In New York the phrase “Latin music” has come to mean the up-tempo hot Latin dance-band sound currently known as salsa but the history of Latin music in New York goes back much further than the salsa industry. (ªSalsa,º literally “sauce” is used to describe the feeling performers put into their music, like savory,” “spicy,” “tangy.” Thus playing con salsa means playing with soul.*) Earlier in the century, Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood borrowed some of the music and dance forms of Mexico, Cuba, and Argentina and incorporated these elements to add flavor and a touch of exoticism. The tango dance craze to which this thirst for exoticism gave rise lasted through the thirties and spread throughout Europe as well as the United States. But the music “as merely a Latin-flavored Tin Pan Alley stereo-typed imitation. This “as not the case with the Cuban rumba craze that swept the United States and the Continent at the start of the thirties. (Rumba music is known as son in Cuba. Son and rumba will be discussed below.) The craze was short-lived in Europe and everywhere in the United States except New York, where a sizable Latin community had begun to form in East Harlem. El Barrio (literally “the quarter”), as this community was known by its residents, created a second major audience for Latin music in New York. The first continued to flourish in the downtown and East Side nightclubs that catered to white audiences demanding Americanized versions of Latin music. The Latin audiences demanded the real thing, which they got in the uptown dance halls and nightclubs.

In 1898, after the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico became a protectorate of the United States, and in 1917 the United States imposed citizenship upon the Puerto Rican people. With citizenship they were free to travel between the island and the mainland without the delays and restrictions faced by other immigrant groups. By this time the island’s economy had experienced an agricultural industrialization as a result of North American investment. In the twenties this industrialization began to decline and in the thirties reached full collapse. Although it remained profitable to investors throughout the Depression, agricultural industrialization proved unable to provide a subsistence wage for the majority of the people. This economic upheaval gave rise to movement from the rural areas to the cities and in many cases from the cities to the mainland when work could not be obtained on the island.

Migration from the island to the mainland was significant in the twenties and thirties, but the factors that stimulated migration became sharper aggravated in the forties, when there was a shift from agriculture to industry, once again as a result of North American capital. This industrialization, however, could not absorb the growing labor pool. The demand for unskilled or semiskilled labor in industry and the service sector on the mainland, combined with unemployment on the island and the Puerto Rican government’s encouragement of migration, resulted in massive migrations starting immediately after World War II. Two additional factors facilitated these migrations: the Puerto Rican government made an agreement with the Federal Aviation Administration to lower transportation rates between the island and the mainland, and large media campaigns on the island lauded the values of moving to the United States, which was depicted as the land of opportunity.

The massive migrations lasted until the end of the fifties, and although there has been a decline in the numbers of migrants, the flow continues to the present. A factor of great importance is the constant contact that migrants and their children have maintained with their island home through frequent messages, letters, telephone calls, and visits.

While Puerto Rican migrants have settled in nearly every state, New York City has by far the greatest concentration. El Barrio was the first major Puerto Rican community in New York and remains the best-known, although it is no longer the largest.

In the early fifties, people from the same town on the island began to form home-town social clubs. These clubs, named after the home towns (for example, Club Lares, Club Ponce), were intended to re-create the home-town environment. They also gave the members a means of coping with an alien environment, assisted the newcomer in adapting to life in the city, and provided a forum for the discussion of the problems of daily existence. The clubs were usually converted factory lofts decorated with artifacts, memorabilia, and photographs from home. They were family-oriented places where members could come together to socialize in a manner they had been used to on the island. The music performed in the clubs provided entertainment and also aided in creating a sense of the home town. As a rule, the cuarteto sound of the jibaro (rural dweller) dominated these settings.

Cuban migrations to New York, although significant, never reached the proportions of the
Puerto Rican migrations. A primary factor was the stringent United States laws imposing a quota on the numbers of immigrants. Some Cubans managed to circumvent the quota system by going first to Puerto Rico and from there entering the United States, but this accounts for only a small number of Cuban immigrants.

The economic factors that stimulated migrations from Puerto Rico also obtained in Cuba, but the economic problems of the campesino (farmer) and urban unskilled or semiskilled laborer were compounded by racial issues. The Spanish colonizers had transported African slaves to Cuba in much greater numbers than to Puerto Rico, hence the black population was sizable. Socioeconomic distinctions were made primarily along racial lines, relegating a disproportionate number of blacks to the lower strata. Black Cubans who came to the United States before the revolution of 1959 cite racism in Cuba as a strong factor in the decision to emigrate.

Aided by a relaxation in the laws, immigration patterns changed after the revolution. Before 1959 the majority of Cuban immigrants were from the lower classes, and of these a large percentage were black. Although some, campesinos and urban dwellers (black and white) continued to enter the United States after 1959, a disproportionate number of immigrants came from the middle and upper socioeconomic strata. The new immigration was top-heavy with businessmen, intellectuals, and professionals.

Other Hispanic peoples have migrated to New York in significant numbers, although never in the same proportions as the Puerto Ricans. Immigrants from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela, among others, settled in the areas established by the Puerto Ricans, but more often formed their own distinct communities. The Cubans, for example, are concentrated in the area west of Broadway and north of One-hundred thirtieth Street and in sections of Washington Heights.

**JIBARO MUSIC FORMS**

Seis, aguinaldo, mapayé, and danza are Spanish-derived forms for solo voice and instrumental accompaniment. The danza is the only one that was written by composers in the Western art-music tradition and the only one that developed among the elite in the urban areas of Puerto Rico. Possible influences on the danza were the Cuban habanera and the European country-dance. The danza had become popular all over the Caribbean in the nineteenth century and was performed by dance orchestras modeled after European salon traditions.

