

**The Life and Times of Carmen Miranda:
A Study of Brazilian Music and Culture from 1900 to 1950**

A PROJECT
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

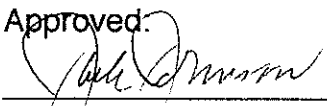
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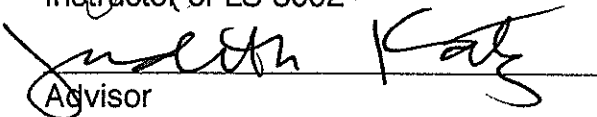
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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF LIBERAL ARTS

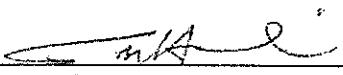
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Quem não gosta do samba
He who doesn't like the samba
Bom sujeito nao é
Isn't a good guy
Ou é ruim da cabeça
Either rotten in the head
Ou doente do pé
Or sick in the foot.

Dorival Caymmi ¹

The year was 1978; I was living on the northeastern coast of Brazil in the city of Recife. It was my first Mardi Gras, which is called Carnival in Brazil, and I was flooded with the sights and sounds of the massive celebrations. It seemed like a national nervous breakdown! Day had turned into night and night into day. We left the house around 10:00 p.m. to go to the old city of Olinda to dance in the streets and watch parades of people singing and dancing. In the streets people acted foolishly and pulled pranks. They played. There were all sorts of glittery costumes; some were colonial in flavor, and others were clowns, princesses, or make believe characters. Ornate banners displayed by the parade groups seemed almost medieval. During the five fantastic days and nights of the official Carnival, the drums never stopped. We roamed around, dancing and greeting friends until early morning, before returning home to sleep all the next day, often after a refreshing dip in the warm south Atlantic.

Friends explained that each day and night of Carnival had specific traditions and rituals depending on where you celebrated Carnival, and further that the entire nation waited in anticipation for the last night's festivities in Rio de Janeiro: the 24- hour long Parade of the Samba Schools in Rio de Janeiro. Samba schools are voluntary organizations, usually neighborhood based, which form themselves into musical parade groups specifically to participate in the Carnival. "Fat Tuesday" arrived and I was astonished to watch the parade

¹ Caymmi, Dorival, "*Samba da Minha Terra*", song lyric, 1933.

on television; never before had I even conceived of the enormity of the show. Each samba school consists of as many as three to four thousand members. As they parade, they all sing their school's newly composed samba written specifically for that year's Fat Tuesday Parade. Hundreds of diverse drummers play the layers and layers of rhythm parts that make up the samba. They are all costumed in unbelievably colorful and risqué outfits. As a spectator, it takes more than an hour to watch each school as they pass by, and as they do, the school's arrangement of dancers, floats, and musicians present a story. Literally hundreds of thousands of people from Rio participate every year in the parade. It is truly one of the "greatest shows on earth."

I had so many questions. As a North American singer with a strong interest in jazz, I wondered why drumming traditions of Brazil were so different from the drumming in African-based music from the U.S. How long have people danced the samba? Did white people always join in African-based dance in Brazil, or was this a recent development? Haven't Brazilians ever heard of Puritanism? The sensuous gyrations of thousands of women who are practically naked would never be displayed on prime time T.V. in the U.S.!!! Did Brazilians always sing about the beauties of dark skinned people, or was this element fairly modern?

My curiosity about this music took me on a life-long journey. During the 1980s and 90s, I added many Brazilian songs to my tune list on stage. The bulk of my repertoire of Brazilian songs are bossa novas, a style with roots in the samba that emerged in the 1950's and became a global success. I have used the songs as a springboard to my gaining understanding of these marvelous people and their nation. Then when I started my MLS program, I chose twenty years later to study the roots of the samba and the people who play, sing and

dance it. I have tapped into a fountain that is filled to the brim with history, culture and folklore. The study of Brazilian music has opened my eyes, my ears, my voice, and my heart to a deeper understanding and love for these people, their arts, and their culture.

Artistic Goals

The decision to create a Lecture/Concert stemmed both from my work as a performer and from my work as a music educator; I wanted to educate as well as entertain the audience. Having performed Brazilian music in this area for the past 16 years, I've found myself answering questions posed by the North American public that show a general lack of awareness about Brazil. To interpret Brazilian culture to others, I frequently find myself comparing the emergence of the samba as Brazil's dominant musical form with the emergence of jazz in the U.S.A. The two forms came to great popularity during the same decades, the 1920's and 1930's. The narrative of the Lecture includes many references and comparisons between the two countries in the hopes that the audience will have a stronger sense of context with which to understand the music and the culture of Brazil..

I have come to realize that knowledge of early jazz, such as the New Orleans style of Louis Armstrong, is essential for the comprehension, interpretation and appreciation of later jazz styles. Taking that idea, I applied it to samba and looked at its history. To establish a broader context from which to base musical interpretations, I thought it would be beneficial to examine early samba; its roots in West African drumming styles, its first major composers and interpreters, the melodic tendencies of samba, and the lyrics contained in the songs.

In the performance, my goal was also to put the music into context with its

place and time. Then the songs can provide a mirror which reflects the larger society from which it comes. Peoples' tastes and attitudes can be seen in the mirror of music. Jazz history can illuminate issues of race and cultural politics; the same can be seen in the history of the samba. The Lecture/Concert provided a format in which I could illuminate Brazilian music and culture and even shed some light on our own culture in the U.S. by comparing and contrasting issues of race and class mirrored in popular music and dance.

Popular musicians and artists are influenced heavily by their times. Their repertoire is dictated by the demands of the popular market in the form of recordings and air play on the radio. In fact, their careers are very much in the hands of the masses who either accept or reject the artists. When a person becomes a star, there are many reasons why- he/she looks right, sounds appealing, or is produced in a startling new way that is accepted by great numbers of people. The truly great stars reveal much about their public because the stars' persona and talent obviously contain many elements that people like.

Such is the case of the Brazilian star of samba songs, Carmen Miranda. She became popular in 1929, just as the samba rose in stature to become the Brazilian national music. Her phenomenal success in Brazil and greater South America continued until 1939 when she left for New York to become a stage and movie star in the U.S.A. Carmen Miranda became the vocal and visual embodiment of her country. Her story is a very American one. Focusing on the life and times of this particular artist has revealed much to me about things Brazilian. Her upbringing and her neighborhood were big influences in her life, as were the sights, sounds, styles and trends of Rio. As she interpreted sambas, she crossed the lines of class and color. In this process, Carmen

Miranda became an international symbol of Brazil. The focus of the Lecture/Concert on her life, repertoire, major influences, and the cultural politics of her era added context from which the audience could better understand and appreciate Brazil.

