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Pacheco and Charanga: imitation, innovation and cultural appropriation in the *típico* tradition of New York City

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Translations

All translations from Spanish to English are by the author.

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Pacheco and Charanga: imitation, innovation and cultural appropriation in the *típico* tradition of New York City

Abstract

In this article the performance practice of Afro-Cuban dance music is explored and discourses surrounding creativity brought to bear on questions surrounding innovation and stylistic development. A case study of Dominican-born Johnny Pacheco, charanga flute player and cocreator of the term ‘salsa,’ enables issues including imitation, innovation and cultural appropriation to be explored within the context of *típico* charanga performance in

midtwentieth-century New York. Critiqued by Juan Flores as a ‘traditionalist’¹ and by John Storm Roberts as a ‘revivalist,’² Pacheco’s musical contributions have often been overshadowed by his considerable entrepreneurial activities. Rather than examine his work as a record producer and entrepreneur, therefore, Pacheco’s earlier work as a charanga flute improviser is explored to demonstrate that, *pace* Roberts and Flores, his improvisational style illustrates a particular

New York performance aesthetic rooted in *clave* aesthetics and the rich musical culture of the Bronx; an aesthetic which is related to, but distinct from, earlier Cuban role models.

Key Words: *típico tradition; imitation, innovation; appropriation; improvisation; charanga; pachanga.*

Pacheco y La Charanga: la imitación, la innovación y la apropiación en la tradición típica de Nueva York

Resumen

En este ensayo la interpretación [performance practice] de la música afrocubana bailable es investigada y los discutida alrededor de la creatividad que ejerce influencia sobre las cuestiones de la innovación y el desarrollo estilístico. El artículo utiliza el caso del dominicano Johnny Pacheco, flautista charanguero y co-creador del término ‘salsa,’ para explorar cuestiones de la imitación, la innovación y la apropiación cultural en el contexto de la charanga típica a mediados del siglo veinte en Nueva York. Criticado por Juan Flores por ser ‘tradicionalista’ y por John Storm Roberts por ser ‘evangelista’ [revivalist], demuestra cómo la música de Pacheco es una expresión de sabor que tiene raíces en la cultura musical rica del Bronx; un sabor que tiene estética cubano y nuyorriqueño.

Palabras Clave: *típico, imitación, innovación, apropiación, improvisación, charanga, pachanga*

The New York Sabor³

His music showed little or none of the big city drive of most New York bands, but reflected the Caribbean joy of its Cuban origins very closely—some said too closely, especially in the early days. Pacheco, in fact, was a little like the young jazz revivalists of the 1940s, whose relationship to their models was, according to your point of view, imitation or preservation. But Pacheco's band always conveyed the music's original verve, and as much as on his playing or creative innovation, his long-term success has rested on personal charisma and an instantly communicated enthusiasm for Latin music.⁴

This assertion by Roberts that bandleader and charanga flute player, Johnny Pacheco, did not have 'the big city drive' needs to be contested or at least given more nuance as Roberts provides no musical analyses to support these assertions. Similarly terms such as 'revivalist', 'imitation' and 'preservation' need closer scrutiny if we are to assess more fairly Pacheco's musical work. Dominican-born and New York-raised, Pacheco could be described as conveying 'Caribbean joyfulness,' (albeit from a displaced Caribbean), but his music (whether from the early part of his career or later) cannot be said to be identical to the Havana-based bands he admired.⁵ In terms of motivation, Roberts citation above makes clear Pacheco's enthusiasm for Cuban music and his ability to convey its vitality. But what exactly does Roberts mean by 'big city drive' or

‘Caribbean joy? And how do these ideas manifest themselves musically? The answers lie partially in Pacheco’s musical background in the Bronx, in the history of Afro-Cuban dance music in New York and its complex relationship to Havana, and also in the *clave*-driven performance aesthetic of popular Afro-Cuban dance music. In addition to his early Alegre recordings, Pacheco’s Fania catalogue of recordings from the mid-1960s onwards is extensive and his musical success cannot therefore be so easily dismissed as a result only of personal charisma and enthusiasm for Cuban music, at least not without some detailed scrutiny of his recorded output.

In this article I will be exploring the New York sound or *sabor* in *típico* charanga performance, providing analyses of Pacheco’s improvisations to interrogate claims by Roberts and others that Pacheco was simply an imitator. His improvisations, as I demonstrate below, reveal a mastery of the style; his improvisations are in *clave* and ideas are developed with this timeline underpinning his percussive *inspiraciones*. These phrasings are not simply regurgitated stylistic elements; rather melo-rhythmic material is generated and developed according to stylistic practices intrinsic to the charanga tradition as a whole. Modifications in the performance practice of Afro-Cuban dance music in the charanga context, I argue, were led by Johnny Pacheco and pianist Charlie Palmieri in the late 1950s and early 1960s and their New York *sabor* can be demonstrated through musical analysis.

<insert Figure 1>

Figure 1. The Young Johnny Pacheco [Awaiting permission from the New York Public Library]

Stylistic Transformations: Mack is Back Doing the *Chachachá*

In the first part of this article a piece by Charanga La Duboney ‘Mack the Knife’ is analyzed along with its accompanying flute solo by Johnny Pacheco in order to demonstrate his stylistic complexity and to provide evidence to refute or at least give nuance to criticisms of Pacheco as simply an imitator and revivalist. Within the arrangement on which this solo is based, historical threads manifest themselves sonically within the musical texture of the song revealing stylistic elements from the early charanga *mambo* of Antonio Arcaño y sus Maravillas, the typical orchestrations of Pérez Prado’s big band *mambo*, *chachachá* off-beat figures, and *son montuno* patterns in the piano parts (Figures 2-6). The piece is labelled as a *chachachá* due to the presence of the piano *chachachá* figures, characteristic percussion patterns and the lyrical content but it is nevertheless stylistically hybrid. Similarly Pacheco’s soloing references Cuban flute players’ styles (José Fajardo and Antonio Arcaño),⁶ traditional Cuban flute vocabulary and also percussion breaks characteristic of the earlier Cuban *danzón* and *danzón-mambo*. The adaptation of Kurt Weill’s ‘Mack The Knife’ to a *chachachá* arrangement/composition with *mambo* influence by La Duboney thus provides the backdrop to Pacheco’s three flute *inspiraciones* outlined in the musical transcriptions shown in Figures 7-9.

