The Americas

by Daniel E. Sheehy

(Above) The accordion and bajo sexto are the signature instruments of conjunto tejano, a tradition once considered “working class” but now celebrated as an icon of regional identity.

(Right) Singer and arranger Jesús “Chuy” Guzmán with Nati Cano’s Mariachi Los Camperos has a broad repertoire of traditional songs, including sones, rancheras, boleros, and huapangos, which he interprets in a distinctive mariachi style. Photos by Daniel Sheehy, Smithsonian Institution
2009 marks the final year of our Festival series *Nuestra Música: Music in Latino Culture* and the culmination of eight years of research that sent us down several programmatic paths. Four Smithsonian Folklife Festival programs have presented over 300 artists from the United States and Latin America. The Smithsonian Folkways CD series that launched the *Nuestra Música* project, *Tradiciones/Traditions*, has produced thirty recordings of grassroots *música latina* from Puerto Rico and nine countries: Chile, Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Paraguay, the United States, and Venezuela. The first twenty-five recordings earned eight GRAMMY nominations and one Latin GRAMMY award. The online Smithsonian exhibition *Música del Pueblo: A Smithsonian Virtual Exhibition* offers more than two dozen videos, each with interpretive text, representing a broad swath of homegrown musical styles from Chicago hip-hop to Mexican mariachi to Chilean *nueva canción* to ancient ritual *matachin* dance from New Mexico, and much more in between. Still a work-in-progress, this virtual exhibition, found at www.musicadelpueblo.org, will eventually include hundreds of tracks of music and detailed information on dozens of musical styles and instruments.

Héctor “Tito” Matos plays the *pandereta*, a hand drum traditional to Puerto Rican *plena*. Tito is the founder of the ensemble Viento de Agua, which performs “unplugged”—with acoustic instruments only. Photo by Daniel Sheehy, Smithsonian Institution
The purpose of Nuestra Música parallels that of the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage: to promote the understanding and continuity of diverse, contemporary grassroots cultures in the United States and around the world. Similarly, Nuestra Música aims to increase understanding of Latino cultures by creating a broad representation of traditional Latino music and highlighting the deep significance it holds for its practitioners. In doing this, we have allied our efforts with those of musicians and communities seeking to maintain their cultural identity in a rapidly changing world. The name Nuestra Música (Our Music) signifies that many forms of music act as flags of identity for their communities of origin—bringing people together and allowing them to project themselves publicly. Moreover, by presenting the diverse heritage of música latina on the National Mall and via our nonprofit record label Smithsonian Folkways, we underscore the message that Latino music is part of our national musical heritage, a vital ingredient in the collective cultural heritage of the United States.

Nuestra Música not only lets the musical sounds be heard widely, but also supplies a forum for the music’s creators to express themselves. Smithsonian Folklife Festival programs typically include discussion sessions in which artists speak of the role their music plays in building community, in resisting cultural homogenization, and in giving people an auditory, participatory sense of “home.” The Festival is indeed a “living exhibition” in which the subjects—the artists—interact directly with the public. Likewise, the extensive liner notes that accompany Folkways recordings, as well as the multi-media Web features, allow the artists and musicians to speak for themselves. The result is a multi-voiced, penetrating panorama of Latino music that points to the beauty and complexity of this musical world.

The capacious breadth of musical creation called música latina, combined with the high value bestowed upon music across cultures of Latin America and Latino USA, led us to name this culminating program Las Américas: Un mundo musical/The Americas: A Musical World. The program uses the lens of the Tradiciones/Traditions recording series to explore the personal motivations, social aspirations, creative impulses, and dynamics of change that shape the sounds of contemporary musical traditions from a rainbow of cultural origins. The recordings produced for the series share an agenda beyond the strictly musical. They tell stories of a socially disenfranchised local music culture making its presence known in the larger body politic, of women carving out new spaces in traditional music formerly limited to men, of homegrown music's
important role in the Chicano Movement of the 1960s, and more. Each Tradiciones/Traditions release is more than a mere recording; it is a declaration of cultural authority and worth, and an alliance with a broader artistic and social agenda.