Cultural Politics

It is interesting to compare the Charleston dance of the 1920s with the samba. When the Charleston began to spread out of the African-American community where it was created into the white community, it became the rage of the entire country. Many whites were appalled at what appeared to them to be a lewd, grotesque dance meant for only colored people. Similarly, when the samba spread out of the hills and slums of Rio to become the dominant dance of the all important Carnival, many of the white elite class were offended. In fact, they had tried for years to contain the samba players to their own neighborhoods during Carnival. Police were instructed to arrest samba school members, calling them *Blocos de Sujus* (Dirty Groups), if they tried to parade down the main streets of Rio.

The samba took over despite all the attempts to contain it. Anthropologist Ruben Oliven writes: "Samba, another legitimate symbol of Brazilian culture, was at first produced and consumed in the *favelas* (slums) of Rio de Janeiro and violently repressed by the police. It was with the growing importance of Carnival that samba began to be consumed by the rest of the Brazilian population, becoming transformed into the Brazilian music *par excellence*." ² The fact remains that popular music helped overturn the norms in areas of race and class in both the U.S. and in Brazil. It appears that each country was ready in some ways to accept these new musical forms of expression.

In the study of how popular music emerges to become a national trend,

² Vianna, Hermano, The Mystery of Samba, University of North Carolina Press, 1999, 12.

we can learn about political thought of the time. It was a governmental, political decision to finally let the samba schools parade out into the main streets. But these decisions were also brought about by journalists, writers, and intellectuals who were writing much at the time about the phenomenon of the samba flowing out of Rio's slums. They wrote about the Brazilian people, their large population of descendants of African slavery, and the growing percent of mixed-race people in society. Brazilians were searching to identify their own unique cultural aspects as the samba developed in the 1910s and 1920s.

One such writer was Gilberto Freire, the celebrated author of The Masters and the Slaves. This 1933 publication shocked the nation with its description of what elements of society Freire found to be fundamentally Brazilian. Freire contended that the mixed race people of Brazil, called *mestiços*, were the true Brazilians and represented the best of Brazil. They were acclimated to the tropics; their dark skin enabled them to withstand the strong sun and heat. Freire wrote that *mestiços* would eventually lead the nation. Freire's thoughts were radically different from the dominant elitist views of the time which were based on European feelings of white superiority. The upper classes held the idea that if Brazil could succeed in procuring more white immigrants from Europe, they would eventually "whiten" Brazilian bloodlines and create a nation more like the U.S.A.³

In the performance, I stressed issues in Carmen's career that illustrate these ideas. I talked about the mostly black and *mestiço* composers and musicians with whom she worked. I mentioned how Carmen shocked many people because she was white and performed African based music and related it to the experiences of some North American performers who crossed the lines

³ Skidmore, Thomas E., Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought (Duke University Press, 1993)

of race and class in their repertoire. When she imitated the dress of black women from Bahia, she was considered by the elite to be undignified and common. This is a sign of the racist attitudes held by some in the society from which she came. Examples such as this will help the audience to see many similarities between our two countries.

As jazz was created from a New World culture, it carries unique American qualities. Likewise samba was born in the New World; it displays distinctly Brazilian ingredients. Jazz and samba came to represent their country of origin to the rest of the world. It is interesting to see that each country, economically and politically controlled largely by whites, holds most precious the music created by people of color. The narrative of the program mentioned that, again and again during the twentieth century, Brazilians and North Americans have embraced popular music created out of African musical norms.

Resources Used

Interest in the samba and other music played in the Carnival led me to explore the early part of Carmen Miranda's career; the years she spent in Rio and on tour in Brazil and greater South America. When Carmen went to Hollywood to make movies, she was required to sing songs not of her choosing. Often they were rumbas and production numbers and had little to do with Brazilian music. Therefore, I focused my studies on the years preceeding her international fame; concentrating on the years following the emancipation of the slaves in 1888 up to and through the ten years from 1929 until 1939 that she performed in Brazil.

Martha Gil-Monteiro's biography, The Brazilian Bombshell, gave details about Carmen's youth, her neighborhood, family life, education, religious training, aspirations, as well as her nature. Well described were her

relationships with Rio's leading musicians as well as her social life. There is a saying in Brazil: *Todo mundo se conhece* ("Everybody knows each other"). I saw that this was true of society in Rio in the 1920's. The elite and ruling classes were small and people knew each other. Likewise, the world of the *sambistas*, or samba musicians, dancers, and singers, was also small and everybody knew each other. Carmen's popularity led *sambistas* from all over Brazil to write songs just for her. She had her pick and she chose well.

It fascinated me to learn that the President of Brazil became one of Carmen's biggest promoters. Getulio Vargas had come to power in 1930 in what was called the Revolution of the Thirties; he had led the military to take power on a theme of nationalism and populism. As the samba grew in popularity, it became a favorite subject, a symbol of what was uniquely Brazilian. Vargas was quick to realize that the samba, with its acknowledgement of the importance of Brazil's black and *mestiço* citizens, was a unifying symbol. Samba included the previously disenfranchised people of color.

Vargas also liked it that the samba was from the capital, Rio de Janeiro. There were fears that Brazil would break apart into smaller countries based on regional loyalties that stem from colonial times. He knew that the promotion of a "national" music would unify Brazil. He promoted samba through radio programs, by invitations for *sambistas* to play at government functions, and he even appeared onstage with Carmen in Argentina and in Rio. He called her the "Queen of Samba." When negotiations for Carmen's contract to go to Broadway became muddled, Vargas stepped in and asked the Ministry of Propaganda to help finance Carmen's accompanists, the *Bando da Lua*, or the Moon Gang. Now naming her the "Ambassador of Samba," Vargas personally

sent her off to New York; he assured Brazilians that Carmen would represent them in America. What a task for a singer with a sixth grade education! Early on in these studies, I began to realize just how political, social and racial is the subject of the samba.