Latin versions of popular tunes from the musicals or films are part of the charanga tradition, and pianist Charlie Palmieri, who regularly performed American and Latin repertoire in a variety of bands, drew on both. Here we have German cabaret mixing with Cuban *chachachá*, *son* and *mambo*, with the menace of the original somewhat diluted. A light-hearted dance version recorded by La Duboney in 1959, it features Johnny Pacheco on the five-key charanga flute. Before analyzing the three-part solo by Pacheco it is important to analyze the

arrangement as Pacheco draws on the melodic-rhythmic ingredients of the composition as well as adhering to *clave* direction throughout. Before an evaluation of Pacheco's *inspiraciones* it is therefore important to see how his improvisation functions within these textures.

<insert Figure 2>

Figure 2. Score for the *coro* section in Charanga Duboney's 'Mack the Knife'

In Figure 2 the new *coro* section (not composed by Kurt Weill) features *chachachá* percussion patterns, a *mambo* string *guajeo*-based section outlining 2-3 *clave*, a 2-3 piano *montuno* pattern replicating the descending 'd-c-b' Mack the Knife motif m1 (later utilized in Pacheco's flute solo), and a typical Arcaño *mambo*-styled bassline derived from the *danzónmambo*, emphasizing beats 2+ and 4. The *coro* outlines *clave* by being on-beat on the two-side and off-beat with anacrusis on the 3-side, as shown in Figure 5 where the *bombo* beat (on the 2+ beat on the three-side of the *clave*) aligns with the lyric 'Do' and where the *coro* lyric 'Mack' marks the downbeat on the two-side of the *clave*.

<insert Figure 3>

Figure 3. *Coro* of 'Mack the Knife' in 2-3 *clave* alignment

The piano plays *son montunos* throughout except under the flute *inspiraciones* where the offbeats are emphasized in a *chachachá* pattern. The usual pattern for the right hand has on-beat quarter notes on beats 1 and 3 as in Figure 4 but Charlie Palmieri replicates the left-hand offbeat pattern in both hands on this recording, as in Figure 5, perhaps to give the texture even more of a syncopated feel. It is not a convention usually followed by Cuban pianists. <insert Figure 4>

Figure 4. Conventional piano *chachachá* pattern

<insert Figure 5>

Figure 5. Charlie Palmieri's 'Mack the Knife' off-beat *chachachá* pattern in both hands

The stylistic elements of *son*, *chachachá* and *mambo* are integrated within the arrangement, revealing not only the non-linear relationship of these styles brought together on a *pachanga* album, but the hybrid nature of musical style. Perhaps the recording could also be said to have a particular New York flavor or aesthetic in that it brings several Cuban styles together within a Broadway show tune by a German Jewish composer exiled in New York, and is performed by New York-based Cubans, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Personnel on the recording given in Uribe's Charlie Palmieri discography include Johnny Pacheco (Dominican Republic) on flute, Charlie Palmieri (Puerto Rico) on piano, Puerto Rican singer Vitín Aviles, Cuban violinists José Andreu, Rafael Muñoz, Daniel González and Rafael Aroz, Cuban bassist Evaristo Baró, Julian Cabrera on güiro (Cuba), José Rodríguez (a Puerto Rican from New York City) on timbales, John Palomo (Puerto Rico) on congas and Cuban vocalist Leonel Bravet. According to music historian David Pérez, Cuban singer Leonel Bravet was known as the Nat King Cole of Cuba and first recorded in Chicago with Orquesta Nuevo Ritmo. The Cuban violinists had performed with Antonio Arcaño in Cuba so were directly related to the Cuban charanga and the *danzón-mambo* era. Similarly Julian Cabrera had played with Orquesta América in 1947 in Mexico and also with Orquesta Jorrín in Havana before leaving Cuba for the USA. Another singer on the recording missed off the Uribe discography is Puerto Rican Pellin Rodríguez who later became famous in Puerto Rico's El Gran Combo.⁷ The separation

of Cuban and New York-based charanga performance styles is therefore not a clear cut distinction as demonstrated here by the strong presence of Cuban musicians from the charanga tradition in La Duboney (the Cuban *nuevo ritmo* players of the 1940s from Arcaño y sus Maravillas and the 1950s *chachachá* players from Orquesta América).

Elements from the Cuban *son* style include the piano *montuno* and the overall adherence to *clave* direction in the arrangement (with verses in 3-2 *clave* and breaks of uneven bar numbers to enter into the open *montuno* section in 2-3 *clave* direction). The violin *guajeo* pattern shown in Figure 4 has the same contour as the main *guajeo* from the original ‘Mambo’ composition created in the late 1930s by charanga Arcaño y sus Maravillas, a contour motif adapted by big band arrangers such as René Hernández and Pérez Prado in the 1940s. This *mambo* figure complements the direct reference to big band *mambo* as popularized by Pérez Prado in the piano accompaniment to the verses, as shown in Figure 6.

<insert Figure 6>

Figure 6. Pérez Prado’s *mambo* style in the piano accompaniment to the verses

Here the original ‘Mack the Knife’ lyrics are changed into new Spanish ones and the wellknown melody is transformed into a *mambo*-styled 3-2 *son*. Below are the three improvised flute *inspiraciones* by Pacheco, made in response to the *coros* followed by an analysis of his *clave* feel and creative process.

<insert Figure 7>

Figure 7. Pacheco’s flute *inspiración* 1 on ‘Mack The Knife’ (*clave* superimposed)

The first solo *inspiración* in Figure 7 uses a tessitura of one octave from fourth register ‘d’ to third register ‘d’ taking the ‘Mack is Back’ melody notes ‘d-c-b’ to define the contour of Pacheco’s phrases, using the dominant note g³ (in C major) as an axis note around which *típico* ornamentation of mordents and turns are based. The first two phrases are in call and response form followed by a figure based around the turn on the dominant note repeated three times and finishing in a characteristic *danzón* percussion break (a final ‘otra’ or last time bar). All these elements are typical of the Cuban flute style of improvisation and they are executed with *clave* feel, as Pacheco aligns his phrases with the tendency for on-beat 2-side of the *clave* figures and more off-beat 3-side phrases. The *coro* melody is embellished through rhythmic transformation and uses the first motif ‘Mack is Back’ theme (m1) and its transposition down a tone to ‘c-ba’ in measures 4 and 8. The *inspiración* follows the contour of the *coro* melody in call and response variation, leading to the dominant note *danzón* break to neatly announce the next *coro* entry.

