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1 / Introduction

Contradance and Quadrille Culture in the Caribbean

A region as linguistically, ethnically, and culturally diverse as the Caribbean has never lent itself to being epitomized by a single music or dance genre, be it rumba or reggae. Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century a set of contradance and quadrille variants flourished so extensively throughout the Caribbean Basin that they enjoyed a kind of predominance, as a common cultural medium through which melodies, rhythms, dance figures, and performers all circulated, both between islands and between social groups within a given island. Hence, if the latter twentieth century in the region came to be the age of Afro-Caribbean popular music and dance, the nineteenth century can in many respects be characterized as the era of the contradance and quadrille. Further, the quadrille retains much vigor in the Caribbean, and many aspects of modern Latin popular dance and music can be traced ultimately to the Cuban contradanza and Puerto Rican danza.

Caribbean scholars, recognizing the importance of the contradance and quadrille complex, have produced several erudite studies of some of these genres, especially as flourishing in the Spanish Caribbean. However, these have tended to be narrowly focused in scope, and, even taken collectively, they fail to provide the panregional perspective that is so clearly needed even to comprehend a single genre in its broader context. Further, most of these publications are scattered in diverse obscure and ephemeral journals or consist of limited-edition books that are scarcely available in their country of origin, not to mention elsewhere.[1] Some of the most outstanding studies of individual genres or regions display what might seem to be a surprising lack of familiarity with relevant publications produced elsewhere, due not to any incuriosity on the part of authors but to the poor dissemination of works within (as well as

outside) the Caribbean. Meanwhile, current generations of scholars, for better or worse, have tended to devote their attention primarily to the more distinctively Afro-Caribbean side of the music and dance spectrum, and especially to contemporary commercial popular genres like salsa and reggae.

This volume addresses this scholarly lacuna by presenting a set of area studies covering all the major contradance and quadrille traditions that have flourished in the Spanish-, French-, and English-speaking Caribbean. Rather than being a motley collection of diverse articles reflecting the authors' idiosyncratic interests, the volume aims to treat each area in a relatively consistent manner, covering historical development, musical and choreographic aspects, and a set of relevant sociocultural themes and approaches. Each area article synthesizes extant published scholarship with the authors' own original research. The Introduction seeks to further unify the presentation by offering general background material as well as suggesting some of the panregional perspectives that are so essential to a holistic appreciation of the contradance and quadrille complex. (The Introduction and subsequent chapters, however, are works of the individual authors and represent their own interpretations and perspectives, rather than any particular perspective of the editor.)

The contradance and quadrille, far from flourishing solely in the insular Caribbean, have taken root in various forms and at various times throughout the Americas, from Peru to Vermont. Particularly relevant has been their presence in the mainland Caribbean Basin countries. Thus, the exclusion of these areas from consideration in this volume is in some ways artificial and reifying. A holistic study of the Cuban and Puerto Rican contradanza should properly encompass its closely linked Venezuelan and Mexican counterparts, just as this volume's panorama of the Caribbean quadrille is inherently flawed for slighting Belize and Panama—not to mention New Orleans and the southern United States. However, proper incorporation of these areas might then oblige further consideration of the North American as well as South American hinterlands, with their closely related contradance and quadrille traditions, at which point the problem of sprawl would become acute and the entire topic too unwieldy. Hence the decision has been made, with reservations, to limit the focus of this study to the island traditions, to direct interested readers to other literature,[2] and to hope that other scholars may ultimately generate the more broadly inclusive panoramas that the subject requires. As it is, the authors regret that even certain Caribbean island traditions have been covered inadequately in this book. Further, even the pan-Caribbean focus of this volume has presented vexing challenges to coherent presentation; these, indeed, can be seen to commence with the book's very title, which, as a sort of unsatisfactory compromise, uses what cognoscenti will notice as an unidiomatic variant "contradance" rather than the more conventional but language-specific terms "contra dance," "country dance," "contredanse," or "contradanza." Throughout this volume, the reader may note that we continue to use the term "contradance" in

contexts where a generic, panregional sense is intended, while using the other terms to denote specific regional genres.

The contributors to this volume are aware that different readers may use it in different ways; many, we assume, will attend only to one or two individual area chapters, perhaps in conjunction with the Introduction, while a few zealots may actually read the book from cover to cover. In the interests of enabling the individual chapters to be read more or less on their own, we have covered certain sorts of material in more than one chapter (and especially in the Introduction and individual chapters), affording a degree of repetition that will hopefully be regarded with indulgence by those who notice it. At the same time, in order to keep this to a reasonable minimum, readers of individual chapters are on occasion referred to other chapters or to the Introduction for further coverage of a given point.

Contradance and Quadrille in Europe

The contradance and quadrille reigned for over a century as the favored social dances of Western Europe, especially England, France, and the Netherlands. As social phenomena they were particularly important as vehicles for collective recreation and self-definition on the part of the rising middle classes, in contrast to the courtly and hidebound minuet. As musical idioms, their orbit ranged from the untutored fiddler, to the petty-bourgeois dilettante composer, and on to the great Mozart himself. Yet in many respects their greater importance lay in the choreographic realm and their place in the broader history of European social dance, which merits some consideration here.

The social dances of seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Western Europe reflected the class divisions of the era. The most characteristic dances of the lower classes were group (or "choral") dances based around ring formations or single- or double-line formats. Some of the latter were to be performed only by men, such as the morisca/moresque and the related English Morris dance. Others could involve mixed couples; in the branle, couples arrayed in an open file or closed circle performed a series of chain-type figures. Other couple dances were "open," in that the partners did not touch; in this category was the Spanish *zarabanda* (sarabande), evidently of Afro-Latin derivation, which featured men and women in double lines advancing, retreating, and posturing in a manner that was sensual enough to be intermittently banned. In the elite ballrooms, the most characteristic dances were technically difficult and complex open couple dances, especially the minuet, which epitomized courtly refinement, particularly in France, prevailing in roughly the years 1650–1750. Every aspect of the minuet, from the strictly hierarchic order of the dancers' entry to the measured bowing and dipping of the dancers themselves, was formalized and stylized in order to reflect a sense of aristocratic restraint, propriety, and elegance. The development of dance notation in 1700 led to the publication of

dance manuals, enabling nobles throughout Western Europe to imitate and emulate the Versailles court dances.

By the latter 1700s, the spread of bourgeois capitalism was undermining traditional social hierarchies and inspiring new democratic ideals, which swept through Europe and had deep and diverse effects on the arts. The growing middle classes developed a fondness for group dances, especially the contradance, which in fact had arisen more than a century earlier. While some have argued for a French origin of the dance, the prevailing scholarly consensus traces its origin to sixteenth-century England, whence it crossed the Channel to become enthusiastically adopted and domesticated in France and Holland. In France, the word "country" was phonetically adapted, rather than translated, to "contre," which also aptly characterized the format of "counterposed" male and female lines;[3] hence its easy, though still curious, reincorporation to English as "contra dance" (which today is most typically applied to the more Americanized derivative).

One of the most important features of the contradance (to commence use of this generic term for the entire complex) was the way that its popularity cut across social classes. While originating in the latter 1500s as a rustic folk dance, it was soon being danced at the court of Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), by masters and servants together (Sachs 1937: 420). Although subsequently a staple of elite ballrooms, it also became a popular dance idiom of the rising bourgeoisie, especially insofar as this new class borrowed aristocratic forms while its own ideals were still taking shape (see, e.g., Sachs 1937: 428). With the advent of commercial publishing for middle-class readers, the dance's spread was both reflected and intensified by the publication of instruction manuals, especially John Playford's *The English Dancing Master*, which appeared in eighteen editions between 1651 and 1728.[4] From the latter 1600s, the dance was taken up in France, enjoying particular popularity in the court of Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715), who was himself an enthusiastic dancer; by the time of the French Revolution of 1789, the contredanse had come to replace the minuet as the opening dance at formal balls held by the queen. In subsequent years, French aristocrats freely adapted new figures from staged versions of operatic contredanses. As it gained in popularity, the contradance, although of English origin, came to be thought of in many circles as an essentially French entity, especially as French elite culture became the model for much of Europe. From 1700 the rule of the Italo-French Bourbon family in Spain further promoted the spread of the French-style contradance to that country, as did Napoleon's occupation of the peninsula in 1808.

The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English/French country dance could be danced in a circle, a square of two or four couples, or, most typically, the "longways" format, whose initial and subsequently recurring basic format arrayed the men and women in two lines facing each other. This configuration itself was not new; Curt Sachs, in his magisterial *World History of the Dance*, observes, "The circle and single file are the basic forms of all choral dancing,

and the majority of the figures go back to the Stone Age. . . . Even the way the men and women are placed in a double row, facing each other and divided in pairs, has already been pointed out in numerous African tribes, among the bailas of Rhodesia, the bergdamas and bolokis of the Congo. The fundamental primitive theme is once again, the battle of the sexes with the ensuing attack and flight, union and separation" (1937: 415). What distinguished the longways country dance was the sequential entrance of the couples, the particular figures employed, the flexibility with which it accommodated new figures (and melodies), the original and stylistically contemporary music, and the new social significance of the dance. As with revivalist American country and contra dancing today, the traditional country dance offered the pleasure of social dancing to those who were not necessarily skilled or trained as dancers. While participants in elite contradances might feel inclined or obliged to master a variety of intricate steps, in many formats, all that was needed was a basic familiarity with the conventional figures (such as do-si-do, star, chain, balance, and allemande), whose sequence could be directed by convention or a caller. In a typical format, after lining up in longways style, dancers would perform a specific sequence of figures, each lasting eight bars of music and about a half minute, with subsequent partners, proceeding down the lines and back again, eventually returning to their original partners. Alternately, the caller might organize the two lines into "minor sets" of four dancers each, who perform figures with each other and then split up to execute the same figures with the adjacent sets, thus proceeding down the lines.

By the 1800s the longways style had spread to Spain, Saint-Domingue (later Haiti), and the Spanish Caribbean. Although its prevailing mood could be either genteel or rowdy, in its spirit of collective fun it contrasted dramatically with the ceremonious and dainty minuet, which it increasingly came to replace. Sachs (1937: 398) quotes Franco-Martinican chronicler Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry (henceforth Saint-Méry) as saying that people "had come to feel that a party is not a course in etiquette," such that after allowing the periwigged grandparents a brief obligatory minuet, the spirited contradancing would commence in earnest. As Cuban musicologist and novelist Alejo Carpentier notes, the contradance "was an honest figure dance, with a certain good-natured gallantry, and did not require an enormous choreographic ability from the dancers" ([1946] 2001: 145).

As a musical genre the European contradance was in some respects unremarkable and standardized, with its typically plain, major-key, diatonic melodies and simple harmonies structured in two eight-bar phrases, each of which would typically be repeated, with the entire AABB structure (briefer than a minute) being reiterated as long as was necessary or desired. However, these very features identified the genre as contemporary or even modern by eighteenth-century standards, in contrast, for example, to the long-winded Baroque "spinning out" phrases, with their elaborate sequences and contrapuntal intricacies. Moreover, the simplicity of the music was deemed suitable to its func-

tion as dance accompaniment; as Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote, since the tunes "are often re-performed, they would be disgusting if of a heavy composition."[5] The eight-bar phrases also corresponded to the length of the individual dance figures, whose sequences would then be repeated with different partners. While the contradance was thus not a vehicle for lofty innovation or elaboration, Mozart, Beethoven, Rameau, Gluck, and other classical composers—along with innumerable lesser dilettantes—penned their own contradances, some of which were adapted in ballrooms.

Most of the over nine hundred country dances in the Playford editions were in 6/4 time, although duple meter became increasingly popular. In Playford's presentation, as in the numerous dance manuals of the eighteenth century, each dance was presented as a specific melody with a prescribed set of figures, though in practice a dance could be performed to any appropriately metered piece (as is the case in country and contra dancing today). Composers and dance ensembles further enriched the music by liberal borrowing of current operatic airs and other urban songs. Figure 1.1 shows a modern notation of the first eight bars of a typical country dance, "The Elector of Hanover's March," whose original is presented in the 1710 edition of Playford's compendium. In that edition, the staff notation, designated "longways for as many as will," accompanies, like the other dances, prose instructions for the figures (e.g., "The firft Man go under the fecund Couple's hands, the firft Woman do the same, change Places, Foot it, and caft up"). The melody exhibits a striking feature of several of the Playford country dances—the presence of what would later be called the "habanera" rhythm, a trademark of the nineteenth-century Cuban contradanza.[6] In fact, in this tune the habanera rhythm is not merely present but serves as a basic recurring pattern.

Figure 1.1 "The Elector of Hanover's March," from Playford, *The Dancing Master*, 1710.

In the mid-1700s the format of dancing in square formation had become especially popular in France and typically came to be designated as the "French" style (*contredanse française*), as opposed to the original "English" longways style. This French contradance variant also evolved into the quadrille, which derived from a variety of sources. One precedent was the earlier French dance called *le cotillon*, which, taking its name from a popular tune, was incorporated into contredanse format as a variant for two couples and exported to England in the 1760s as the "cotillion." Refitted by dance masters with new choreographies for four couples, it dispensed with the need for couples to wait their turn in the lines and soon developed its own characteristic figures and lively music. In France around the same time, the quadrille emerged from the

cotillon, taking its own name, according to various accounts, from a contemporary card game or from the Spanish *cuadrillo* (a diminutive for "four," and cf. *cuadrado*, "square"). According to some sources, aside from the cotillion and contradance, another inspiration for the new dance was the seventeenth-century form of equestrian quadrille consisting of show formations executed by four mounted horsemen, as are still performed in horse shows today.

The quadrille adopted the French tradition of structuring contredanse sessions as "pot-pourris" of two or three contredanses strung together. Standardizing this sort of structure, in the early 1800s the French quadrille assumed the form of a conventional suite of five units (called "figures"), whose music originally consisted of contredanse tunes in alternating triple and duple meters. In the 1820s the quadrille per se became formalized as musicians composed new music for the sections, and the genre assumed the form of a suite of five movements, separated by brief pauses, with fixed figures, named "*Le pantalon*" (trousers), "*L'été*" (summer), "*La poule*" (hen), "*La pastourelle*" (shepherd girl), and "*Finale*." Each of the five items had a conventional, although flexible, series of dance figures, each set to four or eight bars of music; hence, for example, the figures in *Le pantalon* might consist of English chain, balancé, turn partners, ladies' chain, half promenade, and half English chain. Although certainly a social dance, the quadrille could retain something of the character of a "spectacle" dance insofar as individual couples danced inside the squares while others rested and watched.

In 1815 the French quadrille, typically performed with violins, flutes, and piano, was introduced to London and subsequently became a standard Victorian court dance. In tandem with its Continental counterpart, its popularity extended to the middle and lower classes, and its performers freely borrowed tunes from diverse sources. By the 1840s it had become widely popular in Berlin and elsewhere on the Continent, danced by bourgeois and working-class men and women and also cultivated as a simple piano piece. It had also spread to Spain in the 1830s. Quadrille music, like contradances, often consisted of adaptations of opera melodies. An offshoot of the quadrille was the Lancers, which, after being invented in Ireland in 1817, went on to become popular in Europe in the 1850s. Although the quadrille's appeal declined in the latter 1800s, by this time it and the Lancers had taken root in the Caribbean, both from French and English sources.