Three fundamental principles shape the overall Nuestra Música project, and those same ideals guide Las Américas: Un mundo musical. First is the notion that a musical tradition is larger than any one artist or ensemble. When accomplished traditional musicians perform, they embody knowledge, values, and practices that are grounded in and express a "cultural territory" of shared life experience, past and present. This territory is also an environment which, like our natural environment, may need to be consciously cared for and actively conserved. Second is the idea that traditional music's power comes from its relationship to the community. Music has meaning because people give it meaning, and in turn it awakens familiar feelings that move us and holds connotations that give us purpose. Many musicians consider their music to be an expression of cultural and social identity precisely because it carries the weight of many participants and contributors over time. And the third principle is that tradition always changes, either in its sound or in its meaning, for those who take part in it. Tradition may reflect societal change or be an agent of cultural change or social resistance.

(Above) Mónico Márquez plays a cuereta, or button accordion, traditional to joropo oriental, the regional style of joropo anchored in the area around Cúmana and Margarita Island on the eastern Caribbean coast of Venezuela.

(Left) Members of Los Texmaniacs, a conjunto tejano band, include (left to right) Oscar García on the bass guitar, Lorenzo Martínez on drums, David Farías playing the accordion, and Max Baca on the bajo sexto. Photos by Daniel Sheehy, Smithsonian Institution.
If traditional music does not change, it’s not traditional, because it needs to stay part of the life of its community.—Roberto Martínez

Music may sound the same over time but takes on new social roles and meanings. Or, a music’s sound and style may evolve, precisely in order to maintain relevance to the community that cherishes it. As Roberto Martínez, an elder musician from Mora, New Mexico, puts it, “If traditional music does not change, it’s not traditional, because it needs to stay part of the life of its community.”

Juan Gutiérrez, founder and director of the Nuyorican group Los Pleneros de la 21, remembers when he discovered the relevance of tradition as a cultural “home.”

When he arrived in New York City from Puerto Rico in the 1970s, he experienced “the longing that one has for the Puerto Rican, for connecting with one’s own. I started to look for people in the barrio, and that’s where I found myself, thank God.” He found his identity

Mariachi Chula Vista, formed by student musicians at Chula Vista High School near San Diego, California, participates in mariachi festivals such as “Viva el Mariachi!” held annually in Fresno, California. Photo by Daniel Sheehy, Smithsonian Institution
in the values and experiences that he shared through music with his compatriots, realizing the importance of maintaining those traditions as an artist and as a person: “The tradition is much bigger than you, and much bigger than every one of us. We are here at this time of history and it’s up to us to do what we have to do on behalf of that. . . . But we got to do it in the right way, with the foundations. When we have those foundations clear, then we also contribute and put our influences into those expressions. And then it’s up to the younger generation to do what they have to do.” Juan contributed to his tradition in a multitude of ways: teaching, performing, organizing community musical events, and co-producing the GRAMMY-nominated album Para Todos Ustedes by Los Pleneros de la 21. He also performs on another Smithsonian Folkways release, Viento de Agua Unplugged: Materia Prima.

Marcos Ochoa, from the Mexican state of Veracruz, expresses this same sense of feeling part of something larger when he performs his music, the son jarocho: “The truth is, for me, music is a big, big, thing, because I live from it, and for me, jarocho music is like my flag, it’s like my flag of Mexico.” For him, his brother Felipe, and José Gutiérrez, their recording La Bamba: Sones jarochos from Veracruz is as much a symbol of Veracruz and Mexico as the Mexican flag itself.

