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Luis A. Delgadillo and the Cultural Occupation of Nicaragua under U.S.-American Intervention

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

Bernard Joseph Gordillo

September 2019

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Leonora Saavedra, Chairperson
Dr. Walter Aaron Clark
Dr. Byron Adams

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The Dissertation of Bernard Joseph Gordillo is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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I imagine this dissertation to be like a creek, calm enough to appear still yet subtly flowing toward the horizon, a vanishing point located in the future. In contrast to its ambiguous destination, the creek emanates from a great basin, a deep well and gathering place into which numerous tributaries of water, great and small, come together. Without these tributaries there would be no basin, no creek. Indeed, there would be no dissertation. In recognition of the many tributaries, I acknowledge the individuals, institutions, and organizations that have supported my work over a period of years. And I take responsibility for any errors that may have evaded review. Unless noted otherwise, all translations appearing throughout this document are mine.

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Es un error creer que el pasado no existe.
En el ahora se tocan el ayer y el mañana.
El pasado siempre está ahí; lo que no existe es el tiempo.

It is an error to believe that the past does not exist.
Yesterday and tomorrow touch the present.
The past is always there. Time is what does not exist.

–Alfredo Valessi, via Jorge Eduardo Arellano (2014)

María: ¡Siempre antiyanquista!
Enrique: Anti-intervencionista, que es otra cosa.

María: Anti-yankee, as always!
Enrique: Anti-interventionist, which is another matter.

Pájaros del norte (1936)

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Luis A. Delgadillo and the Cultural Occupation of Nicaragua
under U.S.-American Intervention

by

Bernard Joseph Gordillo

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Music
University of California, Riverside, September 2019
Dr. Leonora Saavedra, Chairperson

The U.S.-American intervention in Nicaragua (1909–1933) had far-reaching consequences for the country, and isthmus of Central America. Among a number of U.S. interventions in the Caribbean Basin from the early twentieth century, Nicaragua was key to U.S. security in the region, preventing the reunification of the Central American federation, while obtaining the perpetual right to build an inter-oceanic canal across the country. Guided by the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (1904), the U.S. meddled in Nicaraguan internal affairs for over two decades through political, economic, and military machinery, ultimately transforming Nicaragua into a protectorate. With the state plunged into economic impoverishment, and the nation disintegrated, Nicaraguan culture buckled under the weight of foreign imposition.

This dissertation examines the cultural effects of intervention, a little-studied aspect of U.S. geopolitics in the Caribbean Basin, through the music and published writings of Nicaraguan composer Luis Abraham Delgadillo (1884–1961), employing him as a lens through which to understand the period from a local and transnational perspective. Delgadillo responded and adapted to the impositions of

intervention through musical nationalism, a private project informed by nation-building discourses particular to Central America. He was one of a number of Latin American composers from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who created art and popular musics based on folklore, yet his practice was marked by regionalism and continentalism in subject matter. More importantly, his musical nationalism was both a tool of resistance to and support of the intervention, a result of his sustained negotiation with a culture under foreign compromise. Delgadillo and various musical, literary, and political contemporaries thus figure throughout this examination, which comprises six broad thematic areas—U.S. geopolitics and consequences, transnational musical exchange, civic ritual and meaning, cultural ambivalence, nationalist theater, and musical representation.

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INTRODUCTION

A Central American Returns Home

By mid-December of 1909, Luis Abraham Delgadillo (1884–1961) had come to the realization that his days in Milan, Italy were numbered. He had arrived a few years earlier to study piano and composition at the Royal Conservatory of Music, leaving his native Nicaragua at the age of twenty three.[1] But a recent turn of events threatened to curtail his artistic aspirations—with little warning and no justification given, the Nicaraguan government withdrew financial support for his studies.[2] There was likely no need for a justification, however, as he would have been well aware of the grave political situation unfolding back home. Nicaragua had descended into civil war, and subsequently attracted intervention from the United States.[3] The ruling Liberal government withdrew his income for want of financial resources caused by the political turmoil. Nevertheless, Delgadillo chose to remain in Milan on his own.[4]

As political power devolved in Nicaragua, Delgadillo attempted to press ahead with life abroad, but looming penury forced him to return home within months. The loss of a government stipend abbreviated his studies, though it appears they were completed, and forced him to begin a professional career earlier than expected.[5] He would soon

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[1] "Miscelánea noticiosa de Nicaragua. En Milán [Italia] piensa editar un periódico…," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Dec. 18, 1907.
[2] "Un Centroamericano en Italia," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Dec. 17, 1909.
[3] Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1912–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004), 93.
[4] "Un Centroamericano."
[5] "Un Artista Centroamericano. Dará conciertos en varias poblaciones de El Salvador," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Jul. 24, 1911.

confront a terrible political situation in Nicaragua, and the role of the United States in its internal affairs. By late September of 1910, he was residing, once again, with his parents in Managua.[6] Despite the dramatic change in climate, he proceeded to reintroduce himself to metropolitan society through exhibition recitals and an active social life.[7] He also began to court Juana Vélez.[8] Unfortunately, professional opportunities in Managua fell short of his expectations, and he briefly relocated to El Salvador in search of better horizons, only to return home not long thereafter.[9]

Married to Vélez by the beginning of 1912, Delgadillo decided to make the best of it in Managua.[10] The apparent joyous turn in his personal life was in stark contrast to the persistent disorder in national politics, and the transformation of Nicaragua into a protectorate of the United States. As Dollar Diplomacy took hold in Nicaragua, he faced the daunting challenge of pursuing a vocation as a composer of art music. For the next two decades, he would negotiate a professional career in the shadow of the intervention. In this dissertation, I will examine the cultural effects of the U.S.-American intervention in Nicaragua (1909–1933) through the compositions and published writings of Luis A. Delgadillo. My primary aim is to expand our knowledge of Delgadillo and of art music in

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[6] "Noticiero Centroamericano. Nicaragua. El artista don Luis A. Delgadillo...," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Sep. 26, 1910.
[7] Ibid., and "Noticiero Centroamericano. Nicaragua. Un gran concierto," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Oct. 6, 1910.
[8] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Lírio enfermo (A la virtuosa señorita Juana Vélez)," *El Comercio* (Managua), Nov. 11, 1910.
[9] "Un Artista Centroamericano. Dará conciertos en varias poblaciones de El Salvador," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Jul. 24, 1911; and "Centro América al Día. Nicaragua. Regresó Delgadillo," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Sep. 1, 1911. He also intended to tour Central America, but went no further than El Salvador.
[10] "Centro América al Día. Nicaragua. Próximo matrimonio," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Nov. 18, 1911.

Nicaragua. However, much more than a biography, my dissertation also aims to position Delgadillo in context of the intervention and greater geopolitical events in the Caribbean Basin during the first decades of the twentieth century, a period in which he developed as a Latin American composer.

Road to Nicaraguan Sovereignty

In the early 1820s, Nicaragua began its road to nationhood with the end of Spanish colonialism.[11] As part of the Central American Federation (1824–1838), the state found its identity through a shared colonial (political, social, and economic) and geographic history with its isthmian neighbors and former New Spanish provinces—Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica. Although relatively short-lived, the federation continued to exist symbolically as a nationalist imaginary throughout the isthmus, giving impetus to numerous reunification movements during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Indeed, vestiges of the federation were to be found in the nationalist symbols of the newly independent states. With its separation from the federation, Nicaragua experienced years of social and political instability as an independent state (1838–1858), culminating in the "National War" (1856–1857), a regional conflict waged and won against the onslaught of private U.S. intervention led by soldier of fortune William Walker (1824–1860). In the wake of this war, Nicaraguan Conservative and

[11] A province of New Spain within the Captaincy of Guatemala, Nicaragua declared collective independence from Spain, alongside four other provinces within the captaincy, on September 15, 1821.

Liberal elites came together to form a republic.[12] Nicaragua thus became a nation on August 19, 1858.[13] The new constitution reflected its regenerated profile as a nation-state marked by cosmopolitan nationalism.[14] The processes of nation-building, the subsequent growth and stability of Nicaragua, went relatively uninterrupted for the next decades, a period known as the "thirty years" of Conservative elite rule. From 1893–1909, José Santos Zelaya disrupted this process by imposing his own project, a Liberal government under his presidency, which came to a sudden end with his resignation vis-à-vis official U.S. intervention. The period that followed under intervention (1909–1933) deeply compromised Nicaraguan sovereignty, and suppressed the short-lived possibility of a democratic future in the absence of Zelaya.

The intervention compromised the development of national culture as a nation-building strategy, usually championed by the state and the middle classes. With a disintegrated society and an impoverished state due to Dollar Diplomacy, a national

---

[12] During the second half of the nineteenth century, the political ideologies of Nicaraguan Liberals and Conservatives did not differ significantly in regard to nationalism and capitalism. However, Catholic Doctrine was an integral part of Conservative ideology; see Frances Kinloch, *El imaginario del canal y la nación cosmopolita. Nicaragua, Siglo XIX* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2015), 30.

[13] "Constitución política de la república de Nicaragua (19 de agosto de 1858)," Antonio Esgueva Gómez, ed., *Las constituciones políticas y sus reformas en la historia de Nicaragua*, vol. 1 (Managua: Editorial IHNCA-UCA, 2000), 327–350.

[14] Nicaraguan cosmopolitanism was similar to that found in other parts of Latin America during the nineteenth century. According to historian Michel Gobat, the profile involved "greater insertion of the nation into the world economy," allowing the influx of "foreign immigrants, principally Europeans and North Americans," and the embracing of "ideas and ways that marked North Atlantic models of 'progress.'" However, it was distinct, he added, because of the attraction to the trans-isthmian canal, and the expectation of the role the U.S. would take in its construction. Nicaraguan cosmopolitan nationalism during the "thirty years" thus had less to do with "Europeanization" and more with "Nicaraguans' capitalist embrace of the "[U.S.] American way of life"; see Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 42–43.

economy sustained by no more than an imposed allowance, the government enacted only one cultural project—it ceded control of the education system to the Catholic Church. There appeared to be state-sponsored civic nationalism, a gesture directed toward preserving the integrity of the state under intervention. But it was no more than a façade, a thin veneer of civic ritual intended to project a sense of national unity and sovereignty within and outside of Nicaragua. There were no genuine efforts at developing a nation out of the people through native-born culture. Nevertheless, efforts at creating nationalist art flourished in response to the intervention, primarily, through personal projects.

As a Nicaraguan cultural figure, Delgadillo responded and adapted to the intervention through musical nationalism, an expansive practice marked by regionalism and continentalism in subject matter. He was one of a number of Latin American composers from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who "tried to construct a purely American musical art, introducing the direct employment of folkloric material in his works."[15] In a number of case studies involving Delgadillo, this dissertation explores nationalism in music during the intervention.[16] With this in mind, I observe two tenets: 1)

[15] Roque Cordero, "Vigencia del músico culto," in *América Latina en su música*, ed. Isabel Aretz (Paris: Unesco, 1977), 157. "…trató de crear un arte musical netamente americano introduciendo en sus obras la cita directa del material folklórico."

[16] The formulation of nation and nationalism that I employ throughout the dissertation is principally and directly modeled after musicologist Leonora Saavedra and her article "El nuevo pasado mexicano: estrategias de representación en Atzimba de Ricardo Castro," *Resonancias* 19/35 (Jul.–Nov. 2014): 81–83. Saavedra builds and expands on the work of Ernest Gellner (*Thought and Change*, 1965; *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983; and *Nationalism*, 1997), Eric Hobsbawm (*The Invention of Tradition*, 1983; and *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 1990), Benedict Anderson (*Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 1983), Anthony D. Smith (*The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 1986; and *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, 1999), and Miroslav Hroch (*Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, 2000).

the political and cultural work of nationalism must be in place before the formation of the nation; 2) a principal objective of nationalism is the international projection of the nation and its sovereignty to other nations. In this sense, and in a departure from its typical work, nationalism can thus function as a form of resistance when the sovereignty of a nation is compromised. Alternatively, nationalism can serve as a tool to sustain a state that is complicit with intervention. In regards to musical nationalism, I consider it to be distinguished by two conceptualizations. On one hand, it may denote "a musical style that consists in the employment—generally, as thematic or rhythmic material—of musics considered or posited as *del pueblo* (of the folk) on the part of art music composers."[17] On the other, it may have nothing do with musical style, and thus carry a social and political function. Delgadillo created both kinds of nationalist music.

L.A. Delgadillo and Art Music in Nicaragua

An extensive study on Luis A. Delgadillo, or art music of Nicaragua, has yet to be undertaken. Much of the scholarly information can be primarily found in surveys of Latin American music that first appeared in the 1940s, the earliest of which were likely informed by direct communication with Delgadillo. With one exception addressed below, most of the survey literature is no more recent than the year 1980.[18]

[17] Leonora Saavedra, "Manuel M. Ponce y la canción mexicana," *Heterofonía* 142 (Jan.–Jun. 2010), 171. "…un estilo musical que consiste en la utilización, generalmente como material temático o rítmico, de músicas consideradas o propuestas como 'del pueblo' por parte de los compositores de música de concierto."

[18] Among the most accessible biographical sources that include Delgadillo are the three principal academic dictionaries on music: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2002), or *Grove Music Online*; the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* (c. 1999–2002); and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik* (c. 1994).

Nicolas Slonimsky profiled the composer in *Music of Latin America* (1945) under the section on Nicaragua, touting him as the country's "foremost musician," though he did not mention any other, and quoting from one of his published essays on the state of art music in Nicaragua. He also included a portrait, substantial biographical detail, and the titles and dates of some of his more important compositions.[19] Slonimsky noted the premieres of three orchestral works by Delgadillo in later editions of *Music since 1900* (1937) under "Descriptive Chronology, 1900–1991." In *A Guide to the Music of Latin America* (1962), a revision and enlargement of *A Guide to Latin American Music* (1945), Gilbert Chase opened the chapter on Nicaragua by describing Delgadillo as the "chief representative of contemporary musical activity" in the country. And while he noted three other Nicaraguan composers, while providing no more information than their names, only a few large-scale works by Delgadillo received mention. Nevertheless, three essays and a book written by the composer were included in the accompanying bibliography.[20]

Otto Mayer-Serra dedicated an entry to Delgadillo, and mentions a few other art music composers under "Nicaragua," in *Música y músicos de Latinoamérica* (1947).[21] He presents a concise, yet thorough survey of Delgadillo's musical education, professional career, and catalog of works. Mayer-Serra also includes a descriptive analysis of his more prominent symphonies and operas. Gerard Béhague briefly noted Delgadillo in *Music in*

Widely read and cited, these sources present as much information as is currently available on Delgadillo, little of which was not already published in earlier surveys.

[19] Nicholas Slonimsky, *Music of Latin America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1945), 256–58.

[20] Gilbert Chase, *A Guide to the Music of Latin America* (New York: AMS Press, 1962), 317–19.

[21] Otto Mayer-Serra, *Música y músicos de Latinoamérica* (Mexico City: Editorial Atlante, 1947), 311–13.

Latin America: An Introduction (1979) among a handful of Central American composers who employed indigenous, folk, or Afro-Latin elements in their works, while composing in a Romantic or impressionistic style.[22] A portrait, brief biography in Spanish and English, and catalog of works were included in the second volume of the Pan American Union series *Compositores de América: datos biográficos y catálogos de sus obras / Composers of the Americas: Biographical Data and Catalogs of Their Works* (1956).[23] Likely provided by Delgadillo, the entry includes the most substantial chronological list of works by genre compiled to date. But the dating of some compositions is at odds with extant primary sources.

In his journal article "La música en centroamérica y Panamá" (1966), Roque Cordero recalled Delgadillo as "the most important composer from Nicaragua," and proceeded to give a brief sketch of his life and works.[24] Cordero also mentioned Delgadillo in his chapter "Vigencia del músico culto," in *América Latina en su música* (1977), and placed him among a number of composers who employed musical folklore in their works.[25] Daniel Devoto and José María Neves also made note of Delgadillo in their respective chapters of the same book. In *Creación musical en Guatemala* (2005), Dieter Lehnhoff cites Delgadillo in context of Guatemalan composers who practiced musical

[22] Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 308.
[23] *Compositores de América: datos biográficos y catálogos de sus obras / Composers of the Americas: Biographical Data and Catalogs of Their Works 2* (Washington D.C.: Unión Panamericana, 1956/62), 41–49.
[24] Roque Cordero, "La música en Centroamérica y Panamá," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* (July 1966), 414–15.
[25] Roque Cordero, "Vigencia del músico culto," in *América Latina en su música*, ed. Isabel Aretz (Paris: Unesco, 1977), 154–73.

nationalism.[26] More recently, T.M. Scruggs briefly mentions Delgadillo in the chapter "Central America, Colombia, and Venezuela," from the textbook *Musics of Latin America* (2012).[27]

The serial *Boletín nicaragüense de bibliografía y documentación* dedicated the entirety of volume 48 (1982) and beginning of volume 49 (1982) to the compilation of previously published documents on music in Nicaragua, including facsimile manuscripts, printed music, book excerpts, and essays on various genres, including art music. The selected bibliography contained in volume 49 is of particular importance in locating the modest source material on music known at the time of its publication.[28]

While the political, economic, and military context of intervention in Nicaragua has been the impetus of a substantial body of literature, the subject of culture as a focal point has been of little or passing interest to scholars. A number of variables have contributed to the scant information available on Nicaraguan culture—especially, music—during the intervention. The more formidable of these variables are related to the disintegration of Nicaraguan public and private archives and libraries throughout the twentieth century, variously resulting from the Managua earthquakes (1931 and 1972), numerous political conflicts (notably, those surrounding the Sandinista Revolution, 1979), waves of diasporic migration, and forms of negligence or lack of interest over

[26] Dieter Lehnhoff, *Creación musical en Guatemala* (Guatemala: Universidad Rafael Landívar, 2005), 253.
[27] Robin Moore and Walter Aaron Clark, eds., *Musics of Latin America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2012), 140.
[28] Jorge Eduardo Arellano, ed., *Boletín nicaragüense de bibliografía y documentación*, vols. 48–49 (Managua: Banco Central de Nicaragua, 1982).

time. A side-effect of the disintegration has been the scattering of sources to other parts of the world, contributing to extensive lacunae and limited accessibility within Nicaragua. However, political stability in the last decades and advancements in technology and communication have begun to rectify an otherwise challenging situation. Drawing from a wide range of newly available archival sources, I seek to build substantially upon the aforementioned literature on Delgadillo and art music in Nicaragua.

The source material employed in this dissertation primarily comes from public and private collections in Managua, Nicaragua. I also drew from collections the United States, Mexico, Spain, Italy, Guatemala, and Brazil. In Managua, the archive and library of the Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica (IHNCA) of the Universidad Centroamericana was my principal source for books, periodicals, and other ephemera. Any notable gaps were covered, to some extent, by national collections housed under three divisions located at the Palacio de la Cultura: Archivo General de la Nación, Hemeroteca Nacional, and Biblioteca Nacional. The Archivo General houses the Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense (FONMUNIC), the largest collection of extant manuscripts (autographs and copies) of Delgadillo's compositions. The library of the Banco Central de Nicaragua also proved to be useful in locating hard-to-find sources. The private archive of the Delgadillo Tapia family holds a substantial number of unique materials.[29] In the United States, Yale University's collections were crucial in filling-in gaps. Its large holdings of literature relating to Nicaragua are the result of a

[29] I was able to facilitate in its digitization by IHNCA, making it accessible to future scholars.

purchase made by the university in the 1980s.[30] In Mexico, the collections of the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (INBA), Hemeroteca Nacional, and Biblioteca Nacional were instrumental in shedding light on Delgadillo's Mexican period. The Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya and library of the Conservatorio Statale di Musica "Giuseppe Verdi" hold the only extant copies of the books published by Delgadillo during the intervention. The archive of the Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica houses unique documents regarding Guatemalan political and cultural history, much of which is otherwise inaccessible. Yet the institution is slowly digitizing its collections and making available online. The Acervo Curt Lange holds the correspondence between Delgadillo and musicologist Francisco Curt Lange. There is a deficiency of a particular kind of source material employed in this dissertation: the bulk of extant correspondence by Delgadillo. A collection of hundreds of letters, donated by the Delgadillo Tapia family to the Sandinista government in the 1980s, cannot be located, and I was thus unable to make use of them.

Organization of Chapters

This dissertation aims to explore the nature of musical nationalism in a country under foreign intervention. Toward this aim, Luis A. Delgadillo figures as a lens throughout my examination of six broad thematic areas: U.S. geopolitics and

[30] Much of it is the former personal library of Franco Cerutti (b. 1918), an Italian émigré in Nicaragua who amassed a massive collection of books prior to the Sandinista Revolution.

consequences, transnational musical exchange, civic ritual and meaning, cultural ambivalence, nationalist theater, and musical representation.

In Chapter 1, I present the geopolitical motivation and context of U.S. intervention in the Caribbean Basin from the Spanish-American War (1898) through the first decades of the twentieth century. The U.S. considered Nicaragua of particular importance for maintaining control of the region, and took advantage of an internal conflict to intervene in its sovereign affairs. Once transformed into its protectorate (1912–1933), the U.S. secured the right to build an inter-oceanic canal across Nicaragua, thereby, closing the gap in a major regional security concern. With an all-consuming profile—political paternalism, fiscal and financial protectionism, and military occupation—the intervention in Nicaragua had an immediate and long-term impact on its social, political, economic, and cultural makeup and development. In turn, these consequences engendered no small amount of cultural responses to the intervention, taking on various forms, especially in literature and music. Delgadillo was a noteworthy figure of the latter.

In Chapter 2, I examine the process by which Delgadillo came to develop as a nationalist composer. While he was drawn to the writings of Felipe Pedrell on musical nationalism, and they form the foundation of his ideas on folklore, Delgadillo adapted them through an engagement with the work of Manuel M. Ponce and other Mexican composers and intellectuals while residing in Mexico. The result of the adaptation was a lasting engagement with *mestizo* popular song and indigenous musical elements. Out of the latter aspect came works in an Indianist style whose compositional language drew

from French musical exoticism. Lacking sufficient public or private support for his music, a condition exacerbated by successive national financial crises during the first decades of the intervention, Delgadillo left Nicaragua for long stretches of time in search of opportunity and artistic advancement. From 1921 onward, he lived or traveled throughout the American continent, and practiced a form of transnational artistic and intellectual exchange known as *americanismo musical*. The intervention was thus a formative period for Delgadillo in which he matured as a Latin American composer, a profile he continued to develop for the rest of his life.

In Chapter 3, I examine civic ritual under intervention through the national anthem. Nicaraguans sang the anthem *La patria amada* for most of the intervention—its newly-written text (1913) was set to pre-existing military music from the nineteenth century. A departure from traditional Latin American models, the text also called for peace, while lacking the typical symbolism that touched on national myths. The brief appearance of a replacement text in 1918—*Salve a tí, Nicaragua!*—was not that much different in content. However, its author, Salomón Ibarra Mayorga, wrote a text that subtly protested the intervention, and it was subsequently put away. Although the theme of peace pervaded both anthem texts, the music invoked the specter of revolution. More importantly, *La patria amada* fell in line with the pacification project mad thus complicity with the intervention. As director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes, Delgadillo had a decisive role in the musical settings of both texts.