<insert Figure 8>

Figure 8. Pacheco’s flute *inspiración* 2 on ‘Mack The Knife’: playing with *clave*

Inspiración 2 (Figure 8) similarly draws on the melodic ingredients of the *coro* with an extended tessitura of d⁴ to g² and plentiful use of anacrusis on the 3-side of the *clave* once again demonstrating *clave* awareness. This time motif 3 is repeated, finishing with motif 1 repeated and extended. These repeated motifs grouped in ‘3 quarter notes within a frame of 4’ in measures 21-23 create rhythmic tension and play with the *clave* in that phrases stay off the beat until the resolution which here occurs on beat four of bar 23 and then via motif 1 on beat 1 of the next *coro* in bar 26. This thrice repeated ‘3 ♩ s in a grid of four’ figure is emblematic of the style, further illustrating Pacheco’s mastery of *clave*.

The final *inspiración* (Figure 9) is developed further rhythmically with a fourth melodic idea introduced, played slowly and then in double time (motif 4). Motif 1 is varied through delay and through a texturally more dense scalar descent of d^4 to g^3 . Similarly motif 2 (m2) comes back in another varied form, played five times to resolve on the fourth beat of the 3-side of the *clave* with the percussion *cierre* or break (called a double *ponce*) used to mark the end of this section and the beginning of the next *coro*.

<insert Figure 9>

Figure 9. Pacheco's Flute *Inspiración* 3 on 'Mack The Knife': playing with double time and delay

The tempo of the song is very fast and it is easy to dismiss this mini improvisation as 'whistle playing' as it is over so quickly. Closer scrutiny, however, reveals a complete understanding of the style, the *clave* timeline organization and a clear relationship between melody, rhythm and arrangement texture. Analysis of Pacheco's short flute solo on 'Mack the Knife' in La Duboney's 1959 version shows that he has absorbed the Cuban flute style of improvisation with its typical one octave tessitura from fourth to third register, its *clave* feel, typical ornamentation around the dominant note, motivic development, use of repeated motifs of '3 in a grid of 4' for rhythmic tension and its percussion-informed *cierres* (breaks). While Pacheco is not a virtuoso performer in the vein of renowned Cuban flute players Richard Egües or José Fajardo within the wider Cuban flute tradition,⁸ he cannot simply be dismissed as purely imitative as he is able to generate new material from the repertoire which coheres firmly to *clave* aesthetics. Many of his solos on other recordings display a similar understanding of the style informed by *clave* and a rhythmic call and response approach representative of his style.

His improvised phrases are not simply regurgitated from memory but link to the melodic ingredients of the arrangement, and demonstrate a command of the idiom and its generative creative processes. His *clave*-feel and rhythmic treatment of melodic material is ample evidence of his stylistic competence, musicality and creativity. The performances on this recording and on many of his other 1960s recordings have an energy, or ‘sonic signature’ of the New York’s *barrios*, through their ‘whistle-stop’ speed and breathless energy. This high energy version of Cuban charanga dance music does have a different flavor and should, I argue, be evaluated with revised aesthetic criteria in mind due to the different performance context of New York City. Pacheco had a Dominican cultural background and also deeply rooted connections to the grassroots and commercial New York Latin musical scenes, dominated as they were by Cuban popular music forms; these aspects need to be understood when analyzing his improvisational style. An evaluation of Pacheco’s music therefore requires some contextualization within the musical environment of mid-twentieth-century New York to understand how the culture of the Bronx, in particular, led to this change in Latin dance music performance aesthetics.

Caribbean Roots and the Bronx Latin Music Scene of the early 1960s

Pacheco’s father was a famous bandleader of Orquesta Santa Cecilia in the Dominican Republic before the family had to move to New York to escape the Trujillo dictatorship in 1946, when Pacheco was 11 years old. Although often described as a ‘natural’ musician,⁹ Pacheco was taught music by his father (who played clarinet, violin, flute and saxophone) before studying at the Julliard school of music, focusing mainly on percussion (congas, bongos, timbales, maracas and *güiro*), and studying piano for compositional purposes. In his youth he recorded percussion in recording studio sessions, in demand because of his ability to read charts

(interview by Mimi Ortiz Martín, 2007). In the early part of his career (in the late 1950s and early 1960s), Pacheco recorded as a flute player and percussionist with Charlie Palmieri's Charanga La Duboney, his own group Pacheco y su Charanga, and then later with his own *conjuntos*. He also performed with Tito Puente's Palladium *mambo* band and earlier with New York's first charanga band (formed in 1951) led by Cuban bandleader Gilberto Valdés.¹⁰

Scholars Abreu (2015), García (2006), Singer and Martínez (2004) have critiqued the standard narrative of Latin music history, emphasizing the fact that there were many different types of ensemble and venue for Afro-Cuban dance music in mid-twentieth-century New York, some with more prestige than others. The *mambo* featured at the Manhattan venue The Palladium received more mainstream press attention than the *son* and charanga performed at uptown social clubs such as the Club Cubano Interamericano in the Bronx,¹¹ but these grassroots support networks put on many social dance events and provided steady work opportunities for those performing Afro-Cuban dance music in the city, including Pacheco. As Eddy Zervigón, bandleader of Orquesta Broadway affirms:

“En esos tiempos el Club Cubano era uno de los mejores bailes, no era un lugar bonito, ni nada de eso. Era un lugar viejo, mantenido por unos Cubanos que llevaban mucho tiempo en los Estados Unidos. . . . Lo que pasa es que en ese tiempo si tú querías gozar de verdad, el Club Cubano. Ahí se daban unos bailes y ahí se metían 600 personas. Era en Broadway, 669 de Prospect Avenue. Y allí ensayamos muchos de nosotros.”

[At that time the Club Cubano was one of the best dances around, it wasn't a pretty place, nothing like that. It was an old place, maintained by a few Cubans who had lived a long time in the United States. . . What happened was that at that time if you really wanted to have fun then the Club Cubano was the place. They put on several dances

which accommodated 600 people. It was on Broadway, 669 Prospect Avenue. And many of us rehearsed there too].

(Eddy Zervigón, interview, Queens, New York, June 18, 2016). [author's translation]

<insert Figure 10>

Figure 10. Eddy Zervigón, New York, June 2016. Photograph by the author.

