

Chávez, *Modern Music*, and the New York Scene

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No other musical magazine of our century can possibly have the place in history, either as monument or as source material, that “*Modern Music*” already occupied, because no other magazine and no book has told the musical story of its time so completely, so authoritatively, so straight from the field of battle and from the creative laboratory. Its twenty-three volumes are history written by the men who made it.

—Virgil Thomson, *New York Herald Tribune*, 12 January 1947

As Virgil Thomson noted in his obituary for *Modern Music*, which ran from 1924 through 1946, the magazine served as the central chronicle of the New York new-music scene during the years it was in existence.¹ Although technically the house organ of the League of Composers, it was the only publication of its kind—none of the other new-music organizations produced a periodical—and, like many “little magazines” of the early twentieth century, its small circulation belied its influence. Its editor and manager during the entire run was Minna Lederman, who used her considerable personal and intellectual resources to shape the publication. Intended as a critic’s gateway into contemporary music, the articles it published were not of a highly technical nature, yet most of the participating authors were themselves composers intent on sharing their worldview. In this way the publication served as a central text for both new-music participants and its would-be observers. If, as Benedict Anderson suggests, communities are often “imagined” in the pages of periodicals, then *Modern Music* offers the most detailed available map of New York musical modernists’ identity.²

Carlos Chávez’s views and music figure prominently in the magazine. During *Modern Music*’s run he was an integral part of the New York new-music scene, first as a young ultra-modernist and then as an

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established composer-conductor with a transnational career. Chávez's self-concept as a modernist can be traced in *Modern Music's* pages, beginning with his article "Technique and Inner Form,"³ which places the composer in an intellectual music avant-garde, and continuing through the very last issue of the magazine, in which Salvador Moreno published an encomium to the Orquesta Sinfónica de México's (OSM) performance of new music in Mexico. More importantly, *Modern Music* situates Chávez within the new-music community scene of New York, revealing his alliances, status, and identity within the group. In other words, it conveys key information about the politics governing the performance and reception of his music, especially as it pertains to his U.S. career and legacy.

Methodology

Although scholars have long recognized that Chávez's reception in the United States was inextricably intertwined with politics—both of the small-scale interpersonal variety and that of large populations tied together by virtue of race, nationality, or status—here I apply a network-derived analysis that is deeply indebted to approaches found in several recent ethnomusicological texts. Perhaps most pertinent is Ingrid Monson's book on jazz improvisation in New York, *Saying Something*. Like her, I examine "the interactive shaping of social networks and communities that accompany musical participation" while recognizing that "participation" may take a very different form when the musical practice is less "interactive" in its performance practice.⁴

Chávez's experience in the New York modernist music community during the years in question, 1927–46, varied; in part it was dependent on his own understanding of the culture's strictures and his navigation of them to better his status. The community was also in flux and responsive to outside forces. Chávez's network in New York was extensive, and it would not be possible to document the entirety of it in a short essay. Instead, I seek new insight into the ways in which friendships with men like Henry Cowell, Colin McPhee, and Aaron Copland affected his work for and with *Modern Music*, as well as his access and influence within the New York music community.⁵

Chávez's Modernisms in *Modern Music*

Modern Music arose out of a nascent but vibrant new-music culture in New York City. By the year of its first publication, 1923, sectors of the city had

fallen under the spell of Leo Ornstein and Edgard Varèse. *Pro-Musica*, the International Composers' Guild, and the League of Composers presented contemporary music with much attention in the local press.⁶ But, as Minna Lederman describes it, critics were inclined toward sensational objections rather than genuine engagement with the music; the League conceived of the magazine as a response and a literary charm campaign. In this respect, they met with near instant success: "The immediate target was the press, whose critics at once fell in love with the *Review*. Not only W. J. Henderson (*New York Sun*), Lawrence Gilman (*New York Tribune*), and Olin Downes (*New York Times*) but reporters all across the country hailed our journal."⁷

Over the next few years the community around the magazine expanded, so that when Chávez was living in New York (1926–28), its intended public included the new-music community of the city, their counterparts on the West Coast, and those within that circle of influence, including critics, scholars, intellectuals, and artists in other fields.⁸ They drew this diverse and attentive readership by offering something that no other periodical had with such regularity: straightforward analysis of contemporary music written by composers active in the scene.

It was in this guise that Chávez's name first appeared in the publication. In an article titled "New Terms for New Music," Henry Cowell referred to the composer's *Energía* as an example of "contrapuntal polytonality."⁹ To illustrate his point, he provided half of measure 19 from the first movement of the work (see Example 1) and explained that "'contrapuntal polytonality' can be formed by setting more widely related keys against each other in such fashion that each one will stand out independently." Thus, though none of the keys are firmly established, the viola part approaches G-sharp/C-sharp major, the cello line C major, and the bass A major. There is also a two-against-three motion between the viola/bass and the cello, which contributes to the sense of independence among the lines. Unseen in the example, but apparent in the complete score, are the multiple levels of "contrapuntal polytonality," made stark by the idiosyncratic instrumentation: piccolo, flute, bassoon, horn (F), trumpet (B-flat), bass trombone, viola, cello, and double bass. Surrounding measure 19, each group of instruments has a different melodic and harmonic identity. Chávez notes that the brass should play "neither softer nor louder than winds and strings," emphasizing equity among the parts. Such a technique is not sustained throughout the movement; it is followed by several measures in which the winds and strings trade melody while the brass is confined to brief interjections and moments of unison or tonal harmony that offer respite from the rigorous dissonance found elsewhere.

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Picc. *sempre f*

Fl. *sempre f*

Bsn. *sempre f*

Hn. in F *sempre mf; neither softer nor louder than winds and strings*

Trmpt in Bb *sempre mf; neither softer nor louder than winds and strings*

Bass Trmb. *sempre mf; neither softer nor louder than winds and strings*

Vla. *gliss.* 1 2 3 4 5 *NORMAL* *alla corda*

Vc. *gliss.* 1 2 3 4 5 *sempre f* *NORMAL* *alla corda*

Cb. *gliss.* 1 2 3 4 5 *sempre f* *NORMAL* *alla corda*

Example 1. Carlos Chávez, *Energía*, mm. 19–23.

