A CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE DRUM SET: PROLIFERATION FROM NEW ORLEANS TO CUBA

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: A CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE DRUM SET: PROLIFERATION FROM NEW ORLEANS TO CUBA

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Few American innovations have had as far-reaching and profound an effect on the world's music as the drum set. Likely first used in the United States in the late 19th century and developed extensively throughout the first half of the 20th century, the collection of drums, percussion, and noisemakers now called the drum set has become an international icon. Although the origin and general history of the instrument have been explored, there is a lack of scholarship addressing the details of individuals, groups, and circumstances responsible for its proliferation. Many important players and proponents are underrepresented or entirely un-attributed.

This thesis traces lesser-known aspects of early drum set history and development in New Orleans and then illuminates the details of how, when, and by whom the instrument was incorporated into the musics of Cuba. Analysis of photographs and recordings from the early 20th century as well as of scholarly literature on the development of jazz and its connection to Cuba suggests that the awareness and use of the drum set on the island preceded what is documented or commonly acknowledged in the literature. This is the first resource to focus on the earliest evidence of drum set playing in Cuba.

In addition to documenting my findings here, I have created an online multimedia music education resource for drum set enthusiasts and anyone else interested in jazz, Cuban music, or cultural history. The website also contains the audiovisual evidence referenced in this paper. Website found here:

http://culturalhistoryofthedrumset.wordpress.com

Preface

Around three years ago I decided to take a break from professional life as a touring freelance drummer and pursue a master's degree. I had always enjoyed teaching, in a variety of contexts, and I wanted to find and learn new ways of applying my skills and passion for music to social activism and community engagement—"music in service". A master's degree will allow me more opportunities for this kind of work in the future, and the academic program I completed enabled the kind of deep study of music and culture that I had been missing since college.

I want to explain why I chose this topic, why I think it is important, and also my intentions and aspirations for applying this work outside the academic realm. I began studying Cuban music in college after I decided that I wouldn't be able to play the drum set the way I wanted to without learning to play percussion as well. The powerful rhythms grabbed me and I ended up on a several-year journey into traditional Afro-Cuban percussion. Along the way, I discovered many methods of adapting Afro-Cuban rhythms to the drum set.

Over a decade later, when I began thinking about a research topic for my master's thesis, I realized that despite how much I had learned about adapting Cuban rhythms to the drum set, I had no idea how the drum set first appeared in Cuban music. I knew the 1940s were an important era for the development of Latin jazz, but since the drum set was invented near the turn of the century I figured there had to be an earlier history than what I was aware of. I also wondered how the drum set had first made its way into the many cultures of which it is now a part, and I had the idea of creating a world history of the proliferation of the drum set from its origins in New Orleans. The history of the drum set spans the globe and involves countless fascinating cultural transformations, but since such an endeavor was too massive for a master's thesis, I decided to focus on my original questions. When did the drum set really come to Cuba? How did it get there? Who was playing it, and how did they incorporate it into their music?

Documenting this aspect of drum set history is important *now* because the more time passes, the more distant our knowledge will be from primary sources. The initial proliferation of the drum set occurred in the early 20th century, so people playing the drum set in the countries it first spread to are already third- or fourth-generation. As with any other topic of historical research, the longer it waits, the less clear the picture we can construct will be.

However, writing this history is not a solely academic endeavor for me. I don't intend the product of this research to be knowledge for knowledge's sake alone, so everything I do with this project will also be applied in the public sector. Although the website I built will not be public until I gain permission from various copyright holders of audiovisuals used, it demonstrates my vision for the application of this research. I am planning to create a podcast for public download based on my findings, submit a shorter version of the content and lesson plans I developed to drum magazines and other relevant publications, release an audio compilation, and present at conferences such as the Percussive Arts Society International Convention (PASIC). I recently applied for a grant from the Regional Arts & Culture Council (RACC) in Portland, OR to create a music and culture workshop for schools lacking arts programming using the proliferation of the drum set as a lens.

The drum set is complex and yet accessible. It is also a truly international instrument, and its broad appeal makes it ideal for teaching the value of cultural and musical diversity. My hope is that these projects will promote intercultural appreciation and respect.

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I. Introduction

It is believed that percussion instruments were the first musical devices created by humankind.[1] The ancient function and power of rhythm are undeniable. For millennia, drums and percussion have been used to communicate, heal, intimidate, synchronize, induce trance, summon or banish otherworldly spirits, and simply entertain. From a mother's heartbeat to the drums in your favorite song, humanity is captivated by rhythm.

There are countless forms of drums and percussion instruments throughout the world, and although it varies from culture to culture, few societies lack some kind of drumming tradition. The drum set as an instrument has become a commonality amongst distant cultures and an international mode of communication among drummers. But despite its ubiquity, how many people know the names of those who originally popularized the drum set and when or where it developed? In my personal experience as a professional drum set player and teacher, the answer is not many. Even more obscure are the names and stories of players and groups who spread the instrument to other countries and different genres.

Few American innovations have had as far-reaching and profound an effect on the world's music as the drum set. Most people are surprised to learn that the drum set owes much of its popularity to the development of jazz in New Orleans at the turn of the 20th century. Catapulted by the epic rise of jazz, it has become an international icon in little more than 100 years. Each genre may have a unique style and approach to the instrument, but the function is generally the same: the drum set is a way of bringing various percussion instruments and timbres within close reach.

Although the origin and general history of the instrument have been explored, there is a lack of scholarship addressing the details of individuals, groups, and circumstances responsible for

[1] Blades 1970: 36. After the human voice, it is likely that sounds such as clapping, stamping, or body percussion preceded and perhaps served as inspiration for the first idiophones (instruments that produce sound by their own vibration without any strings or membranes).

its proliferation. Many important players and proponents are underrepresented or entirely un-attributed in the literature. This study traces lesser-known aspects of early drum set history and development in New Orleans and illuminates the details of how, when, and by whom it was incorporated into the musics of Cuba.

As a longtime student and fan of Cuban music, I have found that the popular history of Latin jazz, and by extension Latin jazz drumming, often begins with early 1940s Cuban musicians in New York. Drummers commonly study the Afro-Cuban innovations of the 1960s and 1970s as milestones in drum set playing as well. Seldom do the 1910s and 1920s come up in reference to Cuban jazz drumming, or, for that matter, to Cuban jazz at all. The photographs, recordings, and historical research I have collected here show that the drum set existed in Cuba earlier than documentation and popular history imply. Close proximity and consistent musical interaction with New Orleans dating back to at least the 18th century suggests the use, or at least knowledge, of the drum set in Cuba shortly after its appearance in the United States around the turn of the 20th century. It seems that Cuba was among the first countries outside the United States to adopt the instrument, and that the history of the *batería* (drum set) there is nearly as old as jazz itself.

To my knowledge, there is no other history of the drum set that deals specifically with its early proliferation. Existing resources focus on topics such as the history of drum set manufacturing, or particular genres like jazz and rock drumming. A review of the literature shows that many of the details of early drum set innovation and globalization have not been explored. The majority of documentation refers to the contribution of the most popular players and manufacturers. Information about the inventors of and circumstances surrounding the earliest bass drum pedal patents and subsequent innovations in the United States is not easily found. Furthermore, the details of Cuban incorporation have never been addressed. This thesis is the first resource to deal specifically with the earliest examples of drum set recordings and playing styles in Cuba.

Section II of this paper describes my research process and the resources used for this study. Section III explains the development of the drum set and its rise to international renown alongside the spread of jazz. Section IV shows that the use of the drum set in Cuba likely pre-dates documentation by recordings or photographs. I also provide a possible timeline of the instrument's incorporation into Cuban music. Appendix 1 is a detailed description of the origins of the drum set and the development of its individual components. Appendix 2 is, to my knowledge, the only collection of photographs and biographies focused specifically on first-generation drum set players in New Orleans. Appendix 3 presents the earliest photographs found during this research that show Cuban groups utilizing a drum set. Information about the groups and personnel in these photographs is provided when possible.

The website I created as part of this thesis contains the audiovisual examples from the paper, but it is also intended to stand alone as a resource for any level of drum set enthusiast studying jazz or Latin music, music educators who wish to teach a lesson on any of these genres, and anyone else generally interested in the fields of cultural education and preservation, history, music anthropology, and music performance. The website and audiovisual examples can be found here:

http://culturalhistoryofthedrumset.wordpress.com

II. Methodologies

Upon beginning this research, I initially believed that locating the business records of early drum set manufacturing companies would reveal an approximate timeline of drum set proliferation and possibly identify international retailers. However, Rob Cook, author of several books on the history of drum set companies and founder of Rebeats Publications, a business specializing in vintage drum-related items and history, informed me that few records exist from the early part of the 20th century and that he had never come across a trade catalog by an American company from that time period in any language other than English. In his words,

> *"Precious few corporate records exist for any of the major American drum companies. This is partly due to the fact that they simply did not value such records and often kept them only long enough to be in compliance with tax laws, but more so because all of the companies changed hands and with each change of ownership and relocation, records were generally purged. Most of what has survived from Leedy, Ludwig, Slingerland, Gretsch, and Rogers I have had access to."* [2]

Faced with this lack of quantitative data, my research turned to historical and audiovisual evidence. Thanks to the work of scholars like Leonardo Acosta, Cristóbal Díaz Ayala, Alejo Carpentier, John Storm Roberts, Ned Sublette, and Raul A. Fernandez, as well as others such as Gunther Schuller, James Blades, Karl Koenig, and Theodore Dennis Brown, I was able to compile enough evidence to construct a general timeline for the development and proliferation of the drum set and then begin a search for audio and photographic examples that supported my theory. Using the literature and archives, I collected as many recordings and photographs as I could find and attempted to identify the corresponding location, date, and personnel. Careful listening allowed me to determine if a drum set was present on a recording or not. In some cases, crude recording techniques from the early 20th century made it difficult to discern the timbres of a drum set, but referencing discographies and liner notes helped to resolve uncertainties.

[2] Cook, Rob. 2014. "Graduate Student Drumset Question?" Message to the author. 18 Feb. E-mail.

Two essential resources for this research were a discography of recordings compiled by the Cuban scholar Cristóbal Díaz Ayala and the Díaz-Ayala Cuban and Latin American Popular Music Collection at Florida International University. Containing biographical information and a list of nearly all recordings made by Cuban musicians before 1960, this discography allowed me to verify the date, location, and personnel of many early recordings. The collection itself provided me with the earliest recording of a drum set in Cuba that I have found to date. Research was done remotely as well as on-site in several locations. In March of 2014, research was conducted during visits to the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. and the William Ransom Hogan Archive of New Orleans Jazz and the New Orleans Historic Collection in New Orleans. At the Smithsonian, I was able to view unreleased notes, correspondence, and photographs associated with early New Orleans jazz recordings released by Folkways Records. At the Library of Congress, I found numerous clippings and photographs from early 20th century New Orleans and was able to search through the recording catalogs of companies like Edison, RCA Victor, and Columbia Records.

The Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane University contains an extensive catalog of recordings and transcriptions of interviews with early jazz musicians, including several early 20th century drum set players. These interviews, conducted mostly by the late historian and archivist William Russell, are amongst the earliest resources pertaining to jazz history research. At the Historic New Orleans Collection I was able to view notes and personal materials belonging to the renowned recordist and writer Frederick Ramsey, Jr., who did much of his work in New Orleans, as well as additional materials belonging to William Russell.

