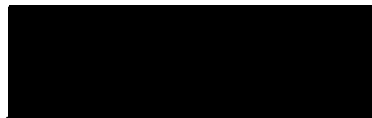
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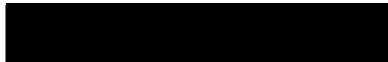
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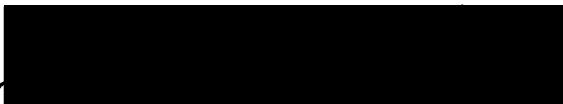
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ABSTRACT

The histories of Cuba and the United States ran a parallel course until the late nineteenth century, and musical cultural exchanges are a legacy of this interaction. Because Cuba's Afro-Cuban population retained stronger African religious elements through the syncretic or hybrid religions of Santería, Palo Monte, Arará, and Abakuá, American jazz musicians derived many "hot" polyrhythmic influences from those cults. This work explains how Afro-Cuban culture influenced African-American jazzmen and concludes with the formation of Afro-Cuban jazz in 1947 by Dizzy Gillespie and Chano Pozo, an Afro-Cuban drummer. These men changed how music was played, not just in jazz, but also in today's popular music arrangements. This collaboration, awakened a sense of pride in African heritage among American blacks who had been taught and conditioned by the 1940s to be ashamed of their past.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Roman philosopher Lucretius once wrote, "nothing comes from nothing," meaning that all aspects of life have a clear point of origin. The New World came to be in 1492 after the first voyage of Christopher Columbus, the Genoese mariner who had sailed west in search of a new approach to the East Indies. Under orders from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Columbus laid claim to the new lands, including the Bahamas, Cuba and Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and Dominican Republic). Columbus left men behind to establish a settlement on Hispaniola while he returned to inform his patrons of his explorations. This event helped define the history of the Americas because the medieval-based re-conquest mentality of the Spaniards shaped the colonial history that still influences modern Latin America and the Caribbean today.¹

Upon his return to Cuba and Hispaniola in 1493, Columbus instituted new orders from the king and queen of Spain and the pope in Rome. Two of the primary expectations had been the conversion of the indigenous peoples and the formation of monopolistic trade between

the new colonies and Spain. In his absence, the Spaniards left behind abused both their position and the natives, the people whom Columbus erroneously referred to as "Indians." It did not take long before forced labor and new viruses played havoc with the population and the aboriginal peoples perished at an alarming rate. This pattern of behavior was repeated throughout the New World, and facilitated the need for African slavery to fulfill the financial demands and wealth acquisition by European nations such as Spain, France, Portugal, England, and the Netherlands.

The next stage of the Spanish exploration led to the conquest and settlement of South and Central America, Mexico (New Spain) and the southern shores of the United States including the Mississippi Delta and Florida. The early years, however, had turned into centuries of colonial expansion, domination, and economic rivalries between the European nations, and the colonizing of the Americas led to widespread African slavery.

The early history of the transatlantic slave trade in the New World will be addressed in this study because it is important to see how differing colonial governments and their policies led to the creation of many syncretic,

or hybrid African-European religions and cults throughout the Americas and the Caribbean. Through acculturation and transculturation, retentions of various "Africanisms" in Cuba, Haiti, and New Orleans played an influential role in the creation of jazz music in the late nineteenth century and in the formation of Afro-Cuban Jazz by the late 1940s.²

This work will focus on how the slaves in different societies resisted conversion to Christianity and how Afro-Cuban culture rose in prominence and influenced American blacks, especially in the musical arts.

Initially, African-American musicians learned from their Cuban counterparts in many ways and vice versa. However, some of the old African idioms, including polyrhythmic syncopation in the music, came directly from Afro-Cuban and Afro-Caribbean religious cults such as Santería, Abakuá, Palo Monte, and Vodou. This comparative study of three slave societies will reveal that prerequisite African traits, although somewhat different, were retained by blacks in the United States to reintegrate with Afro-Cubans by the middle of the twentieth century. Slaves in Cuba and the southern United States overcame adversity and created new religions by adjusting

traditional myths accordingly. Through the syncretic structures, and especially through music, African elements combined to form Afro-Cuban jazz by 1947.

Cuba therefore had a profound influence on African-American music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially on jazz in New Orleans and New York. This has been in part due to a more permissive colonial heritage that encouraged African ethnic identity among slaves, the presence of Vodou in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) and New Orleans, and also the retention of many "Africanisms" by American slaves. This latter point is important, and a sub-topic will challenge the "mass conversion" thesis of Eugene Genovese and other authors. All of these factors are important in the historic context of the formation of Afro-Cuban jazz.³

The moment that defined this study derived indirectly from my collection of jazz recordings. I came across the story of Chano Pozo's death one day while reading Joachim E. Berendt's The Jazz Book: From Ragtime to Fusion and Beyond. In a chapter on Afro-Latin percussion Berendt referred to Pozo as "the father of all percussionists relevant to the modern jazz scene...." For instance, by instilling Afro-Cuban rhythms into Dizzy

Gillespie's big band of 1946-48, Pozo became a great catalyst for the so-called "Cubop" movement. Although Gillespie is often credited as the creator of Afro-Cuban jazz, something struck me about what Berendt had written after the salutations.

Chano Pozo died in a stabbing in 1948 in East Harlem's Rio Café. There have been rumors that he was slain because he had made public-and thus desecrated-the secret rhythms of the Nigerian Abaqwa [Abakuá] cult, to which he belonged in Cuba.

I was intrigued. Who was Chano Pozo? What had he been about, and more importantly, why did members of his Afro-Cuban secret society kill him? After three years of research, including two weeks of fieldwork in Cuba, I have analyzed most of these questions and will offer several conclusions based on an emic, or insider's perspective, and an etic, or outsider's interpretation. In addition, other details of Pozo's life have recently come to light. For instance, he has been described as a volatile, shadowy figure by authors and fellow musicians, and his rash actions frequently had dire consequences. Pozo's untimely death yielded few clear facts in police files, but the truth lies somewhere in between the myths and rumors. Essentially, Pozo became legendary, but his

importance has not been fully explained or explored. This study will enlighten the reader to scarce facts and deeds of this great innovator.⁴

Before he died, however, Chano Pozo became acquainted with Dizzy Gillespie (1917-1993) through another Cuban, trumpeter Mario Bauzá. At a time when Gillespie and other musicians changed how jazz was performed through the bebop style, Pozo's 1946 arrival in New York sparked quite a sensation. His aggressive, polyrhythmic playing on the congas fueled the songs "Manteca," and "Cubana Be/Cubana Bop," and both have become jazz standards today. In addition, Pozo's on-stage antics included dressing in an African style costume, dancing, and chanting in African languages. His delivery had been almost too much for the African-American audience at home, but Gillespie's big band attained international fame by featuring Afro-Cuban music and Chano Pozo.⁵

This work has been organized into four chapters, and additional information will be provided in the appendix and notes at the end of each chapter. Chapter Two provides a synopsis of the early history of African slavery that followed in the wake of Columbus, and how

the Roman Catholic colonies of Cuba, Hispaniola/Saint-Domingue, and New Orleans shared similar laws regarding slaves and their religious instruction. The most important aspect is that the Spanish had initially encouraged ethnic identity amongst the slaves and provided a way for them to preserve their traditional beliefs in mutual aid societies, albeit altered somewhat in the New World. The foundation of New Orleans has also been addressed to illustrate its uniqueness in American history and to show how it helped maintain "Africanisms" from its strong Catholic influences, even after the predominantly Protestant American government had assumed control in 1803.

Chapter Two's primary focus is the nineteenth century, and it breaks down the ethnic religious structures that have led to the creation of the syncretic or symbiotic religions Santería, Palo Monte, Vodou, and the Abakuá Society after contact with Roman Catholic instruction. In the section on American slavery in the antebellum period, I have addressed how the slaves resisted religious conversion and created their own black churches. Furthermore, the argument against the "mass conversion" thesis is the key to understanding how

African-Americans and Afro-Cubans could relate so effectively, especially through the musical arts. The persistence of myth has been essential to the study of the African Diaspora, and important figures from West African lore, such as the divinities Echú-Elegguá, Changó, and Yemayá will be explained as well. In addition, the importance of myth's continuity through the ring shout is fundamental to understanding how elements from African-American liturgical music influenced Buddy Bolden, an early pioneer of "ragtime" in the 1890s.

In Chapter Three, I bridge the histories of Cuba and the United States during the 1898 Spanish-Cuban-American War. The American occupation after 1899 led to direct cultural exchanges that profoundly shaped how music is played and arranged, especially in jazz. As Afro-Cuban and African-American musicians interacted, influences on instrumentation and rhythmic structures moved freely between cultures, and this in part led to the rumba and mambo crazes in the United States from the 1930s until the 1950s. In return, American jazzmen played in Cuba's cabarets in the early twentieth century, thus enabling the fusion of Afro-Cuban music.

In addition, the Harlem or Negro Renaissance of the early twentieth century sought to advance the social acceptance of African-Americans by adopting white society's mannerisms and musical structures. However, the formation of bebop music by Dizzy Gillespie and others in the early 1940s indirectly challenged this notion of acceptance through literary means, and their "hot" music readily blended with the stronger "hotter" music from Cuba. The fusion now called Afro-Cuban jazz began in 1946 when Pozo and Gillespie formed a brief but productive partnership, and this was another defining moment in African-American relations. The music they created connected the two worlds, affirmed the continuity of myth, and reawakened a sense of pride in African-Americans of their past and traditions. Therefore, what the Harlem Renaissance attempted to do through high-brow means succeeded, but only because of the traditional elements in black society that were shunned or held in contempt. In Chapter Four I have provided analysis on the sub-theses points and how they relate to this study. In addition, I evaluate the lives of Chano Pozo and Dizzy Gillespie and how their contributions are directly related to the historic events

decribed in this work. The conclusions are based on the material currently available, and I suggest a need for a comprehensive biography of Chano Pozo as none yet exist.

CHAPTER TWO

SLAVE SOCIETIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Cuba and the Sugar Economy After 1800

After the voyages of Columbus, the New World developed rapidly as European nations laid claim to the territories for colonization. African slavery had come swiftly, and by 1504 the native populations in Hispaniola and Cuba diminished significantly from disease and forced labor. Although Cuba became important by the nineteenth century, it fell behind economically after Spanish explorations extended to the mainland. In addition, agricultural endeavors were emphasized on Hispaniola instead, thus placing Cuba further behind other colonies. Regardless of its unimportant status, Cuba observed the Spanish Crown and Roman Catholic Church's rules and regulations regarding the conversion of the aboriginal populations and later the African slaves who began to arrive by the early sixteenth century.

Because of Church and governmental policies, and perhaps because of lax discipline, the Spanish had permitted the slaves to maintain their ethnic identities through sanctioned lodges called *cabildos de nación*. Each

nación had organized as many traditional beliefs and cultural structures as could be salvaged, and created syncretic religions by transfiguring images of saints with African deities and other superficial adaptations. Over the years, the traditions called Lucumí, or Santería, had formed from Yoruba slaves, the Congolese contributed to Palo Monte, and the Carabalí reformed a secret society called Abakuá. Spanish officials had allowed the slaves to dance and perform on Sundays and holidays, but over time restrictions had been enacted to curb the non-Christian practices. However, such laws little effect because the slaves had perpetuated their beliefs, and new generations of slaves from Africa had replenished the traditions well until the late nineteenth century.

In Saint-Domingue the French had infringed upon Spanish hegemony and expanded the plantation infrastructure, thus making the island the largest producer of the world's sugar by the 1790s. French colonists, however, had not been especially interested in converting their slaves beyond the rite of baptism. This development, along with previous Spanish laws, facilitated the formation of the syncretic religion

Vodou. The new religion served to affirm the slave's worldview and reconnect spiritually with Africa, but it also formented revolutionary feelings and unity in 1791. The loss of Saint-Domingue after 1804 hurt the French financially, and it paved the way for Cuba to fill the void in sugar production.

In the Southern United States, French and Spanish exploration had led to the foundation of New Orleans as a hub of trade. In addition to its role as a Catholic-based society, American slaves had enjoyed social freedoms not afforded to slaves elsewhere, especially in regions under Protestant control. Vodou maintained a strong presence in the city, and this became a factor in the retention of many "Africanisms" by slaves after 1803 when the United States assumed control of the Louisiana Territory. The legacy of African slavery had a tremendous impact on New World societies, especially from the syncretic religions that had creolized and continued to play a role in cultural development well after slavery had ended.

This chapter will focus on how worldwide demand for sugar and other products increased the flow of African slaves to the Spanish Americas and southern United States. The resulting influx of slaves further developed

and refined the syncretic religions that played a role in perpetuating African cultural memory in the Caribbean. Understanding the sacred music and dances is important to how cultural influences developed and became popular in Cuba and other places, such as New Orleans.

Slaves in the southern United States had maintained song-making rituals to keep old myths alive and created new styles through the "ring shout." However, unlike their Afro-Caribbean counterparts, American blacks gradually lost the polyrhythmic element to their music, despite retaining latent "hot" attributes. In addition, the "mass conversion thesis" has claimed that blacks widely and willingly adhered to Christianity after 1840 is challenged, to show that "Africanisms" survived in greater amounts than some have believed. As a result, American blacks resisted conversion, or at least a reduction in their traditional beliefs, and this contributed to the formation of jazz in New Orleans.

After emancipation in 1862, American blacks found the transition between slavery and wage earning very difficult in light of discrimination and racism. In addition, the division that occurred within the black Baptist Church is addressed, and this in turn supports

how "ragtime" evolved, as well as through direct and indirect Cuban musical influences during the nineteenth century. Therefore, the background history of Cuba's rise to prominence in the economic sense provides the setting where the Africans had found themselves in increasing numbers.

When the Spanish searched and colonized the Americas, they seemingly forgot about Cuba and its potential for economic growth. Meanwhile, Spain's economic rival, France, had capitalized in Saint-Domingue until 1791, but the slave rebellion led by Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines toppled the world's leading sugar producer by 1804. This event became a defining moment in Cuban history because it opened the door to the island's economic importance. Although Saint-Domingue had only occupied 10,700 square miles, its population of 40,000 colonists and 480,000 slaves and free persons of color had constituted a ratio long idealized as the ultimate path to becoming rich through the cash crops of sugar and coffee. By contrast, Cuba had four times the square mileage and some have argued the more fertile soil, and therefore more potential for agricultural development. After the Haitian Revolution removed the

foremost producer of the world's sugar, Cuban planters quickly stepped up to profit from Saint-Domingue's demise.¹

The first hitch in their plans, however, had been an acute lack of slaves stemming from the earlier period of asientos, or labor contracts. The Crown hesitated initially, but by 1792 the first Spanish ship ever to sail directly from Africa to Cuba brought slaves to markets in the Antilles. In addition, the stream of refugees fleeing Saint-Domingue introduced more slaves, technological skills, and a limited amount of capital to help stimulate the plantation culture of sugar in Cuba's eastern regions.²

Therefore, Cuban plantations depended upon imported skills, imported capital, and an imported labor force. For example, the refugees from Saint-Domingue in Cuba had been joined by French exiles after the Louisiana territory became a possession of United States in 1803. In addition to these external world events, Cuba also benefited from the wars of independence in Spanish America, and the shrinking production of cash crops there in light of increased world demand and markets.³

The increased production of sugar in the post-Saint-Domingue world reversed Cuba's previously insignificant impact on colonial trade. Between 1762 and 1838, the island began its transformation from cattle, tobacco, coffee and small-scale sugar producer into a large-scale provider of the world's coffee and sugar. The change can be attributed to the shift in international market demands, partly stimulated after the British occupation of Havana in 1763-64, and to the economic and administrative reforms by Charles III (1759-1788) that gave colonists more flexibility in trade.⁴

In addition to world events, a series of destructive hurricanes reshaped Cuba's rural landscape in the early decades of the nineteenth century. This facilitated a restructuring of the economy to one based on sugar production, and it also led to increased demand for African slaves. Despite the abolition of slavery in 1820 by the British, Cuban planters continued to obtain slaves through intra-island exchanges. Although illegal, the foreign trade became the only way for the slaveholders to bypass the failed asiento system during Cuba's stagnant years between 1565 and 1800.⁵

Cuba's economic rise came partially from the February 28, 1789, royal decree when the Crown relinquished its strict control over slave importation, thus allowing unrestricted slave traffic to Cuba from Africa and elsewhere in the Americas. In addition, all previous restrictions were lifted thereby initiating a three-year tax break so merchants could sell slaves at a price the market would bear for the first time. The new changes became so popular in Cuba that between 1789 and 1798 eleven royal decrees facilitated the expansion of slave labor in the Spanish Indies.⁶

Cuban economic growth between 1790 and 1870 increased the consumption of goods increased to the extent that Spain could no longer provide all services or products. Therefore, Cuba traded freely and illegally with the United States, who became her largest trading partner. In the late eighteenth century, however, the sugar boom spawned a new class of merchants from Spain's Basque and Catalan regions, and also from the Canary Islands that specialized in purchasing, transportation, distribution, and supply.⁷

Cuban society at its core still bore some resemblance to feudal estates in Europe at the time of

Re-conquest. This tradition weakened as sugar became more prominent, although the old families and old order remained firmly entrenched until 1800. The new century, however, saw a decline in the old oligarchy's influence and control as new trading companies pumped wealth into Cuba, mostly from the sale and importation of African slaves. Therefore, every segment of Cuba's society became attached to some facet of sugar production via slave labor, the acquisition of wealth, and material goods.⁸

Increased demand expanded slave importation to Cuba in the early nineteenth century. For instance, between 1790 and 1822, 240,000 Africans arrived, and the existing complex racial order changed quickly. For every four Cuban-born creoles, there had been ninety-six Africans (bozales), and by 1861 the population of slaves had replaced the non-white free population as the island's second-largest group. The high ratio of slaves relative to the total population has been mentioned above, but as the plantation society swung into full production it led to the decimation of the imported slaves. The birth rate had decreased while the mortality rate had increased, and a labor deficit formed as a result. Other factors that contributed to the loss of slaves included the ability

for them to purchase freedom, as well as disease, accidents, punishments, and severe weather conditions. Despite the losses, however, the number of blacks in Cuba had increased, and by 1840 it totaled sixty percent of the black population.⁹

The first several decades of the nineteenth century also saw rising prices for Africans. The high cost of labor replacement had caused some planters to reconsider slave reproduction by importing more women. As the slave demographic slowly changed, between 1845 and 1868 the community contained members spanning all categories of age, and the death rate began to taper as well. In addition, women, especially from the Yoruba ethnicity, had been strongly encouraged to have children. When the last official shipments of Africans arrived in 1865, and illegally as late as 1873, seventy-five percent of Cuba's black population had been born in Africa.¹⁰

Natural Disasters and Cuba's Economic Growth

The word "huracán," which entered the Spanish vernacular after early encounters with the Taíno Indians, meant malignant forces, specifically a demon, that had taken the form of winds of awesome proportions and destructive power that blew from all four corners of the

earth. The new phenomena caused the Europeans to fear the violent storms that were unknown in home waters. One early Church figure wrote, "Of the terrible storms believed to exist in all oceans of the world, the ones of these seas in these islands and tierra firme are apt to be the worst."¹¹

Although the frequency varied from year to year, several storms could stretch throughout the long summer months, and sometimes they sank entire merchant fleets, destroyed coastal cities and settlements, and even towns upriver from the point of impact had not been spared. The storms of September 1842, October 1844, and October 1846 "permanently changed some of the dominant features of the colonial economy, including land tenure forms, labor organization, and production systems." It did not take long for the Spanish, like the Taíno before them, to associate hurricanes with demonic spirits, and the practice of naming each storm after the saint's day which it occurred had been in place by the mid-eighteenth century.¹²

When the violent storms struck land, they frequently laid waste to cities and provinces all over Cuba. For instance, hurricanes decimated the province of Matanzas

in 1844, and even the sheltered harbor of Havana proved to be the shallow grave for nearly two hundred vessels moored there. Hurricanes wiped away crops of all types, trees and entire forests, as well as fences and homes. The 1844 storm proved to be the most destructive in rural areas and resulted in the deaths of five hundred people. If this storm had sparked fears, the October 1846 hurricane approached very quickly and enveloped most of the island with such violence that floods ruined the coffee and tobacco crops in many areas. Simultaneous to these disasters, coffee production in Brazil had risen while the world price of coffee had declined. Therefore, reconstruction of the cafetales across Cuba's western portion became financially ruinous.¹³

The consequence for coffee growers who failed to recover is that between 1842 and 1852 the total acreage devoted to coffee production decreased from 14 percent to 5 percent of total land use. In addition, the economic shift to sugar, specifically at the expense of coffee, began in the 1840s, although tobacco recovered somewhat to become a cash crop of importance, and for a brief time it too utilized large-scale slave labor to reorganize. However, sugar production and prices rose swiftly, but at

great expense to the lives of the slaves. On some ingenios, for example, mortality rates reached as high as 15 to 18 percent per year.¹⁴

Syncretic Religions in Cuba and Their Origins

The Yoruba was the most influential slave group in Cuba, particularly in the provinces of Havana and Matanzas. In the centuries preceding the slave trade the Yoruba had lived in city-states that practiced highly stylized and complex religious ways of life. At the top of the pantheon of gods, or orishas, was Olodumaré, the "owner of all destinies," the almighty creator. The power that extends from Olodumaré into the world is a force called aché, and aché "is like a divine current that finds many conductors of greater or lesser receptivity." The essential elements in Yoruba religion have been a spiritual value system centered on honoring ancestors, reciprocal relationships with spiritual beings, and seeking solutions to life's problems through a form of divination called Ifá. All of these components, individually and combined, are manifestations of aché.¹⁵

Early in Cuba's history, Yoruba slaves either worked until death or purchased their freedom through a legal

process called coartación, and merged into the creole culture. From about 1760 until the end of the sugar boom in 1868, more and more slaves had to work in agriculture and replace those who perished, obtained freedom, or ran away. One of the largest African groups that filled these positions are today known as "Yoruba." Originally in Africa there had existed no comprehensive term of reference for all of the heterogeneous subgroups, and in old times the people had divided themselves by city-states- Ibo, Nago, and Oyo, for example. However, in times of slavery the African people were classified into subgroups called naciones, and each bore a distinctive name. The Yoruba and some of the neighboring groups from Africa became known in Cuba as the Lucumí nación.¹⁶

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a series of wars had raged between Yoruba city-states and their neighbors. For instance, in 1796 the city of Oyo fell to a coalition of lesser chiefs who could not stem the tide of disintegration. In addition, a Fulani leader led an Islamic jihad in 1804 to overthrow the Hausa leadership of northern Nigeria, and this conflict proceeded south to confront the pagan, animistic Yoruba. Simultaneously, by taking advantage of his beset

neighbors, the king of Benin invaded from the west, and vast numbers of Yoruba, including the entire population of Oyo, were sold into slavery. Therefore, between 1820 and 1840 the majority of slaves shipped from the ports around the Bight of Benin became victims of fratricide, Dahomean expansion, the Fulani jihad, and the insatiable demands of planters in the Americas.¹⁷

The exact number of Yoruba slaves that arrived during Cuba's 350-year period of slavery is not known precisely, but estimates range between 527,828 and 702,000. In addition, a large number of Ba-Kongo and other West Africans arrived, and they significantly influenced Cuban music, dance, and religion as well. Most new arrivals found themselves enslaved on vast ingenios where life expectancy was short. The resistance to slavery, however, had taken place at every turn, and slave owners lived in constant fear of revolt as the specter of the Haitian Revolution lingered close to mind.¹⁸

The Lucumí Cabildos in Havana

During the nineteenth century, the Yoruba that arrived in Havana quickly established a strong community with fellow slaves already entrenched there and freedmen

who also belonged to the Lucumí Cabildo. They have been called "Lucumí" after their way of greeting each other, "oluku mi," or "my friend" in their language. In addition, the various Lucumí cabildos became the key to survival of Yoruba religion by maintaining aspects of their language, culture, and religion. As mutual aid societies, the cabildos had operated within the confines of the Church and central government by helping the old and infirm, arranging elaborate funerals, and raising funds for coartación.¹⁹

The cabildos featured public and private dances that they hosted in their lodges, but the government cracked down on the frequency of the meetings as the stipulations of this 1835 law attest. "The cabildos and dances of the blacks are not to be celebrated except on specific holidays and at the borders of the city, from ten to twelve in the morning, and from three in the afternoon until evening prayers." Attempts to repress African traditions began around this time and dogged Cuban blacks well into the twentieth century.²⁰

Musically, all of the songs and dances were of African origin, and each nación through their respective cabildos danced its own style on the designated feast

days, especially the Epiphany of the Three Kings. For instance, the by-laws of the Cabildo Arará Maguno stated "the cabildos will give fiestas every holiday in the style of its nación, that is to say an African dance, prohibiting the interference of the drum rhythms not of their own nación." In addition, the Cabildo Africano Lucumí is known to have existed around 1839, and the Lucumí dedicated this fraternal order to Saint Barbara, whose feast day is December 4th. On the designated days, "the Lucumí danced under her image and flags emblazoned in scarlet and white." In this manner Yoruba religious practices have been preserved through syncretism because of, and in spite of, the Catholic Church. In practice, Saint Barbara and the colors red and white represent Changó, the fourth warrior king of Oyo, and the lord of thunder, lightning, and drums.²¹

The gradual adaptation of the Catholic world-view emerged into a bilingual approach called "Santería," the way of the saints. Through this syncretism, devotions to the orishas have been conducted publicly under images of saints and privately to African-style altars. Even today in Cuba devotees prefer to use the saint's name unless they know a stranger is initiated into the religion. In

addition to Santería, other distinctly Afro-Cuban religions emerged from the cabildos in Havana, Santiago, and other cities and provinces such as Matanzas.²²