Sachs characterizes the contradance as introducing the bourgeois epoch (1937: 428) in the genre's rejection of the minuet's stale formality and its appeal to the emergent middle classes. The contradance can also be seen as a transitional genre in the metanarrative of the evolution and, in the decades around 1800, the definitive triumph of independent couple dancing, with partners loosely embracing in ballroom style. In Europe, the primary vehicles for this development were the waltz and later the polka. The waltz differed from its predecessor the minuet in its ballroom-style embrace, its absence of prescribed

figures, and, above all, its spirit of passion, expression, and "naturalness" that replaced the minuet's stiffness and artificiality and the stately ceremoniousness of the rigodón. The contradance itself had also spurned that courtly prissiness, but its emphasis on collectively performed figures, often dictated by a caller, eventually came to be seen as artless calisthenics. Sachs quotes a commentator from around 1800: "Our figure dances without character and expression [are] the most artificial and ridiculous foot play. . . . The empty changing of the sets, the alternation of these dead geometrical figures is nothing but sheer mechanism. . . . [The true dance] must have soul, express passion, imitate nature" (1937: 429). Hence the revolutionary (and accordingly controversial) waltz, which in a Viennese ballroom could be genteel and refined in its way or in a petty-bourgeois dance party could be vigorous and sensual.

The independent couple dance, in the European form of the waltz, reflected triumphant bourgeois ideology not only in its cult of "naturalness" and expression but also in its unprecedented and exclusive celebration of the individual and his or her consort, rather than the broader community. The fundamentally asocial character of the dance could be easily appreciated if one were to imagine an eighteenth-century contradance, or a modern square dance, at which one couple, in blatant disregard of the others, were to dance intimately by themselves in a corner. Goethe wrote of how joyous it was to "hold the most adorable creature in one's arms and fly around with her like the wind, so that everything around us fades away" (in Sachs 1937: 430). Of course, primary among the things that faded away was the community—in this case, in the form of the other dancers. In the contemporary terms of Karl Marx and Fredric Engels, community—in its traditional cohesive sense—was one of the things that melted into thin air with the full emancipation of the bourgeois worldview. Impersonal mass marketing of commodities replaced local village craftsmen and undermined traditional occupations with their networks of guilds and feudal bonds; the establishment of the individual as the basic socioeconomic unit vitiated the traditional social fabric; and the advent of capital undid an entire social order of feudal hierarchies and reciprocal obligations: "All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away. . . . All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned" ([1847] 1959: 10). The spirit of the independent couple dance reflected the same individualism that came to permeate the arts, including the introspective poetry of Wordsworth, the self-conscious subjectivity of impressionist painting, the nuanced character portrayals of contemporary novels, and even the closed, narrative form of the classical sonata, with its thematic melodies that, like fictional protagonists, wander afar and then dramatically return home. Inseparable from these phenomena was Romanticism, with its emphasis on "naturalness," the purported nobility of the peasantry, and sentimental love. All these developments were grounded not in some set of superstructural aesthetic coincidences but in the triumph—at once destructive and liberating—

of a capitalist economic order that would exert similar effects on culture in the Caribbean.

Contradance and Quadrille as Caribbean Dances

Any serious inquiry into the history of creole dances in the Caribbean is inevitably confounded by a set of obstacles. Foremost is the shortage of contemporary documentation, including an essentially complete absence of viewpoints expressed by subalterns in the colonial period. Another obstacle is the confoundingly inconsistent use of terminology, both within the Caribbean itself and as compared with European usages of the same terms. Such words as "contradanza," "danza," and "quadrille" might in different contexts refer either to musical or choreographic features; the same term (like "merengue" or "tango") might denote very different genres, while different terms (like "habanera," "danza," or, again, "tango") might be used to denote the same genre. In the Spanish Caribbean, "danza" might designate either a specific genre or be a general term for "dance"; similarly, the Spanish term *cuadrilla* (quadrille) could denote either the specific dance by that name, any formation of four dancers, or a suite dance of four successive figures (e.g., minuet, rigodón, *lancero*, and contradanza). In Cuba, as seen in Chapter 2, the words "contradanza" and "danza" were used with prodigious inconsistency, albeit with a tendency toward using the latter to denote the couple dance that prevailed from the 1850s. In Puerto Rico, discussed in Chapter 3, "contradanza" generally connoted the old-style Spanish group dance, with the couple dance introduced in the 1840s being initially known as "merengue" and, subsequently, "danza." In the Dominican Republic, the new style evidently came in the form of the Puerto Rican "merengue," but that term later came to denote the familiar popular music and dance genre, with the exception of the salon "merengues" of the 1920s, which might be regarded as hybrids with danzas in Puerto Rican style. If such confusion were not sufficient, in the context of the 1850s Puerto Rican danza/merengue and the modern Dominican merengue, the term "merengue" also denoted the extended melodic sections following the introductory *paseo*.

At the risk of repeating data, the following pages survey the Caribbean contradance and quadrille as dance formats, then as musical idioms, as historically evolving entities, as exemplars of creolization, and, lastly, as sites of sociocultural contention and negotiation. Most patently visible in retrospect are the general trends. One of these has been the aforementioned grand transition, paralleling European developments, from collective figure dancing to independent couple dancing. In the Spanish Caribbean the vehicle for this transformation was not the waltz, which was never more than a subsidiary genre. Perhaps because of its distinctive triple meter, the waltz, despite being of interest to composers in Cuba and elsewhere in the form of the *vals tropical*, did not lend itself to the process of musical creolization, which foregrounded duple-metered

genres and marginalized the rest. Rather, it was the rhythmically more varied and flexible contradance itself whose choreography changed dramatically in the course of the century and whose role in the transformation to couple dancing was fundamental rather than incidental. Further, as a musical idiom, in the Spanish and French Caribbean the contradance played a seminal role in the development of the commercial popular dance styles, from that of the Cuban danzón to the Haitian méringue (mereng), that would flower in the early twentieth century. Meanwhile, in the French and English Caribbean, the quadrille variants remained group dances but tended to acquire a neotraditional, even folkloric status; hence the transition to couple dancing involved not their transformation but rather their gradual marginalization, with popular, predominantly couple-style dances, such as *konpa*, reggae, soca, and zouk, replacing them as mainstream dance formats.

Caribbean Dance Forms

The colonial-era Caribbean to which the contradance and quadrille were imported was not a choreographic and musical wasteland. Rather, by the late 1700s a number of European and African dance and music genres had taken root in the region, with varying degrees and sorts of modifications, and creolized new ones had been emerging since the late 1500s, when the Afro-Mexican *zarabanda* (sarabande) was exported to Spain. Thus the trajectories of the contradance and quadrille were conditioned from the start by their interaction with other genres, including neo-African ones that had no counterparts in Europe.

The contradance and quadrille must further be appreciated in both their choreographic and musical dimensions, which did not always exhibit identically parallel sorts of creolizations and modifications. In many ways the more dramatic changes involved dance rather than music per se, in interaction with other forms of Caribbean dancing. In general, the gamut of colonial-era Caribbean dances (like that of dances elsewhere) can be seen as corresponding to a set of contrasting categories.

One group of distinctions involves the contrasts between collective group ("choral") dances, couple dances, and solo dances. The category of collective dances would include neo-African religious dances, such as those still performed in Cuban Santería and Haitian Vodou ceremonies, in which all dancers perform more or less synchronized movements in accordance with the spirit being praised and, in some cases, the section of the song. It would also comprise various traditional ring dances described in colonial-era accounts, such as the calenda (calinda, kalenda), which I discuss below.

Solo dances themselves, as well as many forms of couple dancing, may also fall into the category of "spectacle" genres (to use Sachs's term) performed to an audience of sorts. Aside from various dances described in eighteenth-century chronicles,[7] quintessential examples of such formats would be traditional

Afro-Cuban rumba and Afro–Puerto Rican *bomba*, in which single couples or solo dancers take turns dancing in the center of a ring of others watching and singing (a format especially common in Africa). Colonial chroniclers described a variety of such dances, including those in which, as in *bomba*, a solo dancer interacts with a lead drummer.[8] Forms of the Spanish-derived dances such as the archaic bolero and *cachucha* could also be performed by couples or by a solo dancer amid a circle of viewers. Spectacle dancing of this sort would contrast with what could be categorized as social dancing, without any formal or informal audience.

For their part, couple dances could be "open" forms, in which partners do not touch, or "closed" forms, most characteristically with the partners loosely embracing in ballroom style. The closed ballroom posture was uncommon in Europe before the spread of the waltz around 1800, and it was not only absent in Africa but also long regarded by many Afro-Caribbeans as indecent (however lewd their own dances seemed to Europeans). Hence open couple dances tended to predominate on both the European and Afro-Caribbean sides of the spectrum in the colonial era. Some such dances, such as the *zarabanda* and fandango, were genres of "*ida y vuelta*" or "coming and going"—that is, creolized products evolving jointly on both sides of the Atlantic.[9] Also in the open couple dance category were such genres as the *seis* of Puerto Rican peasants and the fandango, which flourished in diverse forms on both sides of the Atlantic. Although couple dances of any sort were uncharacteristic of traditional African dancing, in their open form they were documented from early on in the Caribbean, reflecting the early commencement of creolization. A European visitor described one such dance in 1707, evidently in Jamaica, in which slaves in their finest European-style attire danced to the accompaniment of drums: "The negroes dance always in couples, the men figuring and footing, while the women turn round like a top, their petticoats expanding like an umbrella; and this they call *waey-cotto*" (in Abrahams and Szwed 1983: 285).

Prior to the advent of the contradance and quadrille, the predominant European salon dances were either independent open couple dances, such as the minuet, or collective dances, such as the rigodón, in which couples, when formed in figures, were interdependent and generally not touching, performing the same figures at the same time, perhaps as guided by a caller. This collective open format was also the basis of the contradance and quadrille. Group couple dances could also be to varying degrees unstructured and free, with each couple more or less on its own—the format that was revolutionary in the waltz, and, in its wake, the later forms of Caribbean contradance. Finally, of course, dances could vary in their overall spirit and character, from the ceremonious and dainty minuet to the informal and festive rumba.

Significant precursors of the contradance were Afro-Caribbean dances in which the men and women were arranged in two lines, facing each other. In 1724 French priest R. P. Labat published his *Nouveaux Voyages* containing a revealing account of the calenda (which, like "bamboulá," became a generic

colonial term for neo-African dances) that he saw danced by slaves in 1698 during his travels in Santo Domingo and elsewhere:

> That which delights them most and is their favorite diversion is the calenda, which comes from the Guinea coast and judging by its antecedents, from the kingdom of Ardá [Allada]. The Spanish learned it from the blacks and dance it throughout the Americas, in the same manner as the negros. Given the nature of the gestures and movements of this dance, the masters who live morally have prohibited it, and try to maintain the prohibition, which is far from easy, since the dance is so popular that even the children, when barely able to stand, try to imitate their parents in dancing, and would pass entire days in this fashion. The dancers array themselves in two lines, facing each other, the men on one side and the women on the other. The spectators form a circle around the dancers and drummers. The most gifted sings a tune, improvising lyrics on some contemporary theme, and the refrain is repeated by all the dancers and onlookers, accompanied by clapping. The dancers raise their arms, as if they were playing castanets, they leap, spin, approach to within a few steps of each other and then withdraw, following the music, until the drum signals them to approach and bump their thighs together, that is, the men against the women. Upon seeing them, it looks like they are bumping their bellies, though it is clear that only their thighs sustain the encounter. Withdrawing immediately with pirouettes, they repeat the exercise with these supremely lascivious movements as often as is guided by the drum, which signals them again and again. On occasion they join arms and take a few turns, shaking their hips and kissing.
>
> One can well appreciate, then, how immodest this dance may be, in spite of which it is so pleasing to the Spaniards and creoles of America, and so in use among them, that it constitutes the better part of their entertainments and even enters their religious devotions.
>
> They dance the calenda in their churches and Catholic processions, and the nuns even dance it on Christmas Eve in a stage erected in the choir loft, in front of the railings, which are left open so that the public can have the aid of these good souls dedicated to the birth of our Savior. . . . And I would like to think that they dance it with noble intent, but how many spectators would judge them as charitably as do I?[10]

Several decades later, Saint-Méry offered a similar description of a calenda in Saint-Domingue, with its two lines of men and women alternately approaching and withdrawing to the accompaniment of drumming and responsorial singing (1797–98: 44–45).[11] This Afro-Caribbean dance formation was scarcely limited to the Caribbean, as Dom Peretty documented yet another instance of it, akin to the calenda, in Montevideo (Uruguay) in 1763, stating

(like Labat) that it derived from "Ardra" in West Africa (in Galán 1983: 73). In Africa itself, the double-file dance format has been documented from the nineteenth century, as among the Bakongo seen in 1882 by J. H. Weeks, who wrote:

> Two lines are formed—one of men and the other of an equal number of women. The drum is placed at one end of the line, and all begin to clap, chant, shuffle, and wriggle together. A man then advances, dancing, and a women from the opposite line advances a few paces and they dance thus a few moments, usually a yard or so apart, but sometimes they approach nearer and strike their abdomens together, then they retire, and others take their places, and so on right down the lines; and thus they proceed over and over again. (Weeks 1914: 128)

Given the popularity in Africa of the double-file choral dance form, to which the calenda belonged, its cultivation by African-born slaves in eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue should not be surprising. What is significant here are the dance's affinities to the longways style of contradance. The popularity of the calenda and similar dances—among both blacks and creole whites and mulattos—clearly contributed to the subsequent adoption of the longways-style contradance, in various creolized forms. Indeed, the only substantial musical or choreographic difference between the calendas witnessed by Labat and a modern Haitian-derived Cuban *tumba francesa* dance or Martinican calinda might lie in the latter's use of specific contradance-derived figures. Saint-Méry also indicated how the calenda included sections in which men and women would dance as couples, reflecting an early form of hybridization with dances like the contradance (see Courlander 1960: 128). As Dominique Cyrille has observed, even the custom of structuring contradances and quadrilles as suites cohered with extant West African practices (see Nketia 1965: 5, 23). These structural affinities, she notes, provided grounds for the easy blending of African and European traditions and enabled neo-African ritual practices to be rearticulated in the guise of colonial dances.

Caribbean Contradancing

In the Spanish Caribbean, the group contradanza, both in Spanish- and French-style forms, appears to have existed since the latter 1700s, thriving until the mid-1800s. In its heyday of over a half century, it employed many of the figures that are still used in traditional and modern country dancing in Europe and the United States. (See Chapter 2 for a comparison and contrast of the Cuban contradanza and modern North American country/contra dancing.) Most of these figures (such as those discussed in Chapter 2) would have derived from European contradance figures, although, given the fondness for novelty in some contexts, new steps and movements were also introduced.