Phone conversations, email correspondence, and in-person meetings with Dr. Lynn Abbott (Associate Curator, Hogan Jazz Archive), Louis Bauzó (Master Teacher of Latin Music, Harbor Conservatory for the Performing Arts), Rob Cook (drum set history specialist and founder of Rebeats Publications), Dr. Raul A. Fernandez (Professor of Latin American Studies, University of California at Irvine; Cuba specialist), Jose Medeles (founder, Revival Drum Shop),

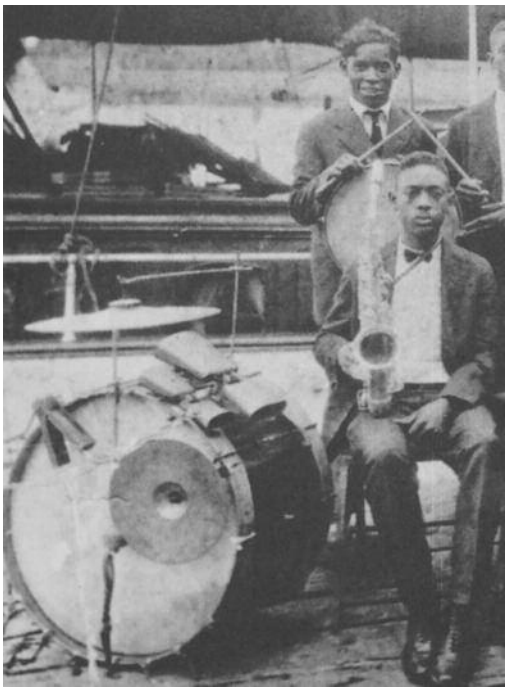
Dr. Robin Moore (Professor of Music/Ethnomusicology, University of Texas at Austin; Cuba specialist), Dr. Bruce Raeburn (Director of Special Collections and Curator, Hogan Jazz Archive), Ned Sublette (independent scholar; Cuba and New Orleans specialist), and Bob Weiner (professional drum set player; Afro-Cuban specialist) provided me with invaluable insight and guidance as well. I thank all of these scholars and the institutions I visited for their incredible generosity.

III. Background

Origins of the Drum Set

During the late 19th century, multiple drummers were often found in the percussion sections of large American military bands and theater orchestras. Smaller, non-marching theater and ragtime groups did not always require such a large rhythm section. In order to save space and money, over time drummers were encouraged to play as many instruments as possible. They adapted by creating a style of playing known as "double drumming", or a single performer alternating with sticks between a bass drum and a snare drum (see Fig. 1). In the late 1880s, a crude version of the bass drum pedal enabled multi-tasking with the hands and a foot. This "contraption" and the various noisemakers that could be added to it became known as the "trap" set (see Fig. 2). Although bass drum pedals existed in England as early as the 1840s, the trap drummers of the 1890s seem to have been the first to put it to regular use.[3]

[Fig. 1] "Double drumming" set.

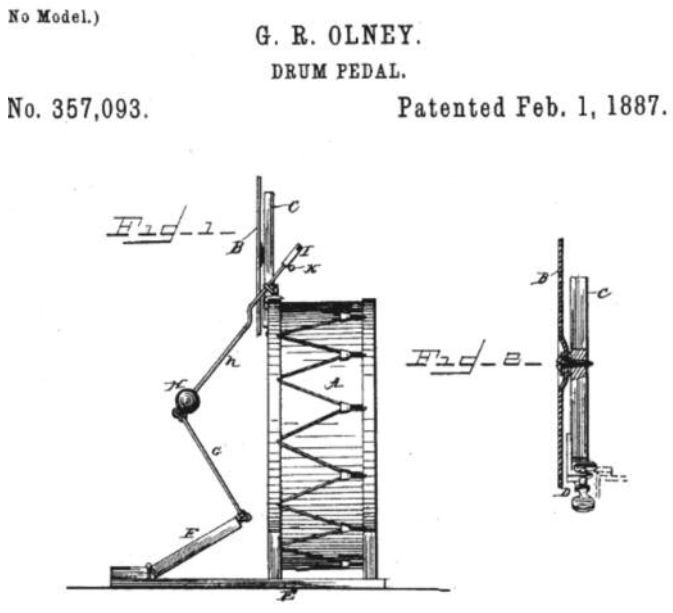


[Fig. 2] Abbey "Chinee" Foster (standing) next to his trap set with the Tuxedo Jazz Band, 1923.

[3] Blades 1970: 84. A rope and pulley operated foot pedal designed by Cornelius Ward was used by the Richardson Family Rock Harmonica group during their performances for the Queen of England in 1848. The stone xylophone-like instrument, bass drum, and pedal are on display at the Keswick Museum.

"Birth of an Icon" - Example 1: A video example of the "double drumming" technique performed by Daniel Glass and presented by Vic Firth as part of an online resource entitled "A Century of Drumming Evolution" (History of the Drumset – Part 1, 1865 – Double Drumming)**.**

The earliest bass drum pedal patents and accounts of "double drumming" in America come from theater pit orchestras, travelling vaudeville and circus shows, and silent film accompaniment. Unfortunately, little is known about 19th century trap drummers outside of New Orleans. Knowledge of these players and their practices is based solely on oral history and extant sheet music. Patents for bass drum pedals and accounts of their use outside of New Orleans pre-date any recordings or photographs of them (see Fig. 3). The improvement of the pedal in 1909 by the Ludwig & Ludwig, Inc. Drum Company of Chicago increased its appeal and propelled the popularity, development, and practicality of the trap set (see Fig. 4). Subsequent advancements in hardware technology and machining led to mass production, increased durability, and a variety of designs and possible attachments. Companies such as Ludwig, the Leedy Drum Company, George B. Stone & Son, Inc., and Walberg & Auge were among the first to mass-produce and distribute what is now known as the drum set.

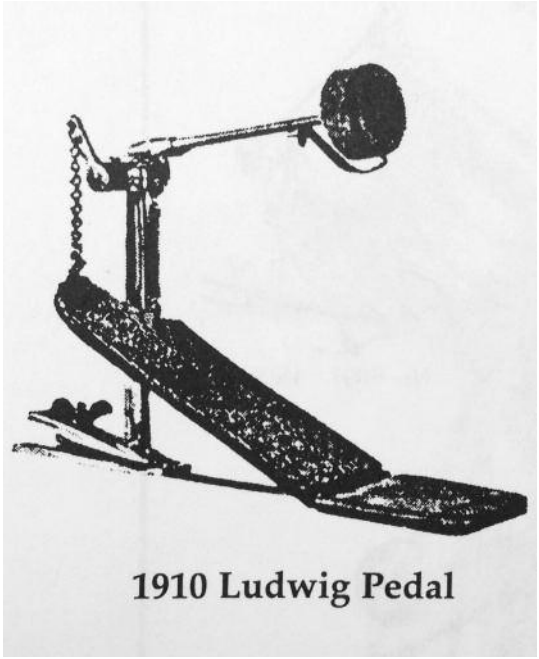

No Model.)

G. R. OLNEY.

DRUM PEDAL.

No. 357,093. Patented Feb. 1, 1887.

[Fig. 3] G.R. Olney bass drum pedal patented Feb. 1, 1887.



[Fig. 4] 1910 Ludwig bass drum pedal.

New Orleans and the Rise of Jazz Drumming

By the time jazz and the drum set appeared in New Orleans, the city had developed a cultural climate unlike any other. West African slaves and their descendants, French and Spanish colonists, refugees from Haitian slave revolts, Cubans, Louisiana-born Creoles, Mexicans, and Native Americans were all living in New Orleans before the Louisiana Purchase made the city part of the United States in 1803. Over the course of the 19th century, a growing number of European, Caribbean, Latin American, and Asian immigrants continued to diversify the city.

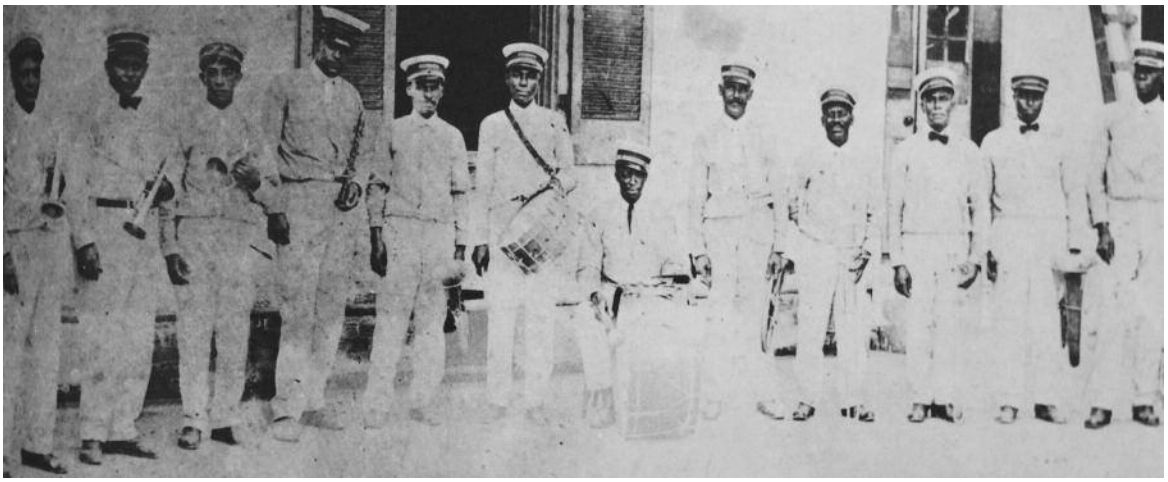
Unlike most other Antebellum cities in the southern United States, from 1817 to 1856 the municipality of New Orleans allocated a space where people of all ethnicities were allowed to play music, sing, and dance together. These Sunday gatherings, known as "ring shouts", highlighted the presence of African and Afro-Caribbean musical sensibilities and instruments.[4] Such freedom was unusual for Africans and African-American slaves whose drums and music were often banned in the American south for fear of revolt. Congo Square, as it was called, was the site of unprecedented cultural sharing between the many peoples of New Orleans.

By the 1880s, brass bands were common throughout New Orleans at parties, parades, weddings, funerals, and any other social event where people wanted to dance and be entertained (see Fig. 5). Popular American music of the time included marching band compositions like those of the John Philip Sousa orchestra and dance music such as schottisches, polkas, mazurkas, waltzes, quadrilles, and reels. These styles spread wildly from their origins in Europe and often took new forms in the Americas, particularly in New Orleans where musicians began to incorporate African, African-American, and West Indian influences. There, marching drumming transformed from composed military cadences and rudimentary playing into a more syncopated, improvised, and danceable style.

> *"Beginning in the late nineteenth century, styles of dance underwent a dramatic shift away from polite, measured, and hierarchical nineteenth-century fare*

[4] Sakakeeny 2014

(i.e., quadrille, schottische, waltz, mazurka) to more suggestive, all purpose steps such as the slow drag, two-step, one-step, and foxtrot, which suited the new musical genres of ragtime and blues, Tin Pan Alley popular tunes, and jazz that were coalescing in the early 20th century." [5]



[Fig. 5] Onward Brass Band, ca. 1913. Bebé Matthews standing with snare drum and Dandy Lewis seated with bass drum.

Ragtime, the precursor to jazz (or "jass" as it was originally spelled), had its roots in the African-American blues and banjo music of the South and Midwest. Composers like Scott Joplin, Joseph Lamb, James Scott, and New Orleans' Jelly Roll Morton helped deliver it to American popular culture during the 1890s. Storyville, the red light district of New Orleans, was a hotspot for this music. Originally called "jig" music because of the African-American jigs and march music it descended from, the piano style of ragtime used complex, syncopated, off-beat right hand parts over steady, marching-style bass lines in the left hand. American music welcomed ragtime's playfulness and by 1897, even Sousa's band had recorded "ragged" compositions such as "Levee Revels – An Afro-American Can-Hop" and "Orange Blossoms". [6]

"New Orleans Roots" - Example 2: "Ragtime Drummer" by James Lent with band accompaniment (ca. 1917 – Emerson 779). The English drummer James Lent playing a ragtime drum composition that he composed and performed around the world for many years. He composed it around 1904 and recorded it several times. This version was chosen for the diversity of "traps" that can be heard. The majority of the piece is performed on snare drum, but woodblocks, cowbells, and even a whistle at 1:54, are mixed in throughout.