The Carabalí of the Niger delta established the Abakuá Society, whose members are called ñáñigos, and various Congolese groups have formed traditions named Nganga, Mayombe and Palo Monte. In addition, the miscellaneous Fon and Dahomean elements, some by way of Saint-Domingue and New Orleans, founded the Arará naciones, particularly in the region of Matanzas. In urban cities Lucumí traditions and those of other groups became informally institutionalized in their respective cabildos.²³

Despite slavery, the slaves (and freed blacks) had used ethnic names to designate nación, and these also fell along geographic and stereotypical guidelines. In addition, the designations also referred to those with distinct languages, cultural attributes, physical characteristics and ways of behaving. For example, Carabalí had been considered proud, the Mandingas excellent workers, the Gangars thieves and runaways, the Fanti also runaways but revengeful as well, the Ebros "less black than others and lighter of wool," the

Congolese short in stature, and the Lucumí industrious workmen. This tendency became common throughout the Americas as slaves sought to keep themselves from being lumped into one category.²⁴

Afro-Cuban Religions in the Rural Setting

The best primary document regarding slave life on Cuban ingenios in Cuba has been Esteban Montejo's testimony. Montejo, a criollo, worked during the middle to late nineteenth century, and related many stories of slave life, culture, and gossip during slavery and after emancipation. Although sometimes slanted and opinionated, his descriptions and observations of slave religion in the rural setting will be utilized in the context of the nineteenth century. The ethnic breakdown is important in Cuba's slave history, and certain groups had more influence in some areas than others during times of slavery.²⁵

Aside from the Yoruba, there were several other important ethnic groups that influenced many aspects of Cuba's creative culture. In earlier periods, between 1760 and 1790, for example, the Kongo and Carabalí naciones dominated the Cuban slave groups, a little above 30 and 25 percent respectively. Between 1800 and 1820 these

groups also represented the largest segments of plantation slaves. Around 1850 until 1870, however, the Lucumí nación became the single most dominant group due to increases in the slave trade. The Yoruba religion had stretched over many years of slavery in Cuba, and each succeeding wave of arrivals rekindled flickering flames as one generation passed the torch to the next. This reason produced differences between Yoruba religion in Africa and Lucumí religion in Cuba. Therefore, urban slaves in the cabildos found a semi-organized liturgy in place, but in the countryside, on ingenios, and in the slave quarters (barracoons) the religious setting had been quite different.²⁶

One common theme in all colonial societies is that the Church was largely unsuccessful in bringing religion to both the whites and African slaves in the countryside. However, during the 1840s, the slave and free black population had the same percentage of baptisms as the island's white population. While the vast majority of African slaves spent their lives at these locations, the common belief that folkloric and archaic traditions are better preserved in the countryside can be refuted because Santería was strongest in the provincial cities

and towns of Havana and Matanzas. Outside of these areas, Santería was either unknown or little practiced.^{27/28}

The influence of the Church grew weaker in rural areas as slave and master alike resisted conversion. While the Church did attempt to gain a foothold throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by the nineteenth century economic interests overcame these activities to the degree that few slaves, aside from some of the household staff, partially or fully embraced Christianity and referred to themselves as Christians. In addition, few churches and schools existed outside of the cities, and ecclesiastical control of these was limited.²⁹

Despite the difficult conditions, many African religious traits existed in rural Cuba. For example, country slaves often played the role of healer to fellow slaves, their owners, and their families. Even upper-class creoles utilized whatever methods available, and evidence that Lucumí traditions existed came to light through various rituals and mannerisms exhibited by the healers.³⁰

It is doubtful then that they [the field and household slaves] would have evolved a cult so dominated by Yoruba traits as is Santería. Nor is it likely that they evolved such a complex system of ritual and a hierarchy of priests

directly under the eyes of their masters, who almost always equated African religions with witchcraft even, or perhaps especially, while it cured them. It seems unlikely then that Santería's ideological and ritual systems, or its distinct social organization evolved at this time among the rural domestic or field slaves. But not all of the Africans in the Cuban countryside were slaves. Many were former slaves, Africans who had escaped...and taken refuge in the forests and mountains. As early as 1526 there were wandering bands of escaped slaves, cimmaroons as the Cubans called them, secluded and hidden in their own communities.

It is apparent that formal Afro-Cuban religion was primarily in the urban setting, but certain elements came out when the field slaves were allowed leisure time, or had contact with runaway slaves.³¹

Slaves had limited time for rest and leisure, and such activities were relegated to Sundays and holidays. According to Montejo, "Sundays were the noisiest on the plantation, I don't know where the slaves found the energy." Drum music began early on his ingenio, accompanied by dancing and songs to encourage the participants. Slave-made drums in the African manner included three, similar-shaped types of different sizes, as well as hollowed out logs played with sticks. Complicated dances called "yuka" and "mani" took place, and in the case of the latter it was "a cruel game"

because the participants took out aggressions by striking one another. "The white man has always had different music from the black, white man's music has no drum at all."³²

Life on the ingenio was hard, and tense social issues made conditions even more difficult. Male slaves and overseers had to compete for the few available women, and an uneasy situation, full of outright disdain, existed between the field workers and domestics. In addition, fighting also took place between ethnically and religiously different slave groups.

I knew of two African religions in the barracoons, the Lucumí and the Congos. The Congos was the more important. It was well known at the Flor de Sagua [an ingenio] because their magic men used to put spells on people and get possession of them, and their practice of soothsaying won them the confidence of all the slaves... The difference between the Congos and the Lucumí was that the former solved problems while the latter told the future.

Infighting also took place between Kongo witchdoctors and the Christian household slaves.

One was good and the other was bad. That still goes on in Cuba. The Lucumí and the Congo didn't get along either. They bickered over saints and witchcraft. The only ones who didn't have troubles were the old timers from Africa. They were special, and you had to treat them different because they knew all about religion.

Montejo also commented on stereotypes and ethnicity. "The Lucumís didn't like to work with cane, and ran away. They were the most rebellious and the bravest. Not the Congos. They were mostly cowards, big on work, so they worked real hard without complaining."³³

If such infighting existed then, it has diminished somewhat in Cuba today where common Afro-Cuban religious music is performed side by side in "folkloric" settings presented by the Theatre Nacional. Indeed, many drummers that grow up in the Afro-Cuban cults, such as Chano Pozo and Mongo Santamaria, have cross-membership, and therefore a stronger repertoire of rhythms from which they draw on in performances. Because the enduring Afro-Cuban traditions have so influenced African-American culture, it must still be broken down to its ethnic structures before applying it as a whole. What follows is an overview of the essential ritual and social structures within three naciones, the Lucumí, the Kongo, and the Abakuá.³⁴

Lucumí, Kongo, and Abakuá Social Structures

The Yoruba have venerated ancestors "because they recognize that the community of the present must look back for moral example. The experience of the elders

provides the precedents and authority for juniors to grow in aché." The ancestors are referred to in the Yoruba language as ara orun, or people of heaven, and they are symbolized in many ways on earth among the living. The names of the dead are invoked in prayers at every family ceremony, and their memories are kept in the form of dolls called egun. With elements of predestination, the Yoruba believe that every person is a composite of visible and invisible properties, and the ori (head) dictates the individual's life or destiny on earth. In Cuba, the Lucumí found themselves in a new "social structure organized and legitimated by the Church... [and] practices once appropriate to the Yoruba ancestors were transformed into the Catholic cult of the dead."³⁵

Essentially, the hierarchy of Yoruba religious authority begins at the family level, and the family head carries out religious functions for everyone in his compound. The collective memory may have been lost in the Middle Passage, but enough remained to reconstruct cults of the dead in the New World, and this also indicates the importance of ancestors in every African ethnic group. The earth is the symbolic abode of ancestors in Lucumí beliefs, but in Cuba the worship of the dead became

confined more to the home as a form of personal rather than communal ritual.³⁶

In the cabildo setting, Yoruba "ancestor veneration came to refer to the lines of ancestral priests and priestesses, and blood kinship became ritual kinship after the manner of the Catholic institution of compadrazgo." Therefore, the sons and daughters of the orishas became the ajihados and ajihadas (godchildren) of the priests, and collectively the godchildren constitute a religious family. However, the fusion that took place makes it difficult or even impossible to separate the Lucumí and Catholic starting and stopping points.³⁷

After ancestor veneration comes reciprocal relationships between humans and the orishas (santos) that are accompanied by numerous legends and myths. "Yoruba mythology, comparable to the Greek in philosophical richness and poetic values, is the only solid body of ideas about the creation of the world that Cuba can boast as a legacy of traditional popular culture." In addition, the Yoruba cosmology features a triumvirate composed of Olodumaré, Olorun, and Olofí, the latter of whom is the most accessible form of God who

mediates to humans through Obatalá, the supreme judge and leader of the orishas.³⁸

In Africa, the orishas had been the cult center of the ancient Yoruba city-states. In Oyo, for example, Changó reigned supreme, Yemayá is still sovereign in the area around Egbá, and Ochún remains significant in the Ijexá region of Nigeria. Although many orishas came to Cuba with the slaves, not many are still venerated when compare to Nigeria. Because the religion is based on the notion of family, albeit an extended and numerous family, it is usually traced back to one sole ancestor who encompasses both the living and the dead. Legends (pataki in Yoruba) concerning Changó have alluded to these attributes for example, and the ensuing tribal, or familial lineage places the orisha in the role of a divinized ancestor who administers power (ache), into a descendant through the phenomenon of possession. To be "mounted" by an orisha is considered the highest honor, and the deity returns to earth to greet and receive marks of respect from the descendants that invoked them. In Santería, the orishas must be frequently gratified and appeased through festive ceremonies and sacrifices. Veneration is the key to this religion, usually forms of

praise through songs and dance to music played on sacred drums.³⁹

All danced religions feature the phenomenon of possession behavior, often preceded by appropriate prayers and songs to request the presence of a santo or express anger or displeasure (cantos de puya) to goad an appearance. In Cuba, the following statement is indicative of performed ritual.

There is no more vehement nor energetic spirit [than Changó]. When a devotee is mounted...he charges three times, head leading, spinning like a ram, towards the drums. Then he opens his eyes to abnormal width and sticks out his tongue, to symbolize a fiery belch of flames, and raises his thunder-axe on high and clamps his other hand upon his scrotum.

Therefore, a ritualized reenactment emphasizes Changó's complex (macho) embodiments as both warrior and lover.⁴⁰

The Lucumí in Cuba have developed a complex social order based on their indigenous past, although it had been slightly altered for the new environment. Elders, including the rare oluó, a high priest of utmost importance, are at the top, followed by the male-only babalaos, who rank above the more common santeros and santeras (priests) in importance. Godchildren come next, and extended religious families form the collective

community with specific roles of behavior for men and women. However, in reality it is the babalao, the master of divination, who is the true leader in Santería traditions. The types of divination utilized in Santería stem from the Ifá form, which derives its name from the deity that speaks through these oracles, Orunmila, or Orunla. Orunmila's name means "only heaven knows the means of salvation," or "only heaven can effect deliverance" in the Yoruba tongue. In addition, the babalaos are said to be his sons, to whom he makes his voice heard through divination. Unlike most of the other orishas, Orunmila never takes possession of the human body. Nevertheless, those who serve him demand and receive the utmost respect in their communities.^{41/42}

Lucumí commemorative festivals and ceremonies have often coincided with feast days and have taken the form of repetitive performances that include both sacred and secular elements. Some of these important days are December 4th for Changó, September 7th and 9th for Yemayá, and September 8th and 12th for Ochún. Often a private homage is paid to the honored orisha the night before in a devotee's home with prescribed drums, dancing, and food, and the orishas come down to earth and

bless the devotees through possession. Santería, then, can be viewed as a cultural performance because the rituals of speech and song, accompanied by dance, acting out, and instrumental music "drastically increases the types of sensory data that have been encoded in memory through an orchestration of media." The ritual performance serves to help the initiate "realize that all four types of memory-personal, cognitive, habit, and social, or collective-are involved."⁴³

Kongo Beliefs and Religious Structures

The Congolese, or Africans from Kongo and Angola, share fundamental beliefs and languages, and in the New World they fostered their heritage in art forms that survived slavery. Linguistic influences, philosophic and visual traditions are all part of the Congolese legacy in the Americas. Unlike the Yoruba, the Ba-Kongo lacked a complex pantheon of deities. They developed instead a complex system of *minkisi* (sacred medicines) that they believe God bestowed upon mankind. The religion of Kongo presupposes that God's (Nzambi Mpunga) illuminating spirit and healing powers can be controlled by the king (*mfumu*), the ritual expert or authority (*nganga*), and the sorcerer (*ndoki*). In Cuba, avatars of Kongo and Angolan

lore have taken the "appropriate" ancient name banganga, while their counterparts in the United States have been commonly known as "conjurers" and "root persons."⁴⁴

The influences and improvisations upon Kongo art and religion in the New World stem from four major forms of expression. First, cosmograms are marked on the ground for purposes of initiation and medication of spiritual power between the worlds. In addition, the sacred medicines (minkisi) and earth from graves are used to construct charms for ancestral vigilance and spiritual return. Furthermore, the cross is the essential symbol in a cosmogram because one line represents the boundary, and the other represents a path that crosses the boundary to bridge the cemetery with the vertical path of power that links the above with the below. Therefore, the spiritual relationships refer to God and man, God and the dead, and the living and the dead.⁴⁵

Symbolically, a fork in the road, or even a forked branch, can allude to the cross to become an important symbol of passage and communication between worlds. Cosmograms became important in Cuba because Kongo ritual healers made zarabanda charms by tracing with "white chalk (mpemba) a cruciform pattern at the bottom of an

iron kettle. This is the "signature" (firma) of the spirit involved with the charm. Music also played a vital role in this process because songs, or mambos, were chanted to persuade the concentration of power upon the designated point for new charms and to replenish old, important ones. Today and in times of slavery in Cuba, the sacred texts have been chanted in both Spanish and a creolized form of Ki-Kongo, thus forming a syncretic bilingual religion.^{46/47}

Various rites and sects of Kongo religion formed extensively in rural areas and urban cabildos. Palo Monte, for example, is found throughout Cuba, and over time the method of religious practice passed orally from Bantú-speaking bozales to the criollos, and then to Spanish-speaking cubanos, the slaves born in Cuba of criollo parents. Congolese symbols and religion have integrated Yoruba and Amerindian cosmology. Other influences include a Spanish book on witchcraft (Book of San Ciprián), and even the French spiritualism of Allen Kardec whose Book of Mediums had been widely read. In addition, all Afro-Cuban belief systems:

Are even more compulsive than Catholicism itself. You get punished for doing certain things...but when you're told that God will

punish you, at night you can say your prayers, pray to some saint...knowing that that saint will protect you and that you have forgiveness from God. In African religions, that's not the case. If you do something wrong, believe me, you will pay for it in all ways.⁴⁸

Such beliefs, however, are quite common in societies that have experienced African slavery such as Cuba, Haiti, Brazil, and Trinidad. In addition to ritual paraphernalia, Congolese charms are in reality a metaphor of the cosmos miniaturized, and they serve to protect a person from illness, harm by enemies and criminals, and to inflict retribution on the latter. Over time, however, the Lucumí and Kongo traditions have become more adaptable and have coexisted because of the lack of orthodoxy and hierarchical authority.⁴⁹

The Abakuá Society in Cuba

The first ñañigos in Cuba once belonged to an elite brotherhood of Carabalí who had been ethnically Ejagham and Ejagham-influenced captives, and that had membership in the important, all-male Leopard Society (Ngbe). Synonymous terms for the Ejagham have been used interchangeably by historians and they include Carabalí and Efik, all of whom hail from the Calabar region of the Niger delta in West Africa, and are in all probability

Ibo (Yoruba) people. The numerous origin myths have sometimes conflicted, but they concur that two groups had constituted the Leopard Society in Calabar, the Efó (Efor) who dwelt on the left bank of the Oddán River, and the Efí (Efik) who lived on the right bank.

[The] Ngbe value... nobility and government and remember the master metaphor of masculine accomplishment, [through] the leopard, who moves with perfect elegance and strength. [The] Ngbe in Cuba became known by the creole name Abakuá after Abakpa, a term by which the Ejagham of Calabar are designated.⁵⁰

In 1836, the cabildo de nación Carabalí became legally incorporated in Regla under the title Efik Butón.

The Abakuá Society, however, has few similarities with the other cabildos despite having made its home among them. The potencies, or societies, gained considerable political power during the nineteenth century and actively utilized these connections outside of the Catholic Church's sphere of influence. In addition, the secrecy of Abakuá rites and their organization have earned the ñañigos the reputation in the upper and middle-class Cuban mindset as political subversives and common gangsters, "of which they apparently were not entirely innocent."⁵¹

Over time, a second juego (society) of ñáñigos formed to include criollos in addition to the African-born bozales. The first Acabatón juego was established, and its charter membership consisted of twenty-five criollos slaves from rich slave houses in Havana. In 1863, the first white juego formed, and this denoted a trend in other cabildos de nación located throughout Cuba. The Ocobio and Bakokó (named after the man who passed along the secrets) juegos observed the same strict oath of secrecy as the all-black societies, and the members could be punished for selling secrets because such matters had been held by the old guard as something purely African. By 1880, a total of eighty-three ñáñigo societies existed in the province of Havana alone, of which five were mostly white organizations.⁵²

Initiation is symbolically important to this organization, and all initiation rites in the Abakuá Society stem from the Leopard societies in Africa and demand utmost loyalty and secrecy. Generally speaking, an offense against a ñáñigo "was certainly [grounds for] punishment, and possibly a fight to the death." In function the societies bore resemblances to unions

Calligraphic gestures of erudition and black grandeur, spiritual presences traced in yellow or white chalk [yellow for life, white for death] on the ground...bringing back the spirit of departed ancestors, describing properties of initiation and funeral leave-taking.

The masked íreme costumes (Saco) bear a checked leopard pattern, and the symbols of nsibidi and anaforuana continued the traditions of Africa in Havana, especially during the nineteenth century.⁵⁵

Other symbols included the use of feathered plumes on their masks and headdress to represent titled women from a defunct female society called Nnimm. However, in Cuba, the plumes reemerged in the Abakuá setting whereas the Nnimm institution did not survive the Middle Passage. To honor the mother of the sacred leopard, Ebongó, she was renamed Sikán, and the theme of silence and its association with femininity recurred in this manner. Although outwardly masculine, Abakuá rites acknowledge the feminine connotations of symbolic rebirth through initiation.⁵⁶

Abakuá Arts and Music. Music plays an important role to this society, but not all of its drums have been used for performances. For example, the "speech" of the Ejagham "drums of silence" emanated both from the signs

chalked upon their skin and the attached plumes. "[In Cuba] we meet them in Abakuá funerals and initiations as the sese drum. [The] Sese is not a typical drum, it is an instrument [purely for] display." The drums essentially condensed the ancestral history and liturgy of each particular lodge within the collective Abakuá Society. Like other ritual paraphernalia, such as staffs, the drums symbolized the specific origin myths of the diasporic history, practice, and imagination. In conjunction with this aspect of ritual performance, the syntax of nsibidi signs harkened elements of African music through repetition, call-and-response, and correspondence. In addition, the ritual fans (effrigi) also bear nsibidi symbols and are used in contexts of initiation as a form of visual music.⁵⁷

Like other Afro-Cuban traditions, the Abakuá could, by law, congregate and dance to their own music on Sundays and holidays. As time went by, however, new laws limited the number of days, hours, and locations where the cabildos de nación could perform and display elaborate costumes and dress. These restrictions imposed by the Church and government drove the cabildos underground toward the end of the nineteenth century. In

1842, for example, the Good Government Law banned Afro-Cuban cabildos from participating in all feast days except the Día de los Reyes (Epiphany of the Three Kings), and only the Abakuá, possibly because of political ties, were permitted to appear in their distinctive diablito regalia until 1889.⁵⁸

The Importance of Music in Afro-Caribbean Cultures

Music is crucially important to understand the fundamental elements that composed the African and African Diaspora religions. First, the African philosophy displayed in music will be examined, and then comparable Afro-Cuban and other Afro-Caribbean cults will be outlined. However, the most outstanding characteristic of African music is its emphasis upon rhythm and percussion. In West African linguistic traditions, a compelling rhythm is termed "hot," and the more exciting the rhythms, the "hotter" the music.⁵⁹

Structurally, each drum, or group of drums has its own time signature, an aspect of mixed meters, and this is key to understanding that percussive polyrhythms are a major component of "hot." The fundamental difference between African and European rhythms is that the latter

has only one rhythm in command, and African music has always incorporated two, or three, and sometimes as many as four simultaneous rhythms. In addition, the use of handclapping to accompany songs completes the social aspect of ritual performance and can also replace the absence of drums in rituals. However, for those musicians trained in the rules of European music, difficulty usually arises from the instinct to choose only a single time signature, even if it shifts throughout the piece.⁶⁰

Another aspect of "hot" is the peculiar relationship between melody and percussion, and this is typically performed vocally or with another instrument and drums. In European melodies the accent tends to fall either on the down or upbeats of the rhythm. The main accents of African melodies, especially "hot" music, fall between the down and the upbeats. The effect created is a temporal displacement of the melodic phrase. Therefore, a second identifiable trait of African music is the "off-beat phrasing" of melodies, and a third characteristic is the rhythm-making nature of nearly all African musical instruments such as drums, iron gongs, calabashes, and sticks. All of the instruments contribute to polyrhythmic music that when associated with religious

functions is particularly "hot," and serves to inspire possession behavior at sacred and secular gatherings.⁶¹

The lead drummer in African traditions is usually the best drummer, or perhaps the oldest and most experienced. Some have assumed that in order to display his prowess, a leader might proceed through many styles accented by many changes, but the opposite is the case. For example, the drummer will take his time and hold to a particular pattern because ultimately the duration of time and the amount of repetition is key. Therefore, the timing of the change constitutes excellence, and when the leader changes his style it may seem that the entire composition has changed even though the other drums continue their patterns as before. In essence, this is the primary characteristic of musical improvisation.⁶²

Within the polymetric framework, the dynamic potential of the drumbeat is a foundation, and the changes transform a new style that will 'cut' the music differently and maintain the tension from a different rhythmic perspective. This change often introduces new tensions to support or go against the perspective that a spectator, or dancer tries to maintain. Therefore, smoothness and fluidity are the ideal, and such skill is

highly prized as it both moves the music forward and keeps it steady enough to be interesting, and most importantly, danceable. A good example for this is that even during sacred ceremonial music drummers have been known to hold competitions throughout the performance, maintaining simultaneous "conversations" between themselves and the gods.⁶³

African Music in Cuba

For Cubans in the African cults, there are clear-cut ways for musicians, especially drummers, to differentiate between religious and secular, or folkloric, intent and performance. This is because the possibility of insulting an orisha or other deity is both real and daunting. Therefore, sacred drums, especially the hour-glass-shaped batá, are consecrated in special ceremonies with a secret, or *aña*, placed inside to give them life and a voice to bridge the gap between heaven and earth, a manifestation of *aché*. The drummer, then, is the emotional center of the group, followed by dancers and singers in the ritual performances. The same is also true for those who subscribe to Palo Monte, Abakuá, Arará, and other sects. In present times, as during slavery, secular

versions of sacred instruments have been used on feast days and holidays.^{64/65}

The foremost ceremonies in Santería are those dedicated to a particular santo, and these well-attended feasts provide amusement and merriment to all participants, and such activities are called bembé, or wemíleres. At these parties the sacred drums cannot be used, so instead the güiros or ábwes (carved gourds) and an iron, bell-shaped instrument (agogó) are played. The batá are used strictly for sacred ceremonies such as initiations or the birthday of a particular santo, and the iyá, or mother, is the largest and played by the leader. The itótele is the medium-sized drum, and the okónkolo is the smallest, and also the most sonorous.⁶⁶

The aña (secret) within batá drums are ritually "fed" like altars, and playing these instruments ceases at dusk. Afterwards, they are stored in a secret chamber called igbodú "where they will rest until the next occasion, to be taken out only in the light of the sun." Because the Yoruba worship the sun, the manifestation of Olorun, is why the batá are played for ritual purposes only by day. The quintessential liturgical beat is "oru" in Yoruba, but it is commonly known as the clave beat

today. The agogó and sticks (claves) play three-two and two-three patterns utilizing eighth notes and eighth rests in 6/4 or 4/4 time.⁶⁷

In addition, the three drums are split into distinctive polyrhythmic time signatures. While this is true to most African music, the examples here will apply to the batá of Santería. For example, the rhythm of the first (itótele) is a steady syncopated 4/4 (common time) weaving in and out of the other's patterns. The second (okónkolo) high-pitched drum plays quavers in 6/8 time, measure for measure with the first's meter. The third (iyá) pattern is fundamentally a 3/4 beat that is played measure for measure with the other drums. However, it frequently accents "on alternate beats in such a manner that its actual meter could best be described as 12/4, each measure corresponding to three measures of the other drums." Because the third drum is the largest and deepest sounding, its rhythms lead by heightening the tension in the music. This tension, as it shifts, serves to call the deities and thereby induces possession among the devotees. Therefore, the overlapping of call-and-response phrases is in direct connection with the "hot" style.⁶⁸

According to traditional myths, Changó is the owner of the drums and the Yoruba in Africa had constructed beaded tunics that depict the thunder god with his characteristic axe and rattle, surrounded by four birds of nocturnal power. In Cuba, the tunic has been resurrected in a new form, and it has become a beaded garment for the iyá batá that displays the creole fusion of African divinities and their symbols. The purpose, however, is to bring the sacred forces from the Old World over to the New. To put things into better perspective,

