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The Political Power of Carlos Chávez and His Influence Upon Silvestre Revueltas and Blas Galindo

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts
degree in Music

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Abstract

This monograph examines the political power of Mexican composer Carlos Chávez (1899–1978) during the first half of the twentieth century in Mexico, and his influence upon the careers and lives of composers Silvestre Revueltas (1899–1940) and Blas Galindo (1910–1993). I show how Carlos Chávez acquired institutional power through various cultural organizations such as the Orquesta Sinfónica de México, the Conservatorio Nacional, Departamento de Bellas Artes, and the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, and how his desire to bind music and culture with politics positioned him as the head of the cultural committee of Miguel Alemán’s presidential campaign of 1945. Chávez’s relationship with president Miguel Alemán ultimately granted him the position of Director of the INBA, the most important cultural institution in Mexico at the time, allowing him to shape the development of music and culture in the country for many years afterward.

Demonstrating Chávez’s authority over artists in Mexico, I argue that his relationships with Revueltas and Galindo portray different polemic faces of his administration. On one side, the story of Chávez and Revueltas draws attention to Chávez’s autocratic personality, while the story of Chávez and Galindo shows the benefits of his administration, and the value of his influence and power for many young artists of his time. Coupled with this, I document how these composers were bound together through a common interest in politics, traditional music, and cultural prosperity for their country. Lastly, by analyzing the power of Carlos Chávez, I determine that institutional and political power had a strong influence upon the artistic community in Mexico that endures to this day.

Keywords

Carlos Chávez, Silvestre Revueltas, Blas Galindo, Group of Four, Grupo de los Cuatro, Salvador Contreras, José Pablo Moncayo, Daniel Ayala, Political power, Nationalism, Folk Music, Mexico, Twentieth Century.

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Preface

I started working as a collaborative pianist when I was nineteen years old at the Institute of Music of Veracruz State in Mexico. I spent four years working at that institution, and I not only learned about the professional world of music, but I also learned that the development and improvement of cultural institutions that are financed by the Mexican government depend on their directors, managers, and the current Mexican regime. I eventually left my country with the desire to learn more about music, and to improve my skills as a pianist while also running away from a country with many problematic social, economic, and political issues. The war between the government and drug cartels affected the safety of the citizens. Many innocent people were killed and threatened; this included some of my friends and family members. Shootings became a daily event in my city, in fact, my state (Veracruz) became one of the most dangerous in Mexico.

During my master's degree in the US, being away from home made me appreciate and miss my culture. At the same time, I wanted to share with my new friends and teachers the music of my country, so I started playing more Mexican music. Eventually, by the time I began the DMA program, I was sure that I wanted to write my monograph about the music of composers Carlos Chávez, Silvestre Revueltas, and Blas Galindo. As a collaborative pianist, I wanted to present and compare some of my favorite works for violin and piano by these composers. However, when I was writing my comprehensive exams, my attention was drawn to the story of the relationships between Chávez, Revueltas, and Galindo, and how their music was also influenced by the political changes that happened in Mexico after the revolution. I was particularly intrigued by the institutional power that Carlos Chávez possessed in the first half of the twentieth century and how the administrative system worked

back then. I identified with and connected to this topic because Chávez's administration was similar to how the institution where I used to work back in Mexico was administered, mostly ruled by political connections and the annual budget always depending on the current political party.

In the past few years, I have always included one or all of the composers addressed in this monograph in my performances, whether they were part of the DMA recitals or outside projects, as I enjoyed very much performing their music, and particularly loved to learn their stories. In fact, I believe that the historical components of their works are vital in complementing the performance practice of their music. Coupled with this, as a Mexican who has been living abroad for the past six years, and with the current political conflicts happening in my country and North America, I thought that it was essential to create consciousness about how our past century, politics, institutional power, and personal relationships still influence our music and culture. Perhaps today, we can still relate to the way in which Carlos Chávez administered the arts to understand how culture continues developing in Mexico.

Introduction

Music in Mexico has often given voice to the social-political dissatisfaction that has simmered in that country for centuries. Thus it is not surprising that the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) was the catalyst for the growth of a new artistic hegemony. Before the Revolution, the government of Porfirio Díaz (1830–1915), who ruled for over thirty years, had developed farming, technology, and industrialization that did everything to increase foreign investments and enrich transnational corporations while doing nothing to offer the slightest economic help to the Mexican people.

The oligarchy of Díaz fell in the early 1900s when the principles of political liberalism inspired young middle-class Mexicans. The liberals were tired of a ruling elite that was not willing to surrender power. During the Porfiriato, (the term given to the period of the Díaz administration 1876–1880 and 1884–1911), the power of the feudal lords and businessman abused peasants and workers.¹ In response, the working class increasingly demanded electoral democracy, freedom of speech, and a fair administration in the Department of Justice. In the end, the elections of 1910 initiated a political rebellion that brought together the middle class, organized labor, and even the political elite that opposed Díaz.²

¹ Octavio Paz, *El Laberinto de la Soledad* (México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004), 150.

² Javier García Diego, “La Revolución”, *Nueva Historia Mínima de México* (México, DF: El Colegio de México, 2004), 394-401. See also Elisa Speckman-Guerra, “The Porfiriato” in *A New Compact History of Mexico*, translated by Eliane Jones, Fionn Petch and Susan Beth Kapilan (Mexico DF: El Colegio de Mexico, 2014).

The Revolution lasted for ten years because, and after establishing a new constitutional republic in 1911 with a new president, Francisco I. Madero (1873–1913), the military officer Victoriano Huerta (1850–1916) conspired against Madero and assassinated him in 1913. Huerta took the presidency, but the governor of the state of Coahuila, Venustiano Carranza (1859–1920), immediately opposed his regime in 1914. Meanwhile, the revolutionary groups of Francisco “Pancho” Villa (1878–1923) and Emiliano Zapata (1879 –1919) that had previously fought against Díaz because their political ideals conflicted with the subsequent continued to fight. When Carranza overthrew Huerta in 1914, Villistas, Zapatistas, and Carranzistas continued the fight for power, causing a civil war. In 1917, Carranza established a new Constitution that brought economic and social stability. Nevertheless, the revolution did not end until the assassination of Zapata in 1919 and Carranza in 1920. Even though Villa reached an agreement with the new government of Alvaro Obregon, he was also assassinated in 1923.³

During the 1920s, the government and those with power began to pay attention to the needs of the working class. Musicians and artists took inspiration from folk and indigenous culture to manifest the beginning of a new era for the republic. Mexican musical nationalism thus emerged in the first half of the twentieth century in the context of unique post-revolutionary socio-political and cultural conditions.

³ Ibid. See also Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

The composer Carlos Chávez (1899–1978) was one of the leading figures in this quest for musical nationalism in Mexico. His desire to find for Mexico an authentic and unique sound was reflected in both his music and his endeavors as a teacher, conductor, journalist and arts administrator. The effects of the revolution inspired the early stages of Chávez’s musical career, and eventually his professional and academic activities were consistently associated with the political environment in Mexico. From the moment he became the head of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México in 1928, his institutional and political power increased exponentially—possibly at an even faster pace than his musical influence. Indeed, musicologists like Yolanda Moreno Rivas and Leonora Saavedra have examined Chávez in a broader sociopolitical context that questions whether his approach to administering the most important cultural institutions of the country was the right one or not.⁴

What has been less discussed in the Chávez literature, however, is his relationships with other musicians and their intersection with his institutional power. I argue in this monograph, however, that examining these relationships can help us better understand Chávez’s significant influence on musical life in Mexico. This monograph attempts to address this omission in the literature by looking at his relationships with two other important Mexican composers: Silvestre Revueltas (1899–1940, Chávez’s contemporary) and Blas Galindo (1910–1993, who was only ten years younger than

⁴ Leonora Saavedra, ed., *Carlos Chávez and His World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015). Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *La Composición en México en el Siglo XX* (México DF: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994).

Chávez).⁵ Like Chávez, Revueltas and Galindo contributed significantly to the development of Mexican music and culture of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine if they would have attained their status in the Mexican music scene without Chávez's help and resources. Both composers at some point in their lives maintained a close relationship with Chávez, and their stories demonstrate Chávez's ability to influence the musical community of the first half of the twentieth century. But the effect of his intimate involvement in shaping careers using the institutional and political power at his disposal was not always positive. While Galindo experienced only professional benefit from his relationship with Chávez, Revueltas suffered significant damage to his career and reputation following a falling out with Chávez.

Chávez's administrative and compositional career has been discussed to some extent in the literature. Nonetheless, the literature in English that explores Chávez's power as arts administrator has not exclusively focused on Chávez's influence on the music community. One of the most complete and up-to-date book-length studies of Chávez is *Carlos Chávez and His World* (2015), edited by Leonora Saavedra, which

⁵ Silvestre Revueltas was one of the most important Mexican composers of the twentieth century and one of the greatest exponents of the nationalism, his music style often features the street music of Mexico. Revueltas studied briefly in Mexico, in the US he attended St. Edward College in Austin Texas and Chicago Musical College. Before Chávez invited Revueltas to work with him in Mexico, Revueltas was working in a theater orchestra in San Antonio and conducting an orchestra in Mobile, Alabama. Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son* (Mexico DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000). Robert Stevenson. "Revueltas, Silvestre," *Grove Music Online*. September 28, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23289>. Blas Galindo was a Mexican composer from Huichol Indian heritage who dedicated most of his career to propagate Mexican new music. Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (Mexico City: Cenidim, 1994).

analyzes different aspects of Chávez's life, music, and institutional dominance.⁶ Despite the completeness and wide variety of topics offered by this astonishing project—including an article about Chávez's and Revueltas's musical impact—none of the authors exclusively focused on Chávez's acquisition of power and its implications for younger composers like Blas Galindo. Similar and distinctive perspectives are also offered in “Musical Identities, the Western Canon and Speech about Music in Twentieth-Century Mexico” also by Leonora Saavedra, Carol Hess's *Representing the Neighbor: Music, Difference and the Pan American Dream*, (2013) and Luis Velazco Pufleau's “Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Cultural Construction: Carlos Chávez and Mexican Music (1921–1952), 2012”.⁷ In both Saavedra's and Hess's research, they address Chávez as an example of musical distinctiveness in search of identity. Even though both sources contemplate the importance of Chávez's institutional power, Velazco Pufleau's article offers a more detailed perspective of Chávez's acquisition to power and his nexus with politics. Nevertheless, the material presented in these sources does not tackle Chávez's power from the standpoint of his influence upon Galindo and Revueltas. In this context, my research seeks to supplement our understanding of the uses and misuses of Chávez's political power, thereby adding additional context to our understanding of the twentieth-century trajectory of Mexican culture and offering lessons to contemporary arts administrators.

⁶ Leonora Saavedra, ed., *Carlos Chávez and His World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015).

⁷ Leonora Saavedra, “Musical Identities, the Western Canon and Speech about Music in Twentieth-Century Mexico”, *International Hispanic Study Group NewsLetter* 4, no.2 (1998).

The lives and careers of Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas have been often compared in parallel due to their contemporaneous contributions to Mexican music. Between 1924–1935, their fruitful comradeship and artistic collaboration brought about positive cultural changes for the musical community in Mexico. In 1935, however, they drastically ended their professional collaboration: even today, their personal relationship remains a controversial topic amongst musicologists. Multiple hypotheses regarding the reasons for the end of their partnership have been offered. Musicologists such as Roberto Kolb Neuhaus have compared their works and found traces of mutual influence between both composers.⁸ Others such as Julio Estrada and Blanca Espinosa have compared their backgrounds, ethics, partisan politics, contributions to Mexican music and music education, yet, with a series of aggressive statements, calling Chávez, for example, an envious and vengeful person, which seem to distance the reader from a neutral perspective about Chávez’s life.⁹ Along the same lines, most recently, Joe Horowitz published “The Great Composer You’ve Never Heard Of” in the Arts Journal Blog, wherein he paints Chávez in an unfavorable light by suggesting that Chávez had hurt Revueltas’s career by ostracizing him in the Mexican Arts community.¹⁰ Although these

⁸ Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus, “Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas: Retracing an Ignored Dialogue,” *Carlos Chávez and his world*, ed., Leonora Saavedra (USA: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁹ Blanca Espinosa Barco, *Silvestre Revueltas y Carlos Chávez Frente a Frente* (California: Windmills International Editions Inc, 2015), Kindle Edition. Julio Estrada, *Canto Roto, Silvestre Revueltas* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008). Alejandra Gomez, “Conversación con Julio Estrada, Mi Imaginación es Música,” *Revista de la Universidad de México*, No.111, (2013): 79-80.

¹⁰ Joe Horowitz, “The Great Composer You’ve Never Heard Of,” *Arts Journal* (blog), May 1, 2018, (11:00 p.m.), <http://www.artsjournal.com/uq/2018/05/the-great-composer-youve-never-heard-of-and-how-he-was-suppressed-by-carlos-chavez.html>

sources were important for my research, Chapter 2 of this monograph makes a new argument, asserting that their relationship needs to be considered within the context of the broader story of Chávez's political power and relationships and that, musically, the two composers represent different aesthetic and philosophical approaches within the nationalist era.

Chapter 3 outlines the development of Blas Galindo's career and contributions to Mexican music in relation to his association with Carlos Chávez. The primary sources consulted for this section of the monograph were mainly Chávez's letters and writings. Only two secondary sources focused on Galindo: Xochiquetzal Ruíz's book *Blas Galindo: Biografía, Antología de Textos y Catálogo* (1994) and *Hacer Música: Blas Galindo Compositor* (1994), edited by Antonio Navarro, while the rest of the references consist of research that focused on Chávez, Mexican cultural institutions and The Group of Four.¹¹ So far, there are no book-length sources or full articles that exclusively focus on Chávez's and Galindo's affiliation; thus, hopefully, this chapter will become just the beginning of a detailed discussion about the connections between these two composers.

This monograph attempts to demonstrate how Chávez's political influence shaped the development of music and culture in Mexico during the first half of the twentieth century, and to provide performers and musicologists with a better understanding of the historical context in which Mexican music evolved. It seeks to offer insight into how

¹¹ Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortiz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (Mexico City: Cenidim, 1994).
Blas Galindo, *Hacer Música Blas Galindo Compositor*, ed., Antonio Navarro (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1994).

political relations and institutional power influenced three leading Mexican composers. Ultimately, I hope it will provide an opportunity for reflection on the history and impact of the unique institutional structures that continue to shape Mexican musical life to this day.

Chapter 1: The Power of Carlos Chávez

Carlos Chávez (1899–1978) was the most powerful Mexican composer of the twentieth century. His prominent occupations in arts administration and musical performance put him in an ideal place to sway political events and control the development of the arts in Mexico. His important and influential positions started when he was only twenty-four years old (1924) when he became Music Inspector for Mexico's Ministry of Education. It only took him four more years to found and conduct the Orquesta Sinfónica Mexicana, currently known as the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional, and become the Dean of the National Conservatory of Music. In 1933 he earned a position as chief of the Mexican government's National Department of Fine Arts. While he continued composing, teaching, and doing administrative work from 1933–1946, his international influence grew as he was invited to conduct almost every major professional orchestra in the United States.¹² In 1946 he founded Mexican Music Editions, one of the few publishing houses for Mexican music, along with fellow musicians José Pablo Moncayo, Blas Galindo, Rodolfo Halffter, and Luis Bal y Gal. The next four years saw Chávez further develop his reputation among national performing ensembles. He became the first Director of the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes in Mexico (Institute of National Fine Arts) in 1947, the most important cultural institution at the time formed by different artistic departments: music, dance, theater, plastic arts, architecture, research, etc. Having

¹² Robert Parker, *Carlos Chávez Mexico's Modern-day Ophreus*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 3-20.

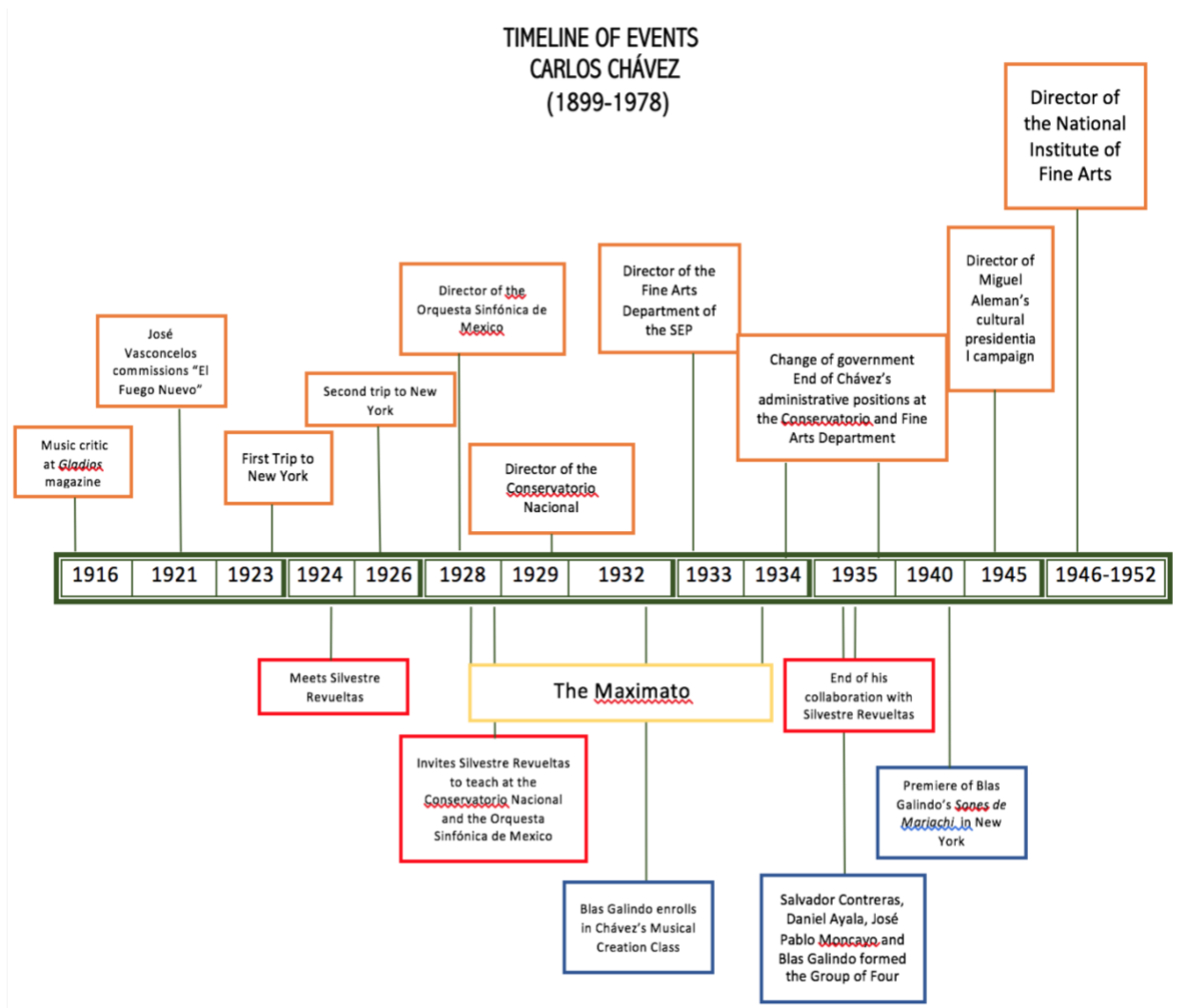
the full power of the Institute of Fine Arts allowed him to found the Orquesta Sinfonica Nacional (National Symphony Orchestra as well as the Fine Arts Chamber Orchestra), wind quintet, and string quartet (1948). He also created the Fine Arts Opera (1949) and later on, the Fine Arts Ballet (1950).¹³ Chávez's jurisdiction over these musical institutions gave him complete control of the managers, staff, programs and activities of each organization.

Chávez's ascension through various political and administrative positions continued until the end of his life. His remarkable résumé demonstrates his hard-working nature. Nonetheless, his successes raise a number of important questions. What set him apart from other Mexican musicians and sustained his rise to power in such a narrow and competitive environment? When and how did he gain his unique position of power and influence over Mexican musical life? And how might an understanding of his position in Mexican society influence our understanding of his musical compositions?

In an attempt to answer these questions, I present in this chapter a chronological exploration of both Chávez's professional networks in Mexico and his skillful maneuvering within the US, considering how these musical communities helped make him the most powerful figure on the Mexican art music scene during the first half of the twentieth century. Although his administrative career has been discussed to some extent in other sources, I here offer a new assessment of the importance of these activities by relating biographical facts to specific episodes in Mexican political life. I also consider how Chávez's participation in various cultural projects reinforced his artistic and administrative significance in his own country and overseas. My claims are built on

¹³ Jesús Martínez, *Academia de Artes: Una década de actividades 1979–1989* (México, DF: Academia de Artes, 1991), 183-184.

findings from Chávez's articles and letters, archival findings in the Fondo Carlos Chávez at the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, and published biographies, including materials here translated into English for the first time.



1.1 The Young Composer

From the beginning of his career, Chávez's relationships with other intellectuals were crucial to his professional development. While attending high school, he befriended a group of journalists and writers that included Octavio Barreda (1897–1964), José Gorostiza (1901–1973), Enrique González Rojo (1899–1949), Bernardo Ortiz de Montellano (1899–1949), Carlos Pellicer (1899–1977) and Jaime Torres Bodet (1902–1974), all of whom collaborated with Chávez on the arts magazine *Gladios*.¹⁴ Eventually, this group of literary figures attended the National University where they were influenced by the archeologist Alfonso Caso (1896–1970) and Enrique González Martínez (1871–1952).¹⁵ The latter was part of *El Ateneo de la Juventud*, a group of intellectuals that included the Dominican essayist and philosopher Pedro Henríquez Ureña (1884–1946) and the politician and writer José Vasconcelos (1882–1959).¹⁶ Despite the fact that the

¹⁴ *Gladios* was a Magazine founded by the previously mentioned group of literary figures in their adolescence. The magazine released articles with different sections such as music, plastic art and literature. Alejandro L. Madrid, *Modern Nation: Music, Culture and Ideas in Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009), 54-55.

¹⁵ In 1917, at the age of 17, Chávez published his first articles as a music critic in the magazine *Gladios*, which was edited by the astronomer Luis Enrique Erro and had support from President Venustiano Carranza (1859—1920), one of the main leaders of the Mexican Revolution.

Dan Malmström, *Introducción a la Música Mexicana del Siglo XX* (México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1977), 47.

¹⁶ José Vasconcelos is considered one of the leading intellectuals of the early twentieth century. He was a writer, philosopher and politician. When he was appointed head of the Secretariat of Public Education, he encouraged the ideals of the Revolution by promoting Indigenous culture. He is often recognized as the creator of the Mexican mural movement since he commissioned murals—to be painted in the most important public buildings in Mexico—from Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco and David Alfaro Siqueiros. *El Ateneo de la Juventud* was an organization of writers and philosophers formed in 1909

arts magazine *Gladios* did not last long, the young contributors became leaders in different artistic fields in Mexico, including painting, literature and music.¹⁷

Chávez's friendship with the members of *Gladios* was the first bridge that connected him to the people that initially put his name on the radar of the Mexican political sphere. In 1921, Chávez was recommended to the new head of the Secretariat of Public Education, José Vasconcelos, to write a ballet inspired by Aztec-Indian culture.¹⁸ This was part of a new government project that aimed to highlight the importance of the different indigenous cultures in Mexico.¹⁹ Chávez was recommended by Pedro Henríquez Ureña, who was friends with Vasconcelos. I hypothesize that Henríquez Ureña likely met Chávez through the group of intellectuals from *Gladios* magazine since Henríquez Ureña and the mentors of Chávez's friends from *Gladios* were acquaintances through the *El Ateneo de la Juventud*. Henríquez Ureña continued to turn to Chávez for other musical

attempting to promote artistic culture. Simultaneously, they opposed the principals of President Porfirio Díaz's dictatorship.

¹⁷ Miguel Angel Castro, "Ocios y Letras: Gladios. El Universal. Cultura, Edición facsimilar conmemorativa 1916–2016 Colección para celebrar," *Este País: Tendencias y Opiniones*, 2017. (Accessed July 22, 2017).