Readers unfamiliar with Chávez and his work would have had little context to evaluate the composer's use of "contrapuntal polytonality." Cowell provided no information beyond the one-measure example and basic definition cited above. For those who had heard Chávez's music performed or seen the scores he was lending to and playing for friends in the New York music community, the reference would have resonated. Absent knowledge of the *Energía* score, which had not yet been performed in public in New York, *Modern Music* connoisseurs would have been familiar with the fourth movement of *H.P.* (*Horsepower* or *Caballos de vapor*), *Otros tres exágonos*, the three sonatinas, and the Third Sonata, all of which had been

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The image displays a musical score for a symphony orchestra, labeled "Example 1. Continued". The score is written for nine instruments: Piccolo (Picc.), Flute (Fl.), Bassoon (Bsn.), Horn in F (Hn. in F), Trumpet in Bb (Trmpt in Bb), Bass Trombone (Bass Trmb.), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The score is in 3/4 time and begins at measure 20. The Piccolo part features a melodic line with a slur and a fermata. The Flute part has a melodic line with a slur. The Bassoon part has a melodic line with a slur. The Horn in F part has a melodic line with a slur. The Trumpet in Bb part has a melodic line with a slur. The Bass Trombone part has a melodic line with a slur. The Viola part has a melodic line with a slur and a fermata. The Violoncello part has a melodic line with a slur and a fermata. The Contrabass part has a melodic line with a slur and a fermata. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, fermatas, and dynamic markings.

Example 1. Continued

performed in the city over the past few years.¹⁰ These scores are similar to *Energia* in their use of machine imitations, creative approaches to timbre, and, most relevant here, employment of dissonance and counterpoint. Indeed, both the piece and Cowell's analytic approach to it were apt representatives of Chávez's desired aesthetic and image at the time.

The portrayal of Chávez as an experimenter was supported by the composer's article printed just a few pages later in the magazine. Titled "Technique and Inner Form," the essay proposes an entirely new approach to composition pedagogy; it suggests that composition schools should stop asking students to adopt the styles and techniques of the past, even as practice exercises.¹¹ Instead, they should focus on new approaches so that the music is more likely to reflect the time, place, and personality of the composer. In primitive societies, Chávez wrote, "The young were taught the

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Musical score for Example 1, Continued, showing staves for Piccolo, Flute, Bassoon, Horn in F, Trumpet in Bb, Bass Trombone, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The score is in 2/4 time and features a variety of rhythmic patterns and dynamics. The Piccolo part starts with a measure rest followed by eighth notes. The Flute part begins with a forte (f) dynamic and a series of eighth notes. The Bassoon part has a measure rest followed by eighth notes with accents. The Horn in F part has a measure rest followed by a forte (f) dynamic. The Trumpet in Bb part has a mezzo-forte (mf) dynamic and a measure rest. The Bass Trombone part has a forte (f) dynamic and a measure rest. The Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass parts are marked *alla corda* and play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

Example 1. Continued

musical elements, to set their problems (which were almost always of a magical nature), and to solve them.” Today, he argued, a different approach was called for: “Let him see the elements of the problem . . . but let him in no way be taught to solve the problem. The known devices and rules for solution lead to results that are too much alike, and therefore useless.”

The article reflected Chávez’s self-taught approach, and it suggested the reforms he was trying to make as head of the Mexican National Conservatory, a post he held from 1928 until 1933, and again for a few months in 1934. Several years later Chávez refined these ideas in another article for *Modern Music*, “Revolt in Mexico”:

We no longer believe that music is beautiful because it contains unique and absolute truths according to unique and

quite immutable laws. We believe that technic is the concrete means of artistic expression, and that consequently each example of authentic music implies its own particular technic. No type of music is *the* music, and there is no absolute truth containing the whole truth of all music.¹²

The modernist stance of “Technique and Inner Form” and “Revolt in Mexico” characterized Chávez’s writings for *Modern Music*. He was particularly concerned with the practical, systemic obstacles to the creation and performance of new music. In the articles quoted above, his primary concern was pedagogy; in “The Function of the Concert”¹³ and “Music for the Radio,”¹⁴ he turned his attention toward avenues for performance of new music. The first of these articles is concerned with patronage and the implications of the contemporary economics of music making. Although he concluded that “the concert has lent itself to increasing the importance of the performer at the cost of the composer,” he believed the situation was reversible: “The big symphony societies, the university, school, and college departments of music, and all the concert-giving societies in general music realize that they should round out the musical organization assigned to them by once more making the encouragements of creation the nucleus of their functions.”¹⁵

Although Chávez does not refer to his professional life in “The Function of the Concert,” it is clear that his role as both a composer and performer informed his views. His most influential platform for reforming musical life was not through composing, but in his position as conductor and musical director of the Orquesta Sinfónica de México, from 1928 to 1946. Under his guidance, the OSM developed a repertoire with a great degree of modernism and nationalism.¹⁶ In recognition of this feat, Virgil Thomson reprinted several OSM programs in the *New York Herald Tribune*. By studying that concert repertoire next to a set of New York Philharmonic programs from the same year (to which Thomson was surely making an implicit comparison), one can see the relatively large amount of time and space accorded new and American works at the OSM (Table 1). Although other U.S. symphony orchestras like the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Philadelphia Orchestra were more adventurous in their programming, none superseded the modernism and nationalism found in the OSM programs.¹⁷

“Music for the Radio” explores the utility of radio as a medium to reinvigorate contemporary musical life. Once again, Chávez’s advice to composers is of a practical nature: “Since the process of transmission is dependent primarily on the microphone, it seems inevitable that music written for the radio ought to be planned with that basic consideration.”

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Table 1. Seven Concert Programs from the 1938–39 Season