The two sources that provided me with the most thorough discussions of the samba and of the Carnival were both written by Brazilians: The Mystery of Samba by Hermano Vianna, and Historia do Carnaval Carioca by Eneida de Moraes. An anthropologist, Vianna's approach was broad and included ideas about the samba written during the 1920s and 30s by leading journalists, historians, composers, and social and political commentators. Vianna wrote that Gilberto Freire studied anthropology in New York City with Franz Boas, now considered to be the father of American anthropology. They went out to Harlem and listened to the jazz musicians and no doubt discussed the significance of the music within the culture. Vianna also brought it to my attention that Pixinguinha, Rio's leading samba musician, and the grandson of a slave, toured Europe very successfully during the 1920s and was introduced to many North American jazz men as well as European composers such as Eric Satie. This gave me more ideas about comparing our two countries' musical growth in the program.

Though it was difficult and time consuming for me to read, I loved Historia do Carnaval Carioca. Eneida's book is well respected for its thoroughness and her deep understanding of her home town, Rio de Janeiro. She included many articles and editorials written about the Carnival in times past going back to colonial times in Rio. Actually, the author traces the Mardi Gras celebrations back to pagan pre-Christian times all the way to modern Rio in the 1950s. Her discussions of Rio's society and ideas on race and class were very perceptive

and gave me an accurate accounting of how things were before and after Carmen Miranda's time of fame. Her book left me with a deeper understanding of the hundreds of years that people have been celebrating Mardi Gras, and of how the various nationalities, races and classes celebrated. I could see just how much things changed when the music changed from European based dance music to the wild gyrations of the modern samba.

My next move was to immerse myself in Carmen's recordings and the recordings of the composers she worked with. Fortunately, I received a large collection of Carmen's early recordings from a friend in Brazil, and was able to study the style of the times, and many of the songs mentioned in the biography. My personal collection also includes many recordings of Pixinguinha, Brazil's equivalent of Louis Armstrong, Dorival Caymmi from Bahia, the center of African Brazilian culture, and Ary Barroso, one of Rio's leading white composers during Carmen's times. These recordings demonstrate the way the musicians played their instruments, the ornamentation used, their choice of tone color, the typical orchestration, and harmonic norms of the 1920s. I also own an anthology of five hundred of Brazil's most popular twentieth century songs. It was valuable to read through the sambas, marches, and regional songs from the 1920s and 1930s found in these books. Included were the works of many composers mentioned in the biographies. This exercise left an impression of the lyrical content, stylistic tendencies, instrumentation, and rhythmic formulas used in early samba.

After reading Carmen's biographies, and studying many sambas, I chose the songs for the program. I wanted to have works by several of the main composers with whom she worked. These composers are revered today in Brazil as the founders of samba. I looked for the songs that were Carmen's

biggest hits in Brazil. But I also looked for songs that would best tell her story; the songs that were pivotal in her career. I had decided to limit the program to 70 minutes so that I wouldn't need an intermission, therefore I limited the selections to eleven songs. Featured are songs by Pixinguinha, Caymmi, Silva, Paiva, and Barroso. All of these composers are considered national treasures and their works are still in the standard repertoire of popular song.

Bananas is My Business is the name of a beautiful, artfully made documentary film about Carmen Miranda. Watching it gave me many visual cues and ideas for the program. There was a discussion of race and class in the film which agreed with the readings I'd done; Carmen broke a lot of rules according to some. I could see that she paved the way for the future. The film gave me the idea to add a slide show to the program. I knew I wanted to provide translations for the songs in the program; adding slides would heighten the impact on the audience. I searched for photos and paintings in art books, cook books, and a variety of other sources that would show Rio de Janeiro during Carmen's time, the slaves, traditional foods, Carnival, the tropical fruits and trees, and Carmen's costumes. I then created the power point slide show. This process was very helpful in an unplanned way; it helped me rehearse because I had to put everything in order of the show. It provided another way for me to learn the script!

The Music

In the collection of five hundred Brazilian songs from the twentieth century, there were over one hundred from the years of my focus. A read through presented a good look at what people enjoyed at the time, and showed the particular stylistic tendencies of a broad group of well known composers. But for a stage performer a read through is not enough. I need to practice the

song all the way to stage level to truly understand its rhythms, contours, lyrics, phrases, and feel. It is in the performance that I finally receive the full experience of a song; the song takes on a life of its own.

In addition, collaboration with the musicians to create a live performance has always added layers to my understanding of the music. Each instrument plays a different role in the samba as in many forms of music. It is necessary to understand what each player is doing in order to correctly interpret the genre. When the band becomes involved in making up introductions, arrangements, and exits to the songs, it increases ownership. As the audience hears the live instruments, there is a heightened emotional response due to the excitement caused by the sounds. I want the audience to respond at an emotional level in order to experience the music more completely.

To choose the songs for the program, I had several things in mind that helped me weigh each song's importance. I knew I needed to learn Carmen's greatest hits, but there were many. The songs needed to be ones that helped me to tell the story of the switch from European based carnival music to African American music for carnival. I chose songs written by the most important composers but also songs that showed a variety of popular styles of the times. Some of the songs were sambas, but others were marches, and *choros*; two distinctly different styles popular in Carmen's day. Carmen worked with musicians of all races, and in doing so she paved the way for others to work with people across the established norms of social racial segregation. The songs chosen demonstrate this; they show the diversity of the music and thus the culture from which it comes. The program songs also were all songs that I've come to love. It takes many hours of practice to bring songs to performance level and so I must love the song in order to spend so much time with it!

Several songs were already in my repertoire, the songs by Barroso and Caymmi, but the others were new to me and the band.

We are all jazz musicians in my band and thus we work by ear frequently. This is fortunate because a number of the songs I chose are not published in the United States and thus had to be learned by ear. I wanted the band to play in the style and manner of the 1930s. I sent out work tapes to all the musicians, told them my keys, and supplied them with whatever written music I could get. They wrote out charts for us to follow. I decided that we should copy the exact introductions that Carmen's band played. Pixinguinha, Donga, Caymmi and others on her records are the very musicians who defined the samba. During improvised parts, the players stayed inside the harmonic norms of the times; nobody played, as we say in jazz, "outside."