Some figures would correspond to counterparts in other contemporary dances. For example, the contradance's opening *paseo* section had analogous passages in the Spanish bolero dating from the late 1700s and in the early-twentieth-century Argentine tango; the *paseo* also constituted a counterpart to the promenade of the contemporary mazurka, quadrille, schottische, reel, and Lancers. In the contradanza—especially the Puerto Rican danza and Dominican salon merengue—the *paseo* could serve as an introductory section that allowed dancers to array themselves properly on the ballroom floor. In the case of a controversial dance, such as the 1850s merengue, it could even serve to lure to the floor unsuspecting dancers who might otherwise be reluctant to indulge in the more libertine (*sandungo*) couple dance that followed; sometimes musicians might repeat the *paseo* until the floor was full. In a repeated Cuban contradanza and the later danzón (as in the archaic Spanish bolero), the *paseo* could recur throughout the dance, allowing some welcome respite in the sultry Caribbean climate.

Gradually, throughout the Spanish Caribbean and unevenly in the French Caribbean, the practice of collectively performing figures—whether fixed by convention or directed by a caller—came to be seen as old-fashioned and inhibitingly structured. To some extent inspired by the waltz, with which the contradance was often paired in performance, the new format allowed couples to dance independently, embracing loosely—or perhaps intimately—in ballroom posture. The break with the older style was not complete, as certain contradanza figures could be retained, in disarticulated form, by the couples, and the accompanying music seems to have undergone a gradual process of creolization rather than a dramatic rupture. To some extent, in Cuba the transition constituted a focus on the final *cedazo* figure of the contradanza, which traditionally consisted of independent couple dancing, like the last figure of some quadrille styles. Nevertheless, the change was radical enough to occasion spirited, if unsuccessful, opposition by traditionalists who felt that the new dance style was asocial and indecent, as it allowed intimate embracing and sensual hip-swaying. Much of the scanty documentation of the mid-nineteenth-century contradanza variants consists of bilious condemnations by moralists offended by the new style in which partners could whisper and embrace amorously—perhaps separating by a few inches only if some officious martinet shouted "*¡Que haya luz!*" ("Let there be light [showing between the two of you]!"). In Haiti, the change came in the form of the méringue, a couple dance that, according to Jean Fouchard ([1973] 1988: 96–97), replaced the collective *carabinier*, a derivative of the contredanse.

Throughout the Spanish Caribbean, collective longways-style dancing effectively disappeared, except in the *tumba francesa*, where contradance figures are still performed to neo-African-style drumming. In the Dominican Republic, contradanza choreography, as practiced in the context of the local *tumba*, declined after the 1860s, henceforth persisting primarily in a *tumba*

variant documented as performed by a few octogenarians in the 1970s. In Haiti the contredanse itself survives as a collective rural folk dance, which is also standard in the repertoires of folkloric troupes. Its dance steps also contributed to the formation of such group dances as the *carabinier* and, more significantly, the once-pervasive méringue. It is perhaps elsewhere in the French Caribbean—Martinique, Guadeloupe, Dominica, and St. Lucia—that contradance-related choreography has survived most vigorously, in the form of the quadrilles and calindas that are still performed in various contexts. Thus, longways-style contradance formation has persisted in genres like the Jamaican "camp" format of quadrille and the Martinican calinda. In some cases, the modern tendency to dance in intimate embrace has to be explicitly prohibited, just as might have occurred 150 years ago; in 1988 Michael Largey (as he relates in Chapter 6) witnessed a contredanse in rural Haiti where the caller was obliged to chastise two partners for dancing too closely, shouting "*Nou pap danse konpá isit!*" ("We don't dance *konpá* here!")—*konpá* or *compas* being the late-twentieth-century commercial popular dance and music genre.

A curious feature of the transition to intimate couple dancing is that, to some extent, as in Europe itself, socially it appears to have originated both from above and below. The immediate model and precursor for independent couple dancing was the waltz, imported to the Caribbean from the bourgeois salons of Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere. Caribbean conservatives opposed to the new dance style found themselves in the awkward position of criticizing a social practice derived from the fashionable metropolitan elite. At the same time, some contemporary critics of the new format denounced it as exhibiting the uninhibited lewdness associated with Afro-Caribbeans. Ironically, African slaves and many of their descendants—including Haitians known by Melville Herskovits as late as 1937 (264)—tended to regard as vulgar and immoral the European practice of embracing while dancing.

For its part, the quadrille, after being introduced to the French Caribbean and the British West Indies in the decades around 1800, did not undergo the same transition to couple dancing, instead persisting as a collective suite dance, while public tastes inexorably gravitated toward modern dance styles associated with commercial popular music. As Cyrille notes, most French Caribbean quadrilles were choreographed in the standard square formation formed by four couples, while some—especially that called *lakadri* of southern Martinique—have followed the eighteenth-century French longways-style contredanse formation. French Caribbean quadrilles span a continuum stretching from distinctively Afro-Caribbean dance styles to other formats closer to European models. In the former category is rural Martinican *bèlè linò*, whose music consists solely of percussion and call-and-response singing and whose dance style is clearly more African and lively than that of other quadrille variants. Though categorized locally as a quadrille, the quadrille aspects of the *bèlè linò* consist only of the format of a suite of movements in different rhythms, certain

European-derived choreographic features, and the configuration of a "square" of four couples. More recognizably European in format are certain Martinican "indoor" quadrille variants, such as the Lancers, the *pastourelle*, and the *haute-taille*, with its caller-like *commandeur*; the Guadeloupean quadrille of Grand-Terre, with its staid, slow, and restrained movements, also contrasts markedly with dances like the vigorous and upbeat Martinican calinda. Most Caribbean quadrille dance styles require a fair amount of learning and rehearsal, even in comparison to other European-derived genres, and hence they traditionally enjoy a sort of prestige vestigially associated with the plantocracy.

A distinguishing feature of the quadrille (aside from its four-couple formations) is the format of a suite of movements—most typically, five—which may differ according to locale. In many cases, the final movement is a distinctively local dance form. A typical format in Guadeloupe and Dominica is for the first figure to be an introductory march (like a promenade or Spanish Caribbean *paseo*) leading to a waltz; the subsequent figures, as guided by the *commandeur*, retain the traditional French designation of *pantalon*, *été*, *poule*, and *pastorelle*, with the final figure being a biguine in couple dance style. In Martinique, the *haute-taille* consists of three contredanses, two biguines, and, lastly, a *mazouk* or creole mazurka, and the *pastourelle* starts with three waltzes and then segues to a *mazouk* and a polka. Jamaican quadrilles might include such European-derived dances as waltz, polka, schottische, and jig, as well as a local mento; dancers might comport themselves either in ballroom couple format or in longways style. In Haiti, the quadrille (*kadri*) is poorly documented, except as an independent couple dance with distinctive music.

Perhaps because the quadrille (Spanish: *cuadrilla*) came relatively late to Spain, it did not enjoy extensive or long-lasting popularity in the Spanish Caribbean. In the mid-1800s its presence, along with that of the waltz and polka, was noted in Cuba and Santo Domingo, but it later disappeared in Cuba and barely survived in the Dominican Republic in the twentieth century. Dominican folklorist Fradique Lizardo (1974: 65–72, 190) encountered a form of quadrille in three-movement suite form in the early 1970s, but the dance has not been documented there since.

Contradance and Quadrille as Caribbean Music

Caribbean Contradances

If the terms contradance and quadrille derive from and primarily denote choreographic configurations, both entities have also flourished as distinctive sets of music genres, which played crucial roles in the region's music history. In the Caribbean, as in Europe, contradance and quadrille flourished in a variety of musical forms, from the simple, repeated ditty played by a Trinidadian fiddler to the elegant, Chopinesque Puerto Rican piano danza of Manuel Tavárez.

In certain contexts, the musical and choreographic aspects of the contradance and quadrille styles have seemingly operated independently of each other. In the 1840s–50s, spirited campaigns were waged in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic against the merengue as a dance form, but its evidently distinctive music was not seen as objectionable. Meanwhile, such genres as *tumba francesa* and certain styles of West Indian quadrille combine patently European-style choreographies with syncopated, drum-dominated music of overwhelmingly Afro-Caribbean flavor. In other contexts, forms of the contradance—especially Cuban and Puerto Rican light-classical piano danzas—took on their own lives independent of dance, as salon or concert pieces, in which capacity they can be enjoyed today as performed from notations. On the whole, however, the contradance and quadrille as musical entities tended to develop in tandem with their existence as dance genres, exhibiting the same general processes of creolization and indigenization, and the same sorts of orientations, depending on context, toward class, race, and local or panregional characters.

During their heydays—especially the nineteenth century—local contradance and quadrille styles were often pre-eminent music genres, constituting the focuses of musical interest for many Caribbean composers, performers, and listeners. At the same time, as dance-music genres they also coexisted with a variety of other dance-music styles, whose presence is sometimes obscured in studies devoted to the contradance or quadrille. At one end of the Caribbean music spectrum flourished the varied Afro-Caribbean or neo-African dance-music genres, including those associated with Haitian Vodou, Jamaican Kumina, or Cuban Santería, or the diverse secular entertainment dance musics, such as Cuban rumba, Puerto Rican *bomba*, Dominican *palo*, or the "big drum" music of Carriacou. As music forms, such genres exhibited a strongly Afro-Caribbean flavor in their emphasis on syncopated rhythm, their formal structures based on repetition of ostinatos and call-and-response patterns, and their ensembles consisting solely of percussion instruments—most typically, three drums. At the other end of the sociomusical gamut lay music of purely classical European style or origin, from the motets of eighteenth-century Cuban composer Esteban Salas to the Italian operas performed in various port towns by local or visiting troupes. On the whole, contradance and, to a lesser extent, quadrille flourished in an intermediate stratum of social dance music in which European and African, black and white, and elite and plebian participants mingled and inspired each other in a grand process of creolization.

The realm of colonial-era social dance music included various genres that were quite distinct from the contradance in origin and style. One example would be the Cuban *zapateo*, with its Spanish-derived string-based instrumentation, modal-tinged melodies, and fast, hemiola-laden rhythms in 6/8 meter. In the French and Spanish Caribbean, strictly European-style genres, such as waltz (*vals*), rigodón, paso doble, polka, schottische, *lanceros*, mazurka, and

minuet, were all performed alongside contradance variants, often with no particular prominence given to the latter; in the early decades of the twentieth century, these could be supplemented by the American-derived fox-trot or two-step.[12] It may be assumed that most of these pieces were of foreign composition, although many would have been written by obscure local composers. Many such pieces became thoroughly indigenized in the sense of being incorporated into local folk performance formats, as with the odd mazurka being played by a Puerto Rican *jíbaro* (peasant) music ensemble. Nevertheless, it may be said that they were never celebrated as national creole musics per se, as was the case, for example with the early-twentieth-century *vals criollo* ("creole waltz") and "*fox trot inkaico*" ("Inca fox-trot") in Lima, Peru (see Lloréns Amico 1983). Similarly, Caribbean-composed waltzes never achieved more than local or ephemeral popularity, nor did they play seminal roles in the evolution of subsequent commercial popular genres.

Understanding Caribbean contradance and quadrille variants as musical entities involves attention to their melodic aspects, their rhythms, their ensemble formats, and their manner of execution—which may all, in fact, differ significantly in style. For example, looking at the score of a quadrille violin melody from Dominica, one might infer that the piece is wholly in conventional, nondescript European style, but only through actually hearing the piece performed, with its syncopated rhythms played on frame drum, scraper, and shaker, would one appreciate the extent to which it has become creolized and effectively Afro-Caribbeanized. Accordingly, several nineteenth-century chroniclers testified to the distinctively creole manner of playing contradances on piano and to the inability of European pianists to play them properly (Alonso [1849] 2002: 15; Dueño Colón [1913] 1977: 22; Ramírez 1891: 69). Similarly, in looking at the piano score of a Cuban contradanza of the 1850s we are unable to get much sense of how it would have sounded when performed by a contemporary dance band, not to mention precisely how and in what spirit it was danced.[13] As Cuban musicologist Natalio Galán artfully observed, the task of the historian in confronting such scores is akin to trying to discern the scent of a violet found between the pages of a grandmother's book, while not confusing its faint odor with that of the paper or the ink (1983: 42).

On the whole, in terms of their melodic and harmonic aspects, the Caribbean contradances and quadrilles are predominantly mainstream European in style. Hence, for instance, in Cuban contradanzas one would seldom hear the Andalusian harmonies (e.g., the A minor–G–F–E cadence) that characterize such genres as flamenco or the Cuban *punto carvalho*, nor does one encounter the distinctively ambiguous tonicity, with its cadences "on the dominant," that pervades so many Latin American genres, from the Venezuelan *joropo* to the Mexican *jarabe* (see Manuel 2002). Also absent in Caribbean contradances and quadrilles are the sorts of African modal melodies that distinguish such genres as the Cuban *rumba columbia* (see Manuel and Fiol 2007). Rather,

both contradance and quadrille melodies throughout the Caribbean tend to have straightforward diatonic melodies in regular four- or eight-bar phrases, accompanied by relatively simple common-practice harmonies, all in a style that became established in vernacular and classical Western music of the eighteenth century.

In the Caribbean crucible, with its distinctive Afro-Caribbean presence, musical creolization—to some extent synonymous with Afro-Caribbeanization—took place primarily in the dimension of rhythm (Galán 1983: 66). One manifestation of this process would be a general tendency toward syncopation. Another related Afro-Caribbean rhythmic trait is the use of rhythmic ostinatos, to an extent and in a manner uncharacteristic of any kind of traditional European music of the time.[14]

A third distinctive creole rhythmic element in the Caribbean contradance consists of the specific ostinatos themselves, comprising in particular a set of four or five interrelated rhythmic cells, most commonly used as accompanimental rather than melodic figures. Although scholars have argued about the origins of these specific patterns, their use as ostinatos is presumed to be of African or at least Afro-Caribbean derivation. Cuban ethnologist Fernando Ortiz cautioned against hasty conclusions about origins:

> The extraordinary abundance of rhythms in the musical tradition of the Negro can sometimes provoke the hasty and erroneous assumption that this or that musical work is of African origin. What rhythms could possibly exist that have not been drummed somewhere by Negro musicians? . . . [A] rhythmic formula, like a simple geometric figure (a triangle, a zigzag, a circle, a spiral, etc.), can be found at the same time in diverse cultures, a relationship between them being neither necessary nor probable.[15]

While questions of origins are best discussed in reference to the particular rhythms themselves, what is perhaps most important is that their use as ostinatos became trademarks of creole Caribbean music, whose adoption clearly derives from the input of Afro-Caribbean and mixed-race performers.