Hugo Morales, director of community-based Radio Bilingüe in Fresno, California, points to Mexican mariachi music as both part of a larger cultural environment and a common platform for his community: “Mariachi is one of our traditions, one of our genres of music, that is so beautiful and vibrant. It’s a genre that can bring us all together—Chicanos, Mexican Americans, Mexicans—and also one that allows us to pass it on to our youth. We think that mariachi in our schools is so critical as an institutional tool to foster a positive identity among our youth.” He recalls discovering the “bigness” and social value of mariachi music when he launched the annual ¡Viva el Mariachi! Festival in 1982: “We thought [the audience] would be like three, four, or five hundred people. Thousands came. It’s just such a beautiful genre of music that really helps us connect all of our familias.”

Enthusiasm for mariachi-in-schools programs has spread throughout the Southwest, creating a demand for educational materials such as The Sounds of Mariachi: Lessons in Mariachi Performance.

It is precisely this connection to something larger that gives music its meaning and power. Music may be universal to human culture, but it is by no means a universal language. Each tradition is a distinct musical language, just like English, Spanish, or Náhuatl. Each has its own grammar, syntax, vocabulary, classic repertoire, and great masters. Merengue, mariachi, and marimba may all be embraced by the term música latina, but each reflects distinctive histories, cultural backgrounds, styles, repertoires, and cultural identities.

People invest music with many different kinds of meaning and a wide variety of social roles. The stability, familiarity, and value-laden character of musical tradition, for example, may lead communities to seek it out in times of social stress, such as war, dislocation, and disaster. Trinidad Lovo left the war-torn hills of eastern El Salvador to seek refuge and work in the unfamiliar environment of Washington, D.C. Far from his homeland, he found a sense of “home,” of community, and of cultural normality through making music: “We were born in a town in which culture was unknown, where no one applauds you. We come from sadness, from war that makes nobody want to dance, to be joyous. Sometimes, you end up traumatized by your country’s problems. . . . Here [in the Washington, D.C., area], realizing that work is all there is and that you cannot just go out and have a good time, because of that, we kind of decided to get together one afternoon with family to play what we feel. Through music, you can get beyond sadness, beyond whatever problems you have with your job, any sort of problem.” He often plays in his family chanchona—a musical group from his region with two violins, guitar, percussion, and chanchona (string bass)—known as Los Hermanos Lovo.
Music can be a powerful source of personal identity. "It's in my blood, being a plainsman," says Colombian joropo singer and verse improvisor Luis Eduardo Moreno, known as "El Gallito Lagunero" (The Little Cock of the Lagoon). A lead singer on the GRAMMY-nominated album Sí, Soy Llanero: Joropo Music from the Orinoco Plains of Colombia, Moreno is a highly successful competitor in regional contests of improvised sung poetry called coplas accompanied by golpes (fast joropos) such as the popular zumba que zumba. He reminds us that the main "conservatory" of traditional music is the family and close community that passes on the skills, knowledge, and social position of music, putting it "in our blood": "My parents played guitar and mandolin...and golpes, the zumba que zumba, to exchange verses with the verse improvisors, like two cocks when they are let loose to fight." Says his musical collaborator, maraquero (maraca player) Omar Fandíñio: "It's part of my life, I think I breathe joropo. If there is a day in which I don't listen to joropo, that day it's like I get sick, anxious to have the sound of a harp, a plains melody. It's like it pushes me. It calls me."

Certain forms of música latina are intended as repositories of cultural memory. The Mexican corridos (narrative ballads) heard on Heroes and Horses: Corridos from the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands are good examples of this. The album, says its producer, folklorist James Griffith, "is a slice of life along the Arizona-Sonora border as it has been lived and memorialized in corridos over the course of the twentieth century. All these songs come from the repertoires of traditional singers, who considered all of them worth learning, singing, and remembering. Together, they make a picture of one of the least-known parts of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands." The 2008 release A Tribute to Gonzalo Asencio, "Tio Tom," also preserves cultural memory, paying homage to an unsung creator of Afro-Cuban rumba, the late Gonzalo Asencio, known affectionately as Tio Tom. Asencio was a "street genius" and bohemian pioneer who set the standard for one of the Latino world's signature musical creations of the twentieth century, the rumba. On the album, the late master drummer Orlando "Puntilla" Ríos and a first-rate group of rumberos make an artistic statement on Tio Tom's ascendancy in the world of the rumba.