Another reason to give a performance was to have the experience that only preparing for a concert gives. I started to learn some of the songs early on in my studies and sang some of them for other course work I completed. In a directed study with Dr. Paul Haack from the music department, I researched the history of the samba and learned several of Carmen's songs. Daily rehearsals, memorization, and repetition are the tools of the trade in my profession. The discipline provided by preparing a piece for the public is a necessary element of musicianship which I have always found to be very pleasant. My stage craft is based on the theory that practice makes perfect. Especially because I've embraced music from another country in a language that I've learned as an adult, I feel great need to prepare well. The Lecture/Concert format has challenged me in ways I feel ready for at this time in my career.

Post Performance Evaluations

The morning of the show, I said to myself, "You are ready." I also said the

word serenity about a hundred times! My voice warmed up easily; all the self-imposed preconcert silence and extra water had paid off. I knew my script well enough to just glance down at paragraph headings once in awhile. I was where I'd wanted to be for the performance. As a teacher in the classroom, I have discovered that one of my strengths stems from my abilities in dramatic storytelling. Daily, I hold the attention of all sorts of inner city 9 to 13 year olds both on and off meds! My students don't even know they are learning some times, they just listen to the stories... I knew that if I told the lecture part as a story, that I would hold the audience and would entertain them while they were learning. The information I was to give out during the show was fitted into the story of Carmen's life. I didn't want it to sound like a lecture, but there was a lot I knew I had to teach in order for the audience to understand the points I wished to make. I wanted to be free from my script, yet I didn't want to forget anything. I ended up talking quite a bit to the dog in the basement and running upstairs to the computer to make changes in the script. All those practice hours paid back big time! I felt absolutely ready, willing and able to knock 'em dead, and that's pretty much what happened.

I was thrilled to know that so many people came to the show; the people working at the theater said over 250 people were there. As I performed, I knew I had their attention and that the songs were going well. I'm so glad I asked my friend to dance the samba early on in the program so that the Americans attending could see the dance. Jucival's samba dance added another experience for the audience. The power point show came off very well. People commented that there was always something to do during the show- listen to me talk, read the translations, look at the musicians, view the slides, watch the dancer, hear the music. This is exactly what I wanted. I had planned on a fast

paced delivery and was pleased to hear people say that the time flew by. (I was especially satisfied to glance down at my watch at the end of the performance and see that the program went exactly 70 minutes as I'd hoped!)

Like any show, there were moments of grave misgivings. Though I rehearsed several times alone with the pianist, we had time for only one all band rehearsal on March 12th, Monday night. An old fashioned Minnesota snow storm kept Cully, the bass player who lives in Wisconsin, from arriving. We rehearsed with out him which is difficult in and of itself because the bass plays an extremely important rhythmic role in the samba as well as an essential harmonic part. We agreed to arrive early at the theater on the performance day to have our whole band rehearsal, and that was that. Cully is an excellent musician as are all the band members. Even with this glitch, I had total faith that he would play his part perfectly. My belief that Terrence, Dave, Cully, Bruce, and Tony would all give their very best provided the confidence I needed to do the show.

This comes from something I never could have learned in school. This type of "quick study" musicianship and stage craft was learned by years and years of playing live music together and with dozens of other musicians. Jazz, an improvised art form, teaches a certain approach to music, to play by ear, to listen, to take cues from each other, to improvise, to think fast. Seasoned professionals always pull as a team in performance and we know we can depend totally on one another. This trust is hard won. Only years of experience teach the sorts of skills we need to acquire as performers. I was utterly thrilled with the band's performance that day, and I was very happy about my own. These are the moments that I treasure as a performer. I love to make the music together with the players and pull the audience into it. I sure got that from the

concert. I knew what I wanted to do, with whom I wanted to work, and how to prepare myself. This gave me a good feeling all the way through, a sense of knowing who I am.

As a performer of music done in a second language and of another country, I am always interested in the comments of Brazilians. I was happy to hear several say that they learned things they did not know about the samba and about Brazil's cultural politics. Many felt emotional hearing about the sad last years of Carmen's life and hadn't realized how she had been shunned by her countrymen after her Hollywood success. Younger Brazilians I spoke with had no idea that some of the Carnival songs that they sing today actually are from the 1920s and 1930s. Most knew the lyrics to both of the marches included and sang along in their seats. I wish I would have thought to invite the Brazilians up to dance a final samba as an encore. Next time...

Speaking of next time, I have other goals with this program. We made a video tape of the performance and I think of presenting it to some local theaters to see if they would like to produce some performances. Perhaps the History Theater or the Old Log would give it a run. I also could write for an artistic grant. The show has appeal on several different artistic and academic levels: women's studies, American studies, ethnic music and dance, and historical and cultural politics. I would be very gratified to put on the show for a broader audience.

One of the ways I came to understand what I was trying to do was by explaining my project to others. When asked what I was doing in graduate school, I found that my responses were frequently so positive and energy charged that people looked either surprised or puzzled. I responded by saying that I have been studying exactly and precisely what I've always been

interested in for all these years. I said that I was pleased to be writing every paper and reading every book. Pursuing a Masters of Liberal Studies provided me with the structure and resources necessary. Now I know the answers to many of the questions that I had in 1978 as I tried to copy the steps of the samba on the streets of Olinda. Searching for these answers has given me new ideas, more questions, and also another direction to move towards as a performing artist.

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Gardel, Luis D. Escolas de Samba. Livraria Kosmos Editora, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1967.

Gil-Monteiro, Martha. The Brazilian Bombshell: The Biography of Carmen Miranda. New York: Donald I. Fine, Inc., 1989.

This biography was written with many details about Carmen's early life and influences which interested me very much because my research is centered on her career in Brazil before she went to the United States. Gil-Monteiro's analysis of Carmen's success in the U.S. is also illuminating and shows Miranda's influence on international perceptions of Brazilians. Very thorough and well written.

Guillermoprieto, Alma. Samba. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.

In her description of the year she spent living and working with one of Rio's oldest and best established Samba Schools, Guillermoprieto shows the roots, passions, problems, and joys of the true slum dwelling Sambista. The reader sees the entire makings of the parade groups that make Rios' Mardi Gras the world's largest and most extravagant street celebration. A remarkable study of culture and music.

⁴ most important sources annotated

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Manchete Video. Carnaval 1989, Bloch Produções Ltda., Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, Associado a Uniao Brasileira de Video, 1989.

Mascarenhas, Mario. O Melhor de Musica Popular Brasileira, Vol. 1-5, editors: Irmaos Vitale S.A. Ind. e Com., Sao Paulo, Rio De Janeiro, Brasil, 1982.