Such issues are particularly manifest in relation to the pattern variously called the "habanera rhythm" or, by Cuban musicologists, the tango or congo rhythm, which was a hallmark of the Cuban contradanza. Cuban and Puerto Rican musicians might also informally refer to it by the culinary mnemonics "ma-*ní* tos-*tao*" (roasted peanuts) or "ca-*fé* con *pan*" (coffee with bread), respectively. Shown in Figure 1.2, this pattern can also be counted as "ONE-and-two-AND-THREE-and-FOUR-and," repeated without pause (or, if one prefers, 3-1-2-2). The rhythm is hardly unique to Afro-Caribbean music, as it recurs in music forms as diverse as the North African *mahuri* meter, a thirteenth-century Cantiga de Santa María from Spain (Galán 1983: 226), several of the coun-

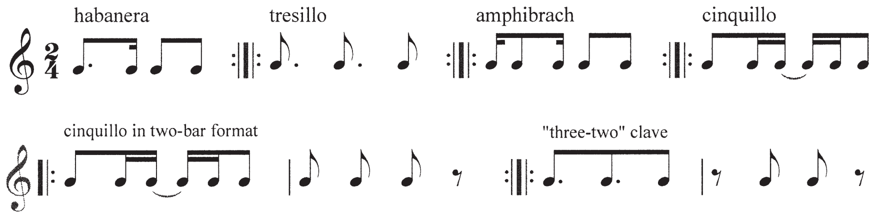

Figure 1.2 Creole ostinatos: habanera rhythm, *tresillo*, "amphibrach," *cinquillo/quintolet*, *cinquillo* in two-bar format, three-two *clave*.

try dance melodies notated in Playford's seminal seventeenth-century compendium, German peasant folk songs of the nineteenth century (see, e.g., Marothy 1974: 238), and processional drumming of Ibiza, Spain.

Nevertheless, the habanera rhythm, especially as an ostinato, became especially pronounced and stylistically significant in the Caribbean, where its prominence was clearly due to Afro-Caribbean input. Hence it features conspicuously as a composite ostinato in Afro-Cuban *Iyesá* drumming and in Santería *batá* music (in the first section of the *aguere* for Ochosi), both traditions being of West African Yoruba derivation. It is also common in Afro-Dominican *palo* drumming (see Davis 1976: 269). As discussed in Chapter 2, the rhythm came to figure prominently in *guarachas* of the late 1700s and became a recurrent and characteristic ostinato in the Cuban contradanzas that flourished from then until the 1880s, when the danzón came into vogue. Its prominence in the slaves' drumming that resounded in New Orleans's Congo Square until 1851 is strongly suggested by its pervasive recurrence in Louis Gottschalk's 1848 piano piece "Bamboulá" inspired by such music (see Sublette 2008: 123–125).

As notated in nineteenth-century Cuban contradanza piano scores, the habanera pattern typically constituted a left-hand ostinato (especially but not only in the second [B] section of the bipartite piece), and occasionally surfaced in right-hand melodies and accompaniments as well. In the mid-century decades, vocal songs based on this form performed by *tonadilla* theatrical troupes in Cuba and Spain were often called "tango," a term often used in Cuban parlance for this pattern (which also occurs in the early Argentine tango itself, in the years around 1900). From the 1850s, such songs—including that later immortalized in Bizet's *Carmen*—might also be called "habaneras," especially outside Cuba itself, leading to the common designation of the ostinato as the "habanera rhythm" in the English-speaking world. The habanera rhythm has long outlasted the contradanza itself, constituting a standard bass pattern in the bolero, the chachachá, and, in a modified form, the percussion ostinato in Trinidadian soca and Spanish Caribbean reggaetón.

Another common creole contradance rhythm is that which Cuban musicologists call the *tresillo*, which could be represented as 3-3-2 or "ONE-two-three-ONE-two-three-ONE-two" (or, less fluidly, "ONE-and-two-AND-three-and-FOUR-and").

While the term "*tresillo*" (which should not be translated as "triplet") can be used for convenience, the rhythm is far too basic and abundant in world music to be attributed to Cuban provenance. However, it is uncharacteristic of traditional European and Anglo-American music and has clearly entered Latin and American vernacular music through Afro-Latin influence.[16] The *tresillo* occurs in the melodies and bass patterns of several Cuban contradanzas (such as "Tu madre es conga" ["Your Mother Is Congolese"] of 1856) and Puerto Rican danzas, as well as in Cuban *guarachas* of the late 1700s. It is perhaps more prominent in other genres, such as the processional conga, the *son*, and the Charleston.

Closely related to the habanera rhythm is the pattern that, again following Cuban musicological practice, may be called the "amphibrach" and may be rendered as "ONE-AND-TWO-AND-THREE-and-FOUR-and" or 1-2-1-2-2. It differs from the habanera pattern only in adding an accent on the second eighth note. As with the habanera rhythm, scholars might advance various theories about its origin and discover its appearance in this and that music culture. However, in the case of Caribbean music, its origin must certainly be attributed to West Africa, where the pattern is a fairly common bell ostinato.[17] It was presumably established as a characteristic feature of Caribbean creole songs as early as 1762, the publication date of a volume of English country dances containing the syncopated song, "A Trip to Guadeloupe" (see Galán 1983: 80–85). The pattern is at least as common as the habanera rhythm, figuring prominently in the Cuban and Puerto Rican danza (especially when the habanera rhythm occurs in the bass), the Haitian-Cuban *tumba francesa*, the Brazilian creole *lundú* and *maxixe*, and, indeed, innumerable other Hispanic and French Caribbean genres, not to mention ragtime. In effect, it constitutes a hallmark of creole Caribbean Basin music, primarily as a melodic pattern but also, as in *tumba francesa*, occasionally as an accompanimental ostinato.

An equally fundamental creole rhythm in the contradance complex is what Cubans call the *cinquillo*, which can be rendered as "ONE-and-TWO-AND-three-AND-FOUR-and" (or 2-1-2-1-2—like a *tresillo* with added anacruses before the second and third beats). The *cinquillo* is presumably of West African origin. It figures prominently in several Afro-Caribbean traditional music contexts, including Santería *batá* rhythms (*toques*) played for the *orishas* (spirits) Obatalá, Ochún, and Olokun, certain Haitian Vodou rhythms (such as *banda*), Martinican bèlè, and in the *sicá* and *cuembé* styles of Afro–Puerto Rican *bomba*. Possibly deriving from Franco-Haitian influence, it went on to play a prominent role in creole Caribbean music, especially contradance variants. In Haiti and Martinique, where some musicians call it the *quintolet*, it pervades creole music, including the biguine and the traditional méringue (including such songs as "Chouconne," whose melody is better known elsewhere as that of "Yellow Bird"). During the Haitian Revolution in the years around 1800, it accompanied refugees to eastern Cuba, where it soon became commonplace in creole songs. Surfacing in Havana and Santiago contradanzas of the 1850s, it went on

to become the basic rhythm of the danzón and the second section of the Puerto Rican and Dominican danzas, all as emerging in the 1870s. In these genres it was typically presented in the creolized form of an ostinato in which it is followed by a measure of two or three quarter notes, typically in the pattern "ONE-and-TWO-AND-three-AND-FOUR-and-ONE-and-TWO-and-THREE-and-four-and."[18] In the resulting form of a syncopated measure followed by an unsyncopated one, it coheres with the Cuban *clave* pattern (in its "three-two" form), a structural ostinato in Cuban rumba, *son*, and modern salsa. The *cinquillo* also figures prominently as a melodic pattern in Trinidadian calypso and various other genres animated by the colonial-era "French connection."

Hearing two genres as different as thunderous Vodou *banda* drumming and an elegant piano danza of Tavárez, it might be difficult to imagine any formal affinity between them. Yet both are undergirded by the *cinquillo*—as a straightforward, insistent ostinato in the *banda*, and in the piano danza as a gently lilting left-hand syncopation, typically rendered with such leisurely rubato that it is almost unrecognizable. Puerto Rican historian Ángel Quintero-Rivera refers to its presence in the latter context as a "camouflaged drum" (1994), in the sense that the rhythm derives from Afro-Caribbean genres like *bomba*; in some contexts the camouflage was scarcely present at all, leading conservative commentators, such as essayist Braulio Dueño Colón in 1913, to denounce the presence of the "grotesque and anti-aesthetic *bomba* rhythm" in the danza ([1913] 1977: 17). In other contexts one might alternately choose to regard the *cinquillo* as a generalized creole rhythm that came to pervade a gamut of Caribbean musics, to very different effects. Indeed, if in Vodou drumming it is intended to precipitate spirit possession, in a danza of Tavárez it is perhaps more subliminally redolent of a creole sensuality, like the drowsy swaying of palm trees on a hot afternoon.

In terms of style, context, and general character, the rowdy Afro-Caribbean *tumba francesa* and the genteel Tavárez piano danza could be regarded as representing extreme ends of a broad contradance-family continuum. The remainder of this gamut could be seen as comprising more "mainstream" varieties of contradances, in the form of dance and music subgenres with various shared choreographic and musical features, flourishing especially in the nineteenth and perhaps early twentieth centuries in Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. These contradances might take place in various settings, with diverse sorts of accompanying ensembles. In an elite ballroom, the ensemble might typically include one or two clarinets, violins, trumpets, a contrabass, and percussion—all typically played by mulatto or black professional musicians who would likely be reading from handwritten scores. In more humble circumstances, the music might be provided by a single melody instrument, such as a fiddle or flute, accompanied by a guitar (or guitar variant) or even a harp, in which case the musicians might be performing familiar tunes from memory. Another ensemble format was the military brass band, typically play-

ing in a town plaza, which, in the preamplification days, played at a volume that was thrilling and otherwise unparalleled in the music world.

A distinctive feature of the contradance complex was the way it constituted a continuum between art music and vernacular music. The same danza written as a parlor piano piece by Tavárez could be performed by a humble *jíbaro* (peasant) group at a rural Puerto Rican fiesta. Similarly, the 1839 Cuban novel *Cecilia Valdés* mentions an actual contemporary contradanza, "Caramelo vendo," which "became popular among all social classes." Meanwhile, evidence suggests that many musicians themselves traversed this continuum, playing in an aristocratic ballroom one night and in a boisterous plebian fiesta (in Cuba, perhaps called *bachata* or *changüí*) the next.

The formal structure of contradance subgenres also varied. Perhaps the simplest would be the *tumba francesa*, which consists essentially of drummed ostinatos with a sung vocal litany. More typical was the Cuban form of contradance that retained the English-derived bipartite AABB form, with the first section (the *prima*) often segueing to a second section (*segunda*) that was more enlivened by the creole rhythms (typically the *cinquillo* or habanera patterns). Since such a rendering still lasts less than a minute, in the dance context the piece would be repeated many times and might segue to another composition. The form of the Puerto Rican danza was similar, except that the piece was typically extended not by repetition but by composing a longer B section, adding a third (C) section, and/or introducing a lengthy passage in which the bombardino (saxhorn) would perform arpeggio-laden solos.

The first section of a piece was often referred to as the *paseo* (promenade), in accordance with the stylized strolling that it could accompany. In many Cuban contradanzas and most danzones, the *paseo* section does not differ dramatically in style or intensity from the other section (or sections, in the case of the danzón). However, in other cases, the *paseo* would be distinct in style; in many Cuban contradanzas and in the standard Puerto Rican danza, it would lack the syncopated creole rhythms (habanera or *cinquillo*) that would pervade the subsequent section(s). In Dominican danzas and salon merengues (as in many early-twentieth-century standard merengues), the *paseo* would have a march-like character, often in straight eighth or sixteenth notes.

Caribbean Quadrilles

The creole Caribbean quadrille has flourished in a variety of musical forms. Perhaps the primary feature distinguishing it as a genre is its formal structure, typically comprising a suite of five or six separate sections, each with distinctive music and choreographic figures. The suite format thus can accommodate a variety of otherwise distinct musical genres, including creole forms of jig, reel, schottische, mazurka, waltz, biguine, and contradance. Like most forms of contradance, the quadrille is predominantly an instrumental idiom, although

sung lyrics can occasionally be added (as with Puerto Rican and Dominican danzas and the Cuban habanera); in the *haute-taille* style of Martinique, the *commandeur* voices an ongoing monotone chant, calling steps, exhorting the dancers, and making other miscellaneous comments.

Today as before, quadrilles are played by a variety of characteristic ensembles in the Caribbean, many of them assembling in an ad hoc, informal manner where precise instrumentation depends on availability of performers. On the most Afro-Caribbean end of the spectrum is the *bèlè linò* of Martinique, whose quadrille-format dancing is accompanied by the bèlè drum, *tibwa* (*ti-bois*, a small stick-beaten log), and call-and-response singing, without any melodic instrument. A more typical format, like that of the "indoor" Lancers, *haute-tailles*, and *pastourelles* of Martinique and Guadeloupe, involves a melodic instrument—most often a violin or accordion—accompanied by percussion instruments. The latter typically include some sort of drum (whether a cylindrical drum, a frame drum, or a tambourine) and perhaps a scraper, a shaker, and/or a triangle; the drummer often plays in a lively, assertive manner rather than merely unobtrusively keeping time. Quadrille ensembles in Dominica (the latter called "jing-ping" bands) are similar, with the accordion accompanied by tambourine, bamboo scraper (*syak, gwaj*), maracas (*cha-chas*), triangle, and perhaps a "boom-boom" bamboo tube blown more or less as a percussion instrument. The traditional Bahamanian "rake 'n' scrape" ensemble features an accordion, a goombay drum, and a saw, with other instruments, such as guitar, banjo, or shak-shak (shakers), added if available. Jamaican quadrille groups might include fiddle, clarinet, flute, concertina, and various percussion instruments, such as tambourine, triangle, and scraped jawbone of a horse. All these ensembles, depending on the occasion, might in modern times be augmented by guitars, wind instruments, a drum set, and perhaps electric bass. Nevertheless, the most common format of a single melody instrument accompanied by rhythm instruments affords a prevailingly percussive texture and, in some ways, a pronounced Afro-Caribbean flavor. However, the violin-tambourine-triangle ensemble has also been typical of quadrille groups in Brittany, France; in that sense, it is only the syncopated rhythms and ostinato-based tunes rather than the instrumentation and texture that might distinguish a Caribbean quadrille as creole.

Quadrille melodies, like those of Caribbean contradances, are predominantly European in character, although they may be enlivened by conventional improvised embellishments and syncopations, as when St. Lucian fiddlers alternate phrases (and often renditions of a given tune fragment) in binary and ternary meter. The structure of individual movements in a suite is often informal; Jocelyne Guilbault (1985: 55) notes how a fiddler may construct a section by freely repeating or alternating two or three short tunes. In some cases, the fiddler may seem to be playing melodic fragments rather than full-blown, eight-bar melodies. Quadrille tunes in Guadeloupe and Martinique often consist of arpeggiated ostinatos rather than song-like melodies or sectional passages.

Musical forms vary from place to place, although the "*La poule*" movement is invariably in 6/8 meter; in such places as Cóte Sous-le-Vent in Guadeloupe, the other movements are mostly creole polkas. In many locales, tunes might be fixed by convention, although elsewhere, as in Guadeloupe, musicians freely add new compositions or borrowed melodies to the repertoire. In general, Caribbean quadrille styles, given their informality and variety, exhibit fewer of the conspicuous, recurrent, and distinctive creole rhythms, such as the *cinquillo* and amphibrach, that pervade so many contradance variants. However, in Guadeloupe and elsewhere, one may hear the triangle and *tibwa* sticks playing syncopated ostinatos, such as a 3-3-3-3-4 pattern; the semichanted, ongoing *commandements* of the *rigaudonnier* (caller) may also reflect a *cinquillo*-like pattern.

