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Carlos Chávez: Exponent of Nationalism

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CARLOS
CHAVEZ

CARLOS CHÁVEZ: EXPONENT OF NATIONALISM

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Katharine Ferris Nutt

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CARLOS CHÁVEZ: EXPONENT OF NATIONALISM

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PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to present an account of the endeavors of Carlos Chávez to reveal Mexican nationalism through music. The study begins with a brief survey of Mexico's history with emphasis upon the presence of caciquismo and caudillismo. Politically, Mexican nationalism is a blend of the dynastic nationalism of sixteenth century Spain and the popular nationalism of the late eighteenth century. Ethnologically, Mexican nationalism includes elements of Spanish, Indian, and mestizo culture. During the century following Independence as well as during Spanish domination the art and music of both Indians and mestizos were thrust aside in favour of a culture of foreign importation. It was the Revolution of 1910 which directly stimulated a rebirth of genuine Mexican culture. Art, literature, music all had their precursors and their exponents. In music, Carlos Chávez early assumed the leadership.

The writer has discussed the theories of Mr. Chávez and his application of them as gleaned from his own writings, from his program of education at the National Conservatory in Mexico, and from his actual compositions. The opinions of contemporary critics have also been analyzed in an attempt to evaluate the achievements of Carlos Chávez as foremost exponent of the nacentista movement in Mexican music.

CHAPTER I

EL CACIQUE IN MEXICO

> The future, the present, and the past are three distinctly different times, like three movements of a symphony. They nevertheless. . . continue each other. . . making it impossible to distinguish between them.[1]
>
> Chávez.

One of the more dominant features of Mexico's history is el cacique, an integral factor politically, econominally, and socially. Inherited from the ancient Aztec tribes, the function of the cacique has gradually lost its original military and religious characteristics and assumed instead the political and social aspects which it has today.

Originally the Spaniards borrowed the term cacique from the Caribs and applied the term to the local Aztec leaders who led their tribes in war and were assistants to the priests. As the Aztecs grew in military strength, however, the cacique, who was elected by a committee of nobles, gradually won powers of a semi-monarchical character to the extent that he finally became the object of a religious adoration.[2]

Despite the fact that with the establishment of

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[1] Carlos Chávez, Toward a New Music (New York: Covici Friede, 1937), p. 13.

[2] Henry Banford Parkes, A History of Mexico (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938), pp. 8 and 22.

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Spanish control both Aztec administration and religion experienced a considerable degree of disintegration, the cacique as a feature of society was modified but not extinguished. Whether nor not they were satisfied with their situation, the natives were almost powerless to change it, so accustomed were they to strong leadership and control. There was a sort of transfer of their blind allegiance from Aztec cacique to conquistador and subsequent administrators. For the Spaniard, with his heritage of absolutism and imperialism, the task of filling the role of cacique was an easy one.

The full force of this element in Mexican history would constitute a study in itself. Certainly it cannot be overestimated. Even in 1810 when Spanish rule finally collapsed and the independence movement ensued, caciquismo could not be uprooted. Throughout the vicious class war from 1810 to 1820, the principle of caciquismo dominated in the several factions and muffled all too soon the cries of free land, abolition of privileged classes and republicanism fostered by the revolutionaries of 1810.

If anything, the cacique becomes an even more potential factor after Mexican independence, for his presence was enhanced by a new and similar development, that of the caudillo. Where the cacique is largely one in control socially and politically, the caudillo is one in control

of the military -- a control usually seized through insurgent activity. There have been times, however, when the caudillo control has been political without being military. It is difficult, therefore, to isolate caudillo and cacique since one man could occupy both positions.

It was again the acknowledgement of one political and social leader with complete power to dictate all phases of Mexican life which permitted, despite the valiant efforts of Benito Juárez and a few others like him, the degeneration of principles of election and suffrage under such regimes as those of Santa Anna and Porfirio Díaz. And both of these men began their careers as caudillos. It is the exercising of caudillismo after the Revolution of 1910 which helps to account for the violent, ruthless character of the local revolts led by such men as Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata, and Álvaro Obregón.

Indeed, it is interesting to note that as various caudillos sought to control urban areas as strongholds, the cacique became more and more the symbol of rural control. One should not infer, however, that the cacique ceased to play any part in city affairs, for Mexico, like the United States, certainly has her local "political bosses."[3]

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[3] In Mexico today the term "cacique" is somewhat of an honorary title as far as its original significance is concerned. It also connotes to the Mexicans, particularly those in rural areas, approximately what the term "political

Cacique rule is still today a great enemy to Mexico's social development and political evolution. It is one of the curses of her heritage, for it is rooted in almost every phase of her existence; it is almost basic in her political philosophy.

Among representatives of this philosophy -- the great and the small -- the figure of Porfirio Díaz towers. Whatever he achieved that blessed his country, and there was much, it cannot be denied that through his ironclad hold he retarded political progress by nearly a half century, and the the Indian, who comprises a great portion of Mexico's population, became a forgotten element. Forgotten, too, were those basic revolutionary cries of land, no privileged classes, equality for all. A general before he became president, Díaz established a powerful, skillful political machine. In 1876 he began the task of making himself a great "national cacique," and he retained his power until 1910.

What was true of politics and economy carried over into the fine arts and cultural life as well. Even when the nation tasted its brief bits of political and social freedom, these intervals were too short to permit similar experiences in the arts. The mestizos[4] -- by far the greater proportion

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3 con't.
boss" would mean in the United States. Thus the term "cacique" is no longer a title, but is applied in situations where dictatorial measures seem to have been used.

[4] The term mestizo warrants a bit of explanation. It is used more or less ethnologically to mean the racial blend

of Mexico's population-- never ceased to create their own art and their own music-- reflections of a stoical, valiant people. However, just as had been true in the days of the viceroys, so also under the Díaz regime, popular art and music were subject to the will of the government.[5] In the cities, folk music became almost non-existent; it survived, however, in the rural districts, beyond the restraints of law and conventions.

It was not that Porfirio Díaz neglected art or music as essential to a nation's growth, but he chose to dictate that of European tradition, of European masters. What originated among the Mexican people -- an indigenous product such as a corrido or son -- these were not worthy of recognition. Popular songs and dances were regarded as base and common, and at times as more than a little dangerous.[6]

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4 con't.
of Spanish and Indian. However, the writer wishes to suggest that this term is used more generally in this country as a matter of convenience. In Mexico, the distinction is made only rarely since mestizos are obviously Mexicans. Throughout our discussion, then, the term mestizo is used to denote the racial blend, but it must be kept in mind that such a blend is, as far as Mexico is concerned, Mexican. Carlos Chávez would say, therefore, not "I am mestizo," but "I am Mexican."

5 Commonly among musicologists there is a distinction made between folk music and composed music whereby the term art is applied only to the latter. No such differentiation has been drawn anywhere in this discussion since it is one to which Chávez does not adhere and one which he has never made in his writings.

6 Expositions of these points of view may be found in Otto Mayer-Serra, La Panorama de la Música Mexicana (México: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1941), Chapt. I, and in Daniel,

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6 Expressions of these sentiments may be found in Otto Mayer-Serra, La Tradición de la Música Mexicana (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1947), Chapter [illegible].

Yet on the ranches far distant from the cities and in remote and isolated villages the Mexican folk continued to sing and to dance. It is to them that we are indebted for the survival of that music which is genuinely Mexican.

Thus the magnitude of the task facing the revolutionaries of 1910 extended to every phase of Mexican life. With the exile of Díaz was to go many of the principles for which his rule had stood, much that was domination and much that was of foreign importation. It was inevitable that such a task could be achieved only through violence, and that that violence should create a confusion which would not clear away for several decades.

Again the themes of land for all, abolition of privileges, and equality were taken up. As a result, the Indian, who through four hundred years had been recognized in Mexican society only occasionally, became an element to be reckoned with.

Such a powerful struggle and vast social evolution could not be confined to the fields of politics and economy only. It required support from the arts where the new era could be expressed in all its freedom, dignity, and vatality.

Fortunately for Mexico she had men like José

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6 con't.
Castañeda, "La música y la revolución mexicana," Boletín de la Música Latino-Americano, V, 437-448, October, 1941.

Yet on the removal of that dyke from the old, it was left to stand and isolated village. Most people felt compelled to stay and to dance. It is to them that we are indebted for a monument of that music which is peculiarly Cuban.

Thus the magnitude of the forces facing the revolutionaries of 1910 extended to every phase of Mexican life. Even the exile of Díaz was no easy matter. The principles for which the rule had stood, among the lower population and among those of foreign importation. It was inevitable that such a task could be achieved only through violence. And the violence should create a condition which could not clear away for several decades.

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Vasconcelos[7] who, as director of public instruction, assumed the work of launching an educational program adequate to the needs of a re-vamped social structure -- a program which included the Indian. Diego Rivera, although he had been in Europe during the actual revolution, returned to take the lead in art -- to express in frescoes on Mexico's very walls the genuine Mexican heritage in landscape and life and the possibilities for Mexico's future. Always the Indian is a dominant figure. Rivera was not alone in meeting the challenge. José Orozco and David Alfaro Siqueiros likewise depicted the new liberty of conscience in murals almost monumental in character.[8] In literature, Mariano Azuela initiated a series of novels of the revolution with his Los de abajo, first published in 1916.[9] In music, which for a time seemed

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[7] José Vasconcelos held the position of minister of education during the presidency of Obregón. He organized a system of education on basic principles and with special attention to primary education and the needs of the Indian population. In carrying out this program, he related the fine arts to it in an endeavor to plant a feeling of nationalism in the minds of the general public.

[8] There had, of course, been other artists and a sort of precursory movement before Rivera, but it is these three-- Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros who are recognized as depicting the problems, struggles, and ideals of social revolution.

[9] Interestingly enough, this novel was published in El Paso, Texas, and received no acclaim until 1924 when a critic recognized in it the theme of the revolution. From then on a series of novels on the revolution came forth, but Azuela seems to stand alone as an initiator.

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to lag, it was Carlos Chávez who designated the way,[10] combining the mezcla of Mexico's culture into rich and colorful music, worthy of the term "Mexican." Thus in these four phases of Mexico's cultural life, it appeared by the middle nineteen twenties that nationalism had at length come into the foreground of events.

Had it been possible to select someone to assume the leadership in developing Mexico's musical nationalism, one could scarcely have made a more logical or fortunate choice than that of Carlos Chávez. Born June 13, 1899, not far from Mexico City, Chávez is the seventh child of Agustín Chávez and Juvencia Ramírez de Chávez, the latter being a full-blooded Indian. Therefore a mestizo, Chávez's ancestry includes many people of eminence,[11] and his grandfather was among the foremost patriots who fought the French invasion of Maximillian. As a boy Chávez spent many months among the Indians of Tlaxcala where he imbibed a wealth of Indian melody which was to become the basis of some of his later compositions.

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[10] Carlos Chávez was not the first to endeavor to create musical nationalism. His teacher, Manuel M. Ponce, attempted to be a nationalist and even wrote a manifesto for a school of music nationalism, but he never got beyond the initial stages. Ponce died only April 24, 1948, not long after he had received the award in Arts and Sciences, an award set up by President Miguel Alemán. Ponce's prize was for 20,000 pesos ($4,000).

[11] Herbert Weinstock, "Carlos Chávez," Carlos Chávez, A Catalogue of His Works (Washington: P.A.U., 1944), p. x.

Chávez was Mexican educated. He received his early musical training from his brother Manuel. Later he studied with two musicians of importance, Manuel M. Ponce and Pedro Luis Ogazón.[12] From the standpoint of formal musical education, his training is negligible. He spent some years abroad, but he did not actually study at any of the European conservatories.[13]

Chávez, who during his formative years composed in the European tradition, wrote his first composition in the new vein in 1921.[14] He was active among Mexican musicians throughout the twenties, but received his first official appointment in 1928 when he became Director of Mexico's national conservatory. Since that time he has been virtual director of Mexico's music, particularly through his vitalizing the entire system of musical education. Almost single-handed he created Mexico's symphony orchestra, now ranked with the best of the world. He has salvaged the music of the Indian, the music of remote Mexico, and has assured its

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[12] Pedro Luis Ogazón, an eminent pianist, was an erudite musician as well, and probably gave Chávez his wide acquaintance with classical and romantic literature. Ogazón may also have trained Chávez to be the precise critic that he is.

[13] Herbert Weinstock, "Carlos Chávez," The Musical Quarterly, XXII, 438, October, 1936.

[14] Chávez was commissioned to write this composition El Fuego Nuevo, a Mexican ballet, by José Vasconcelos. The work reveals the first fruits of the Indian music which Chávez absorbed in many visits among the natives of Tlaxacala.

existence to posterity. In the turmoil of revolution, Chávez recognized those qualities which are most expressive of the Mexican nation, and he, more than any other Mexican musician, has endeavored to blend those qualities into a nationalism worthy of a people and worthy of world respect.

His entire program has been one of exceeding breadth and vision, but he has carried it out amid bitter objection and criticism, hampered by men whose political outlook failed to see the need for a cultural renaissance. Although his work with the symphony orchestra has been unbroken, that of his educational program was cut off just when it got underway, in 1934. During the late thirties, when Chávez began to receive recognition abroad, his native country treated him more kindly, and in 1944 he was offered a chair in the Colegio de México. Under Alemán's regime, Chávez has been assigned to an important post as virtual director of Mexico's fine arts. It appeared that Chávez had finally gained the admiration and appreciation which his long efforts deserve.

Then, late in July of 1948, two publications[15] in Mexico City carried bitter criticisms of Carlos Chávez, whom they termed a "cacique" dominating all musical roads and impeding particularly the progress of youthful musicians and composers.

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[15] "Director or Dictator," Time, LII, August 9, 1948. The Mexican publications referred to are Hoy and Manana.

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[5] "Director or Director?," [illegible], [illegible], August 3, 1952. The Mexican publications referred to are [illegible] and [illegible].

Perhaps the most bitter of his attackers is José Ives Limantour, director of the symphony orchestra of Jalapa. In his recent article entitled "Nueva Música," he has criticized Mr. Chávez for his dictatorial policies and musical monopoly. Limantour has even gone as far as to assert that Chávez has never created a musical nationalism and that no such phenomena exists in Mexico.[16]

Whether evoked through sincerity or jealousy, the remarks of Limantour and the others were harsh and called forth hot replies from Chávez himself, who was resentful and indignant.

It is not this writer's purpose to prove the truth or falsity of the recent claims. The objective of this study is rather that of revealing the record of Mr. Chávez in its relation to the expression and progress of Mexico's nationalism. Yet any analysis of his objectives and endeavors or of his achievements necessarily exposes his basic philosophy.

That the cacique should have woven its way into Mexico's music would indeed be disappointing. Yet in view of what Mr. Chávez has done to combat that very element in even more subtle forms renders such a judgment of him as that cited above seem quite incredible.

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[16] "Musictorrazo. . .," Hoy, no. 596, 23-24, Julio 24, 1948.

CHAPTER II

PANORAMA OF NATIONALISM

> A national work should realize a maximum of universal experience.[1]
>
> Chávez.

Nationalism is not a phenomenon limited to Mexico nor can it be limited to the field of music. Mexican nationalism is thus a product of several centuries of political development on the continent of Europe and the subsequent reflection of this development in the affairs of Mexico. As for musical nationalism, it is an integral part of political nationalism and accordingly may be treated as such.

We are prone to look upon Mexican nationalism as an expression of the Independence movement provoked into action when the French Revolution struck off the blaze of rampant nationalism on the continent of Europe. There is no denying that France probably provided the greatest possible stimulation to Mexico's revolution. Yet to confine Mexican nationalism within the limits of the nineteenth century is to overlook or deny a very vital part of Mexican nationalism, the inception of which occurred much earlier and not in France but in 16th century Spain.

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[1] Carlos Chávez, "La opera como forma," Mexico en el Arte, 4, Octubre, 1948.

Nationalism can be classified as both dynastic and popular, the former being more or less typical in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the latter being to a great degree typical of both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A phenomenon of modern history, nationalism in its dynastic tendencies may be affiliated with the great period of commercial expansion, trans-oceanic exploration and discovery. At the time of its inception nationalism was the machination of monarchs such as Isabella and Ferdinand of Spain[2] who were looking from Moorish invasions against which petty feudal kingdoms could scarcely prevail to a new commercial expansion, envisioning for their countries, perhaps, a role which they did not envision for their people. Thus dynastic nationalism was something of which the people, thinking of themselves as a sort of community with allegiance to a King or Queen, were scarcely conscious.

As Spain's history exemplifies, dynastic nationalism was a bold, daring expression. Basically commercial in purpose, it stretched beyond geographic and political limitations, even assuming a considerable degree of control over ecclesiastical administration. Following the discovery of a new continent, in 1492, dynastic nationalism became also

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[2] Political union of the greater part of Spain was achieved in 1479. Isabella had become queen of Castile in 1474; Ferdinand became king of Aragon in 1479, but they had married in 1469. The expulsion of the Moors in 1492 strengthened Spain's nationhood.

trans-oceanic, seeking the new wealth and greater commerce essential to its support.