The orishas are better understood as rhythms than as personalities...we might say that it is not because Changó is aggressive that his rhythms are aggressive, but rather that because the rhythms are aggressive Changó is aggressive.⁶⁹

Although the passage of time has eroded the Yoruba pantheon, at one point it had been estimated to number better than four hundred and five divinities. In Cuba the santos number roughly eighteen or nineteen, "but the most frequently mentioned and worshipped in Santería are fewer than half that number." The most popular Cuban orishas are collectively known as the "Seven African Powers" and this group includes: Olofí, Obatalá, Changó, Yemayá, Ochún, Elegguá, and Babalú-ayé. The songs (oru) have a

set order and Echú-Elegguá, the god of the crossroads and destiny, is honored and invoked first and last through prayers of gratitude.⁷⁰

Dancing in African and Afro-Caribbean Religions

The erotic nature of West and Central African dancing styles has been consistent with the expanding economy and the necessary manpower for growing lineages in African culture. Therefore, fertility and sexual prowess are central values in black African life, and Africans have explained their dances to be preparations for the young as they evolve into adult sexual roles. The multiple body movements of dancers also reflect an aspect of "hot," or polyrhythmic work and play. In essence, the performed rituals embellish the principles of African philosophy on the aesthetic of both the "hot" and "cool." For example,

The equilibrium and poetic structure of the Yoruba in Western Nigeria, as well as the frozen facial expressions worn by those who perform these dances, express a philosophy of the 'cool,' an ancient, indigenous ideal: patience and collectedness of mind.⁷¹

As an art form, dancing survived in nearly all of the New World slave societies in one form or another. On the ingenios in Cuba, Montejo mentioned the "yuka" that was

accompanied by three drums, the lacaja, la mula, and the cachimbo. In addition, hollowed-out cedar trees had been played with sticks, and they were called catá. These drums stem from the Arará traditions, and they indicate that Montejo most likely was a slave in the provinces of Matanzas, Oriente, and Las Villas where the Arará became situated.⁷²

Kongo Dance Forms in Haiti. The Kongo influences in the Petro rite of Vodou included dances called the Bumba, and Salongo, which are named after particular Angolan tribes, and they exhibit possession behavior similar to the bisimbi nganzi in Africa. In Haiti, these incandescent forces were recreated and stylized, but in essence they are based on "a belief in the spirits of Petro's power to make things burn in a positive healing sense; their flames, their whips, their exploding charges of scattered gunpowder are summoned when cooler Rada cures have failed." Thus, the notion of salvation has risen from the extremity of movement and intimidation gestures acted out through dance.⁷³

Traditionally, these dances were arranged around a central post (pôteau mitan), or a certain type of tree, which acts as a mediator between deities who descend from

heaven or ascend from the watery regions of the dead. However, this is only one way slave communities had oriented themselves toward Africa. When accompanied by ground paintings called vèvè, dances honored the deities (lwa) and maintained African visual traditions. In addition, the concept of a center post in Vodou came from the Eastern Ibo (Yoruba) and Ejagham (Efik) traditions vital to the Leopard Society. As in Santería, possessed individuals dance recognizable patterns and perform certain deeds of strength (such as holding aloft heated bars) to prove that the possession is genuine. Therefore, deep mastery of self is the point of the play with fire and heat, and cultural stereotypes are performed through dance in Vodou rites.⁷⁴

Songs and Their Role in Cultural Remembrance

Songs generally accompany all African and Diaspora musical activities. Furthermore, the songs can code switch readily between sacred and secular forms, or linguistically from Lucumí and Spanish in Santería, for example, and they are integral to the group harmony. "What is exchanged between religious and folkloric (secular performances) events is the intent and consequent energy of the performance." Therefore, secular

Afro-Cuban performances recreate the rehearsed, the controlled and predictable energy that is common to traditional theatre. By contrast, Afro-Cuban performance that is intended to be sacred will run on unrehearsed, unmediated, spontaneous energy that relies on audience participation, and a certain threshold is crossed (possession). The goal of a folkloric performance, however, is to attain the spontaneous, creative energies of the audience.⁷⁵

The sacred songs to the orishas are called *toque de santo*, a term that is synonymous with the Yoruba word *oru*. Essentially, the songs are the primary public religious performance of *Santería*. However, a *toque* differs from a *bembé* in the sense that use of sacred, consecrated *batá* drums is a requirement, thus making the event the most divinely powerful ceremony in the religion. For example,

Each *santo* 'owns' certain melodic gestures, rhythms, dance movements, and praise songs, as well as specific colors, numbers, animals, foods, and natural phenomena. In the case of the salt-water deity *Yemayá*, dances imitate the undulations of the waves, and songs that evoke the power of the sea and its creatures, [such as a dolphin].⁷⁶

The goal is to summon the santos to earth to "mount" their "horse" or medium. For a toque de santo to be considered successful (authentic), every participant must know how to behave in order to tap the divine potential of the ceremony "so that the deities may address the needs of the community through specific blessings, healings and advice."⁷⁷

Ritual language and chants are as important as the music in Afro-Caribbean religions. For example,

[the] ritual polynomy, or recitation of the different ames [songs] for each of the gods, as well as those belonging to many of them in the same invocation, is so characteristic that in the Yoruba language there exists a special word to signify this ritual practice: kasha, which is used in the religious songs of Afro-Cuban Santería.

In one of the songs to Yemayá it is said:

emí odé, omó odé,
omó odé, emí odé,
káchu, ma má iyá, gbe leyó.

(Here is what I say, your servant child, your servant child, what I say: I recite your holy names! Eternal and true mother! Give me happiness).⁷⁸

Each orisha is typically honored through the performance of three songs at a toque de santo.

Therefore, the most significant aspect of the ritual

performance is that it demonstrates the extreme portability of at least part of a whole ritual complex. Essentially, performance rules are the hardest part of this Afro-Cuban religion, and were the easiest to reconstruct in the New World.⁷⁹

Slave Resistance in the Antebellum South

Many "Africanisms" also survived in the Southern United States throughout the antebellum period up through the American Civil War (1860-1865) and during Reconstruction. Chapter One explained how the former Louisiana Territory and the city of New Orleans evolved with its French and Spanish leadership, and how similar experiences and conditions existed between the slaves in Cuba, Saint-Domingue, and other locales. Under Anglo-Protestant authorities, African slaves resisted acculturation but lost some of their musical traditions, especially drumming. However, enough elements remained to facilitate reintegration with their peers upon emancipation, and renewed contact with Afro-Cubans in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Unlike their counterparts in the Caribbean, slaveholders in the American South generally spent more

time on their plantations or farms in greater numbers and became an entrenched regional ruling class by the close of the eighteenth century. One variation to the regional ruling class did exist in some areas of the antebellum South, and experienced what Eugene Genovese terms "local absenteeism." In the Mississippi Valley, for example, some slaveholders operated multiple plantations but preferred to live in nearby cities such as Natchez, Vicksburg, or New Orleans. By the nineteenth century, roughly half of the plantations along the Mississippi River had absentee owners.⁸⁰

The "Mass Conversion" Thesis

In addition to slavery there were competing religious denominations that shared the paternalistic aspects of Christian ideology that became a staple of the Protestant faith. Other factors help disprove the "mass conversion" of the slaves in the decades prior to the Civil War, and they will be explained. First, however, the prevailing assumption among many scholars is that by the 1840s American slaves widely accepted Christianity and adopted its tenets.

Besides owner absenteeism, other arguments have included geographic concerns, health issues, the absence

of "Southern hospitality," and the slave owner's resistance to conversion. However, the most overlooked detail in the argument has been geography. Nearly fifty percent of Southern slaves lived on sizeable estates, far enough away from urban settings to spread out the few missionaries. One missionary summed up this aspect very well: "We traveled in a carriage with two horses, and could advance but a few miles a day, so execrable and often dangerous was the state of the roads."⁸¹

In addition to difficulties related to transport and the navigation of unpaved, backcountry roads, there were many health hazards associated with the sometimes-disagreeable climate. Although modern medicine has made progress against many ailments, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a common cold could turn into something far more serious. Furthermore, malaria, cholera, and other life-threatening diseases lurked in the summer months. Another missionary wrote the following passage in his diary.

In no portion of our work are our missionaries called to endure greater privations or make greater sacrifices of health and life, than in those missions among the slaves, many of which are proverbially sickly...And yet, notwithstanding so many valuable missionaries

have fallen martyrs to their toils in these missions.⁸²

From such testimony, it appears that difficult travel conditions and health hazards inadvertently combined to demoralize and oppose many would-be missionaries in the fields. This did not mean, however, that none rose to the challenge, but those who made it to the outlying farms and plantations frequently encountered something less than proverbial "Southern hospitality." Many overseers and even some masters resisted, or became downright adamant, against any religious instruction for the slaves, and anti-religious activity is quite possibly the strongest argument against widespread slave conversion. For instance, the most common message increasingly became an attempt to overcome the fundamental contradiction of slavery and the near impossibility of the slaves' ever becoming socially equal.⁸³

Some mention has already been made regarding slave owner resistance to slave religious instruction during the busy seasons of planting and harvest in the Caribbean. The following passages by Charles Ball, a former slave who lived in many Southern regions in the

early nineteenth century, are comparable to Esteban Montejo's recollections in Cuba.

All over the South, the slaves are discouraged, as much as possible, and by all means, from going to any place of worship on Sunday. This is to prevent them from associating together, from different estates, and distant parts of the country; and plotting conspiracies and insurrections. On some estates, the overseers are required to prohibit the people from going to meetings off the plantation, at anytime, under the severest penalties. White preachers cannot come upon the plantations, to preach to the people, without first obtaining permission of the master, and afterwards procuring the sanction of the overseer.

In addition, the slave owners feared teachings of equality and liberty contained within the gospel and they advocated selective teaching to reinforce "slaves obey your masters."⁸⁴

In the early nineteenth century, one religious official reluctantly agreed that schools for slaves did not work out well in his memoirs. In addition, he discussed the religious revival spearheaded by competing Protestant groups in the antebellum South, and also some of the roadblocks.

Some attempts were made to teach blacks letters, so as to enable them to read the word of God for themselves. These schools were short-lived but the fact of their existence, evidences that there was considerable interest felt in their religious instruction.⁸⁵

Therefore, attempts to Christianize the slaves and rid them of idolatry and mannerisms that whites found to be offensive did not succeed entirely. It is also clear that conversion was only realized by a few slaves, and this was of little significance before the 1860s. "There is in general, very little sense of religious obligation, or duty, amongst the slaves on the plantation; and Christianity cannot be, with propriety, called the religion of these people." This aspect has been evident, quite possibly because the slaves' owners also remained unaffected by Christian influences.⁸⁶

Frederick Douglass, the former slave who became a Christian once wrote, "most unhesitatingly, that the religion of the South is a mere covering for the most horrid crimes...for of all the slave holders with whom I have ever met, religious slave holders are the worst." The underlying hypocrisy in teaching and practice had not been lost on slaves. Thus, when combined with limited exposure to white cultural influences and owner absenteeism, most blacks in the Southern states had not received substantial amount of religious instruction.⁸⁷

Still another assumption underlying the "mass conversion" thesis is that once it was introduced, slaves

eagerly adopted the religion of their masters. Such evidence suggests that in many instances slaves reacted with apathy and even scorn to white conversion entreaties. Other issues within this argument have included communication barriers between plantation slaves and missionaries. Full resistance to Christianity had not always been the case, and many blacks became Christians after the Civil War, but "Africanisms" were still evident. One Southern clergyman observed: "the coloured people ... in spite of all our efforts, have more confidence in the views of leading coloured members." Many black leaders thus exercised considerable power and influence in the slave community, and Christianity took many forms in the black Church.^{88/89}

Perhaps the most significant legacy of the slave religions has been the retention of African influences and syncretic practices. African-style funeral observances are just one area that Southern blacks adhered to, and these included the ritual burying and delayed funeral practices common to a number of West African tribes. Therefore, the presence of these widespread and persistent traditions in the slaves' worship patterns suggests that many ostensibly

"converted" slaves were less than fully imbued with the doctrines and behavior of their new faith. An observer offered this opinion of slave behavior in the nineteenth century.⁹⁰

They [the slaves] are universally subject to the grossest and most object superstition; and uniformly believe in witchcraft, conjuration, and the agency of evil spirits in the affairs of human life. For the greater part of them are either natives of Africa, or the descendants of those who have always, from generation to generation lived in the South, since their ancestors were landed on this continent.

Unlike most areas in the South, New Orleans unofficially upheld many African customs up to the Civil War. By the nineteenth century the city was no longer the exclusive site for this activity, and it became more prevalent on plantations throughout Mississippi and Louisiana, as well.⁹¹

In light of these revelations, African "superstitions" and beliefs in conjuring, witchcraft, and Vodou also existed among rural and urban Southern blacks. Anthropologists such as Melville Herskovits were the first to theorize that African-based religions in the New World are an aspect of continuity, but other scholars claimed there was a sharp break in the reformation of "Africanisms" in the New World. Regardless, in the United

States "the blacks took much from the whites," and the "whites took much from the blacks." Ultimately, it has been the traditional African belief in a pantheon of gods that facilitated conversion, syncretic or otherwise. Although some Christian teachings such as "original sin" have no counterpart in West African religions, slaves reshaped the Christianity they had selectively embraced.⁹²

Religious Expression and Divisions Within the Black Church

The Protestant denomination that the slaves adhered to more frequently than others was the Baptist church. Although many masters did not force their slaves to adopt their own faith, slaves preferred to become Baptists or Methodists, and even the Roman Catholic planters let them have their way. While Protestant Christianity afforded the slaves fewer parallels than Catholicism, it emphasized the worship of one God without intermediating saints. It also actively opposed festive processions, drinking, dancing, drumming, feasting, and condemned all material manifestations of spiritual power. Converts also were expected to adopt new sexual mores, new habits of thrift, and new levels of industry. After all, "good Christians were faithful servants."⁹³

However, the importance of baptism, the ritual used for Baptist Church membership, became popular and invested with familiar layers of significance because the process evoked association with the worship of water deities in Africa and traditional initiation rites. Baptism also invoked the symbolic washing away of the power of witchcraft, and this rite alone guaranteed a level of popularity for the Baptist missions. In addition, some sects advocated the Holy Spirit, not the word of the gospel, and some placed the Apostle John over Christ as the savior figure. As a result, black Baptist churches became divided after the Civil War.⁹⁴

Another important consideration to the argument against "mass conversion" relates to slave music and their instruments. Although drum music had been banned, the slaves maintained traditional dancing through the "ring shout." In essence, the dance is a West African holdover, a religious dance in the Old World and the New. The participants stand in a ring and move counterclockwise while clapping their hands and stamping their feet in time while singing in unison a "shout melody." Through this activity the slaves expressed themselves religiously on Sundays, so in their

predicament their despair and desire for freedom could be released. Sometimes this expression was referred to as "getting happy," "getting the spirit," or "getting over." Shouting behavior is also comparable to the Afro-Caribbean Shouters cult in Trinidad and the black Baptist Sanctified Churches.⁹⁵

During the 1930s, the anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston distinguished the so-called "Sanctified Church" from the white Baptists who are sometimes known as Holy-Rollers. Although there are Negro Holy-Rollers too, they are very sparse when compared to the other forms of sanctification. In essence, the Sanctified Church became a protest against the high-brow tendency in black Protestant congregations. At that time, some American blacks gained more education and wealth and subsequently taken on the religious attitudes of whites, thus making church ceremonies "unbearably dull" to blacks who "associate the rhythm of sound and motion with religion." Therefore, ring shout traditions found their way into the black Sanctified Church, and Biblical figures have been animated in songs, such as Joshua's army toppling the walls of Jerico.⁹⁶

The concept of "shouting" is synonymous with possession behavior, although the Holy Spirit is evoked and the loose framework of the service allowed more songs and new rhythms to be added spontaneously. Essentially, the whole movement of the Sanctified Church is a rebirth of song making, and it has fostered a new era of spiritual music. This latter point is especially relevant to the formation of "Ragtime" in New Orleans. After the Civil War, the "invisible institution" of slave religion had merged with the Methodist and Baptist churches, but distinctions between color and civilized behavior also crept up within the black communities.⁹⁷

Myths and Legends in the United States

Myths and legends are as old as human consciousness, and traditionally they were passed down orally from generation to generation. The process of syncretism or symbiosis in Cuba and Saint-Domingue showed that legends and stories of certain deities survived the Middle Passage, but in many cases they had been reshaped and renamed. Among the best-known myths are the so-called "trickster tales." Typically, a weaker but smarter character, often an animal, outwits a stronger animal either through patience, boastfulness, mischievousness,

guile, or cunning. Br'er Rabbit and Tar Baby are good examples of the transformation in the American South, and other heroes included Big John de Conqueror and John Henry. The stories reinforced notions of family values, children, fertility, and general knowledge. Therefore, folklore and folktales became the most resilient forms of resistance to European culture, and the most common types in the American South were animal tales that featured lions, elephants, monkeys, tortoises, and hares.⁹⁸

The connection between story telling and the ring shout formulated the main context in which the slaves recognized common values as a community. The ring helped slaves retain many fundamental musical elements, including calls, cries, hollers, pendular thirds, blue notes, and bent notes. The stories also continued the mythological aspects of the black vernacular culture. For instance, Echú-Elegguá who functions as the master of style and messenger to the gods was pivotal because he is a dual-personality trickster figure. In Brazil Echú's manifestation is often associated with Satan, but in other societies he was connected with Jesus, or even both.⁹⁹

In the United States Echú became synonymous with the Devil, and as such had the capacity to deliver superior creative skills to black songsters. However, in Africa the deity is neither evil nor good, and to some extent the association with Satan was superficial. Regardless, these stories and their variations had a powerful influence on the development of the blues after emancipation. In addition, Yoruba patakis regarding the crossroads and destiny are relevant because they can apply to virtuosity on the guitar and fiddle. Over time, however, these circumstances have fueled the belief that the blues, and later jazz, were the "Devil's music."¹⁰⁰

The concept of "Signifyin(g)" emanates from tales about the Signifying Monkey that have been associated with the use of the tropes of "marking, loud-talking, testifying, calling out (of one's name), sounding, rapping, playing the dozens, and so on." African-American music has used this same vernacular tradition, and when combined with the movements, rhythms, and melodies of the ring, it signifies the performances "[of] other and completely different music, and on other musical genres." In Cuba, for example, similar linguistic structures have existed as "puyas," and these differ only in that a puya

is aimed directly at a participant in a situation, whereas signifyin(g) is not necessarily bound by the same restrictions.¹⁰¹

The establishment of a "cultural memory" then became a subtle driving force amongst transplanted Africans, especially between the 1860s and 1890s. The myths served "to bring people to a level of consciousness that is spiritual" but not quite ideological. Since mythology is a symbol of spirituality in African life, the worldview is conveyed through dancing, drums and the singing of songs. Spirituals, for instance, are songs the slaves made to convert Christianity to their own beliefs, and typically they have constituted sorrow songs and jubilees.¹⁰²

Unlike spirituals, trickster tales composed a form of amusement and optimism for African-Americans in the nineteenth century, and Eché had become Legba, who in turn became the Devil, "who frequented crossroads in search of souls for which to trade." The songsters, however, maintained continuity, and the songs of children began to share many musical traits with spirituals, work songs. With gradual urbanization, new tensions were introduced as the now free African-Americans underwent

transformations as modernism accelerated the process of social differation in the 1890s. The urban environment required marketable skills, and new forms of creativity often had to be tailored for acceptance by white society.¹⁰³

Although a small black middle-class developed and slowly expanded in the early twentieth century, the majority remained urban workers "whose social values and behaviors embarrassed many among the black elite and middle-class." In the years to come, however, both groups pressured the youth to read more, to devote more time to musical clubs and debating societies, and less time to pool playing, dancing "and other virtue-robbing pleasures." The social atmosphere helped create the Sanctified Church that adhered to traditional African beliefs and contributed to a social schism within the black religious community. However, "the middle-class aspired to the values of the elite, which was already embracing white culture and had separated itself from the blacks of the lowest class."¹⁰⁴

Linguistic Concerns and Retentions. In the Southern United States, important Ki-Kongo words and concepts have heavily influenced black English, especially the lexicons

of jazz and the blues. "Jive" talk, for instance, is related to the Wolof "jev," meaning "to talk disparagingly," and "hip" stems from the Wolof "hipi," meaning "to open one's eyes." The jazz term "jam" originates from the Wolof "jaam," for "slave," and the term "to shout" are significant in the African-American religion as a form of trance or possession behavior. The slang term "funky" had originally referred to strong body odor, not a fear or panic, and it "seems to derive from the Ki-Kongo lu-fuki" because it is closer to the jazz word in meaning. In essence, a form of "calling out" funk in contemporary black American jazz parlance can mean earthiness, or a return to fundamentals, such as a "hot" style.¹⁰⁵

Finally, the origin of the word "jazz" has sparked much debate and spawned a multitude of possible origins, but it appears to be of African/Arab origin. "Jazz" is probably creolized Ki-Kongo because it is similar in sound and original meaning to "jizz," the American vernacular for semen. And "jizz," suggestive of vitality, appears to have derived from the Ki-Kongo verb dinza, "to discharge one's semen, to come." Therefore, dinza had become creolized in New Orleans into "jazz" and "jism."¹⁰⁶

There are certainly hundreds, if not thousands of words in popular lexicon that are rooted in African and creolized African-American speech. Some of the above words will be utilized in the context of this work. Like all "Africanisms" there are some things that became permanently ingrained, and the enslaved people never gave up. The continuity of myths through vocalized and physical activity, such as signifying, the ring shout, and musical improvisation, such as jazz, are prime examples.

New Orleans: Musical Influences and Evolution

Like Havana, the city of New Orleans played a pivotal role in the history of Africans in the New World. Culturally, the city was like no other in the United States because of its early history as a Catholic colony, with a cosmopolitan population and seaport. In 1809 and 1810, French citizens and their slaves arrived in New Orleans after expulsion from Cuba where they had fled from the victorious revolutionaries in Saint-Domingue. This rather late arrival impacted the city and surrounding areas, and contributed to the maintenance of Africanisms. In addition to the prevailing Vodou traditions practiced by slaves and freedmen in Louisiana,

other avenues of cultural influence, especially music, came through the patrimonial aspect of early French control. The consequence of this influx of ideas and styles manifested in popular tunes, dances, polkas, mazurkas, quadrilles, military marches, and funeral marches. Over time succeeding generations continued the fusion of musical poles that eventually gave birth to ragtime.¹⁰⁷

New Orleans, until the post-Civil War period, contained an aristocratic society that maintained its old social customs, outmoded social codes, and formalistic duels. Around 1850, masquerade music groups began to organize parades that later developed into the Mardi Gras tradition. As a cultural medium, this provided another important outlet for slaves and free persons of color alike. Another music-related factor was the use of bands at funerals by the mutual aid societies (essentially cabildos) to demonstrate a "rejoice-at-death-and-cry-at-birth" philosophy, because to be born black, particularly as a slave, was a crying matter. In essence, this had been the continuation of the Dahomean belief that death is the true climax of life, and it was exhibited through black funerals in the city.