The danza is the only form on this album whose structure is sectionalized in the manner of European art music. The piece begins with an introduction (paseo), which is followed by a minimum of two contrasting sections, each of which is repeated. The number of contrasting sections is at the discretion of the composer. The Puerto Rican danza is distinguished from other Caribbean danzas by a distinctive rhythmic structure.

In the early nineteenth century, large plantations (haciendas) were formed as a result of the Spanish land grants, which gave one family control over large portions of land, much of which was already being worked independently by jíbaros. The hacienda system relegated the jíbaro to a position of subservience to the landowner (hacendado), making him a sharecropper. The hacendados perceived themselves as an aristocratic rather than agrarian class. They made frequent excursions from their country homes to the cities for a variety of reasons, including entertainment, which they sought in the salons. Danzas and other European-derived musical and dance forms were played in these places. Many hacendados also acquired pianos for their homes. The piano and the European-oriented music played on it were symbols that reinforced the hacendados’ aristocratic pretensions. In addition, the hacendados invited orchestras from the cities to perform on special occasions at their haciendas. In this way the jíbaros came into contact with these musical forms, many of which they adapted to their own expressive styles. For the most part, forms such as the danza retained their structure but were adapted to the instruments of the jíbaros: guitar, cuatro (a small ten-stringed guitarlike instrument), maracas (a pair of rattles), and güiro (a scraped gourd). The word cuarteto refers to various combinations of these instruments and has come to symbolize the “typical” sound and repertoire of jíbaro music.

In addition to the adaptations of European art-music forms, the jíbaros possess a varied repertoire of traditional music. Forms such as the seis, aguinaldo, and mapayé are derived from music brought to the New World by the Spanish settlers. The seis (literally “six”) takes its name from a six-couple dance and refers to a variety of musical and dance forms, although not all seises are intended for dancing. The type of seis is identified by town of origin (for example seis de Fajardo), type of dance (seis chorroreo), type of text (seis con décima), harmonic structure (seis mapayé), or composer (e.g. seis de Andino). Hence the word seis does not appear alone. “La Cuna de Mis Amores” is a seis con décima, which is one of the few seisess not danced. Seis con décima, the slowest of all seisés, consists of a cuarteto accompanying a solo singer.
The improvised text is based on a décima (ten-line-stanza) structure, each line consisting of six or eight syllables. This improvised stanzaic form, common throughout Latin America, is frequently incorporated into other forms of jíbaro music.

“Las Mujeres de Borinquen” is a seis mapayé, a form more popularly known as le lo lai, after the vocables sung at the beginnings of various verses. Le lo lai is characterized by a more varied harmonic structure than that of the other seises and is always in the minor mode. The texts of le lo lai are generally improvised around nostalgic themes of homeland, motherhood, nature, and idealized love, themes that characterize much of the jíbaro repertoire.

The aguinaldo differs from danzas and seises in that it is associated with a particular season. During Christmas, groups traveled from house to house singing aguinaldos and asking for small symbolic gifts such as food and drink. (The word aguinaldo means a gift that is requested at Christmas time.) In recent years the aguinaldo has come to be associated with other occasions. Aguinaldo texts, whose contents may be religious, secular, or a combination, are based on a décima structure.

With the migrations of jíbaros from the rural regions to the urban areas of Puerto Rico, the musical forms underwent a shift in emphasis. In the country, the danza, seis, mapayé, and aguinaldo were used for entertainment at all types of formal and informal gatherings. In the cities, special occasions such as weddings, baptisms, and holidays became the primary settings for these forms. Jíbaro musical expression in New York found its outlet in the home-town social clubs, where it again was used for informal entertainment as well as for special occasions.

BOMBA AND PLENA

Bomba and plena are the only distinctive African-derived musical and dance forms of Puerto Rico. They both developed in the coastal towns, where large communities of black workers gathered around the sugarcane mills. Bomba is an entertainment form and is generally performed at social gatherings. It is a couple dance in which the woman performs relatively fixed dance steps while her partner is free to exhibit his dancing skills. He competes with the requintador (lead drummer), who rhythmically responds to his steps. The bomba ensemble consists of cuá (a pair of sticks stuck on the side of a dram or some other hard resonant surface), which provides a fixed rhythmic pattern (time line) around which the other instruments are organized; one or two seguidoras (low-pitched barrel-shaped drums), which provide a fixed supporting rhythm; and requinto (higher-pitched barrel-shaped dram), which plays changing rhythmic patterns within the rhythmic structure of the seguidoras and cuá. (The terms seguidora and requinto refer not only to the names of the drums in the ensemble, but also to the drums' musical function. The seguidora is always a supporting drum, and the requinto, also known as quinto, is an improvisatory drum.) The specific manner in which these patterns are organized is regulated by the rhythmic nature of the song text and the movement of the male dancer. In addition to the cuá, seguidora, and requinto, maracas or a güiro may be included in the ensemble, increasing the rhythmic density and drive. A campana (cowbell) is optional and may substitute for or be used in addition to the cuá, reinforcing the time line. Bomba texts are usually on topical themes relating to everyday life in the community, such as social relationships, work, or historical events. They may also be spontaneous statements commenting on activities taking place in the performance. The musical form of bomba consists of alternation between solo singer and chorus in a call-and-response pattern. The soloist, having textural and melodic freedom, presents the main themes of the text, while the chorus is restricted to a fixed response.