[5] Ibid.
[6] Brown 1976: 89

The drum set was first used in New Orleans when marching bands began to form smaller, non-marching ragtime groups. Edward "Dee Dee" Chandler, who played with the John Robichaux Orchestra, is credited with popularizing the bass drum pedal in New Orleans in the mid-1890s (see Fig. 6). As mentioned earlier, consolidating drum duties saved space and money. "Papa" Jack Laine, famed bandleader and drummer for the Reliance Brass Band, explained that because both a bass and snare drummer were expected in these bands, he could get paid as if he had two drummers and only bring one: "In them days we used to call the six men seven pieces because the trap drums were in there…"[7] Eventually called dixieland and jazz bands, these non-marching groups incorporated the syncopated new rhythms of New Orleans marching and ragtime bands. Many of the earliest drum set players also played either snare or bass drum (often with an attached "clanger" cymbal on the side of the drum played with one hand) in parade bands. The most popular early jazz groups, such as the famed cornetist Buddy Bolden's bands and the John Robichaux Orchestra, incorporated the performance styles of innovative groups like the Reliance Brass Band and the Onward Brass Band and presented them in a new way. African-American blues and ragtime was combined with wind, brass, and string arrangements of European origin. As will be shown, the rhythms and music of Afro-Caribbean and other West Indian cultures were also essential to the development of the sounds of New Orleans and the rise of jazz.

"New Orleans Roots" - Example 3: "Bouncing Around" by Piron's New Orleans Orchestra (12/3/1923 – Okeh 40021-A: New York) featuring Louis Cotrelle, Sr. on drums. This is one of few recordings by a first generation drum set player (see Appendix 2) and the first record issued by this band. Because loud drums like the snare and bass drum overwhelmed early microphones, Cotrelle was limited to woodblocks and a small cymbal. The woodblocks enter at 1:39 and a cymbal hits on the last beat of the song.

[7] Laine 1951

After “Dee Dee” Chandler, the use of the drum set became common among New Orleans bands. Unfortunately, it was not until the advent of the recording and radio industry in the late teens and 1920s that the sounds of these drummers were adequately captured. When the Original Dixieland Jazz Band recorded “Livery Stable Blues” and “Dixieland Jass Band One-Step” (often considered the first commercially marketed jazz recordings) for the Victor Talking Machine Company in 1917, a second generation of jazz drummers was already behind the set (see Fig. 7).

“New Orleans Roots” - Example 4: “Dixie Jass Band One-Step” by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band (2/26/1917 – Victor 18255-A: New York) featuring drummer Tony Sbarbaro. Snare drum, bass drum, cymbals, woodblocks, and cow bell can all be heard in this up-tempo tune.

During the 1910s and 1920s, dixieland and jazz spread north along the Mississippi River to cities like Chicago and Kansas City and then through the United States to coastal cities like San Francisco and New York. Throughout this period, artists such as the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, Louis Armstrong, Freddie Keppard, Joe “King” Oliver, and Edward “Kid” Ory introduced jazz, and along with it jazz drumming, to a wider audience around the country and then the world. In the case of Cuba, however, close proximity and consistent musical interaction with New Orleans meant that jazz had reached the island not long after it had a name in New Orleans.

“New Orleans Roots” - Example 5: Warren “Baby” Dodds demonstrating an early jazz snare drum technique that was also common among marching band snare drummers and then playing a creative floor tom solo using his foot as a muffler. Dodds played with many influential early jazz artists including Louis Armstrong, Jelly Roll Morton, and Joe “King” Oliver. He is considered to be a vital link between unrecorded early styles of jazz drumming and what is on record from later years. This video, made in conjunction with a solo drum album by Dodds that was produced in 1946 by the prolific recordist Frederic Ramsey, Jr. (*Footnotes to Jazz, Vol. 1: Baby Dodds Talking and Drum Solos*), is excerpted from what is perhaps the first instructional drum set video ever made.

[Fig. 6] Edward “Dee Dee”Chandler with the John Robichaux Orchestra, ca. 1896. Chandler is far left and Robichaux is seated second from right. An overhanging pedal is visible on the bass drum. This is the oldest known photograph of a bass drum pedal.

[Fig. 7] Drummer Tony Sbarbaro with the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, 1919.

IV. Findings

The first part of this section explores the influence Cuba had on the music of New Orleans and then what could be considered a process of reverse transculturation as New Orleans jazz influenced the music of Cuba. This process manifested as the emergence of jazz bands and the drum set in Cuba. The second section analyzes the earliest examples I have found of a Cuban recording featuring a drum set.

The Latin Tinge

As mentioned earlier, the popular history of Latin jazz often begins with early 1940s Cuban musicians in New York such as Chano Pozo, Mario Bauzá, and Francisco Raúl Gutiérrez Grillo (a.k.a. Machito) and their collaborations with American trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie and company. The history of Latin jazz drumming often begins at the same time and then moves on to innovators like José Luis Quintana (a.k.a. Changuito) with Los Van Van and Irakere's drummers in the 1960s and 1970s. It can be argued that the type of jazz happening in Cuba before the 1940s was only American jazz being played by Cuban bands and not the unique genres called Latin jazz and Afro-Cuban jazz, or "Cubop". Either way, it is now known that the history of jazz in Cuba, and by extension that of the *batería* (drum set) in Cuba, is nearly as old as jazz itself. Latin American music and the musical innovations of New Orleans are deeply connected.

During a Library of Congress recording session in 1938, jazz pioneer Jelly Roll Morton commented to folklorist Alan Lomax that "you got to have these little tinges of Spanish in it in order to play real good jazz."[8] (When Morton says "Spanish" he is referring to the musical influence of Latin America, large parts of which were at one time under Spanish colonial rule. Therefore, a more accurate expression is John Storm Roberts' title, "the Latin tinge".)[9] The significance of this statement is that early jazz musicians in New Orleans recognized the undeniable influence of Latin America in their own music. Regular communication, trade, travel,

[8] Morton 2005
[9] Roberts 1999b

and migration created a network of ideas throughout the Gulf Coast. In particular, musical connections between New Orleans and Havana were already well established before the turn of the 20th century.

"Jazz Cubano" - Example 6: "The Spanish Tinge" by Jelly Roll Morton from *The Complete Library of Congress Recordings* (Recorded in 1938 during a series of interviews with Alan Lomax and released in entirety by Rounder Records in 2005 (RS CD 611898)). Morton talks about what he considers the "Spanish tinge" in jazz. He refers several times to the rhythm of the bass lines played by his left hand on the piano. At 0:32 he begins playing a rhythm known as *tresillo,* or sometimes *tresillo Cubano.* He also uses a slight variation known popularly as the *habanera* rhythm. These rhythms are notated here:

Tresillo

Habanera

Other common variations of these rhythms heard in both Cuban music and jazz are:

Cinquillo

Danzón

The song entitled "La Paloma" that Morton begins talking about at 2:52 and starts playing at 3:14 uses the *habanera* rhythm. Written by the Spanish composer Sebastián Yradier after visiting Cuba in 1861, the success of "La Paloma" popularized the *habanera* throughout the Americas and Europe.

Before Edward "Dee Dee" Chandler's use of a bass drum pedal, New Orleans musicians had already visited Cuba and vice-versa. For example, the famous New Orleans-born composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk was performing his own Cuban-influenced piano works in Havana by the mid-1850s and published two of these pieces, "Ojos Criollos" and "Danse Cubain", in 1860.[10] Personal connections between Cuban and New Orleanian musicians existed as well. Manuel Mello, longtime cornetist and assistant band leader for the Reliance Brass Bands, also had a "day job" in the sugar business and spent time working in the Oriente province of Cuba. "Papa" Jack Laine's wife, Blanche Nuñez, was Cuban, and Manuel Perez, cornetist for the Onward Brass Band, had strong Cuban family ties.[11]

Trade routes used by companies like United Fruit, the deployment of American troops during the Spanish-American War and World War I, and advancements in recording and radio technology quickly spread jazz throughout the Caribbean. The end of the Spanish-American War in 1898 began a four-year period of American occupation of Cuba. The effects of occupation lasted for decades and brought many Americans and their culture to the island during the formative years of jazz. Several members (possibly including "Dee Dee" Chandler[12]) of the Onward Brass Band, a leading group in turn of the 20th century New Orleans, served in the Spanish-American War and played in the Ninth Volunteer Infantry "Immune" Band that was stationed in Havana from 1898 to 1899.[13] W.C. Handy, the famed American blues and ragtime composer, was in Havana in 1900 with Mahara's Minstrel[14] and admitted to incorporating Latin rhythms into at least three of his early works.[15] Even if the drum set did not become popular in Havana until American

[10] Stewart 1998–1999:16
[11] Ibid., 19
[12] McCusker 1998–1999:28. Military records do not confirm Chandler's enrollment, but some accounts claim he served with the "Immune" Band. Regardless, the knowledge of Chandler's bass drum pedal would have traveled to Cuba with the rest of the regiment.
[13] McCusker 1998–1999:32
[14] Jackson 1900
[15] Roberts 1999a:17. Handy used what he called the *tangana* (now called *habanera*) rhythm in the instrumental piano version of "Memphis Blues" (1909), the chorus of "Beale Street Blues" (1916), and most famously the introduction to "St. Louis Blues" (1914).

occupation created a demand for jazz bands, it seems almost certain that the idea, image, or even use of the bass drum pedal, and subsequently the drum set, had already reached the island.

> **"Jazz Cubano" - Example 7:** "St. Louis Blues" by W.C. Handy and his Memphis Blues Band (1/1922 – Black Swan 2053-A: New York) featuring Sy Moore on drums. Listen for the *habanera* figure played by the rhythm section during the introduction to the song and then again at 0:44.

Many occupation-era hotels catered to Americans in Havana by featuring American jazz and dance bands. Cuban musicians found work by adapting to American music. The groups called *orquestas típicas* in early 20th century Cuba transitioned easily. Many of the musicians were well-trained and they already played dance music that resembled the instrumentation[16] and sophisticated arrangements of early jazz and European-based society music like the aforementioned quadrilles and reels. These bands were comfortable with both Cuban and American genres.

The drum set was a notable innovation that quickly gained popularity as jazz spread. Early drum set performance styles in Cuba often reflected the influence of jazz as well as that of existing indigenous genres. The instrument proved easily adaptable as the rhythms of various Cuban percussion instruments were translated to corresponding timbres on the drum set and blended with jazz drumming. Just as the sounds of Cuba had influenced the music of New Orleans, jazz began influencing Cuban music.