<p>New York Philharmonic Programs selected from John Erskine, <i>Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York</i></p>	<p>OSM Concert Programs reprinted in <i>New York Herald Tribune</i></p>
<p>Weber, Overture to <i>Der Freischütz</i> Sibelius, <i>The Swan of Tuonela</i> and <i>The Return of Lemminkäinen</i> Stravinsky, <i>The Firebird</i> Mozart, Adagio and Fugue for Strings Beethoven, Symphony No. 5</p> <p>Reznicek, Overture to <i>Donna Diana</i> Elgar, Viola Concerto (arr. Lionel Tertis, Cello Concerto, Op. 85) Respighi, <i>The Fountains of Rome</i> Tchaikovsky, Symphony No. 4</p> <p>Schubert, Dances for Strings Debussy, Preludes and Entr'actes from <i>Pélleas et Mélisande</i>, Acts 1, 2, and 4 Sibelius, Violin Concerto in D Minor, Op. 47 Wagner, Overture to <i>Tannhäuser</i></p> <p>Beethoven, Overture to <i>Coriolanus</i> Bach, Violin Concerto in A Minor Schumann, Symphony No. 1 Franck, <i>Le chasseur maudit</i> Lalo, Violin Concerto in F Minor, Op. 20</p> <p>Sanders, Little Symphony No. 1 in G Schumann, Piano Concerto in A Minor, Op. 54 Brahms, Symphony No. 4</p> <p>Handel, Concerto Grosso for Strings in G Minor, No. 6, Op. 6 Mozart, Piano Concerto in A Major (K. 488) Falla, <i>Nights in the Gardens of Spain</i> Strauss, Overture to <i>Der Zigeunerbaron</i></p> <p>Stravinsky, Suite from <i>Pulcinella</i> Beethoven, Piano Concerto in C major, Op. 15 Franck, Symphony in D Minor</p>	<p>Bach, Suite No. 3 Poulenc, Concerto for Two Pianos Debussy, <i>Iberia</i> Shostakovich, Symphony No. 1</p> <p>Cherubini, Overture to <i>Anacreon</i> Mozart, Piano Concerto in G Major Stravinsky, <i>Rite of Spring</i> Debussy, <i>La mer</i></p> <p>C. P. E. Bach, Symphony in F Major J. S. Bach, Suite No. 1 J. Ch. Bach, Symphony in B-flat Vivaldi-Bach, Concerto for Four Pianos Buxtehude-Chávez, Chaconne</p> <p>Ravel, <i>Mother Goose</i> Berlioz, <i>Symphonie fantastique</i> Debussy, <i>Prelude to Afternoon of a Faun</i> Ravel, <i>Pavane for a Dead Infanta</i> Ravel, <i>Daphnis and Chloe</i> Suite No. 2</p> <p>Huizar, Symphony No. 3 Bloch, Suite for Viola and Orchestra Mendelssohn, Violin Concerto in E Minor Prokofiev, <i>Scythian</i> Suite</p> <p>Beethoven, <i>Egmont</i> Overture Boccherini, Cello Concerto in B-flat Berezowsky, Violin Concerto Sibelius, Symphony No. 1</p> <p>Mozart, <i>Les petits riens</i> Bach, Concerto in D Minor for Two Violins Stravinsky, <i>Apollon musagète</i> Chávez, <i>Sinfonia de Antígona</i> Chávez, <i>Sinfonia india</i></p>

He goes on to enumerate the various approaches to amplifying an ensemble and ways in which composers might use the process to create new sonic experiences. As in “The Function of the Concert,” Chávez expresses optimism about the future of music for radio: “Up to now no compositions have appeared which even begin to use the specific instrumental

resources of electrical transmission. Surely, sooner or later, such music must come.”¹⁸

By 1940, the year he wrote “Music for the Radio,” the relationship between modernism and modern technology had absorbed Chávez for almost fifteen years. First seen in the mechanical sonic environment evoked in works like *Energía*, it also motivated tours of the Bell Laboratories in New Jersey in 1932, a series of articles for the Mexican newspaper *El Universal* that same year, and his first published book, *Toward a New Music: Music and Electricity* (1937).¹⁹ Although Chávez wrote an entire chapter on radio in *Music and Electricity*, that piece dealt with the new realities of employment and dissemination in a technological age. By examining the best methods for composing for the medium in “Music for Radio,” he extended the implications in his earlier writings.

According to correspondence with Lederman, there was a more immediate inspiration for the *Modern Music* article. In May 1938, Chávez sent a telegram to her, ostensibly referring to an earlier conversation: “I am experimenting writing for radio. I think it is better to write article later.”²⁰ A year later they revisited the topic: “As a matter of fact, what I want to say in the proposed article will be more or less the result of my experiences in writing my Harp Concerto for Radio, in which I will be working in the course of this year.”²¹

The experiment of the Harp Concerto was not successful—at least the composition was not preserved in Chávez’s files, and there is no trace of it in his catalogue—but his exploration of the topic was timely. In the 1930s and ’40s classical composers were being commissioned to write for radio, resulting in several works composed especially with the medium in mind. Chávez’s own *Sinfonía india* (1935) had been written at the invitation of William Paley, the president of Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Of particular influence was Deems Taylor’s series of commissions for CBS radio, which produced William Grant Still’s *Lenox Avenue*, Aaron Copland’s *Music for Radio*, Roy Harris’s *Time Suite*, and Louis Gruenberg’s *Green Mansions*, all written and performed in 1937.²²

All four of Chávez’s articles for *Modern Music* situate the composer as an innovator, with practical solutions to some of the most entrenched problems plaguing modern composers. In every case Chávez agitated for reforms that might further the creation, performance, and acceptance of new music. His solutions were rooted in his own experiences working to change musical life in Mexico. It is probably true, as several authors claim, that Chávez used knowledge gained during his New York trips in the 1920s to create the foundation for a modernist music scene in Mexico City.²³ But it is equally true that during the 1930s and ’40s

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Chávez regarded his accomplishments in Mexico City as a model for his colleagues in the United States, and many of them, including Thomson, agreed with such an analysis.

Criticism, Connections, and Aesthetic Intersections

As Chávez became more closely identified with Mexican musical life and cultural identity, writers and reviewers for *Modern Music* could hardly avoid analyzing aspects of “Mexicanness” in his music and career. Unlike the profiles and reviews in the popular press, however, the *Modern Music* community was most concerned about Chávez’s avant-gardism; that is, the marriage of nationalism and modernism absorbed these writers, not the exotic *mexicanidad* so readily profiled elsewhere. Such attributes were first praised in 1928 by Aaron Copland in the pages of *The New Republic* and Paul Rosenfeld in his book *By Way of Art*.²⁴ Yet, before 1932, none of Chávez’s overtly nationalist works had been performed in the United States. While building the OSM and serving as head of the National Conservatory, Chávez continued to pursue opportunities to premiere works in the States, particularly his nationalist ballets. When he asked Copland for help, the composer responded:

Why don’t you write to Minna Lederman to ask her to do the publicity you need? I doubt if she will refuse if you ask her personally. Or possibly, someone like Miss [Anita] Brenner could do the actual work and Minna could advise how, where and when to send it out. Or possibly, you could have all the material written and typed in Mexico City and Minna could send it out for you up here.²⁵

In his reply Chávez expressed interest in the idea, but there is no evidence that Lederman became his publicist in a formal capacity. She did demonstrate investment in his career, however, when Chávez returned to the United States in 1932 to promote the performance of his ballet *H.P.* The performance featured costume and stage designs by Diego Rivera, and was to be executed by Leopold Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra.²⁶ In a letter written about two months before the premiere, Lederman fretted about the upcoming issue:

It is unfortunate that you won’t be here before the first of March. Paul Rosenfeld, as I wrote you, will write an article

about you and, moreover, it is important that he have an opportunity of looking over any new music you have. . . . You see this is for the March issue which is to come out about a week and a half before the performance of your ballet. This will give the newspapers and other magazines an opportunity to quote from Paul's article after it appears in our magazine and in time to add publicity to your ballet.²⁷

For various reasons, including his own health and Chávez's busy schedule, Rosenfeld was unable to complete the article in time for the March–April issue alluded to above. Two of Rivera's sketches were included, one featuring the coconut costume and another the stage design for the second scene. In the same issue, Marc Blitzstein reviewed a performance of *Energía* in a concert under the auspices of the Pan American Association of Composers. The next issue, May–June 1932, included a sizable profile by Rosenfeld as well as a review of the *H.P.* production by Blitzstein.

In his review of *Energía*, Blitzstein noted that the music “undergoes no development, almost no change. It would be hard to imagine music fresher, more candid and engaging than that of Chávez; but either he has not yet found a form which will enable him to grow, or it is not the sort of music which is meant to grow.”²⁸ *H.P.* certainly provided a change in aesthetic, if not the type of growth for which Blitzstein searched. The work's synopsis deals with interactions between the North and South with the hard-edged modernism found in *Energía* representing the North and a folk music–infused lyricism representing the South. Blitzstein observed that this approach also proved problematic for the composer: “Since Chávez's music is hard, not soft, literal, brutal and unperfumed, we were offered the paradox of a ‘Southern’ composer dealing most successfully with the ‘Northern’ aspects of his theme.”²⁹

Although *H.P.* was Chávez's first public venture in a more accessible, nationalist direction, it was *Sinfonía india*, his second orchestral work performed in the United States, that ensured the composer's place in U.S. musical life. This time, rather than using folk music to represent the “Southern,” the composer turned toward native music and an ancient past, aligning himself with the primitivism made famous by Stravinsky in *Rite of Spring* and subsequently found in so many works of the period. *Sinfonía india* premiered on CBS radio in 1936 in a program of Mexican music constructed and led by Chávez. Collectively the program—which included nationalist Indianist works by his students and protégés, and suggested a new direction for the

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Ob. I
II

Cl. Eb

Hn. I
II

Tpt I

Tbn. I

Timp.

Perc. I
II

Perc. III
IV

Vln. I
II

Vla.
Vc.

Cb.

f cresc.

f contando

cresc. molto

ff

f subitissimo

cresc.

cresc. molto

ff

f subitissimo

con sord.

f contando

cresc. molto

f

Indian Drum

Rattling String

Soft Rattle

Bass Drum

f

cresc.

f

cresc.

pizz.

ff

Example 2. Carlos Chávez, *Sinfonía india*, mm. 34–42, entrance of Mexican percussion in measure 37.

public face of Mexican music—appeared to impress traditionalists and modernists alike. Canadian composer Colin McPhee reviewed the performance for *Modern Music*, and his prose is nothing short of breathless:

One feels on hearing this music first of all a primitive energy that has nothing of the exotic but is a clear and forceful expression of racial vitality both useful and healthy. . . .

10 Allegro $\text{♩} = 96$

Ob. I
II

Cl. Eb

Hn. I
II

Tpt I

Trb. I

Timp.

Perc. I
II

Perc. III
IV

Vln. I
II

Vla.
Vc.

Cb.

ff

ff

p

ff

Ind. Dr.

Sft. Ratt.

Ratt. Str.

B. Dr.

f

ff

f marcato

on the string

on the string

Example 2. Continued

There are no tricks in the workmanship—no preoccupations with “problems.” It races along like a runner happy in his strength and with energy to spare in the end. We need such music as we need fresh air and exercise.³⁰

Much of McPhee’s description of *Sinfonía india* could easily apply to his own orchestral masterpiece, *Tabu-Tabuhan*, which was composed

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The image shows a musical score for Example 3, starting at measure 147. The score is for a reduced ensemble and includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Maracas (Mar.), Glockenspiel (Glock.), Cello (Cel.), Piano I (Pno. I), Piano II (Pno. II), Viola (Vla.), and Violoncello/Contrabass (Vc. Cb.). The music is in 2/4 time. The Flute and Clarinet parts feature complex rhythmic patterns with slurs and accents. The Maracas part has a simple, rhythmic pattern. The Glockenspiel part has a simple, rhythmic pattern. The Cello part has a simple, rhythmic pattern. The Piano I and II parts have simple, rhythmic patterns. The Viola part has a simple, rhythmic pattern. The Violoncello/Contrabass part has a simple, rhythmic pattern with dynamics markings of *p* and *pp*. The score is written in a standard musical notation style with a reduced score format.

Example 3. Colin McPhee, *Tabu-Tabuhan*, mm. 147–56, entrance of gamelan-like instruments (reduced score).

later the same year. Both are large-scale symphonic works that draw on non-Western traditions—ancient Mexico in the case of Chávez and contemporary Bali in the case of McPhee—and are simultaneously suffused with a modernist musical language. These basic similarities place both compositions in a larger complex of non-Western modernisms found in works by Stravinsky, Bartók, and Varèse, among others, and it is likely that

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The musical score for Example 3, Continued, is arranged in a standard orchestral format. It includes parts for Flute (Fl.) 1 and 2, Clarinet (Cl.) 1 and 2, Maracas (Mar.), Glockenspiel (Glock.), Cello (Cel.), Piano I (Pno. I), Piano II (Pno. II), Viola (Vla.), and Violin/Contrabass (Vc. Cb.). The score is written in 3/4 time and begins with a rehearsal mark '131'. The woodwinds and strings play complex rhythmic patterns, often with slurs and accents. The piano part features dynamic markings of *f* (forte) and *mp* (mezzo-piano). The Viola and Violin/Contrabass parts include performance instructions for *pizz.* (pizzicato) and *arco* (arco).

Example 3. Continued

both men were subject to a variety of influences. Yet the convergences in approach found in *Sinfonía india* and *Tabu-Tabuhan* extend more deeply than those found with other composers, providing a musical documentation of the cross-influence possible within the *Modern Music* network.