In Chapter 4, I examine the cultural ambivalence engendered by U.S. materialism in the postwar period symbolized by the fox-trot. A broad public desire for the cultural

trappings of modernity, fashionable goods and activities emanating from the U.S., led to the displacement of Nicaraguan culture. A wildly popular social dance from the ragtime era, the fox-trot was both embraced and resisted in Nicaragua. Various classes of society were drawn to it, evidenced by its proliferation in a number of social contexts—ballrooms, dance halls, sporting events, cinema, and outdoor concerts. These were complimented by the transmission of the fox-trot through sheet music, piano rolls, and LPs, as well as U.S.-Americans in Nicaragua. The response created a demand met not only by imported music, but by local composers who produced a native fox-trot, a new cultural expression, and result of transculturation. The public resisted the dance for its negative influence on general music appreciation, and perceived contribution toward the moral ruin of gentlewomen. Delgadillo considered the presence of the fox-trot to be an affront to his efforts at public and private music education or appreciation, yet he also composed them as a matter of professional obligation. He thus embodied the greater cultural ambivalence, and apparent cultural antagonism, toward the fox-trot in Nicaragua under intervention. However, this ambivalence was not a new phenomenon, but a process known as "Americanization." Nicaraguans had been negotiating and adapting U.S.-American customs and institutions since the middle of the nineteenth century, a result of the cosmopolitanism engendered by the dream of building an inter-oceanic canal across Nicaragua.

In Chapter 5, I examine Nicaraguan musical theater as a form of political resistance. Nicaraguan journalist and novelist Hernán Robleto wrote the play *La rosa del paraíso* (1921) as a nationalist response to the intervention, which employed

costumbrismo, a literary realism depicting local characters and customs. The plot looked at social class strictures and abuses of power in Nicaraguan society, while suggesting the possibility of a Liberal military insurrection. Delgadillo adapted the play into an operetta (1924), after the Spanish *género chico* tradition, which heightened its political message through the use of imported popular music styles and Nicaraguan musical folklore. Years later, Robleto and Delgadillo produced a second collaboration in *Pájaros del norte* (1936), on this occasion, taking direct aim at the intervention. Also employing popular music and folklore, the plot highlighted a lamentable side-effect of the military occupation—the U.S. Marine desertion of their Nicaraguan wives at the close of a tour of duty. Quoted in both operettas, the Nicaraguan tune *La pelota*—a musical signifier for the Liberal party—signaled the ideology of the playwright and, in a rare instance, the political sympathies of the composer.

In Chapter 6, I examine the geopolitical context surrounding the centennial of Central American Independence, held on September 15, 1921. To mark the occasion, Delgadillo accepted an invitation to premier his *Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana* at the celebrations in Guatemala City. Based on the Central American narrative of the *Baile de la Conquista* (Dance of the Spanish Conquest), his work may have been the only explicit recognition of the Indigenous-present at the celebrations. Yet, as I argue, the symphony fell in line with the official Independence Day speech, typical of Latin American independence discourses, which promoted the "myth" of *mestizaje* (race mixture). The symphony thus erased the Indigenous-present, while employing the Indigenous-past as a part of nation-building discourse. In contrast to the Guatemala

celebrations, the concurrent events in Managua were marked by a paradox of celebrating independence under U.S. intervention, whose reach extended over the entire region: the U.S. was responsible for the failure of the reunification of a Central American federation that surrounded the centennial.

Common Terms

In my use of the terms "America" or "American," I generally refer to the entire continent or its inhabitants, respectively. I use the term "Latin American" in broadly qualifying identity associated with Mexico, Central or South America, or parts of the Caribbean. I otherwise refer to a specific country or territory. As a counterpoint, I use the term "U.S. American" in reference to anyone or anything from the United States, unless I am quoting an English language source that uses "American." In that case, I keep the term unaltered without the editorial addition of "U.S."[31] In Nicaragua, the common term for a U.S. American during the intervention was *yanqui* (or *yanki*), a Hispanicization of "Yankee," which I preserve in the original Spanish when translating sources. In my pairing of the article and noun "the intervention," I exclusively refer to the U.S.-American intervention in Nicaragua from 1909–1933.

[31] James Weldon Johnson employed "U.S. American" in the exact same manner, a notable example of its use during the first decades of the twentieth century; see James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson* (New York: Viking Press, 1933), 269.

CHAPTER 1

Protección metalizada: Monroe Doctrine, U.S. Intervention, and Nicaragua

Introduction

In his autobiography, *Along This Way* (1933), civil rights activist James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938) reflected on his time in Nicaragua as an official of the United States Consular Service. From 1909–1913, he was stationed at Corinto, the principal port city on the Pacific Coast, where he witnessed the social anomie that resulted from internal political conflict and U.S. intervention. Among a wash of people, locales, and experiences, Johnson vividly recalled a meeting with President José Santos Zelaya (1853–1919) not long after his arrival in Nicaragua. He was especially struck by the bearing with which Zelaya carried himself, leading Johnson to describe the president as a "cosmopolite" with "perfect poise and charming manners." Yet the cordial exchange of diplomatic protocol belied a more ominous political relationship. Johnson noted, "I left carrying a pleasant impression of Zelaya although I already knew that, officially, my hand was to be against him."[1] Even before the meeting took place, Johnson would have been well aware that Zelaya was "a thorn in the thumb" of U.S. efforts to maintain control over the Caribbean Basin, especially since the Spanish-American War (1898).[2]

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[1] James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson* (New York: Viking Press, 1933), 257.

[2] Also a poet and author, Johnson produced a number of writings inspired while in the U.S. Consular Service in Venezuela and Nicaragua. Among them was the poem "A Passing Melody" (Corinto, Nicaragua, n.d.), and the essays "Excess Patriotism" (1911) and "Why Latin America Dislikes the United States" (1913); see James Weldon Johnson and Grace Nail Johnson Papers. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

Zelaya aspired toward his own grand plans—the building of an inter-oceanic canal across Nicaragua, and reunification of Central America as a federation—but had yet to achieve either during his sixteen years in office. However, he did manage to politically destabilize the region through various attempts at the latter, while rousing the ire of the U.S., which ultimately sought to secure the "Nicaragua Canal" route. By the time Johnson ended his consular assignment, he had been an agent in the transformation of Nicaragua from a free and sovereign nation-state into a protectorate of the U.S., one of a number of interventions in the Caribbean Basin marked by military occupation.[3]

In this chapter I will examine U.S. foreign policy in the Caribbean Basin at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the application of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine that led to intervention in Nicaragua (1909–1933). I will also explore the political, economic, and military profile of the intervention, as well as its consequences from the Nicaraguan perspective.

[3] Although he supported intervention in Nicaragua on principle, Johnson was an outspoken and fervent critic of intervention in Haiti (1915–1934); see "Self-Determining Haiti," in *James Weldon Johnson: Writings*, edited by William L. Andrews (New York: Library of America, 2004).

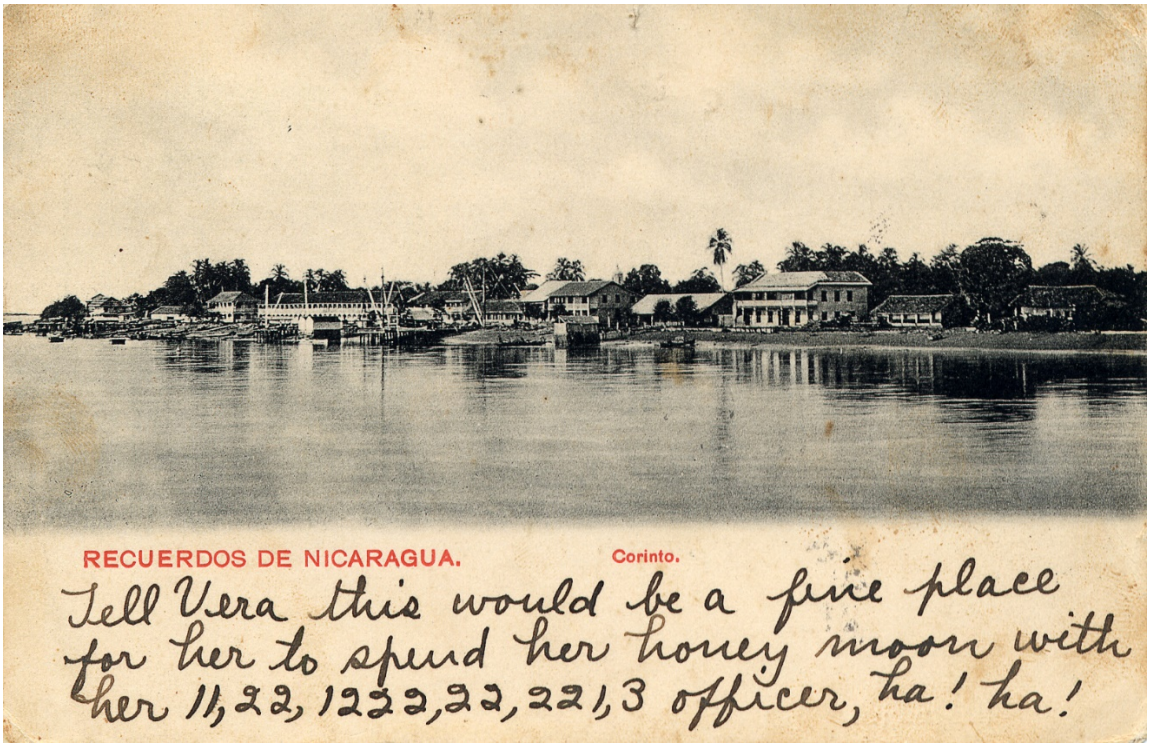

Figure 1.1. Corinto, Nicaragua, ca. 1912. A postcard sent by a member of the U.S. military aboard a ship docked off the Nicaraguan coast. On reverse: "This post card shows Corinto to you, just as it appear to us from the ship, not much to it is there, I have never been ashore on liberty yet since we left San Diego, a friend got these cards for me. As ever, Joe." Source: IHNCA-UCA.

Scourge of the Monroe Doctrine in the Caribbean Basin

At the turn of the twentieth century, the United States initiated a new, more aggressive foreign policy toward Latin America. Guided by the once seemingly benign, if paternalistic Monroe Doctrine (1823)—which sought to keep European powers out of the Western Hemisphere, while vowing to protect the independence of nation-states within its bounds—a series of U.S. presidents, beginning with William McKinley (1897–1901), turned their expansionist gaze toward the Caribbean Basin.[4] Their motivation focused on

[4] The Caribbean Basin refers to the geographic region encompassing the West Indies, Mexico, Central America, and northern coast of South America.

regional security through "democracy promotion and safeguarding of U.S. American lives, liberty, and interests."[5] The mechanism of foreign policy used to achieve these aims was intervention, the meddling in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation. This geopolitical action projected and expanded U.S. power in the Caribbean Basin, set in motion by the "opening salvo of the Spanish-American War in 1898."[6] As the "Giant of the North," the U.S. and its expansionist interests created new foreign relations, defined by intervention through annexation (Hawai'i, Puerto Rico, Philippine Islands, and Guam, 1898; Tutuila [Samoa], 1899), virtual protectorate (Cuba, 1898; Nicaragua, 1912), financial supervision (Panama, 1903; Haiti, 1915; Dominican Republic, 1907), military administration (Dominican Republic, 1916), or ownership of other territories (Virgin Islands, 1917).[7] The presence of the U.S. in the Caribbean Basin during the first decades of the twentieth century was both impressive and troubling (Figure 1.5). One writer went so far as to describe the region as an "American lake" of the United States.[8]

In the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, President Theodore Roosevelt (1901–1909) transformed the U.S. into an "international police power,"[9] promising to refrain from intervention only "if a nation [within the Western Hemisphere] shows that it

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[5] Jeffrey Sommers, *Race, Reality, and Realpolitik: U.S.-Haiti Relations in the Lead Up to the 1915 Occupation* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2016), 115.
[6] Ibid., viii.
[7] Joseph Freeman, and Scott Nearing, *Dollar Diplomacy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1925), 283.
[8] Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *American History Atlas* (Chicago: Denoyer-Geppert Co., 1947), xxviii.
[9] In his first annual address to the nation, given on December 3, 1901, Roosevelt had already promised to punish any Latin American nation that "misconducts itself." This was known as "Big Stick Diplomacy," and would inform his 1904 corollary to the Monroe Doctrine; see Joseph Freeman, and Scott Nearing, *Dollar Diplomacy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1925), 261–263.

knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, [and] if it keeps order and pays its obligations."[10] The reference to meeting financial obligations was a key point of the corollary, as it signaled a new form of diplomatic engagement marked by Dollar Diplomacy, "the growth of the United States economic interests abroad, and the diplomatic and military support accorded them by the Federal Government."[11] Not only did the U.S. take an aggressively paternalistic approach to its hemispheric relations, it also intended to stabilize and profit from foreign economies through varied means under its direct or virtual control. Dollar Diplomacy was also a symbol of U.S.-American power, imbued with notions of racial superiority bestowed by Manifest Destiny, and "related to contemporary discourses of money, expertise, masculinity, and whiteness," thus projecting their antitheses onto those nations on the receiving end of its impositions.[12]

Dollar Diplomacy involved the often extensive cooperation by private and public entities in the United States. Once under intervention, the road to economic rehabilitation meant "[U.S.] advisers were to try to introduce certain fiscal changes… promoted as 'modern' and 'scientific': gold-standard currency stabilization, central banking, strict accounting practices, and administrative rationalization."[13] More often than not, while

[10] Theodore Roosevelt, "Fourth Annual Message," The American Presidency Project, December 6, 1904, accessed February 10, 2019, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/fourth-annual-message-15
[11] Freeman and Nearing, *Dollar Diplomacy*, v.
[12] Emily S. Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900–1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 3.
[13] Ibid. Rosenberg has described the general procedure of Dollar Diplomacy: "Private bankers would consider extending loans to foreign governments they considered risky; financial experts, formally or informally connected to the loan process, would assume tasks of fiscal reorganization and administrative management in the borrowing country; and governmental officials would

imposing political and economic stability, as well as pacification through military presence, Dollar Diplomacy did not significantly benefit receiving nation-states, yet it filled the coffers of private bankers, and spread U.S. capitalist interests, protections, and possessions.

As a U.S. protectorate in the Caribbean Basin, Nicaragua (1912–1933) received the full brunt of Dollar Diplomacy with its acquisition via "armed intervention," the use of military force to compel and maintain control of a nation.[14] The country was key to U.S. expansionism in Central America, a region where Dollar Diplomacy touched all of its nation-states in some form during the first decades of the twentieth century. As historian Dana Munro noted, "the United States attached a special importance to the Monroe Doctrine in Central America because Lake Nicaragua and the valley of the San Juan River offered the only practicable route other than that at Panama for the construction of a canal from the Caribbean to the Pacific."[15] Obtaining the Nicaraguan route became a priority for the U.S. once the Panama Canal opened in 1914, and in light of the Great War, as it would guarantee U.S. control over the region.[16] With its sights on Central America, the U.S. not only reinforced the importance of the region as a historic

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orchestrate the "private sector" deals (loans by bankers and supervision by economic experts) on behalf of what they considered to be the U.S. national and international interest in furthering global economic integration and strategic alliances."

[14] The U.S. acquired two other U.S. protectorates the same way—Haiti (1915–1934), and Santo Domingo [Dominican Republic] (1916–1924).

[15] Dana Munro, *The United States and the Caribbean Area* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1934), 198.

[16] For an examination of U.S. interest in Panama as a possible canal route, see Michael LaRosa and Germán R. Mejía, eds., *The United States Discovers Panama: Writings of Soldiers, Scholars, Scientists, and Scoundrels, 1850–1905* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004).

and geographic entity, but it also perpetuated the five nation-states as "a unified region whose processes of neo-colonization [paralleled] one another."[17]

Figure 1.2. "A Good Plan for the New Year, Uncle Sam." On the heels of the Spanish-American War, the Washington Post signaled the continued intent of the U.S. to pursue the canal route through Nicaragua. Source: *The Washington Post*.[18]

[17] Arturo Arias, *Taking Their Word: Literature and the Signs of Central America* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xviii.
[18] "A Good Plan," *The Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), Dec. 30, 1898.

Pax Americana: U.S. Intervention in Nicaragua (1909–1933)

The intervention in Nicaragua (1909–1933) was the sum of activities initiated or controlled by the United States government (Figure 1.6).[19] The U.S. Secretary of State, acting upon orders of the president, took a decisive leadership role in each of its parts. As a multi-headed Hydra, the intervention comprised of three modalities—political paternalism, fiscal and financial protectionism, and military occupation. The first two modalities functioned in symbiosis. In his critical dissection of the intervention, journalist Carlos Quijano described the mutual relationship between diplomacy and banking, and capitalist motivations behind U.S. foreign policy: "Diplomacy uses bankers to seize the country; bankers use diplomatic relations to reinforce and expand their profit margins. Diplomacy doubly serves [the U.S.] or the interests of its ruling class, ensuring its control over strategic routes, protecting the profits of its capitalists, [and] delivering new ones."[20] Pacification through military force or presence was a crucial element in sustaining the diplomacy-baking relationship. Coined by historian Jorge Eduardo Arellano, this *Pax*

[19] Unless specified otherwise, all of my references or allusions to the intervention, or Nicaragua under intervention, are to this period. It is thus why I refer to it as "the" intervention. For general examinations of the intervention, see Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1912–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004); Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005); Dana Munro, *The United States and the Caribbean Area*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1934; and Joseph Freeman and Scott Nearing, *Dollar Diplomacy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1925).

[20] Carlos Quijano, *Nicaragua: ensayo sobre el imperialismo de los Estado Unidos* (Montevideo/Sandino, 1928/1960s), 129. "La diplomacia se sirve de los banqueros para agarrotar al país; los banqueros se sirven de la diplomacia para consolidar y extender sus beneficios. La diplomacia sirve así doblemente a su país o a los intereses de la clase dirigente, asegurándose el dominio de las rutas estratégicas; protegiendo los beneficios de sus capitalistas, ofreciéndoles nuevos."

Americana (U.S.-American peace) represented the intervention as a holistic entity in its imposition, reception, and consequences.

In order to further understand Nicaragua under intervention, it is worth briefly describing the details of its three modalities, and their most significant legacies.

Political Paternalism

U.S.-American functionaries or representatives approved candidates for the Nicaraguan presidency and vice presidency, as well as members of national congresses or constituent assemblies.[21] They supervised or managed all national elections, and represented the interests of the U.S. government on mixed finance or claims commissions. Via control of its internal political system, the U.S. used Nicaragua as an instrument in Central American politics.

For much of the intervention, the U.S. favored Conservative rule, which insured the establishment and maintenance of U.S. interests in the country. Conservative administrations (1912–1929) supported changes to the constitution and ratification of various international agreements, among numerous conciliatory measures. Notably, the intervention imposed a program to erase all vestiges or agents of the Zelaya administration, labeled "Zelayism," including many of its Liberal Reforms. Nevertheless,

[21] For an overview of political developments, see Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1912–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004); Antonio Esgueva Gómez, *Elecciones, reelecciones y conflictos en Nicaragua (1821–1963)* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2011); and *The United States and Nicaragua: A Survey of the Relations from 1909 to 1932* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1932).

toward the end of the intervention, the U.S. moved away from Conservative rule of Nicaragua in favor of Liberal governance (1929–1933).[22]

Fiscal and Financial Protectionism

U.S.-American representatives managed public debt, set the national budget, and reformed or created state financial institutions.[23] Revenues from customs houses and the railway system were primarily used to meet external financial obligations. Representatives negotiated, re-negotiated, or consolidated foreign loans, primarily, financed by Wall Street investment bankers.[24] And they oversaw a centralized banking system through the establishment of the National Bank of Nicaragua, and the circulation of a new currency—the *córdoba*—on par with the U.S. dollar, and based on the gold-standard. These measures served to integrate the Nicaraguan economy into the world market, and to ensure perpetual foreign debt under U.S. control.

Among the formal agreements and financial arrangements made during the intervention, none attracted more attention or discussion than the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty (Figure 1.2).[25] Signed in August of 1914, the treaty gave the U.S. the exclusive and

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[22] Among the strongest distinctions between the Liberal and Conservative parties in Nicaragua was the role of the Catholic Church in public affairs, a staple of Conservative governments since the middle of the nineteenth century.

[23] For an examination of the fiscal and financial protectionism, see Joseph Freeman and Scott Nearing, *Dollar Diplomacy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1925); W.W. Cumberland, *Nicaragua: An Economic and Financial Survey*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1928.

[24] Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1912–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004), 108. The firms were Brown Bros. & Co., and J. & W. Seligman & Co.

[25] The treaty also leased certain parts of Nicaraguan territory: Great and Little Corn Islands on the Caribbean Coast, as well as the right to build a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca. Leases were extended for a period of ninety-nine years with options to renew. Nicaragua received $3,000,000

perpetual right to build a canal across Nicaragua.[26] Although the Panama route had already been secured and construction of the canal neared completion, the route through Nicaragua represented a perceived danger to U.S. security in the Caribbean Basin. Its acquisition insured that no other world power would play a significant role in the region.

for the agreement, but the country only saw $500,000 once external debts were met (Nicaragua was in a financial crisis). Ratified by both governments in 1916, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty offended Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras, whose respective administrations were ignored throughout the negotiation process. In a fervor to secure regional security once and for all, the U.S. exacerbated regional instability, while placing itself above jurisdiction. For a copy of the treaty, see Joseph Freeman and Scott Nearing, *Dollar Diplomacy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1925), 321–23. For an analysis of the treaty, see Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1912–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004), 135–38.

[26] Richard Nixon abrogated the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty on September 23, 1970, and the U.S. Senate subsequently voted in favor on February 17, 1971; see "Convention with Nicaragua Terminating the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1914," Congress.gov, accessed February 12, 2019, https://www.congress.gov/treaty-document/91st-congress/22?r=4

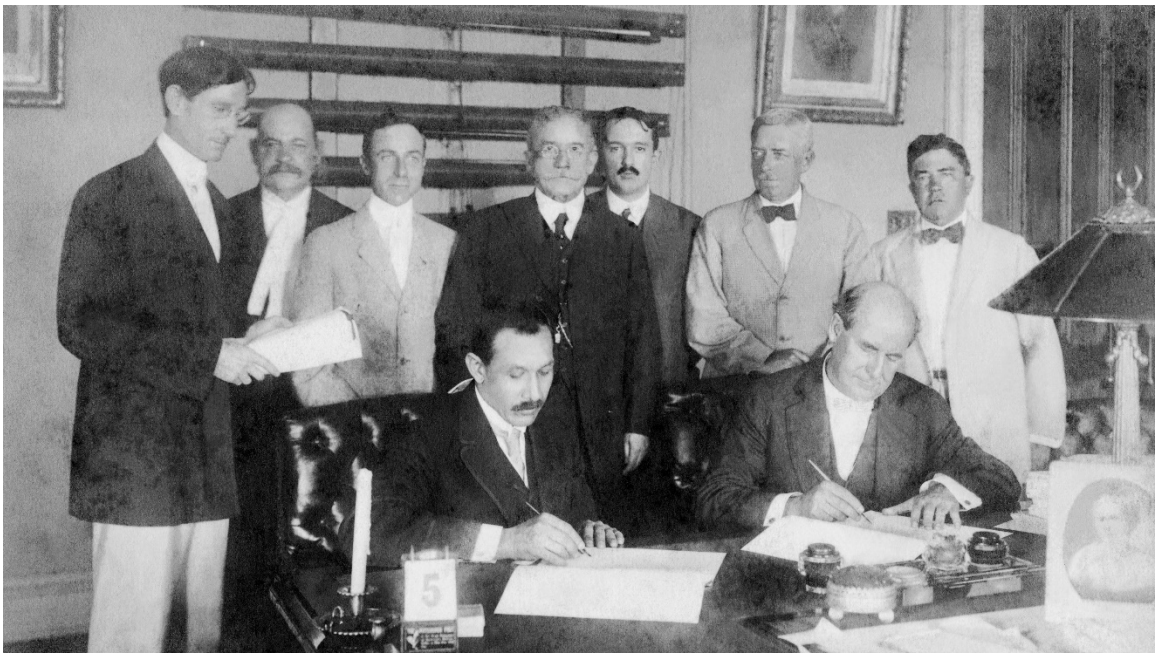

Figure 1.3. Signing of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty in Washington, D.C. on August 5, 1914. Seated (l to r): Emiliano Chamorro, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States, and William Jennings Bryan, U.S. Secretary of State; Standing (l to r): "Mr. Boyan" and "Mr. Smith," lawyers for the U.S. Department of State, Boaz Long, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, Pedro Rafaél Cuadra, Nicaraguan financier, Joaquín Cuadra Chamorro, personal secretary to Emiliano Chamorro, Robert Lansing, counselor to the U.S. State Department, and Charles Douglass, functionary of the U.S. Department of State. Source: IHNCA-UCA.