Plena, although African-derived, incorporates more European musical elements than does bomba. Plena began as a street music, but as it moved into the bars and nightclubs it came to be associated with night life and the underworld. Although white and black musicians performed plena, the whites associated it more with slumming, but for blacks plena was a valid part of their musical heritage. Plena is a couple dance, but the dance is not an integral part of the event, as it is in bomba. The competitive interaction between drummer and dancer that characterizes bomba is not found in plena. A number of instruments may be used in various combinations in the plena ensemble. In “El Safacón de la 102nd St,” Montañez uses four panderetas (frame drums); two seguidoras and one punto de dave (supporting drums) provide fixed interlocking patterns; the fourth pandereta (requinto) plays extended rhythmic passages that accent portions of the rhythmic structure of the text. The requintador is also allotted a segment of the piece in which to demonstrate competence on his instrument. Montañez also uses conga drums, which have only recently been added to the plena ensemble to reinforce the seguidoras. The güiro, playing a fixed rhythm, is an indispensable part of the plena ensemble. The harmonica has various uses within the ensemble: melodic introduction of the vocal refrain, contrapuntal accompaniment to the
verse, melodic unison with the refrain, melodic embellishment of the verse or refrain, and solo performance to demonstrate the player's skill. This instrumentation does not represent a fixed format for plena ensemble. The minimum requirement is two seguidoras, one requinto, one güiro, and either harmonica or accordion, both of which serve the same musical function. When a guitar is included it provides harmonic accompaniment.

Plena texts are on contemporary or historic events and are in a stanzaic verse-refrain structure.

In New York, bomba and plena have undergone certain transformations. Their use at informal social gatherings—and, in the case of plena, in nightclubs—has sharply declined. However, their content is being reinterpreted in the salsa conjunto (small-group) format. Bomba and plena are reaching a wider audience through the popular-music industry.

**Lucumí and Santería**

An important form of musico-religious expression of Puerto Ricans and Cubans in New York derives from beliefs and practices of the Yoruba people of Nigeria and Dahomey in West Africa. The belief systems of the Yoruba and other African peoples were brought to the New World as a result of the slave trade. Voluntary organizations provided a means for these peoples to maintain their identity in the post-slavery period. From these organizations, which were known in Cuba as cabildos, the Yoruba-derived Lucumí and other religious and secret societies of African origins emerged. Lucumí beliefs are characterized by complex relationships among the forces of nature, concepts about the creation of the world, the pantheon of orishas, and man. Each orisha is associated with various myths, herbs, stones, colors, animals, and musical forms. An individual is devoted exclusively to one orisha, who may, during ritual events, possess his devotee. Once this is accomplished the orisha becomes actualized in human form and can interact with participants in the event. The philosophical foundation and organizing framework for these beliefs are centered in a system of divination known as Ifa.

Syncretism between Catholicism, as imposed by the Spaniards, and the African belief systems of the slaves resulted in certain superficial changes in Lucumí, the most common of which was overt acceptance of the symbols of Catholicism in an effort to mask Lucumí religious practices (e.g. saints' names were equated with orishas). This was necessitated by the attempts of the dominant political and religious structure in Cuba to force blacks to sever ties with their African heritage and thus gain greater control over them. Despite such superficial changes in Lucumí, adherents made a conscious attempt to maintain a close identification with Yoruba practices by using the Yoruba language in religious contexts and by observing the function and role of the orishas, musical practices, and numerous other aspects of their world view. However, two basic changes occurred in Cuba. Whereas in Africa each religious center was devoted to one orisha, and an individual's dedication to that orisha was determined mainly by lineage, the situation in the New World did not allow for an individual center to be committed to one orisha. Instead, each center paid homage to the entire pantheon. Furthermore, as a result of the destruction of family lineages by slavery, acquisition of one's personal orisha came to be determined solely by Ifa divination.

The migrations of Cubans to New York City, both before and after the revolution, led to the establishment of religious centers in New York. Lucumí in New York became popularly known as Santería. The multi-ethnic character of the city is reflected in the religious centers. Membership now includes black and white North Americans as well as Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and other Latino groups.

Music functions in the Santería as the central organizing feature of different events in the ceremony. Igbodú and Eya Aranla are separate events in the ceremony, and each serves a particular ritual purpose. The purpose of the Igbodú is to pay homage to the pantheon of orishas through a set liturgical sequence of rhythms known as Orú del Igbodú, which is performed on the batá while members stand in silent reverence. Batá is a drum family composed of three different-sized instruments, each of which is double-headed and hourglass in shape. They are held horizontally, with one hand on each membrane. The largest drum, iya, communicates directly with the orishas, each of whom has his own identifying rhythms. The iya also enters into musico-linguistic conversations with the itótele, the second largest drum. Okómkolo, the smallest drum, plays a rhythmic pattern that changes when signaled to do so by the iya.

The ritual purpose of the Eya Aranla is to facilitate communication between the orishas and the devotees. This is done through the Orú del Eya Aranla, a series of chants performed for each orisha by a lead singer (akpwón) and chorus (ankori) in a call-and-response pattern while the batá plays corresponding rhythms. The Orú is performed to call the orisha into the ceremony. When called, the orisha manifests itself in human form through possession of individual devotees. In this way the orisha is now able to communicate directly with the participants.
RUMBA

Rumba is the generic term for a group of African-derived Cuban musical and dance forms. Each form reflects a different degree of syncretism among African and Spanish linguistic, musical, and dance elements. Since slavery times rumba has provided a means for commentary on a wide range of issues, such as political and social events affecting the life of the community.

Three of the better-known forms of rumba are guaguancó, yambú, and columbia. The instrumental ensemble for guaguancó and columbia is a set of three drums—quinto, segundo, and tumba—which function the same as the requinto and seguidoras of the bomba. The ensemble for yambú is the same, except that the segundo is optional. The segundo and tumba, when used together, provide the supporting rhythmic structure through inter-locking patterns. Cáscura and claves are used in all three rumba forms. Cáscura are like the cuá of the bomba, and together with the claves serve the same function of providing the time line around which the other instruments are organized.