On the whole, the quadrille has flourished in the Caribbean as an orally transmitted folk music and dance, typically played by amateur, albeit often skilled, performers who have not had formal training in music. Thus, the customary fiddle-and-percussion quadrille group would contrast markedly with a nineteenth-century Cuban or Puerto Rican danza *típico* ensemble led by musically literate wind players who play their pieces from written scores. Accordingly, the innumerable Spanish Caribbean danzas formally composed for the elite salon or ballroom have no particular counterparts in the more informal and lower-class quadrille realm. European composers, such as the younger Johann Strauss, wrote numerous quadrilles, but no such light-classical tradition seems to have existed for the Caribbean quadrille. These contrasts, however, do not derive from any intrinsic differences between the contradance and quadrille per se but rather have to do the cultural milieus of the islands where they flourished. As will be discussed below, the contradanza was cultivated primarily in the "settler colonies" of the Spanish Caribbean, with their vibrant nineteenth-century creole cultures, while the quadrille flowered more in the "plantation colonies" of the British West Indies and the French Lesser Antilles, where a sense of bourgeois musical nationalism did not develop in the nineteenth century. However, quadrilles were familiar in nineteenth-century Cuba, and their suite format constituted one precedent and likely source for the danzón emerging in the 1870s, with its multisection rondo form.

Historical Trajectories of the Caribbean Contradance and Quadrille

Reconstructing the routes by which the contradance and quadrille variants spread through the Caribbean, and their evolutionary trajectories in individual islands, is a challenging undertaking. It is not only undermined by a general paucity of documentation but can also involve traversing a minefield of nationalistic sensitivities, which at times are only exacerbated by modern notions of political correctness. In many cases, musical and choreographic elements traveled independently in several directions at once, with the Caribbean serving

as a fertile petri dish of creole entities that circulated, intersected, and cross-pollinated. Despite the analytical difficulties posed by such complexities, the need for a pan-Caribbean perspective, both diachronic and synchronic, is obvious and is in some ways only heightened by the existence of so many potentially useful scholarly studies of individual local traditions. Most aspects of the dissemination and evolution of the contradance and quadrille throughout the region are discussed in the individual chapters in this volume; the following paragraphs attempt a very cursory overview of the peregrinations of the contradance and quadrille in the region.

Uncertainty regarding the spread of the contradance commences from the very first stages of its introduction to the Caribbean in the early or mid-1700s. By that time the contradance, in longways style and other forms, was well established not only in its cradle of England and its strongholds of Holland and France but also in Spain. It seems likely that by the mid–eighteenth century the contradance had taken root in Havana, as introduced primarily by Spaniards, but also possibly by the English, who occupied the city in 1762–63, and even by visiting French vessels, with their sailors, merchants, and nobles. By the 1760s, the French contredanse was being danced in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) and Martinique. French Caribbean planters and wealthy merchants brought dance masters from Paris in order to keep up with metropolitan styles and maintain the social status associated with fine dancing. At the same time, however, domestic slaves and free mulattos were also learning to dance contredanses and other genres, in order to mimic white aristocrats, to distinguish themselves from field slaves, and, it may be said, simply to have fun. As Cyrille notes, earlier in the 1600s, planters and missionaries had already attempted to teach European dances, such as the *passé-pied* and *courante*, to slaves in order to wean them from their supposedly barbaric African dances. Plantation owners would be especially pleased to own a few slaves who could provide dance music on fiddle, flute, and other instruments, and it is clear that many slaves eagerly took advantage of opportunities to learn these instruments. By the time of the Haitian Revolution, former slaves and mulattos of varied social standings were avidly cultivating the contredanse and quadrille for their own enjoyment and social elevation. As Saint-Méry wrote in the late 1700s, "Freedmen are wild about dancing and choose exactly the same dances as their former masters. What formerly was forbidden fruit becomes thereby the tastier" (in Stevenson 1981: 52–53). Mulattos and other people of color were also animated by the ideals of freedom and equality associated with the French Revolution, and learning quadrilles and contradances—even from the same dance masters as whites—represented one form of achieving this equality.

As African ways of moving and playing inexorably reasserted themselves, the process of musical creolization became overt in various parts of the Caribbean, primarily in the form of Afro-Caribbean syncopations in both melody and accompaniment. Hence a syncopated habanera rhythm pervades the bass part of the 1803 "San Pascual Bailón," the first documented Cuban contradanza,

and other Haitian songs from subsequent decades are enlivened by *cinquillos* and amphibrachs. During this period the Spanish-style contradanza, a figure dance of open couples, would also have established some presence in Puerto Rico, as brought both from the metropole and by Venezuelan and Colombian upper-class refugees fleeing Simón Bolívar's anticolonial insurrection. Meanwhile, from the early 1800s French and British colonists and travelers introduced or reinforced the quadrille in their colonies, including such islands as St. Lucia, Dominique, and Guadeloupe that changed hands at various times.

In the years around 1800, Saint-Domingue/Haiti came to exert a powerful musical influence, both through the vitality of its creole culture as well as through the impact of refugees of diverse races and classes fleeing the Revolution. The Franco-Haitian impact was particularly strong in the nearby asylum of Oriente (eastern Cuba), where the creolized contradance soon took root. Franco-Haitian influence was also pervasive in the eastern, Spanish-speaking part of Hispaniola (Santo Domingo, subsequently the Dominican Republic), which was ruled by the French in 1801–5 and occupied by independent Haiti in 1822–44. Despite the lack of documentation—and the corresponding abundance of competing origin theories—it seems clear that by the 1840s a Haitian-derived style of longways contradance called *tumba* (or *tumba dominicana*) was flourishing in Santo Domingo. Musical and choreographic influences, however, were typically mutual and multidirectional; thus, for example, while French refugees from Saint-Domingue flooded Santiago de Cuba around 1800, the next generations saw prominent Santiago composers and bandleaders, such as Lino Boza, performing extensively in Haiti, whose own economy and urban culture had declined dramatically.

The ongoing military campaigns in the Spanish and French Caribbean in some ways disrupted civic and cultural life, but in other ways they helped spread music and dance forms. Military bands played important roles in this process by performing vernacular dance genres for public entertainment as well as pompous marches for parades. Regiments brought from one island to another exchanged musical materials with the populations of the areas they were posted in. Oral traditions also attribute several genres to specific military occasions, including the Haitian and Dominican *carabinier/carabiné* (supposedly first danced by carbine-wielding Haitian soldiers invading Santo Domingo in 1805), or the merengue (allegedly first created as a song mocking a cowardly Dominican general after an 1844 battle against the Haitians). Military bands also provided much of the instruments, the musical training, and the orchestration models for smaller dance bands in the nineteenth century.

During the 1840s, in Havana the collective figure contradanza was being definitively eclipsed by a new style—inconsistently called danza—emphasizing independent couple dancing, occasionally with controversial hip movements and a more syncopated rhythmic accompaniment. With the ongoing maritime traffic between Cuba and Puerto Rico, this new style—under the name "merengue"—evidently reached Puerto Rico, perhaps with the entourage of the

count of Mirasol, General Rafael Arístegui, who visited the island from Cuba in 1844. The new genre soon became the rage in Puerto Rico, leading to its official prohibition in 1849 by the colonial governor Juan de la Pezuela in San Juan. In Puerto Rico, the primary and perhaps sole lasting effect of this decree appears to have been the gradual renaming of the merengue with the more dignified term "danza." Meanwhile, this merengue—evidently a contradance variant quite distinct from the modern Dominican genre of the same name—was evidently exported to Santo Domingo, where it provoked another conservative backlash. While the immediate impact of this journalistic campaign is not clear, by the latter 1800s the Puerto Rican–style danza, especially modeled on the pieces of Juan Morel Campos, had become a standard salon dance. Probably it coexisted not only with a new, rustic style of merengue in the Cibao valley but also with a salon version of the old *merengue contradanzeado*, which may have become increasingly indistinguishable from and absorbed into the danza.

The 1850s–70s constituted in some respects the heyday of the Cuban contradanza (or danza), which flourished both as a dance and as a light-classical piano genre. But if Cuba appears to have led the region in the early establishment of the contradance, it was also in Cuba that the genre first expired, as it was effectively eclipsed in the 1880s by the more lively and syncopated danzón, with its rondo structure and pervasive *cinquillos*. In Puerto Rico, however, the danza flourished with continued vigor, absorbing influences (especially the *cinquillo*) from and coexisting with the Cuban-style danzón. As in Cuba, the danza thrived both as a popular dance and as a salon piano idiom, with the elegant piano compositions of Tavárez reaching unprecedented heights of sophistication. The Puerto Rican danza remained vital until the 1930s, when it gave way, depending on contexts, to the Cuban-derived *son* and bolero or to the American-style fox-trot and other imports. Meanwhile, the three-part Puerto Rican danza seems to have provided the primary model for a derivative danza style in Curaçao, as cultivated by composer Jan Gerard Palm (1831–1906) and his successors.[19] During these same early decades of the twentieth century, the danza and a revived form of parlor *merengue contradanzeado* were cultivated in the Dominican Republic, as was a salon méringue in urban Haiti. In the 1930s, however, all these neoclassicist creolisms came to be seen as quaint and gave way to more modern popular styles.

Despite such inexorable decline, vestigial contradance variants managed to survive, in various forms and in varying degrees of vitality, until the latter twentieth century and even to the present. As mentioned, rural forms of Dominican *tumba* and quadrille were documented in the 1970s and adopted by some folkloric groups; in Haiti, contredanse is still encountered in rural areas and in the stage shows of folkloric groups. Meanwhile, conservatory pianists in Puerto Rico and Cuba still learn the evergreen compositions of Saumell, Cervantes, and Tavárez. It is perhaps in Puerto Rico that the contradance has proved most durable. Traditional familiar danzas are still performed at various occasions, including weddings, especially as the first dance, in which the bride

dances with her father. Danzas survive in the repertoires of *jíbaro* musicians, and through the 1960s one could purchase LPs of accordionists, crooners, and other ad hoc ensembles performing their simplified arrangements of such evergreens as "Laura y Georgina." Even the occasional modern commercial popular song, such as El Topo's well-known "Verde Luz," may adhere essentially to the format of a danza.

If the history of the Caribbean contradance is inadequately documented, even less is known about the early history of the quadrille in the region, especially since it has flourished primarily as a lower-class practice of little interest to literate elites. The quadrille was introduced by British and French colonists in their respective domains in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, just as it was taking European ballrooms by storm. In islands that changed hands, such as St. Lucia, quadrille seems to have been brought by both colonial powers. In accordance with its popularity in the courts and aristocratic ballrooms of Europe, in the Caribbean the quadrille was initially reserved for the plantocracy elite; although subsequently adopted by lower classes, quadrille dancing requires some practice and in some contexts retains an association with social elevation and propriety.

Insofar as they flourished as folk genres, the West Indian quadrille styles did not achieve the level of professional cultivation that elevated the Cuban and Puerto Rican danza to the status of a light-classical art. At the same time, however, while the danza declined definitively after the 1930s, in some Caribbean locales the quadrille, in its persistent humble form, has endured. There is no doubt that its popularity has eclipsed with the advent of the mass media, modernity, and the panoply of new alternative forms of music and dance, from soca to reggae. Hence, for example, Rebecca Miller describes the late-1990s quadrille scene in Carriacou as consisting of a single performing group, with a sole, octogenarian fiddler (2005); there, as to some extent elsewhere, quadrille suffers from being seen as a derivative colonial-era dance, unlike "big drum" dance and music, which is celebrated nowadays as an oppositional Afro-Caribbean entity. Similarly, while quadrille persists in Guadeloupe and Martinique, it is in some contexts bypassed in the revived Afrocentricity that currently celebrates more neo-African forms, such as *gwoka* and bèlè.

Nevertheless, the quadrille (*kwadril*) remained a lively tradition in the 1980s in St. Lucia, as documented by Guilbault (1985), and is still performed by groups in Martinique and Guadeloupe, who alternate hosting balls incorporating enthusiasts of different generations and social backgrounds. In Dominica, quadrille has come to be celebrated as a national dance, being foregrounded with particular prominence at the Heritage Festival held every October. Guilbault notes that the relatively old age of quadrille participants in St. Lucia does not necessarily indicate stagnation but rather reflects that many people take an interest in the genre only as they age. Quadrille-type dances, whether by that name or not, seem to have survived most dynamically in Martinique and Guadeloupe, where they have been focal genres in ballroom dances

until recently. At present, although still danced as part of mutual-aid projects and yuletide "*bal quadrille*" celebrations, they are more typically performed on stage at festivals and competitions, and for tourists, by groups who must rehearse the complicated choreography. Most significantly, since the 1980s quadrille variants in the French Caribbean (including Dominica and St. Lucia) have been promoted in inter-island festivals as emblems of a shared Creole Antillean culture—like the Creole language itself—that distinguish islanders from metropolitan French culture.

Unity and Diversity

The Caribbean contradance and quadrille family comprises a vast and unruly set of genres that in many ways resists a unifying pan-regional perspective. Even broad generalizations about contradance and quadrille families, or between English, French, and Spanish realms are blurred by overlapping choreographic or musical features, internal disjunctions, and, of course, the prevailing insufficiency of data about the present as well as the past. Much might be gleaned, for example, from a study of quadrille melodies in the French and English Caribbean, exploring tune families, shared songs, and transformations and perpetuations of European models; however, neither have island-specific compendia of tunes been compiled, nor have researchers performed the sort of panregional studies that could enable such a project.

The most broad and obvious categorizations would distinguish a Spanish Caribbean contradance family, with some presence in the French Caribbean, from a set of English and French Caribbean quadrille traditions. The contradance and quadrille, both in European and Caribbean incarnations, are of course related in origin and structure, although more specific affinities in the Caribbean are in some ways limited. We know that in Cuba in the nineteenth century, quadrilles and contradanzas might be danced at the same function, as performed by the same ensemble in presumably the same style. Today, as mentioned above, choreographies might also overlap, as in the Martinican *haute-taille* quadrille, whose first three figures might be in contredanse format. Still, while a quadrille tradition was documented in the rural Dominican Republic in the 1970s, on the whole, the quadrille, with its distinctive suite structure, has never flourished extensively in the Spanish Caribbean. Conversely, and perhaps more curiously, the contradance, despite its English origin, does not seem to have flourished in the British West Indies, although longways format may appear in some quadrille variants, such as Jamaican "camp" styles.