Music is an agent of cultural resistance and community cohesion for many of the Nuestra Música artists. Guatemalan marimba player Erick Armando Vargas laments the unchecked, rampant displacement of Guatemalan culture by international commercial pop culture and sees the marimba, officially recognized as Guatemala's national instrument, as a line of defense containing the emotional essence of the national character: "The importance of our marimba is that it reflects our identity, what we Guatemalans are. Our marimba has the capacity of being able to express the states of mind of the Guatemalan. For example, when we are sad, we play a very melancholy son, deeply felt. And when we are happy, we play a seis por ocho, or a guarimba, or a cumbia, or a merengue on the marimba. The marimba lends itself perfectly for those states of mind of us Guatemalans, who sometimes laugh and sometimes cry, and sometimes we do that on the instrument,"
My parents played guitar and mandolin . . . and golpes, the zumba que zumba, to exchange verses with the verse improvisors, like two cocks when they are let loose to fight.—Luis Eduardo Moreno

the marimba.” Vargas and other members of Marimba Chapinlandia let their national pride shine on the album Chapinlandia: Marimba Music of Guatemala, playing pieces identified with many regions of their country.

The southern Pacific coast of Colombia is home to the marimba de chonta (chonta is a local palm tree wood). Latin American marimbas are descended from instruments introduced by enslaved Africans during colonial times, though in Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and other areas of Central America, the marimba became mainly the domain of Indian and mestizo peoples. Only in the Pacific coastal region overlapping Colombia and Ecuador has the Latin American marimba maintained its Afro-descendant community base. In Colombia, the region has been deeply traumatized by the violence of civil strife and drug trafficking. As this turbulence subsides, local people are tapping their marimba tradition as a source of rebuilding regional pride and a sense of normality. The marimba ensemble includes drums (cununos and bombos) and a chorus of women singers who often play a leadership role both in the music and in the community. Elder singers such as Carlina Andrade, born in the coastal town of Guapi in 1933, are looked to for their cultural authority.

Members of the Marimba Chapinlandia ensemble in Guatemala City play a seven-octave marimba. This instrument was introduced in the 1890s by several families of musicians in the city of Quetzaltenango to complement the five-octave marimba, thus creating the first two-marimba ensembles.

Photo by Daniel Sheehy, Smithsonian Institution
Las Américas

(Right) Óscar Gerardo Hurtado tries to win over Ana Hernández, a member of Las Cantadoras del Pacífico, with rhythmic flirtations punctuated by his handkerchief to curru/ao, an African-derived music and dance from the Pacific coast of southern Colombia. Photo by Daniel Sheehy, Smithsonian Institution

(Above right) Ana Veydó Ordóñez, the only woman in Grupo Cimarrón, prefers singing the hard-edged golpe recio, claiming her place in this male-driven, robust, coarse style of singing.

(Left) While joropo singers from the plains of Colombia might take turns improvising verses competitively, melodic and rhythmic instrumentalists, such as Omar Fandino on maracas, add to the spontaneity with creative improvisations. Photos by Daniel Sheehy, Smithsonian Institution

(Right) Luis Zepeda plays traditional musical forms on the guitar, such as the cueca (the Chilean "national dance") and the rural tonada song. By emulating rural song styles, he incorporates the old forms into fresh creations. Photo by Daniel Sheehy, Smithsonian Institution
“My grandfather, my grandmother, and my mother were all folkloric people,” she recounts. “I have music in my blood!” She learned to sing and play the guasa (tube rattle) by watching and listening; music was all around her. As a young schoolteacher in the 1950s, she was sent to a small settlement along the Guapi River. There she learned the cantos de boga (rowing songs), sung early in the morning by women canoeing upriver to fish for crabs. Long relegated to the margins of Colombian society, Colombians of African descent have been asserting themselves in recent decades in the national body politic. The music of the marimba de chonta is one of the most visible emblems of their newfound presence.