One of the chief centers of Spanish expansion in the New World was Mexico, which inherited something of the pattern of dynastic nationalism and certainly felt its far-reaching effects. The patterns of the Mother Country became inherent in the colony. In exercising her own nationalism, Spain unconsciously implanted in Mexico nationalistic desires of such strength that they remain even today. The conflict between church and state is only one example.

It took such a forceful series of events as those of the industrial revolution in Europe to bring into being the popular nationalism of more direct concern to our discussion. With industrialization, came social upheaval, the depopulation of the rural areas and the stocking of the towns -- a complete break-down of feudalism. Thrown into closer contact and communication, victims of a social change coming too rapidly for absorption, the people had new needs, and new demands. They lacked the imagination and understanding necessary for the satisfaction of such demands and needs.

Thinkers and philosophers as well as social reformers were required to arouse the minds of the masses, and the weapon employed was nationalism. No longer in the hands of the monarchs, nationalism was converted into a new vital patriotism, a patriotism which argued that geographic

boundaries enclosing peoples of similar language and culture give those people something of a pride in themselves, and a pride which warrants specific rights and freedoms. The less philosophical side of the argument was that men were no longer bound to the soil, and with mobility had come new demands for social security. These demands autocracy was unable to adjust.

With ideals of national patriotism transferred into genuine aspirations of nationalism, the movement became rampant. The Revolution of 1776, creating the United States, proved a successful experiment, but the French Revolution which followed initiated and symbolized the intense nationalization which was to ensue throughout the nineteenth century.[3]

During the centuries of Spanish domination, Mexico reflected not only the vicissitudes and upheavals of the mother country, but all of the political turmoil abroad. In a sense, she served as a natural haven for political refugees and exiles and welcomed the expatriots of other turbulent nations as well as those of Spain. Thus the political theory of both the American and French Revolutions had opportunity to thrive in Mexico, just as it had had on the European continent.

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[3] Harold D. McKinney and W. R. Anderson, Music in History (New York: American Book Company, 1940), pp. 701-702.

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It should not be inferred, however, that Mexican nationalism resulted wholly from external forces. Rather, as these forces entered Mexico, they stimulated the growth of a desire for independence which had long been latent in a people weary of superimposed economics, politics, and culture. By 1800, the financial demands of the decadent Spanish autocracy had indeed become a burden to Mexico. In their last desperate attempts to eradicate whatever existed of genuine national feeling, the colonial administrators, during the opening decade of the nineteenth century, further impelled the ultimate expression of political nationalism.[4]

With the abdication of Charles IV in 1808 and the occupation of the throne at Madrid by the Frenchman Joseph Bonaparte, Mexico seized upon the troubles abroad as the occasion for making her own demands of land for all, racial equality, and the abolition of privileged classes. In its fervency, the movement initiated by Hidalgo in 1810 got out of hand. Bitter class struggle ensued until finally, independence from Spain was officially achieved in 1821.

Much that was characteristic of the development of

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[4] Aware for instance that ideals of the French Revolution were circulating among the populace, the Spanish administrators distrusted any expression of the popular song as a symbol of anti-Spanish spirit. The extreme to which this distrust was carried is illustrated in the instance of two German clavichord makers in Mexico City who in 1790 and 1795 were tried for sympathizing with the ideals of the French Revolution. Otto Mayer-Serra, op. cit., pp. 17 and 105.

popular nationalism in the countries of Europe was apparent also in the Mexican pattern. There was the same reaction against absolutism, the same demand for equality. Yet in view of the long centuries of foreign oppression and exploitation, national freedom came as a surprise and something not wholly understood.

As had happened in France, and as it was to happen in Russia nearly a century later, despite their desires, the Mexican people were unable to handle the situation. Thus they entered into a stage of what might be termed national apprenticeship during which the control fell into the hands of a few men or of one man. In France there had been the Directorate and the return to Empire under the two Bonapartes. In Mexico, apprenticeship proved to be even longer, at least until 1921, with resumptions of the old pattern even later. It is not strange that she should be so long in achieving genuine nationalism, Spanish domination had been so complete. An entire social class, the Indian as well as the Mestizos, had to be rescued from near oblivion and reinstated as an integral racial element. Such recognition could not be achieved all at once, and it was not until the Revolution of 1910-1920 that Indian and mestizo entered the foreground to stay.

Meanwhile the caudillo and the cacique set the stage and tone of Mexico's history throughout the nineteenth

century. Caudillo fought caudillo for power, and in most instances, having once gained the power, the caudillo envisioned himself as a great national figure. From 1876 until 1910, Porfirio Díaz dictated the policies of a nation whose people gradually awakened to the realization that they had not achieved freedom after all.

What occurred in Mexico's fine arts throughout the periods of Spanish domination and the first century of Mexico's independence is a story closely related to the history of Mexico's political nationalism. Yet, nationalism was experienced in the arts, and especially in music, from the days of the Conquest onward.[5] It was a movement which in its persistence, at least, was strong enough to have existed almost independent of the political phases.

It appeared as though the nationalistic tendencies in music lay even more dormant than those in politics. It is true that throughout both the Spanish control, from 1521 until 1821, and the first century of Mexican independence, from 1821 until 1920, the objective of most of the administrative leaders[6] was to stifle any indigenous and popular expression in favor of a culture wholly of foreign importation.[7]

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[5] Daniel Castañeda, op. cit., p. 438.

[6] Benito Juárez, in 1857, would be a notable exception. Himself an Indian, he endeavored to establish a real program of education for the Indian's benefit and further encouraged the Indian to express himself.

[7] Mayer-Serra, op. cit., p. 104.

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It is, however, a striking feature of Mexico's history that the popular arts never died, but that "outlawed," as it were, from the urban areas, they survived in the rural districts, on the ranches, and in the remote Indian villages beyond the reach of the law.

Indeed, Mexico has a long musical past. We know this past from historical records kept in the days of the conquistadores and from research done by just such persons as Carlos Chávez and his students at the National Conservatory.[8] From the plethora of instruments that date to pre-Conquest days and from the wealth of indigenous melodies heard in remote sections of Mexico today, we can conclude that music was not one of the "civilizing" influences that needed to be brought from Spain to the Indian.

The Spaniard, however, believed music was essential as is evidenced by the fact that in 1524 Pedro de Gante, Franciscan and brother of Emperor Charles V, founded the first school of music in the new world near Texcoco.[9] It was Pedro's theory that Christianity could be taught the Indian through song. Pedro de Gante was a man of good will -- a worthy churchman, a conscientious educator. Nevertheless, it is to him that we must credit the beginning of that foreign

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[8] A complete discussion of his educational program will be found in Chapter IV.

[9] Manuel M. Ponce, "Apuntes sobre música Mexicana," Boletin Latino-Americano de Musica, III, 40, April, 1937.

domination which abandoned the wealth of native music and imposed the European. Unfortunately, musical leaders following de Gante were rarely men of such vision. To most of them the indigenous element was nothing of consequence. The vital, rich, fresh music of the folk never was lost in Mexico, but it is historically significant that with the coming of Cortés, it ended as purely indigenous music.[10] Thereafter it appears in a blend, to varying degrees, with that of the foreign importation. Genuine Mexican music was, however, until 1910, "a direct product of the sentiment of the people, a manifestation exclusive to the humble classes of creoles and mestizos who were more in contact with the Indians and less with the culture of city peoples."[11]

It was in the cities, however, that folk music actually came in conflict with the law. Both the church and the civil administration frowned upon such music as common, base, and even immoral.[12] A series of edicts by the viceroys prohibited dances and ridiculed them as obscene, offensive, indecent and provocative, poison to morality, "lascivious to the eyes, ears, and other senses."[13] In 1779, the assembling

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[10] Loc. cit.

[11] Castañeda, op. cit., pp. 437-438.

[12] Mayer-Serra, op. cit., p. 104.

[13] Loc. cit.

of both sexes at dancing schools was absolutely prohibited, under penalty of four years in a foreign garrison. Teachers or mistresses of these schools and those who assisted with the music were subject to six months imprisonment.[14]

Even as late as the end of the colonial era, the Mexican press reflected similar indignation against dancing and all popular arts. The attitude was actually contemptuous of indigenous expression.[15]

The gravest hostility, however, was demonstrated just before the insurgent movement of 1810. It is not surprising that, as in many revolutionary movements, much of the stimulus came from popular and national songs. Many of these reflected the disfavor in which the officials of the Empire were held. Some reflected the urgent cry for land and economic freedom. Others were caricatures of government agents -- genuine precursors of the "picaresca" so much a part of the Revolution of 1910 and so much an element of Mexican music today. Forbidden by the Spanish government now quite decadent, these expressions of liberal ideas continued underground.[16] Despite the protests, denunciations, and prohibitions, however, both the folk songs and the republican ideas continued to be expressed. Interestingly enough it was often through the

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[14] Loc. cit.

[15] Ibid., p. 105.

[16] Loc. cit.

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[14] Loc. cit.

[15] Ibid., p. 185.

[16] Loc. cit.

medium of the theater -- short plays and musicales -- that folk music and republicanism gained an audience. As a result, at the end of the colonial era, some song-dances of Mexico had even attained permanent recognition, equivalent to that of the songs imported from Europe.[17]

While the folk element struggled for existence, formal music flourished. In 1825, the precursive Philharmonic Society was established by Don Mariano Elizaga; in 1835 don Antonio Gómez created the great philharmonic society, and in 1866, a cultivated Catholic priest, don Agustín Caballero founded the "Sociedad Filarmónica Mexicana" which later (1868) was converted into the present Conservatorio Nacional de Música.[18]

Not long after independence from Spain was achieved, an influx of foreign influences other than Spanish occurred. With the French invasion and Maximillian's court came French music which later suffered from a violent reaction which expressed itself in intense Italianization. It was during this latter period that Italian opera began its lengthy regime and shackled completely any national opera in Mexico -- shackles which are being broken for the first time only

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[17] Ibid., p. 106.

[18] Juan Leon Marischal, "La Música Moderna en México," Boletín Latino-Americano de Música, III, 110, April, 1937.

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While the folk elements [illegible] for entertainment, formal music flourished. In 1826, the [illegible] Philharmonic Society was established by Juan [illegible]. In 1828 Don Antonio Gomez created the first philharmonic society, and in 1836, a cultivated Catholic priest, Don Agustin Caballero founded the "Sociedad Filarmonica Centroamericana" which, later (1852) was converted into the [illegible] Conservatorio Nacional de Musica.[18]

For long after independence from Spain, there was no love, an infant of foreign influence in [illegible] which [illegible] occurred. With the French invasion [illegible] William's court [illegible] music which later [illegible] expressed itself in [illegible] [illegible] this latter period [illegible] regime and [illegible] [illegible] academies which [illegible]

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[17] Ibid., p. 100.

[18] Juan Leon Mejia Sanchez, "La Música en Nicaragua," Boletín Latino-Americano de Música, [illegible], 1941, [illegible].

today.[19] With the industrialization and the importation of foreign capital came the techniques of French and German music which "displaced Italian hegemony in European musical art."[20] Mexico's formal music continued in imitation of foreign models until the decade following 1910 when, says Mayer-Serra, "Mexican culture arrayed in the popular and vernacular essences, reclaimed its inalienable rights. And musical nationalism was born in Mexico."[21]

As Chávez himself has suggested, once a music has been played on a nation's soil and has been taken into the hearts of a people, even temporarily, it can never quite be erased from their music.[22] It is for this same reason that Daniel Castañeda, in an article on music and the Mexican Revolution, describes Mexican music as the mixture of the pre-Cortesian, plus that of Europe and Spain, modified

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[19] The first operas written by Mexicans and on Mexican themes are being presented in the fall season of 1948, under the direction of the newly coordinated Institute of Fine Arts of which Chávez is head.

There were frequent attempts at opera, utilizing Mexican stories such as the legend of Quezalcoaltl, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, none of these was ever written with sufficient freedom from foreign style, particularly that of the Italian, to ever be considered Mexican.

[20] Mayer-Serra, op. cit., p. 99.

[21] Ibid., p. 93.

[22] Carlos Chávez, "Los Compositores y la Tradición Nacional," Boletín de la O. S. M., no. 2, 25, Mayo 10, 1940.

today.[19] With the industrial revolution came a new wave of foreign capital and the movements of Europe and Germany music which "displaced the Italian tradition in Europe and art."[20] Mexico's formal music model was a fusion of foreign models until the decade following 1910 when, says Meyer-Serra, "Mexican culture emerged in the popular and vernacular essence, and also in indigenous and musical nationalism was born in Mexico."[21]

As Chavez himself has suggested, music has been played on a muddy soil and has been carried into the hearts of a people, even though, it can never quite be erased from their minds.[22] It is for this same reason that Daniel Sarabhess, in his article on music and the Mexican Revolution, describes modern music as the mirror of the pre-Cortesian, plus that of Europe and Spain, modified

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[19] The first opera written by Mexicans and on Mexican themes are being performed in the fall season of 1964, under the direction of the newly organized Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes of which Chavez is head.

There were musical groups in Oaxaca, Puebla, Mexico City, etc. as far as the end of the eighteenth, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Here, as, many of these was ever written with artistic freedom from European style, particularly that of the Italian, so that we can consider Mexican.

[20] Meyer-Serra, op. cit., p. 4.

[21] Ibid., p. 32.

[22] Carlos Chavez "Los Compositores y la Tradition Nacional," Boletin de Latin [illegible]

by other influences such as the African and the Cuban, evident since the Conquest days of the sixteenth century.[23]

Mexican music, then, has many component parts, although by far the greatest and most genuine portion is the so-called *música popular*. This element is rooted in another epoch, but seems to have crystallized during the days of the Republic. Because of the diverse geographic, ethnic and cultural conditions of the Republic, popular music appears diverse, Castañeda says, like a mosaic painted of many colored figures. He terms it "*policroma* and *polifacética* and writes: "Imagine a coverlet started by hands of one of our grandmothers and made of pieces of percale and cambric and you will have an image of our popular music."[24]

As Mexican music crystallized, the fundamental psychological elements became more apparent. Chief among these are the inherent melancholy, the product perhaps of the three centuries of Spanish supremacy, and in sharp contrast to it the roguishness and double sense of love and critical freedom of the people who ridiculed their officers, religious and military. Just as the *picaresca* is basic in their art, so likewise is the same quality innate in their music. Among the Mexican people this feeling for the sad and for

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[23] Castañeda, *op. cit.*, p. 440; Mayer-Serra, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[24] Castañeda, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

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As Mexican music crystallized, the fundamental psychological elements became more apparent. Outer among these are the inherent melancholy, the exquisite patience of the three centuries of Spanish supremacy, and in sharp contrast to it the roguishness and double sense of love and political freedom of the people who ridiculed their officers, religious and military. Just as the *chiaroscuro* is basic in their art, so likewise is the same quality innate in their music. Among the Mexican people this feeling for the sad and for

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[23] Castañeda, op. cit., p. 4-5; Mayer-Serra, op. cit., p. 119.

[24] Castañeda, op. cit., p. 4-5.

the ridiculous is almost a sixth sense of creole and mestizo. Nor is it something which dates from Independence only. It extends back to the sixteenth century and was found in the indigenous songs of oral transmission as records of Bernal Díaz and Sahagún indicate.[25]

Such, then, were the elements and qualities of the música popular which was to triumph in the Revolution of 1910. The popular arts and rural life seemed to converge in objects of culture and admiration on the part of urban leaders. Dances and songs of indigenous Mexico were recognized and published. Lively revolutionary ballads and caricatures spread abroad the countryside. It was in this revolution that Mexican artists saw a vehicle for transmitting new ideas and new techniques, and for the first time in Mexico's history -- of expressing that which was truly Mexican. The Indian became a great theme for a new nationalized art.[26]

The Indian phase of Mexican nationalism is symbolized by a series of great artists -- Diego Rivera and Clemente Orozco having earned the greatest fame.[27] Their equivalent in the musical domain is represented by the name of Carlos

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[25] Ibid., p. 441.

[26] Mayer-Serra, op. cit., p. 159, quoting Robert Redfield, "The Indian in Mexico."

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[25] Ibid., p. 491.

[26] Meyer-Zarra, op. cit., p. 129; [illegible] Robert Redfield, "The Indian in Mexico."

[27] Meyer-Zarra, op. cit., p. 127.

Chávez. Neither the field of art nor that of music, however, was without its precursors who worked during the years from 1910 to 1925. In painting it was Saturnino Herán; in literature, Ramón López Velarde; and in music, Manuel Ponce, who were to accomplish the necessary orientation before the real nationalism could come forth. If they still relied upon European techniques and fell short of a genuinely national product, they are still "los abuelos de nuestro actual nacionalismo."[28]

The products of these three men marked a liberal road with respect to that of their predecessors in the arts from 1900-1910. They reacted against the work of musicians, painters, and poets completely under French and German influence. In common with political reformers these young men had the unrest of revolution and expectation of realization; yet one must bear in mind that they were educated in the Profirian culture, almost entirely a foreign importation.[29]

In 1912, Manuel Ponce presented a memorable concert, the program of which was devoted entirely to his own compositions. It was held in Mexico City. Among the compositions were included a series of piano pieces based upon popular melodies. This artistic event signified the inauguration

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[28] Castañeda, op. cit., p. 443.