The most obvious similarities relate to the instrumentation, structure, and texture of the compositions. Both works are written for an enlarged

155

grazioso

a2

Picc. *f*

1

Fl. *mf*

2 *mf*

Ob. *pp dolcissimo*

1

Cl. *mf*

2 *mf*

Bsn. Hn. *p*

Perc. Gong Mar. Triangle *p*

Cel. *p*

Pno. I *p*

Pno. II *p*

Vla. *p*

Vc. Cb. *p*

Example 3. Continued

symphony orchestra with a small ensemble of foreign instruments embedded therein. The smaller groups are largely percussive. Chávez calls for drums and rattles, requesting Native American instruments where possible. McPhee uses a six-person battery of percussionists playing marimba, xylophone, drums, and cymbals; within the composition the percussion often plays with the two pianos to evoke the sound and texture of the Balinese gamelan. McPhee subtitled his work “Tocatta for Orchestra and 2 Pianos,” and Chávez referred to his as a “symphony,” but both use elements of the concerto grosso in their treatment of the sub-ensembles. For example, in *Sinfonía india* the entrance of the Mexican percussion in measure 37 is analogous to the first solo portion of a concerto grosso. The full orchestral sound quiets, highlighting the smaller group, with a “continuo” of clarinet and bass, gradually morphing into a “tutti” at rehearsal number 9 (see Example 2). The entry of the Balinese elements in *Tabu-Tabuhan* is much more subtle, but there are long stretches of alternation also recalling concerti grossi, with the pianos serving as a kind of Balinese-inspired continuo (see Example 3).

Most of McPhee’s Balinese melodies are taken from the composer’s own transcriptions of gamelan works and contain the musical characteristics familiar to that genre, including a narrow range of melodic motion, usually only four or five notes, syncopated rhythm, and frequent ostinati. The additive texture, particularly in the first movement, recalls the field recordings of gamelan performance. Such attributes conveniently bridge the divide between the Western styles McPhee admired—classical, jazz, and Latin American popular music—and the music of Bali that he wished to exhibit. They also suited European expectations of the “exotic,” making the work part of a larger body of twentieth-century symphonic music to evoke the primitive. In this way, *Tabu-Tabuhan* was closely linked to *Sinfonía india*, in which Chávez also used transcribed melodies, pentatonicism, and ostinati.

Although both the source material and the approaches used to recontextualize it are very different, one suspects that the connections between the two works and the techniques used in them were not lost on Chávez. That is why in his article “Revolt in Mexico,” Chávez argued that modernism could and should be pan-ethnic, as long as it was also highly individualistic: “The music of Bach and Palestrina is beautiful—and so is that of a Chinese, Mexican, or Balinese musician. They are different, however, and the difference is one of complexion of technic. If a Mexican musician uses Bach’s technic, he is selling his birthright for a mess of pseudo-Bach.”³¹ It might seem odd that Chávez listed Bali alongside China and Mexico, but interest in Bali was very much in the air at the time: we find it realized in Margaret Mead’s scholarly writings and Miguel

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Covarrubias's drawings and writings, as well as a host of travelogues.³² Covarrubias was a close friend of both Chávez and McPhee; surely he shared his experiences and field research. In addition, recordings of gamelan were among the first "world music" to be widely distributed and were part of Henry Cowell's collection, which he shared with Chávez.³³ But the most avid advocate for Balinese music in the New York community was McPhee. During the 1930s, McPhee shared his knowledge, often playing his transcriptions for friends in New York.³⁴ Such performances must have influenced Chávez, who was in the midst of his "Aztec" period and was searching for a way to make modernist primitivism appealing to Mexican audiences.³⁵

McPhee's transcriptions impressed Chávez sufficiently to motivate an invitation to Mexico. As McPhee later recalled:

It was in the mid-1930s, back in New York for a year, that I suddenly had the idea, partly suggested by Carlos Chávez, of writing an orchestral work utilizing material I had collected in Bali. "Come to Mexico City," he said, "write it, and I will play it with the orchestra."³⁶

As a result, McPhee spent what his wife, Jane, termed a "Mexico summer" at the San Angel Inn, outside Mexico City; and it was during that period that he composed *Tabu-Tabuhan*.³⁷ The summer concluded with a premiere performance by Chávez and the OSM, only months after the composer had presented his own *Sinfonía india*. For critics and subscription audiences in Mexico, the *Tabu-Tabuhan* premiere may have served as a subtle reminder that the primitivism in Chávez's works was connected to trends within the larger cosmopolitan modernist community; it was certainly part of Chávez's efforts to connect the avant-gardism of the OSM with that of the United States and Europe.

In the years that followed, McPhee became Chávez's greatest advocate in the pages of *Modern Music*. Although Chávez's music and career were examined in articles by others, his name appears most frequently in articles by McPhee, who wrote many of the "Scores and Records" columns for *Modern Music* between 1939 and 1944, and several reviews of live music in 1936 and 1937. The music represented in these reviews is wide-ranging in both aesthetic and genre; it includes an examination of a performance of the *Sinfonía de Antígona*, the score of the lesser-known Ten Preludes, and the recordings released for the Museum of Modern Art exhibit *Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art*, for which Chávez organized a series of concerts. *Antígona* is a large, abstract orchestral work, Ten

Preludes a Baroque-influenced exercise in technical brilliance, and the MoMA exhibit ranks among Chávez's most nationalist enterprises. For McPhee, though, the works were united by a stylistic approach. The "vitality" and "energy" noted in *Sinfonía india* are observed repeatedly. For example, in his review of Ten Preludes, McPhee writes of "the intensity . . . the determined drive toward the objective of the piece."³⁸ In every case he is impressed, observing that "Chávez has complete mastery of his medium."³⁹

McPhee was not the only *Modern Music* writer to find Chávez's works inspirational. In addition to the expected reverence from Copland⁴⁰ and Rosenfeld,⁴¹ there is a review by Donald Fuller of Chávez's Piano Concerto, which proclaims the work "one of considerable mastery . . . as mature and powerful an expression as I have heard from Chávez."⁴² Particularly notable are reviews of Chávez's conducting appearances by John Cage and Elliott Carter. Both observed Chávez's skill at making new works come alive for an audience; for example Cage wrote, "The impression made was direct and vital. The rest of the music we have heard recently is weak and doesn't reach far enough to even touch."⁴³ Carter also explores the links between the music of Mozart, Debussy, Ravel, Falla, Stravinsky, and Chávez's own aesthetic, leading to a detailed examination of his style. In direct opposition to the popular favorites *H.P.* and *Sinfonía india*, which became standard works on programs Chávez conducted in the United States, Carter lists as his favorites *Antígona*, *Tierra mojada*, *Spirals*, and the Sonatina for Violin and Piano. These are celebrated not for their "Mexicanness" or primitivism, but because they are "conceived in a new idiom"; that is, they are ultra-modern.⁴⁴

Not every *Modern Music* critic's praise was unqualified, and two concerns arise repeatedly. The first is particularly apparent in the early reviews and is best summarized by Israel Citkowitz's statement that the rhythm in the Third Sonata "gets out of [Chávez's] grip and proceeds to chug-chug all over the keyboard."⁴⁵ That is, here as elsewhere Chávez had allowed his thirst for experimentation to outpace his ability, preferring imperfection over predictability. The second issue is addressed in Copland's review of Seven Pieces for Piano: "One despairs in a single paragraph of making music like this accessible to those who have no taste for it."⁴⁶ Rather than mourning or celebrating the presence of Mexicanness in the work, Copland is far more concerned that it might not find an audience.