Typically, a band will play a dirge on the way to the cemetery to express sorrow, and later a lively number to help mourners forget their loss. Two of the most popular tunes were "When the Saints Go Marching In" and "Didn't He Ramble 'Till the Butcher Cut Him Down."¹⁰⁸

In addition to French musical influences, the United States was exposed to music from other countries, including Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. However, Cuban music, both directly and indirectly through its influences on other types, has enjoyed the greatest lasting impact. The "clave beat" is the basic building block of Cuban music, and its strong first part and answering second part reveal the call-and-response structure common in African and African-American music. Although this was the most influential element, it took nearly one hundred years to truly integrate with African-American music.¹⁰⁹

The habanera was the first Cuban style to impact New Orleans through a blend of European and African elements. It is also the root of the Argentine tango that later became so influential in the United States. The habanera is both a dance and a music form that originated from the contradanza, a Spanish line dance, possibly itself

derived from the English "country dance" that came to the Americas via Spain. In the early nineteenth century the contradanza became well established in Cuba, but its French counterpart, the contredanse, was introduced by refugees from Saint-Domingue. However, the Cuban version modified it with two closely related musical time signatures, 6/8 and 2/4, and both were featured in later dance styles.¹¹⁰

The Cuban contradanza incorporated African elements almost immediately, and black musicians applied the upbeat, complex ("hot") syncopation. However, the single-most important characteristic that helped the habanera absorb into the music of America was not necessarily its call-and-response structure, but the use of the habanera bass pattern in piano compositions. The earliest known version has been "La Pimienta," written in 1836 and distributed widely as sheet music.¹¹¹

The music of New Orleans already had a long history when compared to other American cities. With diverse European influences, the city became a center of commerce and culture. By the late eighteenth century New Orleans' musical and cultural tastes turned toward France, as evidenced by the popularity of the waltz. Around 1815,

Church officials denounced the music as a "corrupt importation from degenerate France." However, the 3/4 and 6/8 forms of the waltz evolved into local forms called the sandunga and jota, and these remained popular throughout the Caribbean and southern United States. In addition, the polka, with its staccato 2/4 time became popular in Mexico after the 1840s because of French and German influences. This cycle led to further cross-fertilization that continued through the 1880s when black-influenced Cuban musicians performed in Mexico City and made the danzón the most popular Cuban dance in that country by the century's end.¹¹²

Therefore, Cuba and New Orleans became connected through trade and musical exchanges, and throughout the nineteenth century Latin strands became as tangled as the creole music around the city. At that time, Latinos were generally referred to as "Spanish," whence the later expression by Jelly Roll Morton that jazz bears a "Spanish tinge." New Orleans became a musical melting pot where African and Afro-Caribbean rhythms met French opera, Cuban melodies, creole satirical ditties, American spirituals, and later blues, and ragtime.¹¹³

As music evolved in Congo Square, orchestral arrangements, not necessarily in the classical sense, slowly substituted the percussive element. Although many of the instruments used in Congo Square were similar to those in Africa, the banjo and wind instruments became staples in the compositions of these early "jazz" orchestras. Percussive elements came from drums, gourd rattles, iron triangles, and jawbones of an ox, horse, or mule. By the late 1880s, the drums had slowly been phased out of many performances. The transition gave way to "Ragtime," and it retained that name until it was rebaptized as jazz around 1915^{116/117}

The 1890s and Buddy Bolden. In 1894 the Louisiana Legislative Code passed a landmark ruling commonly known as the Jim Crow Laws. The laws designated anyone of African ancestry to be a "Negro," and the new racially-charged climate quickly pushed the creoles into "contact" with the black underclass they had strenuously avoided for so long. Musically speaking, this union immediately created competition. For example, creole musicians were typically better trained in the classic sense, while the more boisterous black bands exhibited talent in the "hotter" style. Still, some creole

traditions were borrowed freely to enhance the new music.¹¹⁸

Into this backdrop of heightened racial tensions in the 1890s Charles "Buddy" Bolden entered jazz history by moonlighting as a horn player with a remarkable talent for improvisation. By 1895, Bolden had modified the classical form of the New Orleans band by adding a drummer and second cornet to replace a clarinetist in his lineup. Like the blues, early jazz quickly became likened to the "Devil's music," yet its ties with the house of God differentiated the two forms. For instance, pastors in the local Sanctified Baptist churches "...were singing rhythm." In addition, Baptist rhythms are strikingly similar to early jazz rhythms, and testimony that Bolden had drawn more inspiration from a black Holy-Roller church rather than brothels lends credence to this conclusion. Bolden, however, had little interest in religion. He instead absorbed the rich source of musical ideas from services and utilized them in bawdy-titled tunes such as "Funky Butt," and "I Thought I Heard Buddy Bolden Say."¹¹⁹

Although recorded music came after Bolden's hayday, the written and oral history of jazz reveals its origins

in the black neighborhoods of New Orleans. Unfortunately the PBS series On Jazz produced by Ken Burns in 2000, erroneously perpetuated a myth that the music's origins took place in bordellos, particularly the red-light district Storyville that existed between October 10, 1897, and November 12, 1917. However, few jazz musicians actually recall the name. "We always called it the "District," said one jazzman, and most early jazz musicians did not play there. In all probability, this colorful origin myth lacks credibility because even at its peak "perhaps [only] a few dozen musicians were regularly employed in Storyville."¹²⁰

Despite the speculation, music was crucial in the American South and particularly to the devotees of Vodou in and around New Orleans. It has been said that Vodou and the blues are one and the same, but the blues became a stylistic mode that mediated between black and white musical sensibilities, and provided a musical statement to social reality. Although its creation ran a parallel course with jazz, and occasionally crossed over musically, they are two separate entities because blues did not require the same audience participation that jazz did.¹²¹

Ragtime evolved by the 1890s, and it featured a "throbbing" effect that punctuated black renditions of piano music. This became a hallmark of the music of the South and the East Coast, and it also had a significant impact on American music as a whole. Despite this connection to African rhythmic roots, the music styles in America slowly gave way to the monorhythmic European form. However, the concept of "hot" did not entirely diminish, as evidenced in musical attitudes, values, and appreciations demonstrated by succeeding generations through imitation.¹²²

By contrast, the types of European music sung and played by slave owners and creoles made rhythm subordinate to melody. Therefore, the foothold for African stylistic traits such as mixed meter and offbeat phrasing had diminished significantly in the nineteenth century. Despite social pressures on blacks in the late nineteenth century, the musical evolution in New Orleans indicated that the Americanization of African music had already begun, and with it came the Africanization of American music. This was the syncretic process in motion. In North America, however, the concept of "hot" remained

alone in the absence of relinquished rhythmic instruments until it reappeared in the form of jazz music.^{124/123}

Conclusion

In the nineteenth century the expansion of slavery in Cuba had coincided with, and contributed to the retention of many African cultural beliefs in the context of the cabildos de nación. Vodou also influenced the Cuban slave community after the fall of Saint-Domingue and the religion had been well established in New Orleans by 1803 as well. These factors all contributed to the African-based musical retention in the United States, and these traditions evolved within the black Sanctified Church. Because music played by slaves and free persons of color in New Orleans was permitted by the French and Spanish governments, many American blacks outside of the Vodou tradition might never have been receptive to the "hot" Cuban and creolized music forms that thrived there. Ultimately, the habanera became the first of many European, Cuban, and Afro-Cuban influenced art forms to reinvent itself in the United States.

The synthesizing of Afro-Cuban music and rhythms within ragtime and early jazz stimulated the cultural memory of American black musicians. The new music also

led to the reinterpretation of traditional myths through songs, folktales, and through the linguistic expressions of signifyin(g), puyas, and playing the dozens.

Eventually jam sessions became a musical form of playing the dozens as jazzmen cut their teeth, and established hierarchy in clubs and venues across the United States.

From these parallel traditions Chano Pozo and Dizzy Gillespie brought the two worlds together in the mid-twentieth century through Afro-Cuban jazz and conjoining two rhythmic traditions.

CHAPTER THREE

AFRO-CUBAN INFLUENCES IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURE

Afro-Cuban Society, 1868-1930s: A General Overview

At the dawn of the twentieth century, Afro-Cuban and African-American cultures that developed in tandem during the mid to late nineteenth century converged somewhat due to external historical events. The two cultures also made important artistic and musical exchanges that had great effect on each other. Historically, Cuba was one of the last slaveholding nations in the Western Hemisphere despite the efforts made by England to abolish the slave trade in the early nineteenth century. In Cuba, the transition to wage-earning labor occurred from 1868 until official emancipation in 1886 and the 1898 war with Spain. Cuba's African population played a tremendous role in the formation of national arts and music from the 1920s onward but often faced resistance despite efforts made by influential white writers, such as Fernando Ortíz, to qualify black achievement in the formation of "Cubanidad" a Cuban national identity. After the United States assumed control of Cuba, the economy and cultural exchanges became closely linked in the early twentieth

century, especially through tourism and entertainment. It was this close relationship that accelerated the musical exchanges and increased immigration to the United States by Cuban musicians is another important consideration.

In the United States, African-Americans tried various means to gain social acceptance and respect from white society. One approach stemmed from Pan-Africanism, a movement that identified cross-cultural similarities in black populations in the Americas and Africa. In the United States this movement became known as the Harlem or Negro Renaissance. During the early decades of the twentieth century upper and middle-class blacks shunned jazz and blues music because they felt it degraded social climbing endeavors by African-Americans. In this tense climate, two musicians grew up and changed the way music, especially jazz, was played and arranged. Chano Pozo came from the poor black neighborhoods of Havana and Dizzy Gillespie spent his formative years in South Carolina. When the musicians met in 1946, their brief musical marriage integrated two similar societies and reinstated notions of myth and cultural memory.

The historic events that shaped this evolution of musical ideas and reinvention of myth making through

polyrhythmic music began in the early nineteenth century and took over one hundred years to forment in African-American culture.

On May 1, 1820, the English government officially abolished the slave trade after entering negotiations with Spain in 1817, but the practice did not fully take effect until at least 1833 throughout the British Empire. In addition, through a series of treaties Spain and Portugal agreed to prohibit slave trading north of the equator, but the terms had been categorically ignored, and it increased the cost of doing business in the Americas. Slowly, other nations throughout the Americas began to free their slaves. Emancipation in Cuba officially began in 1880 and by 1886 the remaining slaves were officially set free.¹

The slow demise of slavery heightened interracial and social tensions in Cuba because of traditional mistreatment and because creoles increasingly became dissatisfied with Spanish control. However, many planters still wished to maximize profits from cheap labor and this came at the expense of newly freed blacks. This discrimination took on violent characteristics when light skinned Cubans were not too preoccupied fighting Spain in

the long sequence of conflict that eventually led to independence of sorts from Spain.²

The outcome of the American Civil War (1861-1865) set the tone for further violence and political turmoil in the island because enslaved blacks also wanted freedom. While many free blacks existed in Cuba at this time, they shared the experience of American freed slaves who found themselves excluded from better-compensated occupations as they tried to incorporate into daily affairs.³

The tensions in Cuba finally ignited a sustained cycle of violence in 1868 after the Spanish government imposed new tax at a time of severe economic depression. Spain, too, experienced political instability, and on September 18, 1868, liberals and military factions successfully drove out the monarchy in "La Revolución Gloriosa" (The Glorious Revolution). In October, Cuban revolutionaries sought to take advantage of the situation on the Iberian Peninsula, and some planters freed their slaves to enroll them in small private armies. The escalating violence drew many Cubans from all classes into the patriot armies, where they became comrades-in-arms. The war lasted until 1878 and is known

to posterity as "La Guerra Grande," or The Ten Years' War. The revolutionaries failed to gain the support of Cuba's western planters and the United States, and they did not want to risk a racial war, therefore limiting their unity and single mindedness. Additional humiliation followed after Spain, the victor, applied the \$300 million war debt squarely onto Cuba's shoulders, further contributing to the economic hardship and ill will.⁴

Cubans continued their bid for freedom, and between 1879-1880 "La Guerra Chiquita" (The Short War) raged. After the conflict ended in defeat for the disorganized Cuban rebels, Spanish rule persisted. In this period of unrest arose a new hero and symbol for Cuban independence, a proponent of the notion of "Cubanidad." José Martí (1853-1895), posthumously became one of Cuba's secular saints amongst the likes of Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Fidel Castro. Martí experienced imprisonment at a young age and subsequent exile in Spain in 1871 for associating with political subversives and because of his political writings. He then made his way to Mexico in early 1875 and returned to Cuba by 1877, just before the Ten Years' War ended. However, Martí had been arrested

and deported within one month, and he settled in New York with the Cuban exile community.⁵

While living in the United States, Martí gave accolades to black Cubans for their contributions to the independence movement and publicly denied Spanish claims that blacks wished to wage a racial war. However, the same diversity that enabled the uprisings to have sufficient strength also became the insurrectionists' principal weakness, because the only common thread amongst the combatants was a desire for independence. Despite the infighting, Martí's international influence grew as sympathies for Cuban independence became more open. Despite his campaign, Martí recognized the growing threat posed by the United States who had designs on Cuba's future. Certain that his dream would be realized, he returned to Cuba. In May 1895, Martí and the internally-divided rebel leadership took on the Spanish military once more. Martí died, however, before realizing his dream of a socially equal Cuba Libre (Free Cuba).⁶

The irony of Martí's cause is that Cuban elites began to embrace intervention by the United States when they realized that Spain would lose the war. After all, their northern neighbor coveted Cuba for the entirety of

the nineteenth century, and its subsequent acquisition came through shrewd, calculated, and purposeful policies. By joining the fray in 1898, the United States upheld the long-standing social order of Cuba, and all attempts made by Cuba to form new, internally-produced leadership were effectively stifled.⁷

The American intervention in 1898 was directed as much against Cuban independence as it was against Spanish sovereignty. This action came despite popular support in America for Cuba Libre, but the mysterious explosion of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana's harbor overturned these sympathies, and the White House finally had an excuse to occupy Cuba by force. President McKinley initiated the machinery of war and issued a Joint Resolution, known better as the Teller Amendment in 1898. The Amendment's text outlined a vague alliance between Cuban revolutionaries and the American armed forces, and the Cubans signed eagerly because they firmly believed that "Cuba will be for Cubans."⁸

Despite the overtures in the Teller Amendment, American policies regarding Cuba were strongly motivated by the fear that an independent Cuba could lead to the same conditions that led to black-controlled Haiti. In

1899 the United States began a military occupation without a coherent policy or clearly-defined objectives. The occupation soon became annexation, thus spelling a direct betrayal of the Teller Amendment. Furthermore, at the signing of the peace treaty in Paris, Cuba was conspicuously absent from the formalities.⁹

The United States quickly dissolved, disarmed, and disenfranchised Afro-Cuban military forces and effectively arrested social development by reestablishing the institutional foundations of racism, similar to the Jim Crow laws of the American South. In this climate of broken promises and strong-arm politics, the occupiers reinstated colonial vestiges by locking the sugar production into one market, controlled by the United States.¹⁰

Between 1899 and 1900, American big business interests descended into Cuba, and their aggressive practices caused the American military commander to write this in his memoirs.

One of the hardest features of my work was to prevent the looting of Cuba by men who were presumed respectable. Men came down there apparently with the best recommendations and wanted me to further the most infamous of schemes. They expected to profit by sharp

business practices at the expense of the people of the island.

In 1900 Congress passed the Foraker Amendment to prevent business contracts to the citizens of the United States, but the most powerful commercial interests were already operating in Cuba. Cuban history and economics became attached to the United States' fortunes and depressions, with sugar as the primary export for many years to come.¹¹

Although Cuba obtained independence from Spain, the new era proved to be less than ideal. Officially, the lowering of the American flag on May 20, 1902 brought Cuban independence, but Cuba's future became overshadowed by the United States, and her freedom of movement undermined by the 1901 Platt Amendment. This amendment stipulated Cuba's subordination to Washington regarding negotiations and signing of treaties with other foreign powers. Furthermore, Cuba conceded several sites for American naval bases, including Guantánamo Bay. The United States became so integrated into the social order that, in the end, nonintervention served the same purpose as intervention. Thus, Cuba essentially had to accept the terms of the Platt Amendment or else face indefinite American military occupation.¹²

The era between 1902 and the "Critical Decade" (1923-1933) could be characterized by national frustration, political corruption, military insurrections and interventions, foreign economic domination, poverty, and widespread unemployment. The long existing racial struggle resurfaced and led to the suppression of the largely black and mulatto popular movement in 1906. Another American intervention took place in 1909, and the assassination of independence war general Quintín Banderas and other black and mulatto leaders led to the so-called Little War of 1912. The racial overtones of this uprising perpetuated in the press the theme that whites defended civilization from "black barbarism." In addition, racist groups, such as the White League of Cuba and the Order of Knights, emerged and patterned themselves after the Klu Klux Klan in the United States.¹³

Despite such grim conditions, Fernando Ortíz, one of the most revered Cuban scholars and experts on Afro-Cuban culture, helped found the genre of Afro-American studies in Latin America with his peers Jean-Price Mars (Haiti) and Nina Rodríguez (Brazil) among others. These scholars maintained a national and international focus on Afro-Caribbean cultural arts, and instigated

informant-based research and fieldwork. Through articles, books, and other media, racial discrimination, which in turn led to the nationalizing of the folkloric nacional theatre for educational purposes and the growing tourist industry in Cuba.¹⁴

During the 1898 war, musical exchanges between Afro-Cubans and African-Americans caused jazz to flourish as an art form in the 1920s. "This indicates that a development and a tradition existed, which in turn explains the prominence of Cuban jazz musicians in recent times." The musical parallelisms continued because many musicians came out of brass and military bands, especially from the black and mulatto battalions organized by the Spanish government in Cuba.¹⁵

In Cuba, the Afro-Cuban danzón groups employed such instruments as the clarinet, cornet, trombone, and percussion. American jazz typically used non-traditional drums, whereas the danzón groups utilized tympani and timbales, reflecting mutual European influences. One major difference is that Cuban groups had been the first to use the double bass, quintessential in modern jazz, as a rhythmic instrument. However, in the 1920s American

jazz bands quickly adopted the bass as a substitute for the tuba that had performed the same function.¹⁶

Afro-Cuban Reglas and the Arts. The transformation of Afro-Cuban art forms began even before the American intervention in 1898. Throughout the late nineteenth century, and extending throughout the formative years of the twentieth century, Afro-Cuban religious devotees underwent varying degrees of persecution. The police verbally and physically harassed black Cubans on the street, especially if they carried ritual objects such as birds (for offerings) and other foodstuffs used in religious ceremonies. The authentic aspects of the syncretic religions were incorporated into secularized performances called "Folklorization" during the 1930s. Furthermore, all of the African-based religions and societies attained the academic classification "folklore" to Cuban scholars, including Fernando Ortíz. During these years white and black Cubans and artists became influenced by interests in African art taking place in Harlem, Paris, and elsewhere and started to look for Cubanidad amongst the Afro-Cuban traditions, particularly what had previously been termed "brujería."¹⁷

One aspect of the folkloric approach was to investigate Afro-Cuban dance forms amongst the cults. The importance of dance in Cuba in the 1920s, and indeed in the post First World War period is important to note. After the devastation of the war, the world collectively hit a slump. The zeitgeist (world spirit) can be characterized by economic depression and a general feeling of collective moral bankruptcy, as illustrated in Oswald Spengler's Decline of the West. Dances in Cuba became one path to happiness in light of economic decline. Music as a whole took on an important healing process and jazz appealed not only to Americans but also to audiences abroad, especially in such war-torn countries as France and Germany, because of its upbeat happy rhythms and carefree air. While dances such as the Charleston and Black Bottom had been popular and synonymous with flappers in the "Jazz Age," Cuba's musical contributions emerged more frequently both in cabarets on the island and within the United States as musicians toured abroad.¹⁸

The rumba, a dance that developed during the 1850s and 1860s, evolved as freed blacks in Cuba mingled with enslaved Africans in places the Spanish authorities

allowed them to congregate. While there is no single place of importance, such as Congo Square in New Orleans, the informal, impromptu African-based movements continued. The word rumba is of Cuban origin, although it derives from many African antecedents whose derivatives are interpreted (by Fernando Ortíz) as meaning "to gather and dance" or "to have a party." Synonymous Bantú and other West Central African words still used in Cuba today include tumba, macumba, and tambo. However, all of these terms imply a social, secular gathering with music and dancing.¹⁹

During the 1920s, rumba dance forms existed, sometimes on the sly from the authorities in solares where poor blacks both lived and socialized in and around Havana, and the province of Matanzas. Musically, Afro-Cubans expressed personal success or failure in love, satirized the government, and generally created rumba out of the son style. What is known to posterity as rumba and the 1930s rumba craze is in fact the son (rhymes with tone), which is the first rhythm invented by Cubans and is very different from the European influenced habanera. The music became urbanized as Afro-Cubans moved

from the rural areas in search of work. As it evolved, the music reflected African penchants for polyrhythm.²⁰

The son appeared in Havana around 1920, and the instrumentation now associated with it is typified by voices, a nine-stringed guitar (tres), a bass instrument (marimbula), maracas, claves and bongó. Eventually a trumpet joined the lineup, creating a variation called septeto, and this new style encompassed aspects of nineteenth century cornet usage for the bullring and American jazz. However, the commercial dance form that evolved from this Afro-Cuban musical style is collectively termed rumba in present-day Cuba.²⁰

The rumba's connection to the Afro-Cuban religious cults is very complex. In general terms, rumbero families are steeped in the Lucumí beliefs and are frequently high-level initiates from an important rite called "asiento" or "making the santo." This advanced process takes many years of training in order to teach the individual ritual chants, legends, rhythms, and other devotional aspects. In addition, many, if not most, male rumberos are fully acquainted with the dance and musical elements of the Abakuá Society. Access to this exclusive, all-male society provided an excellent resource for

improvisation in the rumba, but such activity is said to be strongly discouraged, especially by the black ñáñigos who have resented the inclusion of creole and white members after 1863.²¹

The Abakuá Society was pivotal in the development of Afro-Cuban arts, and most resistant to its secular folklorization in the twentieth century. In Chapter Two the distinction is made between the religious cabildos de nación and the Abakuá Society that operated under the auspices of the Carabalí nación until 1836. Akin to a fraternal or mutual-aid organization, the ñáñigos reenact stories of mysterious beings, especially the leopard Sikán, through dance and rituals. Communication is expressed through certain postures, gestures, movement motifs, and the intangible expressiveness of the íreme (diablito) masked costumes. By commanding the awe and respect of the audience, masked dancers affirm the attitudes and values of their secret society. It is not uncommon for an Afro-Cuban male, especially a drummer, to be simultaneously a santero (priest of Santería), a palero (a priest of Palo Monte), and an Abakuá. Some are also involved with or familiar with the Arará traditions as well.²²

Although the Abakuá institution expanded beyond its original confines after its inception in 1836, throughout the rest of the nineteenth century it remained closely tied to the ports of Havana, Matanzas, and (later) Cárdenas. Internal conflicts expanded as solidarity between the original "black" Efí and Efó branches felt social strains with the diverse membership of the newer "white" Akauarán Efó division. The members of this latter group had become wealthier, as seen in their elaborate displays during competitions between juegos and through their patronage of unemployed white ñáñigos. A racial division grew between the juegos, as did posthumous resentment toward Bakokó, who godfathered the creole branch and sold out the secrets of the black Abakuá.²³

Until the 1940s, a large percentage of the Cuban population regarded the Abakuá Society with ambivalence, if not loathing. In the 1940s scholars began to pay closer attention, and regarded the Abakuá as a positive, celebratory manifestation of African and Afro-American descent. Abakuá art forms are generally religiously oriented, as the sese drum, íreme masks, and the sacred anaforuana (drawn signs) illustrate. In addition, many sacred objects have turned up in museums all over the

world after release from Cuban police criminal evidence files. To combat this profane acquisition of sacred articles, many ñañigos created convincing facsimiles that omitted one significant detail, the all-important carga, or consecration of the goatskin used to cover drums and other objects, and the required invocatory prayers to "baptize" them. This secretive move coincided with heightened racial perceptions that blacks had evolved from simians, and also the general labeling of ñañigos and other Afro-Cuban cults as brujeros, or practitioners of witchcraft.²⁴

In essence, the Abakuá Society, despite its internal struggles for authenticity and access to work and labor contracts remained adamantly opposed to the uninitiated learning any of their closely-guarded secrets. However, from 1923 until his death, Fernando Ortíz studied items confiscated by police and formulated his transculturation theory that explained Cuba's distinctive creole identity, especially how it differed from Europe and the United States.²⁵

During the 1920s, the cultural influences of the United States received mixed emotions by Cubans at all levels of society. At this time tourism began to play a

bigger role in the cultural exchanges, and all the good and bad that came with it. For example, early in the twentieth century many Cubans perceived the United States as the cultural "enemy." Jazz had been initially considered degenerate because of its black origins, and this equated the music to the Afro-Cuban rhythms, such as the danzón. The danzón too had once been condemned as "lascivious and wild," but it slowly became acceptable to the white classes as an early model of Cubanidad. Out of this climate came many white middle-class assumptions that African elements did not exist in the danzón, and the same mindset considered jazz a "foreignizing" influence and therefore not necessary or relevant. Fernando Ortíz helped to make some of the white perceptions of black music and culture more easily understood through his stance on folklore and transculturation.²⁶

The post-World War I depression affected Cuba directly as world demand for sugar decreased in the 1920s and the need for economic diversification fostered the birth of the tourism industry. Cuba's elected leader, Gerardo Machado (1924-1933), encouraged entrepreneurial habaneros to put their support behind the government and

private sector to draw visitors to Havana. American bankers had also been quick to invest in this enterprise, especially in light of the Volstead Act, which started prohibition in 1919. In addition, the Caribbean island compared favorably with the French Riviera in both climate and hospitality. By 1925, at least twenty ships a week sailed between American ports and Havana, infusing the city with pleasure-seeking tourists. Therefore, Cuba replaced Florida and the French Côte d'Azur as the favorite destination for wealthy American tourists.²⁷

As the Cuban economy evolved to meet the growing flow of visitors, the entertainment industry also grew to meet insatiable demands. In addition, the same variety, vaudeville, and minstrel shows that appealed to Americans since the nineteenth century began to appear in Cuba. Another important factor to the entertainment industry's growth came as the cabaret environment crossed the Atlantic from Paris and other French locales to New York to suit American tastes after 1918. In these upper crust "Juke-joints" people danced to suggestively-named jigs such as the Bunny Hop or Monkey Hop, and the tango intermingled with ragtime and jazz music forms. As Prohibition stifled the cabaret and café climate,

America's sights shifted south to Cuba to resume the escapades.²⁸

Cuba, then, provided the atmosphere to fulfill the fantasies of the sexually repressed in a Hollywood dream come-to-life, where rum and rumba mingled in a tropical setting. Encouraged by travel magazines and brochures, many Americans considered Cuba to be the ultimate hedonistic market and the naughty Paris of the Western Hemisphere. In this climate the musical arts accelerated, and so did the increased demand for skilled musicians. This opened the door for black Cubans to enter establishments previously closed to them, and the popularity of Afro-Cuban-derived dances and music attracted the attention of many affluent foreigners, especially Americans.²⁹

Musical influences and ideas traveled freely between Cuba and the United States after the first occupation ended in 1902. The island absorbed every type of American music and dance forms because American business, including organized crime, controlled every facet of Cuba's economy. The average American's tastes shifted and became somewhat aware of the "hotter" musical styles emanating from Cuba. The "Jazz Era" of the United States

during the 1920s expanded not only jazz music, but also other types of African-American forms, including the tango (Argentina), son and rumba, and samba (Brazil). However, the danzón became the first type of Cuban music to assimilate American influences, such as Broadway and Tin Pan Alley, without sacrificing any of its original essence. When jazz infiltrated Cuba, it helped move the danzón into the ballroom rumba, and this fusion later yielded the mambo and salsa styles.^{30/31}

Just as a climate of racism existed in the United States, Cuba too had many feelings of resentment that held back black musicians for many years. Although the concept of Cubanidad developed in light of historic racial stratification, it took the technological advancements, such as radio and sound recordings, to launch Afro-Cuban music in the commercial sense. The "hot" music also became a hot ticket for mostly white, conservatory-trained musicians who then created representations of blacks and black music "from above." Like black-faced musicians in American vaudeville acts, the same process took place in Cuba through the Teatro Vernacular. As this new performance outlet became common, more musical elements and styles were mined to meet

increasing demands. This led to the tapping of African-derived musical traditions, and many religious songs from Santería and other cults resurfaced in the cabaret setting to entertain tourists.³²

At this same time, a renewed interest in other Cuban music forms stimulated in other music forms. For example, the son's origins stem from Afro-Cuban influences merged with the contradanza and danzón, particularly from the Oriente region, and it too became a symbol of Cubanidad. When jazz arrived, especially during the 1920s and 1930s, the faster tempos and percussive sound augmented the early incarnation of son. By the early 1940s, son modernized even more to include a conga drummer and a second trumpet player, a format known as the conjunto. Essentially, salsa music came from this late style because the bongó/conga drummer could improvise throughout the song. However, its core consisted of "a tight, composite rhythm with a unique drive and an electrifying appeal to dancers."³³

The choice of instruments evolved over the years as jazz styles changed, but the Cubans used the double bass first in their rumba, jazz, and dance orchestras; once exposed, American bands quickly adopted the instrument.