La Batería: Drum Sets and Jazz Bands in Cuba

The knowledge of the drum set could have reached Cuba at the end of the 19th century, but there is no evidence of the instrument until the early 20th century. In his book *Cubano Be Cubano Bop,* Leonardo Acosta, a Cuban musicologist and leading figure in illuminating the history of jazz in Cuba, provides the personnel of a recurring jazz jam that took place on Chavez Street in Havana

[16] In fact, the upright bass was used in *danzón* music played by the *orquestas típicas*, and their successors the *charangas*, before it was used in American jazz groups.

as early as 1910. Acosta does not cite his sources, but does name César Arjona as a drum set player at these jams.[17] Although he was probably not the first, Arjona in 1910 is the earliest mention of a drum set player in Cuba that I have found during this research. Despite Acosta's evidence, however, credit for the formation of the first official jazz band in Cuba often goes to Pedro Stacholy. After studying music in New York for three years, Stacholy founded the group Sagua La Grande in 1914. Details of the original lineup are vague, but it is known that by 1926, the group included the drummer Tomás Medina (see Figs. 8 and 9).[18]

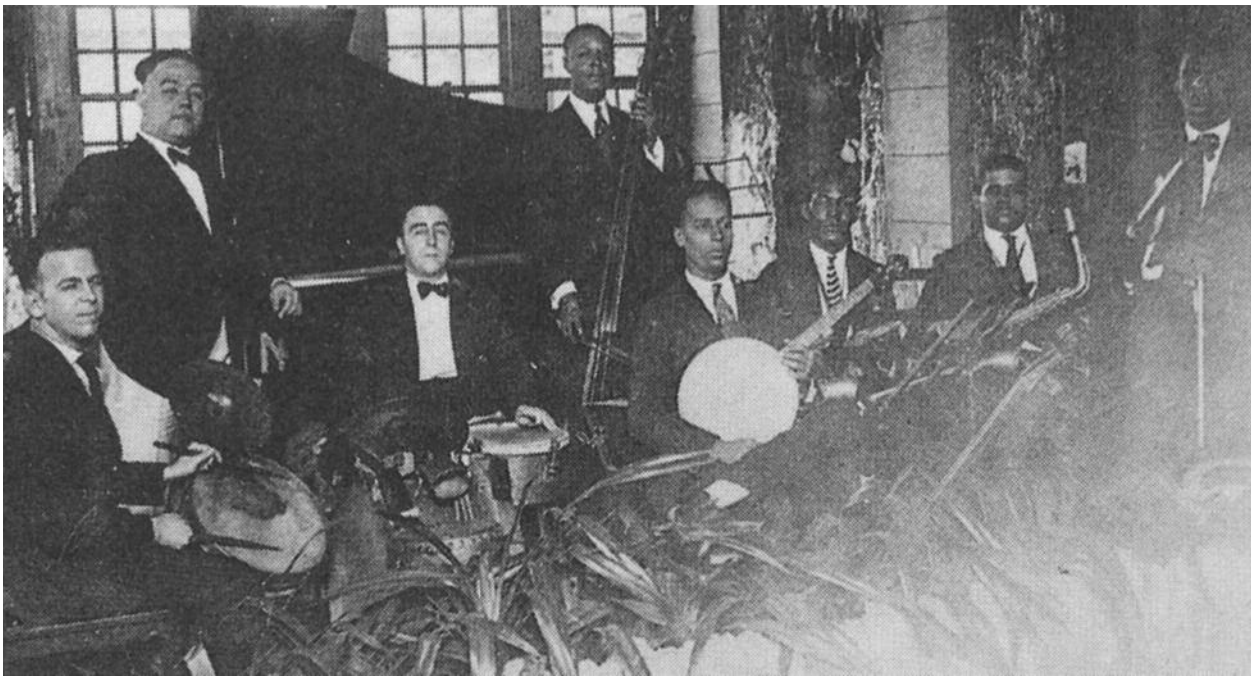
[Fig. 8] Pedro Stacholy (seated first from left) and his jazz band Sagua La Grande, date unknown. Although a drum set is not pictured, his band could have included one at the time of this photograph. Standing second from left is possibly drummer Tomás Medina holding a *güiro* (gourd scraper).

[Fig. 9] Pedro Stacholy's band, 1928. Likely Tómas Medina at the drum set.

[17] Acosta 2003:6. Other personnel included Hugo Siam (guitar and banjo), Pucho Jiménez (*tres*), José Dolores Betancourt (bass), and Bienvenido Hernández (piano).

[18] Ibid., 27

Much like American bands in New Orleans, Cuban jazz bands of the 1920s flourished in red light districts, hotels, clubs, and cinemas. Many Cuban jazz bands formed during this period. Among the earliest was the Cuban Jazz Band founded in Havana in 1922 by the flautist and composer Jaime Prats. It is believed that the lineup included a drum set. In 1924, Moisés Simons, best known for composing the tune "El Manisero (The Peanut Vendor)" which eventually led to the "*rumba* craze"[19] of the 1930s and 1940s in the United States, formed a jazz band that played on the rooftop garden of the Plaza Hotel in Havana (see Fig. 10). A recording of this group from 1925 is the earliest recording of a drum set in Cuba I have found. This and other recordings and videos will be analyzed in the next section of this paper. Appendix 3 also provides photographs and possible personnel for several other Cuban jazz bands from the 1920s.



[Fig. 10] Moisés Simons (standing by piano), with his jazz band in the Roof Garden of the Hotel Plaza, Havana, 1928.

[19] *Rumba* is an Afro-Cuban dance and percussion music, but the term was misappropriated and used to describe a ballroom dance style that became popular in the United States and Europe. The "rumba craze" was actually danced to *bolero* and *son* music.

The colonial influence of military band music was significant in Cuba as it was in New Orleans. Municipal bands were training grounds for brass and string players as well as rudimental drummers. European military bass and snare drums had arrived in Cuba under Spanish rule and were being used by *comparsa* [20] bands before the drum set was invented. A bass drum pedal and traps would have turned *comparsa* drums into a drum set. A photograph of the Orchestra Teatro Principal shows a group that appears to have done just that (see Figs. 11 and 12).

[Fig. 11] Orchestra Teatro Principal, Ciego de Ávila, date unknown. The theater this group was named after was not completed until 1927, so this photograph was likely taken after that. The drums in this photograph appear to be *comparsa* drums with mounted traps.

[Fig. 12] *Comparsa* band, Havana, date unknown. Notice the similarity of the snare and bass drum in the right of this photograph to the drums in the photograph of the Orchestra Teatro Principal (see Fig. 11).

[20] A tradition since Spanish colonial Cuba, *comparsas* march to represent their *cabildos*, or neighborhoods, in Carnival parades performing *conga* music on a mix of Cuban and European instruments.

After the 1920s, documentation of Cuban jazz and drum set playing is widely available. Several Cuban jazz groups performed and recorded outside of the country during the 1930s. Among these, the Orquesta Hermanos Castro, Casino de la Playa, the Orquesta Hermanos Palau, and Don Azpiazú and his Havana Riverside Orchestra all incorporated the drum set into their percussion sections. These groups became popular outside of Cuba, namely in the United States and Europe, during the "*rumba* craze" of the 1930s. In particular, New York became a hotbed of Cuban music that served as a stepping stone into American mainstream cinema and music. As will be shown, the music was a unique blend of Cuban and American sensibilities. Jazz, and along with it the drum set, had become a bridge between these two flourishing music cultures.

The First Recordings

The earliest audio recordings from Cuba may have been made in 1904 by the renowned *danzón* composer Antonio María Romeu. His group consisted of Juan Quevedo on violin and Armando Romeu, Antonio's brother, on *güiro* (a gourd scraper). According to Armando, they recorded 80 to 100 cylinders per day for what may have been the Zonophone company, eventually absorbed by the Victor company. This was before recordings could be mass-produced, so each cylinder was a unique performance. By 1907, the Edison company was making cylinders on the island and Victor was recording flat discs. The Columbia Phonograph company was soon to follow.[21]

Until the 1920s, recordings in Cuba were dominated by groups like Romeu's called *charangas* that played *danzón* music. Standard percussion for these groups consisted of *güiro* and tympani or *pailas criollas* (a smaller form of tympani that developed in Cuba during the 19th century), not the drum set. *Pailas criollas* developed into the timbales that we know in Cuba today. After the *danzón*, the 1920s saw the rise of *son* music which also did not utilize a drum set, but instead commonly features *bongó* and *maracas*.

[21] Diaz Ayala 2003

Drum sets were used by Cuban jazz bands for at least a decade before they were recorded. American recording companies in Cuba favored Cuban-sounding music over jazz. There was plenty of jazz being recorded in the United States, and these companies saw an opportunity to capitalize on Cuban music. Because of this, Cuban percussion instruments were most often featured instead of jazz-oriented drum sets. It is not unusual to find recordings of American bands using a drum set in the 1920s, but it is highly unusual for a Cuban band to be recording with one during this period. However, it seems a rare example from 1925 does exist: "Basta de Amor" by Moisés Simons' Hotel Plaza Orchestra.

"Jazz Cubano" - Example 8: "Basta de Amor" by Moisés Simons and his Hotel Plaza Orchestra (4/14/1925 – Victor X53: Havana, Cuba). Due to copyright and reproduction restrictions, only a segment of the recording is available here. The recording quality of this 10-inch, 78 RPM record is poor, but woodblocks are audible when the vocals enter. It is hard to distinguish exactly, but it sounds as if the woodblocks are playing variations of rhythms similar to the ones notated in Example 6. In a typical *charanga*, the *güiro* would play a similar role. During the instrumental sections, *pailas* can be heard instead of woodblocks. It is interesting to note that the woodblock playing style on "Basta de Amor" is similar to "Bouncing Around" but in a different tempo and feel. Simons' band was likely influenced by music like Piron's and the recordings were only made three years apart.

Moisés Simons recorded little. In fact, there are only three extant tracks made with his Hotel Plaza Orchestra, one in 1924 and two in 1925. The latter two are housed in the Diaz-Ayala Cuban and Latin American Popular Music Collection at Florida International University in Miami. At first listen, even someone well acquainted with the sounds of the drum set and Cuban music may not be aware they are hearing a drum set. Had I not seen a photograph and known the history of the group, I might not have realized that the alternating sounds between woodblocks and a pair of tuned drums meant there could have been a drum set in the recording. The photograph of the Hotel Plaza Orchestra shows that two drummers were employed; one at single-headed, rod-tensioned *pailas* and one at a drum set. One drummer could be alternating between the woodblocks and *pailas* on the recording, but, as can be seen in Figure 10, the

woodblocks may have belonged to a drum set. Unfortunately, there is no personnel listing for the recording, so the identity of the drummer is a mystery for now. Drummers Alberto Prieto and Enrique Santiesteban both played drums with the Hotel Plaza band in the 1920s, but possibly after this recording was made.[22]

Of the many recordings I analyzed, a 1931 version of "Lamento Africano (African Lament)" by Don Azpiazú and his Havana Casino Orchestra featuring George Owen on vocals is the second oldest Cuban drum set recording that I found (see Fig. 13). The drummer on "Lamento Africano (African Lament)" is possibly Pedro Tellería, who is documented to have been a mainstay in the group and was surely playing with them one year after the recording.[23] Because of the good audio quality and the fact that more pieces of the drum set are used in this example, I am able to provide a detailed analysis and transcription.

From the start of "Lamento Africano (African Lament)", rolls and hits on the snare drum as well as a bass drum can be heard accenting the introductory melodic phrases. A cymbal fills in an exaggerated rest before a final bass drum hit and snare roll conclude the introduction. In the next instrumental section, the snare can be heard accenting off-beats and possibly keeping time on each eighth note. The introductory rolls and style of keeping time and playing off-beats on the snare is common in early New Orleans jazz drumming. When the verse section enters, *maracas* and *bongó* join and the drum set takes a back seat in the rhythm section by lightly accenting the off-beats with the hi-hat cymbals. After one time through the verse's chord progression with vocals by Owen and then another time most of the way through as instrumental, the extra percussion drops out and the snare can be heard playing off-beats and eighth notes again.
For the coda, the set returns to its function in the introduction and then concludes the song with an exclamatory crash on the cymbal.

"Jazz Cubano" - Example 9: "Lamento Africano (African Lament)" performed by Don Azpiazú and his Havana Casino Orchestra (4/4/1931 – Victor 22657: Havana, Cuba).