Musically, the contradance and quadrille families reflect certain affinities. While the salon contradanza may not have counterparts in the more orally transmitted West Indian quadrille traditions, the small and unpretentious ensembles that typically play quadrilles would certainly find counterparts in the lower category of ambulatory or informal groups that played contradanzas in Cuba in the nineteenth century, or even in the varied ad hoc trios and

quartets, especially in *jîbaro* music, that played danzas throughout the twentieth century. Like some West Indian quadrilles passed down in oral tradition, many if not most of these danzas would have originally been written by trained composers, such as Juan Morel Campos. Both quadrilles and contradanzas tend to be structured in eight-bar sections, with simple (often only tonic and dominant) harmonies and diatonic melodies. Quadrilles documented in Carriacou by Miller (2005) tend, like Cuban contradanzas, to be in bipartite form. Repetition and extension patterns, not surprisingly, may vary, as in the loose and variable schemes found in St. Lucia quadrilles (see Guilbault 1985: 55). Forms of rhythmic creolization tend to differ; the rhythmic icons of Spanish Caribbean and Haitian contradance variants—the *cinquillo*, amphibrach, and habanera rhythms—are not typical of French or English Caribbean quadrilles. These latter, rather, tend to have their own characteristic syncopations, which may even suggest three-against-two polyrhythms in the case of quadrilles in 6/8 meter (Miller 2005: 415). Haitian folk contredanses, with their simple melodic ostinatos punctuated by regular calls by a *commandeur*, closely resemble quadrilles in Guadeloupe.

Further research would undoubtedly unearth affinities and probably even shared melodies in the quadrille repertoires of the French and English Caribbean. Choreographic commonalities, for their part, are readily apparent, especially to participants in the interisland festivals bringing together quadrille groups from St. Lucia, Martinique, Dominica, and Guadeloupe. Cyrille finds clear awareness of a core vocabulary of quadrille dancing in these islands, whose practitioners often speak of their dance tradition as a shared legacy comparable to the Creole they speak. Similarly, Chapter 7 discusses the shared figures and terms that are found in quadrilles throughout much of the English-speaking Caribbean, as well as several correspondences to the contemporary French Caribbean and the Continental French quadrille that generated both traditions. These commonalities extend to Central America, as brought by migrant West Indian laborers in the decades around 1900. Most of these laborers came from Jamaica and elsewhere in the English-speaking West Indies, but Haitian workers are the likely source for the Garifuna contradance style called "*kujai*," presumably from the Haitian *coup d'jaill* (Kreyòl: *koudjay*) discussed in Chapter 6.

Connections between the contradanza (especially "danza") efflorescences in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic are especially overt and are scarcely surprising given the shared European origins of these traditions and the historical links between the three sites themselves. The documented Puerto Rican danzas of the 1860s closely resemble their Cuban models. In the next decades, the Puerto Rican danza—as well as the derivative Dominican danza and salon merengue and the Haitian salon méringue—developed its own distinctive features, particularly in terms of its extended formal structure; at the same time, however, in the *cinquillo* that pervaded its ensemble renditions, all these traditions bore an obvious similarity to the Cuban danzón of

the same period. Meanwhile, the repertoires of Puerto Rican and Dominican dance bands in the decades around 1900 overlapped considerably, incorporating danzas, danzones, and the usual waltzes, two-steps, and the like.

The emergence of Dominican and Haitian salon merengue/méringue styles in the early decades of the twentieth century, although in some respects marginal phenomena, constituted another parallel with Cuban and Puerto Rican music scenes. Structural affinities, as well as such features as the *cinquillo/quintolet*, united all these variants. Moreover, as U.S. occupations intensified nationalistic sentiment in Haiti and the Dominican Republic (not to mention Puerto Rico) in the second and third decades of the century, even the attempts of local composers to differentiate their music from that of other islands tended to resemble each other. Hence, Dominican salon composers Juan Francisco García (1892–1974) and Haitian counterparts, such as Justin Elie (1883–1931), turned to vernacular local musics for inspiration and tried to fashion local piano merengues/méringues that would retain the spirit of the more extensively cultivated Cuban and Puerto Rican danzas while emerging from their shadow. Even the idiosyncratically different ways of notating the *cinquillo/quintolet* reflected a similar self-conscious concern with correct rubato-laden execution of the distinctively creole rhythms.[20]

Creolization

The Caribbean contradance and quadrille are quintessential products of the creolization process that has animated most of what is distinctive about the region's culture. As deriving from linguistics, the term "creolization" originally denotes the process by which speakers of two or more distinct tongues, who meet on neutral territory that is the homeland of neither, create a pidgin lingua franca, which then becomes a first language for subsequent generations. This process is more than, say, the mixing of blue and yellow to make green, since people are active, creative agents, not inert chemicals, and the new human product, whether a language or a musical style, takes on a life of its own.

As applied to culture, the term "creolization," like its approximate synonym "syncretism," has been occasionally criticized for its tendency to imply that the two or more entities—whether musical styles, religions, or languages—that meet and blend are somehow pure and unalloyed (like primary colors), as opposed to the hybrid product of their encounter. The syncretic process that generated the Caribbean contradance and quadrille illustrates the importance of remembering that the formative elements in creolization may themselves be creolized rather than primordially pure entities. From a broad perspective, the Caribbean contradance and quadrille were products of the encounter of two dramatically distinct cultural heritages—the African and the European—though these contributions were themselves diverse and often internally syncretic. The European contradance and quadrille flourished in distinct regional and class-based variants in England, Holland, France, and Spain, which to

some extent nourished each other, with the exchanges between England and France being the most extensive. The versions exported to the Caribbean were thus already creolized in their own way; a further sort of "neo-European" creolization occurred when the regional variants established in the Caribbean not only coexisted with but also cross-fertilized each other, in some cases independently of any particular sort of Afro-Caribbean influence.

Similarly, the African cultural entities that took root in the Caribbean were themselves products of ongoing interactions in Africa. In the Caribbean crucible, "African" music and dance, far from constituting a monolith, comprised a set of diverse traditions associated with people of varied ethnic origins who were obliged to interact in the new setting. Hence, for example, while one might like to pinpoint a specific African place of origin for such things as the *cinquillo* or amphibrach ostinatos, the prominence these rhythms assumed in Haiti and elsewhere must be attributed to a process of interethnic musical syncretism that then extended to "whiter" musical realms.

We can easily imagine instances of this sort of initial level of neo-European and neo-African syncretism in the Caribbean. Perhaps, for example, at an informal soirée in 1790 in Port-au-Prince one might encounter some local whites dancing a French-style contredanse to English jigs and reels provided by a fiddler and flautist serving on a visiting British merchant vessel; a local Franco-Haitian fiddler then joins the musicians and later teaches the tunes to his own friends. Outside the city, on a plantation in the nearby countryside, three musically inclined slaves from Dahomey, Yorubaland, and the Congo are playing together on some drums the local Dahomeyans have built; while their own traditional rhythms are all somewhat distinct from each other, they soon settle on one based around a pattern—the *cinquillo*—that is at least implicitly extant in the traditions of all three. Meanwhile, the trio, with their master's encouragement, has also learned to approximate a few contredanses on the two fiddles and a tambourine available in the "big house." The next and more overt level of creolization—between African and European traditions—occurs when they perform these at a dance party of their master and enliven the music with the *cinquillo* that has become a familiar rhythm to all of them. Meanwhile, the cultivation of such European-derived genres as the contradance and quadrille—like the adoption of European languages—also served to facilitate sociocultural interaction between ethnically diverse segments of the slave population.

Musical creolization in the Caribbean was a complex process that did not "just happen" but instead was inextricably conditioned by the power dynamics of the social groups involved. In the Caribbean, creolization invariably required a degree of openness and adaptation, both on the parts of whites as well as people of color. Just as black people might learn European quadrilles, so did many whites avidly take up Afro-Caribbean dances. Thus, as we have mentioned, in the eighteenth-century French Caribbean, Labat testified to the fondness of whites for dancing the calenda, while Saint-Méry related how plantation own-

ers and other upper-class white people were performing Africanized dances, such as the *chica* and "minuet congo," alongside contredanses and minuets. (Meanwhile, other Caribbean commentators lamented how white women adopted their domestic slaves' "drawling, dissonant gibberish"—i.e., the local Creole language [see, e.g., Dayan 1995: 175].)

The plantation owner's house, with its socially intermediate stratum of domestic slaves and perhaps a few mulatto offspring of the white menfolk, would constitute one site for the sort of cultural interaction conducive to musical creolization. Another would be the military band, in which musicians of diverse races and social backgrounds would learn to play clarinet, cornet, and other instruments in order to perform marches, contradances, and other genres at both military functions and—perhaps while moonlighting—at civilian dances. Port towns would be particularly fertile sites of cross-fertilization, in which both plebian and elite locals would take avid interest in new songs and dances from abroad, and musicians and dancers of diverse backgrounds might on various occasions interact. Local theaters, as in Cap Français (Cap Haitien) in the late 1700s, presented pot-pourris including stylized versions of "negro dances" for the entertainment of white audiences (e.g., see Dayan 1995: 184). Another more specific meeting ground would be various institutions, such as Cuban *bailes de cuna*, in which young upper-class white men would fraternize with darker-skinned women, both on the dance floor and in the bedroom; in the former case, their dancing would typically be accompanied by an ensemble of mixed-race musicians whose syncopated renderings of contradanzas would be free from the admonitions of negrophobic moralists.

The ease and alacrity with which Afro-Caribbeans learned to play and dance contradances was attested to by many contemporary observers. Saint-Méry remarked in 1797, "Blacks, imitating whites, dance minuets and contradanzas. Their sense of attunement confers on them the first quality needed by a musician; for this reason many are good violinists, since this is the instrument they prefer. Quickly, they know, for example, that the B note is found over the third string, and the first finger should be placed on that string; by just hearing a tune, or remembering it, they learn it with utmost ease" (in Carpentier [1946] 2001: 145).

In 1808, a few years later, a visitor to the thoroughly Caribbean city of New Orleans similarly described a festivity in which black merrymakers divided into two groups—one to dance the bamboulá, and the other, the contradance (in Sublette 2008: 189).

The neo-African drumming heard on the Haitian plantation might have little in common with the elegant Bach invention played on the clavichord by the master's wife. Nevertheless, African and European traditions could easily intersect and cross-fertilize in the contradance and quadrille complex, with its varied and flexible sorts of ensemble formats and accompanimental rhythms and its dance formations that had close precedents in both Africa and Europe. Contradance and quadrille culture thus provided a fluid medium through

which diverse music and dance elements as well as actual musicians and dancers could move and interact.

Particularly important in this process were people of color. In a nineteenth-century Caribbean milieu where whites did not regard the job of professional musician as prestigious, ensembles, whether playing for whites or blacks, tended to be staffed mostly by blacks and mulattos, leading one dismayed Cuban to lament with alarm in 1832, "The arts are in the hands of people of color." And while one mulatto clarinetist might take pride in socially distancing himself from the neo-African ways of the *bozal* (the fresh-off-the-boat slave), another might move easily and often between the two milieus. For their part, mulatto dancers—including the more or less public women at the *bailes de cuna*—might well dance in and help popularize a sensual style distinguished by the pendular hip movements so typical of much African dancing.

Creolization may in some contexts occur from the more or less natural collaboration of two communities that interact on neutral territory while remaining familiar with their own ancestral cultures. Most Caribbean white people, for example, presumably enjoyed a degree of at least potential access to European music and dance traditions, whether in the form of classical arts, jigs and reels, or neo-Hispanic *zapateos*. Colonial-era blacks, however, were more severely cut off from their ancestral traditions, especially as neo-African music, dance, and religion came to be energetically suppressed in the British West Indies and elsewhere.

In such a situation, creolization could be precipitated and intensified by a process of deculturation, in which one or more of the communities in question loses touch with its traditional culture. From the 1930s, E. Franklin Frazier (1932a, 1932b, 1939, 1957) argued that such was the case with Afro-Americans, who had been thoroughly stripped of their ancestral cultural traditions by the traumatic experience of slavery. Hence, Frazier argued, Afro-American culture, for all its vitality, had developed primarily as a derivative imitation of Euro-American culture—indeed, one could add, just as the emergence of Haitian Creole was accompanied by the forgetting of ancestral African languages. In the Caribbean, where most African musical traditions dwindled over the generations or were discouraged or actively repressed by white masters, the cultivation of creolized forms, such as the contradance and quadrille, may have constituted an obvious option for many black people. A Haitian Vodou chant pithily portrayed the dilemma of the slave alienated from African ancestry: "*Se Kreyol no ye, pa genyen Ginen anko*" ("We are creoles, who no longer have Africa"). What replaced inherited African tradition among Afro-Caribbeans was a shared experience of alienation and oppression.

In 1941 Herskovits's *The Myth of the Negro Past* challenged Frazier's portrayal of Afro-American deculturation, positing significant continuities between New World and African cultures and initiating a scholarly debate that continues, in various forms, to the present. In Herskovits's wake, many academics have exerted themselves in finding or hypothesizing African roots of

Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean practices. In the realm of the creolized contradance, obvious examples would include the prominent use of rhythmic ostinatos, specific patterns like the amphibrach and *cinquillo*, and the swaying hip movements enlivening couple dance styles from the mid-1800s, if not earlier. Africanisms are particularly overt in such genres as Haitian-Cuban *tumba francesa*, in which contradance choreography is accompanied by neo-African drumming. The use of quadrilles to induce spirit possession in Tobago, Montserrat, and elsewhere also represents an especially clear sort of Africanization of a European music tradition. Other practices may be seen as creolized adaptations of African traditions; Cyrille suggests, for example, that the ongoing stylized commentary declaimed by the *commandeur* in Martinique and Guadeloupe quadrilles may represent a perpetuation of a West African talking drum tradition. Leaving aside intangible concepts of supposedly African-derived "base patterns of performance" (Abrahams 1983: 33), origins of other practices may be less clear; for example, if an octogenarian quadrille fiddler in Carriacou consistently strays from standard Western intonation, is his playing an atavistic resurfacing of a hoary African modal tuning (as suggested by Miller 2005: 415), or is he simply playing out of tune—that is, as Frazier might argue, imperfectly imitating white culture? (And how could one tell the difference?)

One perspective that to some extent mitigates the Herskovits-Frazier opposition is to accept the reality of cultural loss on the part of many Afro-Caribbeans but to stress its positive aspect in the sense that it became a point of departure for dynamic creativity in the form of creolized expressive arts. Hence, for example, St. Lucian poet Derek Walcott has written eloquently both of the tragedy of such cultural loss and of the brilliant creativity that it engendered: "In time the slave surrendered to amnesia. That amnesia is the true history of the New World." Or, as a Trinidadian musician remarked to me, "I'm *glad* that the British banned our traditional drumming, because it inspired us to invent the steel drum." Thus many Afro-Caribbean performers of contradance and quadrille, from the slave fiddler on the eighteenth-century Haitian plantation to a trumpeter in an 1890s Puerto Rican danza ensemble, might have lost touch with ancestral Afro-Caribbean musics, but that alienation precipitated not stagnation or obsequious imitation but creation, in an inherently creole form. Liberated perforce from the inherited, unquestioned traditions of the past, and often animated by a self-conscious hybridity, Caribbean creole cultures were able to develop as intrinsically modern entities rather than as incompetent imitations of European forms. Creolization played an important part in Caribbean people's consciousness of being at once part of and separate from the Euro-American mainstream, and their ability to combine premodern African and New World features has accounted for much of the extraordinary power of Caribbean arts, especially music.