[http://www.estepais.com/articulo.php?id=858&t=ocios-y-letrasgladios-el-universalcultura-edicion-facsimilar-conmemorativa-1916-2016coleccion-para-celebrar-](http://www.estepais.com/articulo.php?id=858&t=ocios-y-letrasgladios-el-universalcultura-edicion-facsimilar-conmemorativa-1916-2016coleccion-para-celebrar)

¹⁸ This ballet by Chávez commissioned by Vasconcelos was titled *El Fuego Nuevo* (The New Fire) and it was based on an Aztec myth portraying the renewal of life. Unfortunately, Chávez had to wait until 1928 to premiere the piece, since the conductor of the Orquesta Sinfónica, composer Julián Carrillo, rejected Chávez's petition to perform it. This incident halted Chávez's compositional efforts at the time but did not stop him from continuing to aspire for a place amongst Mexico's artistic leaders. Robert Parker, *Carlos Chávez, Mexico's Modern-Day Orpheus* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 4.

¹⁹ In 1920 José Vasconcelos was appointed dean of the National University, and in this position he met a group of young intellectuals, including Chávez's friends and Enrique González Martínez's students. Alejandro L. Madrid, *Modern Nation: Music, Culture and Ideas in Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009), 54-55.

engagements, giving him numerous opportunities to promote his music. By way of an example, in the following letter from 1922 Henríquez Ureña invites Chávez to be part of a series of conferences organized by a national journal. Ureña implies that participation in these events could bring Chávez significant attention, as the president and dean of the National University were also participating in these conferences.²⁰

My Dear friend:

El Mundo is organizing conferences and concerts through radiotelephony. They have asked me to organize a phonogram for Tuesday 21 at 7pm.²¹ I have chosen [Carlos] Pellicer as the poet and you as the musician. Would you be willing to come? You could play your “Mañanitas” and if possible a ballet, if it works to be played at the piano. Let me know what you would like to play so I may communicate this to *El Mundo*. The first conference will be given by the President Obregón; the second, Vasconcelos. The third one is ours.²²

To understand how Chávez came to move in these circles in the 1920’s, we need to go back to his youth. From a very young age, when he was twelve, Chávez was determined to expand his creativity and musical skills beyond those acquired within the education system. He was a confident teenager determined to succeed in music.²³ In his correspondence with García Morillo, Chávez shows a youthful immodesty by stating that he believed his foundations in composition had already been well established simply by

²⁰ Carlos Chávez, *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez, Vida y Pensamiento de México, ed.*, Gloria Carmona (México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 44.

²¹ *Phonogram* is a graphic symbol that represents sounds and/or music. Carlos Chávez, *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez, Vida y Pensamiento de México, ed.*, Gloria Carmona (México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 44.

²² All translations by the author unless otherwise indicated. *El Mundo* was a scientific and literary weekly journal of the Arts Department.

Ibid.

²³ Carlos Chávez to Roberto García Morillo, (undated), in Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez, vida y obra* (México, DF: Fondo de cultura económica, 1960), 13

studying the orchestral scores of composers such as Beethoven, Wagner, and Debussy. He pretentiously rejected the European approach to learning music theory, and claimed to have the capacity to differentiate between what he considered a “logical harmony system” and a treatise with “redundant complexities”:

When I was twelve, I studied orchestration by myself. I never wanted to have a composition teacher because I considered them dogmatic and I thought that the best teachers will be the great masters, whose music I carefully analyzed. When I was sixteen I met Juan B. Fuentes, an author of a logical harmony system. I took some lessons with him, which helped me to clarify the redundant complexities of German and French harmony treatises.²⁴

Perhaps Chávez’s bold attitude to education relates to the challenges he experienced as an adolescent when he had to face the social and economic difficulties that brought about the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920). Undoubtedly, this experience affected the development of his personal and professional goals. This is also evident in the actions of recently married twenty-two year old Chávez, who, in his attempt to succeed professionally, used his honeymoon trip to visit Europe with the goal of publishing his music there as per recommendation of the famous Polish pianist Ignaz Friedman, whom he met on one of Friedman’s tours in Mexico.²⁵ The trip was important to Chávez’s compositional career as it resulted in the publication of his Second Piano Sonata in Germany and the chance to meet with European composers such as Paul Dukas (1865–1935), who suggested Chávez should continue to use the folk music of Mexico as

²⁴ Carlos Chávez to Roberto García Morillo, (undated), in Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez, vida y obra* (México, DF: Fondo de cultura económica, 1960), 13.

²⁵ Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez, vida y obra*. (México D.F: Fondo de cultura económica, 1960),25.

his main source of inspiration.²⁶ This visit to Europe also allowed Chávez to observe the musical scene there and experience the Austrian, German, and French cultures; however, he did not identify with European society.²⁷ In fact, his visit to New York in 1923 was more pivotal to his career. There he found the open-minded artistic community he was looking for, as well as the contacts that became key for the development of his career in both Mexico and the US.²⁸

During his trip to New York in 1923, Chávez provided the first evidence that his musical language was going to develop according to the demands of the artistic and political environment he wanted to be part of. This is evident in his easy switch from a newly-declared commitment to nationalism to American cosmopolitanism and the avant-garde shortly after meeting the French composer Edgard Varèse (1883–1965), who was helping to build his fame and power in New York City.²⁹ Prior to his arrival in New York City, Chávez’s aesthetic seemed to focus on developing a nationalist musical language. In the previous years, he had written a variety of compositions in an effort to establish a cultural autonomy for Mexico including, most famously the ballet *El Fuego Nuevo* in 1921. Before this composition, he showed a nationalist aesthetic preference in

²⁶ Robert Parker, *Carlos Chávez, Mexico’s Modern-Day Orpheus* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 5.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Christina Taylor Gibson, “The music of Manuel M. Ponce, Julián Carrillo, and Carlos Chávez in New York, 1925–1932” (Phd diss., University of Maryland, 2008), 132-133. <https://www.lib.uwo.ca/cgi-bin/ezpauthn.cgi?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/304560261?accountid=15115> (accessed July 11, 2017).

²⁹ Luis Velázco Pufleau, “Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Cultural Construction: Carlos Chávez and Mexican Music (1921–1952)”. *Music and Politics*. Vol.6, issue 2. Summer 2012, 6.

his *Cantos Mexicanos* (1918–1920), an arrangement for piano based on Mexican songs, and the arrangement of a Pascola, a dance from the native Indians of Northwestern Mexico.³⁰ Nonetheless, upon his arrival in New York, after noticing the musical trends in Varèse's International Composers Guild, Chávez quickly altered his compositional approach.

Varèse founded the International Composers Guild (ICG) in 1921. It was an organization supporting the creation of new music that premiered compositions by its members.³¹ Chávez knew that Varèse had the power to promote his career in the US, and by mixing the nationalist goal of searching for a cultural identity in his compositions with the modernist techniques that were appealing to members of the ICG, he was able quickly to become part of Varèse's association.³²

³⁰ Leonora Saavedra, "Carlos Chávez's Polysemic Style: Constructing the National, Seeking the Cosmopolitan", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 68 No. 1, Spring 2015, 109.

³¹ R. Allen Lott, "New Music for New Ears": The International Composers' Guild," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer, 1983), 266-286. doi:10.2307/831066.

³² None of the published letters between Varèse and Chávez show when exactly they met each other. I presume they were introduced by Chávez's friend Jose Juan Tablada, a Mexican poet living in New York, when Chávez visited the city between December 1923 and March 1924. In this visit, Chávez became immersed in the contemporary music scene of the United States, the energetic jazz scene, high-quality orchestras, and the artistic movements of the time. A few months earlier, while he was in Germany, he sent his music to José Juan Tablada, who was involved in the avant-garde sphere as the founder of the magazine *Mexican Art & Life* and as a member of the International Composers Guild. Tablada wrote to Chávez: "When you sent me your music from Germany while I was a member of the International Composers' Guild, I took it to my dear friend Edgar Varèse and succeeded in interesting him in your talent." *Ibid*, 74.

Eventually, the relationship between the two composers resulted in a fruitful networking experience. First, Varèse premiered Chávez's piece *Exágonos* (1924) in New York, and Chávez performed Varèse's piece *Octandre* (1923) in Mexico City.³³ Later, Chávez promoted Varèse's music with the Mexican press through the Mexican journal *El Universal*. This opened the doors for Chávez to become part of a musical sphere that brought more significant opportunities to his career. Thus, Chávez targeted his compositions of the 1920s to the New York audience, especially members of the ICG. His music took part in a necessary transition for the musical creativity of the 1920s and 1930s in the United States since, during this time, North American composers were trying to minimize European influences and find a distinctive style.³⁴

Upon his return to Mexico in 1924, Chávez and his friend Ricardo Ortega followed Varèse's model and organized their own concert series with the title of *Conciertos de Música Nueva*.³⁵ Here they were able to present a wide variety of modernist styles. Music by composers such as Milhaud, Stravinsky, Satie, Poulenc, Varèse, and Chávez himself was performed for the first time in Mexico City at the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria.³⁶ Chávez's experience in New York helped him to adapt quickly to the bureaucracy within the sphere of arts administration in Mexico. He not

³³ *Exágonos* or *Hexagonos* (1924), was written for voice and piano with *stridentist* influence, and sets the poems by Carlos Pellicer, a modernist poet who befriended Chávez when they worked together at *Gladios* magazine.

³⁴ Leonora Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others. Historiography, Ideology and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music" (Phd diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 172.

³⁵ Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez, vida y obra* (Mexico DF: Fondo de cultura económica, 1960), 39.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

only learned how to create his concert series and present his works, but the trip also helped his reputation in Mexico, since his second trip to New York in 1926 and his association with the ICG placed him in Mexico as an internationally recognized composer. Therefore, this experience led him to better know the world of arts administration, a type of experience that he would eventually master.

1.2 The Political Frame in Chávez's First Administrative Positions

To understand Carlos Chávez's institutional control and his role as arts administrator it is necessary to examine the political landscape in which he was working in Mexico. Most Chávez scholars argue that he traveled back to New York in 1926 frustrated by the lack of musical advancements in Mexico. Yet the political conditions from which La Guerra Cristera—a political conflict that began in the middle of the government of president Plutarco Elías Calles—originated could have also provided a motivation for Chávez to step out of the public eye.³⁷ By the time Chávez returned from his second trip to New York City in 1928, the social environment in Mexico was very sensitive due to the assassination of three major politicians: in October 1927, the candidates Arnulfo R. Gomez and Francisco R. Serrano were murdered under the instructions of President Plutarco Elías Calles; and, months later, former president Alvaro Obregón, who ruled between 1920 and 1924, was re-elected and then assassinated in July

³⁷ The dispute arose when President Calles modified the penal code and introduced a new law called *Ley Calles* or *Law of Tolerance of Cults* with the purpose of control and limiting the practicing of Catholicism in Mexico. Luis Aboites Aguilar, "El Ultimo Tramo" in *Nueva Historia Mínima de México* (México, DF: El Colegio de México, 2004), 469-483.

1928 after ignoring a law which prohibits re-election.³⁸ Subsequently, between 1928 and 1934, when Chávez obtained his leadership positions, Mexico experienced a historical and political transition named the *Maximato*.

The Maximato began after Obregon's assassination, when Calles assumed the position of governmental chief and subsequently appointed a temporary president, Emilio Portes Gil (1928–1930), to carry out his strategy of ruling behind a puppet figure. Calles created the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR) in 1929, precursor of the current Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI); this gave him the political strength to continue controlling the government and the presidential elections. During the ruling of president Pascual Ortiz Rubio (1930–1932), who won fraudulently against intellectual José Vasconcelos, the political spectrum was divided and the violence between the different political parties increased complaints against Calles and his “puppets.” For that reason, Calles replaced Rubio with Abelardo Luján Rodríguez (1932–1934). The two years of Rodríguez's administration went by calmly in comparison to those of his three predecessors. During his rule, the Palacio de Bellas Artes (Fine Arts Palace) was

³⁸After Porfirio Díaz's dictatorship of three and a half decades, the concept of non-re-election was introduced in Mexico as a political slogan “Sufragio efectivo, no reelección”, which encouraged society to support the democratic ideas presented in Francisco I. Madero's campaign in 1910. Madero truly believed in political equality, democracy and respect for the law. However, his optimism and good intentions weakened his government and led to his assassination in 1913. When Mexico was under Calles ruling, the government modified the articles 82 and 83 of the constitution in order to allow Obregon's presidential candidacy. Suspiciously, the governmental decree was published publicly in 1929 after Obregon's homicide. José Manuel Villalpando and Alejandro Rosas, *Historia de México a Través de Sus Gobernantes* (Mexico City: Planeta S.A de C.V., 2003), 189-196.

completed and inaugurated.³⁹ The Maximato ended in 1934 when President Lázaro Cárdenas—who ruled from 1934–1940—took the helm and began his administration. At the beginning of Cárdenas’s presidency, Calles faced some health issues that kept him away from political life; after his recovery, he tried to control Cárdenas’s government as well, but Cárdenas took full control of his position and fired all members of his cabinet who supported Calles. In 1936, Cárdenas exiled Calles to the United States.

During the Maximato, Chávez’s influence in the artistic scene in Mexico increased dramatically through a series of leadership positions he acquired in the most prominent artistic organizations: La Orquesta Sinfónica de México, El Conservatorio Nacional, and El Departamento de Bellas Artes. Through these various administrative roles he obtained the control and power to shape new paths for the future of Mexican music, while simultaneously retaining the capability to mold and mentor artists and institutions. His power and influence within these institutions put his name on the radar of cultural critics that associated him with the administration of Calles’s Maximato.

Despite the fact that Chávez did not seem to play an official role in the political campaigns during the Maximato, his publication in *El Universal* on September 29, 1934 titled “Arte Proletario” (Proletarian Art) expressed a socialist point of view that not only aligned with the anti-clerical politics of Calles, but also invited the government to promote art and take advantage of it as an educational weapon to control the working-

³⁹ José Manuel Villalpando and Alejandro Rosas, *Historia de México a Través de Sus Gobernantes* (Mexico City: Planeta S.A de C.V., 2003), 189-196.

class.⁴⁰ Alongside this, just months before the beginning of Lázaro Cárdenas' new government, Chávez found himself at the centre of a major political event: the inauguration of the Palacio de Bellas Artes (Fine Arts Palace), which became Chávez's orchestra new concert venue. The concert, which was planned during the presidency of Abelardo Rodríguez, gave Chávez the opportunity to premiere his *Sinfonía Proletaria Llamadas* (1934) (Proletarian Symphony), which was criticized by some as an artistic political manifesto. So far, we can deduce that Chávez was sending signals to the new governmental administration that he wanted to show his support of the politics of the new president, Lázaro Cárdenas, since Cárdenas's campaign was supported by the administration of the Maximato. However, Chávez ended up giving his support to a political movement that was nearing its end. For this reason, he lost his position at the Fine Arts Department as soon as President Lázaro Cárdenas took the helm, forcing him to continue his conducting career at the front of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México but without an administrative title. Chávez returned to administrative prominence almost a decade later, when he publicly supported the candidacy of President Miguel Alemán, a candidate diametrically opposed to the socialist tendencies Chávez had proclaimed artistically in 1934. By then, Chávez's influence on the political stage became evident in his role in organizations such as El Colegio Nacional, Ediciones Mexicanas de Música, and El Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes.

⁴⁰ Carlos Chávez, "Arte Proletario," *El Universal*, September 29, 1934, in *Carlos Chávez, Escritos Periodísticos 2*, ed., Gloria Carmona (México, DF: El Colegio Nacional, 1997), 259-263.

1.3 La Orquesta Sinfónica de México

One of the essential means by which Chávez gained recognition and influence was through his role of conductor of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México. He was appointed to this position in 1928 following the growth of his reputation in the US. Once he obtained the baton of the orchestra, he found the financial assistance to sustain it through the sponsorship of a controversial Mexican figure, Antonieta Rivas Mercado (1900–1931), a woman known for financing the group “Los Contemporáneos,” the Teatro Ulises, and for having an affair with the married presidential candidate José Vasconcelos. She participated actively and economically in the campaign of Vasconcelos in 1929. After a series of events involving the loss of the custody of her son, the loss of the presidential elections of José Vasconcelos, and the rejection of those whom she helped and supported economically, she committed suicide inside the Notre Dame cathedral in Paris in 1931. With Rivas Mercado, Chávez acquired economic support and made the political connections that eventually helped him to continue building his administrative career.

During his second and final stay in New York City in 1926–1928, Chávez became acquainted with the city’s most influential musical and artistic figures, some of whom were also members of the International Composers’ Guild, including Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, Roger Sessions, Paul Rosenfeld and Henry Cowell. After Chávez gained recognition among these American composers, his reputation grew amongst the community of Mexican artists living in New York at that time. All artists and

intellectuals residing in New York were very supportive of each other's work.⁴¹ One of them in particular, José Juan Tablada, wanted to express his support for Chávez's work and highlight his success as a composer outside of his own country. Tablada put Chávez in the spotlight of the artistic scene in Mexico after he published his compliments in the column "New York de Día y de Noche" in the journal *El Universal*, by inviting the Mexican artistic society to attend to the work of their compatriot Carlos Chávez.

What must be known in Mexico is the total triumph of a Mexican composer, so well-known in the musical circles of Europe and the United States, that is misunderstood in our own country, where only one small and select group admires and stimulates him: Carlos Chávez. The 26-year-old boy has been part—for four years— of the International Composers' Guild. And this is the second occasion in which his music has been received with general approval. When he traveled to Europe, German houses of first order competed to edit them. He works tirelessly and only thinks of his art. He loves his country very much and does not feel disturbed by the indifference that surrounds him [in Mexico]. Now he has just arrived [in New York] with three new works: his *HP Suite*, his ballet *The White Prince*—that Adolf Bloom is going to stage— and a Mexican dance for which he is working on the final touches. Varèse chose the *HP* of Carlos Chávez for the first concert of this season, and from what I have heard of this work at Carnegie Hall, it fills me with pride as a Mexican and has encouraged me to get the attention of my compatriots, so that they will immediately grant their encouragement and attention to this great artist, whom a few days ago had become disheartened for he hardly earned enough to live on a salary of eight pesos a day playing the piano at the Olympia cinema.⁴²

Publications like Tablada's provided Chávez with some sort of fame in Mexico even while he resided in New York City. Simultaneously, Chávez's tenacity continued

⁴¹ Antonio Saborit "Mexican Gaities" in *Diálogo de Resplandores: Carlos Chávez y Silvestre Revueltas* (Mexico, DF: INBA Conaculta, 2001), 142.

⁴² José Juan Tablada. "New York de Día y de Noche" in *El Universal*. December 19, 1926. See Antonio Saborit "Mexican Gaities" in *Diálogo de Resplandores: Carlos Chávez y Silvestre Revueltas* (Mexico, DF: INBA Conaculta, 2001), 141.

improving his reputation in the United States. By the time he returned to Mexico City in 1928, he was proud of the work he had accomplished in New York, but most importantly he had a newfound confidence because his network had increased in both countries. He now had enough tools to become a cultural leader in his own country.

Prior to Chávez's return there was an unemployment crisis at the Union of Musicians in Mexico caused by the arrival of the first motion pictures with sound. This led to a change of leadership at the Union, which resulted in the formation of a new orchestra, the Orquesta Sinfónica de México.⁴³ The project of the new Orquesta Sinfónica was to focus on the promotion of Mexican and contemporary music. The ensemble was in need of a leader capable of handling the artistic and administrative obligations of this new institution. Thus, Chávez was invited to become the director of the orchestra.⁴⁴ In the following quote published in García Morrillo's book, Chávez narrates how he was appointed Conductor of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México:

I came back to Mexico in July 1928. The Philharmonic Union of the Federal District was a powerful organization but its activity was purely administrative. However, since the previous year [1927] they made weak attempts that completely failed. They formed an orchestra named Orquesta Sinfónica Mexicana, which performed a couple of random concerts and had a brief concert season that included the nine symphonies by Beethoven, but they could not finish the season due to lack of audience. Upon my arrival, I proposed to the union an organizational plan for the orchestra that of course was rapidly implemented. The first season ran

⁴³Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez, vida y obra* (México, DF: Fondo de cultura económica, 1960), 57.

⁴⁴ The position of conductor of the orchestra was initially appointed to José Rocabrana. Leonora Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others. Historiography, Ideology and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music" (PHD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 152-155.

from September 1928 to March 1929 with monthly concerts. In 1929, the orchestra changed its name to Orquesta Sinfónica de México.⁴⁵

Chávez proposed a repertoire for the orchestra comprising a wide variety of styles including Baroque, Classical, Romantic, and twentieth-century music, with a particular emphasis on new Mexican compositions. This initiative required recruiting the best Mexican soloists and musicians in order to bring large audiences to the concerts. Chávez's objective was "to find a group of people that could contribute [financially] to the orchestra and also bring children and workers, and develop an educational purpose with the best musicians from first world countries."⁴⁶

Chávez's appointment as conductor of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México was the first podium position in which he had some musical and political influence over part of the artistic scene in Mexico. In this role, he learned how to raise money from both political and private initiatives. According to García Morillo, Chávez's orchestra was the first Mexican orchestra that managed to obtain such generous subsidies.⁴⁷ Stevenson also commented:

Chávez's business sense was of paramount value in the building of the orchestra. He knew from the start how to converse with government officials, prominent diplomats, and financiers. Chávez succeeded in

⁴⁵ Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez, vida y obra* (México, DF: Fondo de cultura económica, 1960), 58. Chávez's quotations are not cited in García Morillo's book. Letters between Chávez and Morillo published in *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez* edited by Gloria Carmona, proof that Morillo and Chávez met occasionally in order to release Chávez's biography. *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez* (México: Fondo de cultura económica, 1989), 774-776.

⁴⁶ Carlos Chávez, *Carlos Chávez, Obras 3, Escritos Periodísticos*, ed., Gloria Carmona (Mexico City: El Colegio Nacional, 2014), 50.

⁴⁷ Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez, vida y obra* (México: Fondo de cultura económica, 1960), 58.

building the first stable orchestra in Mexico in large measure because he knew how to win government as well as private support for the enterprise.⁴⁸

One of the principal patrons of the orchestra since its founding was the cultural promoter, writer, and political activist Antonieta Rivas Mercado. It is difficult to determine how Rivas Mercado and Chávez became acquainted, although it is likely they were introduced by mutual friends, since both had strong ties with members of Los Contemporáneos and the famous muralist Diego Rivera.⁴⁹ Additionally, a letter published in Rivas Mercado's correspondence provides evidence that Chávez's wife, Otilia Ortiz, was the piano teacher of Rivas Mercado's son, Donald Blair Rivas, before Rivas Mercado contributed economically to the orchestra.⁵⁰

Antonieta Rivas Mercado would soon become a vital bridge between Chávez and the patrons he needed to realize his artistic vision. García Morillo and Stevenson have stated that Chávez knew how to win government and private support for his orchestra, but in reality he needed someone with a profile like Rivas Mercado to put him in direct contact with individuals who had the money to support him; and apparently, it was not easy for Chávez to convince her.⁵¹ According to Rivas Mercado's biographer, Fabienne

⁴⁸Robert Stevenson, *Music in Mexico, a Historical Survey* (New York: The Vail-Ballou Press, 1952), 240-241.

⁴⁹Los Contemporáneos was a Mexican modernist group of writers from the late 1920s with different ideas to the Stridentist group. Members of the group included: José Gorostiza, Carlos Pellicer, Bernardo Ortiz de Montellano, Enrique González Rojo, Jaime Torres Bodet, Antonio Caso and Enrique Gómez Martínez.

⁵⁰ Antonieta Rivas Mercado. *Correspondencia*, ed. Fabienne Bradu. (México: Universidad Veracruzana, 2005), 15.

⁵¹Robert Stevenson, *Music in Mexico, a Historical Survey* (New York: The Vail-Ballou Press, 1952), 240.

Bradú, Chávez had to turn to his friend, the painter Manuel Rodríguez Lozano, with whom Rivas Mercado was in love, in order to persuade her to help him.⁵² Manuel Rodríguez Lozano stated the following:⁵³

At that time, Antonieta Rivas Mercado became the center of the Mexican artistic movement. Maestro Carlos Chávez had returned from the United States and approached me so that I could influence Antonieta in order to organize a meeting in her house to form, if possible, the patronage of that Mexican orchestra. I spoke with Antonieta and found in her great resistance though I convinced her, explaining to her that this had to be done for Mexico and at last she agreed to invite to her house the Ambassador Morrow, Luis Montes de Oca, Secretary of Finance and Moisés Sáenz, who was Undersecretary of Education, and from that [meeting] emerged the patronage, having granted Sáenz the Conservatory -which was removed from the University- to Maestro Chávez, as an important element of support for the realization of his artistic work.⁵⁴

Evidently, Rivas Mercado had the connections and the ability to convince wealthy and powerful people to support her causes; perhaps Rodríguez Lozano did not struggle to convince her, as her infatuation for the painter was remarkably strong at that time. Besides, she was a music lover and had a cordial relationship with Chávez.