[22] Acosta 2003: 28
[23] Diaz Ayala 2003

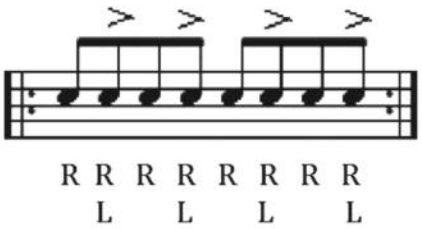
"Lamento Africano (African Lament)" – Drum Set

Victor-22657

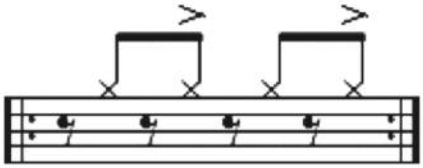
Written by Ernesto Lecuona
Arranged and Performed by Don Azpiazú and his Havana Casino Orchestra
Havana, Cuba – 4/4/1931

I. Introduction

II. Instrumental x 16 bars

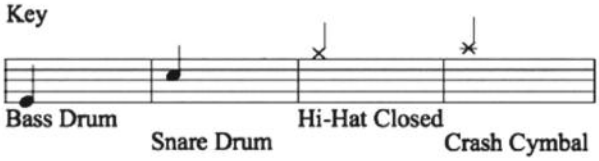


III. Verse x 16 bars



IV. Instrumental x 2 bars

V. Coda



[Fig. 13]

Two video examples of Azpiazú and his group from the early 1930s confirm the use of a drum set during this time and offer insight into the drummer's playing styles. The first video is of the Moisés Simons tune "El Manisero". Recorded in New York in 1930, Azpiazú's version of "El Manisero" featuring the famed vocalist Antonio Machín was a huge success and helped start the aforementioned "*rumba* craze" of the 1930s. Azpiazú's version of Simons' song was a hit and it brought fame to Azpiazú's group in the Americas and Europe. They performed throughout the U.S. and Cuba and were based in Paris for some time. Judging by how similar the following video example is to the recorded version, it was probably made around 1930.

"Jazz Cubano" - Example 10: "El Manisero" by Don Azpiazú and his Havana Casino Orchestra, ca. 1930 (Youtube video). At 1:25 in the video, a drum set can be seen behind the singer and next to the piano player. It is hard to tell what the drummer is playing, but occasionally the sound of the snare drum with the snares disengaged can be heard cutting through. Most likely, the drummer is using a combination of muffling and rim shots on the snare to achieve this sound. Due to poor recording quality, it would be hard to determine if the sound was coming from *bongó* or a drum set if it were not for the fact that no other drummer is present in the video.

The second video features two songs recorded by Azpiazú and his group. The first, "Me Odias", was recorded in Paris in 1933 and the second, "Caserita (The Voodoo)", was part of the same Victor session in Cuba as "Lamento Africano (African Lament)" in 1931.

"Jazz Cubano" - Example 11: "Me Odias" and "Caserita (The Voodoo)" by Don Azpiazú and his Havana Casino Orchestra, ca. 1933 (Youtube video). The video begins with the drum set playing the *danzón* rhythm (but with the measures reversed from Example 6) on the snare drum with his right hand and muting the drum while playing a cross stick with his left hand. Again, the snares seem as if they are disengaged, creating a sound similar to *pailas* or *bongó*. The bass drum is playing lightly on the downbeats throughout. "Me Odias" ends on a big crash at 2:49 and then quickly transitions into "Caserita (The Voodoo)".

The muted snare drum and cross stick technique is being used again but this time at a much faster tempo. At 3:30 and 3:43 there are clear views of the drummer as he smiles and moves the band along with the bass drum on the downbeats. From 3:25 to 3:37 there are close ups of the other percussionists in the band. Along with the drum set, the group uses *bongó*, *maracas*, *claves*, *güiro*, and *campanas* (or bells). Azpiazú himself leads the group with *claves* and then switches to *quijada* (or jawbone) at 4:15.

The Great Depression and political turmoil incited by Cuban president Gerardo Machado's oppressive regime slowed sessions by American companies in Cuba during the early part of the 1930s, and it was not until the late 1930s that the drum set became common on Cuban recordings. If other groups recording in Cuba before the 1930s were using a drum set, it is hard to distinguish because it is likely they were using it in a way that imitated other instruments. As shown, the snare drum with the snares disengaged could be mistaken for *pailas criollas*, *timbales*, or *bongó*, and mounted bells could sound like someone holding a bell in hand. *Comparsa* drums would sound nearly identical to set drums as well. The overpowering sound of the bass drum was also too loud for early microphones, limiting the possibility of recording it. As mentioned earlier, due to the commercial interests of foreign companies, few recordings exist of the Cuban jazz bands that flourished during the 1920s. Much of what these artists accomplished during this time has been lost.

V. Conclusion

This research has uncovered some of the more obscure details of early drum set history and the players who influenced the instrument's development. I focused on New Orleans, and on the first generation of jazz drum set players there, because it was in New Orleans that jazz and the drum set (as a singular instrument) solidified their identities.

This work deals specifically with the proliferation of the drum set from New Orleans to Cuba. My search for early recording, photographic, and historical evidence of this proliferation is, to my knowledge, the first attempt at such an endeavor. My research has made it clear that the use, or at least knowledge, of the drum set reached Cuba shortly after its appearance in the United States, most likely with "Dee Dee" Chandler and the Onward Brass Band or one of the other American groups who traveled there in the 1890s. The long history of Cuban influence on the music of New Orleans and vice-versa suggests that the presence of the *batería* in Cuba must be nearly as old as the instrument itself, and my findings support this hypothesis.

Time has already made documentation scarce, so it is important to find and preserve what is still available. The 1925 recording of "Basta de Amor" by Moisés Simons and his Hotel Plaza Orchestra is significantly older than any other example of a Cuban recording featuring a drum set that I have found, but I believe that even earlier evidence exists. I also believe it is still possible to discover more about the lives of the drummers in the photographs I have collected. This thesis has presented an earlier history of the drum set in Cuba than is commonly acknowledged, but more research needs to be done. Continuing to search through recordings, photographs, and sources such as journals and letters in New Orleans and in Cuba may extend our confirmed timeline further.

This paper only examines one corner of a complex global history. Thanks to a combination of factors like convenience, accessibility, and versatility the drum set has made its way into an

incredible variety of musical eras and genres. As time goes on, the instrument will continue to find its way back into existing genres and forward into innovative musics of the future. It is my hope that the work I have done here will create interest and space for further research into the proliferation of the drum set around the world. The story of this truly international instrument has much to teach us about the value of cultural and musical diversity.

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Appendix 1

The Traps: A Physical History

In its early years, the trap set was a collection of instruments from several different cultures. The musical sensibilities and timbres of West Africa, Europe, the West Indies, and Mexico had become part of the soul of New Orleans via the musical traditions preserved by descendants of African slaves, colonialism, Caribbean and Mexican immigration, and Creole culture that developed in the city. The influence these cultures had on drum set performance styles, and vice versa, cannot be overstated, but the actual instruments that comprised the first trap sets were adopted directly from Europe, China, Turkey, and American innovations.

Europe in the Americas

The fife and drum corps military marching bands that have existed in America since before the Revolutionary War are based on a European tradition that dates back to at least the 14th century.[25] Eventually superseded by drum and bugle corps, these colonial American groups used small flutes, bass drums, and snare drums (also called side drums) for coordination and communication on the battlefield, in training, during parades, and simply for entertainment. Before the technology for metal shell and metal rod tuning existed, these groups used rope-tensioned bass drums (see Fig. 14) and deep wooden snare drums called field drums (see Fig. 15). The playing was based on European rudimentary drumming techniques practiced by Swiss mercenaries as early as the 15th century.[25] Mid to late 19th century military drums were the primary pieces of the early trap set.

[24] Brown 1976: 48
[25] Ibid., 53

[Fig. 14]

[Fig. 15]

China

The temple blocks, wooden slit blocks, small crash cymbals (see Fig. 16), and colorfully painted tom-tom drums (see Fig. 17) that appeared in early trap sets were of Chinese origin. All of these instruments were commonly used in Chinese theater productions during the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644–1911).[26] After the American Civil War and the abolition of slavery, significant numbers of Chinese immigrants entered the United States both voluntarily and by force as indentured laborers. These immigrants brought theater and opera, organized secret societies, and celebrated with festival parades. Whether it was due to the similarity in musical display, the plentitude of available instruments, an effort by African-Americans to hide or replace stigmatized and often banned African instruments, or a combination of all these factors, jazz drummers in New Orleans steadily incorporated the use of Chinese instruments for at least the first forty years of the 20th century. It is also quite possible that Chinese musicians performed at various American fairs and expositions during the second half of the 19th century, including the World's Cotton and Industrial Exposition of 1884–85 in New Orleans. At the time, there was a general Western curiosity surrounding the "mysterious far East".

[26] Ibid., 110

The timbres of these Chinese instruments fit well with the musical sensibilities of early jazz and its predecessors. The sound of the Chinese tom-toms could be likened to West African tonal hand drums and cymbals were already in use by European-style marching and concert bands.

The so-called "ricky-ticky" sounds of woodblocks and temple blocks fit the "noisemaker" aesthetic of the traps and were used for vaudeville and minstrel show dance routines.[27] Once known as "clog boxes", woodblocks imitated the clomping of the clog dancers on the vaudeville stage.[28]

[Fig. 16]

[Fig. 17]

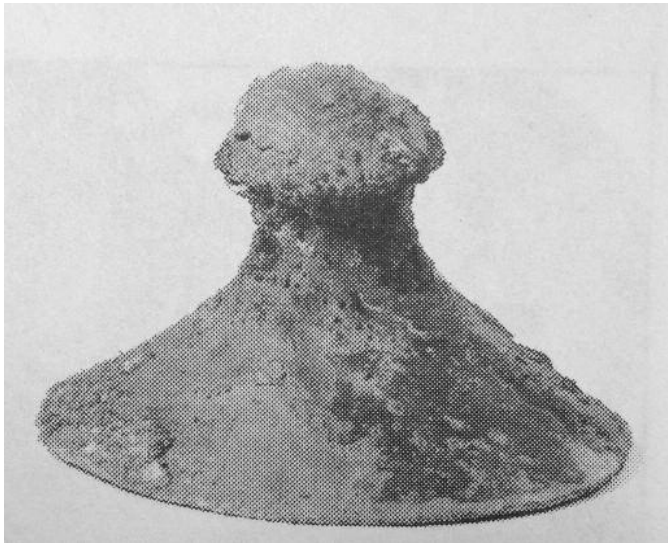
Turkey

Bronze, the oldest known metal alloy and the primary material in cymbals, was first documented in Asia around 5,000 years ago. Cymbals appear in the Old Testament as well as in Greek mythology and were commonly used for music, ceremony, and war. The root of the English word "cymbal" is the Greek word *kymbos* and the Latin equivalent *cymbalum*, meaning "cistern" or "beaker", because ancient forms had a cup-like shape (see Figs. 18 and 19). Besides the Chinese cymbals already discussed, the other most common cymbals in the first trap sets were of Turkish origin. The Zildjian cymbal company of Istanbul formed in the 17th century during the Ottoman Empire. Avedis Zildjian I inadvertently created a sonorous alloy while attempting to create gold

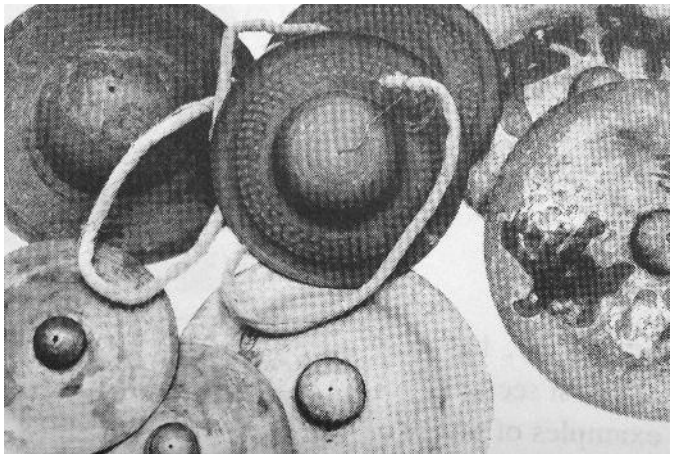
[27] Ibid., 111
[28] Blades 1970: 390

by combining base metals. Until the first half of the 19th century the company mostly sold its products to the Turkish military Janissary bands and churches. However, as the use of cymbals in opera and western European classical music increased, Avedis Zildjian II expanded the business to France and England. By the time jazz developed, Zildjian cymbals had already reached North America. As 20th century music in the United States progressed, Zildjian cymbals became increasingly popular, and in 1928 the company even moved to Massachusetts. Although many cymbal companies now exist, Zildjian is recognized as one of the oldest family-owned businesses in the United States.[29]