Military Occupation

There were two types of "armed intervention" in Nicaragua: short-term military buildup, and a long-term presence, or occupation.[27] The former appeared during the revolutions of 1912 and 1926–1927, in which massive numbers of U.S. Marines and Navy were dispatched to suppress civil conflict. Military vessels presided over both coasts, and troops landed to confront local insurgencies. These forces were mostly

[27] For general histories of the U.S. Marines in Nicaragua, see George B. Clark, *With the Old Corps in Nicaragua* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 2001); and Bernard Nalty, *The United States Marines in Nicaragua* (Washington, D.C.: Historical Branch, G-3 Division Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1968).

withdrawn once the aforementioned revolutions ended. The latter type was made up of an occupation force of 100 Marines stationed in Managua (1912–1925), whose sole purpose was to protect the U.S. Legation, the formal residence and office of the U.S. Minister to Nicaragua.[28] Additionally, a large expeditionary force was retained and fortified after the "Constitutionalist" revolution of 1926–1927, which remained for approximately six years, engaging the guerilla activities of revolutionary nationalist Augusto César Sandino (1895–1934).[29]

Established in July of 1927, the *Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua* (National Guard of Nicaragua) constituted a modern military institution, and the most prominent legacy of the U.S. military presence during the intervention.[30] Its immediate antecedent during the intervention was a so-called *constabularia* (constabulary), or police force with urban and rural jurisdictions possessing its own judicial system.[31] Based in Managua, the *Guardia Nacional* was apolitical by design, yet organized and directed by U.S. Marine officers. Among the early activities of the native military were to assist the U.S. Marines in combat against Sandino, and supervise the national elections of 1928. With the formal

[28] For an examination of the U.S. Marine Legation Guard in Managua, see Brian A. Ross, "The U.S. Marines of the Legation Guard, Managua, Nicaragua, 1912–1925: Leadership, Professionalism, and Cultural Awareness," Master's Thesis, Marquette University, 2006.
[29] For a political biography of Sandino, see Volker Wünderich, *Sandino: una biografía política* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 1995).
[30] Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *Tacho Somoza y su poder (1933–1956)* (Managua: JEA-Editor, 2016), 9.
[31] Ibid. A short-lived institution, the constabulary was the result of U.S. imposition (Washington Conventions, 1923), and Nicaraguan government decree and presidential approval (April 23 and May 15, 1925, respectively).

close of the occupation at the beginning of 1933, the *Guardia Nacional* came under the control of Nicaraguan leadership, with Anastasio Somoza García at its head.[32]

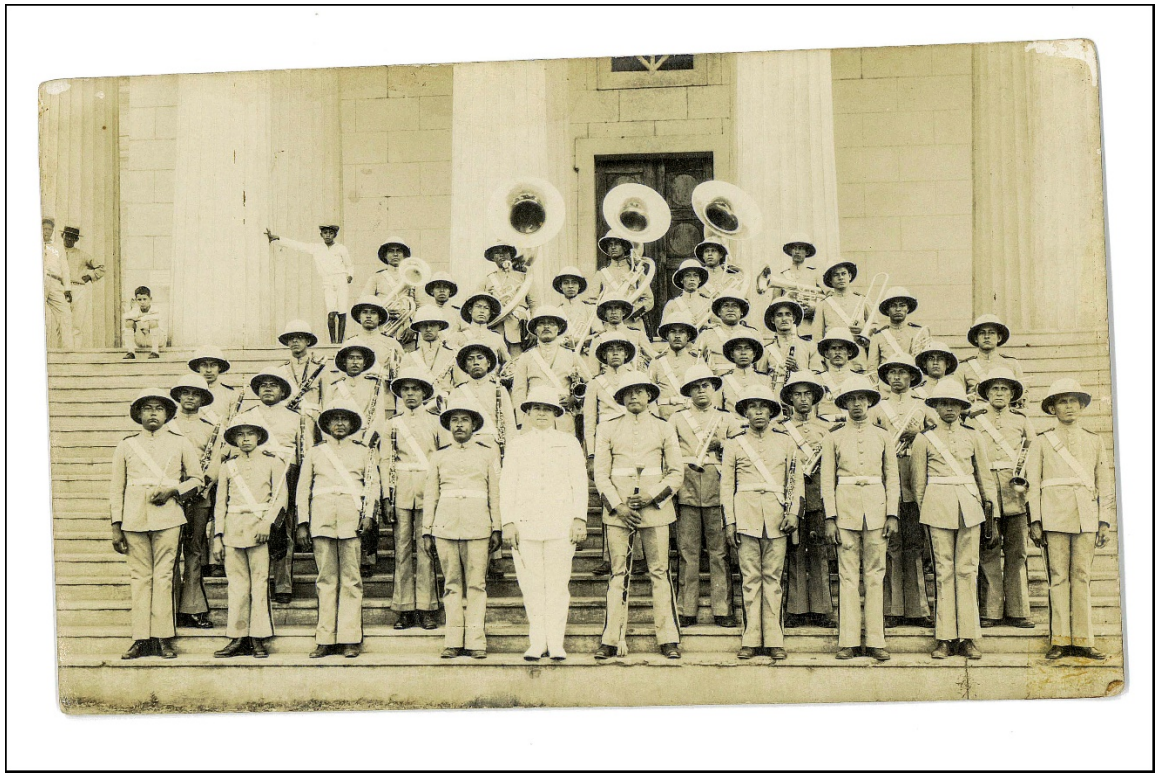

Figure 1.4. Band of the *Guardia Nacional* of Nicaragua, Palacio del Ayuntamiento, Managua, 1928. The caption on the reverse: "Band of the National Guard at the time of its formation in 1928, in gala uniform, colored gray with red highlights. [The musicians] are debuting their uniforms and instruments. They appear with their first director *Subteniente Músico* Leon Freeda, dressed in white."[33] The re-establishment of the *Guardia Nacional* in 1928 included its own official military band, dissolving the older Banda de los Supremos Poderes. Source: Collection of author.

[32] For an examination of the *Guardia Nacional* of Nicaragua, see Nicolás López Maltes, *Historia de la Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua I* (Managua: Impresiones Gutenberg, 2014).
[33] On reverse of photograph. "Banda de la G.N. al organizarse en 1928, con su uniforme de gala, color plomo, vivos rojos, están estrenando uniforme e instrumentos—Están con su primer Director Subteniente Músico Leon Freeda. El vestido de blanco es el Subteniente Freeda."

Consequences of Intervention in Nicaragua

The intervention had an immediate and lasting impact on Nicaraguan politics, economics, education, and culture—fundamentally compromising Nicaragua as a "free, sovereign, and independent nation."[34] The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty cemented these conditions in place and extinguished the Nicaraguan dream of constructing the trans-isthmian canal. Quijano summarized the greater political and economic ills wrought upon Nicaragua by U.S. intervention:

> The imperialism of the United States has been a factor of disorder, underdevelopment, and corruption in Nicaragua. It has violated treaties, constitutions, and legal decisions; it has stimulated civil war; it has corroded political life or contributed to its corrosion, bribing some, protecting the thievery of others, keeping those in power against the express will of the country, [and] its agents; it has impeded Central American union, and created a permanent source of division and anxiety on the isthmus; it has exploited the country, opening it to the rapacity of Brown Brothers and their Nicaraguan accomplices.[35]

With the resurgence of Conservative rule from 1911, dubbed the *Restauración conservadora* (Conservative Restoration), the Catholic Church returned as a presence in public affairs, through which it took a decisive role in the transformation of the national

[34] "Constitución Política «Libérrima» (10 de Diciembre de 1893)," in Antonio Esgueva Gómez, ed., *Las constituciones políticas y sus reformas en la historia de Nicaragua I* (Managua: Editorial IHNCA-UCA, 2000), 371–392.

[35] Carlos Quijano, *Nicaragua: ensayo sobre el imperialismo de los Estado Unidos* (Montevideo/Sandino, 1928/1960s), 130. "El imperialismo de los Estado Unidos has sido un factor de desorden, de atraso, de corrupción en Nicaragua. Ha violado tratados, constituciones y decisiones judiciales; ha fomentado la guerra civil; ha corrompido la vida política o contribuido a corromperla, sobornando a unos, amparando los robos de otros, sosteniendo en el poder contra la voluntad expresa del país, a sus agentes; ha impedido la unión centro americana y creado una causa permanente de discordias e inquietudes en el Istmo; ha expoliado al país, librándolo a la rapacidad de Brown Brothers y de sus cómplices nicaragüenses."

education system.[36] The fall of Zelaya included the dismantling of his secular and gratis education project.[37] Conservative governments were determined to create a "state religious education" through new curricula, textbooks, and periodical literature.[38] They not only obligated the study of religion in public schools, but ceded control of the education system to various religious orders.[39] These expansive measures were also a response to the intervention. Historian Idolda Rodríguez Rosales has asserted, "the teaching of religion was justified by the necessity of educating youth in values that allowed them to preserve traditional customs, in opposition to the 'modern' ideas that had been introduced especially by North American troops and their wives."[40] The Catholic Church was responsible for realizing the only state-generated nationalist project during the intervention—*Dios y Patria* (God and Homeland)—the teaching of Catholic doctrine alongside civic nationalism.

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[36] Arellano, *La pax*, 215–217. The Nicaraguan government reopened official diplomatic relations with the Vatican. In turn, the Holy See elevated the ecclesial provincial status of Nicaragua by expanding its clerical hierarchy. The first archbishop in Nicaraguan history—José Antonio Lezcano y Ortega (1865–1952)—was appointed to Managua in 1913.

[37] The opening salvo was the Provisional Law of Guarantees of 1910, which decreed the Christian faith as official in Nicaragua, followed with the Constitution of 1911 ("non nata"), which decreed the official religion as "Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman," explicitly protecting the rights of the Catholic Church; see "Ley Provisional de Garantías (15 de Septiembre de 1910)" and "Constitución «non nata» (4 de Abril de 1911)," in Esgueva Gómez, *Las constituciones políticas*, 442–445, and 446–474.

[38] Isolda Rodríguez Rosales, *Historia de la educación en Nicaragua: restauración conservadora (1910–1930)* (Managua: Editorial Hispamer, 2005), 227.

[39] Ibid., 225–226. The Christian Brothers, Jesuits, Salesians, and Bethlehemites dominated over private (and influenced public) education on the Western side of Nicaragua. Whereas on the Caribbean Coast, a region where the Catholic Church had little or no relevance (with a couple of notable exceptions), the Moravians, Anglicans, and Baptists took charge of primary and secondary education.

[40] Ibid., 227. "La enseñanza de la religión fue justificada por la necesidad de formar a la juventud en valores que les permitiesen conservar las costumbres tradicionales, en oposición a las ideas 'modernas' que habían sido introducidas especialmente por las tropas norteamericanas y sus esposas…"

The apolitical *Guardia Nacional* created an unprecedented military class in Nicaragua, which had dire repercussions in the years following the end of the intervention.[41] Indeed, the formation of the *guardia* coincided with the rise of Sandino's guerrilla war, and the conversion of his posthumous memory into myths and symbols employed in subsequent nationalist movements.

The intervention saw the spread of U.S. commercial and moral influence through "Americanization," a concept embraced by Nicaraguan elites since the nineteenth century, and result of their desire to build the canal with the expectation that the U.S. would realize the project.[42] "Americanization" involved a process through which Nicaraguans adopted "U.S. customs and institutions," mediating and adapting them to their needs.[43] This process engendered no small amount of cultural ambivalence that welcomed or resisted its appeals from the Nicaraguan perspective. The ebb and flow of U.S. diplomats, financial representatives, military personnel, protestant missionaries, and their families transmitted particular notions of the so-called "American Dream." Ideas of "modernity" and "science" manifested through distinct brands of U.S. goods. Forms of materialism and entertainment were eagerly consumed by Nicaraguans of various social

[41] The *guardia* became the tool that ensured the establishment and perpetuation of the Somoza dynasty from 1936–1979.
[42] For an examination of this Nicaraguan cultural phenomenon, see Frances Kinloch [Tijerino], *El imaginario del canal y la nación cosmopolita. Nicaragua, Siglo XIX* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2015); Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005); Justin Wolfe, *The Everyday Nation-State: Community and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Nicaragua* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); and Arturo Cruz, Jr. *Nicaragua's Conservative Republic, 1858–93* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
[43] Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 6–7.

strata. Notions of the so-called "modern woman" and feminism took hold in the post-war years, giving Nicaraguan women unprecedented public autonomy, directly subverting a deeply patriarchal society. The introduction of medical and hygiene advances, seen as civilizing measures, were instrumental in public health and sanitation projects.[44] Protestant missionaries from the U.S. worked to "uplift" the population, while challenging the authority of the Catholic Church.[45]

The intervention triggered nationalist or patriotic responses toward both the U.S. and its Nicaraguan accomplices. Facilitated by freedom of expression under Conservative rule, periodicals disseminated all manner of political criticism and reflection, primarily written by Liberals or the like-minded, though also from Conservative thinkers.[46] Literary production responded with poetry and short stories from the heirs to *modernista* poet and native son Rubén Darío (1867–1916), an anti-interventionist himself.[47] Writers looked to local and regional themes, drawing on national history, myths, and legends regarding the folk and the land. Notably, the intervention was the impetus for the literary *movimiento de vanguardia* (Vanguard Movement). Arellano has described the movement as having sowed "a cultural renovation of a nationalist character, taking form upon the discovery of the native soil [during] the second period of U.S.-American occupation

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[44] Arellano, *La pax*, 220–21. The intervention was also a point of discussion or resistance outside of Nicaragua; particularly, Latin America and the United States.
[45] For an examination of cultural responses to "Americanization" from the Conservative perspective, see "Cultural Anti-Americanism" in Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 175–201.
[46] Arellano, *La pax*, 222. Some Conservatives who did not necessarily identify with those in power also took part in responding to the political status quo.
[47] Darío's most famous response to U.S. intervention in Latin America was "A Roosevelt" from *Cantos de vida y esperanza* (1905).

[1928–1933], and in admiration of the resistance of Sandino—political phenomena that inspired no modest amount of poetry."[48] Writers also contributed with anti-interventionist novels. Musical nationalism had a role during the intervention, mostly to serve the needs of civic ritual and education in supporting government rule. Yet Luis A. Delgadillo notably departed from this aspect by contributing to nationalist discourses through his popular and art music, as well as a prolific output of published writings. He appears to have been the only Nicaraguan composer to have done so.

Conclusion

In drawing a noteworthy comparison between the interventions in Haiti and Nicaragua, James Weldon Johnson suggested that the U.S. Marine occupation of the latter was not as severe: "In Nicaragua… the American forces were there in accordance with the wishes of the government; they were there to sustain that government in power."[49] The merits of the comparison notwithstanding, Johnson was correct. Nicaraguan president Adolfo Díaz had beseeched the U.S. State Department for military protection on two occasions (1912 and 1926). The U.S. extended "protections," and much more, for many years, while disrupting the internal affairs of a sovereign nation. The consequences of intervention in Nicaragua were not only immediate and highly-damaging throughout the period in question, but they set the stage for the U.S.-backed

[48] Arellano, *La pax*, 221. The movement was initiated primarily by the sons of elite Conservatives who fell from power when the U.S. opted for Liberal governance toward the end of the intervention.
[49] Johnson, *Along This Way*, 345.

Somoza dictatorship (1936–1979), and the eventual Sandinista Revolution (1979), which succeeded in excising the last vestiges of "Americanization" from Nicaragua.[50]

[50] Gobat, *Confronting*, 266.

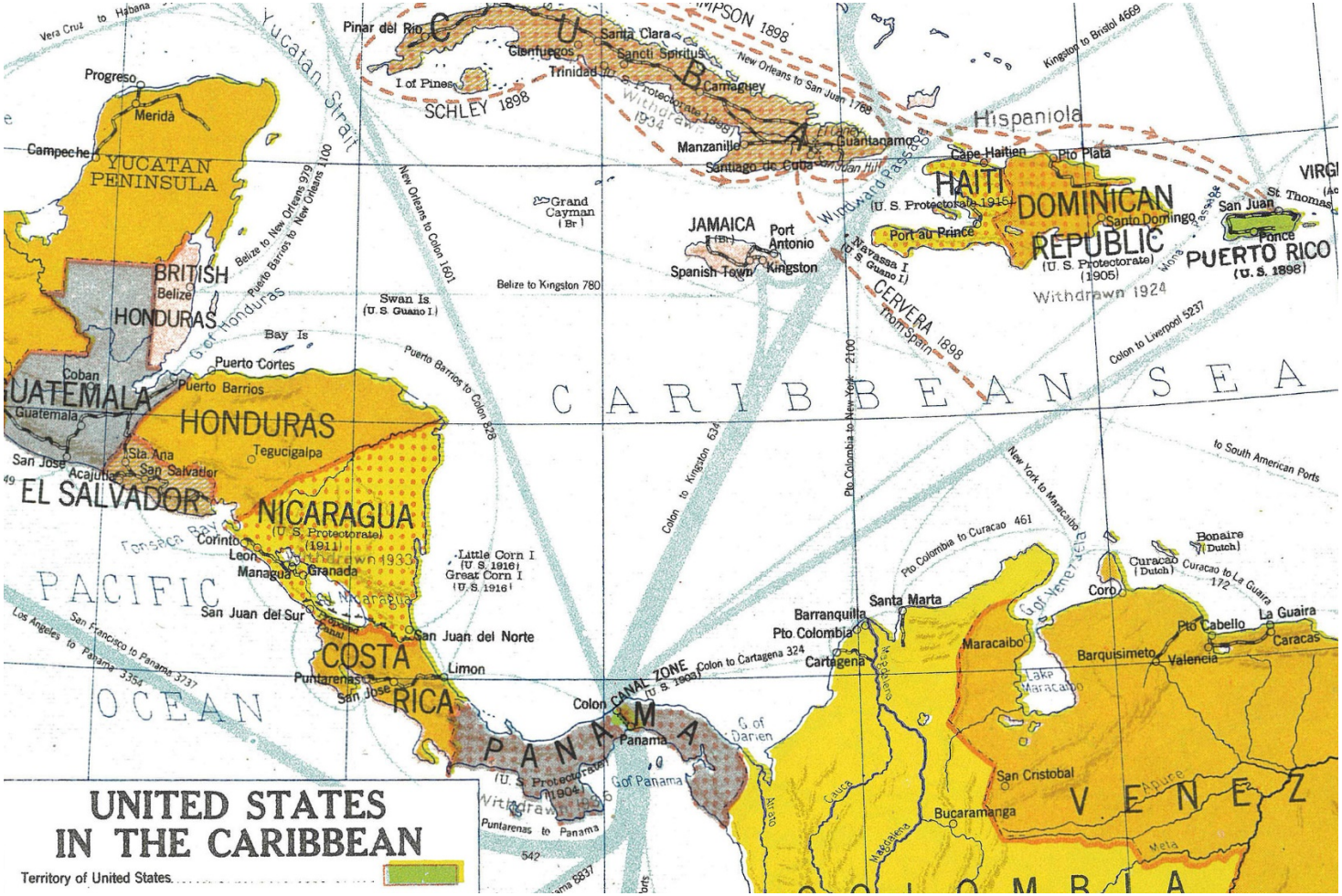

Figure 1.5. United States in the Caribbean Basin (detail). A visual summary of the effects of the Monroe Doctrine in the Caribbean Basin from the Spanish-American War of 1898 through the first decades of the twentieth century. Source: *American History Atlas*, 1947.[51]

[51] Bushnell Hart, *American History Atlas*, 23.

Figure 1.6. United States Intervention in Nicaragua, 1909–1933, Political and Military Activity[52]

Date	*Event in(volving) Nicaragua*	*President of Nicaragua*	*President of the U.S.*	*U.S. Secretary of State*
1909	"October" Revolution; U.S. military build up	**José Santos Zelaya** (L) (July 25, 1893–Dec. 20, 1909)	**William H. Taft** (R) 1909–13)	**Philander C. Knox** (1909–13)
	Nota Knox declares diplomatic non-recognition of Nicaragua, Dec. 1			
	Zelaya resigns, Dec. 16	**José Madriz** (L) (Dec. 21, 1909–Aug. 20, 1910)		
1910	Dawson Agreements, Oct. 27 and 30	**José Dolores Estrada** (L) (Aug. 20–27, 1910)		
		Juan José Estrada (L) (Jan. 1–May 9, 1911)		
1911	Knox-Castrillo Convention, Jun. 6	**Adolfo Díaz** (C) (May 9, 1911–Jan. 1, 1917)		
1912	"Mena" Revolution, Jul. 29			
	President Díaz requests "armed intervention" from U.S., Aug. 3			

[52] Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1912–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004); Antonio Esgueva Gómez, *Elecciones, reelecciones y conflictos en Nicaragua (1821–1963)* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2011); and Frances Kinloch Tijerino, *Historia de Nicaragua* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2006).

1913	Most of U.S. military presence retired; 100 Marines remain as Legation Guard (until 1925)			
1914	Bryan-Chamorro Treaty signed, giving U.S. the exclusive and perpetual right to build a canal across Nicaragua, Aug. 5 (ratified by both governments in 1916)	**Emiliano Chamorro** (C) (Jan. 1, 1917–Jan. 1, 1921)	**Woodrow Wilson** (D) (1913–21)	**William Jennings Bryan** (1913–15) **Robert Lansing** (1915–20) **Bainbridge Colby** (1920–21)
1923	Washington Conferences [II], U.S. mediates Central American agreements, imposes the establishment of native constabularies President Chamorro dies in office	**Diego M. Chamorro** (C) (Jan. 1, 1921–Oct. 17, 1923) **Rosendo Chamorro** (C) (Oct. 17–15, 1923)	**Warren G. Harding** (R) (1921–23)	**Charles E. Hughes** (1921–25)
1923 1924 1925	U.S. State Department announces Marine withdrawal, Nov. 14 “Pactos de la Transacción,” Jul. 17 Marines withdrawn, Aug. 3 “El Lomazo” (Chamorro coup), Oct. 25	**Bartolomé Martínez** (C) (Oct. 15, 1923–Jan. 1, 1925) **Carlos José Solórzano** (C) (Jan. 1, 1925–Jan. 14, 1926)	**Calvin Coolidge** (R) (1923–29)	**Frank B. Kellogg** (1925–29)

1926 1927 1928	 “Constitutionalist” Civil War Marines return, Dec. 23 “Espino Negro” Accords end “Constitutionalist” Civil War, May 4 Sandino initiates insurgency against U.S. Marines, Jul. 16 President Adolfo Díaz establishes *Guardia Nacional*, Jul. 30 Bárcenas-Meneses Treaty, U.S. gives the Nicaraguan islands of San Andres and Providencia to Colombia as a form of reparation for its role in the separation of Panama, Mar. 24	**Emiliano Chamorro** (C) (Jan. 14–Oct. 30, 1926) **Sebastián Uriza** (C) (Oct. 30–Nov. 14, 1926) **Adolfo Díaz** (C) (Nov. 14, 1926–Jan. 1, 1929)		
1931	U.S. announces withdrawal of Marines, Feb. 13	**José María Moncada** (L) (Jan. 1, 1929– Jan. 1, 1933)	**Herbert Hoover** (R) (1929–33)	**Henry L. Stimson** (1929–33)
1933	Marines retired; Anastasio Somoza García takes control of *Guardia Nacional*, Jan. 2	**Juan Bautista Sacasa** (L) (Jan. 1, 1933–Jun. 9, 1936)	**Franklin D. Roosevelt** (D) (1933–45)	**Cordell Hull** (1933–44)

CHAPTER 2

Americanismo musical: The Formation of Luis A. Delgadillo as a Latin American Composer

Introduction

Toward the end of the 1930s, Delgadillo maintained regular correspondence with Francisco Curt Lange (1903–1997), the German Uruguayan musicologist and founder of the Instituto Interamericano de Musicología. Lange had spearheaded the movement known as *americanismo musical*, begun in 1934 with the express purpose of promoting the music and musicians of Latin America.[1] During its early years, Lange championed, to a great extent, the fomentation of musical production that drew from "folk-lore" defined by the nationality of the composer. The critical vehicle of the movement was a widely disseminated periodical—*Boletín latino-americano de música*.[2] Lange was in the midst

[1] For the seminal essays on *americanismo musical*, published in the first years of the movement, see Francisco Curt Lange, *Americanismo musical: la sección de investigaciones musicales - su creación, propósitos, y finalidades* (Montevideo: Instituto de Estudios Superiores, 1934); "Americanismo musical: Idéas para uma futura sociología musical latino-americana," *Revista Brasileira de Música* II (June 1935): 93–113; "Americanismo musical" in *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música* II/2 (1936): 117–130; and "Americanismo musical," *Papers Read by the Members of the American Musicological Society at the Annual Meeting*, (September 11–16, 1939): 273–283. By the end of the 1930s, Lange's movement sought to promote the entire Western Hemisphere. This expansion also concerned its aesthetic focus, which initially sought to promote art music employing musical folklore. Lange later saw its use and preoccupation in art music as a phase that Latin American composers were to undergo on the way to producing work more in line with European or U.S.-American trends. For a recent examination of Lange's impact in Brazil, see Fernanda Nunes Moya, "Diálogos entre Mário de Andrade e Francisco Curt Lange: nacionalismo e americanismo musicais nas décadas de 1930 e 1940" (PhD diss., Universidade Estadual Paulista, 2014).