Rivas Mercado's contribution highly impacted the future of the orchestra, since she not only provided funding but also facilitated a long-term partnership between Chávez and the politicians that kept supporting and sponsoring his initiatives. Some of the members of the orchestra's board of directors and administration included Dwight

⁵² Juan Pascual Gay, "Antonieta Rivas Mercado en su diario," *Arrabal*, (Universitat de Lleida: Año 1988, No.1), 126.

⁵³ Manuel Rodríguez Lozano (1897-1971) was a Mexican painter mainly known for his melancholic work that opposes the festive colors depicted in the Muralist movement. He began an amicable relationship with Antonieta Rivas Mercado mostly because she was in love with him since it is known that Lozano had amorous affairs with men.

⁵⁴ Fabienne Bradú. *Antonieta*. (México DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991), 128.

Morrow (1873—1931), a popular United States ambassador to Mexico between 1927 and 1930; Luis Montes de Oca (1894—1958), an entrepreneur and politician who served as the director of the Secretary of Finance between 1927 and 1932; and Moisés Sáenz (1888—1941), sub-secretary of the Secretariat of Public Education in Mexico and leader in the educational affairs of Mexico and the indigenous relations during the first half of the twentieth century. They were perhaps of crucial importance for the formation of any new Mexican business of 1928 given the powerful nature of their positions. Other names of patrons that appear in the documentation held in the Fondo Carlos Chávez, located in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, are the following: Courtenay Forbes, Amalia Castillo Ledón, Carmen Amor, Adela S. de Cardenas, Carolina Amor, Maria Luisa Lopez, Luis Veyan, Carlos Prieto, Harry Wright, G.R.C Conway, Eduardo Mestre, Roberto Pesqueira, Cesar Margain and Alejandro Quijano, Lucina M. de Barrios Gomez, Teresa Cuervo Borda, Antonio Riba, and Manuel Cortina Vertiz.⁵⁵

Despite Rivas Mercado's important support for the orchestra, her involvement within the patronage of the institution ended fairly quickly after a dispute with Chávez which caused him to terminate her association with the orchestra. The conflict between Chávez and Antonieta was caused by her participation in the affairs of the school of

⁵⁵ Silvestre Revueltas to Carlos Chávez, 1932, Fondo Carlos Chávez, Serie Carlos Chávez Correspondencia, Caja 10, Vol. III, Exp. 85, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City. This letter, written on a letterhead from the Symphonic Orchestra of Mexico, contains the names of all the members of the different committees and sponsors of Chávez's orchestra. See also Fabienne Bradu. *Antonieta*. (México DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991). 130.

theater that was under the direction of Chávez as director of the Conservatorio Nacional.⁵⁶

Ultimately, the OSM became a popular institution that engaged Mexican society in a variety of ways. The concerts were made financially accessible to all social classes as the inhabitants of Mexico City were able to attend concerts for a small fee as educational outreach. Additionally, Mexican composers had the opportunity to premiere their compositions, and the new concert programs allowed audiences to discover music previously unheard in Mexico. Finally, concerts were reviewed by different newspapers, and musical promotion grew and spread around the country.

1.4 El Conservatorio Nacional

The next stage in Chávez's rise to institutional power was through his position as Director of the Conservatorio Nacional (National Conservatory), which he held from 1929 to 1934. To obtain this position, Chávez found support in the new rector of the National Autonomous University Antonio Castro Leal, who was briefly the dean of the university. Chávez's appointment caused considerable political controversy for three crucial reasons: firstly, he was a young, self-taught composer who openly opposed the traditional music education system of the conservatory; secondly, Chávez attempted separating the conservatory from the university to maintain it within the Secretaría de Educación Pública (Secretariat of Public Education); and thirdly, Chávez began quickly creating new positions within the conservatory soon after his arrival, while also initiating

⁵⁶Antonieta Rivas Mercado, *Correspondencia*, ed., Fabienne Bradu (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2005), 187-189.

a significant restructuring of the school syllabus. According to musicologist Robert Parker, after the public announcement of Chávez's new appointment, Mexican president Emilio Portes Gil discussed his concerns with the rector after receiving around one hundred letters expressing discontent with Chávez's employment in the conservatory. However, Rector Castro Leal considered the statements made against Chávez to be unproven and let him keep his position.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Chávez was confident and unperturbed, and published a response to the accusations in the newspaper *El Universal*:

According to the article "Objections Against the Autonomy Law," published today in *El Universal Gráfico*, students from the School of Music, Theater and Dance [The Conservatory] were protesting in the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences demanding my resignation because according to them, my presence as director of such institution contradicts the following working rules: to be Mexican, to have previously studied at the Conservatory and have previously being employed by the same institution as a professor for at least one year. These students state that I am an American citizen and that I made an application to the Federal Government to segregate the Conservatory from the University.

Since the accusations of these students are false, I attentively beg you to publish in your distinguished newspaper *El Universal Gráfico* the following statement: the existence of a law that determines that the requirement to be Director of the Conservatory is to have previously studied or taught at the institution is inaccurate.

It is more than evident that I am a Mexican citizen and that I have the right to practice the Constitution. All those who contradict my statement are spreading lies.

Regarding my intervention with the Federal Government to split the Conservatory from the National University, I must clarify that the information is also inaccurate. Following the public statements regarding the autonomy of the National University, I had to think both as an individual and as Director of the Conservatory. Therefore, I considered that if the Conservatory becomes part of the University, the syllabus of the

⁵⁷Robert Parker, *Carlos Chávez, Mexico's Modern-Day Orpheus* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 9-11. About the National conservatory see also, Garcia Morillo. *Carlos Chávez*. 59-63 and Leonora Saavedra, *Of Selves and Others*. Diss. 229-233.

school will be similar to those implemented in other faculties. But Mexico does not need a bachelor nor a doctorate in music; it requires good performers in band, orchestra, opera, ballet, etc., as well as good professors of average musical instruction. The artistic work that has to be done in the next few years will be indispensable for the future; then the state will encourage a musical culture of high rank, properly university-like. On the other hand, the situation of having a school like a Conservatory mixed with a set of different faculties that do not share common interests is undoubtedly dangerous. It has to take into account that the management of the University will depend on a council in which only two schools are of artistic nature resulting in its underrepresentation among more than a dozen of very diverse nature. I firmly believe that if more artistic institutions coordinate together, the artistic results will be greater than if pretending to coordinate the Conservatory and the Fine Arts school with the Faculty of Medicine or Engineering. Of course, by predicting the success of the combination of all artistic forces funded by the government, does not mean that a failure is predicted for the conservatory if it continues in the university.⁵⁸

The last portion of Chávez's response regarding the destitution of the conservatory implies that he was taking actions to prevent his school and authority from being undermined by other faculties and bureaucrats of the university. His goal in keeping the arts together was to attain more financial subsidies from the government while allowing him to continue leading without interference. On the other hand, despite the hostility and divisions that his arrival caused, Chávez was attempting to transform the conservatory into a cultural center that embraced different mandatory artistic activities to improve the musical training of the campus. Education, research, creation, and promotion were elements of paramount importance for him. Therefore, he sought support from colleagues to help execute his ideas. He employed Jesús C. Romero—a musicologist who introduced the field of ethnomusicology to Mexico and who before Chávez's arrival to

⁵⁸ Carlos Chávez, *Obras I Escritos periodísticos 1950-1975*, ed., Gloria Carmona (Mexico DF: El Colegio Nacional, 2014), 117-119.

the conservatory proposed an independent course on Mexican music history that was rejected by the council. Gerónimo Baqueiro Foster, the musicologist and oboist of the Orquesta Sinfónica Mexicana, became the professor of solfège and music theory, and promoted his own theory of microtonal subdivisions. Finally, Chávez brought back to Mexico the violinist and composer Silvestre Revueltas, who had been playing with an orchestra in the US. Revueltas possessed incredible dexterity in his instrument and was one of the few musicians in Mexico with a comprehensive musical education. Once Revueltas returned to Mexico, he was immediately appointed the new violin professor and conductor of the Orchestra of the Conservatory.⁵⁹

Once he had the teachers of his choice on board, Chávez created three different research offices: the Academy of Popular Music Research, the Program of the Academy of History and Biography, and the Academy of Research of New Musical Possibilities. According to musicologists such as Leonora Saavedra, they together represented a modernistic musicological method in Mexico.⁶⁰

Once the institution incorporated some of these changes, Chávez established the Clase de Creación Musical (Musical Creation Class), a composition seminar that took advantage of the new research offices. In particular, the knowledge acquired in the Academy of Popular Music focused on the experimentation of different scales and its

⁵⁹Leonora Saavedra, *“Of Selves and Others: Historiography, Ideology and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music”* (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 231. See also Gabriel Pareyón, *Diccionario Enciclopédico de Música en México* (Guadalajara: Universidad Panamericana GDL, 2007).

⁶⁰ Ibid.

impact became noticeable in student compositions, especially their creativity and originality. Some of the outstanding students in this class included El Grupo de Los Cuatro (The Group of Four), Blas Galindo, José Pablo Moncayo, Salvador Contreras, and Daniel Ayala.

The ultimate achievement by Chávez within the Conservatory was the release of the journal *Música: Revista Mexicana*, edited by Gerónimo Baqueiro Foster and Daniel Castañeda, which became one of the most thorough publications in Mexican musicology at the time. It was published monthly, though it only existed for a brief one-year period between 1930 and 1931. The journal promoted Mexican Nationalist music, though it also included translations of articles concerning modern European composers and topics such as pre-cortesian music (before the conquest of Mexico by Cortéz), popular music, and others. Vital editors included Vicente T. Mendoza, Eduardo Hernández Moncada, María Bonilla, Ana Rolón, José Rolón, Jesús C. Romero, David Saloma, Luis Sandi and José Pomar.⁶¹

Chávez left the conservatory in 1933, when Narciso Bassols, then Secretary of Public Education (SPE), convinced Chávez to become head of the Departamento de Bellas Artes (Fine Arts Department, or FAD) that was part of the SPE.⁶² This position was a perfect opportunity to continue promoting and shaping the arts in Mexico.

⁶¹Gabriel Pareyón, *Diccionario Enciclopédico de Música en México* (Guadalajara: Universidad Panamericana GDL, 2007), 708.

⁶²Narciso Bassols (1897-1959) was a socialist politician, nephew of the former president Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada. He became the Secretary of Public Education in 1931 and was the first Marxist to hold such position in Mexico. In May 1934, he resigned his position at the SPE and Chávez resigned to his position in the SEP. Later, he founded the

A letter from Chávez to Aaron Copland sent in November 1933 reveals Chávez's opinion regarding the job at the FAD and his awareness that his position was liable to end with the arrival of the new government:

I resisted, but I finally had to accept the position [at the Fine Arts Department], and here I am, reorganizing and re-planning from the very early stages of this department since this was just an office with employees and the Fine Arts were nonexistent. Now I'm involved with theater, dance, film, music, painting, sculpture, etc. I have sketched the structure of the entire organism. The work is undoubtedly of great interest but from my perspective has to be led with energy and devotion, otherwise, there won't be results. It is a job that will take years to redeem, and the thing is that I cannot stay here forever. I trust in people like Luis Sandi to continue the work I began. On the other hand, the new government will come in 1934, and if it comes early, I might be free by then.⁶³

Chávez spent a brief period as director of the FAD (1933-1934). Nevertheless, his successful activities as an administrator and his leadership expanded into other areas such as education, drama, visual arts, cinema, puppet theater, and dance. Despite the fact that this kind of management position was somewhat different from his roles at the Orquesta Sinfónica or the Conservatorio, Chávez kept seeking opportunities to educate his country and to awake interest in music and art, even when the SPE did not have the budget to support some of his projects.⁶⁴ Concurrently, Chávez managed to find financial assistance

Popular Socialist Party due to identifying corruption within the Institutional Revolutionary Party (currently known in Mexico as PRI). The PRI ruled continuously for 71 years since its formation in 1929.

⁶³ Carlos Chávez, *Vida y Pensamiento de México. Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez*, ed., Gloria Carmona (México DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000), 170-171.

⁶⁴ In the article "'Comino Vence al Diablo' and Other Terrifying Episodes: Teatro Guiñol's Itinerant Puppet Theater in 1930s Mexico", Elena Jackson Albarran states that the deplorable conditions in which the puppeteers worked were caused by the lack of economical support from the Secretary of Public Education. She argues that Chávez was in charge of the puppeteers program and that "letters addressed to Chávez from the Grupo

to publish *Instrumental Precortesiano*, a book on pre-Columbian instruments written by Daniel Castañeda and Vicente Mendoza. Additionally, he financially supported Luis Sandi (who was also working for the SPE) in the publication of a collection of songs for elementary school children based on Indigenous music.⁶⁵

Chávez's place at the FAD ended after the resignation of Narciso Bassols, his ally at the SPE. Notwithstanding, as I addressed in the section 1.2 "The political frame in Chávez's first administrative positions," the real reason why Chávez stopped working at the FAD was a change in the political order. Nevertheless, by then, Chávez had already acquired a social and political status that made him stand out from other Mexican composers. Chávez had already become Mexico's cultural leader.

1.5 Chávez's Political Power and The Fine Arts Institute

Nationalist music became extremely important in the 1940s for artistic and political reasons in Mexico and the United States. Simultaneously, with the increase of Chávez's cultural authority in both countries, he attained the power to shape public exposure to Mexico's musical production. In this regard, Leonora Saavedra has stated: "Although Chávez spoke often in favor of modernism, he did not advocate nationalism as

Comino and Grupo Rin-Rin reveal some of the daily stressors that compromised the quality of their performances," which often were related to lack of economical support, even when the puppet theater was an initiative from the Fine Arts Department. Elena Jackson Albarran, "'Comino Vence al Diablo' and Other Terrifying Episodes: Teatro Guiñol's Itinerant Puppet Theater in 1930s Mexico". *The Americas*, Vol. 67, No. 3, *Mexican Puppets as Popular and Pedagogical* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 355-374. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41239081>. Accessed: 15-09-2017 00:24 UTC.

⁶⁵Daniel Castañeda and Vicente T. Mendoza, *Instrumental precortesiano*, vol. 1 (México DF: Secretaría de Educación Pública, Publicaciones del Museo Nacional, 1933).

a style (but rather as a political position), and his agenda was clear: to play as much Mexican music as possible, and as many times, as possible.”⁶⁶ In *La Composición en México en el Siglo XX* (1994), Mexican musicologist Yolanda Moreno Rivas compares the different tendencies that Mexican nationalism expressed in different decades and briefly questions the controversy that arose against nationalist art, apparently caused by what she calls “the dictatorship of the group of Carlos Chávez.” According to Moreno Rivas, the new generation of composers that emerged in the 1950s “resented the management of musical life and generated contempt for the attainment of political power as an essential gateway to public and concert halls.”⁶⁷ My own study seeks to both further explore and expand upon Moreno Rivas’s statement in which she criticizes Chávez’s role in Mexican cultural administrative affairs during the 1940s.

The European artistic importation promoted by the government during the Porfiriato halted Mexican artistic production. In reaction to this, visits of foreign artists to Mexico were drastically reduced during and after the revolution. Thus, the following twenty years became a time of national artistic reconstruction. During the 1940s, however, the presence of international artists in Mexico City increased significantly due to the success of the classical music concert promotion agency *Conciertos Daniel*.⁶⁸ This

⁶⁶ Leonora Saavedra, ed., *Carlos Chávez and His World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 10.

⁶⁷ Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *La Composición en México en el Siglo XX* (México DF: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994), 58.

⁶⁸ *Conciertos Daniel* had a thirty-year-old legacy in Europe before establishing in Mexico and eventually in Latin America. It was a family business and created a great impact in the 1940s by creating tights with the government and cultural sponsors. They represented and brought to Mexico artists such as: Claudio Arrau, Yehudi Menuhin, Artur

organization became as essential and well-known as Chávez's Orquesta Sinfónica de México, with a similar business structure and governmental sponsorship. *Conciertos Daniel* organized operas and orchestral concerts, hiring world-renowned conductors and soloists. Most of the performances involved musicians from Chávez's orchestra and ended up negatively impacting Chávez's organization.⁶⁹ Driven by fear of losing his recognition as an artistic manager, Chávez became defensive, and publicly criticized the work of *Conciertos Daniel* and the musicians collaborating with the agency.⁷⁰ In multiple articles in the press, Chávez tried to damage the reputation of these international musicians as well as the organization. He supported his criticisms by promoting musical nationalism and inviting the state to foster and protect the idea that national art should always be a political priority.⁷¹

Indeed, Chávez's relations with other artists were often problematic when things did not go in his favor. For this reason, musicologists such as Yolanda Moreno Rivas, Leonora Saavedra, and Coriún Aharonián have referred to Chávez's administration as

Rubinstein, Erich Kleiber, José Iturbí, Andrés de Segovia, the Royal Winnipeg ballet of Canada among others.

http://conciertosdanielmexico.com/concerts_.html

⁶⁹ Gloria Carmona, "Preliminar", *Obras 2 Carlos Chávez Escritos periodísticos 1940-1949*, (Mexico DF: El Colegio Nacional, 2014), XVII. Jorge Santana, "El Año Musical", *Pauta 52. Cuadernos de teoría y crítica musical*, Octubre-Diciembre 1994, México DF: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 49. www.inbadigital.bellasartes.gob.mx

⁷⁰ Abel Eisenberg, *Entre violas y violines* (México DF: EDAMEX, 1990), 45-47.

⁷¹ Carlos Chávez, *Obras 2 Escritos periodísticos 1940-1949*, ed., Gloria Carmona (México DF: El Colegio Nacional, 2014). See also "Xenofobia, no", "Impulso nacional", "Empresa apremiante", "lo nacional", "Pregunta capital", "Distribución musical", "El empresario".

dictatorial and undemocratic.⁷² Coupled with this, other Mexican artists like violinist and violist Abel Eisenberg, looking back on this period in 1990, called into question Chávez's ability to usher in the future of Mexican music because of his tyrannical statements towards the musicians of the orchestra and his relations with politicians. In Eisenberg's memoirs he states the following:

Everybody knows that Chávez's real talent was politics. During the time of President Echeverría, he was recommended again—giving him full power—for the task of governing the destiny of music in Mexico, becoming the tsar of our music again. However, something quite dramatic happened. When he presented in front of the orchestra and raised his hands to begin the rehearsal, all the musicians put their instruments down, refusing to play under his baton. Now, let's reflect with sadness that he, himself, was the cause of that humiliation which he had to suffer due perhaps to his obsessive and pedantic character.⁷³

There are just a few pages dedicated to Carlos Chávez in Eisenberg's narrative, but even though Eisenberg recognized the favorable changes that Chávez brought to the National Conservatory, the important support he offered musical modernism and contemporary music, and his commitment to the Orquesta Sinfónica de México, Eisenberg still delivered strong accusations of political mismanagement against Chávez. According to Eisenberg, Chávez abused his authority when he threatened to terminate members of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México if they involved themselves in a concert

⁷² Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *La Composición en México en el Siglo XX* (Mexico DF: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994),58. Leonora Saavedra, ed., *Carlos Chávez and His World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 12-13. Coriún Aharonián, “La Muerte de Manuel Enríquez”, *Revista Musical Chilena*, Año XLVIII,]Julio-Diciembre. 1994, N2 182, 121-126.

⁷³Abel Eisenberg, *Entre violas y violines* (México DF: EDAMEX, 1990), 49.

conducted by Erich Kleiber, an event organized by *Conciertos Daniel*.⁷⁴ Eisenberg complained about the damage Chávez inflicted on his own career when Chávez denigrated his reputation as a performer in an article for the *Excelsior*, one of the most important journals in Mexico. Eisenberg also questioned Chávez's musical capabilities as a conductor as a means to suggest that Chávez was the head of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México because of his political connections and not his musical talent:

Chávez almost always conducted without a baton, his circular and rough movements covered his shoulders, which in my opinion, were anti-aesthetic, heavy and lacking in elasticity. Some colleagues of the orchestra told me that those forced moves caused him acute muscular pain in the shoulders and the “maestro's” sister injected him after the rehearsals to calm his discomfort. Evidently, this proves that his conducting technique was not correct.⁷⁵

Eisenberg's blunt statement about Chávez's conducting skills is mitigated by the fact that Chávez took the podium of this prestigious ensemble without previously having a conducting career. He was likely given this position because he had gained a strong reputation in the US as both a musician and successful administrator. But Eisenberg's claims waited almost forty years to be published, and at that time, Chávez's fellow musicians were mostly criticizing him for supporting the government of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party).

⁷⁴Erich Kleiber was an Austrian conductor and composer and is considered one of the most outstanding conductors of the twentieth century. As a result of the Nazi regime, he became conductor of the opera house in Buenos Aires, Argentina and toured extensively in countries like Mexico, Cuba, Uruguay and Chile. Eisenberg's notes do not provide specific dates about Kleiber's visit to Mexico, nor reasons or motives that can justify Chávez's actions.

⁷⁵Abel Eisenberg, *Entre violas y violines* (México DF: EDAMEX,1990), 44.

To understand the skeptical perception that Chávez's colleagues had regarding his political beliefs, it is important to highlight the environment that the Mexican government created in the 1940s. During this time, Mexico's presidents completely abandoned the revolutionary principles of the previous decades. With the arrival of President Manuel Ávila Camacho in 1940, the government stopped encouraging the socialists' ideas, making the case that the state and the Catholic church should work together. Prior to Ávila Camacho, none of the previous administrations supported such position. Ávila Camacho's government also fortified ties with the United States by trying to take advantage of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy.⁷⁶ From 1946 to 1952 Mexico was ruled by President Miguel Alemán Valdés, one of the most controversial presidents in the country's history. Alemán's administration brought both favorable and adverse developments for the country. On one hand, the economy improved rapidly due to an industrialization program in which the finance ministers took advantage of the economic repercussions of the Second World War and centralized the oil production, improved highways, and built the campus of the National Autonomous University. These changes bolstered Alemán's reputation in the realm of domestic policy. On the other hand, during the presidency of Alemán, Mexico experienced one of its most corrupt eras. Alemán showed the country that he was willing to hear the nation's demands if the citizenry allowed him to do what he wanted. At this moment in Mexican history, institutional corruption spread massively amongst government officials, lawyers,

⁷⁶ Alejandro Rosas and José Manuel Villalpando, *Los Presidentes de México* (Mexico DF: Grupo Planeta, 2011), 192-195.

accountants, businessmen, investors, banks, and civilians.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, Mexico has struggled with corruption ever since, as both the government and some of its citizens benefit from such a system. According to historians Alejandro Rosas and Jose Manuel Villalpando, the term *mordida* (a popular slang meaning “bribe”) first flourished in Mexico during Alemán’s presidential term.⁷⁸

Despite the fact that the 1940s witnessed a corrupt right-wing government even as the majority of the population supported leftist politics, the government found it easy to distract the nation with its official slogan promoting nationalism and popular culture. As the political activist and journalist Carlos Monsiváis describes in his article “Notas sobre el Estado, la Cultura Nacional y las Culturas Populares en México”, the state used repeated reference to “national culture and identity” as a political self-tribute that was never explained in detail to the population, but was convenient to justify the government’s actions. The use of the image of the indigenous peasant and the idea of creating a resistance towards capitalism helped unify ethnic and social classes, enrolling all of these terms under a political agenda.⁷⁹ Given this, and taking into account the unconditional support that Carlos Chávez publicly offered to the government of Miguel

⁷⁷Ibid, 198-200.

⁷⁸ The word “mordida” it’s a Mexican slang that means bribe and is usually used when someone pays to a public official. Las mordidas in Mexico happened in different social and state dimensions, however the most common ones are often experienced when driving; when police officers will ignore traffic violations in exchange for a cash payment. Sharon Eicher, *Corruption in International Business, The Challenge of Cultural and Legal Diversity*, (Burlington: Gower, 2016).

⁷⁹Carlos Monsiváis, “Notas sobre el Estado, la Cultura Nacional y las Culturas Populares en México”, *Cuadernos Políticos*, número 30, México D.F., editorial Era, octubre-diciembre de 1981, 33-52.

Alemán, we can understand why there was both significant resistance to Chávez as an artistic leader and a tendency to link his image to national politics.