The Cuban bass rhythmic pattern is distinctive because it omits the downbeat entirely, a pattern known today as the "anticipated bass." Typically, in most American and African-American music, the bass accents the downbeat. This difference initially caused problems, even for skilled jazzmen. Dizzy Gillespie confessed that he used to become completely disoriented in jam sessions with Cuban musicians and he once shouted out, "where's the beat on?" Today, the anticipated bass pattern is an essential part of Latin rhythm music.³⁴

During the 1930s, as tourism increased the Cuban social scene thrived, thus creating even more demand on the island's entertainment industry. Part of the Cuban government's response to foreign interest became a way to present the Island's African-influenced past in an exciting format for the visitors. This took some time to initiate, but the institutionalization of Afro-Cuban ritual began in the mid-1930s, as the Teatro Nacional organized folkloric (secular) renditions of sacred music. Fernando Ortíz organized and sponsored an ethnographic conference in May 1936, and the sacred batá drums appeared for the first time in that public setting. Authenticity became the essential element to these

performances of Santería, Palo Monte, Arará, and even Abakuá songs.³⁵

The theatrical performances staged at the Teatro Nacional's Department of Folklore sought to emphasize Cuba's folklore to the African-derived population. They also aimed to demystify the various Afro-Cuban religions and reduce the rampant racism and commonly-held belief that such practices were brujería (witchcraft). Naturally, the Abakuá Society resisted these efforts and tried hard to maintain its exclusiveness and secrets, although not always to great success.³⁶

To achieve "authenticity" in the performances it became necessary to entice ritual musicians to become informants. Because drummers are important for bridging the gap between heaven and earth, they hold essential roles in the folkloric setting as well as the sacred. However, the musicians are very careful not to insult the orishas and they do their utmost to keep the sacred and secular genres as separate as possible. Drummers, especially the best ones who are the most authentic, are all creyentes (believers) and usually adherents to Santería, but also Palo Monte, Abakuá, and Arará traditions in many cases.³⁷

Despite their importance to ceremonies, drummers come from a different mold when compared to dancers and other participants in sacred and secular performances. They are often treated poorly, "like savages... [Because] all [of] the drummers come from humble backgrounds. We learned our music on the streets. We didn't go to any fancy schools. We're macho, and so we have to be treated a little differently." Although "on the streets" can mean in the various cabarets and street bands, it can also imply that drummers learned to play in a private *toque de santo* or at a *bembé*, for instance.³⁸

Drummers, frequently hardened by street experience, became the driving force of new music forming in Cuba as jazz found a place to coexist with other African-derived and traditional styles. As more and more Cuban musicians traveled to the United States in the 1930s and 1940s, the cultural exchange became increasingly pronounced. American jazz orchestras (big bands) also traveled to Cuba, and this facilitated musical fusion and exchanges between Afro-Cubans and African-Americans.

The music form called the mambo developed in the early 1940s as Afro-Cuban rhythm merged with big band formats patterned after American swing jazz. Aside from

filling a dancehall with sound, the complex arrangements featured interlocking call-and-response lines that occasionally converged in climactic bursts (cuts). Mambos are primarily instrumental, dance-oriented musical numbers with lyrics often reduced to a few, nonsensical phrases. Famous mambo groups of this period included bands led by Pérez Prado, Beny Moré, and Frank Grillo "Machito" whose Afro-Cubans group contained his brother-in-law Mario Bauzá, as well as the Puerto Ricans Tito Puente and Tito Rodríguez.³⁹

As the jazz style became incorporated into sophisticated Afro-Cuban arrangements, it featured instrumental solos, but the mambos' purpose was to entertain people dancing in the cabarets of Havana. However, once the mambo arrived in New York in the 1940s, it caught on very quickly, especially with American jazz players who recognized and responded to the "hot" polyrhythmic music.⁴⁰

Jazz and the Harlem Renaissance

In the United States, the population of Harlem in the 1920s became seventy percent black, and this is where many African American literary and other artistic

pursuits arose. The Negro Renaissance that originated in Harlem (1917-1935) and Chicago (1935-1950) extended from Pan-Africanism, which originated the trans-Atlantic slave trade and became heightened after the Haitian Revolution with the belief that black people all over the world share a common origin and heritage. It also maintained that blacks everywhere are linked and should be able to express their particular fundamental beliefs. The premise had been that no matter what language, nationality, profession, or social status, blacks were in close touch with one another. The movement became widespread in England and Harlem. Although Pan-Africanism began in the late 1890s, it lasted well into the first few decades of the twentieth century. ⁴¹

Around 1917 the Harlem Renaissance sparked a growing awareness of past African civilizations' accomplishments and took strides to create new cultural forms through African and African-American folk art and literature at a time when "Primitivism" came to be vogue in the artistic world of Pablo Picasso, Wilfredo Lam, and others. However, the *raison d'être* of the renaissance fell along political lines. "If African-Americans could demonstrate substantial abilities in arts and letters, then social,

political, and economic freedoms would surely follow."

The assumption that excellence in the arts would alter the nation's perceptions of blacks became the hallmark of the movement. Leaders of this philosophy included wealthy black and white philanthropists, publishers, entrepreneurs, and other socialites interested in advancing black achievement and potential financial and social gain.⁴²

The Harlem Renaissance did not look directly to jazz or the blues to further its cause with white America. Instead, it sought to produce extended musical forms such as symphonies and operas from the substantial raw material of spirituals, ragtime, blues, and other folk genres. A variety of classical pieces came from this period, but irony once again dictated that the shunned art forms would provide the movement's aesthetic ambiance.⁴³

Harlem, by the 1920s, possessed a climate where an Pan-African cultural context took place at rent parties, in underground economies, and through the music of notable composers and musicians such as Duke Ellington. While Ellington's "artistry represented the highest pinnacle of African-American culture, [but] his

affiliation with jazz relegated him to the submerged Harlem." One musician summed up the black counter-culture: "We in music knew there was much going on in literature, for example, but our worlds were far apart. We sensed that the black cultural, as well as moral leaders looked down on our music as undignified."⁴⁴

Both upper and middle-class black families became ambivalent about embracing vernacular elements of African-American culture, and some were explicitly hostile. Often the blues and ragtime had not been allowed into homes, and the ban became especially characteristic of those who recently moved to the Northeast from the South in search of a better life. In their desire to assimilate and be accepted, Southern blacks tried to disavow the tell-tale signs of their origins, be those culinary, sartorial, linguistic, or cultural. In a sense, the same social division shifted to the north that originally caused the separation between upper-class Baptist and Sanctified Churches.⁴⁵

By 1932, jazz had evolved both aesthetically and stylistically, and it also maintained technical criteria in its instrumentation through featured soloists. The evolution of sound recordings and radio broadcasts

created widespread interest, and this enabled jazz musicians to rise somewhat above the internal conflicts in African-American culture and white America. Louis Armstrong (1901-1971) pioneered the new rhythmic language for jazz with his trumpet, but he was equally influential in modern music with his vocal deliveries and phrasing. The blues-rooted style of jazz also emerged as Charlie Parker (1920-1955) and Lester Young (1909-1959) played their saxophones in ways no one else even considered possible. While stylistic changes took place within jazz, external social and economic factors also played a role. The depressed economy became a catalyst for creativity and other forms of escapism, but as the 1930s progressed there was a renaissance in jazz. Black musicians found widespread employment as some big bands featured interracial lineups, and the period also marked the first time American blacks could view jazz as a profession.

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The unprecedented convergence between jazz and pop music was the primary attribute of the Swing Era. The

Depression years (1929-1932) caused a national and international recession, and the tightening of economic resources took its toll on the entertainment industry. The music style known as "Swing" is synonymous with big bands, a form of jazz that emerged from Kansas City and New York. The resulting "Swing Era" (1935-1945) marked a time in American history that an identity between people and music equated a happy chapter after the First World War's wake and years of despair. At this time, the careers of Benny Goodman, Count Basie, Artie Shaw, the Dorsey brothers, Duke Ellington, and Woody Herman rose to national acclaim. By utilizing the "hot" arrangements from jazz and upholding the newer tradition of featuring soloists, swing found its way by 1935 into the vast, racially-integrated consumer market.⁴⁷

"Swing music" is an umbrella term used for "pure" jazz, such as that played by Count Basie, and the jazz-inflected dance music of Tommy Dorsey and Benny Goodman. Despite the climate of racial tension and "race labels," the title "King of Swing" fell upon Benny Goodman, a white band leader. Regardless, many black jazz musicians became financially secure with the freedom to play whatever or however they wanted. In essence, whether

white, black, or racially-, the big bands raised the nation's spirits in the years between the Great Depression and the Second World War (1936-1945).⁴⁸

The Second World War's end proved fatal to the Swing Era, and big bands folded by the score under economic duress, forcing many superb musicians into other fields to earn a living. However, a new revolution in jazz called "bebop." took place during the 1940s. Musically, the shift and style emphasized much smaller ensembles, and it also provided a departure to traditional forms of performance. Initially, bebop's radical change caused even accomplished jazz musicians to suddenly find themselves out of touch with the new movement.⁴⁹

The formation of bebop, roughly between 1941 and 1943, took place in after hour jam sessions at two Harlem clubs called Minton's and Monroe's. The charter members included Dizzy Gillespie (trumpet), Charlie Parker (alto), Thelonious Monk and Bud Powell (piano), Oscar Pettiford (bass), and Art Blakey, Kenny Clarke, and Max Roach (drums). These musicians honed new skills and experimented with new harmonic and rhythmic devices through no-holds-barred competitions (jam sessions), akin to "playing the dozens" (signifyin' (g)) without words.

The full or classic bebop sound did not take shape until 1944-45, when musicians took this new jazz from Harlem's secluded clubs to better-known venues on Fifty-second Street. Gillespie became a media favorite, and from the mouthpiece of the musical revolution came a jazz lingo, a formal appearance, and word-on-the-street phrases like a "Dizzy rage," or a "Dizzy movement."⁵⁰

Although Gillespie stole the media spotlight, equal credit has been given to Charlie Parker, who earned the nickname "Bird" because of his high-soaring alto solos. However, even the word "bebop" became a sort of embarrassment to the middle and upper-class blacks in New York because of its link to social eccentricity, drug abuse, and its planned obsolescence of fashion. Despite its drive to be different and eschew tradition, bebop became yet another jazz style. Nonetheless it evolved to be socially distinct. Unlike the leaders of big bands of the Swing Era, the founders of bebop were African-American and were rooted in Harlem at a time when significant cultural changes took place.⁵¹

The merging of Cuban and jazz music came slowly at first, but American audiences came to enjoy the hotter Latin rhythms. In April 1930 the Broadway appearance of

Don Azpiazu's Havana Casino Orchestra introduced authentic Cuban dance music to the general American audience. Replete with such percussion instruments as maracas, claves, güiros, bongós, congas, and timbales, "El Manicero" (The Peanut Vendor) became the first hit song to be recorded by RCA Victor that same year. By 1931, the tune helped spread awareness of the Latin idiom throughout the United States, and it opened the door for Cuban groups to perform outside of the tourist-oriented cabarets in Havana. Additional Latin influences from Venezuela, Brazil, and Mexico also became popular, but such titles as "Virgin (In a Cuban Garden)" and "No Se Puede (Said the Monkey)" contributed to major American stereotypes that Latin music was both romantic and risqué. Broadway continued throughout the 1930s to both satirize and promote Latin music, especially toward the close of the decade.⁵²

East Harlem, or Spanish Harlem, had become a stronghold for Latin American music during the 1930s and featured regular radio music shows and visiting Latin acts. When compared to other popular Latin music styles at that time, Cuban musicians tended to preserve stronger African traditional elements. One of the most influential

Cuban artists from this period was trumpeter Mario Bauzá. Bauzá joined the Chick Webb Orchestra in 1933, and by 1934 he doubled as the band's director. In 1939, he joined Cab Calloway who proceeded to write and perform several Latin-influenced tunes, but these were superficial in their music structures and monorhythmic.⁵³

The mambo style was one of many genres, along with Tin Pan Alley and other Latin idioms, to incorporate Latin rhythms almost subliminally into popular music. An important group in the early 1940s was Machito's Afro-Cubans who became immensely influential in both the New York Latin style and the growth of Latin jazz as a genre. Frank Grillo "Machito" arrived in the city in 1937, and by 1940 had established his band with Mario Bauzá as its lead trumpeter and music director. The essential ingredients for the new sound included the incorporation of a Cuban rhythm section with trumpets and saxophones on the front line. In addition, Machito and Bauzá redefined Latin music in New York, where leading musicians and practitioners "had all been white and society-club oriented," into "hot" progressive black music.⁵⁴

The Afro-Cubans moved freely between Uptown and Downtown venues in New York, and the mambo craze began as more Americans heard the infectious music on the radio or in dance halls. Structurally, the song arrangements maintained the clave two-, or three-part structure, but they provided room for improvisations by singers and musicians. In 1943, Carlos Vidal Leame became the first conga drummer in the Afro-Cubans' lineup.⁵⁵

Latin music in New York played a big role on increasing Latino immigration, especially after 1945. Musicians flocked to the city hoping to make it big. By 1946, more American jazz musicians played regularly with their Cuban counterparts in Harlem, and the flow of musical enabled Dizzy Gillespie to envision how the sound he wanted would progress. "Cubop," as the early incarnation of Afro-Cuban jazz has become known, still did not fully develop, even though new arrangements of "The Peanut Vendor" by Stan Kenton, Gillespie, and Machito stemmed from the Latin musical influences. The music did not fully mature because it still maintained the monotonous rhythm prevalent in American jazz at that time despite the new, fast-paced, "hot" bebop.⁵⁶

Although jazz music incorporated a "hot" style in the manner of African-influenced traditions and featured complex changes in tempo and time signature, it had become monorhythmic in the European manner by the twentieth century. One reason for this occurrence is that drums had been forbidden in the American slave experience, and the rhythmic substitutes of hand clapping, foot stomping and other aspects of the ring shout lost many polyrhythmic features as older, African-born slaves died. Even the catchy Baptist rhythms that inspired Buddy Bolden in the 1890s had already become monorhythmic. Nevertheless, the African "hot" idiom remained, and it propelled the musical language and mannerisms evident in blues and jazz today. The creative role of Dizzy Gillespie in jazz became more apparent after his contact with Cuban musicians, both in New York and Cuba as a member of the Cab Calloway Orchestra, where he met Mario Bauzá in the trumpet section.

In 1937 Bauzá helped direct Gillespie's interest in Latin rhythms and music arrangements. The arrival of drummer Kenny Clarke in New York helped stimulate the musical fusion because he represented a new kind of jazz drummer with an influential rhythmic transformation

previously unheard of in modern American music. "Clarke had a knack for off-beat accents [anticipated bass], percussive asides, and cracking cat-o'-nine-tails interjections designed to propel the [bebop] soloist." The early polyrhythmic explosions became known as "bombs" during the war years. Clarke, along with fellow drummers Max Roach and Art Blakey, played a big role in the Harlem jam sessions, and stands out as the most versatile percussionists of their generation.⁵⁷

The progression of American jazz drummers toward a polyrhythmic sense came in the 1940s as bebop music evolved in the small Harlem clubs. One influential drummer has been Max Roach who arrived on the scene in 1944. Like Thelonious Monk and Dizzy Gillespie, Roach hailed from the Carolinas where the black churches influenced musicians, and the progressive rhythms he laid down enabled bebop to evolve faster tempos. While American drummers learned more complex rhythms, Gillespie felt there was more to the Latin feel and this resparked his interest to incorporate a conga drummer into an American jazz band. Gillespie's idea came around 1939, roughly seven years before Bauzá introduced him to Chano Pozo. The contact with Cuban music impressed Gillespie,

who acknowledged that by "living and playing with Mario, I found out that despite the language differences, Afro-Americans and Cubans were not destined to be total strangers, musically." In addition, during the formation of bebop "Charlie Parker and I played benefits for the African students in New York... Through that experience... [we] found the connections between Afro-Cuban and African music, and discovered the identity of our music with theirs."⁵⁸

Cuba's social climate allowed Afro-Cubans such as Chano Pozo to perform in the social clubs designated for tourists. Musicians played regularly at the larger, more influential cabarets such as the Tropicana, the Sans Souci, and the Montmartre, as well as numerous small venues throughout Havana. Extravagant musical productions became the hallmark of the larger clubs, and in 1940 or 1941 "Congo Pantera" featured Chano Pozo, an Afro-Cuban whose formidable drumming, composing, singing, and showmanship had become legendary in Cuba. For the entertainment industry in Cuba, the partnership between Pozo and other performers in "Congo Pantera" became as important as their musical collaboration with Gillespie in 1947. Pozo already possessed a reputation as a rumbero

who emerged from the solares of Havana with many popular songs to his credit. Well-steeped in Afro-Cuban religious and musical traditions, Pozo had some familiarity with jazz and had experience playing with jazz groups in Cuba prior to traveling to the United States. This knowledge enabled him to quickly pick up what Dizzy Gillespie began to do musically in his bebop big band in July 1946.⁵⁹

Despite achievements in cultural and musical circles, Cuban music and Havana as a destination of worldly pleasures became more and more popular during the 1940s. Racial attitudes in the United States still held Latin America at arm's length, and disparaging opinions emerged more frequently, even as racial tensions heightened within the United States. A 1947 article in Life magazine reiterated many stereotypes and commonly held assumptions that Cuba was just another "banana republic" and a "political hotbed of tropical instability." The author, however, did acknowledge the European and African musical fusion and its spread to Argentina (tango). Nevertheless, the author's disdain for lower-class Cuban musicians was evident. It equated them with a "polygot underworld" of brothels, taxi dancehalls,

and "clandestine voodoo lodges" operated by "bullet-scarred," marijuana-smoking thugs.⁶⁰

The status of African-Americans in the United States after the Second World War parallels the mistreatment of blacks in Cuba because deeply entrenched bigotry checked black advances with unrelenting racism. The wartime northern migration of blacks for work shifted the racial battlefields to places Jim Crow extremes formerly did not reach. Riots in Detroit and Harlem erupted in the climate of frustration. Indeed, "the treatment accorded the Negro during the Second World War marks, ... a turning point in the Negro's relation to America. To put it briefly, and somewhat too simply, a certain hope died, a certain respect for white Americans faded." In effect, the aspirations of the Harlem Renaissance failed. Despite acknowledging jazz as an "indigenous American art," the reality of repression provided the unique social subtext in the formation of bebop.⁶¹

There exists a notion that many "beboppers" expressed a preference for religions other than Christianity during this racially tense period, but Dizzy Gillespie denies this. Many black musicians, if not most of the bebop pioneers, received their initial exposure

and influence in music from the black church, and it stayed with them. There had been a turn toward Islam during the 1940s that came largely as the result of outside social pressures rather than from religious conviction. Although a few did convert to the Muslim faith, Gillespie offered an interesting view of the treatment of blacks in New York at that time. "Man, if you join the Muslim faith, you ain't colored no more, you'll be white. You get a new name and you don't have to be a nigger no more." The state of New York once put a large "W" on the police cards of "Muslim converts" to denote their "whiteness." The escape to be anything but black caused friction with some jazzmen who felt that black consciousness was more important, so they shunned the passive conformity. However, to change one's name and sound Arabic without actually converting had become a convenient way to cross lines of segregation and avoid the "C" for "colored" on identification cards.⁶²

Even with outside racial discrimination, Cultural disputes existed internally amongst African-Americans in the late 1940s, and the old criticisms regarding jazz also echoed in Havana: that the music was infernal, diabolical, and sent by the Devil to destroy humanity. In

addition, racism continued to belittle black art in both countries, and white supremacist views contradicted the 1920s Primitivism and Pan-African thought as a whole. Despite the outside pressures, the musical fusion known as "Cubop" formed after Chano Pozo left Cuba and became acquainted with Dizzy Gillespie in 1946.⁶³

The Formation of Afro-Cuban Jazz

Born on October 21, 1917, John Birks Gillespie grew up in the small South Carolina town of Cheraw. Gillespie acquired a reputation as a mischievous street urchin to compensate for obligatory weekly whippings administered by his father, and he never contested the bad boy persona that gave rise to his nickname "Dizzy." Gillespie's affinity for music came from his appreciation of the piano, and the influence of the black church. Although raised a Methodist, his contact with "hot" music derived from a Sanctified Church in his neighborhood where the rhythmic handclapping and singing left a lasting impression.⁶⁴

Around 1926, as the Negro Renaissance propelled black arts in the United States, Gillespie's family traveled north briefly to Philadelphia and New York. The

travel experience helped shape his future because he enjoyed the big city exposure and the faster pace of life there. The Depression and the death of his father cast the Gillespie family into hard times. Despite these hardships, in addition to piano, another instrument Gillespie studied was a trombone donated to his elementary school's music program. He then saw a trumpet that a neighbor's boy received for Christmas, and without "formal" training he taught himself how to play the trumpet and in keys other than B-flat, the favorite key of his first teacher.⁶⁵

Gillespie left South Carolina for good in 1935. He first went to Philadelphia, but moved to New York two years later and joined Teddy Hill's Orchestra. Over the next few years, "Dizzy," as he had become known, progressed through many Swing Era groups and absorbed many music styles along the way. The most important event for Gillespie in this period was the friendship he established with Mario Bauzá as a fellow trumpet player in Cab Calloway's Orchestra. Around 1939 Gillespie consulted Bauzá about using a conga drummer in a jazz band after encountering its use in Cuba on tour with Calloway's orchestra, although nothing came immediately

from this inquiry. After leaving Calloway, Dizzy played in the Harlem clubs and helped formulate the bebop style that signified a distinct shift toward modern jazz.⁶⁶

When Gillespie and Bauzá reacquainted themselves in New York seven years later, Bauzá took Gillespie to an apartment on 111th street in Harlem to meet Chano Pozo. Although Pozo did not speak English, Bauzá asked him to hum his ideas for Dizzy, who immediately recognized another innovator. After witnessing Pozo in action that same night, the two musicians combined forces in late 1946, and gave birth to Afro-Cuban jazz (Cubop) in 1947.⁶⁷

Chano Pozo: Life and Music

When compared to the body of work devoted to Dizzy Gillespie's numerous accomplishments, virtually nothing is written about his Cuban collaborator in Cubop, not even a comprehensive biography. Luciano Pozo y González was born on January 7, 1915 into the extreme poverty characteristic of the Afro-Cuban-populated district of Havana called Solar el Africa, where his father supported the family as a bootblack. As a young man Pozo danced, sang, performed stunts, and played drums on Havana streets for tips. He also partook in street carnivals and celebrations belonging to the Santería traditions in his

solare, and was apparently initiated into the Abakuá Society as well. Pozo's eleda, or guardian angel as orishas are sometimes termed, was Changó, the god of thunder and lightning and owner of the drums. In a culture where symbolic representations are an archetype of behavioral patterns, Pozo manifested many of Changó's finer and lesser traits throughout his lifetime.⁶⁸

Chano Pozo's legend started in Cuba, and a 1947 Life magazine article about Pozo, noted that the musician in addition to his flashy clothes and obsession with convertible Buicks, he seemed to live beyond his means. He apparently approached his publisher in Havana and demanded a \$1,000 advance toward a new song. When the publisher refused, Pozo assaulted him, but an armed bodyguard intervened and put between two and four bullets into his midriff. Pozo recovered but, depending on the weather, sometimes complained to bandmates about the bullets still in his body. He also escaped death a few months later when he crashed and destroyed his new Buick. Cuba's economic woes mounted in the 1940s because the tourist-dependant economy had been temporarily compromised by the Second World War. Due to the popularity of the mambo and Afro-Latin music, Pozo moved

to New York in January 1947 to seek better-paying opportunities upon advice from Machito and Mario Bauzá whom he met in Havana.⁶⁹

After moving to New York Chano Pozo immediately performed as a dancer and singer in small Spanish Harlem clubs but he did not enjoy initial success. However, the moment of truth came unexpectedly in the Spring of 1947. When Mario Bauzá brought Dizzy Gillespie to meet Pozo one night, Gillespie commented "We didn't talk, we just looked at one another and laughed." Despite his association with Americans, Pozo never mastered more than a few obscenities in English during his short tenure with Dizzy's bebop big band. When a reporter once asked how he and Dizzy communicated, Pozo replied, "Deehee no peek pani, me no peek Angli, bo peek African." Gillespie confirms this subconscious understanding between them, and they quickly joined forces to produce a new, authentic, "hot" style of Afro-Cuban jazz. However, this musical marriage was not consummated without a few technical difficulties, specifically the differences between the African-American monorhythmic tradition and the Afro-Cuban polyrhythmic structures.⁷⁰

Chano Pozo's perception of how music flowed initially created problems with American drummers and other musicians. For example, he only knew how to play in Cuban 2/4 rhythms, and had been unfamiliar with the common 4/4 time in jazz. However, by 1946 Dizzy Gillespie had acquired some understanding of the two-three and three-two variations of the clave beat from his association with Bauzá. Although talented, Pozo too did not fully understand the monorhythmic nature of American music, nor could he read music. However, Pozo learned much quicker than his band mates how to time his drumbeats, possibly from his previous exposure to jazz in Cuba. Essentially all rhythms agree on the first beat, one.