[Fig. 18]



[Fig. 19]



[29] Pinksterboer 1992: 15-17

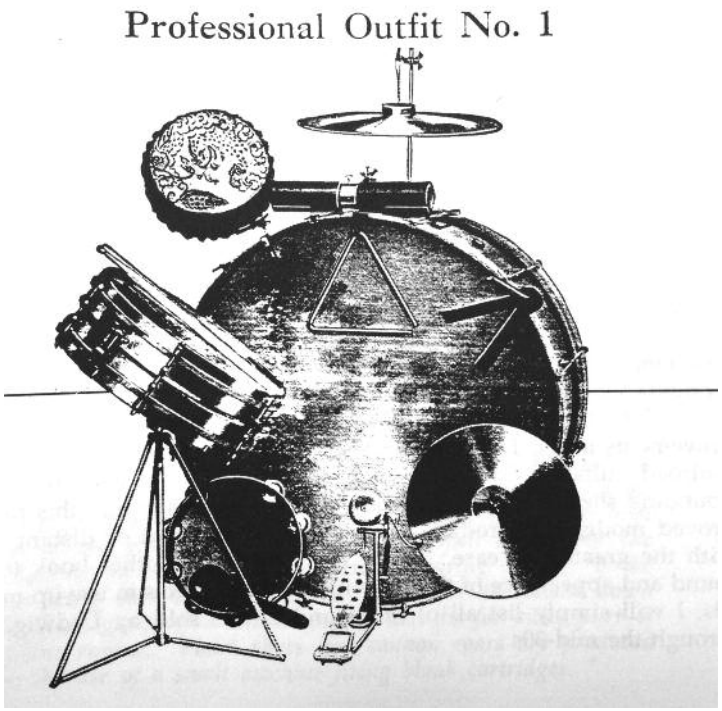
American Innovations

Many additions to the early drum set developed in the United States. Here are some of the most notable:

Traps - Early drum set players were not only the time keepers of the band, but they were also expected to add sound-effects, color, and flair to the performance. Many were known as expert improvisers and engaging performers.

> *"In the small orchestras of today, these percussion instruments come under the general appellation of 'traps', and very often one performer will have as many as eight or more different varieties carefully distributed about him in a convenient arrangement, easy to the hand, and will do his duty by all of them in a surprisingly agile and clever manner…He must be a person of vivid imagination…"* –Arthur Anderson from Practical Orchestration (1929)[30]

Photographs from early drum company catalogs show a variety of attachable noisemakers like triangles, tambourines, ratchets, bells, whistles, horns, and a washboard (see Fig. 20).

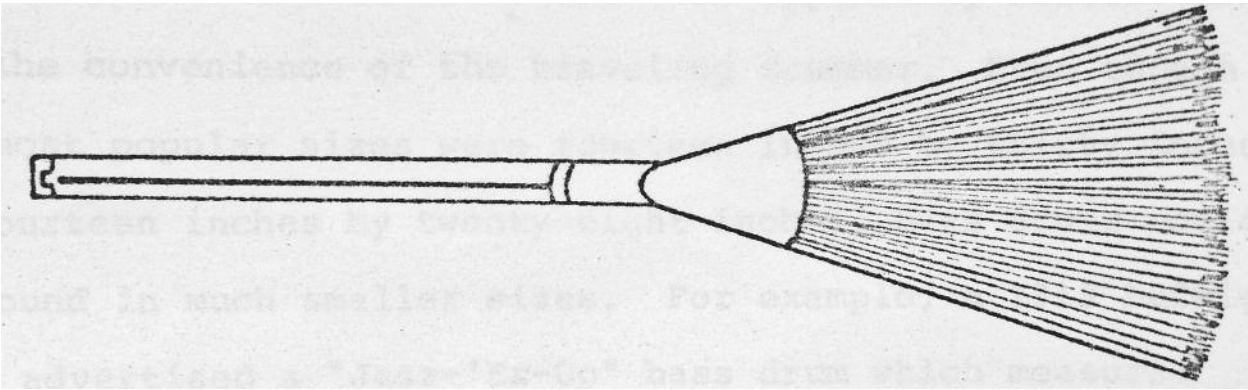


[Fig. 20]

[30] Brown 1976: 96

Brushes - Today, brushes are commonplace in the jazz drummer's stick bag. They come in various sizes, designs, and materials such as wire, braided metal, plastic, and broom corn. Sometimes called fly swatters or fly whisks, brushes started as exactly that. In May of 1912, Louis Allis and Adolph Weins of Milwaukee, Wisconsin patented a telescoping wire swatter that they labeled the "fly-killer" (see Fig. 21). There is nothing that implies the invention was intended for music, but six years later drum companies were already advertising prototypes of the Allis and Weins design as "jazz sticks" or "synco-jazzsticks."[31]

The first use of brushes cannot be dated exactly, but it is likely they were already in use during the first World War (1914–1918). However, no photographs taken before 1920 show evidence of their use and their sound does not appear on recordings until the late 1920s. Fly swatters were a way to play quietly and imitate the sound of sand paper which was often used to accompany slow dances. Warren "Baby" Dodds, the influential drummer who played with Louis Armstrong and Joe "King" Oliver among others, recalled that "all [he] had to do to keep the people dancing was to use two pieces of sandpaper, scraped together, and the people would dance for 15 mintues or more."[32]

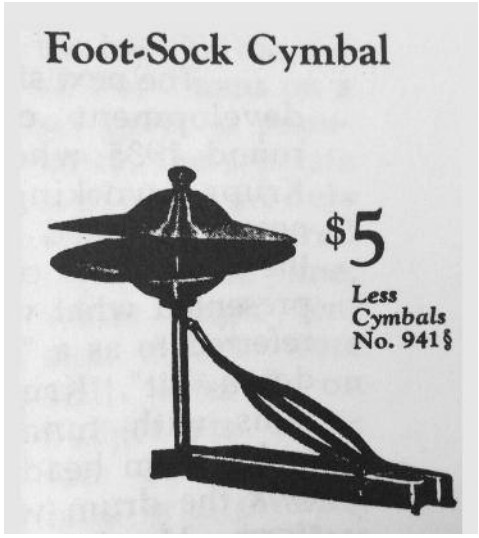


[Fig. 21]

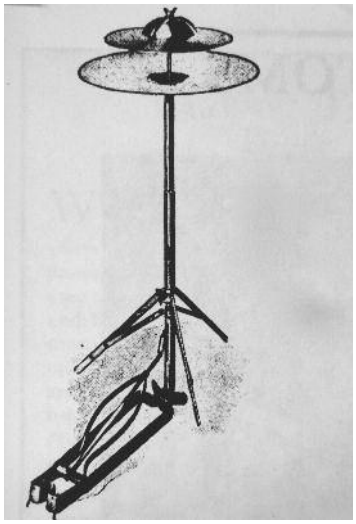
[31] Ibid., 128
[32] Ibid.

Hi-hats - In the mid 1920s, jazz drummers began to incorporate what was originally known as the snowshoe (see Fig. 22), sock pedal, or low boy (see Fig. 23). The idea of hinging two foot-operated cymbals is at least as old as the *scabellum* of ancient Rome,[33] but designs like Victor Berton's in 1925 developed directly into the hi-hats known today.[34] Originally named for its likeness to a wooden snowshoe, this apparatus quickly advanced into a sturdy metal design that stood approximately twelve to eighteen inches off the floor. Initially used only for single accents and off beats, by 1927 the cymbals had been raised up so that a drummer could play more complex rhythms with sticks (see Fig. 24).

[Fig.22]



[Fig.23]


[Fig.24]

[33] Blades 1970: 179
[34] Brown 1976: 405

Appendix 2

First-Generation New Orleans Drum Set Players

A complete list of early jazz drummers seems nearly impossible, so this section focuses on those who may have been old enough to remember the rise of the bass drum pedal and drum set in New Orleans. I have included this index because photographs and detailed information about these players is hard to find within jazz *and* drum set related literature.

James William "Red Happy" Bolton – (b. N.O., ca. 1885; d. 1928) A flashy and eccentric drummer who was remembered for his fast, flamboyant playing as well as his acts of literally jumping all around the drums, putting a cymbal behind his back, using and juggling five or six sticks at a time, and still keeping time. "Red Happy" was a mainstay of the King Oliver Band, but was also active as a theater drummer. He remained in New Orleans when Oliver went to Chicago, he worked with John Robichaux at the Lyric Theater and Peter Lacaze's cabaret- dance hall band. His sensational playing gained him many admirers, but his fiery personality may have led to his death by homicide. His body was found in an alley in Cleveland.[35]

Walter Brundy – (b. N.O., ca. 1883; d. Natchez, MS, 1941) Among the earliest of set drummers in New Orleans and a teacher of "Baby" Dodds and others. Played with the Original Superior Orchestra, 1905–14; the John Robichaux Orchestra, 1912; and led his own band in Baton Rouge, LA during World War 1. Besides the fact of his death in an auto crash, little personal information about Brundy is known. He was, however, remembered and respected by many of his peers and those who followed him.[36]

[35] Koenig 1990: 12
[36] Rose and Souchon 1978: 22

[Fig. 25] Walter Brundy with the Superior Orchestra, 1920. No bass drum pedal is visible, but he most likely used one, or the "double drumming" technique.

Edward "Dee Dee" Chandler – (b. N.O., ca. 1866; d. N.O., 1925) The legendary and almost mythological forefather of the drum set. Unfortunately, Chandler died before a detailed history and investigation of New Orleans jazz was begun. What is known about Chandler comes only from oral histories and a single photograph. According to younger drummer Christopher "Black Happy" Goldston, Chandler was regarded as one of the best of his time: a drummer who tuned his drums up sharp and "made the drum roll sound like he was tearing a piece of cloth." [37]

Al Rose glorifies Chandler by saying he was an "excellent showman and comic" who "played with the grace of a professional juggler." [38] He was a parade as well as dance band drummer who played for some of the most respected and well-known early jazz groups, including the John Robichaux Orchestra, the Onward Brass Band, and possibly Buddy Bolden. Robichaux, who was considered one of the elite bandleaders pre-1900, is often credited with being the first to add "trap" drums to the dance orchestra. Supposedly encouraged by Robichaux, a drummer himself, Chandler built a crude, overhanging bass drum pedal using a Magnolia Milk Company carton, block of wood, chain, hinges and springs.[39]

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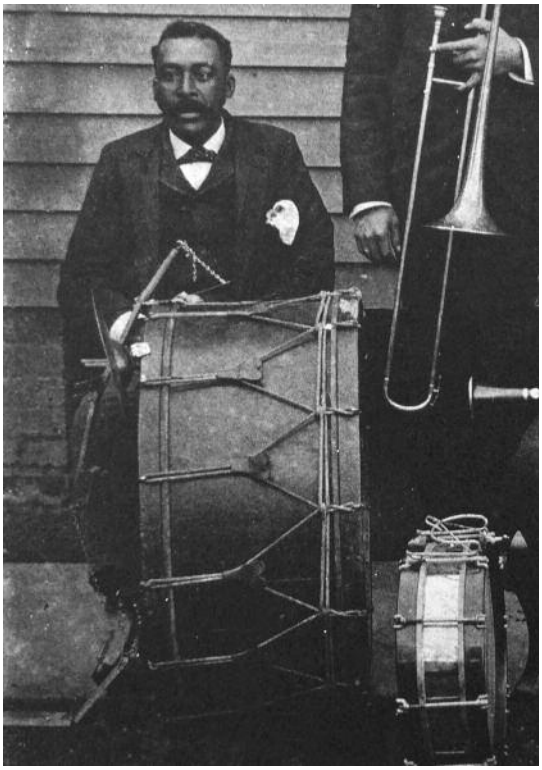
[37] Goldston 1959: 3
[38] Rose and Souchon 1978: 26
[39] Charters 1963: 5

[Fig. 26] Edward “Dee Dee” Chandler with the John Robichaux Orchestra, 1896. Robichaux is seated third from left with violin. This is the only known photograph of Chandler and the earliest photograph of a bass drum pedal as well.