These song books, a collection of 500 of Brazil's most popular songs of the 20th century, provided me with ample materials to read through in order to become more familiar with the Samba repertoire. Other genres such as Marchas and Choros are also included.

McGowan, Chris, Pessanha, Ricardo. The Brazilian Sound. Billboard Books, New York, 1991.

Moraes, Eneida de. Historia do Carnaval Carioca. Nova Edicao, revista e ampliada por Haroldo Costa, Editora Recorda, Rio de Janeiro, 1987.

This study of the history of Rio's Mardi Gras was very impressive. The author went back to pagan times and covered Mardi Gras into modern times. Especially of interest to me were the discussions of Rio's society both before and after the emancipation of the slaves. Moraes included discussions of the ways the different races celebrated Mardi Gras; their costumes, music, antics and associations.

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This was the only biography of Carmen Miranda I read that was written

by a Brazilian. Of interest was a Brazilians' perspectives of how Carmen was perceived by the public.

Skidmore, Thomas E. Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought. Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1993.

This is an excellent analysis of Brazil's struggles to understand and accept her mixed race population. Since the Samba is Afro Brazilian music, it is interesting to study how it came to be seen as the national music of a country that is was controlled by a small group of white elites. Political, anthropological, and social ideas were discussed.

Skidmore, Thomas E. Brazil: Five Centuries of Change. Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, 1999.

Skidmore, Thomas E. Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964: An Experiment in Democracy. Oxford University Press, New York, 1967.

Solberg, Helena, Schneider, Ellen, Weiss, Marc N., producers, Carmen Miranda: Bananas is my Business. International Cinema Inc. 1994, documentary film seen on Chanel. 2, Mpls. Mn. Public Television on "P.O.V. Talking Back" P.O. box 750, Old Chelsea Station N.Y.N.Y. 10113.

This beautiful documentary film on Carmen inspired me very much. Included were many interviews with the musicians that worked with Carmen, interviews with her sister Aurora, and movie actors of Hollywood who worked with Carmen. Her place in society was discussed and the reaction of the white elite to her work was seen.

Souto Maior, Armando. Historia do Brasil. Sao Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1967, 403-409.

Tinhorao, Jose Ramos. Musica Popular de Indios, Negros e Mestiços. Editora Vozes Ltda., Petropolis, Brazil, 1975.

Verger, Pierre Fatumbi. Orixas, Deuses Iorubas na Africa e no Novo Mundo. Editora Corrúpio Comercio Ltda., Sao Paulo, Brazil, 1981.

Vianna, Hermano. The Mystery of Samba: popular music and national identity in Brazil. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London, 1999.

This book provided the most comprehensive look at Brazilian intellectual and social thought during the times of Carmen Miranda because it is a study of

the emergence of the Samba as Brazil's national music. The author is from Rio and presents an analysis of the Samba's role based on the writings of journalists, anthropologists, historians, poets, musicians, politicians and society figures of the 1920's.

Viotti, Costa da. The Brazilian Empire: Myths and History. Chapter 9, "The Myth of Racial Democracy: A legacy of the Empire". Chicago University Press, 1985, 234-246.

APPENDIX ONE

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CARMEN MIRANDA: NARRATIVE SCRIPT OF LECTURE/CONCERT⁵

(All songs are to be performed live with Mandala quartet accompanying, except one which will be Carmen Miranda and the *Bando da Lua* on CD.)

PART ONE: Introduction

Song: Samba da Terra. C Major. Band plays samba VAMP quietly in background while I say:

THIS IS THE STORY OF THE BRAZILIAN SONG AND DANCE FORM THAT BECAME KNOWN AS THE SAMBA. The story is about how the samba was created in the hillside slums of Rio de Janeiro and of how it burst out of the slums to become the Brazilian national music.

THIS IS ALSO THE STORY OF A PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANT TO BRAZIL NAMED MARIA DO CARMO MIRANDA DA CUNHA. SHE BECAME KNOWN AS CARMEN MIRANDA IN 1929, WHEN SHE BECAME BRAZIL'S FOREMOST STAR OF SAMBA SONGS. The story is about how Maria do Carmo grew up to leave her impoverished neighborhood in Rio to become both a vocal and visual symbol of Brazil, not only in her own country but also around the world.

THIS IS THE TALE OF THE TWO GREAT BRAZILIAN CITIES THAT MOST INFLUENCED THE SAMBA, RIO DE JANEIRO, THE CAPITOL CITY IN THE 1920'S AND 1930'S, AND SALVADOR DA BAHIA, THE PORT OF ENTRY OF MOST OF BRAZIL'S SLAVES IN TIMES PAST AND THE CRADLE OF AFRO-BRAZILIAN CULTURE.

THIS IS THE STORY OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CARMEN MIRANDA. BAND VAMP TURNS INTO SAMBA OF MY LAND--SAMBA DA MINHA TERRA.

⁵ The use of capitals was to assist the author onstage.

PART TWO:

There are a number of theories about the origin of the word samba. Some say it comes from Congo and Angola, where the majority of Brazilian slaves came from. *Semba* was a synonym for prayer. *Semba* meant prayer and it also was the name of a sensual dance that was done both during religious ceremonies and just for fun. In Arabic, *sahm* means action or movement and *ba* is something that falls down. Others see Portuguese and Spanish roots: *Zambo* was used to refer to the children of Blacks and Indians.⁶

The samba has two beats. The west African slaves played drums and percussion in layers, like a cake. Starting with the most important bass drum, and conga drum, the samba drum groups add many more drums of a variety of sizes, and also shakers. ADD TO THIS THE DOUBLE COWBELL KNOWN AS THE A-GO-GO. Each player plays the same pattern over and over again, and each pattern is syncopated in it's own way so that when they are played together, these rhythms overlap to create a cushioned bed of beats. The dancers float on the beat. The singers swing with it. The samba is irreverent, high spirited, humorous, sensual, effervescent, savage, and often very silly...all at the same time!!!

The African mastery of rhythmic sophistication, combined with the Portuguese love of lyrical melody, turned into the samba.

BASS DRUM BEGINS BATUCADA WHEN I SAY "BASS DRUM". OTHERS ENTER AFTER I SAY LAST LINE.

The 1920's and 30's were a time of tremendous musical innovations in both Brazil with the samba and in the U.S. with jazz. As World War I was raging, North Americans of all classes began dancing to the new dance called

⁶ Gil-Monteiro, Martha, The Brazilian Bombshell: The Biography of Carmen Miranda (Donald I Fine, Inc., 1989, 26.