The lessons in polyrhythms often occurred on the tour bus when Pozo gave the other musicians various kinds of drums and taught them how the rhythms tied together. He also taught them chants in African languages they did not understand, but through musical ingenuity, Gillespie's group created genuine Afro-Cuban jazz in only a few weeks. The band toured the United States and Europe to much acclaim, but Pozo's death on December 2, 1948 checked its momentum.⁷¹

The musical achievements of Chano Pozo have been often overlooked, but two of his most notable works with Dizzy Gillespie shall be examined. The first song Pozo co-composed in 1947 became the Afro-Cuban jazz standard called "Manteca." In Spanish, manteca means grease, lard, or oil. However, on the symbolic level, manteca de corajo refers to a Santería ritual ingredient that is derived from the corajo, a type of tree in the Cuban province of Mantanzas. This double-entendre is well within the range of possibilities given Pozo's rumbero upbringing.

"Manteca" became the premiere song when Pozo made his debut with Gillespie's band on September 29, 1947, the date now considered the official birth of Cubop.

"Manteca," nonetheless, had not been entirely Pozo's composition, although the initial parts are attributed to his hummed recital to Gillespie. It took the combined efforts of Gillespie, Pozo, and music arranger Walter Gil Fuller to sort out the clave beat and reconstruct it to fit what the band could understand. The song fell together quickly, and it immediately impacted how jazz groups arranged songs, as many scrambled to add conga and bongó drummers to their lineups. Almost overnight the collaboration raised the bar in the rhythmic sense, and

American music quickly accepted and assimilated the Afro-Cuban idiom by 1948.^{72/73}

Another song that eclipsed "Manteca" in its structural complexity and originality was "Cubana Be, Cubana Bop." This song became one of several featured in the "Afro-Cuban Drum Suite," and it astounded the audience as Pozo played and sang wearing an Afro-Cuban outfit. This number is important in jazz history because it is one of the first to use modal melodic scales, and prefigured a style of improvisation that took nearly ten years to become widely accepted, most notably on the Miles Davis record "Kind of Blue" in 1959. Modal refers to the use of an unconventional chord scale, in this case B-flat auxiliary diminished. The tune also anticipated the movement toward all things African, exemplified by Pozo's costume and chanting that later inspired Gillespie to convert to the Baha'i faith. "This aspect of internationalism and the incorporation of consciously African elements into the presentation of music that already combined Cuban rhythms with those of bebop became one of the most prominent aspects of the band's playing" during the 1948 tour in Europe.⁷⁴

In the musical context, "Cubana Be, Cubana Bop" is the most "African" of all the pieces composed during Gillespie and Pozo's brief association. The song in its debut featured a dramatic introduction by Pozo and the regular drummer; then the whole group moved in a sinister, up-and-down pattern throughout the scale of B flat that underpinned a trumpet solo by Gillespie. A series of instrumental exchanges (call-and-response) between conga and trumpet introduced a new section where Pozo chanted a verbal call-and-response with the band.⁷⁵

Chano Pozo revealed himself to be a dynamic showman. At the band's second performance of "Cubana Be, Cubana Bop" in the Boston Symphony Hall, he appeared in African costume. He then

used to do this water trick. He'd put a glass of water on his head, start drumming and drop his handkerchief, and, during a quick break in the drumming, kneel down on the floor, pick up the handkerchief and start drumming again without spilling a drop of water...the fans would go wild.

The combination of Pozo's virtuosity and presence left audiences in a state of shock because a new level of excitement and innovation eclipsed everything previous jazz orchestras ever played. Another achievement is that the mambo-style big band pieces, such as "Manteca,"

became listening rather than dance-oriented music like the swing style. The new subgenres of Latin jazz and Afro-Cuban jazz now denote listening-oriented music that is predominantly instrumental and typically played in smaller combos.⁷⁶

Despite his brief association with Gillespie, Pozo had a lasting impact on both his bandmates and the African-American audiences who witnessed his performances. According to fellow musicians, Pozo would suddenly burst out chants in African languages on the tour bus, and they used descriptive phrases for these outbursts, such as "black mysticism," "ñáñigo," and "black magic." A bass player indicated that Pozo had been influential in putting the bass up front as a solo instrument from time to time, and not strictly as a support to the rhythm section. This is comparable to the Cuban precedent for using the bass first, and contributed to songs that featured the instrument such as "One Bass Hit" and "Two Bass Hit."⁷⁷

Other characteristics of Chano Pozo endeared him to his bandmates. For example, Gillespie found that in addition to music, Pozo could also relate to catch phrases, of which the beboppers were fond of. "Manteca"

takes yet another meaning as it implies "skin" in Spanish as well as grease, oil, or lard. Therefore, the phrase "gimme some skin [for a handshake]... was pretty slick. He couldn't even speak English and wrote a tune with a title that had connotations in English."⁷⁸

Although his musicianship has been acclaimed, the Cuban drummer had a darker, secretive side. Often described as a "hoodlum" or "tough character," Pozo frequently spoke in Lucumí and told bandmates "allota' stuff he shouldn't have repeated." In his autobiography, Miles Davis devoted this passage to Chano Pozo's reputation in jazz circles:

Guys like Chano Pozo were heavy into cocaine... [and] he was a bully. He used to take drugs from people and wouldn't pay them. People were scared of him because he was a hell of a street fighter and would kick a motherfucker's ass in a minute. He was a big man and mean and used to carry this big knife.⁷⁹

After taking the new music throughout the United States to much acclaim, Gillespie's big band conducted a tour of Europe in 1948. The new "hot" music excited the audiences in France and other European countries that traditionally acknowledged jazz as a cultural art form. European musicians caught on to the new Afro-Cuban style and quickly embraced it. In the United States, despite

the initial positive response, American critics began to deride Gillespie's music. Familiar racial pressures resurfaced, and this even spawned further black-versus-white controversies over who started modern jazz. Despite such discrimination, Gillespie's music was high in demand and after the band returned from Europe, a tour of the American South had been organized to support jazz singer Ella Fitzgerald.

However, in November 1948 somebody stole Pozo's conga drum, so he returned alone to New York to purchase a new one while the band continued without him. Pozo did not hasten to join Gillespie after replacing his drum because he did not like the racial segregation or Jim Crow laws in the American south. He preferred to wait in New York and rejoin the tour when it came north again. Back in Harlem, Pozo became involved in a dispute over narcotics and succumbed to bullet wounds on the night of December 2, 1948. Like Charlie Parker, he died young, well before his thirty-fifth birthday.⁸⁰

The circumstances regarding the death of this important jazz figure are surprisingly varied and surrounded by contradicting rumors and accounts. This study will evaluate such rumors with an anthropological

emic (cultural perspective) and an etic (outsider's) analysis. The rumor that inspired this investigation states that Pozo violated oaths of secrecy and had been fingered for ritual murder as punishment by the Abakuá Society. An emic explanation for his murder suggests that certain Abakuá chants had become melodies in some of Gillespie's hit songs, and provided an erroneous cause of death (by stabbing).⁸¹

Another rumor also implies an infraction against the Abakuá Society. Gillespie, who came to know Pozo better than anyone else despite the language barrier, believed that he fled Cuba because he stole a substantial amount of money from the society's common collection for annual ceremonies. A spin to this rumor suggests that Pozo died a year to the day upon his arrival in New York, but this is incorrect he moved to New York in January 1947 and he died on December 2, 1948. An additional rumor, which follows the religious context of the previous two, suggests that Pozo offended his patron orisha Changó by not becoming initiated into the cult before leaving Cuba. The last rumor, although unsubstantiated by police reports, supports the premise that Pozo confronted a drug dealer named Cabito who sold him bad marijuana and would

not provide a refund. Pozo, a macho type, is said to have struck Cabito, knocked him to the ground and then extracted five dollars from his wallet, thus publicly humiliating him on the street. Miles Davis suggested that Pozo owed the man money, but supports the account of a street fight. Cabito apparently left the scene, but returned later armed with a pistol and shot Pozo to death in El Rio Bar. In a confession to Machito after serving five years, Cabito posthumously expressed regret for killing Pozo. All in all, controversy surrounded Pozo wherever he went and every rumor indicates that he lived for the moment and died young.^{82/83}

To put the rumors of Pozo's death in the emic perspective, the secretive aspects of the Afro-Cuban cults must be taken into consideration. Although the Abakuá Society became very influential in Cuba, the organization did not exist in New York in the late 1940s. According to the Cuban author Leonardo Acosta fellow ñañigos have denied murdering Pozo for any reason, and that great admiration for him existed then, as it does in the present. It seems that traditional fear of the Abakuá and racial-based misrepresentations are somewhat responsible for this angle. Aside from Pozo, there is

another example of an Abakuá making the sacred public without suffering consequences. While the Abakuá resented the selling of their secrets to creoles and whites in the nineteenth century, there is a case on record where a white ñáñigo from Matanzas named Pepe Serno attained widespread admiration for his dancing feats such as the rumba Columbia. Pepe Serno wore the black face in Cuban Teatro Vernacular performances, and he astonished white and black Cubans alike with his Abakuá-drawn influences in dance routines. Some authors credit Serno with creating the modern commercial rumba as it evolved in the late 1920s, and the Abakuá Society did not punish him for displaying its secrets.⁸⁴

Therefore, it seems unlikely that Chano Pozo, a black rumbero who attained awe and respect from his audience in the manner of a true Abakuá, would be murdered for playing sacred rhythms for the uninitiated. Although older ñáñigos threatened members who performed in folkloric settings, no conclusive evidence exists suggesting that anyone had been murdered for it. In addition, the aspect of outsiders witnessing all but the innermost Abakuá ceremonies is supported by the writings of anthropologist Harold Courlander during his 1944

fieldwork in Cuba. However, he acknowledged that the majority of the members at the lodge had been white. It is probable that an all-black Abakuá lodge would not have granted Courlander any sort of access.⁸⁵

All-in-all claims that Chano Pozo succumbed to ritual murder have been ruled out. The second context of the rumors concerns religious taboos and superstitions. For example, one rumor implies that Pozo committed an infraction against the Yoruba deity Changó. This rumor is closely related to the folkloric angle, so it will be addressed next. In a purely emic sense, that is to say putting oneself into the culture to understand the implications, there are some plausible explanations. Chapter Two discussed Changó's origins and the archetype characterized by aggressive rhythms played on the drums. Pozo certainly lived up to the zodiac-like stereotypical Changó male with his flashy dress and hyper-macho behavior, and also through his virtuosity on the instrument ruled by the orisha. The conga drum that Pozo played, however, had not been a factory-made model like those seen today. Rather, it had been an asymmetrical handmade type called a tumbadora. One bandmate described how Pozo would warm up the goatskin drumhead with a

sterno candle to tune it up, a complicated procedure, but one he performed regularly.⁸⁶

It is possible that Pozo's tumbadora had been imbued with a "secret" to give it a voice from Changó, but no evidence confirms this angle. However, the high-level initiates do fear offending their patron orisha in Santería and similar religions such as Candomblé in Brazil. For example, drummers in Brazil have taboos about playing secular music with sacred instruments and against loaning the instruments to other drummers. Furthermore, in an authentic toque de santo in the Santería tradition, the drummers are careful to observe all procedures properly. It is possible that some exceptions were made to traditions in Cuba when Afro-Cuban cult members arrived in the United States. During the 1940s, Santería traditions began to migrate to New York, and in some parts of Spanish Harlem drummers used conga drums at bembés and Palo Monte ceremonies instead of traditional batá and other drum types. This is said to have occurred because no sacred or baptized drums imbued with aña, which are necessary to baptize new drums had been imported from Cuba. It has also been suggested that Pozo ignored the advice of a babalao in Havana to "make the

saint," the high-level initiation into the cult of Changó before leaving Cuba. Therefore, on a symbolic level, the disappearance of Chano Pozo's drums in late 1948 may have been caused because he offended Changó, who suspended his supernatural protection and led to Pozo's death less than twenty four hours before the orisha's feast day on December 4.⁸⁷

It is almost impossible to "prove" the death of anyone based on hearsay, especially that which lies along religious lines. The tendency by outsiders in the first half of the twentieth century has been to lump all Afro-Caribbean religions under the umbrella of "Voodoo," thus implying black magic, savagery, and incompetence as indicated by the term "voodoo economics." In the case of Chano Pozo, it is understandable that witnesses might not have confided to the police the circumstances surrounding his demise for fear of guilt by association. The United States' racial climate also provided a valid reason for the lack of police evidence on the case. However, enough insider accounts support the rumors that Pozo's death was inevitable for an alleged drug addict with a propensity for violence and making enemies. Therefore, despite sensational implications in most of the rumors, it seems

that Pozo, perhaps dismayed by the loss of his instruments, bought marijuana and died in the altercation with Cabito, a drug dealer and numbers runner.⁸⁸

In the years that ensued after his death, Chano Pozo's legacy is co-creator of the first genuine marriage of distinctly Afro-Cuban rhythms with the "hot" but monorhythmic bebop style in the late 1940s. Pozo educated his bandmates in the different rhythms associated with Afro-Cuban traditions such as Arará, Santería, and Abakuá. Pozo also inspired Gillespie's bass player to use the instrument for solos and rhythmic support and laid the foundation for timing conga beats with the high hat. In addition, he learned to utilize the 6/8 time signature with the three-two and two-three forms of the clave beat. Pozo not only set the standard in how polyrhythms flow in Afro-Cuban jazz, but his style is the model many drummers still use today. The classic songs "Manteca," "Cubana Be, Cubana Bop," and others have become standards and still challenge musicians with their difficult rhythms and modal aspects.⁸⁹

Over time Pozo's influence has extended beyond the musical realm, and he is slowly becoming recognized as a significant contributor to the re-Africanization movement

among African-Americans. At a time when racial tensions combined with upper- and middle-class black attitudes toward "primitive" behavior and cultural shame was virtually institutionalized, Pozo's onstage antics and African chanting appalled this sector of society. In a sense, Pozo fit the radical hipness that the beboppers exhibited, but his Afro-Cuban traditions were still distinct.

After the association with Pozo, Gillespie's interest in his African roots became more important when he learned that his great grandmother was the daughter of a Nigerian chief. As his awareness of African traditions increased, Gillespie converted to the Baha'I faith. As all religious aspects in Africa involved music, rhythm became the impetus as his music progressed.

There is a parallel with jazz and religion. In jazz, a messenger comes to the music and spreads his influence to a certain point, and then another comes and takes you further. In religion-in the spiritual sense-God picks certain individuals from this world to lead mankind up to certain points of development.

Gillespie preferred to be known as a major messenger to jazz rather than a legendary figure because the latter type can fade like an old myth or legend.⁹⁰

The Application of Myth to Bebop and Afro-Cuban Traditions

When Dizzy Gillespie helped initiate how jazz was performed, he followed the tradition of other jazz messengers such as Buddy Bolden, King Oliver, and Louis Armstrong that changed African-American music. By embracing the blues and reestablishing the primacy of rhythm in jazz, the bebop revolution revealed a commitment to an African heritage of thinking and ritual performance. In essence, Gillespie and Pozo succeeded where advocates of the Harlem Renaissance modernists refused or could not do: they merged rationality with myth. Through blues and rhythm, bebop accomplished the perfect juxtaposition of African elements, although somewhat restricted by monorhythmic and European-derived extended chord structures.⁹¹

The concept of signifyin(g) had survived slavery through the "ring shout" in the United States and in Cuba as "puyas" in Santería ceremonies. These retentions evolved into sacred and secular styles, the former through the Sanctified Churches and the latter expressed verbally through "playing the dozens," or its musical equivalent, the jam session.⁹²

Like religious music in Cuba, African-American music consummates a transaction between people and organized sound, and audience participation is central to its success. This is precisely the element the leading thinkers of the Negro Renaissance tried to jettison in favor of the perceived advantages of high culture. Rite realizes myth, and the devaluation of the ritual context of black music (the ring) is one of many ways American blacks were conditioned to forget about or discriminate against. The symbolic connotation of jazz musicians has been likened to the improviser (bebopper) riding a horse for nameless orishas. The musicians, such as Dizzy Gillespie and the gods, have favorite rhythms that are played by drummers both behind and underneath them, thereby driving them to greater heights of inspiration and creativity. Thus, jazz improvisation on many levels is like African dance-possession, and it can be viewed as the realization of an aspect of ritual and cultural memory through audience-performer interactions.⁹³

In the Yoruba and Afro-Caribbean traditions, Echú-Elegguá is the master of the ways, the lord of the crossroads who opens and closes the gates of destiny. As Elegguá, this divinity can display child-like

playfulness, mischievousness, and lasciviousness, but nevertheless, he remains a foremost innovator. In the emic sense, Dizzy Gillespie is comparable to Echú-Elegguá, and his cultural memory had been reawakened through contact with a Sanctified Church, but in 1946 Chano Pozo refined Gillespie's latent propensity for "hot" rhythms. Chano Pozo thus can be viewed in the emic sense as a manifestation of Changó, the virile and violent orisha who fearlessly commands the elements of thunder and lightning and owns all drums and their music. Pozo certainly demonstrated his power, and even his handshake had been likened to "being crushed by cinder blocks."⁹⁴

On a subconscious level, Pozo and Gillespie already understood one another when they first met; no words had been spoken immediately, but they knew each other. On the ethnic and shared memory level, the two musicians reconnected the polyrhythmic Afro-Cuban world with the receptive but separated monorhythmic African-American culture. Despite social pressures outside and within their respective black societies, the musicians forged a music tradition that exists in the worldly realm of humans and in the mythical realm of African deities.

Although the leaders of the Negro Renaissance strived to attain social justice by ignoring a ritual-based past, the premise of the Pan-Africanists, that all blacks everywhere connect and recognize one another, became apparent when the two musicians created Afro-Cuban jazz at a time of heightened racial tensions. The undercurrent of political advocacy always existed in the jazz world, and, like the blues and "colendas" in French colonies, gave voice to stressful conditions and signified social and emotional attitudes toward the greater environment.⁹⁵

Conclusion

When jazzmen such as Dizzy Gillespie and other beboppers became more daring and musically innovative in the 1940s, the continuity of myth in the African Diaspora took on a new form of expression. Essentially, jazz had evolved and maintained folkloric traditions and elements of African worship through tone and technique in American culture. From a folkloric viewpoint, Dizzy Gillespie had referred to himself as a "messenger," thus equating himself, perhaps unconsciously and symbolically, with the Yoruba divinity Echú-Elegguá. Chano Pozo too had been a primary catalyst, the symbolic bolt of lightning that reinvigorated the new "hot" bebop. In a musical sense,

Pozo possessed jazz soloists to fly higher than they ever soared before during performances. This trance-like behavior causes musicians to reach deep into their collective unconsciousness and symbolically reinterpret myths. In other words, the jazz soloists tell stories with a unique point of view on a variety of instruments.

Through Afro-Cuban jazz Gillespie and Pozo became the connectors of two worlds rhythmically. The two worlds were the physical plane of Cuba and the United States, and the esoteric spiritual world of the orishas and myths coming to life in sacred and secular music forms. The death of Chano Pozo, while a sensational story in itself, has been outshined by his achievements musically. Ultimately Pozo and Gillespie became collaborators in a time of social unrest, both within and outside of the African-American community, and their partnership helped to spark a sense of pride in African art forms outside of The Souls of Black Folk, the cakewalk, and spirituals.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS

A considerable amount of African traditions existed in the Americas due to Spanish laws and policies that had encompassed *coartación*. The numbers of free blacks were always higher in Spanish-ruled areas, particularly in Cuba and New Orleans, and this permitted traditions to thrive. In addition to more flexible slave codes, the Spanish government and the Roman Catholic Church allowed African slaves to reorganize by ethnic identity within sanctioned *cabildos de nación*, an important reason why Afro-Cubans became cultural leaders of the musical arts in the Americas.

In larger Cuban cities, such as Havana, Matanzas, and Santiago, the *cabildos de nación* thrived and collected enough original elements to maintain the purpose and structure of traditional beliefs under the guise of Catholicism. Due to the country's proximity to the Southern United States, it is easy to see how cross-fertilization of music took place from the mid-nineteenth century onward.

Another important piece of this study has been the important role Saint-Domingue played, where the French inherited the social structure and economic framework of the Spanish, and turned it into the world's leading supplier of sugar for many years. As the Church began to lose influence in this colony to higher profit margins, it undermined policies to convert the slaves, allowing Vodou to become a unifying religion amongst diverse ethnic groups. This fairly lax attitude spread to New Orleans where Vodou became integrated in the social fabric. Vodou had great influence long after the United States purchased the Louisiana Territories.

Whereas the Caribbean colonies were hotbeds of syncretic religions, the city of New Orleans became atypical because French and Spanish control allowed the slaves civil liberties, freedoms, and exposure to European culture. The musical arts and dances of Africa and Europe also began to intermingle and cross-fertilize each other in the city. After 1803 New Orleans remained comparatively lenient in regard to slave laws and social mobility until the period of Jim Crow laws. Although Protestant colonies on the whole tended to strip the slaves of their drums in the Americas, the Vodou element

in the city ensured that some of the "hot" polyrhythmic music survived.

The Nineteenth Century

Musically, the *cabildos de nación* in Cuba had benefited from the influx of music traditions outside of sacred performances as European styles were incorporated. The early form of the *contradanza*, *rumba*, and *son* formed during the nineteenth century and heavily influenced the music of Argentina, Mexico, and the southern United States. Although traditional African "hot" and "cool" elements remained, they had in some cases invigorated European song and dance structures by infusing *Lucumí*, *Kongo*, *Arará*, and *Abakuá* sacred rhythms and instrumentation. Because music is so important to African societies, it became important in New World slave religions, where drums were reconstructed through sacred ceremonies in order to communicate with Africa and traditional gods and to keep communal expressions alive. During this same period the percussive aspects of the "ring shout" had evolved in the United States despite the absence of the drums, and it served as a form of social

interaction by passing on oral traditions through various forms of signifyin(g) and musical expression.

Drums are the single most important instruments in African religions because they function as voices of the gods. The polyrhythmic music structure also corresponds with body movements through dance, and heightens the tension during performances to enable stylized trance-possession behavior among participants who are receptive or conditioned to rhythms associated with a particular deity. Although African-American song-making had lost many "hot" elements over the course of the nineteenth century, certain Cuban influences such as the habanera reintroduced a variation of the clave beat. The early ragtime pianists replicated the clave pattern with their left hand technique to emphasize the bass-note patterns. This reveals that unconscious recognition existed amongst the musicians in New Orleans where Vodou traditions survived the longest and helped retain some aspects of a polyrhythmic sense.¹

Other manifestations of African musical heritage are embodied in cultural myths that reinvent themselves if necessary to bring social unity and purpose to transplanted people. Signifyin(g), a linguistic

consideration, bears many similarities to the linear expression of jazz music. One reason for this is that "the verbal counterpart of black music, the signifyin(g) monkey, a traditional folk rhyme illustrates the psychological dexterity that underlies African-American expressive media, including jazz." Drum music formulates expressions through rhythms, and the ring-shout was also open to forms of verbal and rhythmic improvisation. All in all the connectivity between Afro-American music forms an oral expression that places jazz at the core of African-American cultural content, texture, and psychology.²

As the early jazz form ragtime developed in New Orleans, Buddy Bolden absorbed and assimilated music traditions from Vodou, the Cuban habanera, and the Sanctified Church. Bolden and his bandmates regularly employed verbal forms of signifyin(g) including playing the dozens to introduce their songs and stimulate the audience. Their community-oriented activity helped to reinvigorate "hot" elements into secular music forms in the late nineteenth hundreds.³

Another aspect of black religious expression in the nineteenth century has been its relationship with

established white Christianity. As the Protestant denominations such as Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist slowly took hold in the American South, some African traditions became dormant while others became integral to worship. Regardless of what denomination African-Americans adhered to, music has been one of the most obvious African survival traits in the United States. At the century's close divisions within the black church created Sanctified churches where African-style song-making continued during worship, but praise evoked the Holy Spirit rather than traditional African gods.⁴

Cuba and the United States

When black American musicians traveled to Cuba they performed jazz and military music styles that Cuban musicians quickly adopted and integrated into traditional forms. At the time this musical synthesis began in earnest in the early 1920s, scholars in Cuba and around the world became interested in "Primitivism" and the ethnic origins of Africans and their artistic achievements. A worldwide interest in African music and jazz is one legacy of this intellectual and artistic movement. In Cuba, Afro-Cuban traditions slowly emerged

from the stigma of witchcraft. The offshoot of Pan-Africanism in the United States was the Harlem Renaissance, and it attempted to gain respect for African-Americans through literature and classical music forms. Another reason Cuban music became prevalent in the twentieth century followed the increase of American tourism after the Great Depression.