[Fig. 27] Close-up of Chandler and pedal.
An over-hanging pedal can be seen attached to the bass drum.

Louis "Old Man" Cotrelle, Sr. – (b. N.O., ca. 1875; d. N.O., 1927) "Old Man", one of the most highly regarded of the early New Orleans drummers, got his nickname because he went away to Chicago in 1917 and when he returned, his hair had gone gray. He is best known for his playing with the A.J. Piron Orchestra and Manuel Perez, but worked consistently in and out of New Orleans until he died from a heart attack around the age of 52. Cotrelle used lots of traps, or noisemakers, and was even said to use his mouth and shout through the snare drum for effect. He had many students that he taught drumming as well as solfége sight singing. He charged 25 cents per lesson at first and 50 cents by the time he passed away. In today's rates, that's only six or seven dollars for a lesson with a legend! When Cotrelle began playing around the age of 10 he could not afford lessons, so his close friend John Kornfeld would share what he had learned during his own.[40] "Old Man's" son, Louis Cotrelle, Jr., remembered accompanying his father to rehearsals at Jean Vigne's space and that "Old Man", Jean Vigne, John MacMurray, "Dee Dee" Chandler, and Clay Jiles were all friends. The excellence and sophistication of Cotrelle, Sr.'s playing can be heard on the records he made with A.J. Piron in the early 1920s.

[Fig. 28] Louis "Old Man" Cotrelle, Sr.

[40] Cotrelle 1961

Cotrelle traveled to places like Chicago and New York with Piron and Perez and brought back a rare, collapsible drum set from one of his trips. He usually played with the same snare drum for parades as he did for dances, light sticks, and, by the end of his life, a Leedy drum set and a metal, Duplex snare. His son said that "Old Man" may have used an over-hanging bass drum pedal at some point, but he never saw his father with one because he would buy everything new as it was put on the market.[41] Born in 1911, Cotrelle, Jr. was already too young to have witnessed the earliest incarnations of bass drum pedals and the drum set in New Orleans.

Alfred L. Jaeger – (b. N.O., 1869; d. N.O., 1953) An early vaudeville and circus band drummer who played in original Paul Whiteman groups. After the 1880s, Jaeger did much of his playing outside of New Orleans, but was with Frank Clancy's Jefferson marching bands before he left. He was last seen in the early 1950s playing in a jam session with Tony Almerico's Parisian Room Band.[42]

"Papa" Jack Laine – (b. N.O., 1873; d. N.O. 1966) Appropriately named for his seniority and influence as head of the popular Reliance Brass Bands, "Papa" remembered buying his first drum, an 18-inch rope-tuned field snare drum, at the 1884–85 World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition in New Orleans' Audubon Park.[43] Even before the dixieland and jazz eras, he was an active musician leading minstrel and brass bands throughout the Gulf Coast. At one point, he led seven different dance groups, all named Reliance Brass Band, that dominated the scene in New Orleans and served as training grounds for many musicians that were to become important jazz figures, including all the members of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. Laine was also a professional blacksmith who claimed to have built and improved preliminary versions of the overhanging bass drum pedal. Laine's impact on the music of New Orleans was substantial and extended beyond his drumming. The Reliance Brass Bands set a musical standard for the times

[41] Ibid.
[42] Koenig 1990: 20
[43] Laine 1951

and were some of the first white bands in the area to include mixed-race members. Although he never officially recorded and significantly withdrew from music around the First World War, Laine lived long enough to be interviewed extensively and have his experiences well documented.

[Fig. 29] "Papa" Jack Laine seated center with his Reliance Brass Band, 1910. Notice the bass drum pedal, yet the presence of two drummers. The same bass drum could have been used for parade and stationary gigs.

[Fig. 30] Laine standing far right with his Reliance Brass Band, 1906.

John MacMurray – (b. N.O., ca. 1878; d. N.O., ca. 1920) A lesser-known drummer of the first generation, MacMurray used homemade instruments like a banjo head with cat guts for snares and dripped a wagon chain on his snare drum during solo breaks. He was among the elite of drummers who played in both parade and dance bands at the beginning of the jazz age. Drummer Abbey "Chinee" Foster remembered him using a "crowfoot" pedal (a heavier, floor-mounted, and toe-operated bass drum pedal named for its appearance) instead of the early over-hanging pedals. Foster also remembered MacMurray telling him to always keep time with the bass drum, regardless of what was happening with his hands.[44] He played often with Buddy Bolden during the early 1900s as well as with the Imperial Orchestra, John Robichaux, and others.

[Fig. 31] John MacMurray with the Imperial Orchestra, circa 1905.

[44] Foster, Abbey "Chinee" 1961

Eugene Morin – (b. N.O., 1880; d. 1950) One of the earliest dixieland drummers. Little is known about Morin besides that he was a member of the Abita Springs Serenaders Jazz Band from 1912 to possibly 1916. One photograph of him exists from that time.[45]

[Fig. 32] Eugene Morin at Abita Springs, 1912-1916.

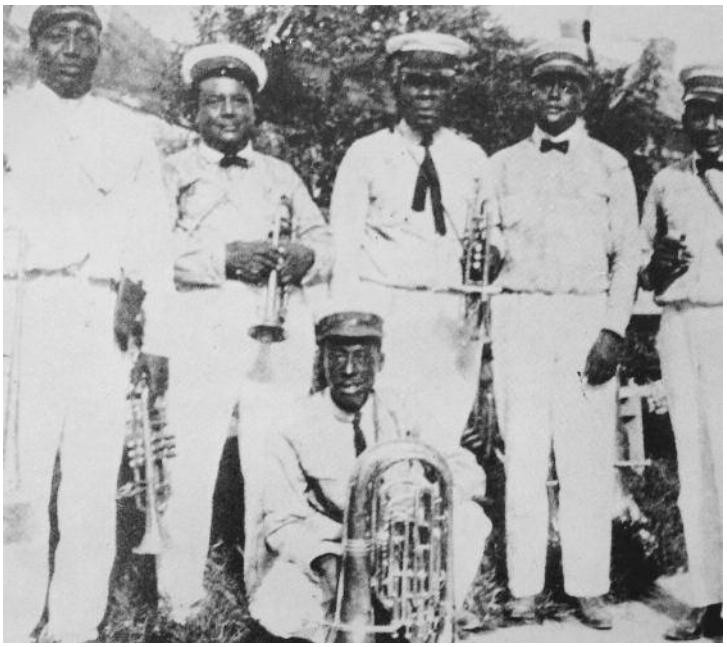
Joe "Ragbaby" Stephens – (b. N.O., 1887; d. Richmond, IN, 1927) The youngest of the drummers on this list, "Ragbaby" was a mainstay of "Papa" Laine's Reliance Brass Bands. Because of the extreme popularity of the Reliance bands, "Ragbaby" was in constant demand during the early dixieland dance and parade band days of New Orleans. Despite his popularity and success, however, he left for Chicago around 1918 and eventually died in Indiana.
He played with Bert Kelly and was in the house band at the popular speakeasy Kelly's Stables in Chicago during the 1920s.[46]

[Fig. 33] "Ragbaby" standing far left with the Reliance Brass Band, 1912.

[45] Koenig 1990: 22
[46] Rose and Souchon 1978: 117

Cornelius Tillman – (b. N.O., 1872; d. 1928) Drummer for the famed Buddy Bolden Band. Little information regarding Tillman's career before or after Bolden is available, but his age and participation in that band secures him a place in the history of New Orleans jazz.[47]

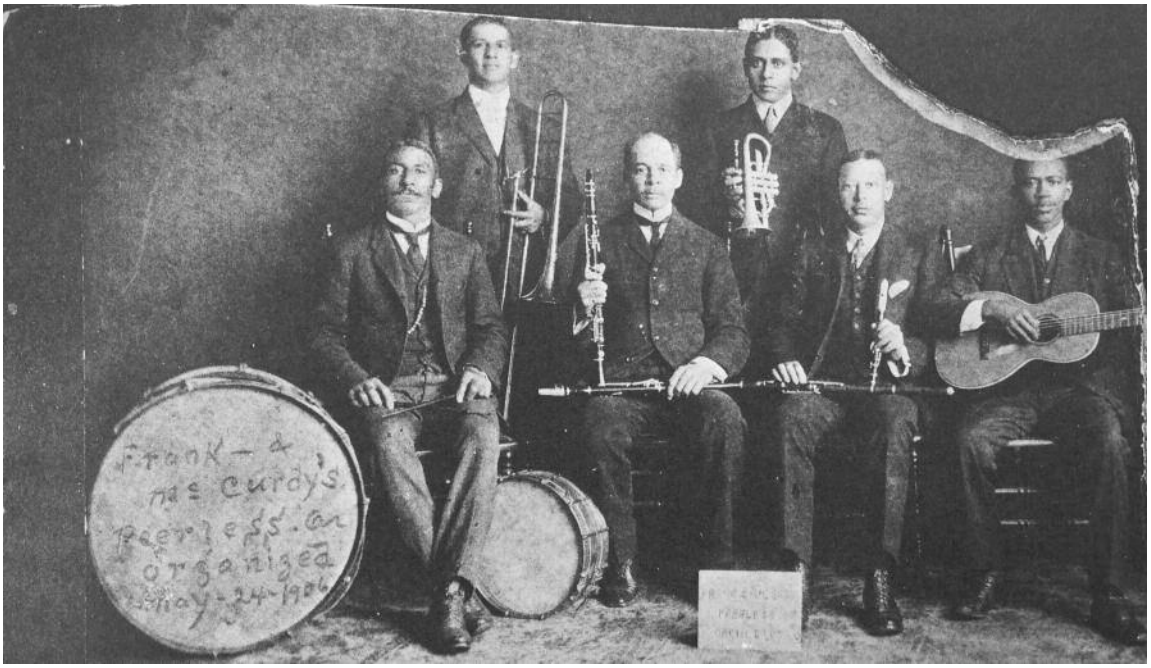
Ernest "Ninesse" Trepagnier – (b. N.O., ca. 1885; d. N.O., 1968) Was considered the king of New Orleans parade bass drummers, but most likely played trap set as well. "Ninesse" was a trained musician who could read music and still keep the improvisatory and loose feel that jazz required. The list of groups he played with is a who's who of New Orleans music at the beginning of the 20th century. He got his first professional gig with the Magnolia Band (1908), replaced Jean Vigne in Fred Keppard's Olympia Orchestra (1909), joined the Tuxedo Brass Band (1910), gigged with "Papa" Celestin and Piron's Vaudeville Band (1916), played with Vic and Oke Gaspard at West End during WWI, did a stint with John Robichaux prior to 1920, was with Manuel Perez at the Oasis (1922), and spent the Depression era years with the ERA Orchestra and the WPA Brass Band. After his music career slowed, he managed the popular clarinetist George Baquet's bar at the corner of Rampart and Girod until his death.[48]



[Fig. 34] "Ninesse" standing second from right with the Tuxedo Brass Band, 1920s.

[47] Koenig 1990: 17
[48] Ibid.

John (or Jean) Vigne – (b. N.O. ca. 1865; d. ca. 1916) The oldest of the drummers included in this section, Vigne was most famous as a parade bass drummer, but also played trap set with the Olympia Orchestra, 1901; the Peerless Orchestra, 1903–08; the Imperial Orchestra, 1906; the Golden Rule Orchestra, and with A.J. Piron until about 1912. Vigne was also a shoe maker and owner of a coal and wood yard in Storyville that supplied heat for the red light district and doubled as a rehearsal space.[49]



[Fig. 35] Jean Vigne with Frank and McCurdy's Peerless Orchestra, 1906.