Further, to some extent, Afro-Caribbeans cultivated creole genres like the contradance and quadrille less because traditional neo-African forms were

unavailable to them than because they actively preferred the new creole styles. Indeed, as mentioned, creolization in the Caribbean depended on a spirit of openness on the part of all communities involved. Many conservative whites vehemently denounced the creolization represented by the new contradance variants, which they perceived as lewd, unruly, and too tainted by black influence. For their part, we can assume that many black people preferred their traditional calendas and bamboulás to the dainty contradances and quadrilles that may have struck them as strange, dull, or even vulgar. Nevertheless, aside from the intrinsic pleasures offered by the contradance and quadrille, many Afro-Caribbeans, both during the slavery period and later, clearly felt that by performing these genres they could accrue some of the social status of the white masters and elevate themselves above their backward and perhaps more recently arrived African cousins who still danced the calenda. In the centuries before the negritude movement had stirred pride in African heritage, several accounts attested to the disdain with which creolized slaves and free blacks regarded *bozal* Africans and their rude music. Representative is James Kelly's 1831 description of Christmas celebrations on a West Indian plantation, where the creolized, Caribbean-born slaves danced to their fife and drum music (possibly quadrilles) in the center of the hall, while the Africans with their goombay dancing were crowded into the less desirable corners (in Burton 1997: 67, 34): "The one class [the *bozals*], forced into slavery, humbled and degraded, had lost everything and found no solace but the miserable one of retrospection. The other, born in slavery, never had the freedom to lose, yet did the Creole proudly assume a superiority over the African."

An 1823 visitor to Jamaica provided another telling description of the contrasting practices of the *bozal* and the Caribbean-born slave, and of the musical creolization process that was well evident in the country dancing of the latter:

> [The music of the *bozals*] is very rude; it consists of the goombay or drum, several rattles, and the voices of the female slaves. . . . In a few years it is probable that the rude music here described will be altogether exploded among the creole negroes, who show a decided preference of European music. Its instruments, its tune, its dances, are now pretty generally adopted by the young creoles, who indeed sedulously copy their masters and mistresses in every thing. A sort of subscription balls are set on foot, and parties of both sexes assemble and dance country dances to the music of a violin, tamborine, etc. But this improvement of taste is in a great measure confined to those who are, or have been, domestics about the houses of the white, and have in consequence imbibed a fondness for their amusements, and some skill in the performance. They affect, too, the language, manners, and conversation of the white; those who have it in their power have at times their convivial parties, when they will endeavour to mimic their mas-

> ters in their drinking, their songs, and their toasts; and it is laughable to see with what awkward minuteness they aim at such imitations. (In Abrahams and Szwed 1983: 301)

A modern, more charitable view might regard the slaves' attempts to imitate their masters' manners and music less as laughable than as an attempt to achieve power and status in an otherwise disadvantaged situation. Dancing the quadrille could be seen as a kind of opposition, expressed not in futile rebellion but in a carnivalesque and festive reclamation of the body and a playful appropriation of the recreational modes of the dominant culture (see Burton 1997). (However, there is no particular evidence to support the occasionally encountered view that, in dancing quadrilles and contradances, slaves were subversively mocking their masters.)

And yet, even a postcolonial perspective might disparage the Afro-Caribbean cultivation of genres like the quadrille as obsequious imitation and capitulation. In 1962, V. S. Naipaul wrote of a quadrille-type West Indian dance with his customary mixture of condescension and insight:

> By listening beyond the drums to the accordion, one could perceive the stringed instruments of two centuries ago, and see the dances which even now were only slightly negrofied, the atmosphere became thick and repellant with slavery, making one think of long hot days on the plantation, music at night from the bright windows of the estate house. . . . The music and motions of privilege, forgotten elsewhere, still lived here in a ghostly, beggared elegance: to this mincing mimicry the violence and improvisation and awesome skill of African dancing had been reduced. (1962: 231)

Politically incorrect as such a disparaging view of creole culture may seem, many West Indians might at least implicitly share Naipaul's sentiment, insofar as they have largely lost interest in such colonial-era dances. Except for some elders, most of today's West Indians are thoroughly tuned in to the cosmopolitan sounds of Bob Marley and Beenie Man. Fiddle-and-drum quadrille, while celebrated in some nationalistic circles as folklore, is seen by many as a relic of the days before Afrocentric negritude and Rastafari and before creolized black people had developed their own more modern, unique, and self-consciously Afro-Caribbean genres like reggae and salsa. Even in the realm of traditional folk musics, contradance and quadrille styles like the Martinican *haute-taille* came to be disparaged by some activists as lacking the "authenticity" of the more Afro-Caribbean bèlè. At the same time, as mentioned above, French Caribbean quadrille styles have also come to be upheld as icons of a shared creole culture—together with the Creole language itself—that links Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Dominica.

Patterns of Caribbean Creolization: Regional Distinctions

Creolization was the generative process that animated the evolution of all the Caribbean contradance and quadrille styles and made them distinctive and unique. At the same time, in different parts of the region creolization operated to different extents, in different manners, and with different historical timings. These differences account for some of the dramatically divergent forms that contradances and quadrilles assumed in the Caribbean.

While a region so diverse as the Caribbean does not lend itself to generalization, one can, with some equivocation, discern certain broadly divergent patterns of musical creolization, especially as pertain to contrasts between the British Caribbean and the Hispanic Caribbean—particularly Cuba. On the whole, in Cuba, creolization—as embodied in the contradanza—commenced relatively early, being well underway by the start of the nineteenth century. As we have seen, by the mid-century decades, in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico as well as in Cuba, local contradanza styles had emerged that were evidently danced and played by whites and people of color, often together. In Cuba and Puerto Rico the contradanza (or danza) came to flourish not only as a simple dance piece but also as a salon music genre cultivated by urban, formally trained amateur and professional composers of diverse races. By the 1840s in Cuba, and a few decades later in Puerto Rico, the local contradanzas had come to be recognized and celebrated as distinctively national, creole entities and in some contexts became explicitly associated with bourgeois nationalism and independence movements.

The contrasts with the British West Indies are striking. We do know from travelers' accounts that black slaves played and danced quadrilles and similar genres from the early 1800s (if not earlier), and slaves who learned to play fiddle and other instruments might provide dance music for the festivities of plantation owners. Nevertheless, there appears to have been no counterpart to the fluid cultural milieu existing in, for example, Havana, Santiago de Cuba, or Ponce, in which free whites and people of color not only composed but also collectively danced and performed contradanzas. While the quadrille may have been popular among both whites and blacks in the Anglophone Caribbean, it was neither cultivated as a vehicle for studied composition nor celebrated as a symbol of cultural nationalism. Instead, it survived primarily as a folk dance, and no West Indian equivalents to such Spanish Caribbean composers as Saumell and Tavárez exist. The quintessential West Indian quadrille ensemble was not a wind- and string-based *orquesta típica* of musically literate urban professionals reading from a score, but rather an unpretentious, ad hoc, fiddle-and-percussion trio recycling familiar, orally transmitted tunes. In general, creole culture came much later in the Anglophone Caribbean, and the quadrille played a less prominent role in it.

For its part, the French Caribbean lends itself less readily to generalization, especially since the cultural and historical trajectory of Haiti—independent from 1804—became so distinct from that of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and the lesser French Antilles. Evidence suggests that Martinique and especially Saint-Domingue were particularly dynamic and influential centers for musical creolization in the latter 1700s, with contredanses and quadrilles being actively performed by the growing numbers of free blacks and mulattos. In Haiti in the early 1900s a local urban cultivated form of méringue emerged that reflected both stylistic and ideological affinities with counterparts in the Spanish Caribbean. In terms of creolized quadrille and contredanse styles, the rest of the French Caribbean bears greater resemblance to the British West Indies, where these genres flourished more as folk idioms.

A variety of factors may explain the different patterns of musical creolization in the different colonial zones of the Caribbean. One argument would attribute the early and more intensive creolization in the Spanish and perhaps French Caribbean to a more open cultural attitude on the part of the colonists. The early Iberian colonists, unlike the bourgeois, more economically advanced English, were in some ways premodern, precapitalist people who, however racist in their own way, seem to have recognized Africans as human beings with their own culture. Unlike the more racially homogeneous English, the southern Europeans, according to this thesis, had a certain Mediterranean cosmopolitan nature bred from centuries of contact (whether amicable or not) with diverse Arabs, Jews, Gypsies, and Africans—hence, it could be argued, the evident ease with which so many Spanish-Caribbeans interacted on the dance floor or in the *orquesta típica* with people of color, and the openness to Afro-Caribbeans' musical and choreographic contributions, fostering the early and extensive emergence of local contradanza styles.

If such a culturally oriented hypothesis may seem essentializing or speculative, other more tangible factors may better explain the divergent trajectories of creole music in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most important distinctions derived from the differences between plantation colonies like Jamaica, whose populations consisted primarily of slaves with a small white planter and administrative sector, and settler colonies like Cuba, which had a more diverse balance of whites, mulattos, slaves, and free blacks (over 20 percent in 1774). The large free black population—which had no counterpart in the British Caribbean (or, for that matter, the United States) before Emancipation—derived from more lenient Spanish manumission practices and the historically mixed economies based on family farms and cattle breeding in which people of diverse racial backgrounds intermarried over generations and worked, lived, danced, and made music together. In the early 1800s, the sugar plantation cultures that arose in Cuba and Puerto Rico had to adapt themselves to the already well-formed, racially fluid, and more lenient creole cultures, in which a genre like the contradanza could thrive. By contrast, in Jamaica, slaves, who constituted about 90 percent of the population in 1800, were subject to rigid

cultural repression and could exert little cultural influence on local whites. Closer distinctions could also be made within individual islands themselves, contrasting plantation-dominated areas (e.g., western Cuba and northeastern Martinique) from hilly regions of family farms and greater racial fluidity (e.g., eastern Cuba and southern Martinique).

The Spanish Caribbean settler colonies, as suggested by that term, also differed from the West Indian plantation economies in attracting hundreds of thousands of European immigrants, who, over the generations, played crucial roles in fostering distinctive creole cultures in their new homelands. As mentioned above, by the 1840s many Cubans were already developing a sense of cultural nationalism, in which music genres like the contradanza were celebrated as distinctive idioms. As white Cubans and Puerto Ricans increasingly came to resent oppressive and exploitative Spanish rule, such a sentimental pride in local culture often came to overlap with a fierce political nationalism.

A comparable sense of creole cultural nationalism simply did not exist in the British Caribbean of the nineteenth century and would scarcely emerge until the mid–twentieth century. In general, the British colonies attracted relatively few settlers. As in eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue, many of those who did come were derelicts and mountebanks out to make a quick killing in the tropics. For their part, members of the British and French plantocracies often came for limited periods, remaining attached to Europe, where they invested their earnings and sent their children to be educated. The contrasts between the two sorts of colonies could be seen in their cities: Colonial Havana was an opulent and beautiful metropolis with fine cathedrals, mansions, and promenades, whereas the British Caribbean ports consisted of dreary warehouses surrounded by shantytowns, with a few bleak barns passing as the "great houses" of the rich. Accordingly, the British colonial elites made little attempt to develop their own art forms, developed no particular sense of local cultural or political nationalism, and took little interest in cultivating a genre like quadrille as a symbol of local creole culture.

Contradance and Quadrille as Contested Sites

The contradance and quadrille might seem to be innocuous recreational genres, free from social or ideological dimensions and conflicts. In their most typical Caribbean forms, they constituted forms of "family entertainment" whose appeal transcended boundaries of class, race, and generation. Generally lacking lyrics, they were largely apolitical, secular, and innocent of the tendency toward controversial ribaldry that characterized other vernacular song forms. Their prevailing spirit, then as today, has been one of fun rather than transgression or protest. Nevertheless, both genres—like all forms of expression—have been inherently imbricated in the sociopolitical dynamics of their historical contexts. Whether explicitly or implicitly, they became associated with notions of comportment, social distinction, national identity, and even, in some cases,

political agendas. Once established, they became so identified with social propriety that innovations or departures could provoke vigorous debate or even outright prohibitions; hence, for example, much of the early documentation of the Puerto Rican and Dominican merengue/danza comes in the form of journalistic polemics and the ban issued by the governor of Puerto Rico in 1849.

In Europe, as we have seen, the contradance and quadrille had their own set of diverse affective associations. On one level, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they flourished as elite dances, whose correct and graceful execution was explicitly seen as a sign of aristocratic breeding and good taste. Under the guidance of professional dance masters, people of means learned to perform the figures with effortless elegance, avoiding any *faux pas*—literally, false step—that would betray poor taste and training. At the same time, as we have seen, the contradance and quadrille had certain democratic and populist aspects that distinguished them from stiff ceremonial dances, such as the minuet. Not only had the country dance first emerged as a folk dance, but it and the quadrille also became adopted, in diverse forms, by the rising bourgeoisie who enjoyed dance forms that were at once respectable but less formal and pompous than the minuet.

In the Caribbean, the contradance and quadrille acquired their own changing sorts of social significance in accordance with the social dynamics of the new setting. As Cyrille has documented, plantation owners in Martinique imported Parisian dance masters not only to keep up with the latest metropolitan fashions but also to maintain a sense of cultural superiority over their black slaves, whose dances they described as grotesque, crude, and vulgar, and that were all the more objectionable for being performed barefoot in the open air by scantily clad dancers. Yet by the latter 1700s, as we have mentioned, domestic slaves, handfuls of newly freed blacks, and the growing numbers of free mulattos were avidly imitating the contradance and quadrille as danced by the slave owners. Cyrille notes that French missionaries had earlier attempted to teach slaves the *passé-pied* and *courante* "so they [could] jump and entertain themselves at will with no indecent gestures" (Labat 1724: 2, 54), and they had encouraged musically inclined domestic slaves to learn to play fiddle and other instruments to accompany their dances. Subsequently, several commentators noted, often with bemusement, the enthusiasm with which mulattos, free blacks, and domestic slaves performed contredanses and quadrilles at dances where they would dress in their finest gowns and suits.

For many people of color during this period, it is clear that performing contradance and quadrille while dressed elegantly was not merely fun but served as a means of demonstrating superiority to others lower on the social hierarchy. As Cyrille notes in Chapter 5, newly freed blacks, for their part, might dance with domestic slaves at a party only with a sense of condescension, while petty-bourgeois mulattos cultivated social dances to demonstrate their superiority not only to blacks but also to lower-class whites. As I have suggested, schol-

ars might differ as to whether such a strategy of social positioning should be regarded as a form of creative resistance to hegemony or, alternately, obsequious acquiescence to and even complicity with an unjust social hierarchy.