Chávez and Power in the New York Modernist Community

By the 1940s, Chávez's influence in Mexican cultural life was palpable, and his wielding of it famously tyrannical. In an essay Ricardo Pérez Monfort wondered if during that era the composer-conductor was a "*caudillo o cacique cultural*"—in that construction Chávez's musical dictatorship remained unquestioned.⁴⁷ One would not use the same language to describe his reputation in the United States. Without an official post, directorship of a major symphony orchestra, or the ear of politicians, Chávez could not possibly exert the same force on musical life. Furthermore, as a Mexican operating in the States, he occupied an insider/outsider status, as others have noted.⁴⁸ Yet what becomes apparent in the pages of *Modern Music* is that Chávez did possess and wield a different type of power within the New York new-music community during the late 1930s and early '40s, partly because he was able to use his position within Mexico to fortify friendships and connections beyond its borders.

The exchange with McPhee described above is just one example of the largesse Chávez was capable of showing. Reports of his generosity are found in many of the biographies and memoirs of his contemporaries. Copland made several extended visits to Mexico, the first in 1932 and several subsequently, including a trip in 1936 during McPhee's "Mexico summer." Stokowski telegraphed a few days ahead of his arrival in 1930 and was able to lead the OSM in a performance.⁴⁹ Paul Strand spent months traveling around Mexico, finding work through Chávez's recommendation.⁵⁰ Chávez was among Mabel Dodge Luhan's most important contacts when she visited Mexico, as documented in her memoir, "Whirling Through Mexico."⁵¹ Within his circle of friends and associates in the United States, Chávez became well known for his willingness to introduce U.S. artists, intellectuals, and friends to Mexico. The correspondence files in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) contain many requests for Chávez's help, including those from Martha Graham and Marsden Hartley.⁵² When visiting, U.S. friends invariably attended performances of the OSM, where they were able to witness not just the modernism and nationalism in the programming, but also the focus on U.S. music.⁵³ One of the very first works the orchestra performed was John Alden Carpenter's *Skyscrapers*; over the next several years, they would feature compositions by William Grant Still, Henry Cowell, Roy Harris, Virgil Thomson, and Aaron Copland.⁵⁴

In the pages of *Modern Music*, the strength of Chávez's influence was apparent in the occasional reports about musical life in Mexico, particularly during the last decade of publication. When Lederman decided to run a regular column about music in the Americas titled "Inter-American Review," she turned toward Chávez for help: "Don't you want to write us a letter from Mexico telling how musical life is effected [*sic*] by the war?"⁵⁵

Although he agreed to do so, he was unable to provide *Modern Music* with an article for the magazine. In a letter dated 4 January 1943, Chávez describes the problem: "There was a lot of ground to cover and many connected subjects to deal with. . . . I have now twelve typewritten pages, but it is still only a first draft. As I see it now, in its definite form the article will have around 25 pages."⁵⁶

On 19 January, Lederman replied, declining the article because of its length (pieces for *Modern Music* did not exceed 2,700 words).⁵⁷ Chávez was not asked to contribute to the column again; indeed, *Modern Music* did not print another article by him.⁵⁸ The search for "Inter-American Review" columnists continued. Two days after writing to Chávez, Lederman wrote Copland in desperation, "Having embarked on a Latin-American section now I'd like to be able to fill it."⁵⁹ Copland's ideas included Salvador Moreno, "a young composer in the Chávez camp."⁶⁰ Moreno first contributed a short article for the March–April 1945 issue; not surprisingly, it included a long section on Chávez and the OSM prefaced with the statement "The Symphony Orchestra of Mexico continues to be the most important factor in the musical life of the Republic."⁶¹

The theme continued in a similar piece Moreno wrote for the last issue of the magazine:

During the past season of seventeen concerts, more than forty works by moderns and contemporaries were presented—a really extraordinary number for any orchestra in the world—and of these more than twenty were played for the first time in Mexico. The presence of three great contemporary composers, Stravinsky, Milhaud and Hindemith, as guest conductors in programs mainly of their own works, made this an exceptional season. . . . The zeal of Carlos Chávez in encouraging symphonic activity is at last bearing fruit in the whole republic.⁶²

Thus Moreno posits that Chávez created a critical node in Mexico City within a cosmopolitan modernist network. The Mexico City node drew from the musical culture of Europe, augmented that inheritance with

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homegrown music, and radiated outward from the capital to Mexico's other urban centers. Although unstated in the article—but implied in its language and publication in *Modern Music*—Chávez's Mexico City was also threaded to New York, by more than New World identity. Both locations were modernist scenes strengthened by attention diverted from war-ravaged Europe. Moreover, Chávez's multidimensional modernist impulses were amplified in both cities. In New York he felt an affinity to avant-gardists like Cowell, Varèse, and Copland, and a sense of community in the *Modern Music* circle, but in Mexico City he was able to effect changes in musical life that made widespread acceptance of modernism seem possible.

Conclusion

Minna Lederman and *Modern Music* were at the center of a modernist culture in New York connecting contemporary composers to one another, to music critics, and to modernists around the world by creating a forum in which they could express their understanding of new music and the mechanics that supported it. An examination of Chávez's participation in the publication confirms the composer's centrality to New York musical modernism and refines our understanding of the cosmopolitan, transnational relationship between the musical communities of Mexico City and New York as mediated by both the composer and his friends in New York. The importance of Chávez's role is not only demonstrated by the frequency with which he wrote and was written about in the publication, but also by the substance of that material. That is, even in negative or mixed reviews, such as those by Blitzstein, his music was regarded as part of a serious experiment in new music.