Guaguancó, yambú, and columbia, all musical and dance forms, also use solo voice and chorus. Similarities between yambú and guaguancó exist in their musical form, which may be divided into three basic sections. The first, la diana, is a melodic passage sung in vocables by one of the lead singers or the chorus and serves to cue both the beginning of the song and sectional changes. El canto consists of verses sung by a lead singer and stanzas sung by the chorus. The verses may be traditional, improvised, or a combination. The verses of the canto thus provide a framework within which the singer can display his poetic and improvisational ability in addition to his knowledge of the traditional repertoire. The verses may also be traded off between two lead singers who enter into a sung verbal duel to see who can be more creative in his use of humor, irony, and metaphor. The final section of the piece, called rumba or el montuno, switches to a call and response between lead singer and chorus. Although lead singers may take turns initiating the calls, the element of verbal competition that characterizes the canto section is not present.

The main distinction between yambú and guaguancó—other than that yambú is slower—is the dance that occurs in the montuno section of each. In guaguancó the dance is a competition between male and female in which the man attempts to symbolically conquer the woman by the execution of a pelvic thrust known as vacunao.

While this competition is taking place, the quinto interacts with the dancers by responding to their movements. The element of competition does not exist in the montuno section of yambú; rather, the couples jointly give an elaborate display of expertise. That the vacunao is consciously avoided can be seen in the frequent call of the lead singer: “En el yambú no se vacuna [as sung], caballeros” (“In the yambú there is no vacunao, gentlemen”).

Columbia differs from yambú and guaguancó in several respects. The latter are in duple meter; columbia is in triple meter. Columbia has no diana section; it has an introductory section, sometimes called llorao, in which the lead singer calls his chorus to sound their presence. In columbia the dance in the montuno section is for men only, and the movements allude to personages in the Abakuá secret society as well as display the dancer’s virtuosity. Competition exists between the dancer and the quintador, who interact closely. The texts of guaguancó and yambú are almost always in Spanish, but columbia texts include many phrases borrowed from and alluding to the African-derived Abakuá or Lucumí.

SON

The word son is used to describe a particular type of instrumentation and feeling rather than a specific formal structure. Son emerged among blacks in the Cuban countryside as a form of entertainment at informal gatherings and was brought to urban areas in the early nineteen-hundreds. The early son ensemble consisted of a tres (guitarlike six- or nine-stringed instrument), a marimbula (large resonating box to which metal tongues are attached; when plucked, these render a bass like sound), botija (large clay jug that is blown into), bongos, maracas, claves (two hard wooden sticks struck together), and laud (Spanish-derived lute). In the cities son gained popularity among whites as dance and background music for social events and provided a major source of income for black performers. The complex African-derived rhythms, however, did not easily conform to the musical expectations of the whites, and out of economic necessity the performers simplified the rhythmic structure and deemphasized the estribillo (refrain), which consisted of call-and-response patterns.

Another feature that characterized the transition of son from the country to the cities was the incorporation of guajira, a music of the Cuban countryside whose structure, text, and musical elements are primarily of Spanish derivation. In guajira, troubadours, accompanying themselves on the tres, sing nostalgically of their country life. Son groups in the cities adapted melodic and textual
aspects of guajira to the son instrumentation and added the guajeo (interlocking melodic and rhythmic ostinato patterns based on the clave patterns).

There have been three recognizable stages in the development of son, which are typified by three groups: the Sexteto Habanero, the Septeto Nacional, and the conjuntos of Arseñio Rodriguez. Although numerous other son conjuntos were performing in the cities before 1918, the Sexteto Habanero had begun by that time to crystallize what was to become the typical son sound. Three voices became standard, a bass replaced the marimbula and botija, and a trumpet and guitar were added. The bongos, claves, maracas, and tres were kept, but the laud was dropped. Even though the Sexteto Habanero and the Septeto Nacional were playing at the same time, in the late twenties the latter began to expand on the quality of the son sound as established by the Sexteto Habanero. The general tendency toward greater Europeanization of the sound by the Septeto Nacional and other son conjuntos of this period may be related to the fact that son was gaining international popularity through records, tourism in Cuba, and performances abroad. This tendency resulted in tighter vocal harmonies, and expansion of the melodic range and use of ornamentation by the trumpet. In addition, the rhythmic pattern of the bongos became fixed, and there was less freedom for improvisation and interaction with the rest of the conjunto. The tres was assigned a larger role but had not yet reached the importance in the ensemble that it achieved with Arseñio Rodriguez.

In the thirties son also became popular in Puerto Rico when Puerto Rican musicians adopted the septeto style of the son as performed by the Septeto Nacional and other Cuban son groups. The popularity of son continued with the migrations of Cubans and Puerto Ricans to New York.

In the late thirties Arseñio Rodriguez expanded the son sound to reincorporate and reemphasize many of the African-derived elements from the countryside that had been omitted or simplified by the Sexteto Habanero and the Septeto Nacional, while continuing the Europeanizing trends initiated by these two groups. Arseñio achieved a synthesis between African- and European-derived musical elements while maintaining the integrity of both.

To the established instrumentation of the son conjunto Arseñio added a campana, a conga drum, a second trumpet, and a piano. Stylistically, Arsenjo's main innovations were to stress the guajeo and incorporate the tumbao (an ostinato pattern resulting from interlocking rhythms played by the bass and conga); structure horn arrangements and musical breaks around the clave; integrate the rhythm section (bongos, conga, bass, campana, tres, and piano) so as to achieve a melodic-rhythmic unity centered around the clave; expand the role of the tres to a solo as well as accompaniment instrument; reemphasize the importance of the estribillo; introduce a solo section (montuno) in which tres, piano, or trumpet players could demonstrate their skills; and extend the dynamic range.

Arseñio's son montunos have a special meaning for his audience because, although many of his texts continued to deal with the traditionally romantic themes of the earlier sones, he also used texts that philosophically express his sentiments toward Cuba, community life, and racial pride.