_Nuestra Música_ challenges notions that traditional music is static and unchanging. While the concept of “tradition” does imply continuity over time, music must evolve in substance and meaning in order to stay in tune with the community that supports it. “You have to let the _plena_ breathe,” says Juan Gutiérrez of his Puerto Rican tradition. He made history by adding new sounds of salsa and _música jibara_ to the music, keeping it in sync with the tastes of Nuyoricanos in the New York barrio. Chilean political refugee and musician Rafael Manriquez agrees: “Folklore is not a museum piece; folklore is something that is alive.” In Chile in the 1960s and early 1970s, he and other left-leaning urban artists learned faithful renditions of rural _cuecas, tonadas, parabienes_, and other rural forms, performing them on urban stages to drum up support for policies that would benefit society’s least affluent members. The music sounded similar to its rural models, but the meaning changed sharply when brought into more formal settings and presented as political statement. The rise of _nueva canción_, a synthesis of new and old musical forms, sparked a trend throughout Latin America. Then, after two decades of intellectual repression in the wake of Chile’s 1973 military coup d’état, Manriquez and other urban musicians have once again turned to rurally derived music, this time seeing it as one of many sources of material: “I think that in all musical genres—traditional, in between, neo-folklore, _nueva canción_—there are good things and things that are not so good as well,” he observes. This is the guiding principle behind the album _¡Que Viva el Canto! Songs of Chile_.

Other _Nuestra Música_ artists also view their music as an agent of change. Nati Cano, founder/director of Los Angeles-based Mariachi Los Camperos, is known as both a keeper of tradition and an innovator. The group epitomizes the big, modern mariachi sound that became standard in the 1950s. At the same time, their GRAMMY-nominated recordings in the _Tradiciones/Traditions_ series, such as _Amor, Dolor y Lágrimas: Música Ranchera_, offer fresh arrangements for time-honored songs. Just as importantly, Cano successfully took the mariachi to new performance contexts. His mariachi dinner restaurant, La Fonda de Los Camperos, made the music available to audiences of all backgrounds. It also offered the group the opportunity to treat the music more as an art form, taking center stage to be listened to in a concert setting. Cano calls for a judicious balance between innovation and giving in to external influences: “It is not good for humanity that everything be the same, but there are limits. The taco, aside from the mariachi and tequila, is the worldwide image of Mexico. On the taco, put _salsa de tomate_, put _salsa verde_ . . . put the _salsa_ that you want. Just don’t put ketchup on it.”

Women have changed many traditions of _música latina_, creating places for themselves in realms once reserved exclusively for men. Ana Veydón Ordoñez of Colombia grew up around the driving, extroverted form of _joropo_ called _golpe reico_. She didn’t let the fact that it was considered a man’s musical form get in her artistic way. For her, “reico is the earthiest . . . That’s where the true essence of the _joropo_ is, and that’s why I like it.” She recalls the gains made by women: “Women, when they started to sing plains music, it was something softer, much more delicate, but now, women are getting into men’s territory, _reico_. I feel that in doing that, they have gained a lot of ground.”

Dancer/musician/anthropologist Rubí Oseguera, a member of the Veracruz ensemble Son de Madera ( _Son de Madera: Son de Mi Tierra_ ) believes now is the time for women to pursue a larger role in music performance and in society in general: “In the Mexican macho context, many of us women are involved. We have come together, not just in the _son jarocho_, but also in cultural promotion and in traditional music in general. There has been progress, an opening, that we have earned. It’s not as though it just opened up for us.”
Rubí Oseguera adds her own creative flourishes to the son jarocho of Veracruz, Mexico, through traditional zapateado dance. Performed on a raised wooden platform that amplifies the sound of her feet, the zapateado adds percussive rhythm and depth to the music.