[2] There were other individuals who worked concurrently, though separately from Lange, toward similar goals; see Juan Pablo Muñoz Sanz, *Nacionalismo y americanismo musical* (Quito: Grupo América, 1938).

of organizing the fifth volume of the *Boletín*, which was to focus on Mexico and Central America, at the time he contacted Delgadillo.[3] Over the course of their months-long correspondence in 1939, Delgadillo provided materials—a biography, portrait, representative compositions, and an essay on the music of Nicaragua[4]—in the hopes that the exposure would promote his work on "indo-American musical folklore."[5] Moreover, Delgadillo reiterated a point over and over again: his career had been defined by intellectual and artistic exchange throughout the American continent, and his employment of folklore was not limited to a single country, as was typical of his contemporaries, but covered a broader geographic area extending from Mexico to the Southern Cone of South America.[6]

In this chapter I will position Delgadillo in context of *Americanismo musical* before Lange. I will connect Delgadillo to the writings and influence of Felipe Pedrell and Manuel M. Ponce, both of whom had an impact on his practice of musical nationalism, which developed and matured during the intervention. Finally, I will follow Delgadillo on his travels and residencies throughout the American continent, in an effort

[3] Luis A. Delgadillo, "A manera de suite... II. Un volumen muy interesante," *La Prensa* (Managua), Sep. 2, 1939. This particular plan never came to fruition, and the central focus of the issue, published in 1941, was eventually devoted to music of the United States.
[4] None of these materials appear to have been published in the *Boletín*. Years later, Lange published the essay in another periodical for which he was editor; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "La música indígena y colonial en Nicaragua," *Revista de estudios musicales* 1/3 (1950): 43–60.
[5] Luis A. Delgadillo to Francisco Curt Lange, August 19, 1939, Acervo Curt Lange, Belo Horizonte. "…el 'Folk-lore' musical indo americano…"
[6] Luis A. Delgadillo to Francisco Curt Lange, May 25, 1939, Acervo Curt Lange, Belo Horizonte. He specifically declared having worked in the genre for 28 years. In another letter, written not long thereafter, he noted it to be 32 years.

to show that those experiences away from Nicaragua were seminal to his formation as a Latin American composer.

Conservative Son, Liberal Artist

Born in Managua on August 26, 1884,[7] Luis Abraham Delgadillo Rivas was the youngest son of Teodoro Delgadillo (León, c. 1830–Managua, 1917) and Manuela Rivas (d. Managua, 1919).[8] Both parents were steadfast Conservatives, whose shared political ideology undoubtedly informed the childhood and teenage years of their children. His father, in particular, spent decades in public service, leading a distinguished career in government leadership throughout the so-called "thirty years" of Conservative administration.[9] For the first two decades of his life, Delgadillo would have thus been

[7] With only one exception, a U.S. Social Security application from June 1947, all sources consistently give Delgadillo's birth year as 1887, apparently the year he claimed throughout his life. This is thus the first time the correct year appears according to the registry of his birth: "[Luis] Abraham Delgadillo / In Managua on 9 December 1884. Before me, Deputy Mayor in charge of the Civil Registry, Mr. Julián Galo appeared and was obliged to report: Abraham—rightful son of Mr. Teodoro Delgadillo and his wife Manuela Rivas, of this city, both of legal age—was born on August 26 of the current year. It was read, appeared in accordance, and signs with me [and he signed.] / Ramón Zelaya / Before myself [signed.] / Julián Galo / Perfecto de Trinidad" — "Abraham Delgadillo / En Managua a nueve de Diciembre de mil ochocientos ochenta i cuatro. Ante mi el Alcalde Segundo encargado del Registro Civil, compareció el Señor Julián Galo i dijo que por comisión de parte: que el veintiséis de Agosto del año corriente nació Abraham hijo legítimo del Señor Teodoro Delgadillo y su esposa Manuela Rivas, de este domicilio, mayores de edad. Se le leyó espresó en conformidad i firma conmigo [i el frmo]. / Ramón Zelaya / Ante mi –[frmo] / Julián Galo / Perfecto de Trinidad"; see "Abraham Delgadillo," Ancestry.com, accessed May 4, 2019.

[8] For a history and memoir of Teodoro Delgadillo, see *Homenaje de dolor en la tumba del Dr. Teodoro Delgadillo* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1918). For a genealogy of Manuela Rivas, see "Abolengo de la familia Rivas de Managua, Nic., C.A.," IHNCA-UCA. For list of the Delgadillo Rivas children see previous "Abolengo"; for a list of the children who survived to adulthood, see José Jirón Terán and María Celia Sandino Baus, *La vida en León de Nicaragua según sus cronistas (1574–1974; 2005–2006)* (León, Nicaragua: Casa de Poetas, 2016), 283.

[9] Jirón Terán and Sandino Baus, *La vida en León*, 283–86. Among T. Delgadillo's most distinguished positions were as executive of several government ministries. For an examination

privy to the inner workings of elite power, and would have benefitted socially and politically as a son from a well-to-do *mestizo* Nicaraguan family.[10] Little is known about his early general education or studies in music.[11] However, the Delgadillo Rivas home played host to performances by visiting foreign musicians in the capital, which would have complemented his musical education, and nurtured a sense of cosmopolitanism.[12] By the age of twenty, he attracted notice in local newspapers as a composer of salon music.[13]

Seeking to professionalize in music, Delgadillo continued his studies in Europe, nearly the only recourse for a Central American at the time, as a beneficiary of the Nicaraguan government. It is unclear as to how he came to receive a government stipend for study in Italy, but there must have been substantial advocacy, perhaps from members of an inner circle, for President Zelaya to support the education of a child from a Conservative family.[14] As well, it is unclear as to why Delgadillo chose to study in

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of the "thirty years," see Arturo Cruz, Jr. *Nicaragua's Conservative Republic, 1858–93* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

[10] Both parents passed away during the intervention—Teorodo on October 17, 1917, and Manuela on October 28, 1919. Delgadillo composed requiem masses for them.

[11] Otto Mayer-Serra claimed that Delgadillo's early music teachers were Manuel Silva Guerrero, María Teresa Muñoz de Campari, Alberto Selva; see Otto Mayer-Serra, *Música y músicos de Latinoamérica* (Mexico City: Editorial Atlante, 1947), 311.

[12] The Delgadillo Rivas home had a salon with a piano of sufficient size and quality to serve as a venue for transient virtuosi. On one occasion, German pianist Albert Friedenthal (1862–1921) gave a program that included Wagner, Rubenstein, Chopin, Schubert, Brahms, Gottschalk, Scharwenka, and Kullak; see "Alberto Friedenthal," *Diario de la Capital* (Managua), May 30, 1891; and "Concierto," *Diario de la Capital* (Managua), May 31, 1891.

[13] "Anoche oímos ejecutar muy bien…,' *El Comercio* (Managua), Mar. 6, 1904; and "El Doctor Debayle," *El Comercio* (Managua), Sep. 11, 1904.

[14] Delgadillo's mother was a public opponent of Zelaya. She went so far as to financially support uprisings against the government outside of the capital, to which Zelaya responded by bankrupting the Delgadillos. They would have likely entered the intervention period with limited financial resources; Donald Delgadillo Tapia in discussion with the author, January 24, 2019.

Milan, except for its reputation as a European cultural center.[15] Nevertheless, his regular column for the Salvadorean newspaper *Diario del Salvador*, published while studying piano and composition at the "G. Verdi" Royal Conservatory (1907–1910), revealed a fervent interest in literature, opera, and theater, as much as a personal take on Italian culture and politics.[16] These essays were often critical reflections of cultural life in Milan, and Italian art music, in general.[17] Furthermore, the column revealed a burgeoning cultural voice, a self-appointed moral and aesthetic authority, which later flourished during the intervention.

In light of the political conflict in Nicaragua and the loss of his government stipend in late 1909, Delgadillo returned to Nicaragua where he began a professional

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[15] The music conservatory in Milan was well-known in Latin America, especially as the school where Brazilian composer Antônio Carlos Gomes (1836–1896) had studied beginning in 1864. Delgadillo noted Gomes as the only non-Italian accepted as a genius in Italy; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Un centroamericano en Milán. Después del concierto. Opinión sobre música alemana," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Jul. 29, 1909.

[16] For a selection of Delgadillo's essays for *Diario del Salvador*, see Luis A. Delgadillo, "La crítica en Italia," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Jun. 5, 1908; "Nieve en el corazón," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Feb. 2, 1909; "Electra. La nueva ópera de Strauss," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), May 12, 1909; "Un centroamericano en Milán. Después del concierto. Opinión sobre música alemana," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Jul. 29, 1909; "Un centroamericano en Milán. Cosas del mundo teatral," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Aug. 11, 1909; "Un centroamericano en Milán. Tolstoy y la música," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Aug. 14, 1909; "Pensé en mi madre (vida íntima)," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Sep. 6, 1909; "Después del café. En el teatro Manzoni de Milán," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Nov. 29, 1909; "Arte musical. ¿La composición es un artificio?" *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Feb. 26, 1910; "Chantecler, Comedia de Edmundo Rostand," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Mar. 29, 1910; "Desde Milán. Después del café (a vuela pluma)," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Apr. 7, 1910; "Europa salvaje," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Apr. 26, 1910; and "Alla Scala, de Milán. Última representación del año," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), May 28, 1910.

[17] Delgadillo regularly attended the *Circolo Filologico Milanese* (Philological Club of Milan), whose meetings exposed him to intellectual exchange and language instruction. He later claimed that the club also exposed him to classic literature and art, and allowed him to properly assess the merits of cultural criticism; see Luis A. Delgadillo, *Consideraciones generales sobre arte musical en Nicaragua* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1913), 43.

career as a pianist, composer, and teacher.[18] But the conditions in his native country were far from ideal. With a certain pessimism, he observed, "Nicaragua, without reservation, is not a country groomed for music. Its sickened atmosphere, abundant with the smoke of cannons; its people, due to political provincialism, devote themselves to the cultivation of despicable material [goods], [and] money to create heroes; and leaves public education and the arts forgotten to chaos…"[19] With this reality in front of him, Delgadillo developed a strategy of self-representation, a rhetoric with which he would promote his artistic goals, both at home and abroad. His main strategy was to been seen as an underdog, an exceptional-artist-turned-victim within a society that was little prepared or interested in supporting his work. From this position he addressed a need for the development of professional musicians, who could only be supported through music schools and proper venues, both lacking in Nicaragua (and Central America).[20] These conditions, he claimed, could only be improved through committed public and private support.[21] Years before turning to musical nationalism based on style, his efforts toward fomenting a "national art" in music were centered on building public institutions and respect for music as a profession.[22]

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[18] "Noticiero Centroamericano. Nicaragua. El artista don Luis A. Delgadillo...," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Sep. 26, 1910. Delgadillo was back in Managua by September of 1910.
[19] *Consideraciones generales sobre arte musical en Nicaragua* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1913), 10–11. Delgadillo faulted Nicaraguan society for its obsession with novelty, and little interest in local culture and artists. "Nicaragua, sin duda alguna, no es un país preparado para la música. Su atmósfera enferma, pletórica de humos de cañones; su gente, dada a la hidrofobia política, se consagra a cultivar la materia vil, el dinero para levantarle ídolos; y deja el caos del olvido a la instrucción pública y las artes…"
[20] Delgadillo returned to this point over and over again in his published writings.
[21] Delgadillo, *Consideraciones*, 34–35.
[22] Ibid., 73–74.

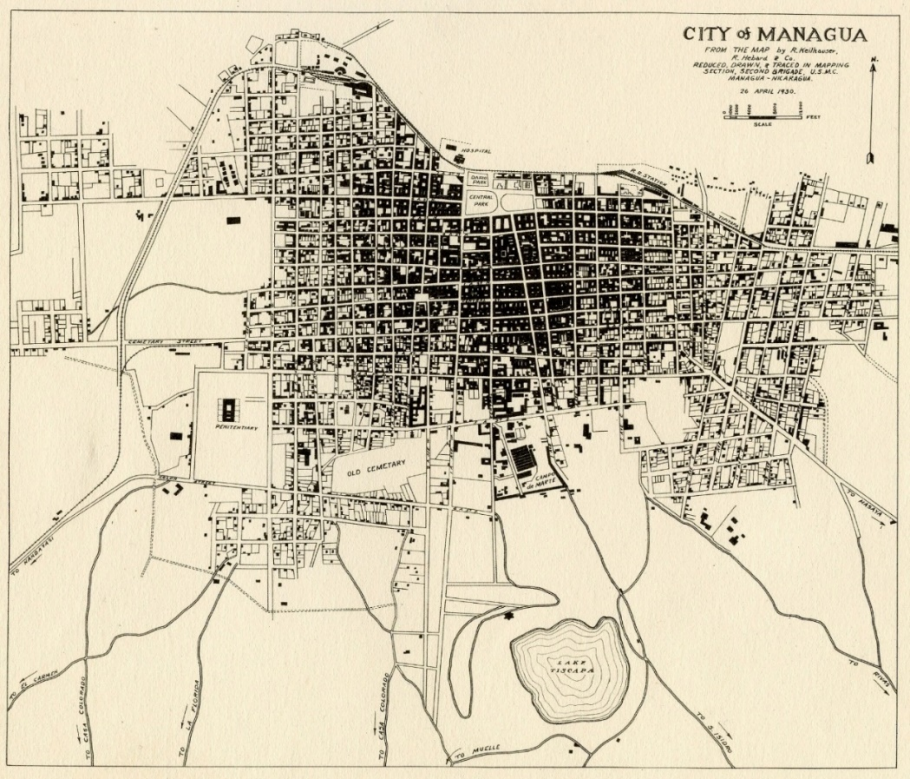

Figure 2.1. City of Managua, 1930. A tactical map prepared by the United States Marine Corps toward the end of the intervention. Source: RG 127, U.S. National Archives.

During the first decade of the intervention, Delgadillo held the directorship of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes[23] (Band of the Supreme Powers, 1915–1917; 1919–1921), through which he endeavored to foment musical culture in Managua.[24] The position allowed him a measure influence as an arbiter of taste through concert

[23] The "supreme powers" in the band's title was a vestige of nineteenth-century governmental nomenclature. The band was sometimes also referred to as Banda de los Altos Poderes (Band of the High Powers).

[24] "El presidente de la República acuerda: Nombrar Director de la Banda de los Altos Poderes…," *La Gaceta / Diario Oficial* (Managua), Jan. 29, 1915; and "El presidente de la República acuerda: 2º. Nombrar para el desempeño de dicho cargo… Luis A. Delgadillo," *La Gaceta / Diario Oficial* (Managua), Jan. 2, 1919.

programming. As part of the Ministry of War, the band had a ceremonial and an educational role.[25] The former consisted of accompanying official acts or providing entertainment through public concerts. Delgadillo programmed the music for both, especially the weekly concerts held at *Parque Central* (Central Park) in Managua, which regularly included musical arrangements or original compositions by him.[26] The latter role gave the band a secondary profile as a music school that prepared novices for integration into the band, or obligated continuing education for its regular members.[27] During his appointment with the band, Delgadillo was also Director General de Cultura Musical (General Director of Musical Culture), a position amounting to only a symbolic role.[28] The Banda de los Supremos Poderes proved to be the only professional outlet for the performance of his art music in Nicaragua, as the capital lacked a national symphony orchestra or stable symphonic society.

As a writer, Delgadillo published books and numerous essays on music and culture, a seemingly tireless activity he maintained for much of the intervention. The medium gave him a voice as a cultural critic, while promoting his nationalist efforts as a

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[25] *Reglamento de la Banda de los Supremos Poderes de la República* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1916), 3.
[26] See Chapter 4.
[27] *Reglamento*, 10–11; and "Escuela de música. Reglamento de la escuela de música," in Idolda Rodríguez Rosales, *Historia de la educación en Nicaragua: restauracion conservadora (1910–1930)* (Managua: Editorial Hispamer, 2005), 287–288.
[28] Mayer-Serra, *Música y músicos*, 312. This is a position often mentioned in secondary sources, particularly, in dictionaries and surveys, but I have yet to find evidence of his official appointment. However, Victor M. Zúniga, longtime member of the band, noted that while Delgadillo did, indeed, hold the title of General Director, he did not have "more than a single band under his command"; see Zúniga G., Victor M. "La Alegría de los Músicos. Una vez fui donde el maestro Delgadillo…." *Los Domingos*, October 3, 1920. "…más que una banda bajo su mando."

composer and performer. His first book, *Consideraciones generales sobre arte musical en Nicaragua* (General Reflections on Musical Art in Nicaragua, 1913), painted a grim picture of Nicaraguan culture and of the possibilities (or lack thereof) for professional musicians.[29] A more optimistic book by him appeared in the immediate postwar period. In *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann* (Commentary on the Advice by Schumann, 1919), Delgadillo sought to communicate his ideology on music as a discipline and art form to students of composition or the piano. Yet, like the first book, he revealed much more in terms of a personal musical aesthetic and nationalist perspective.[30] He published numerous essays on music and musicians in local and foreign periodical literature, primarily, seeking to promote his work, especially nationalist composition, or educate readers on musical matters. Toward the end of the 1920s, Delgadillo began a series of essays entitled "A Manera de Suite…" (In the Manner of a Suite…).[31] Although the

[29] Delgadillo registered the book with the Nicaraguan government; see "Nicaragua. El professor Luis A. Delgadillo pide…," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Dec. 5, 1913. He received mixed reviews for the book. Nicaraguan journalist Juan R. Avilés accused him of being a "psychopath" who not only painted himself as a cultural victim, but took on the role as if it were true. Years later, Aviles turn into Delgadillo's advocate; see Juan R. Avilés, "Bibliografía Centroamericana. El arte musical en Nicaragua," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Jun. 15, 1913. In contrast to Avilés, a Salvadorean reviewer found it to be of value, claiming that its message was also relevant for their country; see "Sobre El Arte Musical. Folleto de un artista nicaragüense," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Dec. 31, 1913.

[30] See Chapter 4. Honduran composer and conductor Manuel de Adalid y Gamero lauded the book in a Managua periodical, and agreed with Delgadillo's critical assessment of the music profession and lack of institutions in Central America, while also drawing from *Consideraciones*, a book Adalid y Gamero also held of value; see Manuel de Adalid y Gamero, "Juicios Sinceros. El maestro Delgadillo," *Los Domingos*, Jul. 3, 1921.

[31] Luis A. Delgadillo, "A Manera de Suite.... I. De la urbanidad en la música," *El Gráfico*, June 17, 1928. It is unclear when the first article in the series appeared in a publication, but this citation is an early one.

essays were brief in length, varying from one to three distinct sections, the series not only outlasted the intervention, but its publication continued in subsequent decades.

Despite his Conservative upbringing, Delgadillo led a professional artistic path shaped by liberal thought, evidenced by his membership as a Freemason.[32] This becomes more apparent as the intervention wore on. His published writings are replete with scientific and philosophical reflection, and he bought into aspects of modernity, unless it had to do with the United States, in which case he negotiated its value.[33] In art, music, and literature, he found affinity with Liberal journalists, writers, and educators. Indeed, his social network as a cultural figure was hardly limited to the political identity of his family name—he often crossed historic boundaries between Nicaraguan Conservatives and Liberals, to the extent that, depending on a given source, his political leanings might not be apparent. Yet it must be stressed that Delgadillo rarely, if ever, declared his political opinions in print. Instead, he sought to engage in greater political discourses—particularly, musical nationalism—through his compositions and published writings.

[32] Luis Delgadillo Tapia, in conversation with the author, May 22, 2019.
[33] See Chapter 4.

Figure 2.2. Luis A. Delgadillo, Managua, 1910s. Source: Delgadillo Tapia Family Archive.

Americanismo musical before Francisco Curt Lange

The term *americanismo musical* existed prior to the movement initiated by Lange. It was employed by individuals who used the term or worked toward similar goals of promotion and solidarity during the first three decades of the twentieth century.[34] They likely labored independently from one another, either in Latin America or Europe, though they may have certainly been aware of a broader effort in this area through social or artistic networks. Their practice of *americanismo* was narrower in scope and purpose than the "americanismo" of Lange or "panamericanismo" of Chávez. In other words, the efforts before Lange could have more precisely been called "Latino-americanismo musical," which initially eschewed any reciprocal exchange with the United States or Canada (or Europe), except to promote musical production by Latin Americans.

[34] Aside from Urquieta in Europe, Colombian composer Santos Cifuentes published on the subject as early as 1915; see Santos Cifuentes, "Hacia el americanismo musical. La música en Colombia," *El Correo Musical Sudamericano* (Buenos Aires), September 22, 1915.

Peruvian composer Felipe L. Urquieta (1898–?) captured the spirit and intent of an *Americanismo musical* in his brief essay entitled *A mis compañeros los músicos americanos residentes en Italia y España* (To My American Musician Colleagues Residing in Italy and Spain, 1919).[35] He observed a swell of *folklorismo* in the works of some Latin American composers, affirming what he considered to be a sense of patriotism found in Grieg, Chopin, and Gottschalk, whose works he perceived to be nationalist in function.[36] He placed Gottschalk on a pedestal as the foremost American practitioner of *folklorismo*, or musical nationalism defined along explicitly stylistic lines. Urquieta highlighted several other composers (and performers) who "gave their works a patriotic flavor,"[37] including

> Juan Carlos Gómez,[38] the elder and eminent Brazilian maestro. The regional soul pulsates in his "Guarany."
> José María Valle Riestra, the only Peruvian [opera composer] and most probably of the Pacific [Coast of South America]. Listening to his opera "Ollanta" is to remember the character of the Indian, melancholic and reserved.