Another major innovation of Arseñio's was the creation of the mambo and its introduction into dance halls in 1937. Mambo was performed using son-conjunto instrumentation. Arseñio's mambo, his compositions, and his conjunto sound strongly influenced Latin popular music in New York. In the fifties Machito, Tito Puente, and Tito Rodriguez adapted mambo to the big-band sound. In the sixties Arseñio's conjunto sound and many of his compositions were reinterpreted by salsa musicians.

SALSA

Salsa is to Latinos as Soul is to blacks. The word connotes a feeling as well as a variety of musical traditions that have been redefined and reinterpreted in the context of the Latin popular-music scene in New York. Cuban music provides the basis for salsa, but as early as the thirties the Cuban forms had become popular in Puerto Rico. By that time in New York a sizable Latin community had begun to develop, which was tuned in to the Cuban styles and which had been hearing them in the uptown dance halls and nightclubs. Machito, a Cuban who was performing with one of the uptown bands, formed his own group—Machito and His Afro-Cubans—around 1940. The group included Mario Bauza, who had years of experience as a jazz trumpeter with numerous black swing bands. Bauza expanded the size and role of the Latin horn section, using compositional concepts of the black jazz bands, and integrated it with the full Afro-Cuban rhythm section. Thus Machito's group set the stage for a growing relationship between jazz and Latin music that led to the creation of a distinctly New York Latin sound.

In the late forties two highly influential Puerto Rican big-band leaders emerged. Tito Puente and Tito Rodriguez, together with Machito, elaborated on the mambo form and set off the mambo craze of the fifties. Somewhat later a second fad hit New York. Cha-cha-cba was brought to New York by
Cuban charanga orchestras, which consisted of several violins and one flute backed by a rhythm section. Cha-cha-cha was also incorporated into the Latin big bands. The mambo and the cha-cha reached a tremendous non-Latino audience and created a dance fad that lasted throughout the fifties.

In addition to the bands that consisted largely of New York Puerto Ricans, popular Cuban artists came to New York to perform. They brought their charts with them and hired the New York musicians to back them up, thus expanding the training ground for young New York Puerto Rican musicians. This training was the foundation of what came to be known in the late sixties as salsa.

Until the cessation of diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1962, the interaction between the New York and Cuban music scenes formed the basis for parallel musical development. After 1962 the Cuban musical forms as adopted by Puerto Ricans began to move in directions that further defined the music as a distinctly New York phenomenon. Two general tendencies can be discerned. The first reflects the contact between the Puerto Rican and black communities in New York. By the late sixties there was a large population of bilingual second-generation New York Puerto Ricans whose ties were to both the island and New York. Interaction between blacks and Puerto Ricans was facilitated by overlapping community boundaries and by participation in many of the same educational and recreational institutions. The strength, success and cultural manifestations of the movement for black identity had an important impact on young Puerto Ricans. As one musical result of this interaction, boogaloo, a black musical and dance form that gained tremendous popularity in the mid-sixties, was adapted by Puerto Rican musicians and reinterpreted as Latin buga lái'. It used standard salsa instrumentation (horns, piano, bass, congas, timba les, bongos, campana, and guiro) plus trap-drum set. The rhythmic structure was altered to accent the second and fourth beats (the backbeats), a characteristic feature of black music, and the lyrics were sung in both Spanish and English.

Latin buga lái' was an attempt to break away from the strictly Latin audience and to expand into the mass entertainment industry. But the relationships between Latin and black music were not solely economically motivated. To Puerto Rican musicians who had grown up listening to both Latin and black popular music, the latter offered a logical source for new musical ideas.

The second tendency was to look to the traditional musics of the various Hispanic peoples living in New York. Before 1962, popular Latin music in New York was based primarily on Cuban forms. A notable exception was Rafael Cortijo and his vocalist Ismael Rivera, who as early as 1957 introduced bomba and plena into the conjunto format. The Dominican merengue gained some popularity in the fifties, but it was not adapted to conjunto instrumentation until the sixties. At this time, forms such as the Colombian cumbia and Puerto Rican jíbaro music were also reinterpreted and presented in a popular-music idiom under the rubric of salsa. Thus salsa today is a vehicle for the expression of many musical forms associated with different Hispanic peoples coexisting in New York.

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Note: Song texts are not included owing to textual problems, such as frequent use of Africanisms, vocables, and idiosyncratic neologisms.

ROBERTA L. SINGER is a native New Yorker and is currently a candidate for the Ph.D. in ethnomusicology and folklore at Indiana University.

ROBERT FRIEDMAN is a native Californian and is also a Ph.D. candidate in ethnomusicology and folklore at Indiana University. Ms. Singer’s research interests are mainly in Afro-American and New York Puerto Rican music, while Mr. Friedman’s interests are in New York Cuban and Afro-Caribbean music.

El Safacón de la 102nd St.
[PLENA]
(Victor Montañez)

Víctor Montañez y sus Pleneros de la 110th Street: Víctor Montañez, Sr., lead vocal; Víctor Montañez, Jr., conga; Ismael Rivera, pandereta (punto de clave) and chorus; Marcial Reyes, pandereta (requinto) and chorus; Efraín Ramos and Pedro Juan Dumas, panderetas (seguidoras) and chorus; Francisco “Tan” Martínez, harmonica and chorus; Jaime Flores, güiro and chorus.

René Lopez, producer of this album, feels that most innovations and changes in Puerto Rican music in New York are in the realm of increased rhythmic density. Conga drums are a recent addition to plena ensembles and can now be found in plena groups in Puerto Rico as well as in Montañez’ group. The conga serves to reinforce the seguidoras. An innovation of this particular group has been to add
to the numerous conventional functions of the harmonica the role of providing rhythmic accompaniment to the pandereta (requinto) solo. Plena performance in this style has declined considerably in New York and on the island. Like the bomba, however, it has been reinterpreted by salsa groups such as those of Willie Colon and Rafael Cortijo.