Chávez's articles for *Modern Music* reveal his belief in the publication as a mechanism to ignite change within the music community of New York, and he saw his experiences in Mexico as informative. His own prose is subtle about making this connection, but others, like Thomson in the *Herald Tribune* and Moreno in *Modern Music*, emphasized more directly the rare adventurousness in Chávez's programming and reform agenda. Such articles suggest that Mexico City should be considered alongside New York as having formed part of a nascent international modernist scene.

The material illuminating Chávez and *Modern Music* also establishes that the composer and the musical life he cultivated in Mexico were as critical in developing the careers of others as New York was in shaping Chávez's career. The evidence dismantles any view of knowledge flow

as unidirectional. Chávez's efforts to create a performance platform for modernist, American orchestral music were widely admired and envied; composers and new music enthusiasts in the United States wished to emulate him and his orchestra. Not only are his articles for *Modern Music* practical and informative, but his music compositions and patronage inspired fellow composers, including Colin McPhee. Chávez's ideas about modernism, like those of Lederman, Cowell, Rosenfeld, and Copland, shaped the development of music in New York, inspiring composers and critics to reimagine the possibilities for new music. In this way he was not an exotic Mexican, but a cosmopolitan modernist whose contributions to the New York modern music scene were integral to the development of music and identity there.

NOTES

1. Virgil Thomson, "Closing Activities," Box 1, *Modern Music* Archive, Performing Arts Reading Room, Library of Congress.

2. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006). The idea pervades the book, but is introduced in Chapter 3, "The Origins of National Consciousness," 37–46.

3. Carlos Chávez, "Technique and Inner Form," *Modern Music* 5/4 (May–June 1927): 28–31. (Henceforth *MM*.)

4. Ingrid Monson, *Saying Something: Jazz Improvisation and Interaction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 2. Other texts informing my approach include Julian Gerstin, "Reputation in a Musical Scene: The Everyday Context of Connections Between Music, Identity, and Politics," *Ethnomusicology* 42/3 (Fall 1998): 385–414; and Benjamin Brinner, *Knowing Music, Making Music: Javanese Gamelan and the Theory of Musical Competence and Interaction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). Although a large body of literature in popular music studies examines "scenes," I have found the methods in the works cited above to be more applicable here.

5. I am deeply indebted to scholars who study Chávez and New York. The works I have relied on most include Leonora Saavedra, "Carlos Chávez y la construcción de una alteridad estratégica," in *Diálogo de resplandores: Carlos Chávez y Silvestre Revueltas*, ed. Yael Bitrán and Ricardo Miranda (Mexico City: INBA/CONACULTA, 2002), 125–36; also Saavedra's "Of Selves and Others: Historiography, Ideology, and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2001); Robert L. Parker, *Carlos Chávez: Mexico's Modern-Day Orpheus* (Boston: Twayne, 1983); also Parker's "Carlos Chávez and the Ballet: A Study in Persistence," *Choreography and Dance* 3–4 (1994): 81–88; and "Carlos Chávez y la música para el cine," *Heterofonía* 17/1 (January–March 1984): 13; Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Antonio Saborit, "Mexican Gaities: Chávez en la Babilonia de hierro," in *Diálogo de resplandores*, 139–48; Stephanie N. Stallings, "Collective Difference: The Pan-American Association of Composers and Pan-American Ideology in Music, 1925–1945" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2009).

The foundational scholars in this area are Robert Parker, Roberto García Morillo, and Robert Stevenson. Their thinking is strongly connected to those more interested in Chávez's work and legacy in Mexico, such as Gloria Carmona, Yolanda Moreno Rivas, and José Antonio Alcaraz. There are too many texts by Carmona to list here; the most

useful for this study are Carlos Chávez, *Escritos periodísticos (1916–1939)*, ed. Gloria Carmona (Mexico City: El Colegio Nacional, 1997); and Carlos Chávez, *Epistolario selecto*, ed. Gloria Carmona (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989). The relevant work by Moreno Rivas is *Rostros del nacionalismo en la música mexicana: Un ensayo de interpretación* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989); and that of Alcaraz is *Carlos Chávez: Un constante renacer* (Mexico City: INBA/CENIDIM, 1996).

I also draw on the scholarship of those who examine music in New York, particularly Carol Oja, who has closely studied *Modern Music*, the League of Composers, and the people who functioned within such organizations. Other pertinent works are Michael Meckna, “Copland, Sessions, and *Modern Music*: The Rise of the Composer-Critic in America,” *American Music* 3/2 (Summer 1985): 198–204; David Metzger, “The League of Composers: The Initial Years,” *American Music* 15/1 (Spring 1997): 45–69; “‘New Music of New Ears’: The International Composers’ Guild,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36/2 (Summer 1983): 266–86; Carol Oja, ed., *Stravinsky in Modern Music (1924–1946)* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982); and Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

6. Oja, *Making Music Modern*, 11–58; Michael Broyles and Denise Von Glahn, *Leo Ornstein: Modernist Dilemmas, Personal Choices* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 85–146.

7. Minna Lederman, *The Life and Death of a Small Magazine (Modern Music, 1924–1946)* (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, Brooklyn College, 1983), 4.

8. *Ibid.*, 9.

9. Henry Cowell, “New Terms for New Music,” *MM* 5/4 (May–June 1928): 21–27.

10. *Otros tres exágonos* was performed under the auspices of the International Composers’ Guild (ICG) on 8 February 1925. The fourth movement of *H.P.* premiered under the auspices of the ICG 28 November 1926. The sonatinas and Chávez’s Sonata III had been performed at the first Copland-Sessions concert, 22 April 1928.

11. Chávez, “Technique and Inner Form,” 28–31.

12. Carlos Chávez, “Revolt in Mexico,” *MM* 13/3 (March–April 1936): 35–40.

13. Carlos Chávez, “The Function of the Concert,” *MM* 15/2 (January–February 1938): 71–75.

14. Carlos Chávez, “Music for the Radio,” *MM* 17/2 (January–February 1940): 89–92.

15. Chávez, “The Function of the Concert,” 71–75.

16. See Francisco Agea, ed., *21 Años de la Orquesta Sinfónica de México, 1928–1948* (México: Orquesta Sinfónica de México, 1948).