Henry Zeno – (b. N.O., ca. 1880; d. N.O. ca., 1918) According to Louis Armstrong, Zeno was a well-liked parade and dance drummer during the Red Light District days of New Orleans. Armstrong remembers Zeno's funeral as being attended by mourners of all races and as one of the largest of its time.[50] "Baby" Dodds credits him as being among his first teachers. Zeno was an early member of the legendary Buddy Bolden band, 1900; Manuel Manetta, 1906–07; Duson's Eagle Band, 1908; the Olympia Orchestra with A.J. Piron, 1913–14; King Oliver, 1916; and the Original Tuxedo Orchestra, 1917–18. He died relatively young while he was still working with the Tuxedo Orchestra.[51]

[49] Foster, Pops 2005: 89
[50] Armstrong 1999: 121
[51] Rose and Souchon 1978: 128

Appendix 3

Los Primeros Músicos: The First Jazz Bands and Set Drummers of Cuba

Below are the earliest photographs found during this research that depict Cuban groups utilizing a drum set. Information regarding the dates and personnel is limited. Besides Figures 40 and 41, what is presented here came from Leonardo Acosta's *Cubano Be Cubano Bop*. In the acknowledgments to his book, Acosta thanks Dulce María Betancourt for the historical photographs of Cuban jazz bands, but no more detail is given.

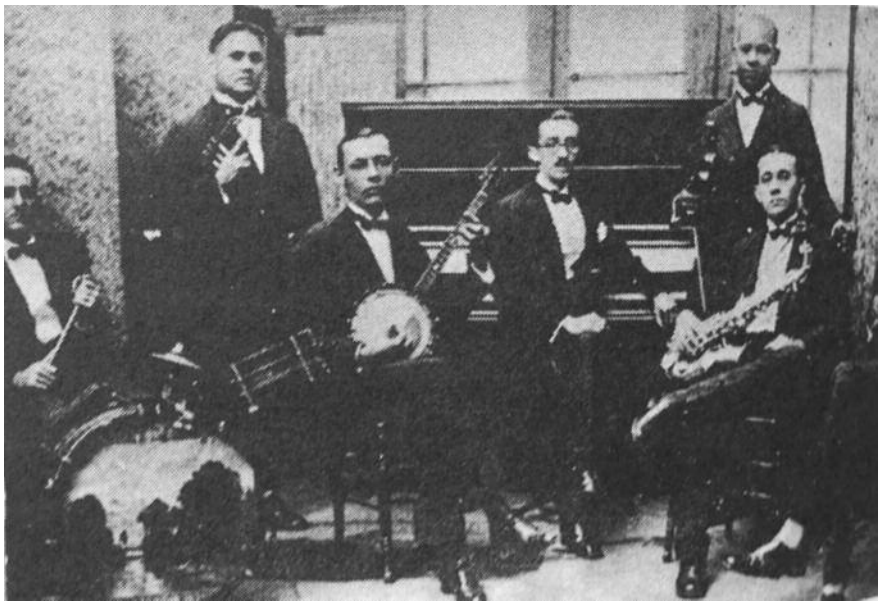
José Ramón Betancourt's Orquesta Cuba – José Ramón Betancourt was a sought after saxophonist in the early decades of jazz in Cuba. Among others, he played with Moisés Simons' Hotel Plaza Orchestra in 1924, Eliseo Grenet's Montmartre cabaret and Jockey Club band in 1925, and Armando Romeu, Sr. in 1930. Based on the date written at the top of this photograph, the drummer could be Merito Reyes or José's brother, Juan Betancourt.

[Fig. 36] José Ramón Betancourt's Orquesta Cuba (José Ramón Betancourt is second from the left with tenor saxophone, drummer is likely either Merito Reyes or Juan Betancourt), 1928.

Camagüey Jazz Band – Led be Alberto Noriega de Varona (a student of the wind and brass player Luis Casas Romero), this group performed in the Sociedad Popular Santa Cecilia, at the Tennis Club, and in the Socieded El Progreso.

[Fig. 37] Camagüey Jazz Band, led by Alberto Noriega de Varona, date unknown.

Cárdenas Jazz Band – Led by pianist José G. del Valle, this group included Alberto Damas (drum set), Raúl del Valle (cornet), Ismael Ortega and Miguel Torriente (saxophones), José María Casals (violin), and Manuel Fonte (bass).



[Fig. 38] Cárdenas Jazz Band, date unknown.

Orquesta Cine-Teatro Prado – Conducted by Maestro Gatell, this group usually performed at the Prado Theater in Cienfuegos. Notice the drummer's use of a drum set as well as two small tympani and a glockenspiel in the photograph below.

[Fig. 39] Orquesta Cine-Teatro Prado, Cienfugos, date unknown.

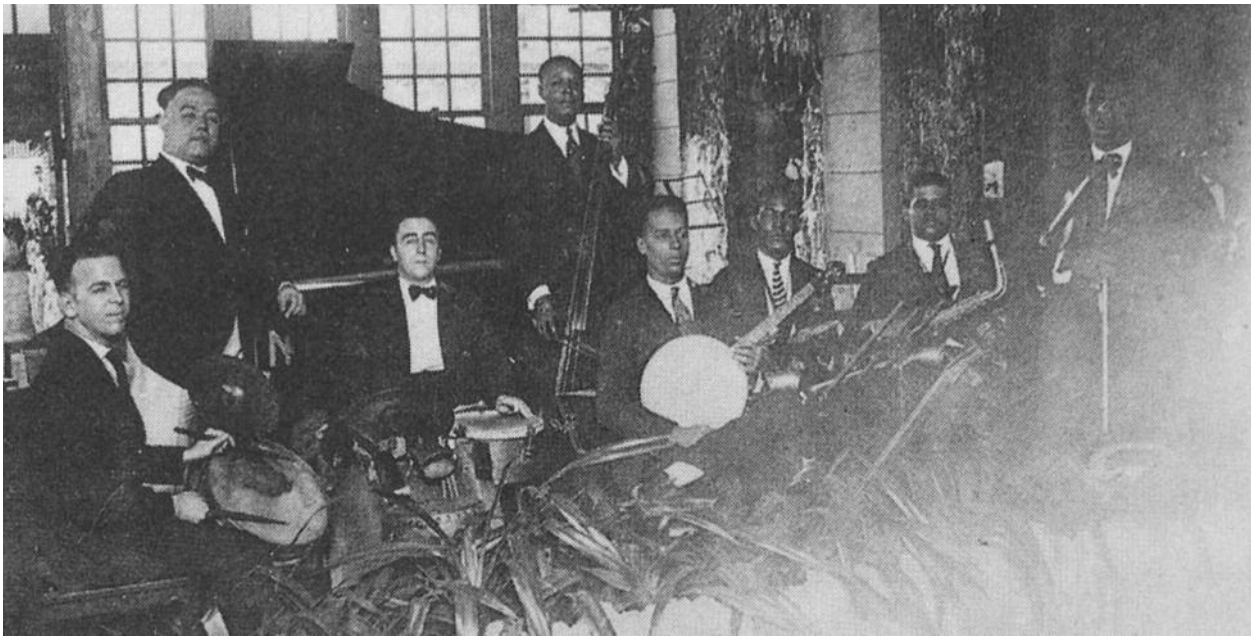
La Orquesta José Antonio Curbelo – Perhaps the best known jazz group in 1920s Cuba. They played at the Tokio Cabaret (the most important Havana jazz venue of the period), the Summer Casino, and at the Montmartre. Personnel included José Antonio Curbelo (violin), José's brother Célido Curbelo (piano), René "El Jiníguano" Oliva (trumpet), Amadito Valdés and Heriberto Curbelo (saxophones), Casuso (banjo), and the well-known Alberto Jiménez Rebollar (drum set and vocals). Rebollar played for several of the top Cuban jazz band leaders, including Teddy Henríquez, Hugo Siam, Armando Romeu, Jr., and René Touzet. He was known for his innovative playing as well as his voice. In fact, he was the featured singer on the first live radio broadcast of jazz in Cuba that took place at the Tokio Cabaret in 1927.

[Fig. 40] La Orquesta José Antonio Curbelo, Tokio Cabaret, Havana, 1930. Alberto Jiménez Rebollar seated at the drum set.

Orquesta Antonio María Romeu – Possibly the first bandleader to record in Cuba, Romeu was primarily known for his *danzón* compositions and his popular *charanga* bands and *orquestas típicas*. His groups most often used tympani, *pailas criollas*, or *timbales* for drums, but he can be seen in this unique photograph with a drum set player. Although he recorded prolifically, I have not been able to find a recording by Romeu from the 1920s or 1930s that features a drum set.

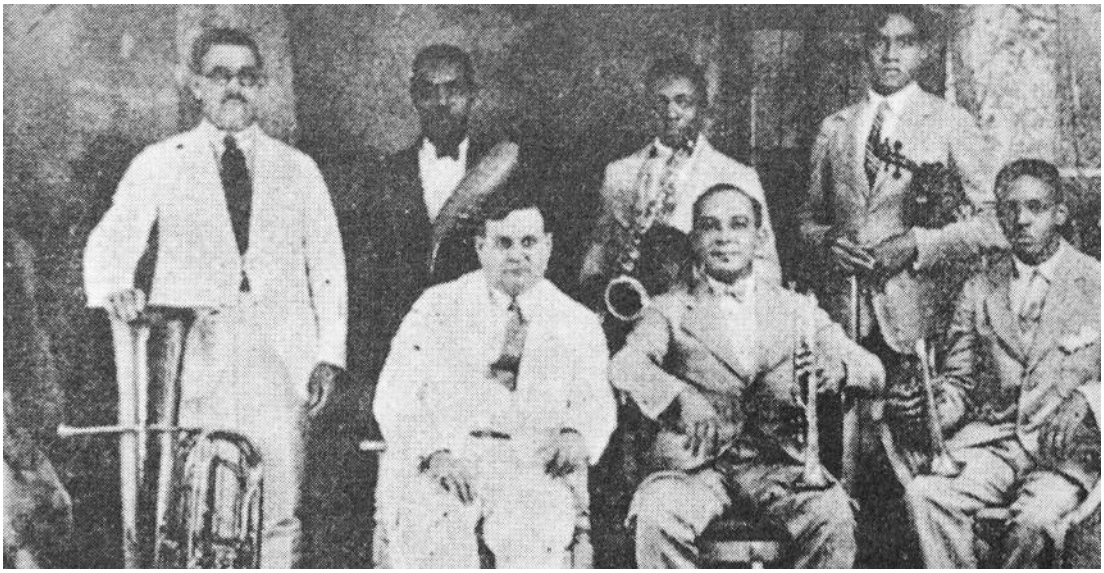
[Fig. 41] Orquesta Antonio María Romeu, 1920s. Romeu is seated second from right.

Moisés Simons and his Hotel Plaza Orchestra – As was already discussed in this paper, Moisés Simons founded one of the earliest Cuban jazz bands and became famous for his composition "El Manisero" (see Findings section, p. 19).



[Fig. 42] Moisés Simons with his jazz band in the Roof Garden of the Hotel Plaza, Havana, 1928.

Pedro Stacholy and the jazz band Sagua La Grande – Also discussed earlier in this paper, Stacholy is among the earliest known founders of a jazz band in Cuba (see Findings section, p. 18).



[Fig. 43] Pedro Stacholy (seated first from left) with his jazz band Sagua La Grande, date unknown. Possibly drummer Tómas Medina standing second from left. Antonio Temprano, an influential multi-instrumentalist and a bandleader himself, is standing far left with a tuba.

Orchestra Teatro Principal – The theater in Ciego de Ávilla this group was named after was not completed until 1927, so this photograph was likely taken after that. The band included Maestro Borrego (piano and bandleader), Virgilio Domínguez (violin), Oscar Domínguez (alto sax), Bernardo Sariol (bass), J. A. Rodríguez (*timbales*), Fidel Díaz (*güiro*), and Juan Rayo (*claves*). Although no drum set player is known, the drums in this photograph appear to be *comparsa* drums with mounted traps.

[Fig. 44] Orchestra Teatro Principal, Ciego de Ávila, date unknown.