There were several waves of Latin music in New York, the most celebrated being in the 1940s with Machito and his Afro-Cubans, Dizzy Gillespie's collaboration with conga player Chano Pozo, and then in the 1950s with the Palladium bands of Tito Rodríguez, Machito and Tito Puente. Machito and Tito Puente also performed at venues in the Bronx such as the Park Plaza and Hunts Point Palace but these events did not attract as much media attention. The following generation of mainly Puerto Rican musicians later formed their own 'smaller' conjuntos and charangas, playing in clubs in the Bronx, Spanish Harlem and the Catholic church dances in Brooklyn. Musicians such as Johnny Pacheco, Ray Barretto, Larry Harlow, Eddie Palmieri and Charlie Palmieri emerged from this scene in the 1960s, and some of these musicians became mainstays of Pacheco's Fania record label in the 1970s. Mark Weinstein, trombonist with Eddie Palmieri's La Perfecta, describes this emerging scene, explaining why it differed from the music played at the Catskills resort and the Palladium of the 1950s:

Mark Weinstein: Here's what you have to understand. Latin music, starting in the fifties, was not played for Latin audiences. Latin musicians made a living playing mainly for Jews and secondarily for Italians. There were two venues where the bands like Tito Puente made a living, made their big money. In the summer, they played in the Catskill Mountains, and then in the winter they played out on the shore in Long Beach. After the summer season they'd play Long Beach. The bands either played for Jews in the

Catskills – Machito played in the Concorde, Eddie [Palmieri] played in Kutsher’s, all of these bands made nice money during the summer, and the La Playa Sextet was always on the shore. Then the other venues were church dances for Italians . . . Saint Fortunato’s was the big one in Brooklyn . . . The first time that Latin bands were playing for predominantly Latin audiences was...Now, how can I say this? I want to say this right. The place that changed everything—there were venues in Harlem and in the south Bronx that played for Latin audiences, but these were mainly what the young guys called *gallego* bands... they’d play a lot of *merengues* and a lot of *boleros*, although Machito always played in the Hunts Point Palace, right?

Interviewer: Yes, I’ve heard about that, yes.

MW: The Hunts Point Palace had a Latin crowd. The Palladium had a Latin crowd, an African American crowd, and a Jewish/Italian crowd. Jews and Italians were – everything in New York was Jewish/Italian. . . . Anyway, the thing that changed everything was a little club down the block from Hunts Point Palace. A loft painted black . . .

I: Was that the Tritons club?

MW: . . . called the Tritons club where Eddie Palmieri, Pacheco and . . .

I: Charlie Palmieri as well?

MW: No, not Charlie so much. . . . The three bands in the Tritons were Eddie, Pacheco and Orlando Marin—they were the three bands, and they were the first bands that were playing for young Puerto Ricans.

(Mark Weinstein, interview, New Jersey, June 22, 2016)

<insert Figure 11>

Figure 11. Mark Weinstein at home in New Jersey, June 22, 2016. Photograph by the author.

As Weinstein points out, the Manhattan-based Palladium drew crowds from a variety of backgrounds (but often on separate nights of the week – see Singer and Martínez, 2004) as opposed to the mainly Latin audiences of Spanish Harlem and the South Bronx. The disparaging *gallego*¹² term cited by Weinstein refers in the main to voice and guitar-led trios, as popularized earlier in the 1930s and ‘40s by the famous Puerto Rican composer and performer Rafael Hernández. These ‘pan-Caribbean’ groups performed in cafes and clubs playing a variety of styles including Puerto Rican *aguinaldo*, Mexican *corrido*, Cuban *guajira*, *bolero* and *son*, and the Cuban-Puerto Rican *guaracha*.¹³ Although marginalized from the 1960s, these trios were influential, and compositions by Rafael Hernández have become son, charanga and salsa classics (for example ‘Isla del Encanto,’ ‘Silencio,’ ‘Lamento Borincano’ and ‘El Cumbanchero’).¹⁴ Perhaps the younger Puerto Ricans associated these trios with an older generation whose songs about island culture held connotations for them of rural ‘backwardness’ contrasting with their urban ‘progressiveness.’ Despite the *conjuntos* and charangas performing in the Cuban and Puerto Rican Social Clubs and therefore playing for more local Latin audiences (see Garcia, 2006), the *gallego* term does not refer to the *conjuntos* and charangas—rather this new generation of mostly Puerto Ricans admired and emulated these ensemble formats and their musical styles.

The faster tempos and the exuberance alluded to by Storm Roberts in the opening citation correlates with accounts of the Triton and Caravana club performances in the Bronx at this time and with the concurrent recordings put out by both Johnny Pacheco and pianist Charlie Palmieri on Al Santiago’s Alegre record label. The faster, pushed tempos and the breathless energy of these performances could, therefore, be said to reflect a ‘big city drive’, if one

discounts the singular association of a swing-styled brass section representing a New York city sound.

Innovation or Imitation? Creativity Redefined

Imitation is a process whereby a style is absorbed, as Nuyorican bassist Andy González of Conjunto Libre and Grupo Folklórico y Experimental Nuevayorkino asserts:

Music is like a language and once you learn the basic rules and vocabulary of that language you can have a conversation. The more you understand the vocabulary and rules and the way words can be combined to express different ideas the more you can vary the conversation in expressive ways.¹⁵

Johnny Pacheco's early work in the late 1950s and 1960s within the Cuban charanga format was modelled on earlier Cuban bands (in particular Orquesta Aragón) but was not part of any revival but was rather part of a continuation and natural development of Afro-Cuban music performance in the South Bronx and Spanish Harlem. For his work to be 'revivalist' there would have had to have been a discontinuity in the tradition of Latin music performance in the city. The ethnographic work of Roberta Singer and Elena Martínez (2004) alongside recent work by Christina Abreu (2015) on the Cuban/InterAmerican social clubs in New York and Miami from the 1940s to the 1960s, outlines the centrality of Afro-Cuban dance music in the forging of Latin/x identity in the city, long before the 1959 Cuban revolution. Similarly ethnomusicologist David García (2004, 2006) has highlighted the importance of *son* and

charanga in the Bronx venues and social clubs of the 1940s and '50s and critiques the standard narrative of Latin music history in the USA with its focus on the Manhattan venues to the exclusion of the Latin communities in the South Bronx and Spanish Harlem.

While the Cuban role models are clearly in evidence in Pacheco's playing in the example given here and elsewhere, Pacheco does add a different flavor to the *típico* style. He captures the essence of the music, as Storm Roberts concedes, but there is more to his playing than imitation or a desire for charanga preservation. The creative process is in evidence when his solos are looked at in detail. It is easy to miss the detail though as many of his recordings are taken at fast tempos ('Mack the Knife' is taken at $\text{♩} = 208$) and in many instances the vocal *coros* are sung throughout his *inspiraciones*. Thus the listener is not drawn towards the solo in the same way as they are to solos by Richard Egües or José Fajardo. When compared to these two esteemed Cuban flute improvisers the creativity and virtuosity is not as apparent but if we evaluate his style of performance within the New York context then different aspects of creativity in performance can be more fully understood. Pacheco, I argue, soaked up the *típico* style of charanga performance, synthesized the main elements and created a faster, more breathless version.