[29] Carlos Chávez, "La Primera Etapa Nacionalista," El Universal, February 28, 1937.

of a new phase in the history of Mexican music.[30]

It is true that Manuel M. Ponce is not the first Mexican composer to write in a national vein. There were other precursors, but all sink into insignificance in comparison. As a harmonizer and investigator, Ponce was the first to give ample folk basis to his artistic work. Ponce recognized the majority of representative types of the mestizo folklore and inbued the principal of selection and classification with the aim of describing the most beautiful melodies hidden in the multitude of songs accumulated by the popular music. Ponce was primarily interested in the song and felt the form most representative of the country. He said, for instance:

> . . . that the songs of the north, quick and decisive, illustrate the frontiers, languid melodies interpret the melancholy of the central provinces, wastrel songs describe the voluptuousness of the tropics, and songs of love, of comedy, of sadness, popular all over the country contain in their simplicity all the life of the Mexican people, who love, indulge, and are sad.[31]

Perhaps the most significant contribution of Ponce was the use of the popular basis for the creation of a representative musical nationalism. He assimilated the conventional folk styles and succeeded in creating an

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[30] Mayer-Serra, op. cit., p. 95.

[31] Ibid., p. 117, quoting Ponce, Revista Musical de México, 15, IX, 1919.

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[30] Meyer-Serra, op. cit., p. 25.

[31] Ibid., p. 115. Quoting Ponce, Nuevata Revista de México, 15, 1, 1919.

amalgamation of harmonic body and popular melody expressed and realized by a romantic musical substance. That Ponce did not complete the evolution of musical nationalism is true, but he did offer an artistic style of absolute perfection, in a type and quality not formerly achieved. It was Ponce who orientated Mexican composers to writing in a vein other than that of the European character. It was he who inaugurated such a type of "folk" symphony as was pursued immediately by the following significant orchestral works by Mexican composers:

Manuel M. Ponce, Chapultepec, 1921.
Carlos Chávez, El Fuego Nuevo, 1921.
José Rolón, El Festín de los Enanos, 1921.
Candelario Huizar, Imágenes, 1928.
Silvestre Revueltas, Cuauhnauac, 1930.[32]

That Ponce should have failed in achieving real nationalism and that Carlos Chávez should have accomplished it, is perhaps best clarified in the light of the criticisms of Ponce's work as made by Chávez in an article entitled "The First Stage of Mexican Nationalism," and printed in El Universal in 1937.

Chávez's attack was based upon a sort of manifesto for Mexican nationalism which Ponce published in 1927.[33]

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[32] Mayer-Serra, op. cit., p. 153.

[33] Ponce seems to have written rather prolifically on his theories, without revising them. One finds approximately the same account in several publications following that in Revista Musical de México, in 1919.

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[32] Mayer-Serra, op. cit., p. 133.

[33] Ponce seems to have written rather proliferally on his theories, without revealing them. One finds approximately the same account in several publications following that in Revista Musical de México, in 1923.

His principal points may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. that an arbitrary importation of European culture had been made and no national soul had been formed.

2. that the violent contrasts of class in Mexican society and of the "rastacuerismo" reigning in that era are principal causes of the agonizing of musical vernacular which had to hide its head like a blushing girl.

3. that it was necessary to salvage popular songs from oblivion (composers had at least kept them alive by incorporating them in arrangements and in rhapsodies). that this attempt to rescue the popular song coincided with the formidable revolutionary shake-up initiated in the north of our Republic.

4. that there was no authentic pre-conquest music in existence and that what must have existed was that of other barbarian peoples -- principally exclamations without thought used to support their morale while working, just as has been observed among the African tribes.

5. that it is doubtful whether any real folk germ exists in native music. . . that only in the vernacular music [34] exists the latent element indispensable for constituting a national music.

6. that in the interest of nationalism it is the task of the composer to give form to the music of the people. That the fossilization of these songs should be avoided and that the work of real enriching, of artistic stylization, and of raising them to the category of a work of art ought to be done.

It will be evident from the above points that Ponce all but excluded the value of indigenous music, stressing

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[34] The confusion of terms here is unavoidable since not all critics use the same ones. Ponce discounted the indigenous or native music entirely. By "vernacular" he means "mestizo" -- a hybrid product coming from the blending of the Indian and Spaniard plus some additional foreign elements. "Vernacular" music would not be so old as some of the music Chávez chooses to incorporate in his works.

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rather the value of what he calls the vernacular or mestizo, a blending of native music since the Conquest with that of later elements. Chávez, as it will be evident in later discussion, has implicit faith in the value of Indian music, and stresses again and again that the Indian is too large an element of Mexican population to strike his music out entirely. To fail to include this quality as a phase of Mexican nationalism is to render an incomplete picture of nationalism.

Chávez's second quarrel with Ponce concerned the latter's theory that there was probably never any real music among the Indians before the Conquest. Chávez, who has done considerable research among the remote Indians and has actually attempted to reconstruct their music, naturally finds Ponce's premise unacceptable.

A third point of view of Ponce's which Chávez not only refutes but almost resents is Ponce's idea that the task of the folklorist in music is to enrich and enoble the popular inspirations. Ponce suggested that Mexican music had no soul. He never defined just what he meant by soul yet he would take away from the music whatever soulful qualities it might have.

Then there is the question of techniques and procedures, and here again the composers disagreed. Ponce would follow the technique of harmonizing the popular melody, thus confirming the style of the European composers of the

nineteenth century. "His very production confirms it. . . . He understands as the triumph of the Mexican songs, its entrada into the fastidious salons."[35] Disdainful of its genuine spontaneous qualities, he grabs it discreetly, but says Chávez, to stylize, to enoble, to harmonize popular melodies is not to realize the true function of the artistic creation.

Ponce failed to be anything more than a precursor of Mexico's nationalism, for he failed to appreciate the intrinsic values of both the indigenous and vernacular music. Perhaps the reason for his failure is, as Chávez suggests, due to his thoroughly Porfirian education which prevented his being revolutionary.[36] The most that may be said of him is that he was post porfirian.

Of the other composers mentioned, José Rolón and Caudelario Huizar, though writers of merit, more or less abandoned the national theme. Silvestre Revueltas, less attracted to the Indian music than to the vernacular, displayed considerable promise, but died (in 1940) before his ability had matured.

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[35] Carlos Chávez, "La Primera Etapa Nacionalista," El Universal, February 28, 1937.

[36] Manuel M. Ponce was born in 1886 and was educated at Sternsches Konservatorium in Berlin (Professor Martin Krause), 1905-1909; at École Normale de Musique, Paris (Maestro Paul Dukas), 1925-1931, degree of Licence de Composition. His education, then, was not only thoroughly Porfirian, but European as well.

It is interesting that while Ponce was formulating his doctrines and was actually composing on the Mexican scene, Chávez was writing wholly in the typical European vein.[37] His early compositions are traditional in style, technique, and mood. The force of the Mexican Revolution and the artistic keynotes struck by such men as José Vasconcelos and Diego Rivera awakened Chávez to the fact that he and Mexico needed to be freed of imitation.

In 1922 Chávez went to Berlin where he hoped to find a new fresh musical outpouring. He found instead the same routine and stagnation which had sickened him against music in Mexico. To Chávez the best of imitation is still "pseudo." It was apparent that the only way to have a new and individual music was to make it himself. With that as his objective, he returned home.

His European trip was not entirely void, however, for Chávez had come into contact with the still highly controversial music of the artist-reformer Claude Debussy and that of the more classical Maurice Ravel. Whether or not we regard either of these men as nationalistic does not matter. Each

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[37] Herbert Weinstock makes mention of the fact that Chávez did write his first compositions in European vein. (See his article on Chávez in The Musical Quarterly, XXII, 438, October, 1936). Chávez himself holds these early works quite in disdain. They are not even included in the Pan American Union Catalogue of his compositions.

It is interesting that while Chavez was formulating his doctrines and was actually composing on the Mexican scene, Chavez was writing wholly in the typical European vein.[37] His early compositions are traditional in style, technique, and mood. The force of the Mexican Revolution and the artistic keynote struck by such men as Jose Vasconcelos and Diego Rivera awakened Chavez to the fact that he and Mexico needed to be freed of imitation.

In 1922 Chavez went to Berlin where he hoped to find a new fresh musical outpouring. He found instead the same routine and stagnation which had sickened him against music in Mexico. To Chavez the best of imitation is still pseudo. It was apparent that the only way to have a new and individual music was to make it himself. With this as his objective, he returned home.

His European trip was not entirely void, however, for Chavez had come into contact with the still highly controversial music of the artist-reformer Claude Debussy and that of the more classical Maurice Ravel. Whether or not we regard either of these men as nationalists does not matter. Each

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[37] Herbert Weinstock makes mention of the fact that Chavez did write his first compositions in European vein. (See his article on Chavez in The Musical Quarterly, XXIX #3, October, 1943). Chavez himself notes these early works quite in disdain. They are not even included in the Pan American Union Catalogue of his compositions.

was daring to be different, to be individual. Among the Russian composers writing contemporaneous with their Revolution of 1917, Igor Stravinsky and Dimitri Shostakovitch especially attracted Chávez because of the realism and freedom in their compositions. If the certain clarity, delicacy, and wit apparent in Chávez is akin to the French spirit of Debussy and Ravel, then it is the darker, stronger elements of realism that are derived from the Russian composers.[38] As Aaron Copland, an American composer and critic, has noted:

> It is a curious fact that he (Chávez) should have been able in his more recent work to alternate and combine the two kinds of nationalism represented, respectively, by the French and Russian schools. Thus, with keen intuition, singlehandedly, he has created a tradition that no future Mexican composer can afford to ignore.[39]

Having traced the development of nationalism in Mexico from its origins to its present-day status, one observes with interest the way in which Mexican music nationalism has conformed in its course with the pattern elsewhere. In discussing this phase of Mexico's music, Otto Mayer-Serra has delineated the typical stages of nationalism somewhat

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[38] Shostakovitch and Chávez developed a mutual understanding and liking for one another. On October 20, 1943, Mr. Constantin Oumansky, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in Mexico, delivered to Mr. Chávez an inscribed copy of Shostakovitch's Seventh Symphony, as a tribute of the Russian composer's esteem for his Mexican colleague.

[39] Aaron Copland, "Composer from Mexico," Boletín de O.S.M., XVI, Temporada, 1943.

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[29] Aaron Copland, "Composer from Mexico," Polifonia de C.E.A., XVI, Temporada, 1944.

as follows.

In the first phase, the nation's music is completely characterized by an absolute and representative predominance of a foreign style. Then, as the region evolves into actual national status, the popular element, which has always existed, but has been ignored by musical leaders, becomes powerful with melody and rhythm infusing a characteristic note. In the third phase, popular melodic-rhythmic elements begin to acquire greater autonomy, penetrating the writing of harmony, transforming the traditional schemes of the form and initiating a new agreeable ideal. This stage represents the step of the pure assimilation of folk materials in the creation of a musical tongue, clearly national, which brings about the fourth phase, in which the dynamic cylinder of the popular rhythmic forces step beyond conventional forms and modes and seeks its own.[40]

Mayer-Serra has actually attempted to classify Spain, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Scandinavian countries and Mexico -- those whose nationalism more closely paralleled one another. In relating composers to the various stages, he used as his criteria the technical musical procedures employed, the degree of assimilation of folk substances, and the degree to which foreign models had been overcome.

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[40] Mayer-Serra, op. cit., pp. 98-102. A diagram of the four phases, the six countries discussed, and the composers and types of works representative of each phase accompanies the discussion.

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In the first phase, the national music is commonly characterized by an acrobatic and representative style of a foreign style. Then, as the region evolves into actual national status, the popular element, which has always existed, but has been ignored by musical leaders, becomes powerful with melody and rhythm lending a characteristic note. In the third phase, popular melodic-rhythmic elements begin to acquire greater authority, penetrating the writing of harmony, transforming the traditional schemes of the form and initiating a new aggressive ideal. This stage represents the step of the pre-nationalism of folk material in the creation of a musical tongue, clearly national, which brings about the fourth phase, in which the dynamic cylinder of the popular rhythmic forces step beyond conventional forms and modes and seeks its own.[40]

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Mayer-Serra indicates Manuel Ponce and Candelario Huizar as completing the second stage of nationalism in Mexican music, with José Rolón straddling both the second and third phases. Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas are the representatives of the third phase, Mexico not yet having attained the fourth. These classifications of Mayer-Serra gives us a conception, at least, of the achievements of Mexico in nationalism in the light of what has been accomplished abroad.[41]

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[41] Loc. cit. According to Mayer-Serra's interpretation, Glinka initiated the second stage in Russia, with Borodin, Rimski-Korsakov, Tschaikowsky and Rubenstein in the third, Borodin and Mussorgsky dominating the third. Stravinsky straddles the third and fourth periods. In Spain, Albeniz and Falla ruled the second and third phases, and Falla, Valls, and Halffter the fourth. Czechoslovakia, by virtue of Smetana and Dvořák, Mayer-Serra rates in the third stage. Likewise are Bartók in Hungary and Gade, Grieg, and Sibelius in the Scandinavian countries.

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CHAPTER III

THE NATIONALISM OF CHÁVEZ

> As long as the artist is a man of his people, his work is always national.[1]
>
> Chávez

We cannot claim that Carlos Chávez was the initiator of musical nationalism in Mexico.[2] Neither the course of nationalism in history, nor the course of nationalism as regards musical expression, would justify such a statement. It would be discrediting the work of Manuel Ponce as well to designate Chávez thus. Yet, it must be acknowledged that his role has been more than significant in Mexico's musical life. It has been unique.

Among Mexican composers, it is Chávez who has best defined nationalism; who has set up standards, though not rules, by which that nationalistic spirit might be achieved. He has educated along the lines which he has preached. He has composed in the same vein, and in the 1930-1940 decade particularly, he skillfully engineered his own program of

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[1] Carlos Chávez, "Composers and Their Folk Music," New York Times, March 3, 1940. Hereafter cited as Carlos Chávez, New York Times, March 3, 1940.

[2] Chávez is rather commonly heralded as "initiator and standard-bearer of the nacentista movement of Mexican music." See Angel E. Salas, "Mexican Music and Musicians" in Mexican Folkways, VII, 142, September, 1932.

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propaganda by which the musical ideals which he sought for Mexico might be inculcated in the hearts and minds of the people and in such a manner that the people would understand those ideals.

Analysis of the writings by which he hoped to "revolutionize" Mexican music reveals what he considers essential to the creation of a genuine music nationalism.[3] It must be based upon the music of the folk, be interpreted by a genius, and be composed without conformity to European procedures and techniques. It should be national in essence, yet universal in appeal.[4]

Perhaps of prime importance is his opinion that music cannot achieve a status of genuine nationalism simply because it is written within the confines of a particular nation. Chávez regrets the "nationalistic" tendencies and efforts which pretend "to create and spread a music whose fundamental merit consists of the mere fact of being Mexican."[5] The fact that a Mexican has written music does not

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[3] Unless otherwise indicated, the views of nationalism as discussed in this chapter are those of Carlos Chávez as expressed in his own writings. They are not to be interpreted as those of the writer.

[4] The writer never found any real enumeration of such factors, but arrived at this grouping through her own analysis and through recognition that these are the ones discussed by Chávez himself.

[5] Carlos Chávez, "Mexican Music," Renascent Mexico, (Hubert Herring and Herbert Weinstock, editors, New York: Covici Friede, 1935), p. 199.

make it Mexican. Such theorists, he says, do not define exactly what is Mexican and so have only spread confusion.[6]

Chávez, on the contrary, does not endeavor to define a Mexican music. He adheres rather to nationalistic music, going from the general to the specific, indicating the qualities or factors essential to any musical nationalism, then reducing them to terms of Mexican life and history -- the two outstanding features being Mexico's struggle for independence from Spain and her fight to emerge from "strong-man" rule.

For Chávez, nationalism must issue from the well-springs of popular music, must be captured and refined by a musical genius who is completely in tune with his environment. This genius must be so in tune with his world that he will keep abreast of it; he will recognize that with progress comes a new kind of music along with the old and that the new music is needed by a changing world.

In utilizing and blending musical resources of any nation, the composer must be aware lest political regionalism win out over nationality. That struggle having been won, he must break the shackles of a traditional style and of regulated techniques and conceive his own, provided that his musical expression warrants new and original techniques.

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Then, finally having arrived at a nice balance of all these parts, he must strive for a musical expression which will be distinctly of his native land, yet will be so rich in theme and background that it will be music sought after by all other nations. The richness of its nationalism will render it universal in its quality and appeal.

Such a broad definition, indeed, a program in itself, warrants explanation and clarification. Again Chávez has not left us in doubt, but has expounded every factor thoroughly.