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[35] Felipe L. Urquieta, *A mis compañeros los músicos americanos residentes en Italia y España* (Barcelona: Imprenta Athenea, 1919). Urquieta is missing from most of the principal music dictionaries, encyclopedias, and surveys of Latin American music and composers published during the twentieth century, except for the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* (DMEH). The composer entry written by Juan Carlos Estenssoro in the DMEH is brief, but the biographical details are worth transcribing here in full: "Urquieta, Felipe Lino. (b. Arequipa, Peru, 1898; d. [unknown]). Composer. [Apart from his] connection to Arequipa, and some study in Europe (Spain and probably France), there is very little biographical information on this composer. He resided in Barcelona, where he collaborated on the *Enciclopedia Espasa Calpe*. In his writings we can appreciate that he was an enthusiastic defender of the search for a language particular to American music, defending Gottschalk as one of its founders. Holzmann treats his music for piano with a certain irony, suggesting that it reflected a false, or at least an unsophisticated, modernity." For a short list of Urquieta's compositions and publications, see the DMEH.

[36] Ibid., 2.

[37] Ibid., "…dieron a sus obras el sabor patriótico."

[38] It is unclear why Urquieta refers to Gomes incorrectly as "Juan," when his first name was Antônio.

> Luis Duncker Lavalle, who has not invested all of his talent toward the cultivation of a genuine Peruvian music. Nevertheless, his waltz "Quenas" is already a triumph of ours.
> Félix Scolatti Almeyda, who belongs to a new, hardy, and well-balanced Argentine generation of musicians. Scolatti is one of the American apostles of *folklorismo*. And I should declare that my admiration toward him goes mixed with thanks, a gratitude for having taken an interest in the fomentation of music from my country.
> Ricardo Castro y Gustavo E. Campa, two Mexican composers of European prestige. I have yet to hear any of their works, but I should not keep their great merit silent because I know they contain ancient themes of Aztec origin.
> Emilio Murillo and the Brothers Uribe, sincere musicians who have given all of their care and aptitude to Colombian *folklorismo*.
> Luis A. Delgadillo, determined cultivator of Nicaraguan musical material and outstanding music historian.[39]

Arriving at one of his principal ideas, Urquieta proposed a project of artistic exchange that, in theory, would be initiated by Latin American musicians who resided in culturally significant cities on the European continent. His concept was relatively straightforward: the formation of a musical center in each city whose mission was to promote "*Americanismo musical* in Europe."[40] The members of these centers would thus facilitate an awareness of Latin American composition.

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[39] Ibid., 2–3. "Juan Carlos Gómez, el viejo y eminente maestro brasileño. En su «Guarany» vibra el alma regional. / José María Valleriestra, el único operista peruano y seguramente del Pacífico. Oir su «Ollanta» es recordar la naturaleza del indio, melancólica y taciturna. / Luis Duncker Lavalle, que no ha puesto todo su talento en el cultivo de la música genuinamente peruana. Sin embargo, su vals «Quenas» significa ya un triunfo nuestro. / Félix Scolatti Almeyda, que pertenece a la nueva, robusta y bien equilibrada generación argentina de músicos. Scolatti es uno de los apóstoles americanos del folklorismo. Y he de declarar que mi admiración hacia él va mezclada de gratitud, gratitud por haberse interesado en el fomento de la música de mi patria. / Ricardo Castro y Gustavo E. Campa, dos compositores mexicanos de prestigio europeo. No he oído ninguna de sus obras, pero no he de callar sus enormes méritos porque sé que han expresado temas de viejo origen azteca. / Emilio Murillo y los hermanos Uribe, sinceros artistas que han ofrecido todos sus cuidados y sus aptitudes al folklorismo colombiano. / Luis A. Delgadillo, decidido cultor de motivos musicales nicaragüenses y musicógrafo de talla."

[40] Ibid., "…la representación del americanismo musical en Europa."

It is unclear just how Urquieta became familiar with Delgadillo and his work. Perhaps he acquired a copy of one or both of the books the Nicaraguan composer had published during the 1910s.[41] Or it may have been due to a network of international contacts Delgadillo had built and sustained since his days in Milan. A more plausible connection, however, might have been due to the publication of an arrangement by Delgadillo of the first movement from Beethoven's sonata, op. 27, no. 2.[42] By the time the Urquieta essay went to press, Delgadillo had already published a work of his in the series *La mejor música del mundo* (1918), a ten-volume collection of vocal and instrumental music intended for an international market, which included so-called "masters" and newly composed works.[43] Original music or arrangements by Latin American composers were represented throughout the series. Delgadillo contributed the latter—an arrangement entitled "Meditación" of the first movement from Beethoven's "Moonlight" sonata, to which he added an obbligato violin melody.[44] However, this was not his only appearance in the series. A portrait of a youthful Delgadillo, whose apparent black hair had not yet begun to reveal the grey characterizing much of his adulthood, was published in an early volume.[45] He appeared alongside five other composers about whom

[41] Delgadillo met Urquieta years later in 1926 while visiting Lima, Peru on an extended tour of South America; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] En la ciudad sagrada de los Incas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, Sep. 18, 1927.
[42] Urquieta may have also known of Delgadillo through a combination of these possibilities.
[43] "Honor para Delgadillo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), March 16, 1919. The series editor, Polish pianist Ignacy Paderewsky, contacted Delgadillo directly, requesting a work of his for inclusion in the collection.
[44] Beethoven, Ludwig van, "Meditación: sobre el adagio de 'claro de luna' sonata" for violin and piano, L.A. Delgadillo, arr., *La mejor música del mundo*, vol. 6 (New York City: The University Society, 1918), 1519.
[45] *La mejor música del mundo*, vol. 2 [vocal] (New York City: The University Society, 1918).

the accompanying caption claimed were from Latin America (Figure 2.3).[46] The image included José María Valle Riestra, one of the *folklorista* composers held in high regard by Urquieta.[47] As a result of the international market for the series, Delgadillo likely enjoyed a boost to his reputation throughout Latin America, no doubt projecting a certain caliber of compositional skill to his contemporaries. And while Delgadillo did not publish a nationalist work in the collection, the Urquieta essay would soon reveal the direction that Delgadillo had been developing for a number of years, and flourish well beyond the borders of Nicaragua.

[46] Of the other composers—Savino de Benedictis, Félix Otero, José María Valle Riestra, and Hubert de Blanck—only half were Latin American. De Blanck was Dutch and de Benedictis was Italian, yet they resided in Cuba and Brazil, respectively.
[47] Also worth noting, all five composers received musical training in Europe.

Figure 2.2. Luis A. Delgadillo, 1918. Source: *La mejor música del mundo*.[48]

Delgadillo did not use the term *americanismo musical*, per se, to describe his personal project as a Latin American composer, or those of his compositions under which they fell. The closest he came was *américo-latinismo musical*, a more precise label he employed in 1921, when calling for nationalist composition based on the "pure art of

[48] *La mejor música*.

folk-lore."[49] At the same time, he beseeched fellow Latin American composers to "formally establish an exchange of regional musics," thereby looking to bring like-minded individuals into contact.[50] In this sense, Delgadillo worked toward fomenting the production and exchange of nationalist composition throughout Latin America. It would then hold that his practice during the intervention found affinity with that of his contemporaries—an *americanismo musical* before Lange.

Although he worked toward similar goals as some of his Latin American contemporaries, Delgadillo was an outlier among them. His body of nationalist composition was not limited to just the employment the popular musics and indigenous elements from Nicaragua, but a broader geographic area encompassing much of Latin America.[51] Delgadillo described his work as continental in scope, "because it [embraced] the entire American soul, from Mexico to the Argentine pampas, and because my *patria* is a free America, as Simón Bolívar [once] said."[52] The impetus for this type of production is not all that apparent, yet it may have been due to a combination of factors—ongoing national financial crises in Nicaragua; little public and private interest in

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[49] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Américo-latinismo musical." *El Universal* (Mexico City), Oct. 9, 1921. "…el Arte puro del **Folke-Lore**…" [bold lettering in the original]

[50] Ibid. "…establecer formalmente el intercambio de músicas regionales…" Delgadillo used the term *Américo-latinismo musical* in anticipation of moving to Mexico City. His call for exchange was thus directed to Central and South Americans to work with Mexico, a country he considered the "big sister" of the "New Continent."

[51] Musicologists Aurelio Tello and Ricardo Miranda include Delgadillo as part of a group of "pioneering" nationalist composers in Latin America; see Ricardo Miranda and Aurelio Tello, *La música en Latinoamérica* (Mexico : Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Dirección General del Acervo Histórico Diplomático, 2011), 148.

[52] "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] Epílogo. Mi odisea musical en América Hispana," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 20, 1927. "…porque abarca toda el alma americana desde México hasta las pampas argentinas, y porque mi patria es América libertada, como dijo Simón [de] Bolívar."

supporting his musical aspirations; and opportunities abroad that affirmed and propelled his intellectual and artistic growth. These political, economic, and cultural factors were the result of the intervention. They were significant variables in his turn toward nationalism in music, perhaps as a critical response not just to intervention in Nicaragua, but the spread of U.S. domination throughout Latin America.

The Delgadillo-Pedrell Connection

While Nicaragua was under intervention, Delgadillo developed a particular ideology and profile as an art music composer from Latin America, constructing the very foundation of his nationalist output on existing ideas about "folk-lore." He began the construction of this foundation through the work of Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922), the Catalan composer, musicologist, and teacher, whose writings celebrated folklore in Spain, and its potential for the creation of a *música nacionalizada* (nationalized music), while defining the identity of the creator along nationalist lines.[53] Delgadillo was well versed in the writings of the Spanish composer, sometimes citing Pedrell as a model in his own writings.[54] Indeed, much of the critical and descriptive terminology on folklore employed by Delgadillo may be seen, in part, as an echo of Pedrell, but it was, more

[53] For an overview of Pedrell's life and work, published just after his death, see Manuel de Falla, *Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922)*: *Este artículo ha sido expresamente escrito para la Revue Musicale de París que lo publicó en su número del mes de febrero y se reproduce con la autorización de esta revista* (Barcelona, 1923).
[54] Delgadillo explicitly cited Pedrell's *Diccionario técnico de la música* [2nd ed.] (Barcelona, 1899) and *Lírica nacionalizada: estudios sobre folk-lore musical* (Paris, 1909) in his essays for *Los Domingos*; see "Diccionario musical," *Los Domingos*, September 12, 1920; and "De la música italiana," *Los Domingos*, January 30, 1921. Delgadillo also pointed to Pedrell as an exemplar of a music historiographer in *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1919).

accurately, an adaptation by the Nicaraguan composer. At the heart of the practice was a definition of folklore, a word whose origins and characteristics Pedrell recognized as

> Anglo-Saxon, and has been accepted as much in Spain as it has in France, Italy, and Portugal, for encompassing a line of knowledge that cannot be expressed by the words *popular wisdom* and *popular sentiment*, etc., but everything that refers to the life and customs of a people. And the practices, ceremonies, and entertainments wherein the vestiges of past civilizations are preserved to which pre-historic people confer such considerable importance.
>
> The general convention of employing this word only dates from the year 1846, in which Mr. [William] J. Thoms first utilized it in the sense held at present.[55]

Delgadillo embraced this definition, as well as the notion of *canto del pueblo* (song of the people) as the heart of musical folklore.[56] He expanded the definition to recognize the importance of indigenous elements, an area notably absent from the writings of Pedrell.[57] This was a notable aspect of his compositional profile by the mid-point of the intervention, at which time he wrote his earliest work (for orchestra) that represented the indigenous—*Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana* (*Indigenous or Central American Symphony*, 1921).[58]

The ideas and subjects on which Delgadillo published during the intervention, and for the rest of his career, not only revealed an affinity with the work of Pedrell, but were

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[55] Felipe Pedrell, *Diccionario técnico de la música*. Barcelona: Isidro Torres Oriol, 1894. "…anglo-sajona y ha sido aceptada tanto en España como en Francia, Italia y Portugal, por compendiar una serie de conocimientos que no pueden expresarse por las palabras *saber popular* y el *sentir popular*, etc., sino todo lo que se refiere a la vida y costumbres del pueblo y a los usos, ceremonias y juegos en que se conservan los vestigios de civilizaciones anteriores a los que los prehistóricos conceden tan considerable importancia. / El uso general del empleo de esta palabra sólo data el año 1846 en que por primera vez la empleó en el sentido que hoy tiene Mr. Williams J. Thoms."

[56] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Sobre música. El compositor Villa-Lobos y sus ideas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 9, 1928.

[57] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Cantos indígenas," *Los Domingos*, October 3, 1920.

[58] The work was his third symphony; see Appendix A.

part of his sustained efforts to foment musical nationalism in Nicaragua. Over and over again, he employed the same strategy to encourage an appreciation of what he considered good music and performance (e.g., art music), in the hopes that it would create more opportunities for himself and other musicians. He did so while reminding readers that Nicaraguans needed to support local musical culture.[59] The subjects on which he wrote, however, exceeded Nicaraguan borders and broadly addressed folklore.[60] Yet he typically used them as a departure point to bring the discussion back to nationalist discourse. Delgadillo wanted to create a *música nacionalizada* that celebrated Latin American identity through expressive culture within an art music context. By 1921, he noted,

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[59] He attempted to confront the situation in his first book (1913), but did not address the matter with more regularity until 1918; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Notas del arte. De la vida musical en Nicaragua," *Los Domingos*, October 16, 1918; "Variedades. De la evolución musical." *Los Domingos*, January 12, 1919; and "Asuntos musicales. De la melodía, como composición musical." *Los Domingos*, March 16, 1919.

[60] For a selection of Delgadillo's published essays on folklore, see "Las danzas antiguas (bailes griegos)," *Nicaragua Informativa*, June 1918, 8, reprinted in *Los Domingos*, March 6, 1921; "Da aquí y de allá. El baile de las culebras," *Los Domingos*, November 3, 1918; "Música nacional," *Los Domingos*, May 9, 1920; "Cantos indígenas," *Los Domingos*, October 3, 1920; "De los profetas en su tierra," *Los Domingos*, January 16, 1921; "De la música italiana," *Los Domingos*, January 30, 1921; "Hagamos música nacional," *Los Domingos*, May 22, 1921; "Américo-Latinismo musical," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Oct. 9, 1921; "Jira artística a Sudamérica. En Río de Janeiro," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 4, 1927; "Jira artística a Sudamérica. El Perú, tierra sagrada de los Incas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 11, 1927; "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] "En la ciudad sagrada de los Incas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 18, 1927; "Jira artística a Sudamérica. El teatro chino en Lima," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 25, 1927; "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] Una metrópoli preincáisca. Tiahuanacu, sus ruinas, cosas de indios, sus fiestas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 9, 1927; "Mi jira por Sud-América. Los conservatorios y la academias de música en América," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 23, 1927; "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] Epílogo. Mi odisea musical en América Hispana, " *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 20, 1927; "Sobre música. El compositor Villa-Lobos y sus ideas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 9, 1928; "Del folklore musical en Nicaragua," *Gaceta Musical* (September 1928): 24–26; "Las dos tendencias musicales de América," *La Revista Musical* 20 (July 1929): 6, 12; and "Música hispano-americana en Nueva York," *Voz Española* (Manila), Oct. 12, 1931. Delgadillo also addressed the subject in his second book; see "XIV. «Oye con atención los cantos nacionales…»," *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1919), 51–52.

"creating derivative music from Europe is not [a sign of a] lack of invention, but it is neither patriotic nor will ever be a true musical nationality."[61] This is not to say he shied away from other areas of art music production, nor did he consider it an unworthy pursuit, but he prioritized only work that was understood to be national and based on folklore. To this end, Delgadillo employed the writings of Pedrell in his essays, directly and indirectly, for cultural critique, professional development, and national or regional identity formation.

The apparent high esteem Delgadillo held for Pedrell might imply a somewhat close connection between the two, perhaps even a friendship, but there is little evidence that Delgadillo maintained, at least, a reciprocal correspondence with the elder composer.[62] Nevertheless, he knew Pedrell well enough (or of him) by 1914 to send the Spaniard a copy of his first book, *Consideraciones generales sobre arte musical en Nicaragua* (1913), which included handwritten notes and annotations addressed to Pedrell.[63] One of these annotations clarified the substance of the book, hinted by its title: a discussion of the "backwards" state of music in Latin America, specifically, relating to Nicaragua. In another, found at the beginning of chapter 18 ("Del Arte Nacional"), Delgadillo underscored his message to Pedrell by noting, "Attention. This section will reveal my lamentable situation in this obscure country of thankless people. I hope to

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[61] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Américo-Latinismo musical," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Oct. 9, 1921. "Hacer música imitativa de Europa, no es infelicidad de invención, pero no es patriótico ni será nunca verdadera nacionalidad musical."

[62] Housed in the Music Division of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, the Fons Felip Pedrell does not contain any correspondence between the two composers.

[63] The publication Delgadillo sent to Pedrell, presently housed in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, is the sole extant copy of *Consideraciones*.

receive your moral support, *maestro*."[64] Delgadillo signaled the dire conditions in which he attempted to forge a professional career in Nicaragua, exacerbated early on (and throughout) by the intervention, a moving target of political and economic tempests to which he would be forced to respond.[65]

There is no explicit mention of Pedrell or an interest in folklore in the text of *Consideraciones*, but it is clear from his inclusion of personalized notes that Delgadillo was already familiar with the Spaniard and his work. It would take some time, however, before he would begin to explore Nicaraguan musical folklore—indeed, musical nationalism— in his own compositions. Delgadillo spent years slowly building a compositional foundation and philosophy based to some extent on folklore after Pedrell.[66] He was thus committed to a practice of *americanismo musical* by the beginning of the postwar period, while broadening his perspective through contact with Manuel M.

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[64] Luis A. Delgadillo, *Consideraciones generales sobre arte musical en Nicaragua* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1913), 73. "Ojo. Este artículo revelará la triste situación mía en este oscuro país de ingratos. Espero su apoyo moral, maestro."

[65] Delgadillo continued to hold this sentiment during the latter half of the intervention. In one essay, he blamed imported U.S.-American popular music for the lack of public interest in his efforts; see "De la música seria en Nicaragua. No hay público que la guste y proteja," *Los Domingos: Suplemento Ilustrado de "La Noticia,"* January 26, 1926. Yet he expressed his strongest critique in an essay on Nicaraguan musical folklore published in Paris in 1928, the only such detailed study he produced during the period. Delgadillo likened the situation for professional musicians in Nicaragua to a curse of Biblical proportions: "The seven plagues of Egypt have stricken Nicaragua. And we are the [Don] Quixotes of music, the true victims of an environment of materialism, and of a backwardness found in the fertile land of [Rubén] Darío"; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Del folklore musical en Nicaragua," *Gaceta Musical* (September 1928): 24–26.

[66] Delgadillo was not the first Nicaraguan composer to employ folk musical material in a work of art music. The Masayes composer Fernando Luna Jiménez (1853–1936) preceded him with the symphony "El toro huaco" (The Diminutive Bull), op. 8, based on themes from the traditional street dance; see Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Breviario del recuerdo. Antología de músicos nicaragüenses,* [Primer tomo] (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945), 134–135.

Ponce, Jesús Castillo,[67] Manuel de Adalid y Gamero,[68] and others.[69] More importantly, if the writings of Pedrell were at the foundation of his personal construction of musical nationalism, it was the influence of Ponce that allowed Delgadillo to take the practice toward new heights.

The Delgadillo-Ponce Connection

The work of Mexican pianist and composer Manuel M. Ponce (1882–1948) was key to the development of Delgadillo as a nationalist composer and music historiographer. During the 1910s, as Ponce pressed ahead with the creation of the *canción mexicana* (Mexican song), Delgadillo moved slowly in the direction of realizing his own project.[70] But it was not until late 1921, and in relocating to Mexico City for a number of years, that Delgadillo came under the direct influence of a Latin American culture immersed in a grand nationalist project—the construction of modern Mexico—which included music and the Fine Arts. As the "father of Mexican vernacular music,"

[67] Delgadillo first mentioned Jesús Castillo (1877–1946), a Guatemalan composer, in 1920, not long before beginning to write the *Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana* (1921); see "Música nacional," *Los Domingos*, May 9, 1920, and "Cantos indígenas," *Los Domingos*, October 3, 1920.
[68] Delgadillo was a personal friend of Manuel de Adalid y Gamero, a Honduran composer and ensemble director, who publicly praised the Nicaraguan composer's music and writings; see "El maestro Delgadillo y su obra Debussyana," *El Nuevo Tiempo* (Tegucigalpa), Dec. 13, 1918; and "El maestro Delgadillo." *Los Domingos*, Jul. 3, 1921.
[69] In his correspondence with Francisco Curt Lange many years later, Delgadillo noted Castillo and de Adalid y Gamero as having pursued the same goals in musical nationalism; see Luis A. Delgadillo to Francisco Curt Lange, May 25, 1939, Acervo Curt Lange, Belo Horizonte.
[70] For an examination of Ponce's work on the *canción mexicana,* see Leonora Saavedra, "Manuel M. Ponce y la canción mexicana," *Heterofonía* 142 (Jan.–Jun. 2010), 155–182; and "Manuel M. Ponce y los músicos populares," *Heterofonía* 143 (Jul.–Dec. 2010), 51–84.

Ponce was the principal figure of popular song, whose writings would have likely been known to the Nicaraguan prior to his arrival.[71]

Delgadillo declared his respect for Ponce in print not long after moving to the Mexican capital. Ever the strategist, especially as a recent arrival in search of opportunity, he applauded Ponce for his nationalist efforts, while also engaging in *Americanismo musical*: "Central and South Americans ought to formally establish an exchange of regional musics with Mexico, which is, in my view, the big sister of [America]."[72] The impact of *canción mexicana* on the compositions of Delgadillo are most explicitly found in two large-scale orchestral works—*Sinfonía mexicana* (1923) and the Suite "Teotihuacán" (1925)—that incorporated a number of original and newly-composed Mexican popular songs of the period (discussed below). Yet as an ideological model, Ponce was also instrumental in shaping Delgadillo as an aesthetic and moral lens in his own nationalist writings, at once, finding affinity with contemporary discourses in Latin America. By the end of the 1920s, Delgadillo could clearly articulate his personal philosophy and process of constructing musical nationalism. Following his travels throughout Latin America, he asserted

> I have achieved the goal of my trips of enlightenment and study, which has not only consisted of selecting popular musical themes, but in reconstructing and stylizing primitive and popular indigenous songs; endeavoring to elevate them to the categories of symphonies, sonatas, and string quartets, etc.; Americanizing, in a proper manner, very beautiful melodies from the past and present—a tiring, rocky, and dangerous task,

[71] Leonora Saavedra, "Manuel M. Ponce y la canción mexicana," *Heterofonía* 142 (Jan.–Jun. 2010), 156. "…el padre de la música vernácula mexicana."
[72] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Américo-Latinismo musical," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Oct. 9, 1921. "Debiéramos establecer formalmente el intercambio de músicas regionales los Centro y Sur-Americanos con México, que a mi parecer es la hermana mayor del Nuevo Continente."

> because it is too easy to fall into bad European imitations, from which one has to shy away when composing in a homegrown manner.[73]

There are echoes of Ponce in this quote, in particular, as it concerns the act of so-called "elevation," an elusive term bound up with markers of social class and privilege, yet also pointing to the process of transculturation.[74] In bringing together popular song or indigenous elements (or newly-composed material resembling either) with European musical forms, Delgadillo created a new cultural product he promoted as "elevating" cultures perceived to be primitive or plebian. He was not concerned with issues of authenticity, the faithful representation of a given subject, but with the legitimization of his work as an art music composer and the political purpose or function of such work. And while pertaining to musical style (see below), his work contributed to nationalist discourses regarding notions of *mestizaje* (racial mixture), progress, and modernity.