Johnny Pacheco has been at the forefront of a collective movement by Cuban, Puerto Rican, Jewish and other Latin American musicians from the Bronx and other areas of New York (including Spanish Harlem and Brooklyn) in developing Latin music in New York and internationally. Pacheco, I propose, brought in small 'innovations' in performance style—slight changes which defined a New York flavor, or *sabor* as distinct from his Cuban role models of the 1950s. In terms of innovation a wider perspective is perhaps needed to encompass this new performance aesthetic highlighted earlier by Weinstein. Pacheco influenced many New York charanga players, such as La Perfecta's George Castro,¹⁶ and the role of the soloing instruments (such as the flute, trumpet and trombone) does seem to have

been modified in this New York setting of the early 1960s. Charangas in 1950s Cuba could be distinguished by their individual sound and performance style known as their *sello* or personal stamp; similarly the 1960s New York charangas of Johnny Pacheco, Charlie Palmieri, Ray Barretto and Eddy Zervigón, amongst others, all had their own sound and style of *típico* performance which can, with closer listening, be defined musically.¹⁷

Pacheco was, in part, responsible for the rise in popularity of the Cuban charanga format in the early 1960s and for its re-branding as *pachanga*, a term for a music/dance ‘style’ rather than a line-up; his role in this pre-salsa rebranding of Afro-Cuban dance music suggests that some critique of cultural appropriation is valid particularly in the light of Pacheco’s later role in the creation of salsa as a marketing term for Afro-Cuban dance music. Here again Pacheco adapts existing Cuban music and dance forms to please a mainly Puerto Rican audience in the Bronx.

Pacheco’s *Pachanga*: imitation and creative adaptation (with some appropriation)

The composition ‘La Pachanga’ by Eduardo Davidson for Orquesta Sublime in 1959 in the style of a *merengue*¹⁸ was a hit for the band, spurring a short-lived enthusiasm for the *pachanga*. The style of subsequent *pachangas* recorded in its wake in both Cuba and the United States were not necessarily related musically to this Davidson composition. Confusion has arisen due to the ‘invention’ of a pachanga step (claimed by Pacheco and taught by Arthur Murray at the Roseland ballroom)¹⁹ and the music industry branding of all charanga styles as pachanga once Pacheco and others popularized it in New York. The word ‘*pachanga*’ (as with ‘*rumba*’) initially denoted a ‘party’ rather than a musical style or dance step as Juan Flores has documented in his account of New York Latin Music history *Salsa Rising*:

. . . “una pachanga” has long meant “party” in Spanish colloquial usage; in some contexts it is often used in the verb form, “pachanguear,” meaning to have a party or dance or have a good time. The word then took on its more specific modern-day reference in 1959 as the title of an extremely popular song by the well-known Cuban librettist, composer and entertainer Eduardo Davidson. Indeed, the song “La Pachanga” as first performed in Havana by Orquesta Sublime and recorded by the most famous charanga band of the day, led by renowned flutist José Fajardo, generated a feverish craze in Cuba on the eve of the 1959 revolution. In a proverbial, wishful phrase, Che Guevara even spoke of it to be a “revolución con pachanga.” Right away the fever spread to New York, especially with the Fajardo recording of the song and its performance by none other than Orquesta Aragón at the Palladium and other prominent midtown venues.²⁰

Flores also discusses the naming of the *pachanga* dance in New York, pinning its origin to Johnny Pacheco’s dance, which evolved at the Triton Club in 1960. According to Flores (citing Al Santiago),²¹ Pacheco incorporated the small jumps that Cuban dancer and vocalist Rafael Bacallao added to the *chachachá* steps in Orquesta Aragón, added the waving of a handkerchief and included a stomp on the downbeat inspired by the Puerto Rican dancers at the Bronx club. A committee of musicians and promoters met to decide on how to promote Pacheco’s band and promoter Federico Pagani decided to label this dance as *pachanga* to market Johnny Pacheco’s charanga band and its music.²² Hence the confusion between the term charanga for the name of the line-up (of flute, violins, piano, bass, timbales, congas, güiro and singers) that plays styles such as the *chachachá*, *guaracha*, and *danzón-mambo*, and the (dance) style called *pachanga*. The confusion between style of performance and musical style at this time in the 1960s is in part due to musicians referring to charanga style (meaning a performance

style linked to the charanga line-up) and also in part due to a renaming of older styles for marketing purposes, as Cuban bandleader Eddy Zervigón asserts:

EZ: No existe pachanga. La Pachanga es de Davidson, que es como un merengue y después le pusieron pachanga por decir que es una cosa nueva, [but that's not true] pero no era cierto. . . . aquí le pusieron pachanga a todo. En Cuba, la pachanga es un baile, una fiesta. . . . Aquí le decían pachanga a la música cubana . . . Guaracha, le quitaron ese nombre de guaracha porque era un nombre antiguo y le pusieron pachanga para decir que era una cosa nueva. Lo mismo pasó con la salsa.

[Pachanga does not exist. 'The Pachanga' is by Davidson, which is like a merengue and after this they called everything pachanga to say it was something new. But that's not true . . . here [in New York] they put the pachanga label on everything.

In Cuba 'pachanga' means 'a dance or fiesta.' Here they said all Cuban music was 'pachanga' . . . Guaracha, they took away the name of guaracha because it was an old fashioned term and replaced it with 'pachanga' to say it was a new thing. The same happened with salsa]. (Zervigón, June 18, 2016) [author's translation]

A running theme of adopting words for 'enjoyment', 'fiestas' and 'good times' to stand in for musical styles emerges when looking at the taxonomy of Cuban dance music genres. A *guaracha* is stylistically a Cuban *son* taken at a slightly faster tempo. The Cuban Spanish verb *guarachear* means 'to enjoy oneself' and *rumba/rhumba* and *pachanga* are all words meaning 'party.'