Chávez became a central figure in the political sphere in Mexico during the mid-1940s. An example of this is the homage – a banquet in the Club France— that the then presidential candidate Miguel Alemán offered Chávez in 1945 for his eighteen years of work with the Orquesta Sinfónica de México.⁸⁰ As a result of this event, Chávez received severe criticism from his enemies, especially from José Barros Sierra, who between 1945-1946 published comments under the alias of Saxofón Hernández, criticizing Chávez's support of Alemán's campaign in the newspaper *El Redondel*: "The owner of the symphonic monopoly [Chávez] reveals the shameful political life of Mexico as a vulgar propagandist of a presidential candidacy [Alemán's candidacy]."⁸¹ Regarding the banquet that Alemán offered to Chávez, he said: "We have read somewhere that a celebration will be given to the retreating conductor [Chávez]. We think this is magnificent. All the celebrations that they want as long as he retires. If at the price of one or several celebrations the music world could get rid of those who lower it, exploit it and get in its way, it [making music] would be very cheap..."⁸²

⁸⁰“Miguel Alemán- Carlos Chávez, México 1945-1946”, Fondo Carlos Chávez, Serie Carlos Chávez Correspondencia Personal, Caja1, Vol.1, Expediente 20, Archivo General de La Nación, Mexico City.

Luis Velázco Pufleau, “Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Cultural Construction: Carlos Chávez and Mexican Music (1921-1952)”. *Music and Politics*. Vol.6, issue 2. Summer 2012, 14-15. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mp/9460447.0006.203/--nationalism-authoritarianism-and-cultural-construction?rgn=main;view=fulltext>

⁸¹ “El Redondel, Entre Músicos por S.H” in “Miguel Alemán-Carlos Chávez, México 1945-1946”, Fondo Carlos Chávez, Serie Carlos Chávez Correspondencia Personal, Caja1, Vol.1, Expediente 20, Archivo General de La Nación, Mexico City.

⁸² *Ibid.*

Shortly after the homage, Alemán published his legislative program proposal, where he shared the initiative to create the Institute of Fine Arts if he won the presidential elections: “With the objective of stimulating those gifted with artistic genius, the National Institute for Fine Arts will be created; where those who stand out in fine arts will attend.”⁸³ In early 1946, Alemán positioned Chávez as the director of his national cultural campaign, which resulted in the development of the Plan for the Fine Arts.⁸⁴ After this, Chávez published an article in *El Universal* showing his support for Alemán’s campaign, stating: “It is my deeper conviction that the cause of Miguel Alemán is good, healthy and necessary for Mexico”. In this same article Chávez justifies his political beliefs and his participation in the campaign. He expresses his idea that politics should be in everybody’s interest, especially artists, since everything depended on the State.⁸⁵ He added: “the intervention of some intellectuals and artists in Alemán’s national campaign makes them politicians in the best sense of the word: by contributing their talent and experience in planning work that investigates and discusses the problems of Mexico and his good government.”⁸⁶ After this publication, further attacks from Saxofón Hernández

⁸³ The plan for the arts was published in Alemán’s governmental program printed booklet, 1945. The booklet is among Chávez’s archives preserved in Fondo Carlos Chávez, Serie Carlos Chávez Correspondencia, Caja 1, Volumen II, Expediente 28, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

Carlos Chávez, *Obras 2 Escritos periodísticos 1940-1949*, ed., Gloria Carmona (México DF: El Colegio Nacional, 2014), 539. Governmental Program, Mexico, September 30th, 1945.

⁸⁴ Luis Velázco Pufleau, “Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Cultural Construction: Carlos Chávez and Mexican Music (1921-1952)” *Music and Politics*. Vol.6, issue 2, Summer 2012, 14-15. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mp/9460447.0006.203/--nationalism-authoritarianism-and-cultural-construction?rgn=main;view=fulltext>

⁸⁵ Carlos Chávez, *Obras 2 Escritos periodísticos 1940-1949*, ed., Gloria Carmona (México: El Colegio Nacional, 2014), 276-278.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 278.

towards Chávez's support for the politician arose: "The one who prostituted music to turn it into an instrument of political flattery by composing Proletarian Symphonies when [ex-president] Cárdenas made his campaign based on redism, may well be trying to secure for himself the millions [of pesos] of the following [governmental] budget."⁸⁷

When Alemán's presidential term began in 1946, Chávez became the director of the National Institute of Fine Arts (Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes), known in Mexico as the INBA. The INBA initiated the project that Chávez developed for the yet more extensive involvement of the state in the arts. As director of the institute, he took a disciplinarian approach to the production of art with the agenda of strengthening Mexican identity. The evidence suggests that, in these early years, Chávez was acting according to his own political beliefs. In this regard, the musicologist Luis Velasco Puflea reminds us that "Chávez freed himself from his ideological notion of cultural diversity, as well as the notion of a social content present in music and the arts." Velasco Pufleau understands Chávez as an opportunist who was "constantly adapting his views," while historian Ricardo Pérez Montfort argues that despite Chávez delivering his talent to serve Mexican art, he also helped himself to navigate within a political system that often-lacked human values.⁸⁸ Both statements are further supported by the collection of documents regarding

⁸⁷ See "El Redondel, Entre Músicos por S.H" in "Miguel Alemán-Carlos Chávez, México 1945-1946", Fondo Carlos Chávez, Serie Carlos Chávez Correspondencia Personal, Caja1, Vol.1, Expediente 20, Archivo General de La Nación, Mexico City.

⁸⁸ Luis Velásco Pufleau, "Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Cultural Construction: Carlos Chávez and Mexican Music (1921-1952)". *Music and Politics*. Vol.6, issue 2. Summer 2012, 14-15. Ricardo Pérez Montfort, "Carlos Chávez en Los Años Cuarenta: Caudillo o Cacique Cultural", *Diálogo de Resplandores Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas*, ed., Yael Bitrán and Ricardo Miranda (México DF: INBA, CONACULTA, 2002), 192.

Chávez's connection to Alemán found in Chávez's personal correspondence at the Fondo Carlos Chávez, located in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City. Letters and Telegrams from Chávez to Alemán evidence Chávez's link to the politician and how he requested Alemán's support when he needed it. An example of this is visible in a letter from Chávez to Alemán, in which Chávez asked for financial assistance directly from the President for a recording project with Columbia Records, intending to record his six symphonies with the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional.⁸⁹

On the other hand, whether Chávez's dominant position at the INBA (National Institute of Fine Arts) was obtained through political leveraging or not, Mexico's artistic future changed drastically and mostly in favor of art production during this period. The INBA encompassed the departments of Music, Dance, Theater, Architecture, Administration, Literature, Theatrical Production, the Consulting Technical Council, and Pedagogy Technique.⁹⁰ Chávez also took the opportunity to incorporate other projects he had previously worked on, such as Ediciones Mexicanas de Música (EMM), which became the first and only publishing house in Mexico that issued Mexican music. Chávez founded EMM in collaboration with Mexican and Spanish composers, such as Rodolfo Halffter (1900—1987), Blas Galindo (1810—1993), Luis Sandi (1905—1996), José Pablo Moncayo (1912—1958), Adolfo Salazar (1890—1958) and Jesús Bal y Gay

⁸⁹ Carlos Chávez to Miguel Alemán, February 1946 in Fondo Carlos Chávez, Serie Carlos Chávez Correspondencia Personal, Caja1, Vol.1, Expediente 20, Archivo General de La Nación, Mexico City.

⁹⁰ Robert Parker, *Carlos Chávez, Mexico's Modern-Day Orpheus* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983),18.

(1905—1993). The Secretariat of Public Education subsidized the project through the INBA and private sponsorship. Since then, EMM has continuing publishing music.⁹¹

The National Symphony Orchestra (Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional, OSN), formed by presidential decree in 1947, became another new institution subsidized by INBA under Chávez's baton. The new organization raised suspicions that Chávez had applied his bureaucratic power to create it, especially after Chávez claimed that the Orquesta Sinfónica de México would continue working. However, he resigned from his position at the OSM and re-employed its staff at the INBA, resulting in the extinction of the OSM. On the other hand, having the full power of the INBA at his disposal allowed him to form INBA's Chamber Orchestra, wind quintet, string quartet, the Fine Arts Opera, and the Fine Arts Ballet.⁹² In six years the INBA encompassed an educational project that brought together the National Conservatory, the Opera Academy of the Fine Arts, the incorporation of music education in night schools, the choir of the National Conservatory, and the Choir of Madrigalists. Additionally, the INBA controlled the musical instruction in other cities around Mexico like Xalapa, Oaxaca, Tamaulipas, Michoacán, Hidalgo, La Paz, Aguascalientes, and Querétaro.⁹³

Despite the fact that Alemán's government and its cultural politics, under which Chávez was able to assume absolute control over much of Mexican cultural life,

⁹¹Currently, the leaders of the council of EMM are the composers Mario Lavista, Federico Ibarra and Victor Rasgado. www.edicionesmexicanasdemusica.com/about

⁹²Jesús Martínez, *Academia de Artes. Una década de actividades 1979-1989* (México DF: Academia de Artes, 1991), 183-184.

⁹³Yolanda Moreno Rivas, "Las políticas Culturales en la Música", *Política Cultural del Estado Mexicano*, ed., Moisés Ladrón de Guevara (México DF: CEE: GEFE, 1983), 188.

represented major problems to the nation caused by an excessive use of power and corruption, by the end of Miguel Alemán's administration in 1952 there were favorable results of Chávez's programs for the country. With the partnership that Chávez had created with the government, the conservatory grew and graduated over 700 students between 1946 and 1952, while art schools and middle schools imparted artistic education to 600 students, and more than 1000 concerts were held in schools within Mexico City, with another 80 taking place throughout the country.⁹⁴

Unfortunately, subsequent presidents did not support the arts to the same extent as Alemán. At the same time, musicians and artists opposing Chávez's administration did not continue Chávez's line of unifying arts with national politics. However, other alternatives emerged on both the institutional side and the musical one. The National Autonomous University of Mexico also created an orchestra, and the Philharmonic Orchestra was established in 1978 shortly before Chávez's death that same year. Mexican composers of the second half of the twentieth century abandoned nationalistic slogans and instead experimented with other compositional techniques that internationalized musical creation in Mexico. Composers such as Manuel Enríquez (1926—1994), Joaquín Gutiérrez Heras (1927—2012), Mario Lavista (1943) and Federico Ibarra (1946) abandoned Chávez's practices completely, even when some of them studied at the conservatory or were supported by Chávez, as in the case of Mario Lavista.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 189.

Ultimately, the different platforms through which Carlos Chávez developed his career significantly impacted Mexican artistic life of the first half of the twentieth century. Musically, Chávez's stylistic flexibility helped him to propose and create an identity for the Mexican nationalist style that was far from the hegemony of the European model but that would also become appealing to North American audiences. Thanks to his experience with the International Composers Guild, he was able to exchange musical ideas and introduce Mexican music to American society, as well as create ties with important figures who allowed him eventually to have complete control over the promotion of Mexican music in his own country and overseas. As an administrator, Chávez reached beyond institutional power. Since the beginning of his role as the head of the OSM in 1928, he proved to be a respectable leader, not just musically but also politically. From the moment he involved bureaucrats and politicians as members of the board of the OSM, Chávez was extending his influence using the power of his new connections and acquiring it from prominent musical institutions of the 1930s. His subsequent positions at the National Conservatory and the Fine Arts Department also provided him recognition as a pedagogue and arts administrator. He transformed the curriculum of the Conservatory, founded a choral ensemble and a music journal and created three research offices. While in his position at the FAD his responsibilities extended to promote theater, dance, filmmaking, and photography, he also faced drastic political shifts which forced him to step away from governmental positions for a decade. Nevertheless, by the time he left the FAD he was already recognized as an artistic authority, which gave him the confidence to continue attaining more power through other means. By 1946, his involvement with the presidential campaign of Miguel Alemán and

his support of that politician returned him complete control over the national arts in Mexico and allowed him to build and manage the most significant artistic institution at the time: thus Chávez's relationship with this politician did provide him political power, at least within the artistic world. Lastly, even though Chávez did not administer his institutions democratically, 80% of the multiple cultural institutions he founded are still functioning in Mexico.⁹⁵ Indeed, we can state that Chávez's political power and legacy still rule and continue to be an essential part of Mexican culture.

⁹⁵ Yolanda Moreno Rivas, "Las políticas Culturales en la Música", *Política Cultural del Estado Mexicano*, ed., Moisés Ladrón de Guevara (México DF: CEE: GEFE, 1983), 188.

Chapter 2: Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas

Carlos Chávez is today well known not only for his compositional contributions, but also for his work as an influential administrator of Mexican culture. Nevertheless, his effectiveness as an administrator has been called into question because of his open disagreements with other artists over political or personal differences. Musicologists such as Leonora Saavedra, Yolanda Moreno Rivas and Julio Estrada have previously referred to Chávez as dictatorial and nondemocratic within his sphere of influence.⁹⁶ According to them, many other artists resented him due to the favoritism and unconditional support he showed towards his friends and those in whom he placed his trust. Chapter 1 examined Chávez's relationship with politicians known for dishonesty and corruption, such as President Alemán. This raises a difficult question: Did this hero of Mexican music similarly abuse his power? Was he a cultural dictator?

In this chapter, I explore the collaboration and disagreements between Carlos Chávez and the composer Silvestre Revueltas (1899–1940) during the 1930s, considering the possibility that Chávez was indeed an excessively autocratic leader of Mexican culture. Chávez's relationship with Revueltas reveals two different sides of his character: the unconditional and encouraging friend, and the deceitful and threatening enemy. Even though the two men were good friends and professional collaborators for an extended

⁹⁶ Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *La Composición en México en el Siglo XX* (México DF: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994), 58. Alejandra Gomez Macchia, "Conversacion con Julio Estrada, Mi imaginación es música," *Revista de la Universidad de Mexico*, No.111, 2013, 79-80. Leonora Saavedra, ed., *Carlos Chávez and His World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 12-13.

period, I analyze the different factors that contributed to the end of their collaboration in 1935. I put into context the role of their different personalities and political views, as well as the economic issues that Revueltas faced while in partnership with Chávez. I try to link the different stories that have been previously published by musicologists and put them into perspective. Does the story of this relationship give us a sense of Chávez's political power? Did his disagreement with Revueltas affect the musical development of the 1930s? It is important to compare the positive and negative impact of Chávez upon Revueltas if we are to determine whether or not Chávez was totalitarian in his leadership.

I begin with a biographical description of Silvestre Revueltas's early years in order to understand his roots as a musician and as a person. This context demonstrates how Revueltas's early years relate to and differ from those of Chávez. I then discuss the benefits of their collaboration, the end of their collaboration, and the adverse effects that Carlos Chávez had upon Silvestre Revueltas. The following section considers Chávez and Revueltas's partisan differences by contemplating Revueltas's support of the left-wing, his active participation as a member of the LEAR (*League of Writers and Revolutionary Artists*), and his involvement in the Spanish Civil War.⁹⁷ Lastly, I present an overview of both composers' music and how it reflects their differences, related to their partisan politics and aesthetic views.

⁹⁷ LEAR (*Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios*) was a Mexican association started in 1933 by revolutionary artists and writers. Its members promulgated a progressive mentality in their works and were against governmental advances.

2.1 Silvestre Revueltas and Carlos Chávez: Early Years

From their early years, Silvestre Revueltas and Carlos Chávez shared interests in common that would soon result in a close friendship and professional relationship between them. They were born in the same year (1899), and they both faced the political and economic changes of the Revolution (1910–1920), shared a love of music, and developed an interest in politics at a young age. However, their social and economic circumstances were quite different. Revueltas had an appreciation for the working class that developed primarily within his family unit. Revueltas’s father José Revueltas was a modest merchant and his mother a housewife. His parents inculcated in him and his brothers a love for art.⁹⁸ Indeed, Revueltas’s family of artists contributed significantly to the development of the cultural life of Mexico in the twentieth century. Six of his twelve siblings stand out in the arts, and two of them—José, who became a controversial political activist, and Fermín—shared Revueltas’s interest in left-wing politics.⁹⁹ It is not surprising that he paid attention to politics, especially socialism, since the early years of his life occurred during the national revolution (1910–1920).¹⁰⁰ The revolution caused

⁹⁸ Revueltas was part of a family of artists that contributed to the development of the cultural life of Mexico in the twentieth century. Six of his twelve siblings stand out in the arts, and one of them, José, shared an interest in left-wing politics. The Revueltas siblings’ occupation in the arts were: Consuelo (1909-1990) and Fermín (1901-1935) were painters, Rosaura (1910-1996) was an actress and writer, José (1914-1976) was a writer and a controversial political activist; and Agustín (1920-1996) was an artist and businessman. Rosaura Revueltas, *Los Revueltas, biografía de una familia*. (México DF: Editorial Grijalbo, 1980), 24.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ The Revolution was an armed struggle, a politically and economically transitional stage in Mexico with several agendas: to bring down the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, and—the goal that interested Revueltas the most—to provide fair wages to the peasantry and rights over the lands they worked. Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Revueltas's family to relocate within Mexico several times. During the commotion of the revolution, he started to play the violin. After a rather nomadic childhood, at age thirteen his parents sent him to study to the Conservatorio Nacional in Mexico City.¹⁰¹ By 1917, when the conditions of the Revolution were improving, his father sent him along with his brother Fermín to the United States, where they studied at great financial cost to the family at St. Edward's University of Music in Austin, Texas.¹⁰² Revueltas continued his education at the Chicago College of Music (now Roosevelt University) with a student of Eugène Ysaÿe, violinist Leon Sametini, while simultaneously exploring his skills as a composer with Felix Borowski. His achievements in Chicago proved the extraordinary capabilities he had as a musician, since with only five months of enrollment at Chicago College of Music, Revueltas stood out among his fellow musicians by receiving an "honorable mention" in the diamond, silver and gold awards for violin.¹⁰³

As seen in Chapter 1, Chávez had a very different musical background from Revueltas. On the one hand, Chávez was adventurous and capable enough to emerge as a self-taught composer, he was writing articles as a music critic for *Gladios*, and moving

¹⁰¹ After Revueltas spent time in the institution, the curriculum of the program was excessively conservative for him and caused him to feel unengaged with the system and the life in the city. Thus, he dropped out after three years.

¹⁰² Julio Estrada, *Canto Roto, Silvestre Revueltas* (Mexico DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008), 29. Rosaura Revueltas, *Los Revueltas, biografía de una familia* (México DF: Editorial Grijalbo, 1980), 52.

¹⁰³ Robert Parker, "Revueltas, the Chicago Years," *Latin American Music Review*, Volume 25, Number 2, Fall/Winter 2004, 180-182, accessed January 8, 2018, <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.

Roberto Kolb Neuhaus, *Silvestre Revueltas: Catálogo de sus obras* (Mexico DF: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998), 87–88.

among different social circles that were shaping his professional development.¹⁰⁴

Revueltas, meanwhile, was living the international student life, struggling financially and focusing mostly on studying music. Since those early years, Revueltas had shown a sense of humility and a willingness to learn from others which differentiated him dramatically from Chávez, whose confidence meant he often criticized existing music education methods and placed possibly excessive trust in his own capabilities to learn music and composition without any guidance.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, in the following years, the different situations and personalities of these two composers were going to meet through music and change the course of music-making in Mexico.

Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas met in 1924; they were introduced in Mexico City by a couple Revueltas had been recently met, the architect Ricardo Ortega and his wife the singer Guadalupe Medina. When Revueltas went back to the United States, he kept communicating with Ortega and Chávez through letters.¹⁰⁶ By 1925, the presence of Carlos Chávez in Revueltas's life was already having a significant effect. At

¹⁰⁴ Chávez's grandfather was the governor of the state of Aguas Calientes until his execution in 1864. Members of Chávez's family continued holding diplomat positions, whereas Revueltas family belonged to the proletariat.

¹⁰⁵ See chapter 1, "The Young Composer".

Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez, vida y obra* (Mexico DF: Fondo de cultura económica, 1960), 13.

¹⁰⁶ The nature of the correspondence suggests that the two composers had a very close and friendly relationship from the beginning. The Fondo Carlos Chávez at the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City preserves some of the letters between Silvestre Revueltas and Carlos Chávez. Another part of the correspondence is in the hands of Eugenia Revueltas, the daughter of Silvestre, and is inaccessible to scholars. See also *Silvestre Revueltas por el Mismo*, Rosaura Revueltas (ed.), *Carlos Chávez Epistolario Selecto*, Gloria Carmona, (ed.), and the *Biblioteca Digital Silvestre Revueltas* <https://datosabiertos.unam.mx/objetosdigitales/>

that time, Chávez was organizing his *Conciertos de Música Nueva* presenting contemporary music. Since Revueltas went back to Mexico in that year, he collaborated with Chávez and other Mexican musicians in the performances of those concerts. Chávez's endeavors were already giving Revueltas the opportunity to meet more musicians, and thanks to Chávez's concert series, Revueltas took part in a tour performing with Guadalupe Medina and pianist Francisco Agea (1900–1970).¹⁰⁷

The correspondence of Chávez and Revueltas between 1926–1928 demonstrates that in the early stages of their relationship, Chávez was willing to help Revueltas and to try to integrate him into the community of composers that Chávez himself wanted to be a part of. In 1926, while Revueltas was in Texas, Chávez was in New York with Ricardo Ortega and Guadalupe Medina trying to infiltrate the International Composers Guild. In their letters, both Ortega and Chávez encouraged Revueltas to show his compositions to Edgard Varèse; Ortega, especially, repeatedly asked Revueltas to send him his last work *Batik* (1926).¹⁰⁸ After Revueltas sent the piece, Chávez wrote back telling him that

¹⁰⁷ Prior to meeting Chávez, Revueltas visited Mexico sporadically. In 1921, he went back to play recitals in Mexico City, Guadalajara, León and Querétaro. He continued studying in Chicago in 1922, but with the death of his father in 1923 he could not stay in the US and thus prolonged his stay in Mexico. This last trip took him to the person that was going to change his life, Carlos Chávez. The musical presence of Revueltas was so significant in Mexico that he was also invited by composer Julián Carrillo (1875–1965), one of Chávez's enemies, to serve as a judge for three music competitions that were going to take place in March of 1924. After the tour with Francisco Agea and Guadalupe Medina, Revueltas returned to the US to live in Texas, where he worked playing for theater orchestras. Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son* (Mexico DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000), 22-27.

¹⁰⁸ Silvestre Revueltas and Rosaura Revueltas, ed., "Cartas dirigidas a Silvestre Revueltas", *Silvestre Revueltas por él mismo* (Mexico DF: Ediciones ERA, 1998), 215-222.

Varèse was very interested to meet him: “[Varèse] looked at your music and said that it is evident that you have a natural talent for composing, you just have to know how to express it and work harder; you should save money to come to New York, he said he would introduce you to [Leopold] Stokowski.”¹⁰⁹ There are no records that show why Revueltas did not travel to New York: in fact, his only two compositions of 1926 were the same ones listed in the letters between him, Ortega and Chávez, (*Elegía* and *Batik*.)¹¹⁰ On the other hand, we can infer that at that time, Chávez was aware of Revueltas’s potential as a composer and most likely thought highly of Revueltas’s talent, even though nine years later, Chávez’s sympathy for Revueltas was going to change dramatically.

2.2 The Professional Partnership of Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas

In 1928, Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas were about to develop a professional partnership that would bring benefits to them both and change the course of music history. In fact, Chávez was already shaping Revueltas’s life and career significantly as he was the reason for Revueltas’s return to Mexico that year. When Chávez became director of the Conservatorio Nacional in 1928, Chávez invited Revueltas to be part of the faculty of the Conservatorio and assist him with the conducting activities of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México. It is important to remember that the moment Chávez began working at the conservatory, he had to encounter all sorts of accusations in

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 224. Leopold Stokowski (1882–1977) was a renowned English conductor. He was the Music Director of the Philadelphia Orchestra, and also guest conducted the Cincinnati Symphony, New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, Hollywood Bowl Symphony Orchestra, among others. He is mostly recognized for conducting and appearing in Disney’s film *Fantasia*, and other Hollywood films.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 222.

which he became the victim of many critics that judge him as an amateur musician without any capabilities of running a national institution as important as the conservatory. Statements of disapproval were published in different newspapers in Mexico City by the previous director of the music school, Estanislao Mejía, but Chávez was supported by the rector Antonio Castro Leal, and was able to keep the job. If Chávez had left the conservatory, he would not have taught the composition class, and probably Revueltas would not have written some of his most famous works.