Delgadillo believed that the musical representation of the indigenous was at the heart of his nationalist work, an art music he characterized as *Indo-americano* (Indo-American or Indigenous American). Ponce had little interest in indigenous culture, yet on one noteworthy occasion, he gave Delgadillo an opportunity to convey his knowledge and perspective on the subject. Published in the music journal *Gaceta Musical*,

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[73] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Las dos tendencias musicales de América," *La Revista Musical* 20 (July 1929): 6, 12. "…he conseguido el objeto de mis viajes de ilustración y estudio, que no ha consistido sólo en seleccionar temas musicales típicos, sino en reconstruir y estilizar los cantos primitivos y populares de los indios, tratando de elevarlos a la categorías de sinfonías, sonatas, cuartetos clásicos, etc., con el fin de nacionalizar, americanizando en forma característica, bellísimos motivos del pasado y del presente: tarea harto escabrosa y de peligro, porque es muy fácil caer en graves imitaciones europeas, de las que hay que huir, cuando se escribe en manera autóctona."

[74] For a definition of transculturation, see Chapter 4. Leonora Saavedra has examined the role transculturation in Mexican popular music from Ponce's perspective; see Saavedra, "Manuel M. Ponce y la canción mexicana," 142.

Delgadillo summarized a history of indigenous expressive culture in Central America in an article entitled “Del folklore musical en Nicaragua” (“Of Musical Folklore in Nicaragua”).[75] He asserted two important points in the article: Nicaragua has no musical folklore to speak of (or no thorough study of it), and the country needs a national music school. The first was an assessment in comparison to Mexico, while the second was an update on the state of professional music education in his home country, a longstanding point of contention he blamed, as he had done previously, on political provincialism and lack of public support.[76]

Toward a profile of Delgadillo’s Musical Folklore

Although his published essays reveal a certain amount of theory and personal thought regarding musical folklore, the compositions Delgadillo produced during the intervention, those that defined his particular type of *americanismo musical*, are evidence as to how his ideas manifested in practice. His compositions based on folklore can be said to fall under three topoi: popular or traditional song; pastoral or *costumbrista* themes; and indigenous song or melody. He employed this material in his popular (or middle-brow) and art compositions alike, while utilizing the compositional language appropriate to the genre—*bailables* (dance music) followed conventions *à la mode*, while art music drew from late or post Romanticism.

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[75] Luis A. Delgadillo, “Del folklore musical en Nicaragua,” *Gaceta Musical* (September 1928): 24–26.

[76] Ibid., 26. Ponce apparently redacted parts of Delgadillo’s essay, removing some of the content perceived to be personal attacks; see Manuel M. Ponce to Luis A. Delgadillo, August 9, 1928, Delgadillo Tapia Family Archive.

Despite the influence of Pedrell and Ponce, it was the advice of Robert Schumann to young musicians that Delgadillo first used to convey in print the importance of popular song. In his *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann* (Commentary of the Advice of Schumann, 1919), he repeated the German composer's instruction verbatim to "pay attention to national songs, because they are an inexhaustible mine in which to find the most beautiful melodies, which will give you an idea of the character of different countries."[77] Delgadillo followed with an observation that popular song was of little interest to art music composers, especially in parts of Western Europe, but that he had nonetheless benefitted from its study.[78] He concluded by calling for young people to make every effort possible to "nationalize" the fostering and collection of popular song.

A decade after the appearance of *Comentarios*, Delgadillo admitted to a certain amount of pride in his work on popular song. He claimed to be one of the rare Latin American composers and music historiographers fully committed to the "cultivation of the vernacular songbook," as well as its elevation through art music.[79] Indeed, by the end of the 1920s, he had been one of the few, if not the first, in Nicaragua to employ popular song in his compositions, a process achieved through mostly solitary labor.[80] His early

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[77] Luis A. Delgadillo, *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1919), 51. "Oye con atención los cantos nacionales, porque son una mina inagotable en la que se encuentran las melodías más hermosas, que te darán una idea del carácter de los diferentes pueblos."

[78] He made a point of highlighting the presence and significance of popular song in a number of countries in the Near, Middle, and Far East, including several bordering the Mediterranean Sea.

[79] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Las dos tendencias musicales de América," *La Revista Musical* 20 (July 1929): 6, 12. "…cultivo del cancionero vernáculo."

[80] Delgadillo not infrequently complained that his petition to colleagues for assistance in collecting popular song came to very little, and that "nobody composes anything on national music"; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Hagamos música nacional," *Los Domingos*, May 22, 1921. "…nadie compone nada sobre música nacional."

efforts to arrange Nicaraguan popular songs for military band drew mixed reviews in local newspapers—the appearance of well-known folksongs in band arrangement appears to have been unprecedented—yet public opinion would eventually swing in his favor.[81] One journalist referred to him as the "enlightened and celebrated composer of the 'National Airs.'"[82] Delgadillo employed a number of received popular songs from the *mestizo* tradition of Western Nicaragua, in both his middle-brow and art music compositions—*El zanatillo, Mamá Ramona*, *El zopilote*, *Dormite niñito, Los diablitos, La pelota, Toda hermosa es María*.[83] Notably, his grass roots efforts and resulting measure of success came many years before there would be formal interest, and support as part of a state-generated nationalist project, in compiling popular songbooks in Nicaragua.[84]

A more abstract type of composition, evoking the people and landscape of the countryside, inspired by the pastoral or *costumbrista* literary tradition, also came under the umbrella of folklore for Delgadillo. Although somewhat of a rarity in his catalog, he

[81] "Un Voltaire músico?" *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 27, 1916.
[82] Pedro Roa, "Tipos Intelectuales. Luis A. Delgadillo." *Los Domingos*, April 27, 1919. "…ínclito y celebrado autor de los «Aires Nacionales»…" Pedro Roa was the pseudonym used by Nicaraguan journalist Salvador Ruiz Morales, editor of the intervention-era Liberal magazine *Los Domingos*.
[83] For a list of Delgadillo's works that employ Nicaraguan popular song, see Appendix A.
[84] Funded by the Ministry of Public Instruction, the first Nicaraguan popular songbook was published in 1945 by Secundino García, a Spanish priest who resided in the country during the 1940s and 1950s; see Secundino García, *Cancionero folklórico nicaragüense. tomo primero* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945). For biographical notes on García, see Sergio Espinoza Hernández, "Recuerdan a fraile que compuso el Himno de Rivas," *El Nuevo Diario* (Managua), May 28, 2011. A second songbook, funded by the same Nicaraguan ministry, was published the concurrently by Gilberto Vega Miranda; see *La canción nicaragüense. Compilación de cantos populares* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945). The foreword noted the work to be the second volume to García's tome.

once closed an essay by declaring, "I love to write music on indigenous or pastoral themes."[85] This type of composition was not based on popular or indigenous music, but instead constructed a musical image in the manner of a tone poem. The earliest original work of folklore composed by Delgadillo for ensemble—*Escenas pastoriles* (*Pastoral Landscapes*, 1919)—painted a romanticized picture of the countryside, with its imagined inhabitants and their rituals, as well as particular flora and fauna.[86] In a program note accompanying a performance in Managua, Delgadillo conveyed the essence of the four-movement work:

> *Allegretto spiritoso*. The French horns signal the passing of sheep. We hear the errant whistling of the shepherd; the theme on which the entire suite develops. *Andante expresivo*. The solitary wanderer, a shepherd in love with a playful maid, finds himself seated at the base of a lush tree. He is overwhelmed by sorrow, and does not believe she feels the same way. *Tempo di berceuse*. Music for a rocking cradle. Everything appears to smile. The betrothed couple remove themselves toward an extended romance. *Allegro festivo*. The community pulses with overflowing joy. The bells of the rustic church strike a solemn sound. The wedding is underway. The music expresses a popular joy. The character of this music is of an indigenous sentiment, and although playful, it is melancholy…[87]

[85] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Sobre la vida indígena de Nicaragua," *La Noticia* (Managua), Oct. 22, 1939. "A mí me encanta escribir música con temas indígenas o pastoriles."
[86] Another work that falls under this topoi is the zarzuela "México al día/de hoy," one of the first works he produced after moving to Mexico City. Rather than a *costumbrismo* setting in the countryside, the work takes place in an urban context. [NB This work is lost, and my description is based on supposition.]
[87] "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 5, 1919. "'Allegretto spiritoso.' Los cornos anuncian el pase de las ovejas. Se oye el silbar divagante del pastor; tema sobre el cual se desarrolla toda música del la Suite. 'Andante expresivo.' El caminante solitario, pastor enamorado de una traviesa zagala, se descubre sentado en el tronco de una frondosa encina. El dolor le agobia; no cree ser correspondido. 'Tempo di berceuse.' Música para cuna mecedora. Todo parece sonreir. Los prometidos se alejan en prolongado idilio…. 'Allegro festivo.' El pueblo se agita rebosante de alegría. Las campanas de la rústica iglesia tocan a repique solemne. Se realizan las bodas. La música expresa el júbilo popular. El carácter de esta música de sentimientos indígenas, aun en la holgura, ella es triste."

The last part of the program note signaled a nascent preoccupation of his in 1919—Delgadillo had begun contemplating indigenous representation in his work. And in preparing his audience for a performance of *Escenas pastoriles,* he gave them a preview of the musical direction in which he headed.[88] More importantly, this particular work also signaled his rediscovery of "peasant life and its natural environment," bringing him in line with contemporary Nicaraguan *costumbrista* writers and poets, and the recovery of a lost past at the heart of their cultural nationalism.[89]

At the center of his philosophy and practice of musical folklore, Delgadillo held indigenous culture and history to be the most important subject for a Latin American composer.[90] Descriptions such as "study of Indo-American musical folklore,"[91] "Indian art,"[92] "cultural enlightenment in favor of *indoamericanismo*"[93] are among the ways he portrayed his self-described "arduous americanist mission."[94] This was not a sales pitch, however, but a calling based around particular historical views of indigenous peoples of

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[88] Delgadillo produced versions for military band and for orchestra of the work. He considered it among his best compositions, and included it in promotional materials on his travels throughout the American continent.

[89] For an examination of the role of the countryside in ethnic nationalism, see Anthony D. Smith, "Legends and Landscapes," in *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1986), 174–208.

[90] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Música nacional," *Los Domingos*, May 9, 1920. In one his earliest essays on musical folklore in Nicaragua and Central America, Delgadillo placed indigenous subjects under the very same banner in calling for the cultivation of a "national" music, which he considered to be "the pure soul of the *patria*."

[91] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Del folklore musical en Nicaragua," *Gaceta Musical* (September 1928): 24–26. "…estudio del folklore musical indoamericano."

[92] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Jira artística a Sudamérica. En Río de Janeiro," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 4, 1927. "…arte indiano."

[93] Luis A. Delgadillo, "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] "En la ciudad sagrada de los Incas." *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 18, 1927. "…ilustración cultural pro indoamericanismo."

[94] Ibid. "…ardua misión americanista." Delgadillo would repeatedly describe his work as arduous in later correspondence with Francisco Curt Lange.

the American continent as needing civilization, and their symbolic presence in nation-building discourses,[95] whom he believed shared descendancy and had characteristics in common with people from the Far East, including their music as based on pentatonicism.[96] Echoing contemporary prejudices of indigenous people as primitive, he described them as "superstitious and quiet," while characterizing their music in affective terms: "repetitive and melancholy."[97]

In his musical construction of the indigenous, Delgadillo fundamentally drew from the nineteenth-century French exoticist tradition.[98] Yet he re-inscribed conventional "stylistic signifiers of Elsewhere" primarily taken from musical Orientalism—instrumentation, melodic and textural devices, as well as a number of modal tonalities—that once characterized the Eastern Other to now represent the Indigenous American, the Internal Other in Latin America.[99] He employed orchestral instruments to signify the

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[95] See Chapter 6.

[96] These views were based, in part, on the writings of Pedrell and others. For his essays on the connections between Amerindians and the Asia, or related studies on cultures of the Near, Middle, and Far East, see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Las danzas antiguas (bailes griegos)," *Nicaragua Informativa*, June 1918, 8; "De aquí y de allá. El baile de las culebras," *Los Domingos*, November 3, 1918; "Música nacional," *Los Domingos*, May 9, 1920; "Cantos indígenas," *Los Domingos*, October 3, 1920; "Hagamos música nacional," *Los Domingos*, May 22, 1921; "Jira artística a Sudamérica. En Río de Janeiro," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 4, 1927; "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] "En la ciudad sagrada de los Incas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 18, 1927; "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] Una metrópoli preincáisca. Tiahuanacu, sus ruinas, cosas de indios, sus fiestas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 9, 1927; "Del folklore musical en Nicaragua," *Gaceta Musical* (September 1928): 24–26; "Las dos tendencias musicales de América," *La Revista Musical* 20 (July 1929): 6, 12; and "Música hispano-americana en Nueva York," *Voz Española* (Manila), Oct. 12, 1931.

[97] Delgadillo, "Del folklore," 25. "…supersticioso y silencioso…"; "…monótona y triste."

[98] For an examination of exoticism in music, see Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and Jonathan Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998).

[99] For an examination and history of the Internal Other in Latin America, see Erik Camayd-Freixas, ed. "Introduction. The Orientalist Controversy and the Origins of Amerindian Culture,"

indigenous *chirimía* (double reed woodwind), *quijongo* (monochord), and *atabal* (membranophone), in some cases specifically calling for the latter in his works (e.g. *Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana*, 1921). Common melodic and textural signifiers—the interval of an augmented second, arabesques (turns), grace notes; and ostinato or drone, respectively—denoted the Internal Other as simple, underdeveloped, or even primitive. Modal tonalities—particularly, the pentatonic scale or pitch collection—characterized "Indian" melodies. To this French exoticist musical language, Delgadillo added melodies from the indigenous-present, musical material gathered via ethnographic means.[100] As I noted above, his strategy was not to create an authentic representation, but to legitimize his musical construction of an indigenous imaginary that could serve political and artistic purposes.[101]

Travels, Tribulations, and Artistic Maturation

From the final months of the year 1921 until the end of the intervention, Delgadillo either resided or traveled outside of Nicaragua, spending much of these years away from home and his family, while practicing his own particular kind of *americanismo musical*. The reasons for his peripatetic existence are unclear, yet the intervention loomed over him and other Nicaraguans, whether or not they resided in the

in *Orientalism and Identity in Latin America: Fashioning Self and Other from the (Post)Colonial Margin* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 1–18.

[100] See Chapter 6.

[101] If Delgadillo employed French musical exoticism as a compositional language to represent the Indigenous American, then some of his other exoticist compositions might also come under his work on folklore, even if they are devoid of extra-musical elements signaling indigenous representation.

country. As noted earlier, the intervention created the political, economic, and cultural conditions in Nicaragua under which Delgadillo could hardly develop as an art music composer. He may have thus been forced to undertake a "painful exodus," as many Nicaraguans had done, in order to find stability, growth, and peace.[102] Nevertheless, his time away from home marked his work so strongly that his artistic maturity arose as a result of and response to the intervention. The more time he spent away, the more his strategy for self-promotion evolved into professional profile as a nationalist composer, carrying a reputation that often did double duty at home and abroad.[103] As I will examine below, his travels throughout Latin America, the Caribbean, and United States during the period were thus instrumental to his formation as a Latin American composer.

Guatemala, 1921

For the centenary celebrations of Central American Independence in September of 1921, Delgadillo traveled to Guatemala City, initiating an extended sojourn away from Nicaragua for the first time since his conservatory studies in Italy. He had received a special invitation as "Guest of Honor" to premiere a new composition for orchestra, the *Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana* (1921),[104] his third symphony, yet the first to

[102] Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1912–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004), 226–228. Arellano cites an article published in July of 1928 by Alfonso Valle, who noted the intervention to have created an exodus from Nicaragua, which increased in the last years of the period. "…éxodo doloroso…"

[103] Panamanian composer Roque Cordero would later describe Delgadillo as a composer who believed in the concept of an spiritual nationalism comprising all of Latin America; see Roque Cordero, "La música en Centroamérica y Panamá," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 8/3 (Jul. 1966): 414–415.

[104] For an examination of the history and geopolitics surrounding this work, see Chapter 6.

employ indigenous musical material that had been provided by Guatemalan composer Jesús Castillo.[105] Performed on the eve of Independence Day (September 14), before a crowd numbering in the thousands, Delgadillo received praise as conductor and composer of his music.[106] Indeed, he also received critical praise.[107] The four-movement exoticist work depicted the narrative of the *Baile de la Conquista* (Dance of the Spanish Conquest) known in Central America—the fall of Maya K'iche' warrior Tecún Umán at the hands of Spanish *conquistador* Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras.

Mexico, 1921–1925

During a period in which the construction of modern Mexico took place following a decade-long revolution, Delgadillo lived in Mexico City, the *Distrito Federal* (Federal District), while taking part in its vibrant intellectual and musical life. He resided there for nearly four years (October 1921–July 1925), in which time his wife, Juanita Vélez, and three sons—Orlando, Alberto, and Ricardo—came to join him in the capital.[108] He initially arrived in the company of a young Nicaraguan musician, Adolfo Otero, an apprentice of his, presumably, studying piano or composition.[109]

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[105] Castillo had provided four *Quiché* musical fragments during the previous year, two of which were employed by Delgadillo in the symphony; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Cantos indígenas," *Los Domingos*, October 3, 1920. For a contextualization and analysis of the work, see Chapter 5.
[106] The program included Delgadillo's *Escenas pastoriles* (1919); see "La sinfonía indígena del maestro Delgadillo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 29, 1921.
[107] Simón Paulin, "Impresiones del concierto Delgadillo. La sinfonía indígena," (Guatemala City), Sept. 1921.
[108] "Personales. También partirá en breve para México…" *Los Domingos*, July 23, 1922. Delgadillo's wife and sons joined him in Mexico City in July of 1922.
[109] Luis A. Delgadillo, *Por mi honor musical (Polémica sobre el sonido 13. Páginas históricas de mi vida artística)* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1957), 7.

Delgadillo worked as a recitalist, conductor, *répétiteur*, and piano teacher while in Mexico City. Lauded in the press for his interpretations and original compositions, he gave public concerts as a piano soloist or chamber musician, some of which were heard through radio broadcast.[110] He directed and composed for the *Orfeón Nacional* no. 5, a state-funded choir, for which he received a salary.[111] And for a time, he found employment at the National Conservatory of Music as a vocal accompanist.[112] He also taught private lessons in piano and composition.[113] This labor as a multifaceted musician provided for his family and allowed him to sustain a creative output.

In an effort at self-promotion and supplementing his income, Delgadillo published essays on culture in the capital, and produced editions of popular music. He wrote pieces for the prominent newspapers *El Universal*[114] and *El Demócrata*.[115] Local music printing

[110] For a selection of Delgadillo's press promotion and reception in Mexico, see Appendix B.
[111] Delgadillo, *Por mi honor*, 8–9. The salary allowed him to bring his family to Mexico.
[112] Ibid., 6–7.
[113] "Enseñanza. Maestro Delgadillo…," *El Universal* (Mexico City), September 23, 1922.
[114] For a selection of essays Delgadillo published while in Mexico, see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Américo-Latinismo musical," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Oct. 9, 1921; "Madame Butterfly de Puccini," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Nov. 20, 1921; and "Potpourrí mexicano. Gran festival el 9 de junio.—Inauguración del Palacio de Educación Pública.—Un coro de 8.000 voces cantó el himno mexicano.—La Embajada al centenario del Brasil. La encabeza el Lic. Vasconcelos.—Enrique Soro en México.—Romanzas de Delgadillo con letra de Rubén Darío," *Excélsior* (Tegucigalpa), Aug. 19, 1922.
[115] A selection of essays published by *El Demócrata* are published in Luis A. Delgadillo, *Por mi honor musical (Polémica sobre el sonido 13. Páginas históricas de mi vida artística)* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1957).

houses sold piano editions of his fox-trots "Contestando a Indostán"[116] and "Dulce y sabroso,"[117] both of which were recorded by Victor.[118]

Part of the socio-intellectual pursuits undertaken in Mexico, Delgadillo was a member of some notable circles: *El grupo de los 9* (The Group of Nine), and *Grupo "Nosotros"* ("Us" Group). He was the *primus inter pares* of the former group, comprised primarily of Mexican musicians and intellectuals, who publicly opposed a theoretical system of microtonality known as *El sonido 13* (The 13th Tone), developed by Mexican composer and conductor Julián Carrillo (1875–1965).[119] For a number of weeks in mid-1924, a debate between members of the group and Carrillo raged in the papers, in which Delgadillo took part with incisive fervor.[120]

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[116] "Notas diversas. Luis A. Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Nov. 10, 1921; and "Miscellanea mexicana," *Los Domingos*, March 12, 1922. The printing house Casa Wagner and Levien published "Contestando a Indostán," marketed as a musical parody, likely as a response to the widely known U.S.-American fox-trot "Indostán." For a critical review of the work, see "El bello fox del artista Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Dec. 27, 1921.

[117] "Miscelánea mexicana," *Los Domingos*, March 12, 1922. The printing house Salvador Cabrera, which Delgadillo held in high regard, published "Dulce y sabroso." The composer received 40% of the sale of each copy.

[118] See Appendix F.

[119] Members of the group, other than Delgadillo, included Manuel M. Barajas (1895–1956), Ernesto Enríquez (1901–1997), Roberto Gutiérrez Arreola, Alba Herrera y Ogazón (1885–1931), Estanislao Mejía (1882–1967), Ignacio Montiel y López (1889–1947), Jesús C. Romero (1894–1958), and Pascual H. Toral (1898–1977).

[120] For representative selection of Delgadillo's published critiques of *El sonido 13*, see "Crítica sobre el sonido 13 de maestro Carrillo," *El Demócrata* (Mexico City), May 24, 1924; "En México. El músico de Nicaragua," *El Demócrata* (Mexico City), May 30, 1924; and "El sonido 13," *El Demócrata* (Mexico City), Jun. 4, 1924. In the decades that followed, Carrillo recalled the episode as having had the positive effect of giving him exposure outside of Mexico, in effect, bringing attention to his theory and practical application. In the process, he remembered Delgadillo as a troublemaker, going so far as to libel the Nicaraguan; see Julián Carrillo, "Revolución del sonido 13," *Boletín Latino Americano de Música* 4/4 (1938): 154–155; "La polémica del sonido 13," in *Julián Carrillo: su vida y su obra* (Mexico: Grupo 13 Metropolitano, 1945), 299–306; and Alejandro Madrid, *In Search of Julián Carrillo and Sonido 13* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 145–146. Delgadillo responded to what he felt were a distortion of facts and outright falsehoods in a book published a few years before his death; see

Led by Rafael de los Ríos, *Grupo "Nosotros"* was concerned with culture as part of Mexican national identity.[121] According to historian Clara Meierovich, this circle of individuals addressed "pressing issues for the Mexican artistic formation, such as calling for the impetus and inclination of its manifestations to go through paths that legitimize national identity, impressing a socio-revolutionary reality upon the commitment to art production."[122] Delgadillo was a committed member, a well-regarded presence at its *tertulias*. Shortly before his permanent departure from Mexico in mid-1925, Ríos reminded the Nicaraguan composer that he "was and will always be a base for the group," an indication of his memorable presence at their gatherings.[123] The concept of folklore was a topic often discussed at meetings that convened over a period years, culminating in the First National Conference on Music, held the year after Delgadillo had already moved away.[124]

Luis A. Delgadillo, *Por mi honor musical (Polémica sobre el sonido 13. Páginas históricas de mi vida artística)* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1957). Well before he engaged in this public debate, Delgadillo wrote about Carrillo's opinions on less contentious matters; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Sobre españolización de en América Hispana," *Excélsior* (Tegucigalpa), Oct. 26, 1922.

[121] Members of the group, other than Delgadillo, included Rafael de los Ríos, Higinio Vázquez Santa Anna, Estanislao Mejía, Roberto Montenegro, Rodolfo Usigli, Jesús C. Romero, and Manuel M. Ponce; see Clara Meierovich, *Vicente T. Mendoza: artista y primer folclorólogo musical* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1995), 109. Other members noted in Delgadillo's personal album of autographs (and dedications), relevant entries dated July of 1925, include Eduardo de [Ketsil?], David Castañeda, [? ? ?], Ignacio Montiel y López, Humberto [?], Héctor Pérez Martínez, and Hernán Laborde.