The arrival of Cuban musicians in New York such as Eddy Zervigón, Belisario López and José Fajardo following the 1959 revolution and 1962 embargo certainly invigorated the charanga scene which was previously dominated commercially by Pacheco and Charlie Palmieri. According to accounts such as the one by Flores, Pacheco's *pachanga* dance at the Triton did fuel the flames of the 1960s New York *pachanga* phenomenon regardless of however 'new' the style of music and dance actually was:

Johnny Pacheco had no doubts about being the originator of the pachanga craze, and that it all started in the Tritons Club. 'I was the one that started the dance,' he stated repeatedly, and went on to explain. 'We call the music, the orchestra was called a charanga. And then I used to do the little hop with the hankie and people started watching me at the Tritons and that's where the dance started from, 'cause there was no dance. And that's what made it so popular, 'cause it was a very easy dance, and you hear the stomping of the people dancing, on the downbeat.'²³

Although probably taking his cue from Orquesta Aragón's dancer Rafael Bacallao, Pacheco's dance did develop in the South Bronx Latin scene and filtered through to other venues in Spanish Harlem and the Palladium in Manhattan, underlying the importance of live performance in the development of the Latin music scene in New York. There is no specific associated dance for *pachanga* in Cuba and it is therefore very much a part of the grassroots Afro-Cuban dance music scene of the Bronx in the early 1960s. Karen Joseph, flute player with Eddie Palmieri's Perfecta II, Charanga America and Los Jovenes del Barrio, demonstrated the dance to me as a move from the center forwards with knees bent, a small jump to the right followed by a shuffle back to the center when we met in Brooklyn in June 2016. Joseph

underlined the relationship between the style and Pacheco: ‘I associate Pacheco with pachanga and whenever it comes up there’s always someone in the audience or someone somewhere in the club who starts to do this other little dance.’²⁴ Thus Pacheco imitated and adapted Cuban popular music and dance forms for a Bronx audience, incorporating movements developed in dialogue with a largely Puerto Rican audience. Pacheco played popular Cuban dance music with his band of Cuban and Puerto Rican musicians to a migrant Latin American/Caribbean audience, performing Cuban dance music with a new style of performance delivery as he adapted to audience tastes in the South Bronx and elsewhere in 1960s New York. This new performance aesthetic is examined in the following section which examines ideas about *típico* performance in New York.

The Aesthetics of Típico Playing: the migrant perspective

The meaning of the word *típico* in New York is not identical to its Cuban counterpart as musicologist Roberta Singer clarifies, stating that the term is applied to ‘island rather than New York-based music styles’ and that ‘some contemporary performers in New York define *típico* as “source music”: the non-commercial traditional and popular styles from which contemporary commercial styles are derived and reinterpreted.’²⁵ *Típico* for New York musicians thus reflects a migrant perspective, one which values authenticity and an adherence to a particular style of playing. Many Latin musicians in New York see their music in terms of fidelity to their roots with a need to assert their cultural identity whether that be in *típico* performance or in more ‘modernized’ ensembles. In Cuba the term has a slightly different meaning in that two different ensemble types use the term. The Cuban nineteenth-century *orquesta típica* (a wind band type ensemble comprising of two clarinets, two violins, a cornet,

timpani, *güiro*, ophicleide, double bass, valve trombone and a tuba) is more generally referred to as *típico* in Cuba as opposed to the later *charanga francesa* or *charanga orquesta*, although *charanga típica* is also used to denote the line-up and performance aesthetics of bands such as Arcaño y sus Maravillas and Orquesta Aragón. In New York, *típico* is a term most often used to describe traditional charanga performance which confuses these earlier distinctions. *Típico* is an important concept for New York players and an adherence to the charanga sound exemplified by bands such as Havana-based Orquesta Aragón and New York's Orquesta Broadway (led by Cuban flute player Eddy Zervigón) is very much valued amongst practitioners and their audiences. The term is also applied to Cuban *son* performance popularized in *conjunto* format by Arsenio Rodríguez and his Cuba-based and later New York-based *son conjunto* (in Cuba the *conjunto* is not generally referred to in these terms). This does not mean that the charanga or *son* tradition in New York is about preservation and revival, however; the popularity of the charanga in New York, for example, evolved from previous waves of Afro-Cuban dance music performance practice in the city with charanga musicians present from at least the late 1920s. For example Cuban flute player Alberto Socarrás arrived in New York in 1927 and Cuban pianist Anselmo Sacasas arrived in New York from the charanga Orquesta Tata Pereira and Cuban 'jazz' band Casino de La Playa in 1940.²⁶ Visiting bands from Cuba such as Orquesta Aragón and Fajardo y sus Estrellas also popularized the form as did the many commercial recordings of Cuban music disseminated widely by companies such as RCA Victor.

Innovations within the charanga and the *son* groups were integrated into the *mambo* bands in a multitude of ways, particularly in the 1950s when elements of the *chachachá* were incorporated into the big bands. The conclusions of John Murphy²⁷ that *típico* charanga performance is an example of 'residual culture,' therefore, does not take into account how these foundational Afro-Cuban dance music line-ups relate closely to the *mambo* big bands and to

the later salsa formats. Rather than ‘survivals’ charanga and *conjunto* elements provide the main ingredients for a multitude of Latin performance styles (for example the use of charanga violin patterns in the brass writing, use of the *chachachá* and *danzón-mambo* patterns in the piano and bass parts and the incorporation of elements from styles associated with the *conjunto* such as the riffed *diablo* section developed by Arsenio Rodríguez). Pacheco’s work in the charangas and *conjuntos*, in particular, led to his record label Fania coining the term ‘salsa’ to cover both manifestations, remaking Cuban styles for an international market. Salsa as it is known today has thus contained within it stylistic elements from the charanga and the *son conjunto* from the very outset. The continuing presence of charanga and the *conjunto* groups in New York on the local level is also a continuation of cultural practices rooted in the Bronx, and although less commercial than in the 1960s during the ‘pachanga craze’ they nevertheless continue to receive community support.