“El Sacacon de la 102nd St.” (“The Garbage Can of One-hundred-second Street) is an adaptation of a traditional island form and the transplantation of the function of plena texts to the New York urban environment. The text, which talks about a burning garbage can, is perhaps a comment on the fact that fires are frequently lit in trash cans on New York streets to provide warmth in cold weather, and also present a source of potential danger.

*Bomba Calindé*  
[BOMBA]  
(Anon.)  
Victor Montañez y sus Pleneros de la 110th Street: Victor Montañez, Sr., bomba drum and lead vocal; Ismael Rivera, pandereta (requinto) and chorus; Marcial Reyes, cuá and chorus; Jaime Flores, maracas and chorus.

This piece is based on the older style of bomba as it emerged in the black coastal regions of Puerto Rico. Its performance in this style is rare today in both New York and Puerto Rico. Like the plena, however, it has been reinterpreted by salsa groups such as those of Rafael Cortijo and Willie Colon. In salsa in New York and on the island, conga drums have replaced the barrel-shaped bomba drums characteristic of the traditional ensemble.

An innovation of Montañez' group is Ismael Rivera's use of the nandereta held between the legs, which substitutes for the requinto bomba drum. One barrel drum is retained, and performs the function of the seguidora.

According to Montañez, the text consists of what were African words, the meaning of which he does not know. His recitation of them in this song is from rote memory.

Julito Collazo y su Grupo Afro-Cubano: Julito Collazo, lead vocal; Hector “Flaco” Hernandez, iya and chorus; Milton Cardona, itótele and chorus; Steve Barrios, okónkolo and chorus; Wufredo “Moreno” Tejeda, achere (gourd rattle) and chorus; Augusto Lore, Virgiho Mart and Osvaldo “Chihuahua” Martínez, chorus.

The text of this tune is in Lucumi (a Yoruba-derived language), which is traditionally used in the Santería. Although the Lucumi language and batá drum family are generally confined to religious settings, the text of this tune is secular and would not be for ceremonial use. Julito Collazo wanted to display his creative and compositional abilities and departed from the traditional thematic repertoire of religious songs. In this text he speaks of a beautiful woman who visits his home.
Loteria
[RUMBA–COLUMBIA]
(John Collazo)
John Collazo y su Grupo Afro-Cubano: John Collazo, lead vocal; Hector “Flaco” Hernandez, quinto and chorus; Milton Cardona, segundo and chorus; Virgilio Marti, tumba and chorus; Steve Berrios, cavaquinho and chorus; Osvaldo “Chihuahua” Martinez and Wilfredo “Moreno” Tejeda, chorus.

“Loteria” (“Lottery”) begins in the traditional manner with the lead singer calling to his chorus to make their presence heard. The lead singer then engages in a ritual insult formula designed to stimulate verbal competition with other rumberos present at the event. Instead of playing claves, John provides the clave pattern with hand claps.

The text is based on a type of speech-play in which the lead vocalist creates a variety of humorous images, such as conversing cockroaches and chicken electricians.

Yo Quisiera Ser
[SON MONTUNO–SALSA]
(Hector Rivera)
Hector Rivera y su Conjunto: Manny Ramos, lead vocal; Benjamin Cabrera and Brad Upton, trumpets; Hector Rivera, piano; Pablo Guzman, bass; Kike Perez, conga; Vitin Gonzalez, bongos; Adalberto Santiago, maracas and chorus; José Garcia, chorus.

The ensemble for this tune is typical salsa instrumentation. The text is about male-female relationships, as in many salsa tunes, and tells of the responses of a group of men on the street corner to a beautiful woman who passes by.

Borinquen
[DANZA]
(Izrael Berrios)
Sexteto Criollo Puertorriqueño: Izrael Berrios, lead vocal and guitar; Tito Baez, guitar; Neri Orta and Nieves Quintero, cuatro; Jaime Flores, güiro.

This danza is performed in the traditional style as created by the Puerto Rican jibaros. The text of “Borinquen” (the indigenous name for the island) uses a stylized imagery characteristic of jibaro song texts that pay homage to the homeland. The singer reminisces about the beauty of his island and its women.

Las Mujeres de Borinquen
[MAPAYÈ (LE LO LAI)] (Cristobal “Tobita” Medina Colón)

El Puertorriqueño
[AGUINALDO] (Cristobal “Tobita” Medina Colón)

La Cuna de Mis Amores
[SEIS CON DÉCIMA]
(Cristobal “Tobita” Medina Colón)

SixtoCriollo Puertorriqueño: Cristobal “Tobita” Medina Colón, lead vocal; Israel Berrios and Tito Baez, guitars; Neri Orta and Nieves Quintero, cuatro; Jaime Flores, güiro.

Tobita improvised these texts, based on a general thematic framework, in the recording studio. Texts for the mapayé, aguinaldo, and seis con décima generally contain expressions of nostalgia and romantic impressions of the homeland, motherhood, and womanhood.

“Las Mujeres de Borinquen” (“The Women of Borinquen”) compares Puerto Rican women with the heavenly constellations.

“El Puertorriqueño” (“The Puerto Rican”) is a romantic poetic salute to the Puerto Rican people.

In “La Cuna de Mis Amores” (“The Cradle of My Loves”) Tobita uses a stylized imagery to pay homage to the homeland. He sings of the beauty of the mountains, the crops, the seas, and the women, and calls the island the cradle of his love.

Amor a la Virtud
[BOLERO–SON]
(Gerardo Martinez)

Guajira del Mayoral
[GUAJIRA]
(Armando Sanchez)

Armando Sanchez y su Septeto Son de la Loma: Marcelino Morales, solo vocal; Marcelino Valdez, bongos; Teodoro Vanderpool, tres; Frankie Acevedo, first voice; Israel Berrios, guitar and second voice; Leo Fleming, bass; Alfredo “Chocolate” Armenteros, trumpet; Armando Sanchez, conga; Vicentico Valdez, maracas.