Prior to Chávez's offer, Revueltas wrote to Chávez expressing his frustration with the job he had in Texas.¹¹¹ This situation was apparently a perfect opportunity for both of them. For Chávez, having a violinist as outstanding as Revueltas's teaching at the conservatory would fulfill his expectations for changing and improving the syllabus of the institution. At the same time, Revueltas was going to be helpful in supporting Chávez's decisions as a director, and that would have relieved Chávez, to a certain degree, from struggling with enemies opposing his new position. As Chávez's reminisced later about the beginning of their partnership,

It was all for the best: as a teacher at the Conservatory, Silvestre would contribute with excellency within the violin school that we so urgently needed. He would get himself trained as a conductor acting as my assistant; he would offer useful knowledge to the string sections of the orchestra, and he would be a great collaborator in the tireless struggle I had embarked on against the mediocrity, conservatism, and vulgarity dominant in Mexico at the time.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Silvestre Revueltas to Carlos Chávez, August 20, 1928, in Fondo Carlos Chávez, Serie Carlos Chávez Correspondencia, Caja 10, Vol III, Exp, 85 Foja 5, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

¹¹² Carlos Chávez, "La música de México," October 18, 1971, Archivo General de la Nación, cited in Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus, "Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas: Retracing an Ignored Dialogue," in Leonora Saavedra (ed.), *Carlos Chávez and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 77.

Chávez's claim that Revueltas was going to get training from him as a conductor is debatable, since unlike Chávez, Revueltas had previous experience conducting the orchestras he worked for in the US, whereas Chávez's first time conducting happened with the OSM. Nevertheless, in the correspondence between them, Revueltas did not seem to care about what kind of position Chávez was offering. For Revueltas, moving back to Mexico meant relief from his frustration with the orchestra where he was working in the US.¹¹³

Following Revueltas's arrival in Mexico, Chávez's influence quickly began to impact his career. Chávez shared Revueltas's name and music with his friends, and connected him with some of his contacts at the International Composers Guild. By now, we know that one of Chávez's talents was to create social connections that eventually helped him to build his own career and those of others. Chávez's association with US composers quickly had an impact on Revueltas's career, with Revueltas's music increasingly performed in North American halls. For instance, Aaron Copland, who befriended Revueltas through Chávez, presented Revueltas's *Cuarteto no.2 Magueyes* (1931) in 1932 at the Festival of Contemporary American Music, known as Yaddo, in Saratoga Springs, New York; in that same year, the conductor Nicolas Slonimsky

¹¹³ Silvestre Revueltas to Carlos Chávez, August 20, 1928, in Fondo Carlos Chávez, Serie Carlos Chávez Correspondencia, Caja 10, Vol III, Exp, 85 Foja 5, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City. Eduardo Contreras Soto. *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son* (Mexico DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000). 33.

presented *Colorines* (1926), also in New York City, and later in Cuba with La Habana Philharmonic.¹¹⁴

Another example of Chávez's influence upon Revueltas is evident in a set of remarks from 1933. Revueltas described the impact that Chávez had had upon him as a composer as part of an effort to support Chávez in one of the many public disagreements that he had with critics. Thus, he claimed the following: "*Cuauhnahuac* [1931], *Colorines* [1932], *Janitzio* [1933], etc, would have never seen the light of day if it hadn't been for the encouraging energy of Carlos Chávez."¹¹⁵

But not everything was easy in the partnership between Chávez and Revueltas. Before addressing the dispute that ended their professional and personal relationship, we need to analyze their different professional interests and significantly contrasting personalities. Even though they continuously collaborated from 1929 to 1934, their dissimilarities came across more obviously when Chávez assumed the position of director of the Fine Arts Institute in 1933 and tried to make Revueltas his substitute in his place as director of the conservatory. At first, Revueltas tried to comply with the duty that Chávez

¹¹⁴ Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son* (Mexico DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000), 38-39. To see letters between Slonimsky and Revueltas visit Biblioteca digital Silvestre Revueltas, <https://datosabiertos.unam.mx/objetosdigitales/>

¹¹⁵ Silvestre Revueltas, "En defensa y elogio de la crítica," "Contracanto," and "Coda," *El Universal*, August 7, November 8 and December 29, 1933, quoted in Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus, "Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas: Retracing an Ignored Dialogue," ed., Leonora Saavedra, *Carlos Chávez and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 80. Silvestre Revueltas to Nicolas Slonimsky, August 31, 1932, in Biblioteca Digital Silvestre Revueltas, *portal de datos abiertos UNAM (en línea)*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, accessed March 15, 2018, https://datosabiertos.unam.mx/FaM:BDREV:EP_RP04.

had entrusted him with, but Revueltas had no interest in administering the institution and resigned after two months. Perhaps Chávez thought that Revueltas shared his interest in administrative positions that put him in the spotlight. However, due to the bureaucracy in play for managing an institution like the conservatory, Revueltas was not interested in the job: in fact, gaining power and recognition did not seem to be a priority for Revueltas. On this subject, musicologist Eduardo Contreras Soto justifies Revueltas's decision to leave the new role, stating that Revueltas was a supporter of the working class who did not want to hold such an authoritarian position. Contreras said: "All of his life, Revueltas tried to run away from having any authority or political power."¹¹⁶ Contreras also implies that Revueltas's profile did not fit the job description, claiming, "Revueltas was always described as an open-minded person with a noble character, even his favorite outfits were jackets and not fine suits."¹¹⁷ Both of Contreras's statements encapsulate the character of Revueltas as the antithesis of Chávez, whose ambition and bold personality led him to obtain high-ranking positions.

Another factor that may have made Revueltas question taking up this role was the lack of financial stability while working with Chávez in the OSM. Up until 1934, Revueltas's position at the OSM was unclear in rank: it seems the two composers shared most of the responsibilities. Revueltas was the assistant conductor, organized the different projects of the orchestra, and he shared the baton with Chávez during concerts, wrote program notes, etc.; yet, after six years of working with Chávez, Revueltas and his

¹¹⁶ Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son* (México DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000),40.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 41.

family were struggling financially. When Revueltas moved to Mexico, Chávez offered Revueltas a healthy salary to work in the OSM, but it soon became clear that the financial situation of the orchestra was not stable.¹¹⁸ In one of the letters Revueltas sent to his first wife Jules in 1934, he apologizes for not having the financial resources to help his first daughter, telling Jules that the orchestra was in terrible economic shape. He was working for free so that the musicians could be paid and the orchestra could survive.¹¹⁹ This situation was a time bomb for Revueltas's personal finances, and perhaps, for this reason, he looked for other money-making opportunities.

2.3 The Dissolution of Chávez's and Revueltas's Partnership

Although Chávez had a history of professional and personal conflicts with other composers, musicians, and critics, the end of his professional partnership with Revueltas provides evidence of how vital it was for Chávez that he have total control over the artistic projects that he considered to be in his interest.

After their disaffiliation, neither Chávez nor Revueltas offered statements that publicly explained to the artistic community the real reasons for their separation. After the death of both composers, Antonio Castro Leal (1896–1981) offered his perception of what had taken place in a letter to Chávez's biographer Robert L. Parker in 1980:

¹¹⁸ Blanca Espinosa Barco. "Los pasos divergentes". *Silvestre Revueltas y Carlos Chávez Frente a Frente*. Kindle Edition. (California: Windmills International Editions Inc, 2015).

¹¹⁹ Silvestre Revueltas, *Silvestre Revueltas por él mismo* (México DF: Ediciones ERA, 1998), 48-49. Silvestre Revueltas to Jules Klarecy in Biblioteca Digital Silvestre, *Portal de datos abiertos UNAM (en línea)*, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, accessed March 14, 2018. https://datosabiertos.unam.mx/FaM:BDREV:EP_FA21

“Chávez did not program any of Revueltas’s music after 1935 until the latter’s death in 1940. He campaigned actively for the assignment to write the score for the Mexican film classic *Redes* (1935) but lost out to Revueltas.”¹²⁰ We can therefore assume that at least part of the falling out was due to Chávez losing a commission to Revueltas, a development that must have heightened the rivalry between the two composers. However, I believe this was just one of a number of artistic and political factors that brought about their conflict, considering that more unpleasant events were interfering with the development of Chávez’s administrative career at the time.

The first factor to consider is that the film mentioned by Castro (*Redes*, originally titled *Pescados*), in reality was Chávez's personal project. This became a problem because Chávez was using his institutional power to try to fulfill two of his dreams: to compose the score of a film and to create it in collaboration with his American friend Paul Strand. Chávez was financially supporting *Redes* through his position as Director of the DFA, but the development of the film had to stop when President Lázaro Cárdenas came to power.¹²¹ It is important to clarify that with the arrival of every new government in Mexico, the winning candidates usually fill all administrative jobs with employees of their choice. Taking into account that during the *Maximato* Chávez acquired high-ranking

¹²⁰ Antonio Castro Leal was a Mexican diplomat. He supported Chávez to become the director of the National Conservatory. Robert L Parker, *Carlos Chávez: Mexico’s Modern Orpheus* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 143. Julio Estrada, *Canto Roto, Silvestre Revueltas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008), 117.

¹²¹ After Chávez invited Paul Strand to Mexico in 1932, Chávez created the department of Photography and Filming at the DFA. James Kirippner, “Carlos Chávez and Paul Strand,” *Carlos Chávez and his World*, ed., Leonora Saavedra (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 220.

positions, and President Cárdenas was entirely against the management of the previous government, it is not surprising that as soon as Cárdenas began ruling, Chávez lost his place at the DFA.¹²² Chávez's successor, Antonio Castro Leal, was entitled to continue with the production of the film, but Antonio Castro decided to commission the composition of the score from Revueltas.¹²³ Given Revueltas's dire financial situation, and given that he was working for free in order to help Chávez with the orchestra, it is not surprising that Revueltas accepted the offer to compose the score for *Redes*.¹²⁴

The second political component to consider in Chávez's and Revueltas's dispute is that during the period in which they terminated their collaboration, between 1934–1935, the change of government also affected the management of El Conservatorio Nacional, which directly impacted Chávez's authority as director of the conservatory. Due to the reasons stated above, it is not a coincidence that the federal government replaced Chávez with the composer and teacher Estanislao Mejía (1882–1967), Chávez's adversary at the conservatory who opposed Chávez's appointment as director of the institution in 1929. When Mejía assumed his new position, it was clear to him that taking Chávez's job was not enough to compete with Chávez, since he also found governmental investment to transform the orchestra of the conservatory into a salaried orchestra, and

¹²² Carlos Chávez, *Vida y Pensamiento de México. Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez*, ed., Gloria Carmona (Mexico DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica), 170-171.

See Chapter 1, "The political frame in Chávez's first administrative positions".

¹²³ Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son* (Mexico DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000), 45.

¹²⁴ The film was released in 1936 under the name *Redes*, originally named *Pescados*, and was released as *The wave* in English. The score composed by Revueltas is called *Redes*. The music was rearranged by Revueltas after the release of the film. Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas en Escena y en Pantalla* (Mexico DF: INBA, 2012), 75-146.

offered Revueltas the job of principal conductor.¹²⁵ Revueltas accepted Mejía's offer, again likely because he was searching for better financial and professional opportunities. He left the OSM without giving notice, and never shared his reasons for abandoning his partnership with Chávez.¹²⁶

The third factor that contributed to the end of their relationship is Chávez's response to Revueltas's popularity among the artistic community. In an interview with Chávez by musicologist Jose Antonio Alcaráz in 1976, published after Chávez's death, Chávez provided his perspective on Revueltas' position as conductor of Mejía's orchestra. He said: "They brainwashed Silvestre and convinced him to be principal conductor of that ridiculous orchestra, knowing that they were weakening me, and not because they sincerely believed that Silvestre was a good musician or conductor."¹²⁷ Evidently, Chávez was aware of Mejía's tactic to compete with his orchestra, but this claim also infers that Chávez was unsure about Mejía's decision to position Revueltas at the front of the orchestra, implying that Mejía's administration revealed its dishonesty by claiming to believe in Revueltas's conducting skills. This means that Chávez was also belittling Revueltas's musicianship. Another statement also reveals Chávez's frustration with the recognition that other musicians were giving to Revueltas's artistry: "After I left the conservatory, my so-called 'friends' never contacted me again. You can't imagine the

¹²⁵ Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus, "Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas: Retracing an Ignored Dialogue," *Carlos Chávez and his world*, ed., Leonora Saavedra (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 77.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹²⁷ Carlos Chávez, "El testimonio de Carlos Chávez sobre Silvestre Revueltas," *Hablar de Música*, (Mexico DF: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1982), 24.

change: they began to praise Silvestre, they placed him on top of the clouds. Everything he did was brilliant for them, but instead of helping him they were just hurting him.”¹²⁸

Despite the fact that, after Revueltas’s departure, the two composers maintained their distance and seemingly never directly discussed their separation, Chávez continuously tried to stain Revueltas’s reputation among their colleagues. In this regard, the composer and historian Julio Estrada stated: “In the workshop of the Conservatorio, Carlos Chávez often tried to denigrate Revueltas’ image in the class. If somebody had a deficiency, he would say: ‘You are just like Revueltas.’ For Chávez, all evil came from the figure of Revueltas, whom he detested.”¹²⁹

Estrada’s claims also raise other significant questions. Did Chávez’s power over the most important institutions of Mexico ultimately have a detrimental effect upon Revueltas’s professional development, despite his earlier support and promotion of him?

2.4 Chávez’s Influence on Silvestre Revueltas and their Political Views

The adverse effect of Carlos Chávez’s influence upon Silvestre Revueltas’s career was noticeable after they ended their friendship and professional collaboration. Since Carlos Chávez had more power than Revueltas, he was able to program his own music

¹²⁸ Ibid, 23. Revueltas stopped working at the Sinfónica Nacional (Estanislao Mejía’s orchestra) in 1937. This happened when Estanislao Mejía stopped working at the conservatory. When Chávez says “they were just hurting him,” he perhaps refers to the fact that when Revueltas was unemployed, after returning from the LEAR’s tour in Spain in 1937, none of the people that initially gave recognition to Revueltas also helped him to find a job.

¹²⁹ Alejandra Gomez, “Conversación con Julio Estrada, Mi Imaginación es Música,” *Revista de la Universidad de México*, No.111, (2013): 79-80.

more, and had the control to deny promotion to Revueltas's music.¹³⁰ Even though Revueltas's music often enjoyed a better reception with Mexican audiences, he did not have the contacts nor the promotional media to which Chávez had access.

From an outsider perspective, Aaron Copland, who was Carlos Chávez's close friend, was able to recognize Chávez's impact upon musical life in Mexico in 1932. For example, in a letter to composer Henry Brant (1913-2008), Aaron Copland wrote, "Music in Mexico is practically confined to Chávez and his activities, the entire musical destinies of a nation lie in his hands."¹³¹ In that same letter, without having any intention to compare the music of Revueltas and Chávez, nor trying to create rivalry between the two composers, Copland also mentioned the reaction of Mexican audiences to the two composers: "In general, the Mexican public receives Revueltas' music more enthusiastically than they do Chávez's."¹³² Nevertheless, for Revueltas, the fact that his music was well received did not give him any authority to compete with the dominance that Chávez enjoyed.

After their dispute in 1935, Chávez stopped programming Revueltas's music with both the OSM and as part of musical events abroad that would require him to showcase music of other Mexican composers. The only exception between 1936 and 1940 was in 1937, when Chávez performed the *Homenaje a García Lorca* (1936) as part of a Pan

¹³⁰ Ibid, 81.

¹³¹ See Aaron Copland to Henry Brant, November 16, 1932, in Elizabeth B. Christ and Wayne Shirley (eds.), *The Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2006), 100.

¹³² Ibid.

American Chamber Music Festival which had American sponsorship in Mexico City.¹³³ Sometimes Chávez was criticized for not programming Revueltas, as, for example, at the Mexican music concert of the exhibition of Twenty Years of Mexican Art at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) on May 1940, in New York.¹³⁴ Music critic Goddard Lieberson wrote, “In his eagerness to promote Mexican Music in this country, he did not make any effort to present to the American audience the compositions of Silvestre Revueltas.”¹³⁵ Chávez tried to justify his actions by responding to Lieberson that Revueltas was unreliable to work with in the OSM. However, his claims did not justify his denying the music of Revueltas a place in a crucial event for the promotion of Mexican music.¹³⁶

Silvestre Revueltas died on October 5th, 1940, at the age of forty of pneumonia, only five months after Chávez’s concert in New York. His death shocked those in the artistic world who were familiar with his work, and it only increased the attention to the issues that Chávez had with him prior his death. In this regard, Eugenia Revueltas said:

¹³³ Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son.* (Mexico DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000), 54.

¹³⁴ Herbert Barret, “Aztec, Yaqui, Indian, Folk, Ballad and Modern Mexican Music in Carlos Chávez Orchestral Program for Museum of Modern Art.” https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/607/releases/MOMA_1940_0038_1940-05-07_40507-33.pdf?2010. See also “Mexican Music: notes by Herbert Weinstock for concerts arranged by Carlos Chávez as part of the exhibition: Twenty Years of Mexican Art,” the Museum of Modern Art, May, 1940. http://moma.org/d/c/exhibition_catalogues/W1siZiIsIjMwMDA2MTk1NCJdLFsicCIsImVuY292ZXIiLCJ3d3cubW9tYS5vcmcvY2FsZW5kYXIvZXhoaWJpdGlbnMvMjk4NSIsImh0dHA6Ly9tb21hLm9yZy9jYWxlbmRhci9leGhpYml0aW9ucy8yOTg1P2xvY2FsZT1lcyJdXQ.pdf?sha=2cc6d062a46d400a

¹³⁵ Julio Estrada, *Canto Roto, Silvestre Revueltas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008), 117.

¹³⁶ Gloria Carmona, ed., *Carlos Chávez Epistolario Selecto* (Mexico DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 307.

“after the death of Revueltas, there was a stage in which his music and figure were absent from the Mexican halls, and maestro Chávez plotted this.”¹³⁷ Supporting this statement, a letter from Chávez’s friend, the musicologist Herbert Weinstock (1905-1971), addresses the issue:

First, I must tell you that to me—as to many other people—Revueltas has long appeared to be more than just one of your young assistants, more than just a man whom you have spurred on to some sort of activity. He has seem to me a musician of something approaching genius. I think I know all the difficulties involved in his psychology and peculiar temperament. But I have nevertheless

often wished that you would make the graceful gesture of playing his music— both in Mexico and in the United States—despite whatever personal difficulties it involved. I have, time and again, found myself in the position of having to defend you against the charge of being jealous of Revueltas, of deliberately trying to smother his reputation by ignoring him. Defend you I have but with a growing feeling of discomfort as season after season since your break with Revueltas, you have failed to schedule his compositions on the programs of the Orquesta Sinfónica, have failed to play them here, and finally failed to include him in the Museum program.¹³⁸

Now, I’ll admit at once that if I had not felt that Revueltas was a truly important composer (limited by psychological difficulties and lack of workman integrity), I should not have cared. And this brings me to the chief point of your letter to Lieberson and Thomson — it seems to me to avoid the real issue, and to appear both ungracious and evasive. Nowhere in your letter do you say a single word in praise of Revueltas’ music. Nor

¹³⁷ Roberto García Bonilla. *Visiones Sonoras: Entrevistas con Compositores, Solistas y Directores*. (México: Siglo XXI Editores de México, 2010), 27, cited in Blaca Espinosa Barco, *Silvestre Revueltas and Carlos Chávez Frente a Frente* (California: Windmills Editions, 2015).

¹³⁸ Weinstock refers to the concert at the Museum of Modern Art in New York on May 1940. For this concert, Weinstock was in charge of writing the notes for the booklet of the exhibition. For a copy of the program see:

https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_catalogue_2985_300061954.pdf

Herbert Weinstock was a musicologist and biographer of important composers like Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, Chopin and Tchaikovsky.

do you express any regret over his death, or in any way evaluate his contributions to music as a composer.

If you do not think highly of Revueltas' compositions, and said so quite simply, that would be alright. But to avoid the issue completely is to give the further impression, no matter how you deny it, that your failure to play him was due to personal quarrels or disagreements — a sort of unmusicianly attitude I cannot connect with you. If, on the other hand, you think highly of Revueltas the composer, you should say that, and explain quite simply why, despite so thinking, you have failed to play him since the days when he was your assistant.

I hope I am making myself clear. I do not mean to criticize you or attempt in any way to dictate opinions on you. What I do very much want you to understand clearly is that the point of view of many musical people here is that modern Mexican music consist of Chávez and Revueltas, and that Chávez has rather spitefully failed to do justice to his most important compatriot. Especially, so soon after his death, your letter could not fail to confirm your seasons with American orchestras, to play Halffter and Huizar—and omit Revueltas, whom Goddard Lieberson, for example, (and I myself) would instantly consider superior to either.

My whole impression of Revueltas as a composer was of a composer of very startling originality and power, untamed and undisciplined, but very much alive. I think that several of his pieces would be received here with amazement and high praise. And I should very much like - when the opportunity offers - for Carlos Chávez to be the man to get Revueltas his just deserts. It would give you in the public eye (and particularly the eye of such people as Lieberson and Rosenfeld) the generous attitude I admire so much in your personality. You are, after all, the representative of Mexican music in the United States, whether you like that position or not, and it is a position that puts certain duties on you.¹³⁹

Weinstock's letter likely reveals the truth regarding Chávez's posture towards the end of his friendship with Revueltas. His claims implied that Chávez had a superior authority in the US with his role as ambassador of Mexican music, and it also confirms that others believed Chávez had tried to depreciate the value of Revueltas's music during

¹³⁹ Herbert Weinstock to Carlos Chávez, New York, November 25, 1940, in Fondo Carlos Chávez, Archivo General de la Nación, Correspondencia, Caja 10, Vol.III, expediente 88, 3 fojas. See also: Julio Estrada, *Canto Roto, Silvestre Revueltas* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008), 119-121.

and after his lifetime. Weinstock unravels Chávez's spiteful attitude towards Revueltas, and allows us to deduce that Chávez may have had taken a similar hostile position towards other with whom he did not sympathize.¹⁴⁰

However, Chávez's attitude raises more questions. Why did Chávez put so much attention on Revueltas's career development and image? How could he have felt intimidated by the presence of a musician who, according to him, did not have the means to succeed? Did Revueltas's political presence at the LEAR (League of Revolutionary Artists and Writers) after their disaffiliation make him a threat to Chávez's career?

2.5 Revueltas's Left-wing Political Presence and the LEAR

Before the death of Revueltas, the artistic and personal goals of both composers had been moving in different directions due to their conflicting political beliefs, and the active involvement of each of them with organizations that aligned with their partisan politics. Even though Chávez stopped working in federal institutions like the Department of Fine Arts and the conservatory in 1934, his leadership in the OSM and his relationship with those who were supporters of the government of the Maximato and President Cárdenas linked his image to the current ruler. Revueltas, on the other hand, took part in the resistance as an active member of LEAR (the League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists). He became more involved in this organization in 1935, when he and Chávez

¹⁴⁰ Six years after the dispute between Chávez and Revueltas, the OSM programed again one piece by Revueltas: *Janitzio*, on June 27 and 29, 1941.

Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son* (Mexico DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000), 40.

were no longer collaborating, and more notoriously in 1936 when he became part of the executive committee.¹⁴¹ Members of LEAR engaged in fighting against imperialism and fascism, supporting the struggles of the workers, unifying the progressive intellectuals, and manifesting their discontent by promoting a revolutionary point of view in their works. By the time Revueltas joined the group, the organization had a less radical ideology and agreed to take part in the Popular Front, an alliance of left-wing political organizations trying to unify nationalist and popular groups in order to stop the fascism.¹⁴² Revueltas's involvement with the LEAR in the Second Congress of Anti-Fascist Writers for the Defense of Culture during the Spanish Civil War manifested two different Mexican nationalist artistic currents equally tied to politics but supporting different ideologies. On the one hand, Chávez's political convictions fluctuated over the years. His image was mostly identified with the right wing due to his writings about unifying art with the state to educate the masses. On the other hand, Revueltas always remained committed to his leftist beliefs.

¹⁴¹ Revueltas became president of the executive committee of the LEAR in May 1936 and was substituted by historian and politician José Mancisidor (1894-1956) in February 1937.

¹⁴² Other composers that were working with Chávez at the time also joined the LEAR and extended their relations with Revueltas through this guild: Jacobo Kostakovsky (1893-1953), José Pomar (1980-1961), Eduardo Hernandez Moncada (1899-1995), Luis Sandi (1905-1996), Blas Galindo (1910-1993), Salvador Contreras (1910-1982), José Pablo Moncayo (1912-1958), Daniel Ayala (1906-1975), among others. Revueltas also became acquainted with writers Juan de la Cabada (1899-1986), Octavio Paz (1914-1998), and the Cuban poet and political activist Nicolás Guillén (1902-1989). Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son* (Mexico DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000), 50.

It seems likely that the politically mainstream Chávez began to consider Revueltas a threat to his political and artistic power when Revueltas began to actively involve himself with the left-wing artistic community. In this regard, a non-dated letter from the International Music Bureau in Moscow, signed by G. Schneerson and with the printed name of the musicologist Lev Lebedinsky (1904-1992), provides evidence that Revueltas's music was identified overseas as a political manifesto, and that he was gaining recognition internationally as a revolutionary artist, (whether that was his intention or not):

The International Music Buro is striving to find and consolidate the revolutionary music forces of all lands and to make all preparations for the formation of an International Union of Revolutionary Music. This is why we request you here with [sic] to cooperate with us and thus, assist us in the establishment of connections with the music organizations of your country.