The excitement of the Bronx Triton club scene in the early 1960s is conveyed on Pacheco’s early recordings and reflects the energy of the post-*mambo* era. The *son* and charanga performed in this scene are still defined as *típico* but they do have a different *sabor* (flavor) to the Cuba-based styles of the 1950s. Mark Weinstein makes the point that the flute’s role in Afro-Cuban dance music, whether in the charanga, *conjunto* or modified trombone-led *conjunto* ensemble of which he was a part, was different in New York:

George Castro [flute player with Eddie Palmieri’s La Perfecta] played like Johnny Pacheco. Johnny Pacheco used the flute—he played little melodies but that wasn’t the point. The flute was supposed to rhythmically punctuate from the top. These guys were swing players. You’ve got to understand that George’s job was to keep the top filled while the bottom of the band was going crazy. George didn’t have any room to be creative. George had to just find a way to fill up that top echelon of the acoustic sound, and so, again, forgive me, he was a very primitive flute player, as was Pacheco. These

guys couldn't come close to a guy named Richard Egües. Or Fajardo. They were just a completely different league. These guys were not really flute players. These guys were whistle players. It was perfect for the energy of the New York sound. . . . The job of the flute was to keep that energy going against that tremendous volume of sound. (Mark Weinstein, interview, New Jersey, June 22, 2016)²⁸

As Weinstein remarks, this instrumental function was not the same in Cuba where more space for flute soloists was provided through diversity of style and texture. Here the emphasis was on the *montuno*, the groove and the improvisations over repeated *coros*.²⁹ Pacheco was not, however, 'just a whistle player,' although the energy, timbre and speed of his playing does have this sonic effect—he also demonstrated an understanding of Cuban percussion through *clave* sensibility with his melodic-rhythmic use of typical *cierres* (breaks) and use of percussion patterns such as the *cinquillo* (five-beat *danzón* pattern) in his flute lines. The tempos of many of the early US charanga recordings from the late 1950s and early '60s were faster in general than those in 1950s Cuba, forcing players, as Weinstein asserts, to punctuate the top part of the timbral register with continuous melodic-rhythmic embellishments. According to promoter Al Santiago, Pacheco had a preference for 'going *embalao*³⁰ [racing] at a very fast tempo.'³¹

Some Conclusions

Pacheco has a high energy, percussive style with an *embalao* approach which, while melodic, has a strong rhythmic sensibility due to his knowledge and skills as a percussionist.

Small changes in performance practice (in this case within *típico* charanga performance) led to new ways of performing what was essentially traditional Cuban dance music.

Through their club performances a new trajectory for this music was born (building on the New York *rhumba* and *mambo* bands that preceded it) led by Pacheco and others within *charanga* and *conjunto* group formations; in the process they created a distinctive New York *sabor* long before salsa emerged as the dominant international Latin genre label. In the context of the improvisation tradition embedded within these styles, imitation of Cuban musical elements also involved the ability to understand *clave* aesthetics and to absorb the codes and generative processes to enable, as Andy González asserts, a meaningful communication with a dancing audience of Cuban, Puerto Rican, and other Latin American migrants in the city.

Creativity within stylistic boundaries can be better defined once stylistic parameters and approaches to melodic and rhythmic development are analyzed and evidenced. This case study of Johnny Pacheco's flute improvisations presented here therefore provides evidence that creativity can exist in music adopted and adapted from a 'different' culture, and that evaluation of an individual's contribution needs to be undertaken within the wider communal context in which they perform. Small innovations can often be the most interesting and these changes may not be related to virtuosity or to fusions of musical format or instrumentation but can instead involve variations in performance delivery. Pacheco, with his *embalao* approach, chose to improvise with rhythmic concepts to the fore and he has been highly influential through his work in the *mambo* bands, *charangas*, *conjuntos*, and finally his salsa productions in New York. He may not have been one of the top virtuoso *charanga* flute players within the wider *charanga* tradition (or even the most innovative in terms of melodic-rhythmic ideas) but he developed a style of his own by creatively reworking Cuban material with a Bronx-infused performance approach.

When asked by Peter Westbrook why the *charanga*'s popularity waned in later years,

Latin flute player Nestor Torres replied ‘it faded because it’s not a very pleasant sound—a high pitched, slightly out-of-tune flute with high pitched, same sounding out-of-tune violins.’³² In an interview with Torres in October 2017 I reminded him of his comments and we discussed the *sabor* of the early charanga bands of the 1960s such as the one led by Johnny Pacheco. He professed his love for charanga music, stating that some of these bands were more polished than others and that even the roughness and out of tune sharp intonation of the flute and violins of these early New York charangas may perhaps also be part of its aesthetic.³³ As he and many others underline, this music is intended to get people to dance, and rhythm rather than tuning, is the most important aspect of performance practice.

A catalyst for musical change, Pacheco was not the sole creator of a New York Latin sound by any means but he has been an important figure within the context of Latin music in New York City. Embroiled as he has been in the sometimes murky world of music promotion, he is also a musician and performer and more attention to his extensive musical output in that context therefore needs to be given in order to evaluate his musical contribution to Latin music more fairly. Yes, he did borrow extensively from Cuban music repertoire, but he remade it (with others) for a New York Latin and later international audience, and always, as Roberts stated at the outset, with loving enthusiasm for Cuban music. His rhythmic *embalao* approach and his mastery of *clave* enabled him to improvise creatively in the context of Afro-Cuban dance music repertoire and adapt it to suit the tastes of migrant Latin American and Caribbean communities in New York long before developing its international appeal as salsa.

Music labels are frequently coined by non-musicians such as by promoters, marketing managers, journalists and radio DJs; musicians like Johnny Pacheco also play their part in the press and publicity game. These labels, while capturing perhaps some of the essence of a genre or style can also distort, and the terms imposed often conflict with the actual sonic properties

of a given style. I hope here to have demonstrated that the cultural context of musical style is always more complex and to have shown how analysis of recorded music (with performance aesthetics in mind) enables insights into creative process (particularly in the case of improvisation), into the malleability and hybridity of musical style and into the drivers behind musical change. In answer to critiques by Roberts, Flores and others that Pacheco was a revivalist and a traditionalist I concede that he is an imitator (but with the caveat that without imitation there is no stylistic tradition) and an appropriator (his ability to commercialize and popularize Afro-Cuban dance music has often led to the promotion of Cuban music without acknowledgement of sources for example). However he is also an innovator, particularly in terms of Latin performance aesthetics and as such his considerable work as a charanga flute improviser, Latin percussionist and arranger merits further research.

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¹ Juan Flores, *Salsa Rising: New York Latin Music of the Sixties Generation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.101-102.

² John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States* (New York: Original Music, 1985), p.164. [originally published by Oxford University Press 1979].

³ *Sabor*, meaning ‘flavor’ or ‘feel’ is a term used to describe in-*clave* and creative *típico* performance.

⁴ Storm Roberts 1985, 164.

⁵ Issues of copyright of Cuban works following the Cuban revolution of 1959 are not examined here but are discussed by Robin Moore in *Music and Revolution* (2006, pp. 73-7). Copyright was abolished by the Cuban government in 1967 benefitting US record companies to the detriment of Cuban artists.

⁶ See Miller, 2014, pp.237-238 for further analysis of Pacheco’s improvisational style.