That the value of the folk element in music cannot be overemphasized is a point which Mr. Chávez reiterates in his writings. Even without elaboration or further arrangement, such music provides varied points of interest. Its beauty is intrinsic, and it has its own specific characteristics and style, native to the country from which it comes.[7]

Folk music is therefore a national product with unique characteristics of melody, harmony, rhythm, and instrumentation. The "learned" composer cannot possibly overlook this flow of folk music; he cannot help but absorb it. That is why his creations will have some tinge of national character.[8]

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[7] Carlos Chávez, "Los Compositores y la Tradición Nacional," Boletín de la OSM., no. 2, p. 24. Hereafter cited as Carlos Chávez, Boletín de la OSM, May 10, 1940.

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In support of his statement regarding the nationalism of the learned composer, Mr. Chávez makes several observations. In the first place, he recalls that in the Middle Ages folk music and religious music (the latter being the "learned" music of that day) influenced each other mutually in an endless process. Similarly, the music of the Catholic church contained many "folk" elements, and it was the music of the Catholic church which prepared the way for the great masters of counterpoint. The close relationship between the music of the folk and that of the learned composer was further heightened in central Europe when the Protestant church brought the entire mass of the people to make music within it. Fostered by the church, the inimitable Bach inherited the immense native musical treasure of his country.[9]

Chávez observes that the partita and the suite were once nothing more than country dances. Likewise, the Italian madrigal originated in the folk music of pre-Renaissance Italy. One cannot deny that Richard Wagner deliberately turned to the music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance for his actual thematic material. Mussorgsky and Tschaikowsky were almost wholly inspired by the music of the folk, while the conservatory student, Debussy, never really found himself until influenced by Mussorgsky and the folk music of the Orient. It was the rich, nationalistic folk material

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Loc. cit.

which Stravinsky utilized so well in Petruchka, Sacre du Printemps, and Les Noces -- probably his finest compositions. Chopin, Bartók, and de Falla also made use of folk themes.[10]

A nation is distinguished by its folk music, for it is of inestimable value to any study of that nation's history, ethnology, and anthropology.[11] The people sing of the events which touch them. They mirror the political, economic, and social upheavals. They reflect the character of the land, whether peaceful and kind, or hardy and unrelenting. Their songs reveal their problems and in what measure they have been solved.

Returning to the matter of "folk" music and the way in which Mexican composers ought to use it, Señor Chávez specifies two factors which constitute the popular expression of Mexico and suggests a third.[12] The first of these is the indigenous or that which sprang from the culture of the aborigines, in Pre-Conquest days. Chávez says, "Indigenous music is a present-day reality; its esthetic and expressive value is forceful and original, and the social

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[10] Loc. cit.

[11] Loc. cit.

[12] Carlos Chávez, "Mexican Music," Renascent Mexico, p. 199 ff.

role it consequently plays is irreplaceable."[13] Such music should be recaptured wherever possible, even to authentic instrumentation.

It was with regard to the value of indigenous music that Mr. Chávez and Mr. Ponce disagreed. Ponce regarded the native music as a negligible, obsolete factor. On the other hand, he rated the utility of contemporary popular music perhaps higher than does Chávez.[14]

But the indigenous music is not all. With the Spanish Conquest there came into America a wealth of songs and dances from the European continent which, in the ensuing 400 years, were to be interwoven in a blend of mestizo music, today a substantial element in Mexican music. It is in the mestizo music of the rural regions that one finds such forms as the son, corrido, canción, and pastorela.[15] The mestizo music of the city has contributed concert and chamber music as well as dance music, in short, the compositions of professional

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[13] Ibid., p. 209.

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[15] Sonnet, ballad, song, and romance or pastoral. Rural music also includes a kind of dance music both religious and profane in character. For explanation of mestizo music, see Chapter I.

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musicians.

In the present we find additional folk elements. For Mexico, there is that heritage of caustic revolutionary ballads, often sheer caricature, which like the ballads of Villa and Zapata are almost legend.[16]

There is also in the music of today another factor, less tangible, perhaps best described as a requisite awareness of a changing world -- an industrialized, mechanized world which must be reflected in contemporary music and which must be part of nationalism. Chávez may appear to ally modernism and nationalism here, yet his consideration is not with modernism, but rather with the fact that the composer must reflect the world about him.

It is apparent from the foregoing discussion that the nature of folk music is both intense and comprehensive. One can scarcely stress its significance too forcibly.

As to how the popular element may be utilized and integrated in a music worthy to be termed "national" Mr. Chávez again has his convictions. For the most part, what he has said may be applied to any composer anywhere, or it may be considered in the light of Mexican musicians only.

In outlining the role of the composer or musical genius in portraying musical nationalism, Mr. Chávez agrees

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[16] Daniel Castañeda, "La Música y la Revolución Mexicana," Boletín de la Música Latino-Americano, V, 444, October, 1941.

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16 Daniel Castañeda, "La música y la revolución mexicana," Boletín de la Unión Panamericana, [illegible], October, 1941.

with the acceptable premise that "in their creations, composers should not mirror principally *música nacional*, but great and profound music."[17] He does not consider, however, that this should be any argument against national characteristics of music and art in general. The composer, then, should be willing to utilize the music of the folk, thereby enriching his compositions.[18]

Mr. Chávez grants that folk music suffers a constant process of selection and modification in passing from person to person, but that does not destroy the strength of its content, for ". . . the sensibility that has given it birth is profound and intense. The traditional music of a people has been the basic fund from which composers of genius have always drawn nourishment."[19]

A genius, whether in music or in some other branch of the arts, must speak not only for his own being, but also for the world about him. He is a man of his people, and his work must therefore be national. He must write of his people and

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[17] Carlos Chávez, *Boletín de la OSM*, May 10, 1940.

[18] In an article entitled "La Primera Etapa Nacionalista," in *El Universal*, February, 1937, Chávez attacked Ponce on this very point. The latter held that the composer should enrich and enoble the music of the folk. Chávez contended that true nationalism operates in reverse, with the music of the folk enriching the professional creation. See Chapter II.

[19] Carlos Chávez, *New York Times*, March 3, 1940.

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for them, for "we are creatures of our earth, and while we live in it, art which comes from creatures of the same earth is that which we sense most clearly."[20]

Just as Beethoven could not have created his symphonies had be spent his life on an unmusical island, neither can any creative genius exist as a hermit or as a mere theorist. In large measure, a composer's success will at length be determined by the degree to which he interprets contemporary life and problems. True, to write good music requires genius, but so also must the genius learn to sing with the musical traditions of his nation. He must participate in the world about him; he must be ever aware of the social, political, religious, artistic, and cultural problems of his countrymen.[21]

That Mexican composers should have failed to develop this consciousness and consequently have lagged behind workers in the other arts during the 1920 to 1930 period is a fact which Chávez constantly laments.[22] He further regrets that they should have been tied to foreign techniques for so long. This fact, however, in part accounts

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20 Carlos Chávez, Boletín de la OSM., May 10, 1940.

21 Carlos Chávez, New York Times, March 3, 1940, Gilbert Chase regards this conviction of Chávez's as being the point upon which he differs from most of the modernists, demanding this relationship with environment however advanced or abstract the style. See Inter-American Quarterly, II, no 4, April, 1943.

22 See his articles "Revolt in Mexico," Modern Music, XIII, March-April, 1936, and "Mexican Music" in Renascent Mexico.

for their tradiness in social consciousness.

Chávez, more than any other Mexican musician, has educated for liberation from European models and procedure.[23] He warns, though, that the composer's technique must be selected in accordance with what he is endeavoring to express. Techniques and forms are not ready-made, and cannot be acquired as one acquires a new suit of clothes. They are derived through the composer's "functional development" as he lives in his own world and time -- as he opens "his windows on the horizon of the whole universe."[24]

How this liberation from the traditional techniques and forms of European composers may be achieved constitutes another chapter as does also Mr. Chávez's theories regarding new music. Yet an analysis of his own individual nationalism would be incomplete without some mention of the fact that he is looking toward a new music, a music expressive of the contemporary mechanized and industrialized age in which we live. The new music is to Chávez more than that which rebels against conventional style and forms. It is a music which will blend the old tides with the new, that will convey a picture of the archaic living side by side

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[23] The methods and procedures which he advocates to replace European models are discussed fully in Chapter IV which deals with Chávez's program of education.

[24] Carlos Chávez, New York Times, March 3, 1940.

with the modern machine. It is a music which will inhale the breath of the past and exhale that of the future. That such musical expression can be achieved he himself has proved in his own composition H.P. or Horse-Power, written first as a ballet, but later arranged for full orchestra.[25] Chávez regards the "new music" as something vital to the musical health of the nations in the world today. He never fails to reiterate, however, that "the new music" is not representative of a break with the past, but is closely allied with it.

It is, therefore, of prime concern for the Mexican composer to have a knowledge of Mexico's history in order that he may feel Mexican life in its multiple expressions.[26] It is thus that regionalism may be overcome, for "nationalism. . . is in truth the balanced sum of all regions."[27] (i.e., within the nation.) The national style must be the outcome of a mutual understanding of the many groups of Mexican people.

As yet regionalism prevails, a regionalism of province against province, and of city against the country

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[25] See Chapter V for a detailed discussion of this composition.

[26] Carlos Chávez, "The Music of Mexico," American Composers on American Music, (Henry Cowell, editor, Stanford University Press: 1933), p. 167. Hereafter cited as American Composers on American Music.

[27] Loc. cit.

with the modern music. It is a music which will inspire the breath of the past and exhale that of the future.

That such musical expression can be achieved he himself has proved in his own composition *H.E.* or *Horse-Power*, written first as a ballet, but later arranged for full orchestra.[25] Chavez regards the "new music" as something vital to the musical health of the nations in the world today. He never fails to reiterate, however, that "the new music is not representative of a break with the past, but is closely allied with it.

It is, therefore, of prime concern for the Mexican composer to have a knowledge of Mexico's history in order that he may feel Mexican life in its multiple experiences.[26] It is time that regionalism be overcome, for "nationalism . . . is in truth the synthesis of all regions. (i.e., within the nation.) The national style must be the outcome of a mutual understanding of the many groups of Mexican people.

As yet regionalism prevails, a regionalism of provinces against provinces, and of city against the country

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[26] Carlos Chavez, "The Music of Mexico," *American Composers on American Music*, (Henry Cowell, editor, Stanford University Press: 1933), p. 107. Hereafter cited as *American Composers on American Music*.

[27] Ibid., p.

village.

Regretably, a host of political factors has prevented a real summation of Mexican life. The aboriginal culture was completely estranged by the conquering Spaniards; and with the advent of the Republic, violent political diversity heightened the cultural disunity. Chávez suggests that "tradition. . . should be considered as the substance of the conscience of a country throughout its past."[28] It is his opinion that Mexican musicians must learn to know Mexican tradition before they can write Mexican music. In knowing it, they will bring into being its artistic expression.[29]

If it were possible to legislate tradition and a consequent nationalism, the problem would be solved. But, writes Chávez,

> . . . the question of nationalism in music, in art in general, is not that of a composer's trying to be more national and less individual, nor is it that of following certain patterns to 'obtain' a pre-conceived arch-type of national art.[30]

Attempts might be made to establish rules for producing a national art, but such efforts would be futile. Such legislation would produce only artificial creation, self-conscious and devoid of the genuine. Such legislation

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[28] Loc. cit.

[29] Ibid., p. 168.

[30] Carlos Chávez, New York Times, March 3, 1940.

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28 Loc. cit.

29 Ibid., p. 165.

30 Carlos Chavez, New York Times, August 9, 1936.

would be defied further by the kinetic qualities of a people who will never be held static by the prescriptions of a law. Any culture is constantly changing in a continual process of renewal and absorption.[31]

As a possible solution, Chávez, writing in 1933, advocated a revolutionary political organization, firmly established and fearlessly carried out, and a program which, bringing together all the factors of Mexican culture, might synthesize one tradition, thereby producing nationality.[32] It is such a program that Mr. Chávez, amid the vicissitudes of political changes, has endeavored to carry out during the last fourteen years.[33]

When such a degree of nationalism is realized for Mexico, and this factor is perhaps the most striking phase of Chávez's nationalism, it is his hope that Mexican culture will not be judged by the degree of Mexicanism which it has achieved. Rather, let it be judged upon the degree of interest which it stimulates among the modern expressions of universal culture.[34] He seeks not a limited, petty type

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[31] Loc. cit.

[32] Carlos Chávez, American Composers on American Music p. 168.

[33] Chávez has held posts in the Department of Fine Arts and in the Department of Education, but unfortunately, these have been subject to the whims of Mexico's various presidents.

[34] Carlos Chávez, "Mexican Music," Renascent Mexico, p. 218.

of nationalism, but an expression of the Mexican tradition which in its essence will be sufficiently rich and noble as to claim the attention of other nations. Thus, Mexican nationalism can magnify itself; it can attain universality.

Already a Mexican music exists. "It is diverse, diverse in history and in the countless regional divisions of the country. But it has a character and vigor all its own. None of it but gives us fully the Mexican musical tradition."[35]

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[35] Carlos Chávez, American Composers on American Music, p. 169.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION FOR NATIONALISM UNDER CHÁVEZ

> It is impossible to oppose
> the development of human thought.[1]
> Chávez

Had Carlos Chávez been content merely to theorize, he might have saved himself from scathing criticism. Perhaps, too, he would have made fewer enemies. Instead, fearless and rebellious, he has backed his theories with a program of action, every detail of which is an eager endeavor to prove the reality of the kind of nationalism he advocates for Mexico. He has already written his own biography in the series of public posts, in his role as an educator and author, for in every capacity in which he has ever served, he has demonstrated boundless energy and activity.

Foremost among his public positions is that of conductor of the Orquesta Sinfonía de México, which in July of 1928, when Chávez assumed its leadership, was known as the Musicians Union of Mexico City. When Chávez became its head, the event passed practically without notice; yet it was this event which started music toward becoming a Mexican art. True, Mexico had had an orchestra before Chávez appeared on the scene. Díaz, in the twilight of his career,

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[1] Carlos Chávez, Towards a New Music, p. 124.

treated Mexico City to some symphonic works, however, only those of foreign composers. His efforts were swept away by the Madero Revolution.[2] When José Vasconcelos became Secretary of Education,[3] another orchestra was created with Julian Carrillo as director.[4] But "the programs indicated that all composers were dead, that there were, of course, no composers in Mexico, and that music itself had expired on the deathbed of Richard Wagner in Venice."[5]

Today Orquesta Sinfonía de México ranks as a major symphony orchestra of the world. A survey of its programs for the last four years[6] indicates the ambitious scope of the performances. Under Chávez's direction the orchestra has rendered such masterpieces as the Beethoven Ninth

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[2] Herbert Weinstock, "The Symphony Orchestra of Mexico," Mexican Folkways, VIII, 89, April-June, 1933.

[3] Vasconcelos served brilliantly in this post. It was largely due to his initiative that Chávez was enabled to get a start.

[4] Carrillo is a Mexican composer of note, but stands apart in both Mexican and world music. He is the inventor of a fractional tone system which divides the octave into more than twelve equal divisions, and he has utilized this innovation in his compositions. He has transcribed both Bach and Beethoven in quarter tones, a unique undertaking. See: Nicolas Slonimsky, "Music Where the Americas Meet," Christian Science Monitor, June 8, 1940.

[5] Herbert Weinstock, Mexican Folkways, VIII, 89, April-June, 1933.

[6] OSM. did not start to maintain a file of its programs until the 1946 season. The writer received from Mr. Chávez a complete set of programs for 1946-1948 as well as a few earlier ones of special interest. Discussion of the standards and scope of the orchestra today is based upon study of these programs, as well as upon critical comment in the U. S. and in Mexico.

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(Chorale) Symphony, with Mexico's own singers doing the solo parts. Bach, Brahms, Mozart, and Wagner, to mention only a few, are heard frequently, along with the more modern composers of Russia and France.

One observes a nice balance of compositions from "the masters" and those of present-day composers. Sometime during each season there is a program emphasizing Mexican music, works of Manuel Ponce, Luis Sandi, Blas Galindo, Ayala, Contreras, and Revueltas being among those performed.[7]

In view of the standards of this orchestra today, it is difficult to imagine the tremendous task which faced Chávez when he assumed its leadership. Insufficient funds was only one of the obstacles, and not the greatest one at that. He had to institutionalize -- to create an orchestra from an aggregation of instrumentalists. He had to gain a public as well, and to gain a public meant training an entire generation in the techniques of listening.

Maurico Magdaleno has rendered a graphic description

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[7] Manuel M. Ponce has already been mentioned as initiator of a program for Mexico's musical liberation. Silvestre Revueltas was a promising composer who might have rivaled Chávez had he not died tragically while still only forty years of age. Sandi, Galindo, Contreras, and Ayala are younger composers who have studied under Chávez. Calindo and Ayala are full-blooded Indians.

of that first season of 1928.[8] The concerts were held in the shabby and worn Teatro Hidalgo,[9] and symphony performances alternated with popular comedians and stock company attractions. Applause was varied -- expressed in every kind of reaction from shrill whistles to cold indifference.

Under the sting of sarcasm and bitter criticism, Chávez continued his program of music and education without compromising in his ideals for Mexico. Nor have his endeavors been confined to Mexico City and the national orchestra. At least six other cities of Mexico today boast of symphony orchestras to which Señor Chávez helped give birth. Another worthy project attempted only within the last year was a tour of O. S. M. throughout some of the provinces, not to the cities, but to towns and villages where symphony music had never before been heard.[10] The orchestra has now completed its 21st season.