We are ready and willing to supply you systematically with music and theoretical data as well as all information about the state of our movement in the various countries of the world.

The works of revolutionary composers in Mexico and particularly those of your own are of primary interest to us: we should be glad to receive your music and if possible music by other Mexican composers. We should be obliged for any information on the state of music life in Mexico.

We hope that this will serve as the beginning of close connections between you and the International Music Buro and of course create a basis for the exchange of music and theoretical literature between us.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ The International Music Buro was formed in 1932 with the intention of spreading the idea that music was also a way to fight class struggle. G.Schneerson to Silvestre Revueltas, in Biblioteca Digital Silvestre, *Portal de datos abiertos UNAM (en línea)*, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City, accessed March 14, 2018. https://datosabiertos.unam.mx/FaM:BDREV:EP_RP107 See also, Richard A. Reuss and JoAnne C. Reuss, *American Folk Music and Left-Wing Politics, 1927-1957* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press Inc, 2000), 63-66.

Even though there are no records that clarify the story behind this letter and it is undated, it is possible that this invitation could have been one of the reasons that Revueltas traveled to the Second Congress of Anti-fascist Writers for the Defense of Culture in Spain in 1937. On the other hand, there is no evidence to indicate Revueltas's official involvement with the group and further research needs to be done regarding this letter.¹⁴⁴

The trip to Spain increased Revueltas's popularity among artists within the communist circle and helped him gain international recognition as a composer and political activist, as his music became a vital element to advertise the cause of LEAR in Spain. This event could perhaps have disturbed Chávez, since he had achieved success by combining his artistic presence with political relations with right-wing leaders. Revueltas, even though he was not interested in take part of Mexico's political affairs, had at that time the chance to do the same after his visit to Spain. Even though Spain was in the middle of the war and thus unsafe for travellers, Revueltas and members of LEAR visited Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid in 1937. In these cities, Revueltas presented his compositions *Colorines* (1932), *Caminos* (1934), *Janitzio* (1933), *El Renacuajo Paseador* (1933), *Redes* (1935), and the *Homenaje a García Lorca* (1936).¹⁴⁵ The tour was a significant success for his career: his music was well received and he had the opportunity

¹⁴⁴ At that moment Mexico and the Soviet Union were among the few nations that supported Republican Spain, while Germany and Italy supported Francisco Franco's troops. Additionally, while Revueltas was in Spain, he applied for financial support to the Mexican government to travel to the Soviet Union.

¹⁴⁵ Revueltas wrote the *Homenaje a García Lorca* as a protest against the assassination of the Spanish poet Federico García Lorca, who was murdered in 1936 by the Nationalist militia for engaging in socialism and in homosexual practices during the Spanish Civil war.

to meet important artists and figures of the Spanish communist world. There, he became acquainted with the Spanish writer and activist María Teresa León, the famous army officer José Miaja, the Cuban writer and politician Juan Marinello, and the Madrid Philharmonic conductor Bartolomé Pérez Casas, among others.¹⁴⁶

During the time he spent in Spain, Revueltas appeared to the Spanish press to be the most prominent figure in LEAR. In fact, the success that his music had there helped established him as the most important Mexican artist for the Spanish people. Other reviews place him as the artist who forged the links between Spain and Mexico in fraternity and brotherhood.¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, even though the tour was already having favorable results for his career, the letters that Revueltas wrote to his wife “Angelucha” and his diary while in Spain indicate that for him, the most crucial part of this tour was the experience of facing the difficulties of the Spanish people in war times, rather than having musical success.¹⁴⁸ The tone in his writings showed empathy for the situation of the Spaniards and a sense of desolation and sadness. In a letter to Angelucha on August 2, 1937, he said:

What loneliness and distance! What bitterness, doubt, and desire! I met lonely women who lost their children during the war; they told us their stories in tears and with a tremble in their voice. Humanly trembling, I felt like putting on my knees in the presence of their pain. Every day and every hour, they face the death of a friend, a brother, a son, a husband. In

¹⁴⁶ Carol Hess, “Silvestre Revueltas in Republican Spain: Music as Political Utterance,” *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Autumn - Winter, 1997), 284. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/780398>, Accessed 01-10-2017.

¹⁴⁷ See *ibid*, 285-288.

¹⁴⁸ “Angelucha” is the nickname of Angela Acevedo, Revueltas’s third wife.

just a few days I feel attached to these people, so close to them that I don't want to leave.¹⁴⁹

In another letter to Angelucha, Revueltas states that he was not enjoying the public attention, but rather was there with the intention of helping and contributing with his music to the political problems of a country in conflict:

It is incredible, the disdain I feel for my fame and glory as a musician. I see how others worry about the smallest details; nothing escapes them regarding their artistic reputation. Why should we care about such useless things like glory, posterity, applause?! Instead of looking foolish with fucking concerts, I would desire to take a gun and fight against that fascism that is the destruction of the nobility and greatness of the earth.¹⁵⁰

Without making any statements in which he directly addressed Chávez's persona, in the last quote, Revueltas emphasizes his detestation for the type of artist who only cared about its image, fame, and recognition. In contexts like these, it seems the partnership between Chávez and Revueltas was always destined for failure. For these two individuals, there was an internal force stronger than their artistry that was inevitably going to force them apart. Even when they were equally concerned for the progress of art

¹⁴⁹ Silvestre Revueltas to Angela Acevedo, August 2, 1937, Valencia, in Biblioteca Digital Silvestre Revueltas, *Portal de datos abiertos UNAM (en línea)*, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, accessed March 15, 2018, https://datosabiertos.unam.mx/FaM:BDREV:EP_FA56
Silvestre Revueltas, *Silvestre Revueltas por sí mismo*, ed., Rosaura Revueltas (Mexico DF: Ediciones Era, 1998), 96-97.

¹⁵⁰ Silvestre Revueltas to Angela Acevedo, August 22, 1937, Valencia, in Biblioteca Digital Silvestre Revueltas, *Portal de datos abiertos UNAM (en línea)*, México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, accessed March 15, 2018, https://datosabiertos.unam.mx/FaM:BDREV:EP_FA58
Ibid, 101.

and music in Mexico, both their aesthetic perceptions and how they integrated art with their political beliefs were utterly contrasting.¹⁵¹

2.6 Chávez and Revueltas's Music

To better understand the relationship between these two men and the impact that Chávez had upon Revueltas, we can also compare how they evolved as composers. Knowing specific features of their works will help the reader to put into context how the above-described developments in their relationship related to their music. I will argue that although these two composers are considered the most significant representatives of musical nationalism in Mexico, their distinct approaches to this style showed the influence of their contrasting compositional backgrounds, as well as their aesthetic and political inclinations.

It is difficult to describe Chávez's music since the evolution of his works between the 1920s and 1930s shows a range of different influences and preoccupations, including Western European and US modernism, and reminiscences of traditional Mexican music.

¹⁵¹ The LEAR also planned a tour to the Soviet Union, however Revueltas and other members of the guild were lacking funds to continue the trip. By the end of 1937 Revueltas travelled back to Mexico thanks to the help of writer Octavio Paz and wife Elena Garro. They changed their two first class tickets for three in third class. When they returned to Mexico they found out that the embassy sent their money to Paris in order to continue with the tour but it was too late by then. After the journey, all organizations with which Revueltas was involved suffered administrative changes and Revueltas ended up losing the positions for which he left Chávez's partnership. Eduardo Contreras Soto, *Silvestre Revueltas, Baile, Duelo y Son*. (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000), 58-59. See also Carol Hess, "Silvestre Revueltas in Republican Spain: Music as Political Utterance," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, Vol. 18, No. 2, (Autumn - Winter, 1997), 284. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/780398>, Accessed 01-10-2017.

Despite the fact that both Chávez's and Revueltas's nationalist music is a combination of modernism and native Mexican music, Chávez's music was quite flexible regarding style and was not always related to nationalism. Overall, his artistic interests focused mainly on the structure of his works rather than portraying the importance of a melodic or harmonic idea, whether nationalism-inspired or not. He wrote melodies that evoked native Mexican music, but in the context of a more complex harmonic language. This is apparent in pieces such as *El Fuego Nuevo* (1921–1928), the three *Sonatinas* for violin, cello and piano (1934), *Los Cuatro Soles* (1925), *Caballos de Vapor* (1926–1927), *Espirales para Violín y Piano* (1936), *Concierto para Piano* (1938–1940), and his five symphonies (1932–1953).¹⁵² Chávez's music is typically characterized by the use of polyrhythms, quartal and quintal harmonies, dissonant intervals such as sevenths and ninths, and rhythmic and melodic repetition. When comparing *Exágonos* (1923), *Polígonos* (1923), *Otros Tres Exágonos* (1924), *Energía* (1925), and *Unidad* (1930), with *Cantos de México* (1933), *Sinfonía India* (1936), *Sinfonía Proletaria* (1934) and *Xochipilli Macuilxóchitl* (1940), we will realize that the stylistic differences are significant mainly because some of his pieces from the 1920s were inspired by an avant-garde movement founded in Mexico City in 1921 called Estridentismo (stridentism).¹⁵³

Like Chávez, Revueltas's first compositional attempts of 1924, including *El Afilador* for violin and piano, *Tierra pa las macetas* for violin and piano, and *Tragedia en*

¹⁵² Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *Rostros del Nacionalismo Mexicano, un Ensayo de Interpretación* (Mexico DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 144.

¹⁵³ The ideas of stridentism were taken from the Mexican Revolution and share features with Cubism, Dadaism, Futurism and Ultraism.

forma de rabano (no es plagio) for piano, indicate that Revueltas was also in search of an original musical modern language. Indeed, Leonora Saavedra's description of Chávez's early view of modernism "as an inevitable period of anarchy in the progressive evolution of Western art music" applies equally well to Revueltas's view.¹⁵⁴ Yet what is intriguing about the 1924 compositions of both Chávez and Revueltas is that in spite of the modern Western elements in their music, their musical idioms and influences are dramatically different. Chávez illustrates his eclecticism by using rhythmic techniques and irregular meter, as well as a broad harmonic palette as seen, for example, in *Otros Tres Exágonos* for voice and piano and his three *Sonatinas* for violin, cello, and piano. Revueltas's modernism was more akin to the French impressionist school. Nonetheless, even though Revueltas's 1924 pieces showed the influence of impressionism in their harmonic language, Revueltas was already revealing an appreciation for peasantry and socialism in his melodic representation of Mexican street vendors in *Tierra pa' las macetas* (Potting soil) and *El Afilador* (The Knife-sharpener).¹⁵⁵ This unique musical idiom is also evident in his compositions, such as *Tres piezas para violín y piano* (1932) and the second song of *Dos Canciones: Amiga que te vas* (1937) for medium voice and piano.

¹⁵⁴ Leonora Saavedra, "Carlos Chávez's Polysemic Style: Constructing the National, Seeking the Cosmopolitan", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 68 No. 1, Spring 2015, 106.

¹⁵⁵ Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus, "Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas: Retracing an Ignored Dialogue," *Carlos Chávez and his world*, ed., Leonora Saavedra (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 77.

In contrast to Chávez, Revueltas's compositions of the 1930s, considered his mature compositional stage, flourished within a nationalist style informed by his interest in the social conditions of the country rather a quest to find a sound to represent it. Revueltas shows these elements by often depicting melodies similar to the ones presented in the music of Mexico's popular street musicians.¹⁵⁶ For this reason, Revueltas's melodies often combined the use of pentatonic, octatonic, chromatic and diatonic scales, presenting a melodic resemblance to the native tunes, noticeable in the themes of works like *Colorines* (1931), *Alcancías* (1932), *Tres piezas para violín y piano, 8 x Radio* (1933), *Redes* (1935) and his most famous piece *Sensemaya* (1938).¹⁵⁷ Chávez, on the other hand, aimed to define and polish his nationalist music with works like *Tierra Mojada* (*Wet Earth*, 1932) and *Cantos de México* (*Mexican Chants*, composed and dedicated to Revueltas in 1933). Other nationalist pieces by Chávez are *Llamadas: Sinfonía Proletaria* (1934), *El Sol: Corrido Mexicano* (1934), *Three Spirals* for violin

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 82.

¹⁵⁷ Other characteristics of his music are the simplicity in the melodic materials, the rhythmic vitality of the melodies, constant use of multimeter and polyrhythm, the use of string instruments as a percussive material, the representation of popular music bands in the brass section of his orchestral and chamber orchestra works, and the extended use of ostinatos. Charles Hoag, "Algunos Aspectos de las melodías de Revueltas", *Diálogo de Resplandores: Carlos Chávez y Silvestre Revueltas*, ed., Yahel Bitran and Ricardo Miranda, (Mexico DF: INBA CONACULTA, 2002), 109. Revueltas's nationalist influence is also found in the titles of some of his works as is the case of the symphonic poem *Cuauhnáhuac*, written in 1931. Cuauhnahuac is a word in Nahuatl- the original dialect of the Aztecs- that means "near the woods." It is also the name in Nahuatl of Cuernavaca, the capital of the state of Morelos, and is the place where Silvestre married Angela Acevedo in 1930. Other symphonic poems like *Colorines* (1933) referred to the colored necklaces that decorate the clothing of the native women in Mexico, and *Janitzio* (1936) is the name of the main island of lake Pátzquaro in the state of Michoacán.

and piano (1934), *Chapultepec* (1935), and, one of his most significant compositional successes, the *Sinfonía India* (1936).

Considering that the music of both composers and their professional alliance developed in tandem during this decade, it is not surprising to find small musical traces of mutual influence. For instance, in “Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas: Retracing an ignored dialogue”, Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus presents Revueltas’s *Colorines* (1931) and Chávez’s *Cantos de Mexico* (1933) as evidence of the dialogue between the composers that reflects a similar musical direction.¹⁵⁸ Here, Kolb-Neuhaus concludes that, after 1935, Chávez’s and Revueltas’s aesthetic objectives grew apart and he suggests that Revueltas’ 1930s early compositions were the result of the “stimulus for musical experimentation that he owed to Carlos Chávez.”¹⁵⁹ However, even though Revueltas’s music developed in tandem with his professional collaboration with Chávez, both composers wrote nationalist music with different aesthetic views and influences, resulting in the development of their unique musical voices. This means that part of the influence of Chávez upon Revueltas was not simply artistic, but rather professional and psychological. Chávez was attempting to represent Mexican national music by combining native tunes with musical practices of the modern Western world, whereas Revueltas was trying to expose the sounds of Mexico’s popular culture.

¹⁵⁸ Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus, “Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas: Retracing an Ignored Dialogue,” *Carlos Chávez and his world*, ed., Leonora Saavedra (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 81-97.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 96-97.

Paradoxically, the interaction between these composers was marked by their shared interest in the cultural and political affairs of their country, and even though they decided to take different paths, their artistic and professional careers were equally affected by these interests. Politics and personal relationships assumed such an essential role in the development of Mexican culture at that time that their different partisan politics and their partnership with other artists helped precipitate the end of their collaboration.

This chapter thus reveals two critical perspectives of this research. Chávez was able to shape Mexican culture as director of the most important cultural institutions in Mexico, and occasionally, as the effect of his actions towards Revueltas's music shows, he would use his influence and power for personal gain. Chávez was bound up with institutions and personal relationships that allowed him to bring Revueltas back to Mexico, provide him with employment, and encourage his recognition as a composer among his circle of friends. Chávez supported Revueltas's career as a musician, as a violinist, and as a composer, and perhaps Revueltas would not have been able to pursue a career in composition without the influence of Chávez. Nevertheless, the moment their partnership was affected by personal and professional predicaments, Chávez decided to stop supporting Revueltas, and instead—for the musical world of that time, as Weinstock's letter reveals—his frustration towards Revueltas came across negatively as if Chávez wanted to silence Revueltas's musical production. With the tragedy of Revueltas's unexpected death in 1940, there was no longer any possible solution for the relationship between Chávez and Revueltas to be rescued. Today, in this context, their

story illustrates some of the effects of Chávez's power and influence upon Mexican music.

Chapter 3

Blas Galindo, the Group of Four, and Carlos Chávez

In contrast to the relationship between Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas, the story of Blas Galindo (1910–1993) exemplifies the positive sides of Chávez’s impact upon the music community. When Galindo began his studies at the National Conservatory in 1931, Carlos Chávez had already gained recognition as a conductor, composer, and director of the conservatory. During the following years, in which Chávez continued acquiring power, Galindo stood out from the rest of the students due to his determination and self-discipline. After Chávez was able to get to know Galindo, Chávez's admiration and respect for the young composer increased. Galindo had the opportunity to learn from other mentors who contributed to his musical formation, such as Rodríguez Vizcaya, Candelario Huizar, and Jose Rolón. However, none of them had the power to deliver the kind of support that Carlos Chávez provided. In fact, even as Chávez was trying to brush aside Revueltas’ music, he was simultaneously working to position Galindo among Mexican and American audiences as one of the most promising young composers in Mexico in 1940.¹⁶⁰ In the long run, Chávez helped Galindo to secure work and recognition by promoting his music in different venues, recommending him for important commissioned works, and finding him a variety of positions.

¹⁶⁰ See chapter 2, “Chávez's influence on Silvestre Revueltas and their political views.”

In this chapter, I explore Carlos Chávez's capacity to control musical production in Mexico by considering the significant benefits enjoyed by some composers because of their friendly relationships with Chávez. I illustrate this using the story of the career of Blas Galindo in particular—a composer who became one of the most respected Mexican composers of the twentieth century, in part thanks to Chávez's support—and other members of the Group of Four composers of which he was a part.

Among the three composers addressed in this monograph, Blas Galindo is the least known. In comparison with the figures of Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas, there are relatively few sources addressing Galindo's life and compositional output. The first section of the chapter provides biographical information about Galindo's career, his musical style and musical association with Carlos Chávez. The following section provides information to demonstrate Chávez's influence upon the professional development of the members of the Group of Four, an assembly of four composers of which Galindo was part, and how Galindo's strength and ability to survive adversity encouraged Chávez to assist Galindo to succeed.¹⁶¹ The end of this chapter examines the administrative authority that Chávez left to Blas Galindo before and after the former's death.

¹⁶¹ *Grupo de los Cuatro*, or Group of Four, is the name that Blas Galindo, Salvador Contreras, Jose Pablo Moncayo and Daniel Ayala embraced in 1935 for their composers' group. Their main objective was to propagate new music, especially their compositions. They gave their first concert under this name. Later, the Mexican press compared them to the Russian group "Mighty Five" and the French group "Les Six".

3.1 Blas Galindo: Early Years and Music

During his childhood, Blas Galindo did not show the kind of immediate promise for a future professional career in music that the older Chávez and Revueltas had demonstrated. Although all three faced challenges during their youths, Chávez and Revueltas had the support of their families to succeed in music, whereas Galindo, one of a family of 20, faced very precarious conditions in his boyhood.¹⁶² His hometown of San Gabriel, Jalisco was also rural and isolated from the cultural developments taking place in the large cities. In spite of this, however, he was able to gain sufficient experience there to become a choral and band conductor prior to his move to Mexico City.¹⁶³

By the time he turned twenty-one in 1931, Galindo had left San Gabriel and relocated to the capital. He arrived there wishing to study law because he was unaware that music schools existed, but his initial plan changed after “a man”—as Galindo put it in an interview—who was working at Chávez’s orchestra took Galindo to tour the National Conservatory.¹⁶⁴ After watching a rehearsal of the National Conservatory orchestra conducted by Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas on his very first day in the city, Galindo decided not to attend law school, and instead to pursue music as a professional career. In this context, it is unsurprising that these two composers had an immediate influence upon Galindo’s professional career, yet Galindo was also able to

¹⁶² Guillermo A. Hernandez, *Two Pieces for Orchestra, Los Niños Heroes and El Porfiriato* (Phd diss; Kent State University, 2015), 37.

¹⁶³ Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortiz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (Mexico DF: Cenidim, 1994), 10.

¹⁶⁴ Richard Paul Conant, *The Vocal Music of Blas Galindo* (DMA diss; University of Texas at Austin, 1977), 89.

attract the attention of the faculty at the conservatory early in his studies because he quickly adapted to his new scholarly environment. Besides, with the musical experience he had acquired in his hometown, he could take courses at a more advanced level than many of the new students.¹⁶⁵

During his studies at the National Conservatory, no one was more influential for Galindo than Chávez; in fact, his invaluable guidance was one of Galindo's main professional motivations. This is despite his having benefited from mentorship from two other recognized nationalist composers: Candelario Huizar (1882-1970), known for his tone poems, and José Rolón (1876-1945), who studied in Paris with Moritz Moszkowski, Paul Duka, and Nadia Boulanger. Galindo particularly appreciated Chávez's pedagogical methods in the Musical Creation Class, which he taught while serving as director of the conservatory. According to Galindo, Chávez was respected among his students because his approach to composition was utterly different than the teaching system of the other two professors (Rolón and Huizar), who had, he said, a very traditional and limited teaching method that did not appeal to the younger generation. With Chávez, by contrast, Galindo learned that freedom was a fundamental element in a composition.¹⁶⁶

Galindo enrolled in Chávez's Musical Creation class in 1932, and even in his early compositions tended to write using the nationalist style. Nonetheless, even though

¹⁶⁵ "Rastros de un Rostro o Historias sin Historias." Interview with Blas Galindo by Roberto García Bonilla and Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortiz, *Pauta 41 Cuadernos de Teoría y Crítica Musical*, Enero-Marzo 1992, México DF: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 59.
www.inbadigital.bellasartes.gob.mx

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 19-20.

Galindo's nationalist music was inspired by "Carlos Chávez's esthetic and ideological propositions," other factors influenced his style.¹⁶⁷ Galindo was one of the few nationalist composers who had performed and heard popular music during his childhood. His approach to Mexican music was neither searching for a national identity like Chávez, nor seeking to portray the sounds of Mexico's peasant life like Revueltas. In the early stages of Galindo's career, he wrote Mexican music instinctively as it was part of his culture as a Jalisciense.¹⁶⁸ In this regard Galindo said:

In my hometown, San Gabriel, almost everybody played an instrument. I can't remember when I started to play guitar: it must have been when I was very little because by age seven I was already accompanying my brothers with the guitar. Since we did not have radio or television, we spent our evenings performing music. In San Gabriel, there were mariachis playing everywhere just for the sake of having fun.¹⁶⁹

In other regards, however, Galindo's musical nationalism had much in common with that of Chávez and Revueltas. Political transitions influenced most Mexican artists during the 1920s and 1930s, and just as the Revolution impacted Chávez and Revueltas, la Guerra Cristera—the political conflict in central Mexico between 1926-1929 caused by the opposition to anti-clerical laws that President Plutarco Elías Calles enforced during his administration—affected Galindo's town during his adolescence. Indeed, the musicologist and Galindo's biographer, Xochiquetzal Ruíz, has speculated in her research

¹⁶⁷ Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *Rostros del Nacionalismo Mexicano, Un Ensayo de Interpretación* (Mexico DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 238.

¹⁶⁸ A Jalisciense is something or someone from the Mexican state of Jalisco.

¹⁶⁹ Jesús Jauregui, "El Son Mariachero de La Negra: de "Gusto" Regional Independentista a "Aire" Nacional Contemporáneo", *Antropología Revista Interdisciplinaria del INHA*, No.91, 2011, Mexico: INHA, 86.
<https://revistas.inah.gob.mx/index.php/antropologia/article/view/2748>.

that Galindo may have participated in la Guerra Cristera, because there are no records of Galindo's life between the ages of thirteen and nineteen, and because Galindo omitted this topic in interviews and autobiographical writings.¹⁷⁰ Based on the research presented in *La Guerra de los Cristeros* by Jean Meyer, Ruíz believes that Galindo must have been involved in the struggle because it originated in San Gabriel, Jalisco. Whether Galindo participated actively in the struggle or not, the fact that the conflict affected his hometown while he was living there suggests that it might well have influenced his attitudes to artistic nationalism.

Around 1940, nationalism began to become the prime focus of composers, both in Mexico and in many other countries.¹⁷¹ At that time, musical nationalism in Mexico meant employing similar melodies and instrumentation to the popular bands, in combination with modern European techniques.¹⁷² This was previously exemplified in the music of Silvestre Revueltas; however, since Chávez and Revueltas were no longer collaborators, this turned out to be of great importance for Galindo's professional development because his compositional interests at the time were also well-suited to the nationalist trend, as he was also trying to represent popular tunes in his music. For this reason, Carlos Chávez introduced Galindo's music to New York audiences with his orchestral piece *Sones de Mariachi*, (1940) which premiered as part of a concert at the

¹⁷⁰ Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (México DF: Cenidim, 1994), 18.