17. In Table 1 I have listed the works performed by the New York Philharmonic for the 1939 season. These programs and others may be found in John Erskine, *The Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York: Its First Hundred Years* (New York: Macmillan, 1943). The article may be found under “Mexican Programs,” *New York Herald Tribune*, 16 March 1941. In that article, as in Table 1, Thomson lists a Symphony in B-flat by “H. Ch. Bach.” I suspect this is a misprint; it should read J. Ch. Bach, or Johann Christian Bach, in which case the piece identified would most likely be the Fourth Symphony from Op. 6 or one of the two B-flat symphonies from Op. 9.

18. Chávez, “Music for the Radio,” 89–92.

19. Carlos Chávez, *Toward a New Music: Music and Electricity* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1937).

20. Chávez to Lederman, 3 May 1938, Fondo Carlos Chávez, Archivo General de la Nación (henceforth AGN).

21. Chávez to Lederman, 23 March 1939, AGN.

22. Akihiro Taniguchi, “Music for the Microphone: Network Broadcasts and the Creation of American Compositions in the Golden Age of Radio” (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2003); Margaret Susan Key, “Sweet Melody over Silent Wave: Depression-Era Radio and the American Composer” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1995).

23. Robert Parker and Leonora Saavedra have commented on New York's early influence, and Carol Oja, in *Making Music Modern*, implies as much with her comment that "New York became Paris for this young man from Mexico City" (278). Robert L. Parker, "Carlos Chávez and the Ballet," 81–88; Leonora Saavedra, "Carlos Chávez y la construcción de una alteridad estratégica," 125–136 and "Of Selves and Others."

24. Aaron Copland, "Carlos Chávez—Mexican Composer," *The New Republic*, 2 May 1928, 322–23; Rosenfeld, "The Americanism of Carlos Chávez," in *By Way of Art: Criticisms of Music, Literature, Painting, Sculpture, and the Dance* (New York: Coward McCann, 1928).

25. Copland to Chávez, 31 October 1928, Copland Collection, Library of Congress.

26. For a more detailed analysis, see Christina Taylor Gibson, "The Reception of Carlos Chávez's *Horsepower*: A Pan-American Communication Failure," *American Music* 30/2 (Summer 2012): 157–93.

27. Lederman to Chávez, 2 February 1932, AGN.

28. Marc Blitzstein, "Premieres and Experiments," *MM* 10/3 (March–April 1932): 124.

29. Marc Blitzstein, "Music and Theatre—1932," *MM* 10/4 (May–June 1932): 164–66.

30. Colin McPhee, "Forecast and Review: New York—January, February 1936," *MM* 13/3 (March–April 1936): 42–43.

31. Chávez, "Revolt in Mexico," 36.

32. Hickman Powell, *The Last Paradise* (New York: J. Cape and H. Smith, 1930); Hendrik De Leeuw and Alexander King, *Crossroads of the Java Sea* (New York: J. Cape and H. Smith, 1931); Gregory Bateson, Margaret Mead, and D. Carleton Gajdusek, *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis* (New York Academy of Sciences, 1942); Miguel Covarrubias, *Island of Bali* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937).

33. Many letters were exchanged about recordings of world music. For example, Cowell to Chávez, 11 September 1932; and Cowell to Chávez, 17 February 1933, AGN.

34. A description of McPhee's activities in New York can be found in Carol Oja, *Colin McPhee: Composer in Two Worlds* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 94–101.

35. Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others," 301–16.

36. Oja, *Colin McPhee*, 101.

37. *Ibid.*, 99–102.

38. Colin McPhee "Scores and Records," *MM* 17/3 (March–April 1940): 179–81.

39. Colin McPhee, "New York's Spring Season," *MM* 13/4 (May–June 1936): 39–42.

40. Aaron Copland, "The Composer in America, 1923–1933," *MM* 10/2 (January–February 1933): 87–92.

41. Paul Rosenfeld, "The Newest American Composers," *MM* 15/3 (March–April 1938): 153–59.

42. Donald Fuller, "Americans to the Fore—New York, 1941–42," *MM* 19/2 (January–February 1942): 110–11.

43. John Cage, "Chávez and the Chicago Drouth," *MM* 19/3 (March–April 1942): 185–86.

44. Elliott Carter, "Late Winter, New York, 1937," *MM* 14/3 (March–April 1937): 147–54.

45. Israel Citkowitz, "Winter Music, New York, 1933," *MM* 10/3 (March–April 1933): 155–57.

46. Aaron Copland, "Scores and Records," *MM* 14/2 (January–February 1937): 98–101.

47. Both are loaded terms for Mexicans. A *caudillo* is a forceful, charismatic, sometimes violent leader, and often one who overstays his time in power. A *cacique* is an overlord or petty tyrant, often found in rural spaces. Ricardo Pérez Monfort, "Carlos Chávez en los años cuarenta: Caudillo o cacique cultural," in Bitrán and Miranda, *Diálogo de respaldadores*, 182–92.

48. Saavedra, Parker, Stallings, and Hess have examined aspects of this dynamic, although much of their work focuses on the intense negotiations of Chávez's early career, ca. 1924–36.

49. Parker, "Carlos Chávez and the Ballet," 81–88; Oliver Daniels, *Stokowski: A Counterpoint of View* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1982), 278.

50. Parker, "Carlos Chávez y la música para el cine," 13.

51. "Whirling Through Mexico," Mabel Dodge Luhan Papers, Beineke Library, Yale University.

52. Letter of introduction by Claire Reis for Martha Graham sent to Chávez, 19 May 1932, AGN; Marsden Hartley to Chávez, n.d. (1932), AGN.

53. Agea, *21 Años de la OSM*, 43–69.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Lederman to Chávez, 6 October 1942, AGN. The casual, friendly nature of the inquiry is reflected in much of their correspondence, which continues until the end of Chávez's life and inspired Lederman to make her own trip to Mexico in the 1960s.

56. Chávez to Lederman, 4 January 1943, AGN.

57. Lederman to Chávez, 19 January 1943, AGN.

58. Chávez to Lederman, 11 January 1946, AGN. Chávez later contributed to a volume of Stravinsky essays, also edited by Lederman and published after the magazine folded.

59. It had been Copland's idea to publish the column, thus the constant dialogue with him. Lederman to Copland, 22 January 1943, Modern Music Collection, Library of Congress.

60. Copland to Lederman, 6 October 1944 (posted from Tepoztlan, Morelos, Mexico), Modern Music Collection, Library of Congress.

61. Salvador Moreno, "Inter-American Reviews: Mexico," *MM* 22/3 (March–April 1945): 191–92.

62. Salvador Moreno, "Inter-American Reviews: Big Three in Mexico," *MM* 23/4 (Fall 1946): 304–5.