A word as to the personnel of the present orchestra might not be amiss. From the heterogeneous group in 1928, to whom performance was an avocation, not a profession, it today consists of persons whose occupation is music. Among

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[8] Mauricio Magdaleno, "American Figures Past and Present, II - Carlos Chávez of Mexico," Bulletin of the Pan American Union, LXXVIII, 312, June, 1944.

[9] Loc. cit.

[10] Etude, LXVI, 397, July, 1948.

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[9] Loc. cit.

[10] Time, LXIV, 27, July, 1954.

its members are several noted instrumental quartets as well as soloists. Guillermo Hilguera, Manuel Garnica, and Carlos Mejia are outstanding cellists. Salvador Contreras and Francisco Contreras are composers of note, while Carlos Lyuando is known internationally for his ability at the kettle-drums. Mario Salinas, violinst and marimba player, is a musician desired by more than one orchestra outside of Mexico. One member, Francisco Moncayo is a well-known archeologist, and the organization boasts one artist, Salvador Valdes Galindo. At present there are two women in the membership - Margarita Olalde, cellist, and Elizabeth Coemans, violinst.[11]

The home of the orchestra is now the imposing Palacio de Bellas Artes. A major source of income is derived from a government stipend.[12]

Visitors to Mexico from the United States describe the O. S. M. concerts as presenting interesting contrast with those held in this country. In the first place, the Mexican season is in the summer and early fall, while ours is in the winter. There is far less emphasis on dress and sociality there than here to the extent that American tourists attend the concerts in Mexico City in such garb as they might wear to a New England clambake in the United States.[13] It

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[11] This information was printed in PEMEX Travel Club Bulletin, February, 1948.

[12] Herbert Weinstock, Mexican Folkways, VIII, 94, April-June, 1933.

[13] Daniel Oliver, "Down to Mexico," Etude, LVIII, 150, March, 1940.

would appear that in Mexico the people attend for sheer love of music and not because it is the thing to do.

One might draw contrasts also in the method in which the orchestra functions as compared to those of the United States. Mr. Chávez has been shrewd in his measures. So desirous was he of stimulating standards of excellence among the orchestra's members that he held a competitive recital of cellists last season in order to determine which two might serve as soloists.[14]

Further evidence of his craftiness is found in relation to the public performance of three commissioned one-act operas on Mexican themes, scheduled for the present 1948 season. The Institute of Fine Arts, which Chávez heads, is presenting them. Chávez has priced the tickets just below those of the cheapest movie in the city.[15]

In addition to the ~~O. S. M.~~ O S M. post, Chávez held the directorship of the Mexican Orchestra which he originally organized. He now appoints its maestro every six months. It is this group which utilizes the ancient pre-Cortesian and Aztec musical instruments and which participated in the epic-making concert at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in 1940. In conjunction with an exhibition of Mexican

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[15] "Director or Dictator," Time, LII, August 9, 1948.

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art, these musicians performed compositions, written by Chávez and other Mexican composers, which were attempts at re-constructing the original Aztec music and which displayed the vitality of the ancient instruments.

This 1940 appearance was not his only visit to the United States, for he has been guest conductor of symphony orchestras of Boston, New York. Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, Cleveland, Washington, D. C., Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, and Milwaukee. In 1937, he conducted at the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge festivals in the Library of Congress, and he has also been guest conductor with the National Broadcasting Company. His most recent performance in the United States was in Houston, Texas, in December of 1947.

Notable as has been his record as conductor, in the light of what he desires to achieve, it is perhaps in the capacity of educator and writer that he has accomplished even more. It was as a teacher that he came to grips with the conformity, conservatism, and traditionalism[16] that had so long impeded Mexico's music, and in the last decade and a half he has quite thoroughly uprooted these undesirable elements.

The post most advantageous as a medium for teaching was that of Director of the National Conservatory of Music

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[16] Not traditionalism as a quality inherent in nationalism, but the traditionalism which follows only the techniques and principles laid down by the masters of European music.

to which he was appointed in December of 1928. He made the most of this position to renovate the entire musical program in his attempt to break away from old-world tradition while instilling traditions of the new--- of Mexican nationalism. He remained in this position until March of 1933 and again from May to December of 1934 when he resigned owing to political changes.[17]

The story of how Chávez revamped the entire program of the National Conservatory is certainly a chapter of itself. Rebel that he is, the post offered a glorious opportunity to abolish academic techniques and iron-clad formulae. How complete this revolution had to be can be appreciated only when one understands something of the conditions which existed when Chávez became director in 1928.

One recalls that the first university in North America was founded in Mexico City in 1553, and for four hundred years this institution transmitted to Mexico's students a culture steeped in European methods and philosophy. It was modeled first after the universities of Spain, later those of France. Its entire curricula have imported European wisdom with no attempt whatsoever to inspire original creation on the part of the students. The history of Mexico's music education, though shorter, parallels in essence that of the university. When Italian opera led the field of

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European music, music education in Mexico was Italianate even to the point of encouraging Mexican composers to write Italian opera! Similarly with the advent of the symphony and piano music as dictators of European music, so Mexican music was Frenchified or Germanized; the courses in Mexico were patterned after those of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna.[18]

In short, youthful composers and musicians of Mexico learned that there was only one technic of music -- that of the "masters" and their imitators. The masters were those of the German school culminating in Bach, Beethoven, and Wagner, and the French school of Rameau, Saint-Saëns, and Franck. The task of the composers was merely to learn this so-called technic.[19]

Mr. Chávez did not agree with the doctrine and dogma of either the Mexican or the European universities. He argued that academic musical technic explains only a few composers and their isms. Among most composers there is a difference of complexion of technic. Said Chávez, "If a Mexican composer uses a Bach technic, he is selling his

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[18] Carlos Chávez, "Revolt in Mexico," Modern Music, XIII, 35-37, March-April, 1936. For less partisan accounts of the same period in Mexican music, read Otto Mayer-Serra, La Panorama de la Música Mexicana; Daniel Castañeda, "La Música y la Revolución Mexicana," Boletín de la Música Latino-Americano, V, 437-438, October, 1941; Juan León Mariscal, "La Música Moderna en México," Boletín de la Música Latino-Americano, III, 108-111, April, 1937.

[19] Carlos Chávez, Modern Music, XIII, 36, March-April, 1936.

birth-right for a mess of pseudo-Bach."[20]

It must not be inferred that the Mexican educator dispensed with rules and formulae altogether. It was his opinion that they be studied, but thrust aside when they begin to hamper. He regards technic as something ever-changing, adjusting to the age and atmosphere in which it is being utilized. Out of this attitude grew a veritable manifesto for the new program, renascent to the last detail. As Chávez himself summarized the policy:

> We no longer believe that music is beautiful because it contains unique and immutable laws. We believe that technic is the concrete means of artistic expression and that consequently each example of authentic music implies its own particular technic. No kind of music is the music, and there is no absolute technic containing the whole truth of all music. We want a universal education, without restrictions and impositions, without dogmatic truths.[21]

Several older and established musicians became members of the class in 1931, including Vincente Mendoza, Candelario Huizar, and Silvestre Revueltas, and four boys under twenty, Francisco Contreras, Blas Galindo, José Pablo Moncayo, and Daniel Ayala. The program which Chávez launched covered not only methods of composition but also history and research.

Believing that art is a continuous exercise of thought

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Several older and established musicians became members of the class in 1921, including Vicente Mendoza, Candelario Huizar, and Silvestre Revueltas, and four boys under twenty, Francisco Gutiérrez, Alfredo Galindo, José Pablo Moncayo, and Daniel Ayala. The program which Chávez launched covered not only methods of composition but also history and research.

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[20] Loc. cit.

[21] Loc. cit.

which becomes truly creative only when functioning actively, Chávez first of all initiated a course in free composition, aimed at the developing of professionals. The class used no text, but composed in diatonic modes, then in the melodic scale of 12 tones, and in all the pentatonic scales. They wrote hundreds of melodies which were actually played, after which the class determined whether or not the melody was adequate for the resources of the instrument for which it was composed. Soon, even the younger members of the group began writing for several instruments out of their own sense of necessity, achieving pure counterpoint.[22]

In conjunction with the class, Chávez instituted an Academy of Investigation at the Conservatory, and a program of research ensued in Indian music, instruments, harmonies, and melodies. Through the work of Vincente Mendoza and others excellent pre-Cortesian and more recent percussion instruments were collected. With the cooperation of the Department of Fine Arts and the National Museum, Mendoza and Daniel Castañeda published the first work on Pre-Cortesian Instruments of Percussion.

The class reconstructed and recorded much early music according to early chronicles and music still being played in untouched regions as well as the music of the Yaquis, Coras, Huicholes, and Mayas still existent. The Mexican

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[22] Ibid., p. 53.

orchestra resulted -- a specially balanced ensemble of conventional instruments with the addition of huehuetls, teponaxtls, chirimias, water-drums and rasps.[23]

Chávez describes at length the effect of the class upon its individual members.[24] Vincente Mendoza, who was unable to attend regularly and who had already suffered the academic freezing against which the group was in revolt, never, despite his talent, quite overcame the hampering effects of his earlier training. Silvestre Revueltas, Candelario Huizar, and the younger men -- Moncayo, Galindo, Contreras, and Ayala have all achieved liberation from European models. The last four have proved especially adept at composing Indian music since they were given free rein to develop their own sense of form. Chávez says, "It is to them that we may look for the future great music of Mexico."[25] This is hardly the comment one would expect from a man who was setting himself up as a "cacique" in music -- whose goal was to prevent individual progress and the expression of youth.[26]

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[23] Ibid., p. 40. The instruments mentioned are all percussive. Probably the best discussion of them is to be found in the Herbert Weinstock notes on "Mexican Music," published by the Museum of Modern Art of New York City in May, 1940, in conjunction with its exhibition of twenty centuries of Mexican art.

[24] Carlos Chávez, Modern Music, XIII, 36, March-April, 1936.

[25] Loc. cit.

[26] See introductory portion on criticism of Chávez as a "cacique" in Mexican music.

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[24] Carlos Chávez, *Modern Music*, XIII, 3, March-April, 1936.

[25] *Op. cit.*

[26] See introductory portion on criticism of Chávez as a "cacique" in Mexican music.

In adopting such measures as these, Chávez hoped his students would comprehend the musical tradition of their country and learn to evaluate it as a living fountain of knowledge and diverse character. Thus the Mexican composer would learn to identify his music with the characteristics of race, geography, and climate, as well as with intellect and society. Steeped in his own tradition, he would be absorbed by neither European nor Mexican regionalism. He would be prepared to reflect what Chávez has aptly termed the "balance of mestizaje hybridism."[27] No longer imitating European formulae, he would create in his own idiom -- utilizing the rich elements of folk music in all its color, vitality, harmonic variety, and rhythmic vigor.

It is Chávez's opinion that such a plan of education would prevent young artists from making many mistakes in pursuing a vocation. "If a student creates from his first day in class, the evolution of his capacity, its products, and the strength of his leaning are apparent."[28] He would follow in his individual training the course of historical evolution in music. He would look upon great artists, not as examples to be copied, but as individuals who had achieved the expression of beauty. Thus he would remain free to

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[27] Carlos Chávez, "The Music of Mexico," Renascent Mexico, p. 169.

[28] Carlos Chávez, Modern Music, XIII, 40, March-April 1936.

convert into music "his own concept of the world about him."[29] It was nearly two years before the class used a text, and then it was one of history, not of theory, beginning with the music of antiquity, then that of the church to Palestrina.

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[30] The writer was unable to find any complete explanation as to "the political reasons." It was suggested to her, however, by two Mexican citizens who were living in Mexico City at that time (1934) that Chávez was the victim of harangues from jealous colleagues. This suggestion is borne out by several notices which appeared in El Universal, Mexico City newspaper, in that year. Chávez was accused of mismanaging funds to be used to pay the salaries of thirty-six professors of the National Conservatory. However, Mr. Chávez cleared himself quite adequately of the charge. (See El Universal, Domingo 20 de mayo de 1934, p. 5, 1st sec.). It was in December of 1934 that he resigned this post. The preceding May he had resigned his post as Chief of the Department of Fine Arts of the Secretariat of Education. One can safely assume that the "political reasons" back of both resignations were the same and may have been on the part of President Cárdenas, who, just coming into office, had political aspirants to satisfy.

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In June of 1947, President Alemán assigned Chávez to the directorship of Fine Arts where he was to help establish an Institute of Fine Arts to direct Mexico's music, art, and theater. As a consequence, the first official Museum of Fine Arts of Mexico has come into existence. This Institute is striving to present original works on Mexican themes, all three divisions working in close coordination.

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Created by actual law of the Mexican government, El Instituto de Bellas Artes has several divisions, one of these pertaining to a truly Mexican opera company. The aims and functions of this company have been expounded by Chávez in an article published in the October issue of El Arte en México,[32] official organ of the Institute itself in conjunction with the Secretaría de Educación Publica.

Chávez has stated that opera, as a musical form, has a particular enchantment for the general public. Yet, as a form, it has not enjoyed the constant evolution that, for example, the sonata and symphony have known. Conductors and theatrical men have been content with the traditional opera of Italy, France, and Germany, while composers have virtually withdrawn from the opera as a field of endeavor. Mr. Chávez has pointed out, however, that opera is almost phenomenal in its nationalistic inspiration. Should, then, such a medium for nationalism be confined to Italy, France, and Germany? He believes not, for even as France and Germany became recalcitrant and broke away from the operatic traditions of Italy, where opera was born, so opera can be created

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Cognizant of the difficulties which a commercial company would have to face in attempting to sponsor nationalism in opera, the Mexican government has established La Opera de Bellas Artes as a state institution. Since, says Chávez, experimentation is necessary to productivity, the Institute of Fine Arts is establishing a permanent school of opera (la Escuela de Opera de Bellas Artes) which will guarantee the training of composers, conductors, and singers interested in opera as a form of musical expression. The foundation of la Compañía Titular de Opera de Bellas Artes, open to both Mexican and "borrowed" artists, should insure a nucleus of competent workers who will serve throughout regular seasons.

Meanwhile, standards are being set up, and new forms introduced, but foreign elements are being incorporated only when past history seems to indicate that such features cannot be bettered. Composers are not to be subsurvient to foreign models; yet they are to understand that they are not writing for Mexico alone. Their charge is to create music so worthy of Mexican tradition that the appeal will be universal, akin to that of the works of Verdi and Wagner today. This creation of a national opera is extremely significant. Chávez marks it as a "very advanced degree in the evolution of the musical and theatrical culture of a country."

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In support of his theories, Chávez has written much that constitutes a veritable propaganda program in behalf of the future of Mexican music.[33] His style is commendable, reflecting the same fearlessness, conviction, and strength which his music portrays. In addition to the numerous articles pertaining to his musical theories and to the possibilities of a new music, he has written a noteworthy study of Mexican music, included in the publication México y la Cultura, by the Department of Bellas Artes. His book Toward a New Music foresees a musical production enhanced by electrical and engineering improvements which will be of such benefit to musical expression that a virtual new age of music will be introduced. A reading of the book, however, reveals a far deeper significance than merely that of content.

It is Chávez's valiant and thorough attempt to envision for a backward people unacquainted with the technological progress which is a daily story to us in the United States, the possibilities of a music enriched by

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> This great musical wealth (of any country) ought to be spread from one country to another, it ought to bind humanity together -- a great universal diffusion of music, realized in the double sense of geography and history.[34]

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CHAPTER V

NATIONALISM AS APPLIED BY CHÁVEZ

All good music is revolutionary[1]
Chávez

It is the consensus of most of Chávez's critics that had he never been active except as a composer, the character of his works would eventually have established his fame. As Aaron Copland, modern U. S. composer once intimated, the music of Chávez may not gain a large public all at once. His idiom is too different and unconventional and requires several hearings, but whatever public he gains "will be a faithful one."[2]

Chávez's composing has been fairly prolific when one considers how time consuming his other activities have been. His works are perhaps his best press agent, for not only has he composed in strict conformity with his theories, but his music illustrates the application of theory, making it reality.

The features of Chávez's philosophy of nationalism -- namely, the folk elements, the adjustment of genius to

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[1] Herbert Weinstock, "Carlos Chávez," The Musical Quarterly, XXII, 435, October, 1936.

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environment, use of new techniques, traditionalism, nationalism as a balance of regionalism, and a concept of universality[3] --are all in evidence throughout his work. One can scarcely single out each composition as a specific example of any one phase of his definition. All indicate, to a greater or lesser degree, the features mentioned.

At times, it is almost as though Mr. Chávez has captured a "4th dimension," so startling is the blend of the old in the new, the new in the old. In Mexico, where several cultures live side by side amid social ferment, neolithic age rivals power, a deer dance may occur simultaneously with a sympathetic strike; and pagan and Christian ideals have become inextricably entangled. With her population better than seventy-five per cent mestizo,[4] Mexico presents a grand mezcla of cultures, of the ancient, the colonial, and the modern.