¹⁷¹ Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *La Composición en México en el Siglo XX* (México DF: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994), 58.

¹⁷² Otto Mayer Sierra, "Silvestre Revueltas and Musical Nationalism in Mexico" *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No.2 (April, 1941), 125. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/739461>

Museum of Modern Art in New York. This was the same concert in which Chávez refused to include Silvestre Revueltas's music in the program.¹⁷³ Chávez organized the concert as part of an exposition titled *20 Siglos de Arte Mexicano* (Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art). Galindo's work was introduced as the highlighted piece of the performance and it launched both Galindo and *Sones de Mariachi* into fame.¹⁷⁴ *Sones de Mariachi* demonstrates Galindo's popular music background by presenting a compilation of popular music melodies often performed by mariachi and instrumental bands from the state of Jalisco in Mexico.¹⁷⁵ This approach distinguished and separated Galindo's and Chávez's nationalist musical trends at that moment. Galindo represented a new generation of nationalist composers with *Sones de Mariachi* by directly incorporating Mexican popular culture into concert music. The harmonic palette of the composition was largely tonal because Galindo did not include obvious international modernist aspects in the work.

The concert in New York was just the beginning of a series of successful professional appearances for Galindo. After Revueltas's death in 1940, Galindo and fellow composer Candelario Huizar were commissioned to finish Revueltas's ballet *La*

¹⁷³ Robert Stevenson. "Galindo Dimas, Blas" *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 22, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/10529>.

¹⁷⁴ Mark Pedelty, *Musical Ritual in Mexico* (USA: University of Texas Press, 2004), 210. See also: "Mexican Music: notes by Herbert Weinstock for concerts arranged by Carlos Chávez as part of the exhibition: Twenty Years of Mexican Art," the Museum of Modern Art, May, 1940.

https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_catalogue_2985_300061954.pdf

¹⁷⁵ Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (Mexico DF: Cenidim, 1994), 25.

Coronela, (Galindo finished *Episodio IV* and Huízar the rest of the orchestration).¹⁷⁶

Revueltas was hired to write this piece by Celestino Gorostiza, who was director of the Theater Department of the Fine Arts Department of the SEP.¹⁷⁷ Since there are no records of who assigned the project to Huizar and Galindo after Revueltas's death, one infers that perhaps Gorostiza remained in charge of assigning the task.

Chávez gave Galindo the opportunity to showcase his capabilities by spreading Galindo's name around his North American circle of friends, to whom Chávez recommended Galindo for international festivals. A crucial event in Galindo's professional life was his participation at the Berkshire Music Festival (BMF) in 1941 and 1942. With Chávez's recommendation, the Rockefeller Foundation awarded Galindo a grant to study with Aaron Copland, Chávez's close friend, at the BMF, known today as Tanglewood Music Center. This experience impacted his musical approach and social network significantly, as working with influential composers, such as Aaron Copland, Paul Hindemith, Leonard Bernstein and Serge Koussevitzky, introduced Galindo to a whole new world of possibilities and compositional techniques. Following this experience, he increasingly adopted a freer, modern and innovative musical language.¹⁷⁸ In a 1993 interview published by Roberto García Bonilla, Galindo briefly remarked on this experience:

¹⁷⁶ Revueltas wrote *La Coronela* in 1940. The ballet story encompasses the topic of a revolution led by the working class.

¹⁷⁷ Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus, *Silvestre Revueltas Catalogo de Obras* (Mexico DF: UNAM, ENM, 1998), 25.

¹⁷⁸ Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *Rostros del Nacionalismo Mexicano, un ensayo de interpretación* (Mexico DF: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1989), 244.

After the premiere of *Sones de Mariachi* in New York, I accepted a scholarship to study with Aaron Copland at Berkshire, Massachusetts. There, I met Leonard Bernstein, who was [musically] miles ahead of me. I remember Lukas Foss and Paul Hindemith: the latter was a very serious person. I also met other Latin-American composers such as Alberto Ginastera.¹⁷⁹

Galindo's participation in the Berkshire Music Festival also influenced his compositional approach and, according to Yolanda Moreno Rivas, it helped him define his musical language.¹⁸⁰ This is especially apparent if one compares some of his influential, pre-BMF nationalist works like *Tres Canciones* (1939), or *Sones de Mariachi* (1940), with the *Cinco Preludios para Piano* (1945) or his *Sonata para Violin y Piano* (1945). In Galindo's song *Jicarita* from *Tres Canciones*, the simplicity of the melodic line shows influences of folk tunes and the $\frac{3}{8}$ meter with hemiolas that alludes to a Mexican Son—a musical genre of folk music and dance found in several parts of Mexico. *Jicarita* relates to a similar structure and melodic spectrum from *Sones de Mariachi*.¹⁸¹ Harmonically both pieces are mostly diatonic without showing an extreme contrast from traditional Mexican popular music, whereas the *Cinco Preludios para Piano*, despite being considered one of Galindo's early works, incorporates a variety of harmonic and melodic approaches, including modal melodic material and a more experimental use of quartal and quintal harmonies. Similar is the case of the *Sonata para Violin and Piano*, in which Galindo decided to keep alluding to Mexican folk-tunes in the context of a

¹⁷⁹ Roberto García Bonilla, *Visiones Sonoras: Entrevistas con Compositores, Solistas y Directores* (Mexico DF: Siglo XXI and Conaculta, 2010), 45.

¹⁸⁰ Moreno Rivas, 244.

¹⁸¹ There are different regions in Mexico with strong son traditions, such as, Veracruz, Oaxaca, Jalisco, Guerrero and Michoacan. The music often comprises specific instrumentation like jaranas, guitars, violins and voice.

sophisticated approach to meter and rhythm. The *Sonata para Violin y Piano* also demonstrates the impact of neo-classicism on Galindo, perhaps stemming from his professor from the Berkshire Music Festival, Aaron Copland, and his mentor Carlos Chávez.

Indeed, Copland's own Sonata for Violin and Piano may have been an influence on Galindo's contribution to this genre. Copland finished his Sonata for Violin and Piano in 1943 and it premiered in 1944. Despite the fact that there are no records that indicate that Galindo heard this piece before writing his own *Sonata para Violín y Piano*, there are certain similarities between the two pieces, including the neo-classical rhetoric, the Americana-sound material in Copland's sonata and the Mestizo-affect in Galindo's, the plain triads under the poetic melodic material in both second movements, and the metric changes in the tempo markings.

Despite the fact that both Galindo and Chávez experimented with a variety of styles within their catalogues of work, especially in their late compositional periods respectively, on many occasions their music, Galindo's more than Chávez's, was perceived as nationalist. In this regard, Galindo said: "I have never proposed to write or stop writing nationalist music. If my music has that language, it's because that's the way I am."¹⁸² A quote from him about the evolution of nationalist music, however, provides an unintended clarification of the development of his own approach to composition:

¹⁸² "Rastros de un Rostro o Historias sin Historias." Interview with Blas Galindo by Roberto García Bonilla and Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortiz, *Pauta 41 Cuadernos de Teoría y Crítica Musical*, Enero-Marzo 1992, México DF: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 54. www.inbadigital.bellasartes.gob.mx

[Musical] nationalism has three stages. The first one is when the composer takes melodies from folk and popular music and writes a work like [Chávez's] *Sinfonía India*, [Galindo's] *Sones de Mariachi* or [Moncayo's] *Huapango*. The second stage emerges when the composer stops reproducing the popular melodies and uses merely some aspects of it: that is the case of Revueltas' *Janitzio*. In the third stage, the popular and folk elements disappear entirely, and it becomes a personal expression of nationalist character. In this phase, all the nuances of the music are owned by the composer, and this is exemplified in the music of the Maestro Chávez.¹⁸³

Indeed, Galindo was accurate in identifying the music of Carlos Chávez as a personal idiom with nationalist properties, and that is precisely what his own music became. Galindo's musical language was concretely established in the 1950s with pieces such as *Siete Piezas para Piano* (1952) and *La Sinfonía Breve para Cuerdas* (1952).¹⁸⁴

In this regard, *The Suite para Violín y Piano* is a perfect example of Galindo's musical maturity as a nationalist composer. The work portrays several aspects of Chávez's influence, including the neo-classical structure with nationalist inspirations and the musical effects of the opportunity Chávez gave Galindo to become acquainted with folk and popular music of other parts of the country.

In 1941, Chávez sent Galindo and composer José Pablo Moncayo on a field trip to the southeast state of Veracruz, where Galindo was able to hear different varieties of folk dances of that region.¹⁸⁵ A very important song style that evidently was of interest to

¹⁸³ Ibid, 55. Roberto García Bonilla, *Visiones Sonoras, Entrevistas con Compositores, Solistas y Directores* (Mexico DF, Siglo XXI and Conaculta, 2001), 38-39.

¹⁸⁴ Yolanda Moreno Rivas, *Rostros del Nacionalismo en la Música Mexicana, un Ensayo de Interpretación* (México DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 244.

¹⁸⁵ Armando Ramón Torres-Chibrás, *Jose Pablo Moncayo Composer and Conductor: A Survey of his Life with a Historical Perspective of His Time* (DMA diss; University of Missouri-Kansas, 2002), 128.

Galindo was the *Son Huasteco*, a type of improvised song/dance that is typically played by a *Trio Huasteco* composed of different types of Mexican guitars, a *Jarana Huasteca*, *Huapanguera*, and a violin.¹⁸⁶ The main characteristics of this type of music and the group formation are the virtuosic role of the violin, which improvises with hemiolas and cross-rhythms against the rhythmic patterns of the *jaraneros* (the person who plays the jarana), and the vocal technique of the singers, often using falsettos and a special shouting to encourage the violin solos. The improvisations of the trios are often supported by the dancers with a *Zapateado*, taking the role of the percussion and producing a cheerful rhythm.

The thematic material of the first and third dances of Galindo's suite (*Danza* and *Son Huasteco*) are a representation of the songs of Veracruz. The harmonic elements underneath the folk melodies are constructed with modern and dissonant features often found in Chávez's music, like quartal and quintal harmonies, dissonant intervals with second, sevenths and ninths, as well as additive rhythms, polyrhythms, cross-rhythms and composite hemiolas.

Amongst the three pieces of the suite, the second piece is the most contrasting, and is the one that most shows the influence of Carlos Chávez's modernist language. For instance, according to Galindo, a particular element that he learned from Chávez was to

¹⁸⁶ *Jarana Huasteca* is a chordophone with five strings, significantly smaller than a guitar, tuned by thirds and higher in pitch.

Huapanguera is a Mexican chordophone instrument bigger than a guitar taking the role of the low section of the *Trio Huasteco*. The strings are made of nylon and is tuned E-B-G-D-G.

start writing just the notes before considering meter or rhythm.¹⁸⁷ In this regard, Galindo said:

In Maestro Chávez's course, he would play for us five sounds, for example, and we had to feel the melodic value of each interval; we had to appreciate its aesthetic and emotional significance, and the purity of its sonority. Since then, I have written without meter; I write the notes how I feel them. The melody and rhythm appears on its own.¹⁸⁸
For Maestro Chávez, it was fundamental to develop and feel the melodic effectiveness of the intervals.¹⁸⁹

As shown in Figure 1, this is clear in the melodic material of the movement that reflects an improvisatory sense, as well as the interplay of the voices and the span of the intervals between the violin and the piano. This can be compared with Figure 2, *Spirals* for violin and piano, which despite the differences in musical character, Chávez's writing shows similarities with Galindo such as the interval span between the voices and use of hemiolas.

¹⁸⁷Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (México DF: Cenidim, 1994), 20.

¹⁸⁸ "Rastros de un Rostro o Historias sin Historias." Interview with Blas Galindo by Roberto García Bonilla and Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Pauta 41 Cuadernos de Teoría y Crítica Musical*, Enero-Marzo 1992, México: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 53.
www.inbadigital.bellasartes.gob.mx

Guillermo A. Hernandez, *Two Pieces for Orchestra, Los Niños Heroes and El Porfiriato* (Phd diss; Kent State University, 2015), 48.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

Example 1: Blas Galindo, *Suite para Violín y Piano*, II Melodía en Lento, mm. 43-51

mf accel. *poco più mosso*

mf accel. *poco più mosso*

f *rall.*

f *rall.*

Lento

16
Lento

Example 2: Carlos Chávez, *Spirals* for Violin and Piano, III, Allegro, mm. 1-19

III

Un poco mosso ♩ = 112 CARLOS CHÁVEZ

The musical score is presented in two systems, each with a Violin staff and a Piano staff. The Violin staff uses a treble clef, and the Piano staff uses a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings. The tempo is indicated as 'Un poco mosso' with a quarter note equal to 112 beats per minute. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into four systems, with measures numbered 1 through 19. The first system (measures 1-5) shows the Violin and Piano parts. The second system (measures 6-10) continues the Violin and Piano parts. The third system (measures 11-14) continues the Violin and Piano parts. The fourth system (measures 15-19) continues the Violin and Piano parts, ending with a section marked 'IV' in measure 18.

But Carlos Chávez's artistic influence upon Blas Galindo went beyond the musical aspects of his career. During his studies at the conservatory, Galindo stood out from the other students for his endless creativity, discipline, and hardworking nature.¹⁹⁰ This helped keep him on Chávez's radar. Indeed, Chávez provided him with invaluable support for the rest of his career and brought to Galindo's life positive changes that shaped his future.¹⁹¹

3.2 Chávez's Influence Upon Galindo and the Group of Four

The impact that Carlos Chávez had upon Blas Galindo's career was reflected at both musical and professional levels. Chávez became of crucial importance to Galindo's formative years as his composition professor, mentor, and friend. The moment Chávez recognized Galindo's potential, Chávez became the vehicle that drove Galindo's success. In Galindo's interview with Xochiquetzal Ruíz and Roberto García Bonilla, when the latter asked Galindo "As a musician and as a person, what do you owe to Carlos Chávez?" Galindo replied: "Everything, I owe everything to Chávez."¹⁹² It is not surprising that Galindo replied to the question with such enthusiasm, since Chávez not only helped him to build his career, but also aided him during the difficult times he faced as a student. When Galindo moved to Mexico City, he encountered major economic challenges. During his first years there, he lived in the basement of a friend's shoe store.

¹⁹⁰ Ruiz Ortíz, 12.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 11-12

¹⁹² "Rastros de un Rostro o Historias sin Historias." Interview with Blas Galindo by Roberto García Bonilla and Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Pauta 41 Cuadernos de Teoría y Crítica Musical*, Enero-Marzo 1992, México DF: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 59. www.inbadigital.bellasartes.gob.mx.

He endured such hardship that he would often ask his friends to invite him to their homes to eat, and in the most difficult times, he would beg for money on the streets to buy food.¹⁹³ Galindo's financial struggles during his first years at the conservatory improved when he obtained his first paid positions through Chávez's recommendation to work with the choir of the conservatory.¹⁹⁴ Chávez continued supporting Galindo by facilitating access to paid work throughout the rest of his career, and the list of platforms in which Chávez boosted Galindo's profession kept growing. For instance, upon Galindo's return to Mexico after the Berkshire Music Festival in 1942, Chávez made him assistant conductor of the Orquesta Sinfónica de Mexico, a position previously held by composer Eduardo Hernández Moncada (1899–1995), and Silvestre Revueltas. In 1945, after José Rolón's death, Galindo became professor at the National Conservatory and, by 1947, when Chávez founded the Institute of Fine Arts (INBA), Galindo became director of the Conservatory. Previously, Galindo was working with Chávez on the project *Ediciones Mexicanas de Música*, which eventually was patronized by the INBA. The same institution—which at the time was under Chávez's administration—designated Galindo as Mexico's representative at the Frederic Chopin International Competition in Warsaw, Poland, in 1948, and the list of professional benefits Galindo obtained from Chávez goes on.¹⁹⁵ However, Galindo was not the only young composer who was considered Chávez's disciple and who benefited from his camaraderie. Chávez shaped the professional

¹⁹³ Blas Galindo, *Hacer Música Blas Galindo Compositor*, ed., Antonio Navarro (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1994), 33.

¹⁹⁴ Guillermo A. Hernandez, *Two Pieces for Orchestra, Los Niños Heroes and El Porfiriato* (Phd diss; Kent State University, 2015), 51.

¹⁹⁵ Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (México DF: Cénidim, 1994), 32.

development of three other young Mexican composers: Salvador Contreras (1910–1882), Jose Pablo Moncayo (1912–1958), and Daniel Ayala (1906–1975), who, along with Galindo, founded El Grupo de Los Cuatro, and made a name for themselves in both musical composition and music administration.

Inspired by the knowledge and stimulation that Carlos Chávez provided while he was their teacher in the Musical Creation Class, El Grupo de Los Cuatro became a valuable guild of young musicians in Mexico in the mid-1930s. The freedom of musical experimentation that Chávez allowed as an essential part of the curriculum of the class invited trust and respect from this group of young composers. Chávez's teaching approach brought them favorable results from a pedagogical standpoint, considering that the students eventually became respected composers in Mexico.

The Musical Creation Class was established when Carlos Chávez began directing the Conservatorio between 1928-1929. Not many students enrolled in the first year of the class, but by the time Galindo joined in 1932, the number of students had increased to eight.¹⁹⁶ Unfortunately, the course dissolved when Chávez resigned his position at the Conservatorio in 1934. Nonetheless, the class held such significance for Galindo, Contreras, Moncayo, and Ayala that it became the catapult that propelled these students toward continued learning and improvement as composers.¹⁹⁷ After Chávez's resignation, one of the members of the group, Salvador Contreras, encouraged the others to keep

¹⁹⁶ Blas Galindo, *Hacer Música Blas Galindo Compositor*, ed., Antonio Navarro (Mexico, Universidad de Guadalajara, 1994), 37.

¹⁹⁷ Aurelio Tello, *Salvador Contreras Vida y Obra* (México DF: CENIDIM, 1987), 33.

studying, writing and presenting their works.¹⁹⁸ They held weekly meetings to exchange ideas and techniques and to review each other's compositions, and when Chávez and Huízar had the time, they tried to assist them by examining their compositions.¹⁹⁹

On the other hand, in spite of the group's determination, they were still missing their central leader, and by not having Chávez around, they became a target for Chávez's adversaries. For this group of young composers, loyalty to Chávez when he did not have control over the institution was a risk. It is important to remember that Chávez's appointment as director of the institution was not well received because he was designated as the highest authority of the conservatory without previous teaching experience or a music degree. Thus, by the time Chávez left the conservatory, the Group of Four were affected by the administrative and personal issues between the new director, Estanislao Mejía, and Chávez. For Mejía, perhaps, it was a way to demonstrate his success or enact revenge since he could demonstrate to Chávez his autocratic presence over his protégés. According to Salvador Contreras, the four young composers were identified as "Chavistas" and often boycotted by Mejía's administration. When they decided to launch their first concert, Mejía denied any support he could have provided concerning logistics (such as instrumentalists), access to a piano, and advertising.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (México DF: Cenedim, 1994), 21.

¹⁹⁹ Guillermo A. Hernandez, *Two Pieces for Orchestra, Los Niños Heroes and El Porfiriato* (Phd diss; Kent State University, 2015), 53.

²⁰⁰ Salvador Contreras, "El Grupo de los Cuatro", *Armonía*, (Agosto-Septiembre, 1967),9; quoted in Guillermo A. Hernández, 53.

Despite the adversities imposed by Mejía, the Group of Four were able to present their works on November 25, 1935, at the Teatro Hidalgo, but the reception of their concert was not as glowing as they had hoped.²⁰¹ According to Galindo, faculty, students, and the press were painfully critical of their compositions, mainly for the anti-scholastic and anti-dogmatic standpoints of their music.²⁰² Nevertheless, the concert drew much attention. It was in a review for the newspaper *El Universal* that the four composers first acquired the name El Grupo de los Cuatro:

In our environment, it is uncommon that young composers present the results of their work. It is even less frequent that a broad audience gathers to individually listen to this type of composition. Salvador Contreras, Daniel Ayala, J. Pablo Moncayo and Blas Galindo managed to accomplish this feat in the concert that took place the night before last in the Theater Orientation of the Ministry of Public Education. Except for Daniel Ayala, whose work has transcended the "main" audiences through concerts with the Symphony Orchestra of Mexico, the young composers were... largely unknown. It was not possible for us to hear the whole program comprising two works by each of the authors. And if we were used to applying exotic terms, this would be the occasion to speak of the group of four. The four young composers come from, musically speaking, our "avant-garde" and follow paths that, judging by what was heard two nights ago, cannot always be seen. The concert of "the four" fulfilled its purpose entirely and resulted in contact with the public, which should encourage a whole new generation of musicians.²⁰³

According to Salvador Contreras's scholar, Aurelio Tello, the critic José Barros Sierra named them El Grupo de los Cuatro by means of comparing them, in a sarcastic

²⁰¹ Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (México DF: Cenidim, 1994), 21.

²⁰² Blas Galindo, *Hacer Música Blas Galindo Compositor*, ed., Antonio Navarro (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1994), 37

²⁰³ José Barros Sierra, "Conciertos y Recitales," *El Universal*, November 27, 1935. Cited at Aurelio Tello. *Salvador Contreras: Vida y Obra*. (México DF: CENIDIM, 1987). 35-36.

way, with the European nationalist groups The Russian Five or Les Six.²⁰⁴ José Barros Sierra was one of Chávez's enemies, and in fact, in 1945 began publishing critical and offensive comments towards Chávez and his followers in his column at the newspaper *El Redondel*. Barron's opposition to Chávez was originated by the rumor that "Chávez privileged his disciples and friends, abusing his powerful position in one of the most important institutions of the country."²⁰⁵

Eventually, Salvador Contreras convinced the group of young composers to adopt Barron's title in order to help them in advertising their concerts.²⁰⁶ Indeed, the group was so desperate to gain recognition that they decided to become part of the LEAR (League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists), the left-wing organization to which Revueltas became president of the executive board in 1936. Although the group had no interest in the league's political position, they joined to grow their reputation among various important artistic groups. In this regard, Galindo stated: "El Grupo de los Cuatro joined the LEAR seeking for sponsorship. We only joined because we saw the opportunity to have them subsidize our concerts. I was just a boy without connections and the LEAR allowed me to expand my group of friends."²⁰⁷

Despite their decision to join an institution associated with Revueltas, the Four continued receiving Chávez's support. In fact, none of the members of the Group of Four

²⁰⁴ Aurelio Tello, *Salvador Contreras*, 37.

²⁰⁵ Consuelo Carredano, *Ediciones Mexicanas de Música, historia y catálogo* (México DF: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 1994), 41.

²⁰⁶ Roberto García Bonilla, *Visiones Sonoras, Entrevistas con Compositores, Solistas y Directores* (México DF: Conaculta, 2001), 37.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

were involved in the dispute between Chávez and Revueltas, as most members of the group admired both composers equally. Since Revueltas was a member of the Musical Creation Class, a teacher at the conservatory, and Chávez's assistant at the OSM, each member of the group had different amicable affiliations with Revueltas. Besides, Salvador Contreras and Daniel Ayala were Revueltas's violin students, Moncayo's brother, Francisco, was one of Revueltas's best friends, and both Moncayo and Galindo always tried to refer to Revueltas with respect. In Galindo's interview with Xochiquetzal Ruíz and Roberto García in 1993, he demonstrated his appreciation for both composers' work, yet was particularly supportive and defensive of his friend and mentor Carlos Chávez:

- What can you tell us about the separation between Chávez and Revueltas?
- Chávez and Revueltas are opposite poles that go to the same place. This is what happened—Revueltas was very irresponsible. The separation was planned by the group of people that did not feel identified with Maestro Chávez's ideas.
- And how do you think that Revueltas' [music] could have survived despite his inconsistency and irresponsibility?
- He was irresponsible, but when he composed a piece, for example, *La Noche de Los Mayas*, he did it well, he had a lot of imagination.
- But it is well known that he had a very strict [musical] training in the United States and that in the periods when he did not drink he worked a lot.
- Revueltas was trained by Maestro Tello here [in Mexico]. He was very individualistic. He was not like anyone I have met before.
- What do you think are the differences, musically speaking, between Revueltas and Chávez?
- The difference in technique is very important. But if what one does has no objective or ideal, it loses its importance, everything has to have a purpose.
- And from the two composers, who did not have a purpose?