Ragtime and *Cariocas*, or people from Rio, were shaking to the new dance moves of the samba. Like jazz, the samba was at first considered to be scandalous music, profane, lewd; fit for low class people only. At the same time that Louis Armstrong was electrifying the U.S. with his Hot 5's and 7's recordings in the 1920's, Brazil's greatest samba player and composer, who was known always by his nick name, Pixinguinha, was being invited to play his wild sambas all over Rio de Janeiro and in Europe. Both Armstrong and Pixinguinha were grandsons of slaves. Just as African-American poets, painters, and writers created the Harlem Renaissance in New York, Brazilian novelists, journalists, and thinkers were intensely seeking to identify "the truly Brazilian" elements of their culture. In the 1920's and 1930's, both countries experienced great struggles with issues of race and class. The U.S. had Jim Crow laws in the south to "deal with" issues of race, and Brazil, mostly controlled by a minority white population, was struggling to deal with a huge population of impoverished former slaves and mixed race people. Jazz became synonymous with the U.S. at the same time as Samba became synonymous with Brazil.

(picture of Carmen in costume seen on slide show)

One of the first female singers of to sing this new samba music was Carmen Miranda, born in Portugal, in the year 1909. She arrived in Rio as a one-year-old child in 1910. The songs you hear today are all from her tune list. How did this young Portuguese immigrant to Brazil become such a force in the Rio de Janeiro world of samba? How could Carmen have been loved for 10 years in Brazil and then be shunned by her countrymen after success in Hollywood? How did Carmen, who was white, become the most popular singer of samba, an African-Brazilian music? And most of all, how and why did

Carmen Miranda develop that look?

PART THREE: Song: Brazil. D Major. Jucival Ferreira dances samba. Lyrics translated on slides during song followed by pictures of Rio de Janeiro to be shown during talk.

Rio is a city of neighborhoods that are defined by its spectacular geographical features. Located on the beautiful bay of Guarnabara, Rio is punctuated by dramatic granite mountains which crop up all over the city; there are tropical forests still to this day in Rio! And way too many fabulous beaches. The available flat land around the bay was developed during colonial times into the cities' commercial center, port, and into the elegant old neighborhoods of Rio. In 1888 the slaves were freed, and soon after they began to move around Brazil seeking new opportunities. The people who moved to Rio found that the only available land was straight up these granite mountains, so that's where the newcomers built. These hillside slums became known as *favelas* each one with a unique neighborhood feeling. People who lived in these *favelas* knew each other well and got together after work to hang out and play, sing and dance to the samba. These voluntary associations of sambistas, who are people who make samba, became known as samba schools. The people of Rio remain fiercely loyal to their neighborhood samba schools to this day.

The Miranda da Cunha family established a small boarding house in a working class industrial neighborhood in central central Rio, called Lapa. The Lapa neighborhood had fallen in stature recently because of an effort to clean up the port. The government had banned all prostitution from the area immediately around the port in order to present a rosier picture to tourists when they arrived, and so that booming business had moved to Lapa, a short

distance from the port. Carmen grew up in a mixed race, working class neighborhood with plenty of night life, and full of the sights and sounds of the common working people of Rio.

Carmen's Rio was diverse. There was a class of wealthy white people who held most of the economic and political power. They were mostly influenced by Europe in their education, fashion, philosophies, and outlook. There was a growing working class and merchant class which was partly white and partly people of mixed heritage, called mulatos or *mestiços* in Brazil. There was a growing population of African Brazilians eager to take their place in their modern country. There were also new immigrants arriving all the time from Portugal, Italy, Germany and Lebanon.

When Carmen grew up in this Rio, she could constantly hear the sounds of the drums being played every night in the favelas. She saw black ladies from Bahia, dressed in white lace, walking slowly in the humid heat with their goods in baskets on their heads; they sang out the names of the exotic fruits and desserts they sold on the streets. Carmen grew up listening to the sacred drum beats of the Yoruba religion, to the repetitive, mesmerizing chants of the Yoruba Gods and Goddesses.

PART FOUR: Song: Bahia. B flat. Pictures of Bahia, and slaves shown.

These sentences mixed in with pictures:

Over the period of nearly 300 years, millions of Africans were brought to Bahia as slaves.

At the time of the first census in 1872, Afro-Brazilians (black and mixed race) outnumbered whites five to three.⁷

Currently, the largest African population living outside of Africa lives in

⁷ Skidmore, Thomas, Black into White, 57.

Brazil.

The samba was born and raised in Rio de Janeiro, but the “parents” of the samba came from Bahia.

PART FIVE: Carmen gets famous.

In 1922 radio arrived in Brazil. There was a demand for popular music to fill the airwaves and keep the listeners tuned in. The Miranda family's boarding house was centrally located and close to a number of recording studios, so it was frequently inhabited by musicians. At home doing her chores, Carmen listened to these musicians practice. She often sang along with them. Carmen began to work outside her home when she was 16. She was an excellent seamstress and her first job taught her skills that she used for the rest of her career--she was a hat maker! Carmen was lively and sang a lot as she worked; she was known to charm the male customers and to compliment the ladies. She began to sing at parties with musicians she met at the boarding house. It was at one of these parties that she met Joao de Barros, a famous composer from Bahia. Liking what he heard when she sang, he coached her for a few months, and then brought her to RCA where she was signed immediately. In 1929, she recorded a Carnival march and its reception was enormous. Her voice was so young and appealing as she sang the text, “There, I did everything to make you love me!”.

Song: *Ta-hi* E Minor. Lyrics in translation on slides.

Mardi Gras is called Carnival in Brazil and the music surrounding Carnival is of paramount importance. Carnival came to Brazil along with the first Portuguese settlers. During colonial times, masquerade balls were stylish. By the mid 1800's, people in Rio began promenading around town in their

costumes acting foolishly and pulling pranks. Until the 20th century, the most prominent Carnival dance styles of the upper class were European; waltzes, polkas, schottiches, and marches. But by the 1920's, African Brazilians wanted to take a bigger part in the *Carioca* Carnival. Neighborhood samba groups began to get together and walk through the streets playing their samba drums and singing. The white elite didn't like these wild groups they called *Blocos de Sujus* or "Dirty Groups", and they had them arrested. But *Cariocas* of color refused to accept defeat and be left out of all the fun. One year a samba group had a wonderful idea. They decided to dress up in costumes just like the costumes the white people wore. In 1928, the samba group known as *Deixa Falar* or "Let us speak," paraded through the main streets of Rio dressed in colonial styled costumes and they were received with cheers from people of all classes. From that time on the neighborhood associations of samba players, singers and dancers, called samba schools, have dominated the Fat Tuesday Parade in Rio.