This mezcla, Chávez is convinced, must be represented in Mexican music,. As he aptly expressed it: "the present

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[3] Discussed at length in Chapter III, "The Nationalism of Chávez."

[4] Frank Tannenbaum, Peace by Revolution, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), Chapter II, p. 21 and ff. Gives an account of Mexican population trends. In 1932, the indication was (and has continued to be) toward a mestizo nation. Only about 10% of the population then was pure white, and both Indian and mestizo populations were increasing. The mestizo, however, is the dominant element. Together with the pure Indian peoples, the mestizo element must lead to a mestizo culture ultimately. Much of mestizo culture is Indian in essence.

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is the clearest reality of life" -- yet is full of the past -- and "in order to contemplate the present in its context, we must go to the past."[5] The Indian of today must be viewed as an entity of which his past is an integral part. One must confess the subtle presence of the old Aztec, Toltec, and Maya divinities in modern Mexico.

In addition to the ethnological aspects, the geographic, too, are important. A country of many contrasts, Mexico has always had to struggle with her land. Rugged mountains, spacious acres of low areas -- either so rainy as to be almost jungle or else empty, dry desert -- and extensive volcanic regions constitute the mindless grandeur of a relentless, austere land and one phase of Mexico's life unchanged by revolution..

Geography, in fact, accounts for much of Mexico's struggle. It has deepened those of the Amerindian, primitive and stoical, against Spaniard, cultured and proud. It certainly has played its role in the stark conflict of the backward against the enterprising and powerful.

In view of these factors, creating a national music, then, becomes a far more complex problem than may have been supposed. It isn't surprising that Chávez should have written ". . . to accept the marvelous art of the European

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Chávez's approach to the problem has been first to distinguish the elemental, tenacious voice of the folk, found in the traditional music of both Indian and colonial. To this, he may add the purest expression of rebellion and complete the blend with such overtones of progress as cannot be silenced.

Technically, to achieve some degree of refinement, he may use European or classic forms of musical expression, but he abandons classical form whenever it jeopardizes explanation. His music is linear rather than horizontal; lines are stark, free of sentimentality, but fresh and vital, and new; yet always there is that consciousness of the old.[7]

It was in 1921 that José Vasconcelos, Secretary of Education, commissioned Chávez to write a ballet, El Fuego Nuevo (The New Fire) at the same time that he commissioned Diego Rivera to do the frescoes in the Secretariat of Education. El Fuego Nuevo represents the first of Chávez's music that was native to Mexico, the first outpouring of what Chávez had imbibed in his yearly visits among the

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More of the same fresh, vital music is found in Los Cuatro Soles (The Four Suns), a delightful work, completed in 1926, based upon a legendary Mexican explanation of prehistory. The story describes four epochs: one is ended by a deluge; the second by glacial winds; volcanic fire completes the third; and the fourth is that of the present. Again Indian feeling dominates in the high drama of the legend which has certainly an interesting kinship with those found in other countries.[9] The listener should, however, remember that this is not legendary drama drawn wholly from the past. It exists among the Mexicans of today;[10] it typifies their feeling for superior powers, their awe of the natural elements. The Four Suns captures that native awe and fear of

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[8] The ballet was not performed until November 4, 1928, when it was presented by OSM. The percussion instruments are those already mentioned in Chapter IV. See Chapter IV, note 23.

[9] For example, it is very similar to the creation myth of the Navajos, with the four stages of existence. There is similarity, also to the legend of other American Indian groups.

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Among his early Mexican compositions there is a group of three Sonatinas which are significant because in them Chávez incorporated folk music into rather elaborate settings, somewhat after the method of the Russian composers who adapted folk melodies directly into their compositions retaining much of the original folk form.[11] Yet he has combined something of the subtlety of the French school as well--something of the delicacy, clarity, and wit of Ravel or Debussy.[12] The Mexico of the Sonatinas is a more sunny, naive Mexico, and in these as well as in the short piano pieces 3 Hexagons and 36, one senses something of the dry, biting humor so characteristic of the Mexican people. It is interesting to find in analyzing the Sonatinas that whereas no actual Indian melody is used in them, the essence remains.

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This essence, the Chávez idiom, becomes more and more evident as he gains confidence in his own medium of exposition.

Reflecting a totally different phase of Mexican life from the indigenous is the work Llamadas, also known as the Sinfonía Proletaria, written in 1934. By this time, Chávez was no longer writing in imitation of primitive music, but was sufficiently steeped in it to have arrived at a new simplicity of expression. Llamadas is an appeal to the underprivileged of Mexico. It was scored originally for a small orchestra and chorus, and was performed at union meetings, held in the Casa del Pueblo. The work was received with enthusiasm, and later Chávez was commanded to play it at the dedication of the Palace of Fine Arts.[13] The success of this composition illustrates the degree to which Chávez had become a composer of popular appeal, for in the beginning, he had to fight for an audience and his works were hissed at and bitterly criticized.

Two of the more significant orchestral compositions are Sinfonía Antigone and Sinfonía India. They present an interesting contrast. The former originated in 1932, when the grøupo orientación of the Secretariat of Public Instruction produced Jean Cocteau's condensed version of the Antigone

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[13] Performance was requested at the vociferous demand of the workers, carried to the authorities by Diego Rivera. Herbert Weinstock, "Carlos Chávez," The Musical Quarterly, XXII, 441, October, 1936.

Thus essence, the Chavez idiom, becomes more and more evident as he gains confidence in his own medium of expression.

Reflecting a totally different phase of Mexican life from the indigenous is the work *Llamadas*, also known as the *Sinfonía Proletaria*, written in 19[illegible]. By this time, Chavez was no longer writing in imitation of primitive music, but was sufficiently steeped in it to have arrived at a new simplicity of expression. *Llamadas* is an appeal to the underprivileged of Mexico. It was scored originally for a small orchestra and chorus, and was performed at union meetings held in the Casa del Pueblo. The work was received with enthusiasm, and later Chavez was commanded to play it at the dedication of the Palace of Fine Arts.[15] The success of this composition illustrates the degree to which Chavez had become a composer of popular appeal, for in the beginning, he had to fight for an audience and his works were biased at and bitterly criticized.

Two of the more significant orchestral compositions are *Sinfonía Antígona* and *Sinfonía India*. They present an interesting contrast. The former originated in 1932, when the *Teatro Orientación* of the Secretariat of Public Instruction produced Jean Cocteau's condensed version of the *Antígona*

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of Sophocles. Chávez then wrote for small orchestra the musical interludes required for the Greek tragedy.[14] Chávez himself described the work as follows:

> . . . it is a symphony, not a symphonic poem. . . the music is not subjected to any literary plan; Antigone, her arrogance, obstinancy, heroism, and her martyrdom are expressed in entirety, not successively.
>
> The most elemental music materials are used in this music which cannot be grandiloquent; uninhibited and simple, this music alone can be expressed in laconic strength, as the primitive is refined (restrained) by the force to be primitive.[15]

The work is stark and tragic, yet static, quite in keeping with the mood of the Greek drama.

One must well ask just what contribution such a composition as this makes to the development of Mexican musical nationalism. It makes a very genuine contribution, for as more than one critic has commented, there is in it the spirit of the primitive Greek, and yet, is as Mexican as Chávez himself. It is as barbaric, severe, and cruel as the engravings made in timbers by the early Mexicans. No longer the product of literal use of indigenous material, the Antigone Symphony is objective -- it is at once of no age; yet both Grecian and Mexican, almost an Aztec Antigone. It is at once both old and new in musical quality; it exemplifies what Chávez seeks when he speaks of national

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[14] Boletín de la OSM, 16 Julio, 1937.

[15] Loc. cit.

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music's becoming universal in character.

Sinfonía India was written in 1935 while Chávez was on tour in the United States, and its first performance was broadcast in January of 1936.[16] It is a summation of the archaeological elements in Mexican music. "Three Indian melodies provide the basis for three musical ideas for three movements played without pause."[17] For performance of this symphony, Chávez has supplemented the normal orchestra with several native instruments.[18]

Among the arrangements of songs which were already familiar to the Mexican people is the especially lovely La Paloma Azul. A popular 19th century song, its origin is unknown; it may have been a Spanish song, or it may have descended from the Italian operatic music of the late 18th century. The sentiment is gentle and sweet, expressing very simply the emotions of the heart. If it is of Italian origin, it is easy to imagine how the Mexican people could have claimed its simple melody as their own. Indeed, as Chávez

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[17] Nicolas Slonimsky, Music of Latin America, (New York: Crowell, 1945), p. 234.

[18] It was later arranged for symphonic presentation.

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17 Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music of Latin America*, (New York: Crowell, 1945), p. 23.

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has many times suggested, whatever music has influenced the Mexican people -- whether Italian, German, French, negro or still some other, -- must thereafter be considered a part of Mexican music.

It is doubtful if any other of the Mexican composer's works has received such diverse criticism as the symphony Horse-Power, more commonly known as H.P. Its world première took place on the stage of the Metropolitan Opera House in Philadelphia, March 31, 1932. The ensuing criticisms spanned all degrees of enthusiasm and all degrees of disfavor. A few critics apparently failed to appreciate the composer's objectives.

Originally, Chávez wrote H.P. as a ballet for which Diego Rivera was to do the costuming.[19] It was as a ballet that it was presented in 1932. Certainly any critic would have to concede the ambition of the undertaking, for it is a sweeping attempt to delineate the contemporary epoch, daily living, whether or not it be artistic. In it the very air and atmosphere of the continent are incorporated. Nicolas Slonimsky summarizes the work thus:

> H.P. is the apotheosis of the machine age. . . . The ballet is in four movements. The first 'Danza del Hombre,' symbolizes Man as the creator of things. The second, 'El Barco,' depicts the commerce flourishing between North and South America. There is a mariner's dance, followed by a tango, expressive of the lure of the South. The third

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> movement 'El Tropico,' depicts the ship's stay in a southern port. Two native dances -- the Sandunga and Huapango, are included in this movement. The last movement, 'Danza de los Hombres y las Máquinas,' portrays a North American city with its skyscrapers. The workers rebel against the despotism of the machine, and panic seizes the capitalists. Finally the workers conquer the machines and convert them to their own use.[20]

Rivera refuted the suggestion that the work was pure propaganda. He described it as art for the people, adding that art for the multitude is after all, the purest and richest art since it springs from the masses.[21]

Harry L. Hewes, writing for the Pan American Bulletin, termed H.P. "the most ironic and whimsical comment on the contrast and conflicts of life on the North American continent."[22] Mr. Weinstock said rather simply that in H.P. "is news brought . . . from tropical Mexico and our own northern land of dynamo and machine,"[23] while Chávez himself characterized the work as

> . . . a symphony of sounds around us in a revue of our times. . . that which the present moment has of strife and creativeness, that which in reality lives in the very air in which we breath is what is contained in H.P.[24]

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[20] Harry L. Hewes, "The Mexican Ballet Symphony 'H.P.,'" Bulletin of the Pan American Union, LXVI, 421, June, 1932.

[21] Herbert Weinstock, op. cit., p. 435.

[22] Harry L. Hewes, op. cit., p. 421.

[23] Herbert Weinstock, op. cit., p. 443.

[24] Nicolas Slonimsky, op. cit., pp. 232-33.

Whatever its defects, whatever its merits, the least that may be said of H.P., yet perhaps the most is that it is music of our time. In the light of Chávez's own theory of nationalism, one can hardly deny that it fulfills the qualification. It is music of the folk both in the popular dances and melodies which it utilizes and in the fact that it reflects the economic life of the people. It certainly results from the composer's consciousness of the world in which he lives. Despite the dance forms, it is expressed in a new mode, unhampered by traditional techniques. The dances themselves are traditional, while the contrast between North and South America depicts a balance of regions. It retains its national spirit in the character of the folk dances included, while it arrives at universality in the social problem which it expounds -- a problem born of our age, but certainly transcending national boundaries.

Perhaps one of the most unusual of the Chávez compositions in which the indigenous qualities are emphasized is Toccata for Percussion Instruments, which was written at the request of John Cage of Chicago for the use of his orchestra of percussion instruments. However, the initial performance of the work was in Mexico, in October of 1947, when it was presented by the Orchestra of the Conservatory, under the direction of Eduardo Hernández Moncada. In this composition, Mr. Chávez has employed the timbre of the various

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percussion instruments in creating contrasts of sound and rhythm. The work comprises three sections played without interruption. The first, Allegro sempre giusto, is for drums; the second, Largo, is for bells, chimes, and other metal instruments; while the third, Allegro un poco marziale, utilizes both drums and metallic instruments.[25]

A reviewer of the première of the Toccata for Percussion Instruments described it as follows:

> . . . One could almost feel that those drum beats had a message to Indians living at some distance; one could almost feel the gathering of a storm, not literally, but with some disturbance which interfered with the well-being of the tribe; then with the clear ringing of the chimes, seeming clouds were dispersed and the members of the tribe resumed their regular daily habits.
>
> Only one who has been among the Mexican tribes, who has caught their feeling, their stolid characteristics, like Carlos Chávez, could produce such a master-piece, a composition as realistic as that. . . .[26]

Another Indian composition, written much earlier is Xochipili-Macuilxochitl, an attempted expression of how the ancient Aztec music may have sounded. The composition was the fruition of Chávez's studies among the Indians -- studies which concerned not only melodies and rhythms, but actual instruments. It was the composer's intention that the work be performed by the Mexican Orchestra using the

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[25] Programa, OSM,, XXI Temporada, no. 5, 1948.

[26] PEMEX, Travel Club Bulletin, VIII, no 181-A, February, 1948.

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actual reproduction of the Indian instruments. His desire became reality when the composition was honored by performance in May, 1940, at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City.[27]

Xochipili-Macuilxochitl exemplifies the most literal use of native instruments. It is colorful music, and quick, lithe figures stand out in bold relief like the picturesque attitudes depicted on a Mexican mural.

Named after the Aztec god of music, the dance, flames, and love, the music is not based on archaeological melodies from true pre-Conquest music, for no records of such melodies exist. Having studied the potentialities of the Aztec musical scale, and of their culture, Chávez has created the impression of how ancient Mexican music may have sounded, reconstructing an atmosphere of primitive purity so characteristic of the Mexican Indian.

Two of the later works and among his finest are the String Quartet, performed under the auspices of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge in the Library of Congress in 1936, and the Concerto for Piano and Orchestra, first performed in New York in 1942.[28] Both compositions reflect something

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of the spare, unsensuous, and spacious quality of the highlands, of crags and plateaus, and of a people who wring their livelihood from a forbidding land. And then there are the undeluded deserts in sharp contrast to moments of brilliance which might suggest the splash of chili peppers against some forlorn adobe wall.

In these works is a concise, well-knit, and balanced sensitivity more convincing to the listener than were elements of eralier works. One feels assured that the composer has "found his way" to the nationalism which he desires to expound.

Salazar regarded the Concerto as "a culminating point in Chávez's music and perhaps in the music of Latin America today."[29] It is the composition which won for Chávez a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1938.

In the last few years Mr. Chávez has composed less extensively although he has written some music in collaboration for various theatrical productions, ballets, and even some movies on the Mexican revolution. However, his other activities do not leave him much time for composition. He

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is engaged at present in writing a concerto for violin and orchestra, a work eagerly awaited by those who know his previous works.[30]

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[30] Works of Chávez not discussed here include: Obertura Republicana, Concerto for Four Horns, several piano sonatas, the ballets written for Martha Graham, and the Juvenilia. He has also written music in conjunction with movies about the 1910 revolution. A complete list of his works is included in the Appendix.

CHAPTER VI

AN EVALUATION

> It is easy to retrace the highroad already constructed, but very difficult to build new roads, to project and clear new routes. . . .[1]

Whatever else may be said of Carlos Chávez, it is certain that his objectives and achievements have stimulated controversy. The task, however, of judging or evaluating the contributions of any man, whether he be hero or statesman, artist or agitator, amid the heat and contention of contemporary opinion, almost defies the effort. A truly great man, desirous of helping and guiding his nation, will be concerned more with the future than with the present. Consequently, the fruits of his labors shall be gathered, for the most part, in the future. It is the future generations who shall best determine whether or not a man be more than a product of his age.

The foregoing discussion has presented the record of Carlos Chávez -- an analysis of his aims as he himself has described them and a review of his accomplishments as conductor, educator, and composer. In both his aims and accomplishments Chávez has endeavored to serve as an exponent of Mexican nationalism. It is consequently in the light of

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that role that his success must be measured.

Since the work of Carlos Chávez is still in progress, and since all of it is too recent to be judged in retrospect, the press is probably our only indication as to the manner in which Chávez has been received by his public and by his people. In fact, the press has played a real part, it would seem, both in slowing down and in accelerating the public's acceptance of the new and different. It was not that Mexico lacked competent critics, but previous to 1937, their attention of such men as José Barros Sierra and Estanislao Mejia seems to have been directed at phases of Mexican music other than the activities of Chávez.