Son de la Loma plays in a style that combines characteristics of the Sexteto Habanera, the Septeto Nacional, and the conjuntos of Arsenio Rodriguez. That this group consists in large part of Puerto Ricans reflects the tremendous popularity the Cuban son and guajira have had in Puerto Rico since the thirties.

The text of “Guajira del Mayoral” (“Guajira of the Overseer”) is typical of the form and content of most guajarías. Like the jibaro songs, this one speaks of the beauty of the land through romantic descriptions of the countryside.

In contrast, the lead singer of “Amor a la Virtud” (“Love to Virtue”) states in angry protest that he wants to live his own life and does not want his progress disturbed or misled by devious or false words.

GLOSSARY
Aguinaldo (ah-ghee-NAHL-dai'). A form of Puerto Rican JIBARO music.
Barrio (BAH-ree-oh). In Spanish-speaking countries refers to a district or a community. In New York it has come to denote areas in the city where large numbers of Spanish-speaking people live.
BATA (bah-TAH). Among the LUCUMI, a drum family composed of three different-size drums that are double-headed and hourglass-shaped. Each has its own name. From largest to smallest they are iya (EE-yah), iitéle (ee-TOH-teh-lay), and okónkolo (oh-KOHN-koh-loh).
Bongo (bohn-GOH). Two small attached single-headed drums held between the knees.
Botija (bob-TEE-hah). A large clay jug that is blown into to produce its sound. It can be tuned by filling the body with varying amounts of water.
Cabildos (kah-bVEEL-dohs). Voluntary organizations that arose in Cuba during slavery times from which many of the African-derived religious and secret societies emerged.
Campesino (kahm-peh-SEE-noh). Farmer. (See JIBARO)
Canto (KAHN-toh). Verse section sung by the lead singer in RUMBA ensembles.
Cáscara (KAHS-kah-rah). An instrument used in RUMBA ensembles consisting of two thin sticks struck against a hard resonant surface such as a drum shell or a chair. They play a fixed rhythmic pattern that along with the CLAVES provides the time line.
Cha-cha-cha (chah-chah-CHAH). A Cuban dance and music form.
Clave (KLAH-veh), claves. 1) Time line (a fixed organizing rhythmic pattern) in RUMBA ensembles. 2) Two short sticks struck together to play the time line or clave pattern.
Columbia (koh-LOOM-bee-ah). A form of Cuban RUMBA.
Conga (KOHN-gah). A single-headed drum with a tapered barrel shape.
Conjunto (kohn-HOON-toh). A small musical group.
Cuá (ku-AH). A pair of sticks used in the Puerto Rican BOMBA that are struck on the side of a drum or some other hard resonant surface, providing a fixed rhythmic pattern (time line) around which the other instruments in the ensemble are organized.
Cuarteto (kuahr-TEH-toh). Typically, a group of four musicians. “Cuarteto sound” refers to the style of music played by JIBAROS.
Cuatro (KUAH-troh). A small ten-stringed g'uitarlike instrument played by JIBARO musicians.
Danza (DAHN-sah). A composed musical form originally played by the elite but later adapted by the JinARO.
Décima (DEH-see-mah). A ten-line verse structure common throughout Latin America.
Diana (dee-AH-nah). A melodic passage sung in vocables by the lead singer in RUMBA ensembles.
Eya Aranla (EH-yah ah-RAHN-lah). A performance context in LUCUMÍ religious ceremonies that facilitates communication between ORISHAS and devotees.
Guaguancó (gwah-gwahn-KOH). A form of Cuban RUMBA.
Guajeo (gwah-HEH-oh). Interlocking melodic and rhythmic ostinato patterns used by SON CONJUNTOS and SALSA groups.
Güiro (GWEE-roh). A scraped hollow gourd.
Hacendadeo (ah-sehn-DAH-thoh). A landowner or plantation owner.
Hacienda (ah-see-EHN-dah). A farm or plantation.
Ifé (EE-fah). A Yoruba and LUCUMÍ system of divination.
Laud (lah-OOD). A Spanish-derived lute.
Mambo (MAHM-boh). A form of Cuban music and dance.
Maracas (mah-RAH-kahs). A pair of shaken rattles.
Marimbula (mah-REEM-boot-ah). A large resonant box with attached metal tongues that are plucked. This instrument, used in early SON ensembles, was later replaced by the string bass.
Montuno (mohn-TOO-noh). Call-and-response section of RUMBA. Also a section in salsa and SON montunos where musicians are able to improvise.
Orishas (oh-REE-shahs). The generic name for deities of the Yoruba and LUCUMÍ pantheon. The Spanish equivalent is santos.
Pandereta (*pahn-deh-REH-tah*). A classificatory name for frame drums used in PLENA ensembles. Panderetas resemble tambourines without cymbals.


Punto de Clave (*POON-toh deh KLAH-veh*). An additional supporting PANORETA in the PLENA ensemble. (See SEGUNDOBA)

Ouinte (*KEEN-toh*). A drum in RUMBA ensembles whose function is to improvise around the time line. The words SEGUNDORA, REQUINTO, TUMBA, SEGUNDO, and quinto are not only the names of drums in Puerto Rican and Cuban ensembles but also refer to their musical function. The SEQUIDORA, TUMBA, and SEGUNDO are always supporting drums, and the REQUINTO and quinto are improvisatory drums.

Requinto (*reh-KEEN-toh*). A drum in both PLENA and BOMBA ensembles that plays improvisatory patterns.

Rumba (*ROOM-bah*). A genre of Cuban music.