- Revueltas. When he was well, he could start something, but after a while, he would abandon his work.²⁰⁸

Evidently, by characterizing Revueltas as an irresponsible person and as a composer with a lack of compositional technique, Blas Galindo makes clear that his first allegiance was to Chávez. In some instances, it seems as if Galindo tried to avoid answering some of the questions, as his answers addressing Revueltas's music education in the US and the musical differences between Chávez and Revueltas are unclear. Moreover, as seen in Chapter 2, the separation of Revueltas and Chávez was more complex than just a plan created by Chávez's enemies. Many different factors caused their dispute, including personal, political, and economic conflicts.

Despite the group's affiliation with the LEAR, Chávez had already become the most important connection for the Group of Four. For instance, starting in 1931, Chávez employed Daniel Ayala and Salvador Moreno in the OSM. Despite the fact that José Pablo Moncayo was a pianist, Chávez also hired Moncayo as a member of the percussion section in 1932. In 1933, with the help of Chávez, Ayala began working at the Sección de Música from the SEP. In 1935 Chávez premiered the work *Tribu* by Ayala with the OSM.²⁰⁹ In April 1936, when Chávez conducted the Boston Symphony Orchestra, he also arranged the premiere of Moncayo's piece *Amatzinac*, and Contreras's string quartet at the Boston Flute's Player Club, and advertised his students as "the most promising

²⁰⁸ "Rastros de un Rostro o Historias sin Historias," interview with Blas Galindo by Roberto García Bonilla and Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Pauta 41 Cuadernos de Teoría y Crítica Musical*, Enero-Marzo 1992, México DF: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 58-59. www.inbadigital.bellasartes.gob.mx.

²⁰⁹ Gabriel Pareyón, *Diccionario, Diccionario Enciclopédico de Musica en Mexico*, vol.1, 2nd ed (Guadalajara: Universidad Panamericana GDL, 2007), 94.

young Mexican composers” in the *Boston Herald*.²¹⁰ After that, Chávez performed with the OSM the arrangement of traditional Mexican pieces that he commissioned for three of them: Galindo, Moncayo and Contreras.²¹¹ Later on, Chávez granted to Moncayo the opportunity to conduct the *Prelude to Lohengrin* by Wagner with the OSM and, at another performance, introduced Moncayo’s arrangement *La Adelita*.²¹² By 1940, the Group of Four had reached maturity in their compositions and, now having sufficient individual professional commitments, their collaboration as a group dissolved and they continued their careers independently, though still with the support of Carlos Chávez.

Evidence of the multiple ways in which Chávez manipulated the positions of musicians in Mexico, especially the careers of the members of the Group of Four, can be found in a letter from Chávez to Marte R. Gomez, Secretary of Agriculture and Development, dated June 7, 1944. In it, Chávez requests that Gomez change the employment of Blas Galindo, Salvador Contreras, and José Pablo Moncayo. Chávez admits to having granted the position of music history teacher to Blas Galindo, and requests that Gomez increase the salaries of the three composers indefinitely, in order to help them to dedicate more time to composition or, in the case of Moncayo, to conducting. Advantageously, Chávez uses the adverse childhood stories of Galindo and Contreras to make his point and persuade Marte to favor his request. Since Moncayo did not endure the same hardships as Galindo and Contreras, Chávez justifies his petition by

²¹⁰ Aurelio Tello, *Salvador Contreras Vida y Obra* (Mexico DF: CENIDIM, 1987), 48.

²¹¹ Armando Ramón Torres-Chibrás, *Jose Pablo Moncayo Composer and Conductor: A Survey of his Life with a Historical Perspective of His Time* (DMA diss; University of Missouri-Kansas, 2002), 128.

²¹² *Ibid*, 116.

saying that Moncayo was in need of external (financial) support to fully complete his musical development.²¹³

The reason for which Daniel Ayala's name does not appear in the letter mentioned above is because, among the members of the Group of Four, Ayala was the first to follow in Chávez's footsteps and venture into the world of cultural administration. Six years prior to this letter (1938), Ayala had left Mexico City for an appointment as Director of the Fine Arts Department of Morelia. In 1942, he moved to Yucatán — 1,544 km south of Morelia — after the governor of the state assigned him the position of Director of the *Orquesta Típica Yucaltepetén*. With this organization, he toured different areas of the country, including Mexico City. In 1944, the state of Yucatán founded its own Fine Arts Department and the Conservatory of Yucatán, to which Ayala was named director. He also became conductor of the Yucatan Symphony Orchestra, director of the state band, and taught at the Yucatan's conservatory between 1946-1967. Later, he founded the Fine Arts Institute of the state of Veracruz, where he also organized concerts and gave masterclasses.²¹⁴ Evidently, Chávez's influence upon Ayala was quite strong, since his development in the musical administration business was very similar to Chávez's path in Mexico City.

²¹³ Carlos Chávez to Marte Gomez, June 7, 1944., *Vida y Pensamiento de México. Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez*, ed., Gloria Carmona (México DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica), 383.

²¹⁴ Gabriel Pareyón, *Diccionario Enciclopédico de Música en México*, vol.1, 2nd ed (Guadalajara: Universidad Panamericana GDL, 2007), 94.

Since Ayala no longer lived in Mexico City, Chávez continued supporting Contreras's and Moncayo's careers just as he had done with Galindo. Indeed, Moncayo and Galindo had many things in common. Both composers were born in the state of Jalisco, and even though Galindo's arrival at the conservatory was one year later than Moncayo's, they became good friends and developed their careers in parallel. Even some of their compositions share the same titles, such as *La Mulata de Cordoba*, *Llano Alegre*, and *Pequeño Nocturno*. Moreover, both of them received unique professional benefits from their relationships with Chávez.²¹⁵ Moncayo's career success was boosted in 1941 when Chávez sent him and Galindo on a field trip to research the folk music of the state of Veracruz, and commissioned Moncayo to write a piece based on his research. The trip resulted in Moncayo's most famous orchestral piece, *Huapango*, which has become one of the most performed works of Mexican art music. Upon Chávez's recommendation, Moncayo also joined Galindo at the Berkshire Music Institute in 1942. In 1945, he was appointed assistant conductor of the OSM and in 1946 the artistic director. When Chávez founded the National Institute of Fine Arts (INBA), Moncayo held other positions, such as board member of Chávez's project Ediciones Mexicanas de Música, Mexico's first publishing house, which Galindo was a part of for many years. When Galindo became the director of the Conservatory in 1947, he was loyal to his friends and hired Moncayo to teach at the conservatory. After the OSM dissolved, Chávez granted Moncayo the title of conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra in 1949.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ Guillermo A. Hernandez, *Two Pieces for Orchestra, Los Niños Heroes and El Porfiriato* (Phd diss; Kent State University, 2015), 82.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, 173.

According to Blas Galindo, “Salvador Contreras was not as close to Chávez as the rest of the group because he was very fond of Revueltas.”²¹⁷ Indeed, Contreras dedicated his first compositions to Revueltas, and “even though his first works were not the best, they had similar orchestral colours to the ones presented in Revueltas’ works.”²¹⁸ Nevertheless, despite Galindo’s claim, it seems that Salvador Contreras also received professional assistance from Chávez. Contreras attained most of his positions thanks to Chávez’s patronage: Contreras not only worked as a violinist for the OSM, but also benefited from Chávez’s financial support of the Contreras Quartet, which had been formed in 1946, after Chávez became director of the INBA in 1947. According to a review by Gerónimo Baqueiro Foster, their prior performances for the INBA were less than satisfactory, yet Chávez hired them to represent his institution in 1947.²¹⁹ In 1949, Salvador’s uncle, Francisco, replaced him with another violinist, but this was not a problem for Salvador because he immediately joined the INBA Chamber Orchestra, another organization created by Chávez. It is also not surprising to see that his duties as part of the chamber orchestra extended to becoming chief of staff and, on some

²¹⁷ “Rastros de un Rostro o Historias sin Historias,” interview with Blas Galindo by Roberto García Bonilla and Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortiz, *Pauta 41 Cuadernos de Teoría y Crítica Musical*, Enero-Marzo 1992, México DF: Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 58.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ The members of the Cuarteto Contreras were Francisco Contreras- Salvador’s uncle, first violin, Salvador Contreras, second violin, violist Francisco Contreras (not related to the violinists), and Juan Téllez, cello. Baqueiro Foster Gerónimo, “Conciertos y audiciones del Conservatorio,” *Diario del Sureste*, Merida, October 13, 1946, Aurelio Tello, *Salvador Contreras Vida y Obra* (México DF: CENIDIM, 1987), 68.

occasions, assistant conductor, since all members of the Group of Four expanded their professional endeavors to administrate Chávez's organizations.²²⁰

As demonstrated above, when Chávez attained sufficient administrative success that he was able to found the INBA with the support of President Miguel Alemán in 1947, Galindo and other members of the Group of Four also acquired recognition and professional positions. From this point on, Chávez had enough disciples continuing with the work and administrative tasks he had started in 1928. Chávez's intense control and influence over musical life in Mexico continued through the Group of Four and many more of his supporters who similarly built their careers by partnering with Chávez.

3.3 The Legacy of Carlos Chávez and Blas Galindo's partnership

Blas Galindo became the successor to some of Chávez's administrative positions around the year 1947. Thanks to Chávez, Galindo forged a legacy as the Director of the National Conservatory, remaining there until 1960. Gloria Tapia, Galindo's student, has said that Galindo implemented a revolutionary pedagogical system with the creation of a new school syllabus in 1952, which extended access to music education to middle school students.²²¹ But because of his relationship with Chávez, Galindo was also sharply criticized from various angles. One of them was the music education syllabus imparted at the conservatory. According to Eloisa Ruíz de Baqueiro (1927-1980), the institution

²²⁰ According to Aurelio Tello, there is no documentation that can back Contreras' position as assistant conductor, however, he suggests that his participation was inferred due to the programs in which he appeared as the conductor.

²²¹ Gloria Tapia in *Excelsior*, April 17, 1994, quoted in Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (Mexico DF: Cenidim, 1994), 30.

was not progressing under Galindo's administration due to the lack of pedagogic preparation of the faculty and the lack of coherence among the various programs offered by the institution. Ruíz de Baqueiro said, "everyone teaches the way they can without previous preparation."²²² Similarly, musicologist Geronimo Baqueiro Foster (1898-1967) stated: "Since Carlos Chávez, an establishment of artistic and scientific education has never suffered more arbitrary modifications in their curriculum and guidelines as the National Conservatory since 1934 to today."²²³

Besides the conservatory, Galindo participated in other projects created by Chávez that still shape the legacy of both composers in Mexico: Ediciones Mexicanas de Música (EMM) and the magazine *Nuestra Música* (NM), which were both produced between 1946-1947.²²⁴ Galindo's participation in the latter, however, demonstrates Chávez's arbitrariness, as mentioned by Geronimo Baqueiro Foster. According to Galindo, it was not among his own plans to work for this organization. He said: "Maestro Chávez asked me to write [for the magazine], I refused, but he did not accept." This means that it was of great importance for Chávez to have his allies working on his projects rather than find an outsider that could equally perform the task. Another quotation by Galindo also supports the perception of Ruíz de Baqueiro about the lack of

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ediciones Mexicanas de Musica is Mexico's first and only publishing house dedicated to the promotion of Mexican music. It was founded by Carlos Chávez, Blas Galindo, Rodolfo Halffter, Luis Bal y Gay, Luis Sandi, Jose Pablo Moncayo and Adolfo Salazar. Currently the board members are composers Mario Lavista, Federico Ibarra and Victor Rázgado. Initially, Galindo emerged as a general manager of EMM, but he was succeeded in March 1947 by the Mexican-Spanish composer Rodolfo Halffter (1900-1987), who continued with that position until his death.

preparation among the staff of Chávez's institutions: "The magazine took us all by surprise because none of the composers had experience writing."²²⁵

On the other hand, despite Chávez's autocracy, these institutions are now part of Chávez and Galindo's legacy, and EMM, at least, is still in existence. Both associations, EMM and NM, were created with the purpose of publishing the music of the members of the organization by contributing as composers, critics, and entrepreneurs to the development of music in Mexico. In fact, musicologist and EMM scholar Consuelo Carredano believes that EMM and NM had been very important to Mexican musicology because they have contributed valuable information to the cultural conversation that was difficult to obtain at that time. Carredano said: "If we compare *Nuestra Música* with other similar contemporary publications prior and after it, we can see that this magazine was able to achieve a high number of special collaborations, articles, research topics, and most importantly, a collection of universal subjects in a Mexican magazine."²²⁶

During the 1950s, Chávez's influence upon Galindo established him as one of the most successful composers in Mexico and abroad. The government and multiple artistic institutions granted Galindo many awards between 1957 and 1961. When he left the conservatory in 1960, he worked to continue Chávez's legacy of creating new orchestras,

²²⁵ Roberto García Bonilla, *Visiones Sonoras, Entrevistas con Compositores, Solistas y Directores* (México DF: Conaculta, 2001), 37

²²⁶ Consuelo Carredano, *Ediciones Mexicanas de Música, historia y catálogo* (México, Conaculta, INBA, Cenidim, 1994), 42. Perhaps Carredano refers to the fact that NM had international acknowledgment, since they invited foreigner composers such as Stravinsky, Copland, Milhaud, Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Prokofiev, to publish articles. However, from this list of composers, only Copland, Schoenberg and Milhaud published articles in the magazine.

launching the Orquesta Sinfónica del Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social (OSIMSS, Mexican Institute of Social Insurance's Orchestra) in 1961.²²⁷ Except for the few opportunities Chávez gave Galindo to conduct the OSM, he had no previous experience as an orchestral conductor. Yet this did not stop him from enjoying the same privileges that Chávez had had at the front of his orchestras, such as overseas touring. (He traveled to the Mexican Republic, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Santo Domingo, and California with the orchestra). In 1964, Galindo traveled to Tel Aviv, where he gave lectures about Mexican music and conducted in different concert halls across Israel, Paris, and Spain. By 1965, the INBA granted Galindo the opportunity to dedicate himself entirely to composition, yet, he was also able to give lectures about Mexican music and to conduct, and he received numerous awards and homages until the day of his death on April 19, 1993. Galindo left a musical legacy of over 180 works of vocal, choral, orchestral, chamber, instrumental, piano solo, guitar, ballet, theater and film music.²²⁸

This chapter demonstrates the ways in which Galindo's career mirrored Chávez's in both musical and administrative aspects with Chávez's influence and support. Musically, they both shared an interest in composing and promoting Mexican

²²⁷ Galindo received a prize from the state of Jalisco for his composition *Homenaje a Juárez* in 1957, on that same year, the Secretary of Public Education also granted him a prize named "José Angel Lamas," and a special recognition from the Union chronicles of Music and Theater. He received a special award from the Venezuelan Society of Authors and Composers, a gold medal from the Municipality of LA, California, recognizing him as "the best composer of the year"; the National Arts and Science Award granted by Mexico's President, Adolfo Lopez Mateos. Prior the creation of the OSIMSS in 1956, Galindo was already working at the Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social (IMSS) conducting choirs and arranging traditional Mexican songs

²²⁸ Xochiquetzal Ruíz Ortíz, *Blas Galindo, Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (México DF: Cenidim, 1994), 33-42.

nationalism, and Galindo adopted musical ideas from Chávez's mentorship in his musical creation class. These eventually helped shape Galindo's own musical language.

Moreover, in the very first steps of Galindo's careers as both an administrator and a composer, Galindo and the Group of Four copied the model of Chávez's *Recitales de Música Nueva* that Chávez initiated with Ricardo Ortega back in 1924, and that, in fact, originated the Group of Four.

Chávez's influence among politicians impacted Galindo's career, because on multiple occasions Chávez was able to find a variety of positions for Galindo and the other three members of the Group of Four. Therefore, Galindo's story exemplifies Chávez's power over the most important cultural institutions in Mexico, and also reflects Chávez's capability to possess and use to his convenience his political connections in his own country and overseas. This was illustrated in the scholarships that both Galindo and Moncayo obtained to study at the Berkshire Music Festival through Chávez's recommendation and with the patronage of the Rockefeller Foundation.

It is also important to recognize that Galindo responded constructively to the multiple tools and opportunities with which Chávez provided him, since Galindo could not have achieved such a fruitful career and legacy without firm determination and hard work. After comparing their careers, we can also determine common interests that unify them as friends and professional partners. Most importantly, they had the same passion for nationalist music and commitment to its promotion both within and beyond the Mexican border. Ultimately, the relationship between these two composers demonstrates that Chávez's influence could have a very positive effect on the careers of his contemporaries, while also revealing the remarkable reach of this influence.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

As this study of Carlos Chávez's political power has revealed, this composer-administrator had far-reaching control over Mexico's musical development and artistic community of the first half of the twentieth century. His relationships with Silvestre Revueltas and Blas Galindo, detailed here for the first time, exemplify various components of the different worlds in which his artistry and power dominated post-revolutionary Mexico.

I decided to call Chávez's power "political" because, as discussed in Chapter 1, due to his various partisan affiliations, Chávez's institutional power reached a political peak when he joined the campaign and eventually the cultural cabinet of President Miguel Alemán in 1946. Once Alemán placed Chávez as the head of a new National Institute of Fine Arts (INBA), Chávez had complete freedom to use his position to create multiple cultural institutions and spaces. It is important to clarify that I do not seek in this monograph to pass judgement on Chávez's political ties. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that Chávez's career had substantial support from politicians like Alemán that many have judged to be corrupt. Indeed, Chávez reached such social mobility with his political power that he had relations with composers, artists and diplomats in both Mexico and the US, and expanded his connections by collaborating with institutions such as the Rockefeller and the Guggenheim Foundation in New York.

Despite the fact that Chávez was never an actual politician, he proved that music could play an essential role in political and cultural change. Prior to working with Alemán, he not only engaged in a series of critical administrative positions that were

funded by the government, like the National Conservatory and the Fine Arts Department, but he also showed his political interests by publishing articles in newspapers that expressed his political standpoints. He wrote works such as the *Sinfonía Proletaria* (1934) and premiered it in one of the most critical cultural events of the twentieth century in Mexico, the inauguration of El Palacio de Bellas Artes in Mexico City (1934). He did all of these things while consistently demonstrating his support to the government of the day. Chávez was a pragmatic civil servant, not an ideologue: he shifted and modified his political ideals according his government's swings from left to right until he secured the authority that allowed him to alter the cultural programs in Mexico.

Even though Chapters 2 and 3 show two very different impacts that Chávez had upon the artistic community, they together demonstrate the magnitude of Chávez's authority. They also establish that politics and personal relationships were an essential tool for the evolution of culture in Mexico. Chapter 2 tells us that Chávez did use his power advantageously and that in some facets of his administration he was undemocratic and dictatorial. However, we can also see that Chávez and Revueltas were opposite poles given their contrasting personalities, artistic ideals, and different partisan politics, and that ultimately, their relationship was destined to fail. With the unexpected and early death of Revueltas, it is difficult to know whether they would have been able to reconcile their differences or not, and even though the evidence provided in the chapter reveals Chávez's power over Revueltas, I do not seek here to pass judge on Chávez's actions or morality. Indeed, as Chapter 3 demonstrated, Chávez's control over Mexican artists who sustained a close relationship with him was often positive for them. The story of Blas Galindo and the Group of Four reveals his extraordinary capability to find employment

and support for his pupils, as well as Galindo's and Chávez's legacy and progressive impact upon the music community.

Although my story makes clear that institutional and political power significantly influenced the artistic community in Mexico in the first half of the twentieth century, further research remains to be done to determine its long-term impact. To what extent is the model that Chávez implemented in the past century still in place today? The answer to this question will likely be complicated and multifaceted. Today Chávez's story and legacy should invite us to consider the positive and negative effects of Chávez's administrative model. How did his approach affect the subsequent management of the INBA and other cultural institutions in Mexico? Are there any current cultural ambassadors who are following Chávez's administration model? Do these current administrators have political power, and how does that power differ from Chávez's? Is there a relationship between how Chávez granted employment and grants to his pupils and the proceeding and current model of obtaining jobs and scholarships for artists in Mexico?

I hope that more questions will arise and that this monograph will be just the beginning of an essential discussion on how music in Mexico was, and perhaps still is, managed politically rather than artistically. The Mexican music of the twentieth century evolved in parallel with a new artistic, administrative ideology that demands critical assessment.

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Appendices



**Western
Music**

Don Wright Faculty of Music

STUDENT RECITAL

December 9, 2015
20:00hrs, Von Kuster Hall

Yolanda Tapia, *Collaborative Piano*

Sonata for cello and piano in A Major, op.69, no.3

L. V. Beethoven (1770-1827)

Allegro

Scherzo

Adagio cantabile- Allegro vivace

Cello: Sophie Stryniak

Cinco Canciones Infantiles

S. Revueltas (1899-1940)

El Caballito

Las Cinco Horas

Cancion tonta

Cancion de Cuna

El lagarto

Dos canciones

Amiga que te vas

Caminando

Countertenor: Cesar Aguilar

Baritone: Adam lanetta

INTERMISSION

Sonata for violin and Piano in D minor op.75, no.1

C. Saint-Saëns (1835-1921)

Allegro agitato

Adagio

Allegro Moderato

Allegro Molto

Violin: Debora Remor

Contrasts

B. Bartók (1891-1945)

Serbes

Violin: Francisco Barradas

Clarinet: Scott McDonald

This recital is presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts in Performance degree. Ms. Tapia is a student of John Hess.



Western Music

Don Wright Faculty of Music

STUDENT RECITAL

Wednesday November 30
8:00pm, Von Kuster Hall
Yolanda Tapia, Collaborative Piano
Alhelí Pimienta-Flute
Cesar Aguilar- Countertenor
Francisco Barradas- Violin

2 Canciones para voz y Piano
 I Canción Arcaica
 II La Ermita
 Federico Ibarra (b.1946-)

5 Canciones a la madre muerta
 I Tu silencio
 II Tu vida flotante
 III Si tu presencia perdi
 Blas Galindo (1910-1993)

Sonata para violín y piano
 Federico Ibarra

Intermission

5 Canciones a la madre muerta
 IV Tu vida flotante
 Blas Galindo

Sonatina para violin y piano
 Carlos Chávez (1899-1978)

5 Canciones a la madre muerta
 V Tu ausencia
 Blas Galindo

Sonata para Flauta y Piano
 I Allegro energico
 II Lento espressivo
 III Allegro molto
 Samuel Zyman (b.1956-)

This recital is presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts in Performance degree. Ms. Tapia is a student of John Hess.





**Western
Music**

Don Wright Faculty of Music

STUDENT RECITAL

**March 14, 2018
4:00pm, Von Kuster Hall
Yolanda Tapia, Piano
Francisco Barradas, Violin**

DMA LECTURE RECITAL

**An Examination of The Political Power of Carlos Chávez and his Influence
upon Silvestre Revueltas and Blas Galindo**

Spirals for Violin and Piano

Vivo

Tranquilo

Carlos Chávez (1899-1978)

Tres Piezas para Violín y Piano

Allegro

Lentamente

Allegro

Silvestre Revueltas (1899-1940)

Suite para Violín y Piano

Danza

Lento

Son Huasteco

Blas Galindo (1910-1993)

This recital is presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts in Performance degree. Ms. Tapia is a student of John Hess.

Curriculum Vitae

Name:	Yolanda Tapia
Post-secondary Education and Degrees:	<p>Universidad Veracruzana Xalapa, Veracruz, México 2010 B.A.</p> <p>Colorado State University Fort Collins, Colorado, USA. 2012-2014 M.A.</p> <p>University of Colorado Boulder, Colorado, USA. 2014-2015</p> <p>The University of Western Ontario London, Ontario, Canada 2015-2018 DMA</p>
Honours and Awards:	<p>Bowdoin International Music Festival Collaborative Piano Fellowship 2016</p> <p>Western University Don Wright Graduate Entrance Award 2015</p> <p>National Chamber Music Competition, Mexico City Second Prize 2014</p> <p>Colorado State University Concerto Competition, First Prize 2014</p> <p>Colorado State University Chamber Music Scholarship 2013-2014</p> <p>Colorado State University Concerto Competition, Second Prize</p>

2013

Colorado State University
Stern Scholarship
2012-2013

Fulbright García- Robles
Grant for Graduate studies
2012-2014

Aguas Calientes Chamber Music Festival
Manuel M Ponce Award
2011

University of Veracruz Faculty of Music
Concerto Competition winner
2008

**Related Work
Experience**

Teaching Assistant
The University of Western Ontario
2015-2018

Teaching Assistant
University of Colorado Boulder
2014-2015

Pianist
Veracruz State Youth Symphony Orchestra
Xalapa, Veracruz, Mexico
2011-2012

Collaborative Pianist
Instituto Superior de Música
Xalapa, Veracruz, Mexico
2008-2012