Two centuries later, with "massa day done" and new social hierarchies having long since replaced those of the slavery period, quadrille still retains some of its traditional prestige in such places as St. Lucia and Dominica. Quadrille is appreciated by some as a dance that requires training and rehearsal and accordingly accrues a certain sort of social status to its participants; in Guadeloupe, its dancers, as in earlier days, may also view it as more refined, European, and "respectable" than more African dances like the bèlè. Hence it is perhaps paradoxical that quadrilles, even with mundane lyrics, came to be associated with invocations of African ancestors in Trinidad or even with spirit possession in Tobago and Montserrat. With political independence, throughout the French and English Caribbean quadrille can also be celebrated as part of local traditional culture, performed by folkloric groups on various occasions and receiving some promotion via state-run competitions. As discussed in Chapter 7, quadrille has even come to be regarded as an icon of traditional culture among Carib Indians in St. Vincent and among Maroons in Jamaica. However, as I have suggested, its status is at the same time ambiguous, as many may see it as a relic of the colonial era, when people of color lacked a modern sense of black pride and had yet to develop assertive, self-consciously Afro-Caribbean genres like reggae and zouk.

As of the mid-1800s, contradance and quadrille could certainly still serve as recreation forms by which people of various races and levels of social status could distance themselves from rural plantation workers or even white country bumpkins and urban riffraff. However, especially in cities and towns in the Spanish Caribbean, the popularity of these social dances cut across many social boundaries, encompassing whites, blacks, and mulattos of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. On one level, contradance culture was distinguished by fluidity and openness, performed by diverse people in diverse settings, and encompassed everything from the hyper-refined salon music of Tavárez to more syncopated and jaunty pieces with names like "Tu madre es conga" ("Your Mother Is Congolese") and "El mulato en el cabildo" ("The Mulatto in the *Cabildo* [Afro-Cuban club]"). At the same time, this very openness—as opposed, for example, to the rigidity of the minuet—meant that the boundaries of acceptability in the contradance and quadrille were often sites of contestation where representations of class, race, gender, and generation continually had to be negotiated. Hence negrophobic contradanza lovers objected to the incorporation of the *güiro* scraper, the excessive prominence given to Afro-Caribbean rhythms, and the titles too redolent of plebian or black culture (see Dueño Colón 1977). Particularly controversial, as we have discussed, was the advent of independent, intimate couple dancing, which negated the asexual, collective "family fun" orientation of the contradance and quadrille. It was evi-

dently this waltz-inspired development (which negrophobes could not blame on black culture) that provoked the 1849 Puerto Rican ban on the merengue and the vitriolic denunciations by Dominican essayists a few years later.

While the incorporation of creole elements proved controversial, it enabled the contradanza in the Spanish Caribbean to become a celebrated emblem of local creole culture. The self-consciously creole character was particularly obvious in the colorful titles composers gave their contradanzas. Just as English country dances bore whimsical names, such as "Beggar Boy" and "Cuckolds All a Row," so did Cuban and Puerto Rican composers give their works titles invoking vernacular local speech and culture, such as "Ay, yo quiero comer mondongo" ("Oh, I Want to Eat *Mondongo* [a local stew]"), "Mandinga no va" ("Don't Go, Mandingo Lady"), and "Yo soy isleño y vendo maní" ("I'm an Islander and I Sell Peanuts"). By the early 1840s, Cuban contradanzas were being explicitly promoted as expressing the charm of creole culture. Such pride in local culture was not synonymous with political nationalism, just as a modern Puerto Rican lover of local music might well support continuation of the island's colonial status. Meanwhile, titles of some nineteenth-century Cuban contradanzas were explicitly loyalist or even celebrated annexation by the United States. However, creole cultural nationalism served, at the least, as a precursor to and precondition of political nationalism, and the two sentiments certainly overlapped. Hence, despite the fear of ferocious Spanish persecution, by the 1890s the Cuban danza had become implicitly or explicitly allied with the independence movement (Galán 1983: 172). Similarly, as Ángel Quintero-Rivera (2002) has described, in the latter 1800s the Puerto Rican danza became at least indirectly associated with proindependence sentiment, especially in the southern city of Ponce, with its nationalistic hacienda-owning protobourgeoisie that cultivated the support of working classes and petty-bourgeois merchants and artisans. While the music scene in the capital, San Juan, remained dominated by the military and the Church, a more varied and lively creole cultural ambience pervaded Ponce, a center for the agricultural export that was perpetually frustrated by imperial regulations. A vocal danza, "La borinqueña," became the island's anthem, whether with the official bucolic lyrics by Don Manuel Fernández Juncos or the militant ones penned by poet Lola Rodríguez de Tió in 1868. Even choreography came to acquire political overtones, as the collective Spanish-style contradanza, with its dictatorial bastonero, came to be associated by some people with despised Spanish rule, especially after Governor Pezuela attempted to ban its rival, the danza/merengue. The contentions surrounding dance styles were reminiscent of those in early-nineteenth-century Cuba, where the French-style contredanse was either despised or embraced, depending in part on one's attitudes toward Spanish rule.

In nineteenth-century Cuba and Puerto Rico, nationalist sentiment was naturally directed against Spain, with its backward culture and economy and its despotic, corrupt, and exploitative governance. In the Dominican Republic during the same period, the antagonist was Haiti, which remained a mili-

tary threat and whose culture was demonized as barbaric. Musical borrowings between the three Spanish entities were not likely to be opposed on nationalistic grounds, especially insofar as they seemed to promote a shared creole Hispanic Caribbean culture. Hence, the danza/merengue introduced to Puerto Rico from Cuba in the 1840s did inspire criticism and even legal prohibition, but only because it was seen as indecent, not because it came from Havana. Likewise, when a few years later this merengue invaded Dominican salons from Puerto Rico, it provoked indignant journalistic opposition, but again on the grounds of indecency rather than its "foreign" origin (as discussed in Chapter 4).

By the early twentieth century, with Cuba independent and Puerto Rico a colony of the United States, the relations between nationalism, inter-island sentiments, and musical interactions became more problematic and complex. Thus, while the model for Dominican salon composers since the 1880s had been the danzas of Puerto Rican Juan Morel Campos, the second decade of the twentieth century saw a movement on the part of Dominican composers to transcend the benign Puerto Rican tutelage and develop a more distinctively national style of salon music. Hence Julio Arzeño urged his compatriot Dominican composers to seek inspiration in local music, and Julio Alberto Hernández, Juan Espínola, and Juan Francisco García composed pieces that, in spite of their close resemblance to Puerto Rican danzas, were nevertheless labeled "merengues"—a term that was by that point distinctly Dominican in resonance.

In Puerto Rico itself the danza's significance as a national icon was changing, both in terms of the genre's increasing decline in popularity and the change of colonial rulers. For the hacienda-owning class that was being bankrupted by American agribusiness, the danza—previously celebrated for its non-Spanish qualities—now became a symbol of refined Hispanic island culture, as opposed to commercial American culture. Hispanophilic essayist Antonio Pedreira put up a spirited defense of the danza in his classic 1934 study of the Puerto Rican cultural dilemma, *Insularismo*, in which he argued that the danza embodied the best aspects of Puerto Rican character—gentility, mildness, and aestheticism—the very qualities threatened by vulgar, crass, and materialistic Americanization. While the Cuban origins of the danza were not seen as an embarrassment, in 1935 Puerto Rican essayist Tomás Blanco urged local *plena* musicians to avoid "falling into plagiarizations of alien Cubanisms."

The ways in which the Puerto Rican danza has been a contested site have been particularly pronounced, partly due to the relative abundance of interpretive literature on the genre. Between the 1880s and the 1930s, writings by Salvador Brau, Braulio Dueño Colón, Antonio Pedreira, Tomás Blanco, and others at once provided astute insights into its role in island culture, reflected its changing meanings over the decades, and exposed some of the problematic biases that conditioned upper-class aesthetics. One of these biases, discussed by Aparicio, concerns the fondness of such literati as Pedreira for eulogizing the danza—allegedly like Puerto Rican character in general—as essentially femi-

nine, in the sense of being gentle, docile, and languid. As Pedreira wrote, "The danza, like our landscape, is of a feminine condition, soft and romantic." Such an essentializing conceit, Aparicio notes, does justice neither to women nor to the danza, as illustrated by the fiery revolutionary lyrics written by Lola Rodríguez de Tió for "La borinqueña." Nor would it accommodate a 1981 danza, "Lolita," written by Vitín Calderón in honor of proindependence militant Lolita Lebrón, jailed for attempting to assassinate President Harry Truman. Meanwhile, although the heyday of the danza is long past, a bucolic vocal danza of Antonio "El Topo" Cabán Cale, "Verde luz," became an unofficial anthem of the island's progressive left (Aparicio 1998: chap. 1).

The conflicting and sometimes changing conceptions of local identity are manifest in their own way in attitudes toward the quadrille variants in the French Caribbean. As we have seen, many French Antillean quadrille dancers, like contredanse enthusiasts of the late 1700s, may take some pride today in the image of decency and propriety expressed in their dance, in contrast, for example, to more rowdy Afro-Caribbean dances like bèlè. However, this same European character of the dance stigmatizes it in the view of those whose sensibilities have been informed by the Afrocentric *negritude* movement and who see dances like *haute-taille* and *pastourelle* as reflecting capitulation to colonial European aesthetics.

Just as the affective significations of the contradance and quadrille have varied over time and place, so have its constitutive elements tended to submerge and resurface throughout the Caribbean over the generations. Thus a syncopated form of the habanera rhythm re-emerged in the 1970s as the heartbeat of Trinidadian soca and again in 1992 as the "riddim" of the Jamaica dancehall song "Dem Bow," which went on to form the rhythmic template of reggaetón. Similarly, the stentorian chanting of the Martinican quadrille *commandeur* reappears in the syncopated declamation of dancehall deejays, and (as the next chapter discusses) the rhythms, forms, and melodies of 1850s Cuban contradanzas resurface in twentieth-century *son* and *salsa*. In these correspondences the contradance and quadrille have served either as seminal original sources or as media for the transmission of elements from one genre or locale to another. Remote in time as the contradance and quadrille heyday grows, its legacy continues to animate Caribbean music, often in the most unanticipated ways.

Notes

1. A short and preliminary but significant pan-Caribbean study is John Szwed and Morton Marks's "The Afro-American Transformation of European Set Dances and Dance Suites" (1988).
2. Regarding contradanza and quadrille traditions elsewhere in Latin America, see entries in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana* (Casares 1999–

2002). For contradance and quadrille in the United States, see Ralph Giordano's *Social Dancing in America* (2006).

3. A similar French adaptation occurred in the same era with the dance name "allemande" ("German"), altered in the Gallic to "alamande" from "a la mande," meaning "[to take one's partner] by the hand."
4. Properly, *The English Dancing Master of Plaine and Easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to Each Dance* (see Playford 1651). The entire book can be viewed on a few Web sites, including http://www.izaak.unh.edu/nhltmd/indexes.dancingmaster, whence Figure 1.2 is adapted.
5. In Rousseau's 1768 *A Complete Dictionary of Music*, quoted in Mikowsky 1973: 32.
6. For example, "London's Glory," "Marlborough House," "Ruben," "Kiddington Green," "The Pursuit," "Tipling John on the Riot Night," "The Slip," and "The Elector of Hanover's March."
7. See, e.g., Abrahams and Szwed 1983: 300.
8. See, e.g., Cynric Williams's 1826 account *Tour through the Island of Jamaica*, quoted in Burton 1997: 72.
9. The *zarabanda*, as a vernacular dance, was popular primarily in the early 1600s; the Andalusian-style fandango, as a dance form, flourished mostly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
10. Elsewhere the "charitable" good father Labat writes calmly of his administering some three hundred lashes to a slave caught with a wooden idol and then applying pepper sauce to the wounds (in Dayan 1995: 206).
11. Saint-Méry was governor of Saint-Domingue (Haiti) at the outbreak of the revolution and subsequently served as governor of Martinique, his birthplace. His voluminous writings and compilations of documents pertaining to the contemporary French Caribbean are a rich source of historical data. Dominique Cyrille is the source for quotations of Peretty and Weeks.
12. Edgardo Díaz Díaz (1990) provides much revealing data on the typical repertoire of Puerto Rican salon dances in the years 1877–1930.
13. Educated guesses can be made, as are represented, for example, by the ensemble recordings on *Cuba: Contradanzas & Danzones*, by the Rotterdam Conservatory Orquesta Típica, from which the track on this volume's compact disc derives (Nimbus NI 5502). Even these recreations may be controversial; for example, the recording's use of the *cinquillo* ostinato to accompany contradanzas of Saumell may not be representative of contemporary practice.
14. It should be recalled that ostinato-based high Baroque genres, such as the passacaglia, chaconne, and sarabande, appear to have derived in part from Afro-Latin music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
15. Ortiz 1965: 275–276, quoted in Mikowsky 1973: 77.
16. The *tresillo* can be seen from one perspective as a variant of the habanera rhythm. The latter can be regarded as a quarter note followed by two eighth notes, with the exception that the first eighth note is preceded by a decorative upbeat (the "AND") indicated above. However, if that "AND" is heard as a structural beat rather than an anacrusis, the subsequent "THREE" can be elided, affording the *tresillo.*
17. In Benin, Togo, and Ghana, the pattern is heard in the piece "Adzogbo." Ghanaian drummers refer to the pattern as *todzo* (David Locke, pers. comm.).

18. This is also a basic ostinato, called "al-wahda" in Arabic, used in Turkish and Arab urban popular music, typically as accompaniment to a *taqsim* or improvised instrumental solo. Depending on context, the rhythms in Figure 1.2 might be rendered in 4/4 rather than 2/4.

    Dominican folklorist Flérida de Nolasco (1948: 175) argued that the Caribbean contradanza and danza (along with the Dominican *mangulina* and *carabiné*) derive from the Cantigas of Santa María compiled by King Alfonso el Sabio of Spain in the thirteenth century. Reading from Julián Ribera's 1922 edition of the cantigas, she based her argument on the uses of the *cinquillo* in cantiga no. 318, which are indeed strikingly typical of a Puerto Rican danza or Cuban danzón. The fly in the ointment of her argument, however, lies in the fact that the creole-style rhythms occur not in the original melody but in the harmonized accompaniment added by Ribera. The intriguing question is what inspired Ribera to harmonize the cantigas in this most fanciful and anachronistic fashion. Perhaps he had recently come across some imported recordings of Los Negritos de Palatino or some such Cuban band, whose music was ringing in his ears when he sat down to harmonize the cantigas.
19. See danzas in Halman and Rojer 2008. I am grateful to Halman for sending me this volume. A popular danza by Palm, "Erani ta malu" ("Erani Is Sick"), is included on this volume's compact disc. It contains only two sections.
20. Such notational ambiguities were evident in the earlier contradanzas of Saumell, as can be seen in Figures 2.7–2.9. In Puerto Rico, composers preferred to write their *cinquillos* as sextuplets with tied third and fourth notes, as shown in Figure 3.2. Such Haitian salon composers as Justin Elie, following a tradition established in the 1880s, used alternating bars of 2/4 and 5/8, as shown in Figure 6.3. For his part, the Dominican García, in danzas like "Contigo," followed a more straightforward notation, such as would be followed by dance ensembles.

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