[122] Meierovich, *Vicente T. Mendoza*, 109. "…asuntos tan candentes para la configuración artística mexicana, como el de apelar al incentivo y la orientación de sus manifestaciones por derroteros que certificaran la identidad nacional, imprimiéndole a la realización de arte el compromiso con la realidad social revolucionaria…"

[123] *Autógrafos*, Delgadillo Tapia Family Archive, Managua, Nicaragua. "…fue y seguirá siendo un plinto…"

[124] Ibid., 109–118. The conference was held in September of 1926.

Taking inspiration from the fomentation and promotion of *canción mexicana* by Manuel M. Ponce and others, Delgadillo incorporated this genre of national folklore into his large-scale symphonic works produced while living in Mexico: *Sinfonía mexicana* (1923) and Suite "Teotihuacán" (1925).[125] The first work employs a number of original and newly-composed popular songs throughout its four movements— *La chaparrita*, *La cucaracha*, *La estrellita*, *Las mañanitas*, *Las posadas*, *El payo Nicolás*, *La borrachita*, and *Letanía de la Virgen*—sometimes overlapping them in a polyphonic texture.[126] The second work was the last that Delgadillo composed before permanently leaving Mexico.[127] The use of songs or melodies connected to a village near the ruins of Teotihuacán[128]—*El alabado*, *La montera*, *Los archileos*, and *La hermosa niña*—gave the work a popular feel. Yet the inclusion of "tambores indios" in the score marked the work as exoticist, an aspect noted in its reception.[129] One reviewer observed, "this marvelous

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[125] Delgadillo composed another work inspired by Mexico, the lost zarzuela "México al día/de hoy" (1922), his third in the genre; see Appendix A. For more context on this zarzuela, see "El México de hoy," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Feb. 16, 1922; Luis A. Delgadillo, "Crónicas exclusivas. México al día," *Los Domingos*, February 26, 1922; and Luis A. Delgadillo, "Miscelánea mexicana," *Los Domingos*, March 12, 1922.

[126] See Otto Mayer-Serra, "Delgadillo, Luis Abraham," *Música y músicos de Latinoamérica* (Mexico: Editorial Atlante, 1947), 312.

[127] The premiere of the suite was part of a farewell performance organized by Delgadillo's friends, some of which were members of either *El grupo de los 9* or *Grupo "Nosotros."* They included Carlos del Castillo, Gustavo E. Campa, Luis Moctezuma, Pedro Luis Ogazón, Manuel M. Bermejo, Carlos Meneses, Antonio Herrera, Ignacio Montiel y López, David España, and Estanislao Mejía. It was given on July 12, 1925 at the amphitheater of the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, and performed by members of the Sindicato de Filarmónicos del Distrito Federal, who took part without asking for a fee; see "El homenaje al maestro sr. don Luis A. Delgadillo," *El Demócrata* (Mexico City), Jul. 12, 1925;

[128] See Appendix A.

[129] See "Es bellísima la 'suite' mexicana 'Teotihuacán' del maestro Delgadillo," *El Demócrata* (Mexico City), Jul. 11, 1925; "Fue un gran éxito el recital del señor prof. Delgadillo," *Excélsior* (Mexico City), Jul. 14, 1925; and Manuel M. Bermejo, "Notas de arte. Reminiscencias del último concierto del maestro Delgadillo," *El Hogar*, July 22, 1925.

work of autochthonous purity, evoked the picturesque enchantment of a magical day of indigenous settings."[130] This reactions suggests that the suite did the work of musical nationalism, even while the composer was not Mexican. This was likely unintended by Delgadillo, whose personal nationalist project was focused elsewhere, yet he had embraced his adopted country, if only for a few years, resulting in an *americanismo musical* that could be co-opted by other nationalist movements.

By the end of his residency in Mexico City, Delgadillo had become an established figure in the capital, with a circle of friends and colleagues who embraced him as one of their own. The dedications in his book of *autógrafos* (autographs), begun in July of 1925 as an intimate document of remembrance, reveals the depth of his connections with a number of individuals, and the political alliances he had fostered. The pianist Esperanza Rodríguez, with whom Delgadillo performed at his farewell concert,[131] expressed a sentiment echoed by other messages in the book, as Delgadillo prepared depart Mexico and embark on a tour of South America. Hinting at the artistic and political challenges he had endured in Mexico, and would likely continue to face on further travels, she noted,

> In this noble and beautiful pilgrimage of art that our Hispanic America will crown with glory, and in which you are the only son to praise her, you will shed pieces of your soul in the great struggle, but it does not matter! We, your friends who understand and encourage you, in the priceless coffer of the heart and in remembrance, will hold you in esteem. Do not forget us and … may triumph and courage be your abiding companions.[132]

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[130] "Fue un gran éxito el recital del señor prof. Delgadillo," *Excélsior* (Mexico City), Jul. 14, 1925. "Esta estupenda obra de pureza autóctona, produjo el encanto pintoresco de un día mágico de escenas indígenas."

[131] She and Delgadillo performed the final movement from the *Sinfonía mexicana* in an arrangement for two pianos.

[132] *Autográfos*. Signed by Domínguez on July 23, 1925. "En esta noble y bella peregrinación de arte que coronará de gloria nuestra América Hispana y en que usted es el único hijo que la ensalzará, dejará del alma girones en la lucha titánica, pero ¡no importa! Nosotros sus amigos,

On the trip back to Managua, Delgadillo passed through the capital cities of Guatemala[133] and El Salvador,[134] at which he presented piano arrangements of some of his *americanista* orchestral works, in addition to the *Rapsodia nicaragüense* for piano solo and the operetta *La rosa del paraíso*,[135] before receptive audiences. Once back in Managua for a relatively brief stay, he organized performances of the symphonies *Mexicana* and *Centroamericana*, finally giving Nicaraguans the opportunity of appreciating these works after years of presenting them abroad.[136]

South America, 1926–1927

Departing Managua in early February of 1926, and spending many months leading a nomadic existence throughout South America, Delgadillo experienced yet another transformative period of musical creativity, self-promotion, and intellectual exchange. On this occasion, however, he traveled with an additional role—correspondent for the periodicals *Diario de Guatemala* (Guatemala City),[137] and *Los Domingos*

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que lo comprendemos y animamos, en el cofre inestimable del corazón y el recuerdo los guardaremos con veneración. No nos olvide y… que el triunfo y el valor sean sus fieles compañeros."

[133] For a selection of Delgadillo's press promotion and reception in Guatemala City, see Appendix B.

[134] For a selection of Delgadillo's press promotion and reception in San Salvador, see Appendix B.

[135] "Los conciertos del maestro Delgadillo," *Diario de Centro América* (Guatemala City), Aug. 19, 1925.

[136] "Notas y variedades. Delgadillo a Sud-América," *Los Domingos*, December 27, 1925.

[137] "El maestro L. A. Delgadillo en viaje a Sur América," *Diario de Guatemala* (Guatemala City), Aug. 1925.

(Managua).[138] He initially stopped in San José, Costa Rica where he attracted the attention of concertgoers and garnered positive reviews from local journalists, though the orchestra fell short of a professional standard.[139] He then entered South America via Panama.[140]

From August–October of 1927, Delgadillo published an account of his solitary trip in the Managua culture magazine *La Noticia Ilustrada*.[141] The series of essays revealed keen insight into the tour, and the key experiences that informed his work, especially that which was inspired by the trip and fed his *americanismo musical*. The countries he visited, some of which involved lengthy stays, covered much of South America: Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela.[142] In addition to his travel essays, he published reportage on the Latin

[138] "Notas y variedades," *Los Domingos*.
[139] For excerpts of reviews in Costa Rica, see "Artistas nicaragüenses. Delgadillo triunfó en Costa Rica," *Los Domingos*, February 28, 1926.
[140] At this time, Panama was not yet considered part of Central America.
[141] Delgadillo published an account of his sojourn in reverse chronological order; see "De mi jira por Sud-América. El prosaico poeta Lugones," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, August 21, 1927; "Jira musical por Sud-América. El presidente Alvear, el pianista Rubenstein y otras cosas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, August 28, 1927; "Jira artística a Sudamérica. En Río de Janeiro," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 4, 1927; "Jira artística a Sudamérica. El Perú, tierra sagrada de los Incas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 11, 1927; "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] "En la ciudad sagrada de los Incas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 18, 1927; "Jira artística a Sudamérica. El teatro chino en Lima," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 25, 1927; "Jira artística por Sud-América. Bolivia, tierra Incásica del alto Perú," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 2, 1927; "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] Una metrópoli preincáisca. Tiahuanacu, sus ruinas, cosas de indios, sus fiestas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 9, 1927; "Jira artística a Sudamérica. Revista de la prensa Américo-Hispana," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 16, 1927; "Mi jira por Sud-América. Los conservatorios y la academias de música en América," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 23, 1927; and "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] Epílogo. Mi odisea musical en América Hispana," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 20, 1927.
[142] For a selection of Delgadillo's press promotion and reception in Venezuela, see Appendix B.

American press,[143] and select conservatories and academies of music.[144] He was often received kindly by colleagues and music lovers wherever he gave concerts, and sometimes earned generous fees.[145] Among the more memorable people he met along the way was Felipe Urquieta in Arequipa, Peru.[146]

As a result of visiting Bolivia and Peru, Delgadillo composed a new, four-movement exoticist symphonic work entitled *Sinfonía incaica* (Figure 2.4).[147] For the first time, he gathered all of the indigenous musical material himself through ethnographic means.[148] The quality of the final product led him to claim, "up to now, [it is] my most elevated and finest composition… written for large orchestra and in a highly ambitious symphonic structure, within a sober and typical modernism, at once, so as to not detract from the character and soul of the Inca."[149] Following its premier many months later in Caracas, Venezuela, sharing the program with the *Sinfonía centroamericana o indígena*, a local reviewer praised the work.[150]

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[143] "Jira artística a Sudamérica. Revista de la prensa Américo-Hispana," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 16, 1927.
[144] "Mi jira por Sud-América. Los conservatorios y la academias de música en América," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 23, 1927. This included Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, and Argentina.
[145] His most lucrative earnings on tour came while in La Paz, Bolivia. Following the presentation of a lecture at the National University, the first he had ever given, Delgadillo received what he considered to be an extraordinary sum from the Ministry of Public Education.
[146] Luis A. Delgadillo, "[Jira artística a Sudamérica] "En la ciudad sagrada de los Incas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 18, 1927.
[147] See Appendix A.
[148] Delgadillo, "Ciudad sagrada."
[149] Ibid. "…hasta hoy, mi obra más alta y más completa… escrita para grande orquesta y en una forma sinfónica de vuelos fantásticos, dentro de un modernismo sobrio y típico, a la vez para no desvirtuar el carácter y el alma del inca."
[150] "Brillante éxito del concierto sinfónico. El maestro Delgadillo recibió franca ovación," *El Nuevo Diario* (Caracas), May 22, 1927. The program closed with Delgadillo's march "Simon Bolívar."

The pride Delgadillo held for the *Sinfonía incaica* appears to have been not just symbolized by the work itself, but his process of gathering the musical material. In recalling the experience, ultimately written for an elite Managua readership, Delgadillo reinforced notions of indigenous people as uncivilized and removed from the modernity of the city. He described their dancing as "wild and virile"; their singing as "guttural and savage"; and referred to them in a paternalistic tone as *inditos* (little Indians), suggesting something child-like in their appearance or behavior.[151] Similar to his characterization of indigenous people in Nicaragua, his narrative contributed to nation-building discourses that ascribed difference onto the Internal Other. The *Sinfonía incaica* thus represented the present-day indigenous not unlike the *Centroamericana*—their musical material served to construct an imaginary that would legitimize Delgadillo and his politico-artistic work in *americanismo musical*. But, unlike the *Centroamericana*, he could take full responsibility (and credit) for the preparation and creation of the work.

[151] Delgadillo, "Ciudad sagrada." "…agreste y viril…"; …guturales y salvajes…."

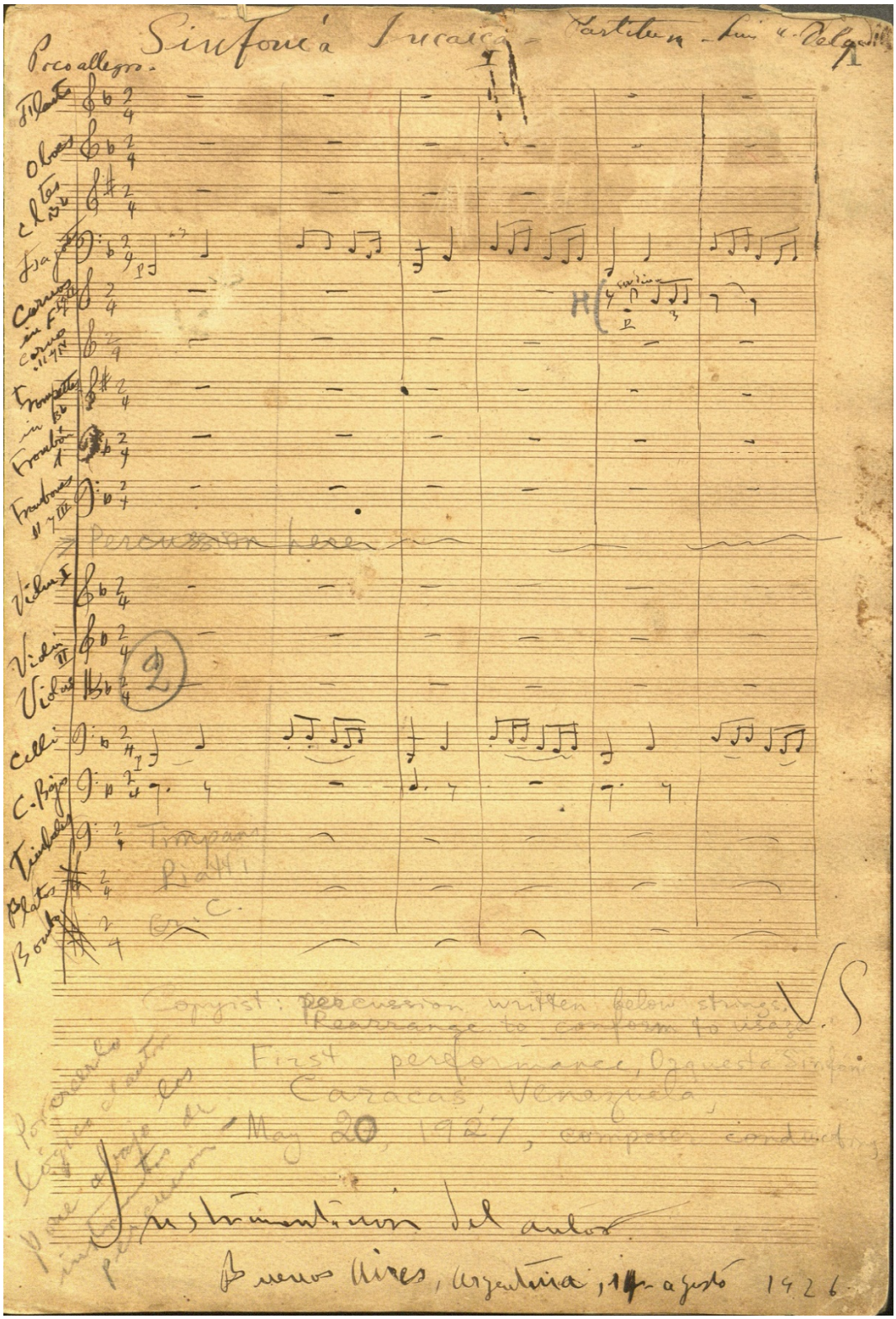

Figure 2.4. Delgadillo, *Sinfonía incaica*, autograph score, p. 1. Source: FONMUNIC.

In Buenos Aires, Argentina, Delgadillo's work resonated with at least one like-minded composer who also practiced *americanismo musical*. In responding to a call by Delgadillo, published in the newspaper *Crítica*, [152] the Argentine composer Félix Scolati Almeida, an "ardent admirer of [Latin] American music," praised the Nicaraguan for his professional commitment.[153] And as a gesture of respect, Scolati Almeyda offered up his own nationalist works for assessment.[154] This gesture confirms the continuing practice of *americanismo musical* years after the publication by Urquieta, yet preceding the eponymous movement by Francisco Curt Lange.

Cuba, 1929

Initiating another tour after many months of fundraising for the trip in Managua,[155] Delgadillo spent weeks in Havana, Cuba from September to October of 1929.[156] The trip was, in fact, a stop on the way to the United States, but the length of stay in the Cuban capital allowed him to thoroughly promote his work through lectures and concert performances. He gave lectures on a number of occasions in Havana: one broadcast over the radio,[157] and another by special invitation of the National Association

[152] I have not found this article.
[153] "Una carta de Scolati Almeyda al maestro Delgadillo," *Crítica* (Buenos Aires), Aug. 26, 1926. "Ardiente admirador de la música americana..."
[154] Ibid.
[155] See Chapter 5.
[156] For a selection of Delgadillo's press promotion and reception in Cuba, see Appendix B
[157] "El compositor nicaragüense D. Luis A. Delgadillo disertará por la estación C. M. W., de la 9 a 10 P. M.," *Diario de la Marina* (Havana), Sep. 12, 1929.

of Music Teachers and Students.[158] The presentation for the latter, a lecture-recital that included demonstrations at the piano, elicited positive responses in the press, especially from the association, which expressed its gratitude for the rare experience of such an event in Havana.[159] Transcripts of these lectures are not extant, but the announcement of the national association included topics and music presented by Delgadillo (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5. Program for Luis A. Delgadillo, Lecture-Recital, National Association of Music Teachers and Students, Havana, Cuba, October 13, 1929.[160]

[Part I] **Theme:** Origin of musical folklore from Central America.—Of its ancient instruments. Guatemala, font of primitive Central American music.—Maya quiche themes.—Quezaltenango and the Petén, regions of enchanting popular environments. [Spanish] Colonial Era.—Its power.—Central America and its *criollo* music.—Indigenous Nicaragua.

At the piano:
Funeral March of Tecún Umán.
Native musical pieces.
Sacred dances and fandangos.
El zanatillo and "Mamá Ramona."
Traditional dances from Masaya, neighboring Monimbó.
Escenas pastoriles.
Themes from the mountains.
Rapsodia nicaragüense.

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[158] The lecture took place at Campoamor on October 13, 1929; see "Nuestro próximo concierto el día 13 en Campoamor," *Guía Musical*, October 1929; and "Una conferencia interesante. Luis Abraham Delgadillo, en Campoamor," *Guía Musical*, November 1929.

[159]"Una conferencia interesante," *Guía Musical*.

[160] "Nuestro próximo concierto el día 13 en Campoamor," *Guía Musical*, October 1929. "I / TEMA:—Origen del "folk-lore" musical de la América Central.—De sus antiguos instrumentos.—Guatemala, fuente de la música primitiva centro-americana.—Temas mayas quinchés (sic) .—Quetzaltenango y el Petén, regiones de encantador ambiente típico.—Era colonial.—Su poderío.—América Central y su música criolla.—Nicaragua indígena. / Al piano: Marcha fúnebre de Tecún Uman. / Trozos musicales autóctonos. / Danzas sagradas y fandangos. / El Sanatillo (sic) y "Mamá Ramona". / Bailes típicos de Masaya, anexo Monimbó. / Escenas Pastoriles. / Temas Montañeses. / Rapsodia Nicaragüense. / II / TEMA:—Origen del "folklore" musical mejicano.—De sus antiguos instrumentos.—Explicación de algunos temas aztecas.—Era colonial.—Forma de la música colonial.—Fomento de la canción mejicana. / Al piano: Danzas indígenas. / "Teotihuacán". Reducción al piano de la Suite para orquesta. Obra típica del Maestro Delgadillo."

[Part II] **Theme:** Origin of Mexican musical folklore.—Of its ancient instruments.—Explanation of some Aztec melodies.—[Spanish] Colonial Era.—Colonial musical form.—Development of the *canción mexicana*.

At the piano: Indigenous dances.
"Teotihuacán." Piano reduction of the suite for orchestra. A popular work by Maestro Delgadillo.

Delgadillo also promoted his music through orchestral performances. He directed the *Orquesta Sinfónica de La Habana* in a program of his *Mexicana* and *Incaica* symphonies.[161] At the same concert, he premiered a new work, the "Suite colonial nicaragüense (*Diciembre*)," the first of his large-scale orchestral compositions based exclusively on Nicaraguan musical folklore.[162] Not long thereafter, the *Orquesta Filarmónica de La Habana*, directed by Amadeo Roldán, gave a program that opened with the "Obertura indiana," a work both "modern and oriental in design" (Figure 2.6).[163] The description "oriental in design" used in promoting the concert signaled the exoticist musical language Delgadillo employed in constructing this particular indigenous representation, and part of his folklore practice. As well, the description tempted potential concertgoers with a work that could be associated with fashionable Orientalist aesthetics of the period.

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[161] The concert took place on October 20, 1929 at the *Teatro Nacional*. It was hosted by Carlos Trejo Lerdo de Tejada, Mexican Ambassador to Cuba, who gave an opening introduction, calling for the "nationalization" and appreciation of culture in Latin America; see "Mundo Habanero. Orquesta Sinfónica," *El Mundo* (Havana), Oct. 20, 1929; and José Calero, "Arte Musical. Lerdo de Tejada y su brillante disertación," *Heraldo de Cuba* (Havana), Oct. 24, 1929.

[162] See Appendix A; and "Concierto del Sr. Delgadillo," *Diario de la Marina* (Havana), Oct. 20, 1929.

[163] The concert took place on October 27, 1929 at the *Teatro Nacional*. Other works on the program were Mendelssohn's "A Midsummer Night's Dream" and Tchaikovsky's "Pathetique" Symphony; see "Concierto de la Filarmónica," *El Mundo* (Havana), Oct. 27, 1929; and "Teatro. El concierto de la Filharmónica en el Nacional," *Diario de la Marina* (Havana), Oct. 28, 1929. "…moderna y de corte oriental."

Figure 2.6. Luis A. Delgadillo, Havana, Cuba, 1929. Pictured: L.A. Delgadillo at center, Amadeo Roldán to his left, and members of the Orquesta Filarmónica de La Habana surrounding them. Source: *Diario de la Marina*.

USA: New Orleans, New York City, and Washington, D.C., 1929–1932

For about three and a half years, Delgadillo resided in the United States, primarily in New York City, where he continued to develop as a nationalist composer (Figure 2.7).[164] His *americanismo musical* was refocused toward audiences made up, for the most part, of U.S. Americans and a Latin American diaspora. And thus he developed another

[164] During this period, Delgadillo collaborated (long distance) with Nicaraguan writer Arturo Duarte Carrión on a collection of *cantos escolares* (school songs) for students. This was a state-generated project intended to instill a sense of civic nationalism in Nicaragua. The collection included other composers: Carlos Tünnermann [López], Castillo Güido, Justina de Espinosa, Isaac Carballo, Rosa Argeñal Cano, and J. Daniel Cuadra; see Luis A. Delgadillo, and Arturo Duarte Carrión, *Cantos escolares: República de Nicaragua* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1932).

strategy of promotion, he self-exoticized as a Latin American Other, taking on the not uncommon role of a composer from "Spanish-America" while in the United States.

In early November of 1929, Delgadillo arrived in New Orleans and immediately went to work in promoting himself.[165] He initially revealed in an interview that he wanted to compose a new work using U.S.-American folksongs, suggesting he might use "*Dixie*, *Casey Jones*, the mountain songs, the college songs, jazz, sentimental pieces, [or] the Berlin compositions," but he did not follow through with such plans.[166] Nor did any plan come to fruition for his study of the "North American Indian," also projected in the interview.[167] However, the newspaper would have at least been an introduction of his work to a sizeable local readership, who may have then been aware of the recital he gave not long thereafter.[168] On that occasion, the program included excerpts from a piano arrangement of his Suite "Teotihuacán," as well as the solos "Invocation to the Moon," and "Dance of the Coca."[169] His first public performance in the United States was thus a presentation of his "indigenous" works, and self-promotion as a composer of exoticist music.