Chano Pozo and Afro-Cuban Jazz

With so many outside forces pushing Americans and Cubans together, the marriage of Afro-Cuban and bebop music styles can be heard in such songs as "Manteca" and "Cubana Be, Cubana Bop" produced by Pozo and Gillespie in the late 1940s. Another achievement came after the technical difficulties of rhythm and timing were solved, and this has been important because many American jazz musicians learned how to play and integrate polyrhythms for the first time. Furthermore, these innovations allowed drummers to realize endless possibilities that multi-rhythm lent to jazz. After Pozo's death, Gillespie replaced him with another Cuban conga player named Mongo Santamaria, and Santamaria continued the cobop evolution

that later yielded the subgenre salsa and other forms of Afro-Latin music.

As this study has shown, music bears a folkloric component through rhythmic variations and multiple layers. These rhythms in turn give voice and provide the conditions for possession behavior, or as jazzmen refer to it, "feelin' the spirit."⁵ Essentially, the Pan-African notion that blacks everywhere could understand one another became manifest in the new "Cubop" music form developed by Gillespie and Pozo. Through the new music the continuity of myth had reinvented itself once again, but not in the guise of monkey tales, or reworked legends. Rather, it reformed as "hot" music that featured improvisation, polyrhythmic structures, and innovative uses of European harmonic modes previously unexplored.

Chano Pozo has been overlooked by many jazz historians who rarely mention him, and only in context with Dizzy Gillespie's big band. Part of this missing piece of jazz history may stem from sources on Pozo's personal history being so scattered and incomplete in rare and out-of-print sources. However, legends regarding his early demise all seem to perpetuate notions of supernatural alienation and criminal behavior. Despite

this dichotomy, one of the most compelling
acknowledgments that Pozo connected two worlds physically
and symbolically is illustrated in the Jayne Cortez poem
"I See Chano Pozo:"

...Is there anyone finer today olé okay
Oye I say
I see Chano Pozo
Chano Pozo from Havana Cuba...
What made your technology of thumps so new so mean
I say
Is there anyone meaner than Chano Pozo...
Oye
I'm in the presence of ancestor Chano Pozo
Chano connector of two worlds...⁶

ENDNOTES

Chapter One

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The World the Slaves Made, New York: Pantheon Book, 1974.

4. Joachim Berendt, *The Jazz Book: From Ragtime to Fusion and Beyond* (Chicago: Independent Publishers Group, 1982), 280-282; Leonardo Acosta, *Cubano Be, Cubano Bop: One Hundred Years of Jazz in Cuba* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 110-112; Max Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," *Latin Beat Magazine* 3, no. 5, (1993): 16-18.
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Chapter Two

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7. George Brandon, *Santería From Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 52-53; Herbert Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 250; Franklin W. Knight, "Origins of Wealth and the Sugar Revolution in Cuba, 1750-1850,"

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 9. Brandon, "Santería from Africa," 52-54; Moreno Friginals, Africans in Cuba: A Quantitative Analysis of the African Population in the Island of Cuba," Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 292, (1977): 193; Knight, "Slave Society in Cuba," 234; Kenneth F. Kiple, Blacks in Colonial Cuba 1774-1899 (Tallahassee: University of Florida Press, 1976), 175-176.
 10. Brandon, "Santería from Africa," 54-55; Friginals, "Africans in Cuba," 192-193, 195; Hugh Thomas, Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 170.
 11. Louis Pérez, Winds of Change (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 17; Bartolomé de Las Casas, Historia de las Indias, vol. 1 (Caracas: 1575 (1986), 323-324; Louise Cripps, The Spanish Caribbean: From Columbus to Castro (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1979), 29-30.
 12. Pérez, "Winds of Change," 8, 10, 34-35.

13. Ibid., 39, 50, 56, 61-65, 86-87.
14. Pérez, "Winds of Change," 89, 95, 102, 107; Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El Ingenio: Complejo Económico Social Cubano del Azúcar*, vol. 3 (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1978), 85-90; Susan Schroeder, *Cuba: A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982), 260-261.
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16. Brandon, "Santería from Africa," 4-5; William R. Bascom, *The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 5.
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19. Murphy, "Santería," 2-29; William R. Bascom, Shango in the New World (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), 130; Herbert Klein, "Anglicanism, Catholicism and the Negro Slave," Comparative Studies in Society and History 8 (1965-66): 307-310. The cabildos had been in operation throughout the Spanish and Portuguese Indies since 1573, and their origins stem from medieval Seville.
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30. Brandon, "Santería from Africa," 64; Sandoval, "Santería as Mental Health Care," 142.
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32. Barnet, "Autobiography," 30-31.
33. *Ibid.*, 33-35, 37.

34. Katherine Hagedorn, *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería* (Washington: The Smithsonian Press, 2001), 253; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 11. In the book by Vélez, her subject, Felipe García Villamil is from Matanzas where his family subscribes to both the Santería and Palo traditions, and the men belong to the Abakuá Society, thus strengthening their spiritual and musical lives.
35. Murphy, "Santería," 8, 10, 113.
36. Brandon, "Santería from Africa," 75, 78; As a point of interest, the aspect of offended ancestors is also true in Santería and it is the underlying theme in the this novel by Cristina García, *The Agüero Sisters* (New York: Random House, 1997).
37. Quote in Brandon, "Santería from Africa," 75; Roger Bastide, *African Civilizations in the New World*, trans. Peter Green (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 159.
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39. Barnet, "La Regla de Ocha," 79-82.
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44. Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 104, 106-107.
45. Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 108; Wyatt MacGaffey to Robert Farris Thompson, 1983. MacGaffey is one of the foremost experts on religion and Kongo culture, and also an author of a book regarding Cuba.
46. *Ibid.*, 110-111.
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50. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 186; Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 228; Harold Courlander, "Abakwa Meeting in Guanabacoa," *Journal of Negro History* 29, (1944): 461; David H. Brown, *The Light Inside: Abakuá Society and Cuban Cultural Arts* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 9-13, 38; Quote in Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 228-229; Daryll Forde ed., *Efik Traders of Old Calabar* (London: International African Institute, 1956), 66 note 1a; One of the best overviews of Abakuá origin myths in English is in Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 20-21.
51. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 186-187; Quote in Murphy, "Santería," 33-34; Brown, "The Light Inside," 14-15. Brown also lists alternative names of the first Abakuá lodge in Cuba: Efique Butón, Acabatón, and Acuabutón.

52. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 187-188; Carlos Urrutía y Blanco ed., *Los Criminales de Cuba*, José Trujillo (Barcelona: Fidel Giró Press, 1882), 364, 370-372; Courlander, "Abakwa Meeting," 465; Brown, "The Light Inside," 19, 22-24.
53. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 188; Fernando Ortíz, "Los Cabildos," 262; Julio Angel Carreras, *Esclavitudas Abolición y Racismo* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1985), 78-79; Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 229; Lydia Cabrera, *Anaforuana: Ritual y Símbolos de la Iniciación en la Sociedad Secreta Abakuá* (Madrid: Ediciones R, 1975). Racial struggles existed between black and white juegos in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, even to the point where whites actively sought to deny black ñañigos from employment in the ports.
54. Angel Carreras, "Esclavitudas Abolición," 78-79; Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 188; Murphy, "Santería," 34; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 22-23; Courlander, "Abakwa Meeting," 462-463. Harold Courlander's informant had spoken often and fondly of Fernando Ortíz, whom he felt to be a "real friend

of the Negroes," because "Ortíz was largely responsible for the relaxing of the restrictions against pre-Easter celebrations in Havana."

55. Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 229, 260-266; Courlander, "Abakwa Meeting," 466-467; Juan Luis Martín, *Vocabularios de Nãñigo y Lucumí* (Havana: Editorial Atalaya, 1946; Pedro Deschamps Chappeaux, "El Lenguaje Abakuá," *Etnología y Folklore* 4 (1967): 39-47; Israel Castellanos, "El Diablito Nãñigo," *Archivos de Folklore Cubano* III, no. 4 (1928): 27-37; Brown, "The Light Inside," 51-56.
56. Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 106, 236-239; Cabrera, "Anaforuana," 148; Brown, "The Light Inside," 75-76.
57. Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 246-247; Brown, "The Light inside," 94-114. Brown gives the most detailed account in English of the Abakuá Society and its relationship to cultural arts and history in Cuba.
58. Brandon, "Santería from Africa," 72.
59. Richard Waterman, "Hot Rhythm in Negro Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1 (1948): 24; Alan Merriam, "The African Idiom in

- Music," *The Journal of American Folklore* (1962): 125.
60. W. Ward, "Music in the Gold Coast," *Gold Coast Review* 3 (1927): 214; Melville Herskovits, "Drums and Drummers in Afro-Brazilian Life," *Musical Quarterly* (1944): 479.
61. Waterman, "Hot Rhythm," 24-25.
62. John Miller Chernoff, *African Rhythm, and African Sensibility* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 100; Herskovits, "Drums and Drummers," 480. I have used "his" to indicate the culturally defined role, and that drummers in sacred settings are always men. However, Katherine Hagedorn has written about women's drum groups that play the batá despite the traditional bias in Cuba.
63. Chernoff, "African Rhythm," 100-101; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 44; Herskovits, "Drums and Drummers," 480, 489-492. An excellent example of what a "cut" is and how it fits into African-American music is when James Brown yells out "bridge," or the horns accent a section in sharp bursts, and then music's rhythm changes, remaining "hot," or syncopated.

64. Waterman, "Hot Rhythm," 28, 33; Jerome Handler and Charlotte Frisbie, "Aspects of Slave Life in Barbados: Music and Its Cultural Context," *Caribbean Studies* 11, no. 4 (1972): 7-9. George Eaton Simpson, "Afro-American Religions and Religious Behavior," *Caribbean Studies* 12, no. 2 (1972): 11-12. Slave codes had not necessarily forbidden dance in Barbados, especially in the seventeenth century, however, drums and horns had been restricted for fear of slave uprisings. By the nineteenth century, the laws had become stricter.
65. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 85-86.
66. Barnet, "Regla de Ocha," 85-86; Murphy, "Santería," 91; Fernando Oríz, *Los Tambores Batá de Los Yorubas* (Havana: Publicigraf, 1994).
67. Quote in Barnet, "Regla de Ocha," 85-86; Fernando Oríz, "Los Tambores Batá,"; Waterman, "Hot Rhythm," 35; Sweeney, "An Ethnographic Exploration of Santería," 46-60.
68. Waterman, "Hot Rhythm," 35.
69. Sweeney, "Ethnographic Exploration," 57-58; Harold Courlander, *Tales of Yoruba Gods and Heroes* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1973), 222-223; Quote in

Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 93-97; Barnet 1997, 85-86; Murphy, "Santería," 165. Courlander has collected a Pataki in Cuba that tells how Yemayá tricked Obatalá out of the secret to grow yams, and then had her son Changó sell yams back in exchange for ownership of the drums. A Pataki that I gathered in my fieldwork in Havana, Cuba has illustrated the supernatural power of Changó's drums, and the respect and authority the orisha commands among the initiated and also from other orishas.

70. Barnet, "Regla de Ocha," 85-87.

71. Alan Lomax, "The Homogeneity of African-Afro-American Musical Style," in Norman Whitten and John Szwed ed., *Afro-American Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Free Press, 1970), 193; Quote from Robert Farris Thompson, "An Aesthetic of the Cool: West African Dance," *African Forum* 2, no. 2 (1966): 86.

72. Barnet, "Autobiography," 31; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 62-63. Matanzas became the province where the Arará, or the Dahomean slaves who essentially practiced Vodou, established traditions in Cuba,

especially the veneration of Babalú-Ayé, the god of infectious diseases.

73. Bastide, "African Civilizations," 110; Quote in Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 180-181.
74. Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 171-173.
75. Morton Marks, "Uncovering Ritual Structures in Afro-American Music," in *Religious Movements in Contemporary America*, eds. Irving Zaretsky and Mark Leone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 62; Both quotes from Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 68; Richard Schechner, *Between Theatre and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 10-11.
76. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 75.
77. *Ibid.*, 76.
78. Fernando Ortíz, *La Africanía de la Música Folklórica de Cuba*, 2d ed. (Havana: Editorial Univeritaria, 1965), 190, 247.
79. Bastide, "African Civilizations," 142; Marks, "Uncovering Ritual Structures," 86.
80. Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World that the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), 4-5, 11-12.

81. William Courland Johnson, "A Delusive Clothing: Christian Conversion in the Antebellum Slave Community," *Journal of Negro History* 82, no. 3, (1997): 296; Quote from Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States of North America*, vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1855), 70.
82. Johnson, "Delusive Clothing," 296-297; Quote in Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes* (New York: Negroes University Press, 1969; reprint, Savannah, Ga., 1842), 85.
83. Johnson, "Delusive Clothing," 297.
84. Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States: Narrative of the Adventures of Charles Ball, A Black Man* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969; reprint of 1837 edition), 162-164.
85. Jones, "Religious Instruction," 63-64.
86. First quote from Ball, "Slavery in the United States," 164-165; Second quote in Johnson, "Delusive Clothing," 298, 300.
87. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (New York: Signet, 1968), 86-87.
88. Johnson, "Delusive Clothing," 302; Quote from Mary Ellen Grandberry, in Norman Yetman, *Life Under the*

Peculiar Institution: Selections from the Slave Narrative Collection New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 147; Alfred Raboteau, Slave Religion: The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 225.

89. First quote in Johnson, "Delusive Clothing," 302-303; Ann Loveland, Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1980), 239; Michael Tadman, Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 211; Second quote from Frederick Law Olmsted, The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States (New York: Mason Brothers, 1861), 473.
90. Geoffrey Parrinder, West African Religion: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Akan, Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo and Kindred Peoples (London: Epworth Press, 1961), 108; Raboteau, "Slave Religion," 230-231; Quote in Johnson, "Delusive Clothing," 304.
91. Block quote from Ball, "Slavery in the United States," 165-166; John Blassingame, The Slave

- Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South
(New York: Oxford university Press, 1979), 36-38.
92. First two quotes from Genovese, "Roll, Jordan,
Roll," 209-210, 212; Joseph Holloway, ed.
Africanisms in American Culture (Bloomington:
Indiana University Press, 1990), ix-xiii; Clifton
Johnson, God Struck Me Dead: Religious Conversion
Experience and Autobiographies of Ex-Slaves (Boston:
Little, Brown, 1969), 59.
93. Genovese, "Roll, Jordan, Roll," 189; Quote from Mary
Turner, "Religious Beliefs," in General History of
the Caribbean, vol. III The Slave Societies of the
Caribbean, ed. Franklin Knight (London: Unesco
Publishing, 1997), 315.
94. Turner, "Religious Beliefs," 316-318; Joseph Murphy,
Working the Spirit: Ceremonies of the African
Diaspora (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 150.
95. Raboteau, "Slave Religion," 66-73; John Blassingame,
"Slave Community," 65-67; Murphy, "Working the
Spirit," 147-150. The counterclockwise direction of
the ring shout is a holdover from Africa and
indicates the direction of the sun south of the
equator.

96. Zora Neale Hurston, *The Sanctified Church* (New York: Marlowe & Company, 1981), 103; Murphy, "Working the Spirit," 152-153.
97. Hurston, "The Sanctified Church," 103-104; Murphy, "Working the Spirit," 154-155.
98. Blassingame, "Slave Community," 20-21, 25-26; Dayrell Elphistone, *Folk Stories from Southern Nigeria, West Africa* (London: Continuum, 1910), vii-xvi, 1-6, 20-38, 64-76; Jesse Easton Murila, "The Case of Voodoo in New Orleans," in *Africanisms in American Culture*, ed. Joseph Holloway (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 35-36. Zora Neale Hurston has collected many folktales and their variations in her work Mules and Men (1935), and an article on High John de Conquerer. In addition, some have believed that stories of John Henry are transposed legends regarding Changó because the hammer and the divinity's axe are quite similar.
99. Samuel Floyd, *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6-7.

100. Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 72; Tony Russell, *The Blues: From Robert Johnson to Robert Cray* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997), 61; Alan Lomax, *The Land Where the Blues Began* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), 365, 399; Simpson, "Afro-American Religious Behavior," 8-9.
101. Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 7; Quotes in Louis Henry Gates, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 51-52; Isabella Mercedes Castellanos, "The Use of Language in Afro-Cuban Religion," (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1977), 147. Shouting is an emotional explosion that can be expressed by singing rhythm, speaking rhythm, humming rhythm, or by foot stomping and hand clapping. The similarity to possession implies special favor from a spirit, or the Holy Spirit in the Sanctified Church.
102. Quote from Joseph Campbell, *The Power of Myth* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 14; Floyd "Power of Black Music," 41.
103. Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 48, 51, 88-89.

104. Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 89; Quotes from Bart Landry, *The New Black Middle Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 34-35.
105. Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 86, 104-105.
106. For a comprehensive collection, bibliography and investigation into the origin of the word "jazz," see Alan Merriam and Fradley Garner, "Jazz-The Word," in *The Jazz Cadence of American Culture*, ed. Robert O'Meally (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 7-31; Quote from Thompson, "Flash of the Spirit," 104.
107. Thomas Fiehrer, "Saint-Domingue/Haiti: Louisiana's Caribbean Connection," *Louisiana History* 30, no. 4 (1989): 419-437; Paul Lachance, "The 1809 Immigration of Saint-Domingue Refugees to New Orleans: Reception, Integration and Impact," *Louisiana History* 29, no. 2 (1989): 109-141; Robert Goffin, *Jazz: From the Congo to the Metropolitan* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975), 16.
108. Goffin, "From Congo to Metropolitan," 16; Eddie Meadows, "Jazz Antecedents," in *African American Jazz and Rap: Social and Philosophical Examinations of Black Expressive Behavior* (Jefferson: McFarland &

- Company, Inc., Publishers, 2001), 56; John
Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1890* (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1973), 139-140.
109. John Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin
American Music on the United States, Second Edition*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3-4.
110. *Ibid.*, 3-5.
111. *Ibid.*, 5.
112. *Ibid.*, 16-17.
113. *Ibid.*, 34-35, 40.
114. Meadows, "Jazz Antecedents," 56-57; Quote from
Blassingame, "Black New Orleans," 3.
115. Blassingame, "Black New Orleans," 3-4; Castellanos,
"Use of Language," 146-148.
116. Goffin, "From Congo to Metropolitan," 22-23, 26.
117. Goffin, "From Congo to Metropolitan," 26, 30-31;
Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 70.
118. Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz* (New York: Oxford
University Press, 1997), 34; Meadows, "Jazz
Antecedents," 57.
119. Gioia, "The History of Jazz," 34; Quote from Donald
Marquis, *In Search of Buddy Bolden* (Baton Rouge:
Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 58; Barry

- Martyn and Mike Hazeldine, ed., *New Orleans Style* (New Orleans: Jazzology Press, 1994), 60, 63, 175.
120. Gioia, "History of Jazz," 31; Quote in Pops Foster and Tom Stoddard, *The Autobiography of Pops Foster: New Orleans Jazzman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 29, 37.
121. John Szwed, "Afro-American Musical Adaptation," in *Afro-American Anthropology*, ed. Norman Whitten and John Szwed (New York: Free Press, 1970), 225; Gioia, "History of Jazz," 20-21.
122. Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 71; Waterman, "Hot Rhythm," 30.
123. Waterman, "Hot Rhythm," 29.
124. Gioia, "History of Jazz," 5.

Chapter Three

1. Geoff Simons, *Cuba: From Conquistador to Castro* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 121-123; Laird W. Bergad, Fe Iglesias García, and María del Carmen Barcia, *The Cuban Slave Market, 1790-1880* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143. Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 105-106. The second book is by far the most complete study to date on slave prices by age, nationality, and occupation, as well as the topic of coartación, the slave's right to purchase freedom.
2. Simons, "From Conquistador to Castro," 138.
3. Leonardo Acosta, *Cubano Be, Cubano Bop: One Hundred Years of Jazz in Cuba* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 2-3; Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 26-27. The study by Helg is the most recent work to pinpoint the persistence of racism in Cuba, and it refutes rhetoric from the Marxist-Leninist stance that all Cubans are equal and that racism no longer exists. In addition, the book fills in a

missing piece of social history, and how Afro-Cuban society functioned in the wars for independence and under American occupation.

4. Simons, "From Conquistador to Castro," 139-151;
Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba Between Empires, 1878-1902* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), xv; Pérez, "Cuba Between Reform and Revolution," 124-125.
5. Simons, "From Conquistador to Castro," 151-157;
Pérez, "Cuba Between Empires," xv-xvii; Aline Helg, "Our Rightful Share," 9; Pérez, "Cuba Between Reform and Revolution," 144-145.
6. Simons, "From Conquistador to Castro," 157-160;
Pérez, "Cuba Between Reform and Revolution," 144-145.
7. Pérez, "Cuba Between Empires," xvii-xix.
8. *Ibid.*, 178-192. Article IV of the Teller Amendment specified that the United States would not assume hegemony or jurisdiction over Cuba, and that once Spain had been ejected, the government and control of the island would be relinquished back to Cuba.

9. Pérez, "Cuba Between Empires," 220-221; Helg, "Our Rightful Share," 17; Pérez, "Cuba Between Reform and Revolution," 176-178.
10. Pérez, "Cuba Between Empires," 385-386; Helg, "Our Rightful Share," 25-27.
11. Simons, "From Conquistador to Castro," 219; Pérez, "Cuba Between Reform and Revolution," 183-185.
12. Pérez, "Cuba Between Empires," 317-335; Pérez, "Cuba Between Reform and Revolution," 185-188. Louis A. Pérez, Cuba Under the Platt Amendment (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), xvii. The Platt Amendment served as a convenient means to enact American nineteenth century policy regarding Cuba. Essentially it became annexation without occupation, although military interventions have been one of its legacies.
13. Acosta, "Cubano Be, Cubano Bop," 10; Helg, "Our Rightful Share," 2-4, 11-13, 194-196.
14. Acosta, 10-11; Helg, "Our Rightful Share," 247-248. It seems likely that the interest in Afro-Cuban studies is tied to the rise of Primitivism in art and Pan-Africanism, the movement that helped

- instigate the Harlem Renaissance in the United States.
15. Ibid., xi, 2, 3. The influence on the comic theatre in Cuba by American musical groups is a recent "discovery" by the musicologist Robin D. Moore.
 16. Katherine Hagedorn, *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santeria* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 9, 11; Helg, "Our Rightful Share," 247-248. Fernando Ortíz's first book Hampa Afro-Cubana: Los Negros Brujos, published in 1906, is extremely ethnocentric, and based on newspaper articles and police crime reports. In his later works, he had become steadily more accurate and less judgmental in his presentation of Afro-Cuban history and folklore. Helg's study of Afro-Cuban society between 1886-1912 is especially insightful on how blacks have been treated and how the religious cults had been suppressed.
 17. Kathy J. Ogren, *The Jazz Revolution: Twenties America and the Meaning of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 38-41. Essentially, Spengler's book suggested that the war in Europe had

signified the end of Western Civilization, and that a decline had begun in culture as a whole.

18. Yvonne Daniel, *Rumba: Dance and Social Change in Contemporary Cuba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 17-18; Algeliers León, *Del Canto y el Tiempo* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1984), 153.
19. John S. Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 6-7; Robin D. Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afro-Cubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), 168; María Teresa Vélez, *Drumming for the Gods: The Life and Times of Felipe García Villamil, Santero, Palero, and Abakuá* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 35-36. The drummer tells Vélez how he learned all of the traditions playing on the streets in Matanzas, both the secular and sacred rhythms.
20. Roberts, "The Latin Tinge," 6-7.
21. Daniel, "Rumba," 58; In Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 80-85. The drummer García Villamil discusses

the fine line of secrecy and attitudes regarding folkloric performance and sacred music. Generally, the older religious figures did not approve, and the Abakuá resented the activity unless the artist first gained their approval or support.

22. Daniel, "Rumba," 36-37.
23. David H. Brown, *The Light Inside: Abakuá Society Arts and Cuban Cultural History* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 237.
24. Brown, "The Light Inside," 125-126, 149, 151; Helg, "Our Rightful Share," 107-116. The fear of ñañiguismo in Cuba spawned many myths of black rapists, ritual child murder, and generally disparaged Afro-Cubans and ridiculed them in the comic theatre as well.
25. Brown, "The Light Inside," 167; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 82-85. The Abakuá Society members are said to be particularly possessive of their innermost secrets, and some folkloric drummers have managed to convince their lodges that the performances are for educating the public. However, it remains unclear if permission existed prior to the 1960s.

26. Acosta, "Cubano Be, Cubano Bop," 9; Pérez, "Cuba Between Reform and Revolution," 201-203.
27. Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 3-6; Pérez, "Cuba Between Reform and Revolution," 251-254.
28. Schwartz, 6-7; Ogren, "The Jazz Revolution," 70-78.
29. Schwartz, "Pleasure Island," 10-15; Helg, "Our Rightful Share," 25-27.
30. Acosta, "Cubano Be, Cubano Bop," 8-9; Moore, "Nationalizing Blackness," 166.
31. Moore, "Nationalizing Blackness," 1-4.
32. *Ibid.*, 4-6. Moore gives an excellent and detailed account of the stereotyped characters in the Teatro Vernacular, including the Lucumí witch dressed in white.
33. Peter Manuel, *Caribbean Currents: From Rumba to Reggae* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 35-37.
34. *Ibid.*, 37-38.
35. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 138-143.
36. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 138-143; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 80-85. García Villamil

tells Vélez that in addition to seeking sanction from santeros prior to performing sacred music in the folkloric setting, the paleros and members of the Abakuá Society also had to be consulted. Such resistance has been typical to the older generations who never fully came to terms with the publicizing of sacred traditions, regardless of the intent.

37. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 138-143.
38. Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 85-86, 105; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 44-49. The quote is from an interview with Alberto Villarrealto, one of many over the years conducted by Katherine Hagedorn. García Villamil supports the street notion in his recollections to Vélez, and indicates that many years of apprenticeship are required, as well as extensive practice in different traditions.
39. Manuel, "Caribbean Currents," 38.
40. Ibid.
41. Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 94; Samuel A. Floyd, *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 100-101; Tony Martin, *The*

- Pan-African Connection: From Slavery to Garvey and Beyond (Dover: Majority Press, 1983), vii.
42. Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 100-101, 106-107.
 43. Ibid., 106-107.
 44. Gioia, "The History of Jazz," 94-95.
 45. Ibid., 95.
 46. Gunther Schuller, *The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz, 1930-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3-5.
 47. Schuller, "The Swing Era," 5-6; Chip Deffaa, *Swing Legacy* (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press and the Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University, 1989), 3.
 48. Deffaa, "Swing Legacy," 3; Schuller, "The Swing Era," 6.
 49. Deffaa, "Swing Legacy," 4-5.
 50. Bernard Gendron, *Between Montmartre and the Mudd Club* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 143-144.
 51. Scott De Veaux, *The Birth of Bebop: A Social and Musical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 167-168.
 52. Roberts, "The Latin Tinge," 76-83.

53. Ibid., 88-93.
54. Ibid., 100-102. White and American black musicians helped fill the frontline ranks of the Afro-Cubans as there were comparatively few Latin musicians who played trumpet and saxophone at that time.
55. Ibid., 102-105.
56. Ibid., 111-116.
57. Gioia, "History of Jazz," 212.
58. Gioia, "History of Jazz, 212; Dizzy Gillespie and Al Fraser, *To Be, Or Not to Bop: Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday, 1979), 290.
59. Acosta, "Cubano Be, Cubano Bop," 66-68; Max Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Two," *Latin Beat Magazine* 3, no. 4 (1993): 22-23.
60. Winthrop Sargeant, "Cuba's Tin Pan Alley," *Life Magazine* 6 October (1947): 145-148, 151-157.
61. De Veaux, "Birth of Bebop," 236-238. The quote is from James Baldwin.
62. Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not To Bop," 292.
63. Moore, "Nationalizing Blackness," 172; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Two," 22-23.
64. Alyn Shipton, *Groovin' High: The Life of Dizzy Gillespie*. (New York: Oxford University Press,

1999), 6-8; Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not to Bop," 1-2, 5-6. The Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches had been prominent in the Carolinas since the early nineteenth century. It is not surprising that Gillespie would have encountered two sides of the Black Church in his formative years, especially in such a rural town.

65. Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not to Bop," 11-16; Shipton, "Groovin' High," 8-15.
66. Shipton, "Groovin' High," 21, 57-63.
67. Lee Tanner, *Dizzy in His Seventy-Fifth Year* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Press, 1992), 11-12; Gioia, "History of Jazz," 222.
68. Tom Piazza, "From a Fiery Conga Player, Jazz's Latin Tinge," *New York Times*, 20 January 2002, 32; Acosta, "Cubano Be, Cubano Bop," 110-111. Jordi Pujol, *Chano Pozo: El Tambor de Cuba*. (Barcelona: Almendra Music, 2001), 100-103, 120. The music collection *El Tambor de Cuba* consists of three compact discs. It is a rare Spanish release, and I only found it less than a week before this project was due. Pujol utilized many of the same sources I have, but he has additional information on Pozo's early years in Cuba

I was not able to find. This should be considered essential as much for the music as it is revealing into Pozo's personal and artistic life.

69. Piazza, "A Fiery Conga Player," 32; Acosta, "Cubano Be, Cubano Bop," 110-111; Sargeant, "Cuba's Tin Pan Alley," 151; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Two," 22-23; Pojol, "Chano Pozo," 108-110.
70. Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Two," 22; Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not to Bop," 317-319; Piazza, "A Fiery Conga Player," 32, 38; Shipton, "Groovin' High," 201-202; Pojol, "Chano Pozo," 112.
71. Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not to Bop," 318-320; Piazza, "A Fiery Conga Player," 32, 38; Max Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," *Latin Beat Magazine* 3, no. 5 (1993): 16-17; Pojol, "Chano Pozo," 112.
72. Alyn Shipton, *A New History of Jazz* (London: Continuum, 2001), 522-524; Roberts, "The Latin Tinge," 116-117; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Two," 23.
73. Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not to Bop," 322-323; Gioia, "History of Jazz," 222-223; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Two," 23-24.
74. Shipton, "New History of Jazz," 524-525.

75. Shipton, "New History of Jazz," 523-524, Miles Davis and Quincy Troupe, *Miles: The Autobiography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989), 225. Miles wrote "Modal is seven notes off each scale, each note. It's a scale off each not, you know, a minor note. The composer-arranger George Russell used to say that in modal music C is where F should be. What I had learned about the modal form is that when you play this way, go in this direction, you can go on forever. You don't have to worry about changes and shit like that. You can do more with the musical line. The challenge here, when you work in the modal way, is to see how inventive you can become melodically...in the modal way I saw all kinds of possibilities."
76. Shipton, "New History of Jazz," 524; quote from Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not to Bop," 343; second quote in Gioia, "History of Jazz," 224; W.O. Smith, *Sideman: A Memoir* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1991), 77; Manuel, "Caribbean Currents," 43.
77. Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not to Bop," 324. First quote by Al McKinnon on page 320; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," 16-17. McKibbon is also quoted in the

article as to how he and Pozo interacted musically and socially.

78. Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not to Bop," 321. Quote by Gillespie; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," 17. McKibbon confirms that Pozo had been frustrated because he only spoke fractured English, and that he only showed band mates Afro-Cuban styles after establishing a level of trust.
79. Gillespie, "To Be, Or Not to Bop," 325, 337-338, 347; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Two," 24; Davis, "Miles: The Autobiography," 130. Miles Davis mentioned that cocaine "was a real big Latin thing."
80. Joachim E. Berendt, *The Jazz Book: From Ragtime to Fusion and Beyond* (Chicago: Independent Publishers Group, 1982), 280-282; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," 18; Pujol, "Chano Pozo," 118-119.
81. Acosta, "Cubano Be, Cubano Bop," 111; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," 17-18; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Two," 23; Pujol, "Chano Pozo," 110-112, 120.
82. Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," 17-18; Davis, "Miles: The Autobiography," 130; Pujol, "Chano Pozo," 120.

83. Acosta, "Cubano Be, Cubano Bop," 111; Davis, "Miles: The Autobiography," 130; Moore, "Nationalizing Blackness," 58.
84. Moore, "Nationalizing Blackness," 58-59; Harold Courlander, "Abakwa Meeting in Guanabocoa," *Journal of Negro History* 29, no. 4 (1944): 465; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 80-85.
85. Max Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," 17.
86. Melville Herskovits, "Drums and Drummers in Afro-Brazilian Life," *Musical Quarterly* (1944): 481-482, 484-488; Paul Sweeney, in an interview with a santero informant in Havana, he told me "don't piss her [Yemayá] off" the night after I received my elekes (beaded necklace) in a Santería ceremony; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," 17; Pujol, "Chano Pozo," 120.
87. Herskovits, "Drums and Drummers," 484-488; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 144-145; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," 17; Davis, "Miles: The Autobiography," 130, 306-307.
88. Gillespie, "To Bop, Or Not to Bop," 474, 491, 493; Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Three," 16-17.
89. Gillespie, "To Bop, Or Not to Bop," 474, 491, 493.

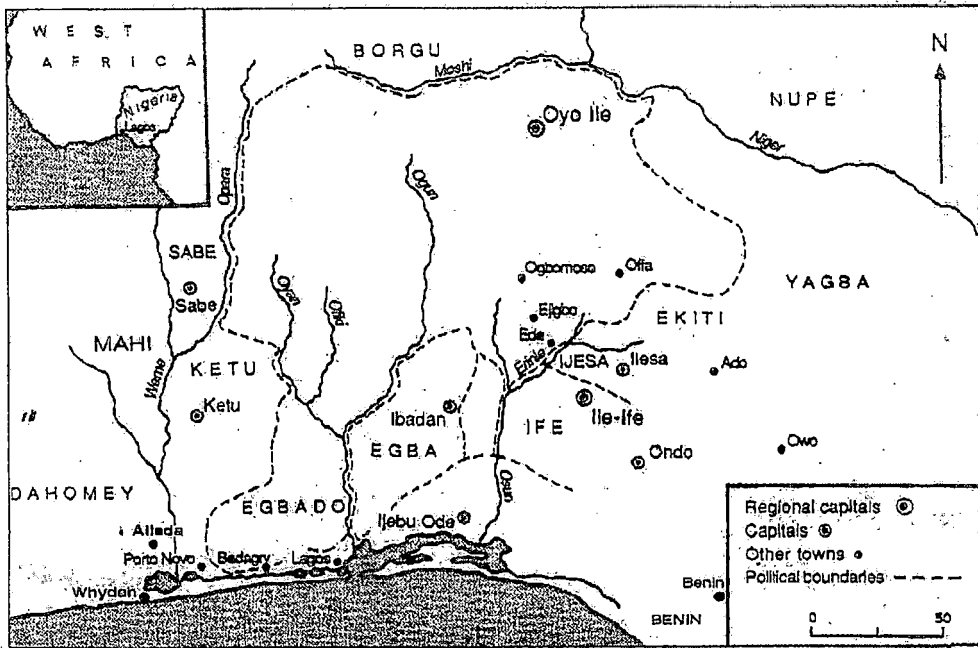
90. Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 143.
91. Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 141, 143, 145, 151-152; Vélez, "Drumming for the Gods," 158-160; Hagedorn, "Divine Utterances," 75-77; Morton Marks, "Uncovering Ritual Structures in Afro-American Music," *Religious Movements in Contemporary America*, ed. Irving Zaretsky and Mark Leone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 73-75, 79-80; Isabel Mercedes Castellanos, "The Use of Language in Afro-Cuban Religion," (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1977), 146-148.
92. Floyd, "Power of Black Music," 151-152; Ogren, "The Jazz Revolution," 53-55.
93. Salazar, "Chano Pozo, Part Two," 22.
94. Gioia, "History of Jazz," 338-339; Ogren, "The Jazz Revolution," 116-119.
95. Gioia, "History of Jazz," 338-339; Ogren, "The Jazz Revolution," 116-119.

Chapter Four

1. Robin Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), 167.
2. Ferdinand Jones, "Jazz and the Resilience of African American Music," in *Triumph of the Soul: Cultural and Psychological Aspects of African American Music* (Westport: Praeger, 2001), 128-131.
3. Martin Williams, *Jazz Masters of New Orleans* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 10-12.
4. Joseph Washington, *Black Sects and Cults* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), 35, 71-74, 76-78.
5. Jazz drummer Roy Haynes (b. 1935) used this expression when speaking with the author after one of his concerts in Los Angeles, January 7, 2005.
6. Jayne Cortez, *Coagulations: New and Selected Poems* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1984), 65-67.

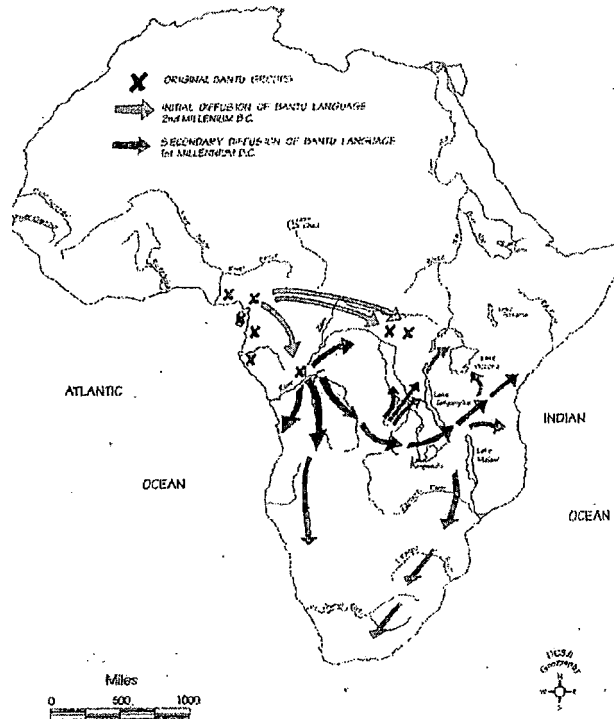
APPENDIX A

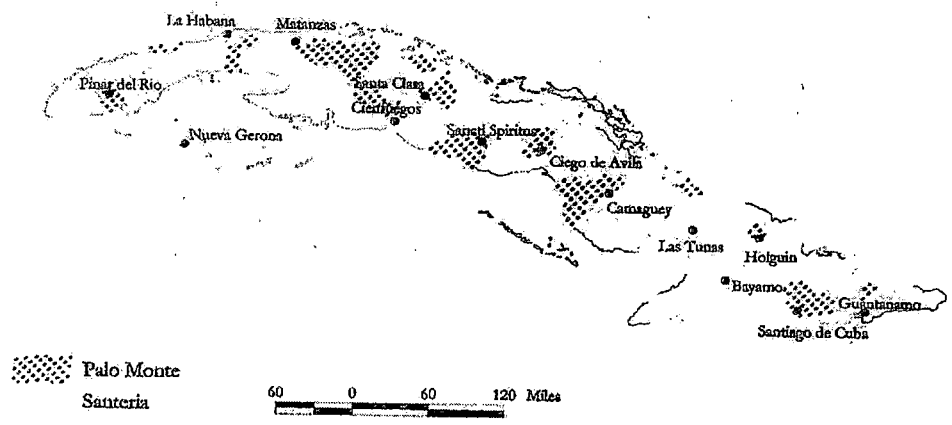
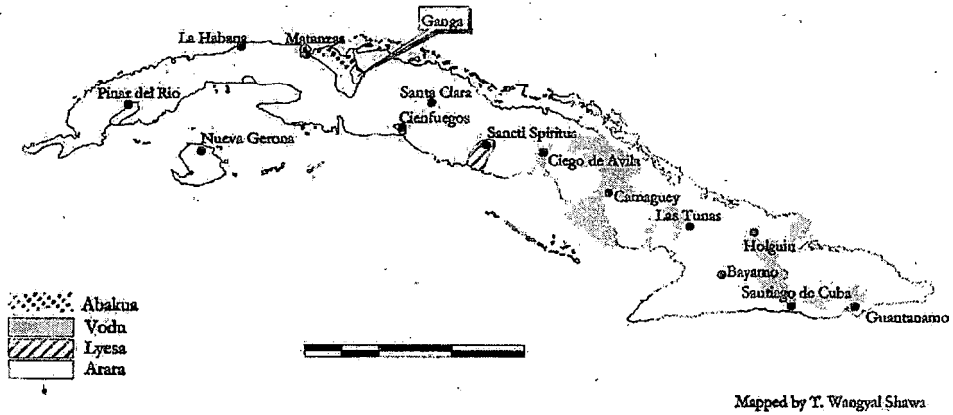
FIGURES



The Oyo Empire c. 1790.
 From Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire c. 1600-c. 1836: A West African imperialism in the era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Clarendon Press, 1977).

DIFFUSION OF THE BANTU LANGUAGES







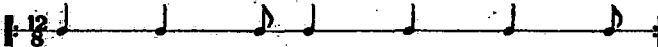
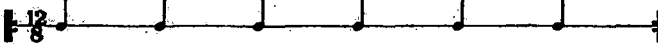
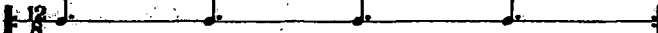
Map 2.6. Map of Old Havana showing numbered districts with this author's superimpositions of signs identifying these same districts for the Abakuá Society. Note that the sign for district 3 (now Central Havana) is just southwest of where the "whites"

Playing a Polyrhythm

The schematic example below (Musical Example 1) shows a simplified polyrhythm, using the so-called standard time-line, which is common throughout West and Central Africa as well as in neo-African religious musics in Cuba, Haiti, and Brazil. For those who do not read Western notation, the equivalents are given both in staff and in what is called TUBS (time-unit boxes) notation, in which each box represents a regular pulse unit (of which there are twelve, in this case).


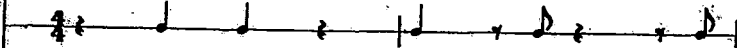
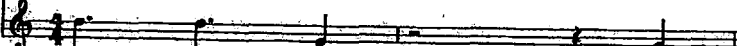
MUSICAL EXAMPLE 1

Staff Notation

Bell (time-line) 
 Drum A (two's) 
 Drum B (three's) 

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Bell (time-line)	x		x		x	x		x		x		x
Drum A (two's)	x		x		x		x		x		x	
Drum B (three's)	x			x			x			x		


MUSICAL EXAMPLE 2

Pálitos 
 Clave (2-3) 
 Congas 

MUSICAL EXAMPLE 5b

two-three clave:

1	+	2	+	3	+	4	+	5	+	6	+	7	+	8	+
		x		x				x				x			x





APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

Abakuá, Abakwa: A secret society for men, originally of Carabalí and Efik descent, but later included creoles and whites after 1836.

Abebé: The fan Oshún uses to both cool herself, and to flirt with when she dances.

Aberíkula: Unconsecrated drums, such as “aberíkula batá”, the drums played in a secular context, or a bembé.

Aché: The supernatural power that emanates from Olodumaré.

Agogó: A double-headed iron bell used in Afro-Cuban sacred and popular music.

Akpwón: The lead singer in a Santería ceremony.

Aleyo: A non-believer, or uninitiated person excluded from certain Santería ceremonies.

Aña: The secret inside sacred batá to give them ache and a voice to communicate with the orishas.

Anaforuana: Mediatory powers drawn to affirm the past in Abakuá beliefs.

Ara Orun: People of heaven, ancestors.

Asentado: Initiated into the Lucumí cult.

Asiento 1: monopoly contracts between Spain and the colonies in the New World to provide slaves.

Asiento 2: Literally “seated”, when the initiate’s orisha is “made”, and the person earns the title of santero/santera.

Ayé/Aiyé: The earth, where humans live.

Babalao: A high priest of the Lucumí religion who specializes in divination. Literally “the father of the gods.”

Babalú-Ayé: The orisha of infectious diseases, syncretised with St. Lazarus the Leper in the Santería religion.

Banganga: The name for Kongo priests in Cuba in times of slavery.

Bantú: The language base of Kongo and other West and Central African groups, often indicated as Ba-Kongo, or Ki-Kongo.

Barracoons: Slave quarters on Cuban plantations.

Barrios: Neighborhoods.

Batá: The three hourglass shaped drums used in Lucumí rituals to summon the orishas.

Batálero: A pidgen term for a batá drummer.

Bembé: A drum party where the sacred songs summon the orishas to possess their devotees.

Biague: The Lucumí divination system that uses coconut shells.

Botanica): A store where religious paraphernalia is sold.

Bozale: The African slaves in Cuba who had not learned to speak Spanish.

Brujería: Witchcraft.

Caballo: Horse, usually refers to the medium possessed by an orisha or lwa/loa.

Cabildo, Cabildo de nación: The first term applies to the Spanish government, and the other to nación lodges allowed by law where syncretic religions formed.

Cafetales: Coffee plantations in Cuba.

Calenda: A now extinct term for collective slave dances in Saint-Domingue that are believed to be early indicators of Vodou in the colony.

Carabalí: Originally the name designated people of the Calabar, ethnically Efik, Ejagham and Ibo, region of West Africa that today includes Southeastern Nigeria and Western Cameroon.

Carga: The goatskin coverings of sacred drums in the Abakuá traditions, usually consecrated through ritual sacrifice.

Ceiba: An African plane tree that is considered to be very sacred, it is also called the Iroko.

Cimaron: The name applied to runaway slaves in Cuba, also called 'maroons.'

Coartación: The legal system established by the Spanish government allowing slaves to purchase their freedom.

Collares: Beaded necklaces used in Santería and similar religions, also called Elekes (L.).

Congolese: The ethnicity of slaves who came from Bantú and similar West/Central Africa and Angolan language groups.

Conjunto: The son format that includes two trumpeter players, tres, marimbula, maracas and a conga drummer.

Creyente: A believer, religious adherent or practitioner of Santería or another Afro-Cuban tradition.

Criollos: Slaves born in Cuba into slavery.

Dillogun: The Ifá divining method that uses a chain with sixteen cowrie shells to interpret the will of the orishas.

Ebo: A blood sacrifice, offering, or purification ritual.

Effrigi: Ritual fans with nsibidi symbols.

Efun: A chalk made from ground egg whites, and used in rituals. Also called cascarilla.

Egun: Dolls constructed to honor dead ancestors.

Eleda: An orisha who serves as an individual's guardian angel, an aspect of predestination.

Encomienda: A system of labor that shared out Indigenous peoples that became virtual slavery.

Filles de Casette: French girls with a decent upbringing who had large dowries in New Orleans' early history.

Firma: Ritual symbols drawn in chalk to indicate which spirit resides in a char,.

Hoodoo: The American South spelling of Vodou, it implies conjuring and root work.

Igbodú: A secret place where sacred batá are stored between religious performances.

Ikin: The kola nut form of divination.

Ilú batá: A set of three consecrated batá drums.

Ingenios: The name applied to the sugar mills in Cuba.

Iré: A spiritual blessing, often communicated through a coconut divination.

Íreme: The devil (diablito) masked costumes (saco) of the Abakuá.

Itótele: The medium sized batá.

Iyá: The mother drum and largest of the sacred batá ensemble.

Ladinos: Slaves who became baptized and could speak Spanish, Portuguese, or French.

Lunga is basimbi: A Congolese form of divination using small bones painted with symbols.

Lwa/Loa: The term for Vodou gods, similar to orisha, it is derived from the Yoruba word "babalao" meaning "father of the gods."

Mambo(s): A generic name used for Kongo ritual songs, and the dance form that arose in the twentieth century.

Manteca de Corojo: Lard, grease, or oil obtained from the Corojo tree in the province of Matanzas, often as a ritual component in Santería.

Marimbula: A stringed instrument with a deep bass tone, used in the son style of music.

Mayombero: A Kongo priest, also known as a Palero.

Mfumu: A King of Kongo who also practices magic.

Minkisi: Sacred medicines, the basis for Kongo traditional beliefs.

Nnimm: A secret society for women on the Niger Delta that failed to reorganize in Cuba after the Middle Passage.

Moyumba: A prayer to the dead.

Ñañigo: A little brother, the member of the Abakuá Society, and a term often used disparagingly to imply criminal activity and racism.

Ndoki: A sorcerer.

Negro de Nación: Slaves' ethnic designations.

Nganga: Benevolent spirits that reside in a cauldron in a Mayombero's service.

Ngbe: The African name of the Abakuá Society.

Nkisi: Evil spirits, or Aká Fumbi, of a dead person.

Nsala-banda: A cloth used in charm making.

Nsibidi: Sacred signs and symbols of the Abakuá Society in Cuba.

Nsumbi: A kind of conga drum.

Nzambi Mpunga: The Creator God in Kongo belief.

Obinus: The plural form for coconut.

Ochatur: A pidgin word used to indicate the commercialization of Santería to foreign tourists.

Ochún: The patron saint of Cuba, and the Aphrodite of the Yoruba pantheon.

Okónkolo: The smallest of the batá.

Oluó: A rare, highest-level babalao.

Omiero: Holy water, usually infused with specific herbs for specific orishas, used in ceremonies and purification rites.

Ori: Head.

Orin: Song.

Orisha: Yoruba deities who intercede between humans and the Creator God.

Oru/Oro: Songs and drummed rhythms in honor of the orishas.

Orunmila/Orunla: The deity associated with Ifá divination and babálaos. In Yoruba the name means "only heaven knows the meaning of salvation."

Otanes: The sacred stones of power that priests of the Lucumí religion keep in their secret possession.

Palenques: Secret encampments where cimaroons lived in the woods and wild areas.

Pataki: Legends, myths, and tales about the orishas with cultural relevance.

Pennisulares: A term used to designate Spanish-born colonists.

Potencias: Societies, usually associated with the Abakuá tradition.

Puyas: Literally, a sharp point. They are typically lines in songs that taunt or goad an orisha to appear, and like signifying, seek to find a middle ground in case the deity arrives angry or argumentative.

Registro: A consultation of the oracles.

Regla: Rule.

Regla de Ocha: Rule of the orishas, another, more accurate name for Santería.

Resguardo: An object, symbol or talisman that serves to protect an individual.

Santera/Santero: A priest(ess) of Santería, initiated in the rite of asiento, and a mandatory position for drummers of sacred music..

Sese: A symbolic drum that is important to the origin myths within individual Abakuá lodges.

Shango: The spelling typically associated with the "Shouters" cult in Trinidad.

Shekere: A large gourd with an ornate beaded cover used in sacred music.

Sikán: The mother of the Leopard sacred to Abakuá traditions.

Solares: Neighborhoods where black Cubans dwelt.

Son: The music form that originated in Cuba from traditional Afro-Cuban influences.

Tambor: Drum.

Tambor Aberí Kula: Unconsecrated batá drums, usually played in folkloric settings.

Toque(s): A drummed rhythm in honor of the orishas, also called toques de santos.

Vèvès: Sacred symbols of lwa in Vodou.

Vodou/Vodun/Voodoo: The many spellings of the Dahomean religion that evolved in the West Indies. The "Voodoo" spelling is discouraged by current scholars who feel it refers to the misrepresentations of the religion through various media.

Wemíleres: A term synonymous with bembé.

Yemayá: The Yoruba water deity associated with the oceans in Afro-Caribbean religions, she is highly respected and one of the Seven African Powers.

Yoruba: The ethnic group of Southwestern Nigeria that once dwelt in separate city-states.

Yuka: A type of West and Central African fertility dance, that is by drums and singing.

Zarabanda: Charms.

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