It makes sense that Carmen recorded a march first; she was white and was raised by Portuguese parents. Marches are adored to this day in both Brazil and Portugal, and they continue to be an important Carnival music. In the U.S., our most celebrated composer of marches, John Philip Sousa, was Portuguese. Here's another of Carmen's marches that is sung every year during Carnival.

Song: *Mamae eu quero* B flat. Slide of painting of Carnival scene shown with translation of lyrics.

PART SIX: Carmen's musicians

Carmen grew up in a working class neighborhood, so she walked the

walk and talked the talk of the common people. She used a lot of slang and was known to curse and swear. Her instant fame threw her into dozens of recording sessions and gigs around Rio. She worked with the *crème de la crème* of Rio's musicians; mixed race, black and white. Carmen's personality was perfect for the samba and soon everybody in town was writing sambas specifically for Carmen. She was openly sensual, often flirtatious, humorous, and she had a way of letting her emotions be heard through the melody. People remarked that when they heard her on the radio, they could almost see her, too! The great composer Pixinguinha and his friend, Donga, both famous sambistas, were two of her main accompanists. Pixinguinha can easily be compared with Louis Armstrong. He was a virtuoso on the flute, certainly one of the best of the 20th century. He was as prolific a composer as Armstrong was an improviser! Dorival Caymmi, a composer and singer from Bahia, was her guitarist and dance coach. Sinval Silva, a black auto mechanic who composed, became Carmen's favorite after he wrote hit after hit for her. Silva also worked as her chauffeur. In the studio, and onstage, Carmen worked with the illustrious Ary Barroso, a very distinguished white composer who wrote the international hits "Brazil" and "Bahia." These next two songs were written by the great, much loved Pixinguinha.

Songs: *Lamento*, D Major. introduce band, introduce Tony Hauser, guitarist who will accompany me on next song: *Carinhoso*, A Major.

PART SEVEN: Carmen's look and subsequent international fame

Rio is a trendy city. What's in is in and what's out is way out! After 10 years of huge success, and literally hundreds of samba recordings, Carmen needed to add some spark to her act at the famous *Casino da Urca*.

Working with Caymmi, she developed her dance style to include hand and foot motions more common to Bahia. She was inspired to make a glitzy stage version of the traditional dress of the slave women of Bahia. When she walked onstage, her new look was greeted with gasps of disbelief from the white elites and with cheers from her normal fans. She wore gold fabric; her midriff was bare. She had added the traditional multitudinous necklaces and bracelets worn by the slaves and she had wrapped her head in an African styled turban, and topped it off with tiny baskets of fruits on the turban imitating the black ladies of Bahia. A white girl dressed as a glamorous slave girl singing Afro Brazilian songs? For the white elite, this was too much, but for most samba lovers, Carmen had hit the nail on the head--she looked the way Brazilians wanted to see themselves--a culture resulting from a mixture that was exotic, sensual, fun loving, and alluring.

The time was ripe for Carmen's new look. The new President who had come to power in 1930 was President Getulio Vargas. He'd championed nationalist and populist themes and he was very interested in projecting Brazil into a higher profile in global economics and politics. Like Peron in Argentina, Vargas made good use of the mass media to advance his own political agenda. He was the first president to ask black samba bands to perform at official government functions. He was quick to see the samba as a way to appeal to the working class, and to the large population of poor Brazilians. On national radio shows, he had sambas played in between reports on government programs. He even made a nationalistic ruling about the samba school's Carnival parade: Vargas ruled that the musical and story line themes of the Fat Tuesday Parade must be intrinsically Brazilian. This standard exists even today.

The Caymmi song she sang to accompany this new look praised all things Bahian--its food, customs, traditional dress, and its culture. It celebrated the African contributions to Brazilian culture, finding them precious and finding them to be elements fundamentally Brazilian.

Song: Played on CD: *O Que é que a Baiana Tem?*

Carmen will be heard on CD with the *Bando da Lua*, The Moon Gang, with whom she went to Hollywood. Pictures shown will be of Brazilian foods and of Carmen's costumes.

PART EIGHT: Carmen goes to U.S.A.

In 1939, dressed as the Golden Baiana, Carmen was seen by Lee Schubert who was an important empresario on Broadway. He made her an offer to appear in his upcoming Broadway show "The Streets of Paris." At first Carmen refused because she insisted that her band come with her to America. Schubert was dumbfounded; he wasn't gonna pay for six extra musicians! But Carmen knew what any good singer knows--you can't sound good without the right musicians. "Samba's got to have the right sauce," as they say. She stuck to her guns and insisted on the *Bando da Lua's* accompaniment. President Vargas seized on the news of Carmen's refusal and got the Department of Propaganda to guarantee passage for the band. They sailed from Rio with an enormous amount of press coverage. Carmen was to be the first Brazilian to appear on Broadway and President Vargas had placed her in charge of promoting the samba to the U.S. and to the world. Certainly a large responsibility for a woman with a sixth grade education! When she arrived in New York, Carmen created such a sensation that they changed the mannequins on 5th Avenue to match Carmen Miranda's turban and bare midriff

and numerous necklaces. She thrilled audiences with what became her trademark song in the U.S., "*Tico Tico*".

Song: *Tico Tico*. E Minor

PART NINE: Carmen's heart breaks

Carmen's year in the U.S. included Broadway stardom, tours of the east coast, dozens of nightclub appearances, an invitation to sing at the White House for President Roosevelt, dinners at the Brazilian Embassy with world leaders and socialites, and finally an invitation to appear in a Hollywood movie called "Down Argentine Way." In 1939, President Roosevelt was anxious to show Adolf Hitler that the American world was one big happy, close-knit family. Carmen's arrival couldn't have been more timely. She was used to promote the "Good Neighbor" policy in American films. Carmen became a symbol, an icon. Her image was used to present a non-existent pan American Latina--good-natured, fiery, lively and a big friend to Uncle Sam! Too bad the Hollywood producers didn't do their homework; the film shows an almost total lack of awareness of Argentine culture. It was actually banned in Argentina for some time. Carmen's movies were largely rejected by South American audiences in general and Brazilian audiences in particular. Sambas weren't featured in these films; she sang too many insipid rumbas and production pieces. Many saw this as a sellout on Carmen's part, not knowing that Carmen herself had absolutely no control over the film. In fact, the only element she remained in control of in her movies was her costumes.