A survey of one of Mexico City's foremost newspapers, El Universal, over a period of twelve years, together with examination of occasional accounts in such publications as Hoy, Mañana, and Revista Musical, yielded one striking fact. Mr. Chávez was almost completely without honor in his own country until the United States press spoke of him with such esteem that he came to be appreciated in his native land. As Mauricio Magdaleno expressed it:

> For years his public evidenced frank demonstrations of displeasure when he alternated native themes with Beethoven. One day the press of New York spoke glowing words of praise about those themes. . . then everything changed at home.[2]

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Indeed, from 1928, the year in which he assumed the directorship of the National Conservatory, the Mexican press reflects little of graciousness or support for Chávez, there have even been bitter attacks, such as the instance in 1934, mentioned previously,[3] and the very recent one of José Limantour,[4] who envisions Chávez as dictator, as "cacique" of Mexico's music. Yet with regard to these two instances, one cannot help but observe that 1934 must have been a high point in Chávez's program of education when the young men -- Ayala, Galindo, and others (whom Chávez had been accused of "holding back") were about to find themselves. The criticism of Limantour, made in the late summer of 1948 describing Chávez as a veritable "cacique", parallels the initial efforts of the newly created Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, under Chávez's direction. This Instituto, born of Chávez's work, was to present the first genuine Mexican opera, reflecting the inspiration, culture, and heritage of the Mexican nation.

Despite the fact that the attacks alluded to were quite scathing, the more general attitude of the Mexican press has been passive. The concerts conducted by Chávez have received press notices, but prior to 1937, critical comment and analysis rarely followed the performances. The

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[3] See Chapter IV, note 20.

[4] See Chapter I, note 16.

symphony season seems to have been taken as a matter of course with little attention paid to the fact that Chávez had an ever increasing public. What Chávez accomplished had to be done almost on his own initiative, the favor bestowed upon him by President Alemán being a very recent development.[5]

If the Mexican press was passive, the United States newspapers were barely warm previous to 1937. It was in that year that the course of public opinion seemed to change. The event which marked this was a rather extensive visit made by Chávez to the United States. On February 11 of that year, Mr. Chávez conducted the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra in a concert which included a Hadyn symphony, the Daphné et Cloë suite by Ravel and Chávez's own, Sinfonía de Antigone.

On the following day, Olin Downes, music critic of the New York Times praised Chávez in lavish terms; likewise, the accounts in both the New York Herald Tribune and the New York Evening Post were enthusiastic in their praise.

Just one day later, on February 13, El Universal,[6] carried a lengthy article heralding Chávez's success in New York City and quoting the comments of the New York

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[5] President Alemán appointed Chávez director of Fine Arts. See Chapter IV for a discussion of this post.

[6] El Universal, 13 de febrero de 1937.

critics. This account was written by Alberto Zalamea, who was among the first to write in commendation of Chávez. One striking tribute had been paid earlier, however, by Jacobo Dalevuelto who praised the Mexican composer especially for the newly won fame of Sinfonía India and Sinfonía Antigone.[7] The immediate effect of the enthusiasm shown Chávez by critics of the United States was not to cause any reversal of opinion among the Mexican critics. It was a matter of recognition rather than of commendation. The concerts directed by Chávez began to receive advance discussion instead of mere routine press notices. The critics, too, turned some attention to Chávez. Though for a time their treatment was adverse, gradually even José Barros Sierra and Estanislao Mejia -- both formerly much opposed to the objectives of Chávez -- have come to respect the fact that he is leader in the field of Mexican music.

A highlight in the career of Carlos Chávez as well as an event significant in the history of Latin American music occurred in July of 1937 when Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge sponsored a six day Festival of Pan American Chamber Music. Held in El Palacio de Belles Artes, in Mexico City, the series was directed by Mr. Chávez and presented

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[7] El Universal, 2 de Mayo de 1936. This tribute was rather a notable exception in the attitude of the press toward Chávez previous to 1937.

critics. This account was written by Alberto Salmeron, who was among the first to write in commendation of Chavez. One striking tribute had been paid earlier, however, by Jacobo Dalevuelta who praised the Mexican composer especially for the newly won fame of *Sinfonia India* and *Sinfonia Antigona*.[7] The immediate effect of the enthusiasm shown Chavez by critics of the United States was not to cause any reversal of opinion among the Mexican critics. It was a matter of recognition rather than of commendation. The concerts directed by Chavez began to receive advance discussion instead of mere routine press notices. The critics, too, turned some attention to Chavez. Though for a time their treatment was adverse, gradually even José Briton Sierra and Estanislao Mejia -- both formerly much opposed to the objectives of Chavez -- have come to recognize the fact that he is leader in the field of Mexican music.

A highlight in the career of Carlos Chavez as well as an event significant in the history of Latin American music occurred in July of 1932 when Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge sponsored a six day Festival of Pan American Chamber Music. Held in El Palacio de Bellas Artes, in Mexico City, the series was directed by Mr. Chavez and presented

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[7] *El Universal*, 2 de Mayo de 1930. This tribute was rather a notable exception in the attitude of the press toward Chavez previous to 1932.

music of American (U.S.), Mexican, Argentine, Chilean, Brazilian, Peruvian, and Cuban composers.

Sinfonía de Antigone, a Chávez work, was among the compositions performed. Although it had been played in Mexico as early as 1933, it received little recognition until acclaimed abroad. The O.S.M. Boletín for the July, 1937, concert quoted the criticisms of three United States newspapers, The New York Times, The Boston Transcript, and The Christian Science Monitor. Comment and evaluation from Mexican musicians was quite absent.

Similarly, when the Sinfonía India was presented, the Boletín of O.S.M. repeated the remarks of a bulletin of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, printed at the time of the Symphony's performance in Philadelphia and Boston.[8] Again, comment from Mexican writers was lacking. Sinfonía India and some others of Chávez's works were performed initially in the United States, while the renowned piano concerto which, in 1938, won for Chávez the Guggenheim Fellowship was presented in London before Mexico heard it publically presented.

Of course, one could lay undue stress upon this situation. Actually, the musical critics of any nation will point proudly to the gracious laurels won by their artists as guests in other countries. The instances are

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Of course, one could lay many excuses upon this situation. Actually, the musical critics of any nation will point proudly to the previous favorable non-musical articles as proofs in other countries. The instances are

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[8] Bulletin, OS., 16 July 1937.

not unusual. Nevertheless, in the case of Chávez the press comment indicates that he has had to educate his public to listen to him. It would seem inconsistent with his teachings as a national that he should have relied upon acclaim from abroad had he not been driven to do so by the indifference and lack of understanding among his own people.

As a matter of fact, examination of press comment in this country reveals something of a story. Almost from the beginning, Chávez has had the full support of Herbert Weinstock, Aaron Copland, and Paul Rosenfield,[9] "who were able to appreciate his objectives for creating a nationalistic music" and who could foresee in the workings of Chávez's genius "the first authentic signs of a new world with its own new music."[10]

Some other critics and composers of the United States, like Elliott Carter, Colin McPhee, and Henry Cowell[11] have

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[9] Aaron Copland is an American composer, pianist, and lecturer who has done much to encourage unrecognized American composers. A champion of Chávez, he has composed at least one work on Mexico entitled El Salon Mexico. Herbert Weinstock and Paul Rosenfield are both noted authors and critics on American music. The former has written on other phases of Mexican culture as well as on music, and he has translated several of Chávez's writings.

[10] Aaron Copland, "Carlos Chávez - Mexican Composer," American Composers on American Music, p. 106.

[11] Elliott Carter is a composer, teacher, and a critic; in the last capacity he conducted his own column in Modern Music, periodical of the League of Composers. Colin McPhee is also a critic and a composer who has made notable studies of the music of Bali and Java. Henry Cowell, who has been

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been more reticent in expressing their favor. It can safely be stated, however, that in the United States Chávez had been accepted as a worthy composer by the year 1937. To mention only one of the press comments of that year, Elliott Carter, writing on the conclusion of the season said: "The season has just come to an end with new works by Stravinsky, Hindemith, Chávez, Copland, and Sessions, in short, by the best composers of today."[12]

In 1941, Aaron Copland, in his book Our New Music reiterated his prophecy of 1933[13] when he wrote of Chávez;

> Single-handed he has created a tradition that no future Mexican composer can afford to ignore. . . . I feel that no other composer who has used folk material -- not even Bela Bartók or de Falla -- has more successfully solved the problem of its complete amalgamation into an art form.[14]

Said Rodney Gallop, English critic who introduced Chávez's works to Britain:

> Nationalism, universality, and popular appeal: these three conceptions synthesize Carlos Chávez's views on art, and the more closely acquainted one is with his work, the more one realizes how successful he has been in integrating them into an organic whole.[15]

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a music instructor in several colleges and universities of California, has conducted his own crusade for new musical resources and has encouraged the writing of modern and of American music.

12 Elliott Carter, "Forecast and Review, Late Winter, New York 1937," Modern Music, XIV, 147, March-April, 1937.

13 Aaron Copland, op. cit.

14 Aaron Copland, Our New Music, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1941), p. 211.

15 Boletín, OSM., XVI Temporada, 1943.

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It is a curious thing that sometimes Chávez has been attacked in Mexico for not being Mexican enough. This is said usually when Chávez is contrasted with Revueltas and Ponce, both of whom utilized, not the indigenous, but the songs and dances heard all about them -- the vernacular music of Mexico -- as a basis for their compositions. Yet it was Chávez who induced Revueltas to write his earliest orchestral works and gave their premières with his orchestra.

Among some other contemporary criticisms is that of Otto Mayer-Serra, who is of the opinion that while Chávez does have full control of the modern technical advances in composition, nevertheless, in attempting to reconstruct the music of the primitive and to translate it into the modern musical idiom, he has overlooked the realities of present-day Mexico, thereby limiting his own potentiality as a composer.[16]

Mayer-Serra's comment appears fallacious in judgment when one considers such Chávez compositions as H.P., El Sol, Llamadas, Obertura Republicana, and even La Paloma Azul, to mention only a few. Certainly in these works Chávez has not overlooked the Mexico that lives and breathes about him. If he had, it would indeed be gravely inconsistent with one of his most telling theories -- that of the

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[16] Otto Mayer-Serra, "Music Made in Mexico," Rotarian, LX, 29, January, 1942.

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[10] Otto Mayer-Serra, "Music Made in Mexico," Etcetera, IX, 2, January, 1942.

role of a genius in revealing the world in which he dwells.

It appears that the opinion of Mayer-Serra is not acceptable either when one recalls that the population of Mexico is predominantly mestizo and Indian in character.[17] Many of her people, then, are far better acquainted with the primitivism of four hundred years ago than with the machines and gadgets of industry. Mexican music can depict such primitivism and still be reflecting the realities of Mexico today.

There is no denying that Carlos Chávez has his enemies both in music and in politics. That among his opponents and even among his adherents the dread of any kind of cacique rule is almost inborn likewise must be accepted as fact. Yet the record of the man is surely his most faithful biography. Recognizing his accomplishments and his ideals, one can scarcely imagine his superimposing those ideals upon the youth in whom he himself visualizes the future of Mexican music. It is an issue which the future can best resolve.

In the last several years, however, there have been some hopeful signs that Mexico has begun to appreciate something of the real worth of Chávez. He has gained a public -- drawn from all classes of people. He has gained a favorable press as well, despite the fact that it is highly controversial

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[17] See Chapter V, note 4.

role of a genius in revealing the light to a people in need of a leader.

It remains that the opinion of Manuel Gamio, the accomplished student who was probably closest to the aspiration of Mexico is predominantly hostile and critical in our terms. Many of her people, then, are far better acquainted with the primitivism of four hundred years ago than with the machines and gadgets of industry. Mexicans must be dazzled by such civilization and will be satisfied the realization of Mexico today.

There is no denying that Gamio has his enemies both in music and in politics. That among his opponents and even among his adherents is a friend of any kind of cosmic rule is almost beyond imagine must be accepted as fact. Let the record of the man be merely that of Latinoid biography. Recognizing his accomplishments and his issues, one can scarcely lay to his charge the responsibility which lodges upon the youth in whom he already sees the future of Mexico's destiny. It is an issue which the future can best resolve.

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in its evaluations of him. We recall, too, that in 1944 he was appointed to a chair in El Colegio de Mexico -- a gesture indicative of genuine recognition. The posts which he has held more recently, under President Alemán, entail not only responsibility but also experience and versatility. The very fact that he has been so bitterly attacked by colleagues and contemporaries suggests forcibly that at least he is looked upon as a leader of Mexico's music, whether or not his leadership be acceptable to all.

Yet, in the light of these attacks, it is still doubtful if the public has begun to see the man in relation to the breadth of his program, the scope of his ideals. Disputes which border on the political can easily overshadow the social and cultural values. Perhaps the most promising symtom that Carlos Chávez may someday receive his proper acclaim is that President Alemán, in initiating a widespread program for the elevation of Mexican culture, should have deemed Chávez the man to head the Department of Fine Arts.

What the present should see in him is a leader of a movement for national consciousness, in a nation which has just recently "come of age." He sees for that nation a liberation in the arts -- a liberation which must be achieved in order to accelerate that nation's growth and progress. For Mexico's music he prescribes freedom from foreign domination, pride in the wealth of material at

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hand, the expression of the masses, and a new musical idiom requiring innovations of technique and procedure in order that the music of the Mexican people may be a home product, but a product meriting respect and love abroad.

The movement of nationalism of which Chávez is an exponent is not limited to Mexico alone. It has had its stimuli wherever a nation has achieved maturity. It is occurring simultaneously in many of the Latin American countries and is following a similar pattern of seeking freedom from European techniques, of using indigenous resources, and of arriving at new procedures. As Chávez represents Mexico, so Humberto Allende and Carlos Isamitt represent Chile, and Villa-Lobos, Brazil.[18] It is a Latin American renaissance in the process of evolution.

Chávez in Mexico has carried the standard for this re-birth and has led his nation so far along the path of true music nationalism that we in the United States can but look with envy. His is the music of a new world, for in creating Mexican music, he has created American music. It is a music wrought upon American soil; it reflects the daily turmoil and unrest of the people who live upon that soil. In it, too, is something of their stamina and vitality, something of their daring, and something of their invincible desire for freedom.

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[18] Irma Goebel Labastille, "Americanismo Musical," Modern Music, XIV, 78, January-February, 1937.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

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SHOSTAKOVICH DEDICA A CARLOS CHAVEZ UN EJEMPLAR DE SU SEPTIMA SINFONIA

El Excmo. Sr. Constantin Oumansky, Embajador de la U.R.S.S. en México, entregó al maestro Carlos Chávez un ejemplar de la Séptima Sinfonía de Shostakovich, dedicado por el autor a su colega mexicano. En la ceremonia celebrada con tal motivo en la Embajada Soviética, el 30 de octubre de 1943, el señor Embajador y el maestro Chávez pronunciaron las palabras que a continuación reproducimos:

ALOCUCION DEL EXCMO. SR. OUMANSKY

Tengo que desempeñar hoy una misión muy agradable He recibido de mi buen amigo Dimitri Shostakovich una copia de la partitura de su Séptima Sinfonía, con el ruego de que la entregue al maestro Carlos Chávez.

La partitura lleva una dedicatoria en la que Shostakovich envía a su querido amigo Carlos Chávez su saludo y su gratitud.

Mi satisfacción al entregar este mensaje es aun mayor, por se yo un sincero admirador, tanto del que lo envía como del que lo recibe.

Para nosotros, los rusos, la Séptima Sinfonía constituye la expresión adecuada de la época en que vivimos. Para expresarlo con las palabras del propio compositor, él quiso "crear la historia de nuestros días, de nuestra vida, de nuestro pueblo que se convierte en héroe y en vencedor, que lucha por la causa del triunfo sobre el enemigo". "Mientras trabajaba en la Sinfonía", dice Shostakovich, "pensaba en la grandeza de nuestro pueblo y en su heroísmo, en los ideales mas elevados de la humanidad, en las cualidades más hermosas del hombre, en nuestro hermoso páis, en el humanismo y la belleza. Estamos empeñados en esta acerva lucha en nombre de todo esto".

Tuve la fortuna de poder comprobar por mí mismo, la fe de Shostakovich en estos ideales y en la Victoria. En los días más amargos de esta guerra, cuando los alemanes se acercaban a las puertas de Moscú, Shostakovich tocó, para un grupo de unos ocho o diez amigos que nos hallábamos reunidos, los primeros tres movimientos, ya completos, de la Sinfonía que había compuesto en la asediada ciudad de Liningrado y

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un borrador del cuarto movimiento.

La habitación en que nos encontrábamos no tenía suficiente calefacción y la comida que acabábamos de hacer dejaba mucho que desear.

Conteniendo la respiración, seguíamos la música, buscando de penetrar dentro de la creación, cuya grandeza inmediata nos hizo vibrar en lo más profundo de cada uno. Comprendíamos la tremenda acusacion que contiene contra el barbaro enemigo y, al mismo tiempo, la fe inquebrantable y el amor por la humanidad.

Mientras escuchábamos nos reunimos alrededor de algunos de los colegas más distinguidos del maestro Chávez en la Union Soviética. Allí se encontraban leyendo la partitura, los grandes directores de orquesta rusos, Melik-Pashaef y Somosud que, por medio de la mimica, nos explicaban lo que Shostakovich decía al piano.