⁷ Personnel given in Uribe, Andres Campo. Nd. ‘Discografía de Charlie Palmieri.’ Thanks to author David A. Pérez sr. (email correspondence August 16, 2017) for further elaboration on the recording’s personnel, providing nationalities and correcting the Uribe information on John Palomo and Julian Cabrera.

⁸ See Miller, 2014 for an exposition and detailed analysis of the improvisational styles of Richard Egües, José Fajardo and Antonio Arcaño amongst others.

⁹ Eddy Zervigón, for example, describes Pacheco as being ‘born to improvise.’ Interview with Eddy Zervigón, Queens, New York, June 18, 2016.

¹⁰ Flores, 2016, p.50. Flores notes that Pacheco had played timbales in Gilberto Valdés’ charanga, which was formed in 1951.

¹¹ Orquesta Broadway performed at the Palladium regularly from 1962 as well as at the Club Cubano Interamericano.

- ¹² The term *gallego* is usually used to describe lighter skinned Latinos. The *gallego* is also a stock character from the Cuban *teatro bufo* depicting a Galician Spaniard. According to Robin Moore (1997) in 'Blackface theater, the *gallego* had a comical Spanish accent, a strong attraction to Mulatto women, and an inability to dance.' (Moore, 1997, p.280). Here it also has a negative connotation possibly referring to the music's 'rural' roots, being 'from the island' and therefore considered 'backwards'. For an in-depth study of these generational changes relating to Latin identity see Peter Manuel. 1998. 'Representations of New York City in Latin Music', in *Island Sounds in the Global City: Caribbean Popular Music and Identity in New York*, edited by Ray Allen and Lois Wilcken. New York: New York Folklore Society, pp.23-43.
- ¹³ Peter Manuel, 1994. 'Puerto Rican Music and Cultural Identity: Creative Appropriation of Cuban Sources from Danza to Salsa'. In *Ethnomusicology*, 38 (2): 249-80.
- ¹⁴ For more on Puerto Rican music's relationship to Cuban dance music see Peter Manuel. 1994. 'Puerto Rican Music and Cultural Identity: Creative Appropriation of Cuban Sources from Danza to Salsa'. In *Ethnomusicology*, 38, (2), Music and Politics (Spring-Summer), 249-280. See also Ruth Glasser, *My Music is My Flag: Puerto Rican Musicians and Their New York Communities 1917 – 1940* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).
- ¹⁵ Interview with Andy González in Singer, 1983. 'Tradition and Innovation in Contemporary Latin Popular Music in New York City'. *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, 4 (2): 183-202, p.194.
- ¹⁶ Weinstein cites George Castro as a major influence on his trombone soloing style. Interview with Mark Weinstein, New Jersey, June 22, 2016.
- ¹⁷ There were many charanga bands in New York at this time including Alfredito Valdés y su Orquesta, Orquesta Broadway, Charles Fox's Charanga, Charlie Palmieri's La Duboney, Pupi y su Charanga, Johnny Pacheco y su Charanga, Orquesta Belisario López, the Lou Pérez Orchestra, Mongo Santamaría Orchestra, Orquesta Novel, Orquesta Nuevo Ritmo de Cuba (visiting from Chicago), Pete Terrace and his Orchestra, Rafael Seijo y su Orquesta, Ray Barretto's Charanga Moderna, Rosendo Ruiz, Jr. and his Latino Charanga, Tito Rodríguez and his Orchestra, and Fajardo y sus Estrellas.
- ¹⁸ A pan-Caribbean popular dance music form from the Dominican Republic and Haiti and also found in Latin American countries such as Venezuela and Colombia.
- ¹⁹ Pacheco claims he invented the dance step Latin Music DJ Al Angeloro saw Arthur Murray teach a regimented pachanga dance class using the handkerchief gesture and jump Pacheco claims he invented (see Flores, 2016, p. 46). Murray, who had a chain of dancing academies, would have undoubtedly popularized the step and there is a 1961 recording entitled *Arthur Murray's Music For Dancing Pachangas* (RCA Victor LSP 2448) recorded by a band led by Mario Bauza & Rene Hernandez featuring most of the musicians from the Machito band. A rather awkward looking Arthur Murray is seen dancing on the record cover and the recording begins with a big band version of Pacheco's hit for Alegre records 'El Güiro de Macorina.'
- ²⁰ See Flores, *Salsa Rising: New York Latin Music of the Sixties Generation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.47.
- ²¹ Flores, 2016, pp.46-48.
- ²² Flores, 2016, p.47.
- ²³ In *Salsa Rising*, (2016, p.46), Flores also cites an interview with Johnny Pacheco on May 12, 1997 given to David Carp and published on the now defunct Descarga.com website. The interview is titled 'A Visit with Maestro Johnny Pacheco.'
- ²⁴ Interview with Karen Joseph by the author, Brooklyn, June 24, 2016.
- ²⁵ Roberta, L. Singer, and Elena Martínez. 1983. 'Tradition and Innovation in Contemporary Latin Popular Music in New York City'. *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, 4 (2): 183-202, p.99.
- ²⁶ Max Salazar. *Mambo Kingdom: Latin Music in New York*. (New York: Schirmer Trade Books, 2002), p.59.
- ²⁷ John, P. Murphy, 'The Charanga in New York and the Persistence of the Típico Style.' In *Essays on Cuban Music: North American and Cuban Perspectives*, edited by Peter Manuel, 117-35 (Lanham, New York and London: University Press of America, 1991), pp. 130-133.
- ²⁸ Interview by the author with Mark Weinstein, New Jersey, June 22, 2016. Weinstein was trombonist with Eddie Palmieri's La Perfecta from 1961-1963. He later became a jazz flute/world music flute player and an academic specializing in philosophy.
- ²⁹ See Singer and Martínez, 2004, and Abreu, 2015 for detailed ethnographies of the South Bronx in relation to grassroots Afro-Cuban dance music performance from the 1940s to the 1960s.

- ³⁰ The term *embalao* is short for *embalado* and is Latin American Spanish slang for ‘in a hurry’, ‘racing’, ‘rapid’ or ‘accelerated.’ In informal Cuban Spanish a ‘d’ is often omitted (e.g. *melao* for *melado* meaning ‘cane syrup’).
- ³¹ Cited in Flores, 2016, p.53, originally in Boggs, 1992, p.222.
- ³² Peter Westbrook, *The Flute in Jazz: Window on World Music* (Rockville, MD: Harmonia Books, 2009), p. 331.
- ³³ Nestor Torres, Interview via Skype, October 18, 2017.