Her return to Rio was a big event even still, and people anxiously awaited her new show at the *Casino da Urca*. Unknown to Carmen, most of the tickets had been reserved by government officials, the military, and the white

elite--not Carmen's regular crowd to be sure! What happened to Carmen that night caused her pain for the rest of her life and was the main reason she returned to Hollywood and never again performed live in Brazil. Who knows what her motivations were for sure, but I think Carmen, who was poorly educated, wished to show people how she had learned English. She greeted the audience in English and opened with one of the songs from "Down Argentine Way". An icy silence was the response from the audience. She sang several other songs, and met with the same silence. She ran off stage in tears. The next morning every major newspaper in Brazil criticized her for becoming "Americanized" in her year abroad. They called her a traitor to the samba and to her homeland, a sellout. Carmen was inconsolable. She grieved and refused to leave her bedroom. A few weeks after this debacle, she recorded a song as a response to the accusations and left the country for good. She only returned once, many years later, for a restful family visit and of course, she is buried in Rio.

Song: *Me Disseram que eu Voltei Americanizada* or, They Tell Me I returned Americanized. A Minor

PART TEN: Carmen's death

Workaholic would be a good description of the life that Carmen led in Hollywood. She was loved by her fellow actors, and by the American public. Carmen did a million gigs. She accepted every offer, and kept her calendar filled to the max for years on end. She developed habits that probably led to her early death; she took both sleeping pills and pep pills for years to keep up with her insane work schedule. Having been poor as a child left her feeling that there was never enough money; she did support various family members

throughout her life. She was lonely in her private life. She married in her early 40's but was very unhappy in her marriage. Being a devout Catholic, she refused to consider divorce or leave her abusive husband; instead, she worked. In 1955, after collapsing on the television set of the Jimmy Durante Show, she returned home and later was found dead in her bedroom--her heart had failed at the age of 46.

Perhaps some felt guilty as they waited for Carmen's funeral cortege to parade through the streets of Rio, but most people felt love and admiration for this dearly beloved singer. The crowds that greeted Carmen's funeral parade were the largest ever gathered in Rio. The band accompanying her coffin poignantly chose to play her first song, *Ta-Hi* as a mournful dirge. The words to the text caught in people's throats as they recalled young Carmen singing: "There! I did every thing to make you love me!" As they lowered her coffin, the band switched to play Carmen's favorite samba, *Adeus Batucada* or Goodbye Drummers.

Song: *Adeus Batucada* C Major

PART ELEVEN: Closing remarks

Almost 50 years have passed since Carmen died. She still remains one of the most recognized images around the world of things Brazilian. To this day, the Carnival parades all over Brazil make frequent homages to Carmen in both song and costumes. When her musicians returned to Rio after her death, they became involved in developing the new music becoming popular--Bossa Nova! In fact, Carmen's main accompanist, Aloysio de Oliveira, arranged for the first recording session of this new music with the brilliant young composer, guitarist, Joao Gilberto in 1956. Bossa Nova took the planet captive and

Brazilians again were noted for their musical creativity.

I feel very fortunate to have become involved with Brazilian culture. Since receiving my first record of Brazilian music, Sergio Mendes and Brazil 66, I have filled my life with Brazilian music, language, culture, cuisine, folklore, history, and friendships. Learning about Brazil has been like jumping into a tide pool in the warm south Atlantic. Everywhere I swim around, I've discovered fascinating and beautiful things. For a girl from south Minneapolis, the adventures I've had with things Brazilian have given me more excitement and fulfillment than I ever could have imagined. Thank you for joining me today for this celebration of Brazilian popular music.

Thank yous

MLS office staff/ Jo Ellen and Connie, teachers and advisors

Friends, colleagues, fans and students

Mom, my sisters Rene and Peg, Alexandre and Marcela Vallejos

Steven Alm, my husband

Musicians: American and Brazilian

Claudia Maria Queiroz Chaves, lifelong friend and my main interpreter of Brazilian culture and folklore.

Final Song: *Samba do Aviao*, Airplane Samba. by A. C. Jobim.

APPENDIX TWO

The Life and Times of Carmen Miranda

1. Samba da Minha TerraDorival Caymmi
(Samba of my Land)
2. Aquarela do BrasilAry Barroso
(Watercolor of Brazil)
3. Bahia.....Ary Barroso
4. Ta-Hi.....Joubert de Carvalho
(So There)
5. Mamãe Eu QueroVicente Paiva
(Mommy, I want)
6. Lamento.....Pixinguinha/ Joao de Barro
(Lament)
7. Carinhoso.....Pixinguinha/ Vinicius de Moraes
(Caress)
8. O Que é Que a Baiana Tem?Dorival Caymmi
(What does a Girl from Bahia Have?)
9. Tico-Tico.....Zequinha Abreu/ Aloysio Oliveira
10. Me Disseram QueVicente Paiva/ Luiz Peixoto
Eu Voltei Americanizada
(They Tell Me I Returned Americanized)
11. Adeus BatucadaSinval Silva
(Goodbye Drummers)
12. Samba do Aviao.....Tom Jobim
(Airplane Samba)

Mandala Band

Terrence Hughes.....Piano

Cully Swansen.....Bass

Bruce Wintervold.....Drums

Dave Graf.....Trombone

Mary Ann O'Dougherty.....Vocals, Percussion

Joined by

Tony Hauser.....Guitar

Jucival Reis Ferreira.....Dancer

This program is dedicated to my mother
Patricia Coyne O'Dougherty Kast.
Born in the year that women in the United States
received the right to vote, mother is a modern
woman. I'm grateful for the sacrifices she and
my father no doubt made in order to help five
children through college and give them all
piano lessons! She encouraged me to pursue an education;
she has always been supportive of my
artistic career. Mother provided us with wonderful
examples of how to be active members of the
community, both local and global.

This Lecture/ Concert is done in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Liberal Arts. University of Minnesota,
March 18, 2001.