Otro querido amigo mío, el gran escritor soviético, Eugenio Petrov, muerto después honrosamente en el campo de batalla, describió con las siguientes palabras los pensamientos que se le ocurrieron cuando oyó por primera vez la Séptima Sinfonía y, especialmente, el segundo novimiento, el scherzo, y el tercero, andante: movimientos sobre los que Shostakovich nos dijo que eran puramente líricos y a los que no podría dar una interpretación literaria.

"Veía a las madres, escribió Petrov, despidiéndose de sus hijos y a las jóvenes esposas de sus maridos que partían para el frente. Veía la tensión de las ciudades, heladas, en espera del monstruo invisible con el hocico de zinc que volaba hacia ellas en el negro cielo nocturno. Veía a hombres fuertes y a hombres débiles. Veía los rayos de los reflectores y el reguero de las balas trazadoras. reflejado en los cristales de las ventanas de los edificios mas altos. Veía de nuevo las carreteras de las zonas de guerra y se apoderó de mí esa sensación indescriptible que se apodera de uno cuando se cruza esa línea vaga e indeterminada que se llama el frente. Veia los cadaveres de los soldados del Ejército Rojo con las cabezas inclinadas para siempre hacia adelante y en dirección del enemigo; y la estación de primeros auxilios en el frente y al cirujano con sus guantes de goma y la enfermera inclinada sobre un herido que exhala su último suspiro; y el suave paisaje ruso y niños y las pasiones humanas y la ternura y el dolor y las sonrisas y todo lo que llenaba nuestros corazones y nuestro pensamiento en los primeros meses de la guerra".

Es difícil traducir a palabras la intensa emoción que sentimos al oír el cuarto movimiento, el finale, el triunfo de la verdad, el triunfo del hombre que piensa y siente frente a las bestias nazis que han dejado de pensar y de sentir y tienen un pedazo de hierro mohoso en lugar de

un corredor del cuerpo movimiento.

La habitación en que nos encontrábamos no tenía apenas calefacción y la sensación que sobrecogía de hacer dejaba mucho que desear.

Conteniendo la respiración, seguíamos la música, buscando de penetrar dentro de la creación, cuya grandeza inmediata nos hizo vibrar en lo más profundo de cada uno. Comprendíamos la tremenda sensación que contiene contra el barbaro enemigo y, al mismo tiempo, la fe inquebrantable y el amor por la humanidad.

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corazón y cuya idiota pomposidad incorporada en el leitmotiv, casi insoportable, del primer movimiento podría habernos parecido incluso cómica, si no los hubiéramos conocido en nuestro país, matando e incendiando.

Aquel finale lleno de esperanza y optimismo que había sido escrito en los días que los oficiales alemanes mandaban cepillar sus uniformes y sacar brillo a sus botas para desfilar por Moscú, que presumían de haber visto a través de sus binóculos, nos trasmitió toda la fe del compositor en nuestra victoria.

Esto es algo de lo que contiene para nosotros esta Sinfonía que continúa la gran tradición de Tchaikowsky y Mussorgsky, escrita por un hombre tímido, de aspecto aniñado y frágil, cuya modestia no le permite escuchar alabanzas de su obra sin azorarse; por un hombre que, junto con muchos otros músicos y artistas, ha tomado parte activa en la defensa de su ciudad natal, Leningrado, que ha estado sitiada durante más de dos años.

Shostakovich conoce y admira al gran compositor y director el maestro Carlos Chávez, su colega mexicano, y la gratitud que expresa al enviarle esta partitura es la gratitud por la magnífica interpretación de la Séptima Sinfonía y por el interés que el maestro ha demonstrado en la ayuda del pueblo mexicano al pueblo ruso.

Este saludo de un gran ruso a un gran mexicano no es una casualidad sino un ejemplo más de la afinidad de nuestros ideales y de la solidaridad de nuestros pueblos. Shostakovich no duda que usted, maestro Chávez, y sus compatriotas comparten con él la opinión de que: "El arte no puede existir allí donde la humanidad está esclavizada, donde los seres humanos quedan reducidos a la categoría de máquinas. La historia nos ha encomendado, dice Shostakovich, a nosotros los contemporáneos de la gigantesca batalla contra el vandalismo germánico, una misión: la de dar expresión a los ideales de la lucha por la liberación de la humanidad de la peste parda, desenmascarar al nazifascismo, alimentar el odio del pueblo contra él."

Ni tampoco es una casualidad que la Séptima Sinfonía haya alcanzado el éxito que ha logrado en muchos países de este Hemisferio, amantes de la libertad, donde fué recibida como un mensaje proveniente de nuestros campos de batalla, portador de la fe en el hombre y en su gran porvenir.

Por haber interpretado tan brillantemente este mensaje, Dimitri Shostakovich envía a usted, maestro Chávez, su saludo fraternal y su gratitud.

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CONTESTACION DEL MAESTRO CHAVEZ

Señor Embajador Oumansky, señoras y señores que me escuchan:

Es estra una ocasión de mucho agrado y de muy honda satisfación para mí.

Es además una oportunidad que se presenta para que pueda yo decir cosas que siempre quiero decir, aunque sean las mismas que haya yo dicho desde hace mucho tiempo, pero, en forma y en ocasión distintas.

Lamento no haber podido con más calma hilvanar estas cuantas palabras, que deseo hubieran podido ser más precisas en la expresión de mil sentimientos que las de usted, señor Embajador, me han despertado.

En esta guerra del germanismo contra todo el resto del mundo, es la porción del mundo de la que usted viene, señor Embajador, la que está diciendo la palabra más categórica y precisa y realizando la acción más firme y convincente.

El triunfo de los ejércitos soviéticos no es triunfo de fuerza bruta: es, por el contrario, triunfo de inteligencia y de generosidad.

El arte de la nación rusa nos trae, hoy y siempre, un mensaje elevado, de emoción intensa: todas las gentes y naciones, sin que tenga que ver su raza, se conmueven ante su mensaje, si en ellas está presente una idea generosa, la de unión de todos los hombres que trabajan y que crean para gozar de un mundo igualmente bueno y grande para todos.

Creo como usted, señor Embajador, que la grandeza de los maestros de la tierra de usted, de Mussorgsky y de Tchaikowsky, viene a dar, en línea recta, viene a iluminar el genio de Shostakovich. Creo, como usted dice, que la intensa emoción de la hora y las angustias de la lucha han encontrado en Shostakovich el transformador que convierte las grandes inquietudes sociales en obra de arte, síntesis de compresión y síntesis de fe en las fuerzas positivas, en las fuerzas de la Victoria.

Quiero agradecer vivamente a Shostakovich el envío que me ha hecho y a usted, señor Embajador, el mensaje que me entrega, doblemente conmovido y honrado por venir de tan singular origen y por tan singular conducto, los que, ambos, cuentan con mi más alta admiración y más grande afecto.

Quiero, por último, expresar a usted, señor Embajador, y a todas las personas que amablemente me escuchan, que no recibo para mí solo tan grande honor y satisfacción, tan grande aliento en mi obra, sino que paso la parte mayor a los que conmigo han trabajado por hacer posible que en esta tierra de Mexico puedan ser captados, entendidos, valorizados, los mensajes de alta humanidad que, como la gran Sinfonía

CONTESTACION DEL MAESTRO CHAVEZ

Señor Embajador Dunaevsky, señores y señoras que nos acompañan:

Es sobre una ocasión de nuevo grato y de muy honda satisfacción para mí.

Es además una oportunidad que se presenta para que pueda yo decir cosas que siempre quiero decir, aunque sean las mismas que haya yo dicho desde hace mucho tiempo, pero en forma y en ocasión distintas.

Desmento no haber podido con mis calmas rivalizar estas cuantas palabras, que deseo hubieran podido ser más precisas en la expresión de mil sentimientos que las de usted, señor Embajador, me han despertado.

En esta guerra del sacrificio contra todo el resto del mundo, es la posición del mundo de la que usted viene, señor Embajador, la que esta diciendo la palabra más categórica y precisa y realizando la acción más firme y convincente.

El triunfo de los ejércitos soviéticos no es triunfo de fuerza bruta: es, por el contrario, triunfo de inteligencia y de generosidad.

El arte de la acción rusa nos trae, hoy y siempre, un mensaje elevado, de emoción intensa: todas las partes y naciones, sin que tenga que ver su raza, se conmueven ante su mensaje, si en ellas sabe presente una idea generosa, la de unión de todos los hombres, que trabajan y que oren para gozar de un mundo igualmente bueno y grande para todos.

Creo como usted, señor Embajador, que la grandeza de los maestros de la tierra de usted, de Musorgsky y de Tchaikowsky, viene a dar, en línea recta, viene a iluminar el genio de Shostakovich. Creo, como usted dice, que la intensa emoción de la hora y las angustias de la lucha han encontrado en Shostakovich el transformador que convierte las grandes inquietudes sociales en obra de arte, síntesis de comprensión y síntesis de fe en una fuerza positiva, en una fuerza de la Victoria.

Quiero agradecer vivamente a Shostakovich el envío que me ha hecho y a usted, señor Embajador, el mensaje que me entrega, doblemente conmovido y honrado por venir de tan singular origen y por tan singular conducto, los que, ambos, cuentan con mi más alta admiración y más grande afecto.

Quiero, por último, extender a usted, señor Embajador, y a todas las personas que amablemente me escuchan, que no recibo para mí solo tan grande honor y satisfacción, tan grande aliento en mi obra, sino que pago la parte mayor a los que conmigo han trabajado por hacer posible que en esta tierra de México puedan ser cobijadas, entendidas, valoriza-das, las mensajes de alta humanidad que, como la gran sinfonía

que hoy recibo, nos mandan fraternalmente, hombres aparentemente, geográficamente tan lejanos, pero tan cerca en la intención, tan cerca en la emoción.

Boletín de la Orquesta Sinfónica de México, XVI Temporada, 1943.

APPENDIX II

COMPOSITIONS OF CARLOS CHÁVEZ[1]

Chronological List 1921-1942

Date	Title	Medium	Publisher or MS	Place and date of Publication
1921	El Fuego Nuevo	Orchestra with voices	MS	
1923	Polígonos	Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal., Oct.1936
	Tres Exágonos	Voice and Piano	MS	
1924	Otros Tres Exágonos	Orchestra		
	Sonatina	Violin and Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal., 1928
	Sonatina	Piano	Cos Cob Press	New York, 1930
	Sonatina	Violoncello and piano	MS	
1925	Energía	Chamber orchestra	MS	
	36	Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal,, 1930
	36	Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal., Oct.1936
1926	Los Cuatro Soles	Orchestra and Chorus	MS	
	Los Cuatro Soles	Small Orchestra and chorus (alternate version)	MS	
	Solo	Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 1936

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[1] Does not include Juvenilia.

COMPOSITIONS OF ADOLFO CHAVEZ[1]

Chronological List 1921-1932

Date	Title	Medium	Publisher or MS	Place and Date of Publication
1921	El Juego Nuevo	Orchestra with voices	MS	
1923	Polígonos	Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 1930
	Tres Exágonos	Voice and Piano	MS	
1924	Otros Tres Exágonos	Orchestra		
	Sonatina	Violin and Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal., 1931
	Sonatina	Piano	Los Los Press	New York, 1930
	Sonatina	Violoncello and piano	MS	
1925	Energía	Chamber orchestra	MS	
	36	Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal., 1930
	36	Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 1935
1926	Los Cuatro Soles	Orchestra and Chorus	MS	
	Los Cuatro Soles	Small orchestra and MS (alternate versions)		
	Solo	Piano	New Music	San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 1935

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[1] Does not include Juventud.

Date	Title	Medium	Publisher or MS	Place and date of Publication
1926-1927	Sinfonía de Baile, H.P.	Orchestra	MS	
1928	(Tercera) Sonata	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Jan.1933
	Blues	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Oct.1936
	Fox	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Oct.1936
1929-1930	Sonata	French horns	MS	
1930	Paisaje	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Oct.1936
	Unidad	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Oct.1936
1932	Tierra Mojada	Mixed chorus, oboe and English horn	MS	
1932-1934	Todo	Voice and piano	MS	
1933	Soli	Oboe, clarinet Trumpet and bassoon	MS	
	Sinfonía de Antígona	Orchestra	MS	
	Cantos de México	Mexican orchestra	MS	
1934	El Sol	Chorus and orchestra	MS	
	Llamadas	Chorus and orchestra	Ediciones del Palacio de Bellas Artes	Mexico, 1934

Date	Title	Medium	Publisher or MS	Place and date of publication
1926-1927	Sinfonía de Baile, H.P.	Orchestra	MS	
1928	(Tercera) Sonata	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Jan.1932
	Blues	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Oct.1929
	Fox	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Oct.1929
1929-1930	Sonata	French horn	MS	
1930	Paisaje	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Oct.1929
	Unidad	Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Oct.1929
1932	Tierra Mojada	Mixed chorus, oboe and English horn	MS	
1932-1934	Toda	Voice and piano	MS	
1933	Soli I	Oboe, clarinet Trumpet and bassoon	MS	
	Sinfonía de Antígona	Orchestra	MS	
	Danza de México	Mexican orchestra	MS	
1934	El Sol	Chorus and orchestra	MS	
	Llamada	Chorus and orchestra	Palacio del Palacio de Bellas Artes	Mexico, 1934

Date	Title	Medium	Publisher or MS	Place and date of Publication
	Espire (Spiral)	Violin and Piano	New Music	San Francisco Cal., Apr.1935
1935	Obertura Republicana	Orchestra	MS	
1935-1936	Sinfonía India	Orchestra	MS	
1937	Chaconne in E Minor	Orchestra	MS	
	Ten Preludes	Piano	G. Schirmer, Inc.	New York, 1940
1938	Three Poems (Tres Poesías)	Voice and Piano	G. Schirmer, Inc.	New York, 1942
1937-1938	Concerto for Four Horns and Orchestra	Horns and Orchestra	MS	
1939	Cuatro Nocturnos	Voice and Orchestra	MS	
1938-1940	Concerto for Piano and Orchestra	Piano and Orchestra	G. Schirmer, Inc.	New York, 1942
1940	LaPaloma Azul	Mixed chorus and chamber orchestra	MS	
	Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl	Mexican orchestra	MS	
1941	La Casada Infiel	Voice and piano	MS	
1942	Arbolucu Te Sequeste	Mixed chorus a cappella	MS	
	Toccata	Percussion instruments	MS	

Date	Title	Medium	Publisher or MS	Place and date of Publication
	Mapire (Spiral)	Violin and Piano	New Music	San Francisco Oct., Apr. 1935
1935	Obertura republicana	Orchestra	MS	
1935-1936	Sinfonía India	Orchestra	MS	
1937	Chaconne in E Minor	Orchestra	MS	
	Ten Preludes	Piano	G. Schirmer, Inc.	New York, 1940
1938	Three Poems (Tres Poesías)	Voice and Piano	G. Schirmer, Inc.	New York, 1942
1937-1938	Concerto for Four Horns and Orchestra	Horns and Orchestra	MS	
1939	Cuatro Nocturnos	Voice and Orchestra	MS	
1939-1940	Concerto for Piano and Orchestra	Piano and Orchestra	G. Schirmer, Inc.	New York, 1942
1940	Larelona Azul	Mixed chorus and chamber orchestra	MS	
	Xochipilli-Macuilxochitl	Mexican orchestra	MS	
1941	La Cuesta Infiel	Voice and piano	MS	
1942	Arbolucu Te Separate	Mixed chorus a cappella	MS	
	Toccata	Percussion instruments	MS	

Date	Title	Medium	Publisher or MS	Place and date of Publication
	Three Nocturnes	Mixed chorus a cappella	MS	
	A Woman is a Worthy Thing	Mixed Chorus a cappella	MS	
	A ! Fredome	Mixed chorus a cappella	MS	
	North Carolina Blues	Voice and Piano	MS	

PARTIAL LIST OF COMPOSITIONS OF CHAVEZ SINCE 1942.

	Cuatro Nocturnos de Villaurrutia	Soprano, contralto with orchestra	
	Canto a la Tierra	Chorus and orchestra	World Premier Mexico, 1946.
	Suite de "La Hija de Cólquide"	Orchestra	Commissioned by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation as a ballet for Martha Graham.

Incidental music for various cinema and theatrical productions such as Don Quixote and The Wave.

Date	Title	Medium	Publisher or MS	Place and date of Publication
	Three Nocturnes	Mixed chorus a cappella	MS	
	A Woman is a Worthy Thing	Mixed Chorus a cappella	MS	
	A ! Fredome	Mixed chorus a cappella	MS	
	North Carolina Blues	Voice and Piano	MS	

PARTIAL LIST OF COMPOSITIONS OF CHARLES SIMON 1942.

	Cuatro Nocturnos de Villaurrutia	Soprano, contralto with orchestra
	Canto a la Tierra	Chorus and orchestra
	Suite de "La Hija de Colquide"	Orchestra

Incidental music for various cinema and theatrical productions such as Don Quixote and The Wave.

World Premiere Mexico, 1946.

Commissioned by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation. Ballet for Martha Graham.