Salsa (*SAHL-sah*). Literally “sauce.” In music it is used as an adjective that carries sensual overtones such as “savory” and “spicy” and refers to the kind of feeling that musicians put into their performing. Thus “playing *con salsa*” means “playing with soul.” The word has also become a commercial tag for popular Latin music performed in New York.

Santería (*sahn-teh-REE-ah*). Spanish name for LUGUMÉ.

Seguidora (*seh-gee-THOH-rah*). Drums in both PLENA and BOMBA ensembles that provide fixed supporting rhythms.

Segundo (*seh-GOON-doh*). A drum in RUMBA ensembles that plays a fixed supporting pattern.

Seis (*SEH-ees*). A form of JÍBARO music.

Son (*SOHN*). A form of Cuban music.

Tres (*TREHS*). A guitarlike instrument with six or nine strings.

Tumba (*TOOM-bah*). A drum in RUMBA ensembles that plays a fixed supporting pattern.

Tumbao (*toom-BAH-oh*). An ostinato pattern resulting from interlocking rhythms of bass and CONGA drums in *son conjuntos*.

Vacunao (*Vah-koo-NAH-oh*). Pelvic thrust executed by male dancers in the MONTUNO section of GUAGUANCÓS.

Yambú (*yahm-BOO*). A form of RUMBA.

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THE PERFORMERS

*Julito Collazo y su Grupo Afro-Cubano*

Collazo, a disciple of the late Pablo Roche, the great Cuban bata drummer, has been in New York since the fifties. He is represented on a great number of Afro-Cuban recordings, and has played with virtually all the leading Afro-Cuban bands in New York (Mongo Santamaria, Silvestre Mendez, Tito Puente, and others). Collazo has made a world tour with the Katherine Dunham Dance Company. Since the early 1970s he has become more involved in community music and is a community-supported performer with his group. He and his group have played at the Festival of American Folk Life at the Smithsonian Institution.

*Victor Montañez y sus Pleneros de la 110th St.*

With six other members of the New York Puerto Rican community Montañez has for the last ten years tried to keep alive the rich plena and bomba traditions of black musical expression of Puerto Rico. He plays in community activities and in folkloric festivals, and has recorded with Simon and Garfunkel, been on the *Mike Douglas Show,* and represented Puerto Rican music at the Festival of American Folk Life at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The group uses all traditional instruments that they make themselves. Their basic instrument is the pandereta.
**Hector Rivera y su Conjunto** have played together since 1965 and have made over ten records. Rivera, one of the most popular Puerto Rican pianists in New York for the past twenty years, has worked with such musicians as Vicentico Valdes, Johnny Pacheco, and Rey Caney.

**Armando Sanchez y su Septeto Son de la Loma** are dedicated to keeping alive the traditional *son* music of Cuba. They have been together since the early seventies. Sanchez, son of the great Cuban *animador* (master of ceremonies) known as "El Principe Cubano," has been in the United States since the fifties. He has a vast knowledge of all types of Cuban music and created the first working Cuban *charanga* (orchestra with rhythm section, violins, and flute), the Orchestre Nuevo Ritmo.

**Sexteto Criollo Puertorriqueño.** Israel Berrios, founder of this group, is one of the most popular Puerto Rican guitarists in New York. He also performs as a *segunda voz* (baritone). Berrios worked with the Cuban *tres* player Arsenio Rodriguez, and also works with Armando Sanchez, and in the past twenty-five years has worked with practically all the small typical Puerto Rican and Cuban groups in New York (a "typical" group is one that maintains the traditions of the island). The Sexteto Criollo also plays in community activities and folkloric festivals.

**Rene Lopez,** the producer, is prominent in New York's Latin community. He is currently working as a record producer for such groups as Grupo Folklorico Experimental Nuevoyorquino Cachao and Roberto Torres. Lopez also serves as a panelist and consultant for the Culture Task Force at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies, the African Diaspora Advisory Group at the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Endowment for the Arts.

1. **EL SAFACÓN DE LA 102ND ST** ............................................ 3:32  
   (Victor Montañez)  
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2. **BOMBA CALINDÉ**............................................................. 1:50  
   (Anon.)  
   *(Public Domain)*  
   Victor Montañez y sus Pleneros de la 110th Street

3. **EMI RA OBINI LE WA**.................................................... 5:53  
   (Julito Collazo)  
   *(publ. Trina Jill Music Corp.)*  
   Julito Collazo y su Grupo Afro-Cubano

4. **LOTERIA**............................................................................. 5:31  
   (Julito Collazo)  
   *(publ. Trina Jill Music Corp.)*  
   Julito Collazo y su Grupo Afro-Cubano

5. **YO QUISIERA SER** .............................................................. 8:43  
   (Hector Rivera)  
   *(publ. Ki-Rey Music Company)*  
   Hector Rivera y su Conjunto

6. **BORINQUEN**..................................................................... 3:08  
   (Israel Berrios)  
   *(publ. Trina Jill Music Corp.)*  
   Sexteto Criollo Puertorriqueño

7. **LAS MUJERES DE BORINQUEN**........................................... 4:26  
   (Cristobal "Tobita" Medina Colón)  
   *(publ. Trina Jill Music Corp.)*  
   Sexteto Criollo Puertorriqueño

8. **EL PUERTORRIQUEÑO**...................................................... 3:55  
   (Cristobal "Tobita" Medina Colón)  
   *(publ. Trina Jill Music Corp.)*  
   Sexteto Criollo Puertorriqueño

9. **LA CUNA DE MIS AMORES**.............................................. 4:13  
   (Cristobal "Tobita" Medina Colón)
10. AMOR A LA VIRTUD .......................................................... 5:15
(Gerardo Martinez)
(publ. Trina Jill Music Corp.)
Armando Sanchez y su Septeto Son de la Loma

11. GUAJIRA DEL MAYORAL ................................................... 4:52
(Armando Sanchez)
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Armando Sanchez y su Septeto Son de la Loma

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