She does not view this effort as a directive against men playing their own traditional roles, but rather as a response to what her culture needs: "I don't see it as a struggle for spaces... for equality, but rather because there is a need these days, and we are making it happen." She has recently focused on developing innovative rhythms for her zapateado (footwork), part of the overall son jarocho sound. "We are doing a new kind of thing, not out of competition, but because there is a need to say, 'I can do musical things with my feet, which is my tool, my instrument. I can come up with something new.'"

In the mountainous Cibao region of the Dominican Republic, Lidia María Hernández López, known in music circles as La India Canela, was one of the few female instrumentalists to move into the public domain. As a young girl, she was drawn to her brother's button accordion, the central instrument in the lively merengue típico music of the region. By the time she was fourteen, she was ready to play professionally in the local nightclubs. Her father balked at the idea of his daughter entering such places, but her heart was set on it, and he relented. She went on to produce recordings, win national awards, and act as a role model for other young women. Just as she was inspired by Fefita la Grande, a female accordionist who broke the gender barrier in the 1960s, so has she enjoyed setting a precedent: "It has been a great satisfaction for me that some of the young women have come up to me and said that they have seen in me an example to follow." Fully engaging with her region's musical tradition also brings her great personal reward: "You live it, and it revives you."

Música latina is an expanding universe of styles and social meaning. New styles of music are created alongside older styles that remain. As the Latino world becomes more urban, more globalized, and saturated with popular media and profit-driven products, community-driven music often moves to the stage setting and gains a heightened role as art form, cultural icon, and social rallying force. Age-old music acquires newly constructed meanings at the same time that new creations take on the mantle of old functions. In the competitive and specialized modern context, instrumental virtuosity is on the rise, and many local, micro traditions fade away in the shadows. Music, as a form of heightened communication, lies at the forefront of cultural life; and traditional music, laden with its seasoned cultural values and its associations with an entire way of life, becomes a charged symbol of statehood, a means of social self-reliance, and a "cultural territory" of elevated consciousness. In times of wrenching social change, musical tradition evolves in order to stay "traditional" and remain a fully functioning part of community life. As agents of innovation and continuity, traditional musicians are rooted in the past, but look to the future—the future of their music and the future of their people. And the more música latina becomes a source of cultural diversity, artistic creativity, social identity, and economic productivity in the Latino world, the more it adds to the meaning of this Festival program—Las Américas: Un mundo musical/The Americas: A Musical World.

Recommended Listening


¡Ayome! The Heart of Colombia’s Música Vallenata. SFW 40546. 2008. [Association for Independent Music nominee, Best World Traditional Album]


Herous and Horses: Corridos from the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands. SFW 40475. 2002.

Jibaro Hasta el Hueso: Mountain Music of Puerto Rico by Esos de Borinquen. SFW 40506. 2003. [GRAMMY nominee and Latin GRAMMY nominee]


La India Canela: Merengue Tipico from the Dominican Republic. SFW 40547. 2008.


¡Llegaron Los Camperos! Concert Favorites of Nati Cano’s Mariachi Los Camperos. SFW 40517. 2005. [GRAMMY nominee]


¡Qué Viva el Canto! Songs of Chile. Rafael Manríquez and Friends. SFW 40549. 2008.


Sí, Soy Llanero: Joropo Music from the Orinoco Plains of Colombia. SFW 40515. 2004. [GRAMMY nominee]

Son de Madera: Son de Mi Tierra. SFW 40550. 2009.


Un Fuego de Sangre Pura: Los Gaiteros de San Jacinto from Colombia. SFW 40531. 2006. [Latin GRAMMY winner]


¡Viva el Mariachi!: Nati Cano’s Mariachi Los Camperos. SFW 40459. 2002. [2002 Best Latin Album Award from the Association for Independent Music]


Further Reading