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[165] Delgadillo arrived in New Orleans on November 33, 1929. For a selection of his press promotion and reception in New Orleans, see Appendix B.
[166] "Composer Here from Nicaragua Plans Symphony. Famous Delgadillo Would Use Themes of 'Dixie' and 'Casey Jones,'" *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Nov. 10, 1929.
[167] "Artistic Blues. Professor Luis A. Delgadillo," *The Morning Tribune* (New Orleans), Dec. 12, 1929.
[168] "Gives Concert Tonight. Professor Luis Delgadillo…," *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Dec. 12, 1929.
[169] "Concert. Maestro Luis Delgadillo donnait…," *La Guepe* (New Orleans), Dec. 21, 1929.

Figure 2.5. Delgadillo, New York City, ca. 1930. Pictured (l to r): Dolores del Río, Luis A. Delgadillo, and Amanda Doeb. Source: Delgadillo Tapia Family Archive.

Although he had mixed feelings about New York City, the metropolis offered him new opportunities for professional exposure and compositional production.[170] But the city also inspired this handwritten heading in his album of newspaper clippings: "New York City! The diabolical and devouring capital with a heart of ice!"[171]

[170] For a selection of Delgadillo's press promotion and reception in New York City, see Appendix B.

[171] "*Álbum*, Delgadillo Tapia Family Archive. "New York City! ¡La diabólica y devorante capital del corazón de hielo…!

Nevertheless, his reputation as the "Apostle of Inca Music,"[172] an exoticist label he accepted, not only preceded his arrival and early promotion in the city, but he encourage it through recitals,[173] radio broadcasts,[174] guest university lectures,[175] sheet music printing,[176] a seemingly exhausting social calendar,[177] and published essays on culture,[178] including a brief stint as the New York City correspondent for the magazine *Cine-*

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[172] "Otro triunfo hispanoamericano en Nueva York," *Hispano América* (San Francisco), Oct. 3, 1931. "…Apóstol de la Música Incaica…"

[173] For selection of recitals, see "Luis A. Delgadillo Plays. Pianist Gives His Own Symphonies of Aztec and Inca Music," *The New York Times*, Apr. 5, 1930; "Spanish Music Heard at Columbia Concert. Luis Delgadillo Also Plays His Compositions Based on South American Indian Themes," *The New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1930; Eleanor Silberman, "'Nicaragua Day' Observed by Club. Prof. Luis Delgadillo Gives Recital before Curtis Spanish Students," *Staten Island Advance* (New York City), Nov. 21, 1930; "Delgadillo Gives Recital. Nicaraguan Pianist Plays Own Works in Roerich Museum," *Herald Tribune* (New York City), Feb. 6, 1931; "Concierto musical del compositor L. A. Delgadillo," *La Prensa* (New York City), May 19, 1931; "Numeroso público asistió al concierto del profesor Luis A. Delgadillo," *La Prensa* (New York City), Mar. 22, 1932.

[174] "7 to 8 P. M. 7:00—Abigail Parecis, soprano; mixed chorus; orchestra [NBC Radio]," *The Sun* (New York City), Jun. 2, 1931.

[175] "Spanish Concert Pianist Entertains. Prof. Luis A. Delgadillo Gives Instructive Lecture and Recital," *The Ram* (New York City), Feb. 28, 1930;

[176] Delgadillo published a number of works with the Sherman Square Music Publishing Company, including the "Canción de la noche del mar" (Song of the Night of the Sea) for voice and piano on a text by Rubén Darío, with translations in English and French by Ariadne Holmes Edwards, printed in 1933. I thank musicologist John Koegel for not only bringing this work to my attention, but gifting me an original 1933 edition. Delgadillo published a large collection of settings on texts by Darío in the mid-1950s: see Luis A. Delgadillo, *Música nicaragüense. Álbum número 3* (Managua: Talleres Tipográficos Hnos. Márquez, 1955).

[177] It was not unusual for Delgadillo to perform, or be noted for playing the piano, at social events to which he was invited; see Ramón Martel, "Crónica Social. Luis A. Delgadillo," *Gráfico* (New York City), Feb. 8, 1930; Ramón Martel, "Crónica Social. La corte de Lourdes," *Gráfico* (New York City), Feb. 15, 1930; Ramón Martel, "Crónica Social. En casa de Rioseco," *Gráfico* (New York City), Mar. 15, 1930; Ramón Martel, "Mundo Elegante. En el Ritz," *Gráfico* (New York City), Jun. 21, 1930; Alberto Anderson Troyo, "Sociales y Personales. Gran baile en el 'Plaza,'" *Gráfico* (New York City), Aug. 9, 1930; "Notas de Sociedad. Pasa una temporada de descanso…," *La Prensa* (New York City), Aug. 14, 1930; "Promete ser muy lúcido el banquete mejicano," *La Prensa* (New York City), Sep. 15, 1930.

[178] For selection of published essays, see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Música Américo Hispana en Nueva York. Es muy dificil dar opiniones…," *La Prensa* (San Antonio, Texas), Aug. 16, 1931; "Música hispano-americana en Nueva York." *Voz Española* (Manila), Oct. 12, 1931.

Mundial.[179] Delgadillo was also offered a lucrative position as director of a Lowes Theater, but he turned it down.[180]

On two occasions Delgadillo presented his music at the Pan American Union in Washington, D.C.[181] The opportunity brought him into close contact with other Latin American composers and those works of theirs that employed folklore. He was able to observe *Pan Americanismo* (Pan Americanism)[182] in action through the cultural projects made possible by the Inter-American System.

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[179] See Luis A. Delgadillo, "Nueva York Musical. Esta ciudad…," *Cine-Mundial*, March 1932; "Nueva York Musical. Jan Paderewski dió…," *Cine-Mundial*, April 1932; "Nueva York Musical. Vicente Escudero y su grupo," *Cine-Mundial*, May 1932; and "Nueva York Musical. José Mojica—el gran tenor mejicano," *Cine-Mundial*, June 1932.

[180] "Luis A. Delgadillo rechazó un contrato tentador. Entrevista con el maestro Delgadillo," *La Noticia* (Managua), Jun. 28, 1932. The tempting possibility of a well-paid job also obligated him to take out U.S. citizenship, but it was all for not, regardless of his desperate need to make a living at the time. He later recalled the moment of the proposal to a Managua newspaper: "I felt such indignation for the offer that I took those papers and tore them up, declaring with the most powerful energy of my voice—I cannot become a citizen of a country that is compromising the sovereignty of my *patria*, even if I am held back here from making a living so as to die of hunger!" In an uncharacteristic manner, months away from the U.S. Marine departure in Nicaragua in 1932, Delgadillo publicly admitted his feelings on the intervention, even allowing them to go to print. "Sentí tal indignación por la propuesta que agarré tales documentos y los rompí exclamando con la energía más poderosa de mi voz: no puedo hacerme ciudadano de un país que está vulnerando la soberanía de mi Patria, aunque aquí se niegue el pan para matarme de hambre…!"

[181] At the first concert, on April 21, 1930, he played two works at the piano (see Appendix A) and the United Service Orchestra performed his "Danza salvaje"; see Theodore G. Joslin, "Capital Hears Native Music of Americas," *Herald Tribune* (New York City), Apr. 1930. The second concert, held on July 27, 1931, Delgadillo accompanied the Mexican soprano Consuelo G. Garza in a setting by him of Amado Nervo's poem "El día que me quieras"; see "News of the Music World. Pan-American Concert Tomorrow Features Señorita Garza, Señor Gutiérrez and the United States Army Band," *The Sunday Star* (Washington, D.C.), Jul 26, 1931. Later programs at the Pan American Union repeated the "Danza salvaje," performed by the same orchestra, including concerts given on December 27, 1932 and April 26, 1933. For a selection of Delgadillo's press promotion and reception in Washington, D.C., see Appendix B.

[182] *Pan Americanismo* was a cultural project, and part of a greater political and economic project, the United States initiated in 1911 with the foundation of the Pan American Union, carrying the express purpose of spreading U.S. capitalism on the American continent.

Figure 2.7. Luis A. Delgadillo, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., 1930. Source: Delgadillo Tapia Family Archive.

Honduras, 1932

On the trip the back to Managua, he made his way across Honduras, where he gave a number of concerts in various, including the capital city of Tegucigalpa. His performances were consistently lauded in the press.[183] Not long thereafter, Delgadillo returned home where he resided for many years.

[183] For a selection of Delgadillo's press promotion and reception in Honduras, see Appendix B.

Conclusion

In his presentation to the American Musicological Society, delivered in September of 1939, Francisco Curt Lange explained the role of nationalist tendencies in the works of Latin American art music composers. His perspective notably departed from earlier writings on *americanismo musical*. Following a "strictly contemporaneous trend," Lange now believed that nationalism in music could "be no more than a phase" on the path to more universal creation in line with European and U.S. musical trends.[184] And he all but dismissed composers of nationalist music as products of various forms of socio-political underdevelopment: "In countries that have not achieved the necessary economic, ethnic, and social equilibrium, or in metropolitan centers where musical organization and education are insufficient, nationalism represents a premature manifestation and it can never be anything more than the musical expression of a passing moment in the spiritual life of a country in the process of formation."[185] For Lange, nationalism in music was either an aberration, an unlikely manifestation at odds with a backward society; or an ephemeral creative state that would disappear as soon as a society took on a sufficiently advanced profile.

There was no room for Delgadillo within the boundaries that Lange had placed on Latin American composers interested in the national. Nevertheless, this mattered little to Delgadillo, who had established a professional profile as a nationalist composer long before contact with Lange, and who would continue along the same path for the rest of

[184] "Americanismo musical," *Papers Read by the Members of the American Musicological Society at the Annual Meeting* (September 11–16, 1939): 278.
[185] Ibid.

his life. Deeply influenced by the work of Pedrell and Ponce, Delgadillo forged a career as a composer of musical nationalism in a country under intervention, responding and adapting to the political, economic, and cultural realities in Nicaragua that limited his professional development. His eventual departure and subsequent travels throughout America allowed him to mature as a composer, strengthening his intellectual and artistic abilities, while defining his practice of *americanismo musical*. His preference for creating representations of the indigenous was part of the nationalist discourse to which he contributed in Central America, one of a number of strategies he also employed for artistic legitimacy. His near absolute silence regarding the intervention was not so silent after all—his musical nationalism resisted its impositions, whether at home or on the road.

CHAPTER 3

Canto de marte: The Nicaraguan National Anthem under Intervention

Introduction

On October 24, 1939, the Nicaraguan government decreed a new national anthem—*Salve a tí, Nicaragua* (Hail to thee, Nicaragua)—following a months-long process to find a replacement for the standing intervention-era anthem (Figure 3.1).[1] This action came on the heels of a new national constitution, ratified earlier in the year, establishing the Liberal administration of Anastasio Somoza García (1937–1956).[2] Unlike previous constitutions, which had included the national emblem and flag, the Nicaraguan congress was now responsible for the national anthem for the first time in the history of the country.[3] The process of selecting a new anthem had been fraught, revealing historic political fissures between Liberals and Conservatives, as the chambers of congress debated the ideal anthem that ought to represent the "soul of the nation." The discussion even spilled out into the public sphere. Over a period of months, newspapers in Managua kept readers abreast of the latest developments, printing all manner of discussion, opinion, and official transcript, in preparation for the replacement of the standing anthem

[1] "Poder Ejecutivo. Guerra, Marina y Aviación. No. 3, El Presidente de la República, Considerando…," *La Gaceta*, Oct. 24, 1939.
[2] "Constitución política de 1939," in Antonio Esgueva Gómez, ed., *Las constituciones políticas y sus reformas en la historia de Nicaragua*, vol. 2 (Managua: Editorial IHNCA-UCA, 2000), 593–651. The constitution was ratified on March 22, 1939.
[3] Ibid., 615. See Art. 163, No. 23: "To decree the national emblem, flag of the republic, and national anthem." / "Decretar el escudo de armas, el Pabellón de la República y el Himno Nacional."

since 1913—*La patria amada* (The Beloved Country).[4] Among the published opinions was that of Luis A. Delgadillo, who preferred the existing anthem, yet also proposed the one ultimately chosen.[5]

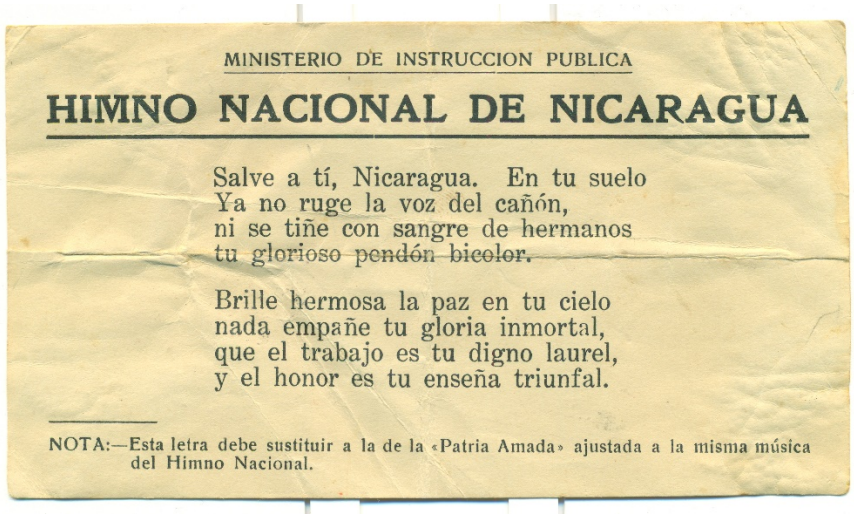
The debates in the national congress initially focused on the re-establishment of a former national anthem—*Hermosa soberana* (Beautiful sovereign)—employed during the Liberal presidency of José Santos Zelaya (1893–1909). But their work came to very little as the anthem was too closely associated with Zelaya and the history of the Liberal Party to represent the entire nation. Although Liberal power was at a zenith, Conservatives managed to push back, and halted the re-establishment of *Hermosa soberana*. The debates then moved toward compromise—a change of text, while keeping the music to *La patria amada*. The text of *Salve a tí, Nicaragua*, written during the intervention as an anthem, was hauled out of the archives and thus became the new national anthem.

In its efforts to arrive at a consensus, the national congress searched for an effective musical symbol that would represent the nation. They were looking for an anthem to reflect the vision of the Somoza García administration, a new era in Nicaraguan Liberal politics. And while they looked to the past, as nation-building processes typically do, their principal concern was for the future—both for members of

[4] For a summary of the debates, see "Derogada la Ley Armijo," *La Prensa* (Managua), Sep. 22, 1939; "Un grupo de senadores quieren pasar sobre la constitución por espíritu de partido," *La Prensa* (Managua), Sep. 23, 1939; and "'Mariano Argüello triunfa solo apoyado por los conservadores,' dijo el doctor Onofre Sandoval," *La Prensa* (Managua), Sep. 27, 1939.
[5] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Por nuestro himno nacional," *La Prensa* (Managua), Mar. 12, 1939; Luis A. Delgadillo, "Duelo nacional por el himno nacional," *La Nueva Prensa* (Managua), Jul. 27, 1939; and Luis A. Delgadillo, "Por nuestro himno nacional," *La Prensa* (Managua), Jul. 27, 1939.

the nation and the international projection of Nicaragua. However, the debates revealed a more subtle, unspoken process. They were also symbolically reckoning with the intervention and the meaning of *La patria amada* while Nicaragua was a protectorate of the United States.

In this chapter I will contextualize the national anthems (or musics) that represented Nicaragua from the last decades of the nineteenth century through the intervention. My aim is to examine the two anthems that appear during the intervention, especially the meaning of their texts and music they have in common, and the role Delgadillo had in their development. I will argue that *La patria amada*, while it fulfilled its purpose as a national anthem, was little different than any other aspect of civic ritual compromised by the intervention.



MINISTERIO DE INSTRUCCION PUBLICA

HIMNO NACIONAL DE NICARAGUA

Salve a tí, Nicaragua. En tu suelo
Ya no ruge la voz del cañón,
ni se tiñe con sangre de hermanos
tu glorioso pendón bicolor.

Brille hermosa la paz en tu cielo
nada empañe tu gloria inmortal,
que el trabajo es tu digno laurel,
y el honor es tu enseña triunfal.

NOTA:—Esta letra debe sustituir a la de la «Patria Amada» ajustada a la misma música del Himno Nacional.

Figure 3.1. Salomón Ibarra Mayorga, *Salve a tí, Nicaragua*, text card. The note at the bottom of the card says, "This text ought to substitute that of *La patria amada*, adapted to the same music of the national anthem." Source: Collection of the author.

Notions of *Patria*, National Symbols, and Civic Ritual

The *Jura de la bandera* (Oath to the Flag) was the principal civic ritual through which Nicaraguan school children came to understand their place as the members of the nation. Taken annually on the commemoration of national independence, the oath was the culmination of an inculcation process that brought together the education system and the state in the formation of national identity. Through civic nationalism, Nicaraguan school children came to form an awareness, understanding, and affection for their *patria* (homeland), a symbolic dualism of country and region, represented through historical narratives and national symbols to which they pledged loyalty.

The notion of *patria* in Nicaragua is not simply a matter of what might be considered a singular homeland, a distinct territory from its neighbors. For those countries in Central America that share a common history reaching back to the Spanish colonial period and subsequent Central American Federation, the *patria* is a two-fold object marked by the country of birth and the special region to which its belongs.[6] This notion was reinforced in pedagogic literature during the intervention. One source intended for "all of the education centers of the republic" used the human hand to describe the nation/region unity.[7] The five historically united countries of Central America were thus bound in a manner

[6] For a study of the history of national identity in Central America, see Arturo Taracena A., and Jean Piel, comp., *Identidades nacionales y Estado moderno en Centroamérica* (San José, Costa Rice: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1995). For a study of Central America as historico-geographical region, see Carolyn Hall, "América Central como región geográfica," *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos* 11/2 (1985): 5–24.

[7] *El juramento a la bandera: Contribución patriótica de los alumnos de la clase de historia de Centroamérica del Instituto Nacional "Ramírez Goyena"* (Managua: Imprenta Nacional, 1933), 14. "…todos los centros de enseñanza de la república."

> similar to a hand with five fingers, each necessary and useful, all attached to the palm in a manner that, without it, they cannot otherwise function. Each finger represents the love of the *patria chica* (lesser *patria*), or Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. And the palm is the love of the *patria grande* (greater *patria*), or Central America. Both loves complete each other, forming a true Central American patriotism.[8]

The Nicaraguan *símbolos patrios* (symbols of the homeland)—national flag and national emblem—represent the two-fold *patria* present in Central America.[9] Each is an artifact of the erstwhile Central American Federation to which Nicaragua once belonged (1824–1838).[10] Little-changed throughout the nineteenth century, they came to be re-signified as representations of Nicaragua, while preserving an inseparable historical bond to the defunct federation. Although the national anthem did not come under the purview of the Nicaraguan government until 1939, the musical symbol was considered to be deserving of respect and veneration accorded the national flag and emblem during the intervention.[11]

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[8] Ibid., 13. "Semejante a una mano, tiene cinco dedos, necesarios y útiles cada uno, pero unidos todos sobre la palma, de manera que sin ésta de nada sirven; cada dedo representa el amor a la patria chica, o sea a Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador, y Guatemala, y la palma el amor a la patria grande, o sea a Centro América; ambos amores se completan formando el verdadero patriotismo centroamericano."

[9] According to the 1913 constitution, the national congress had power to decree the national flag and national emblem; see chapter 12, art. 94, no. 25, in "La constitución 'non nata' de 1913," in Antonio Esgueva Gómez, ed., *Las constituciones políticas y sus reformas en la historia de Nicaragua*, vol. 1 (Managua: Editorial IHNCA-UCA, 2000), 529.

[10] For a history of the national symbols to each country in historic Central America, see Francisco Espinosa, *Símbolos patrios de las naciones de Centroamérica* (San Salvador: CONCULTURA, 2001).

[11] When the government decreed *La patria amada* to be the official national anthem in April of 1918, the law also stipulated punishment for individuals who did respect or honor the anthem; see "El decreto del Himno de Nicaragua," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Apr. 17, 1918.

In August of 1917, the Nicaraguan government established regulations for the annual oath to the flag to be taken on September 14, traditionally, the first of two days commemorating Nicaraguan independence (Figure 3.2).[12] The responsibility in preparing school children for the civic ritual fell directly on their teachers. The government addressed the crucial nature of their role:

> Teachers should note that the school, a link between the home and the state, exemplifies the call, first of all, to make the effort that brings together all of the energies toward the greatness of the *patria*; and they should, therefore, direct their commitments to strengthen and root, in the hearts of children, a sentiment of love and respect for the symbols that represent the *patria*—the flag, emblem, and anthem of the republic.[13]

Public and private schools responded with six days of preparations, as prescribed by official regulation, which culminated on September 14 in a grand patriotic spectacle (Figure 3.2). In Managua, a great mass of local school children gathered at the *Parque Infantil* (Children's Park), where the ceremony began with the hoisting of the national flag, accompanied by the singing of the national anthem. "One of the most prominent teachers of the nation" then delivered the *discurso oficial* (official speech).[14] Once concluded, the Minister of Public Instruction, Emilio Álvarez, initiated the oath to the

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[12] See Chapter 6.

[13] *Jura de la bandera nacional: ley creadora y reglamentaria* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1917), 3. "Los maestros deben tomar en cuenta que la escuela, vínculo del hogar y del Estado, es la llamada en primer término a realizar el esfuerzo que haga converger todas las energías hacia la grandeza de la Patria; y deben, por lo tanto, encaminar sus empeños en robustecer y arraigar en el corazón de los niños el sentimiento de amor y respeto a los emblemas que simbolizan la Patria, como son la bandera, el escudo, el himno de la República."

[14] Ibid., 9. "…uno de los más salientes profesores de la nación." This speech does not appear to be extant, but one given at Granada by future president Diego Manuel Chamorro "in representation of the Ministry of Public Instruction" on the following day, offers some idea of the tone of such essays; see *Discurso de Don Diego Manuel Chamorro en el solemne acto de la jura de la bandera nacional, en Granada, el 15 de septiembre de 1917* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1917).

flag. Also prescribed by official regulation, the minister addressed the grandeur of the national flag as a representation of the *patria*, which must be loved "even more that your own mother, because the *patria* is the mother of all mothers."[15] To this central affection, he attached ideals of independence and liberty, as well as veneration toward the nation. He concluded by prompting the school children directly: "Do you swear, as a consequence, eternal allegiance to the white and blue flag, the living representation of the *patria*?"[16] The students responded in the affirmative, and sang a school anthem. The ceremony ended with a parade by the students, grouped by their home institutions, in the presence of the Emiliano Chamorro Vargas, President of Nicaragua.[17]

The oath ascribed the affection children had for their mothers (the familiar), onto the nation (the imagined) through its symbols. The bonds of the family were thus associated with notions of a free and sovereign homeland. The national flag, emblem, and anthem were not just symbols that instilled as sense of national identity, but visual and aural representations meant to trigger particular associations, especially through ritual. The work of civic nationalism was thus accomplished in the events surrounding the annual oath to the flag.

[15] Ibid., 7. "…todavía más que a vuestra propia madre, porque la Patria es la madre de todas las madres.
[16] Ibid. "¿Juráis, en consecuencia, eterna fidelidad a la bandera blanca y azul, que es la viva representación de la Patria?"
[17] Chamorro Vargas had taken office at the beginning of the year 1917.

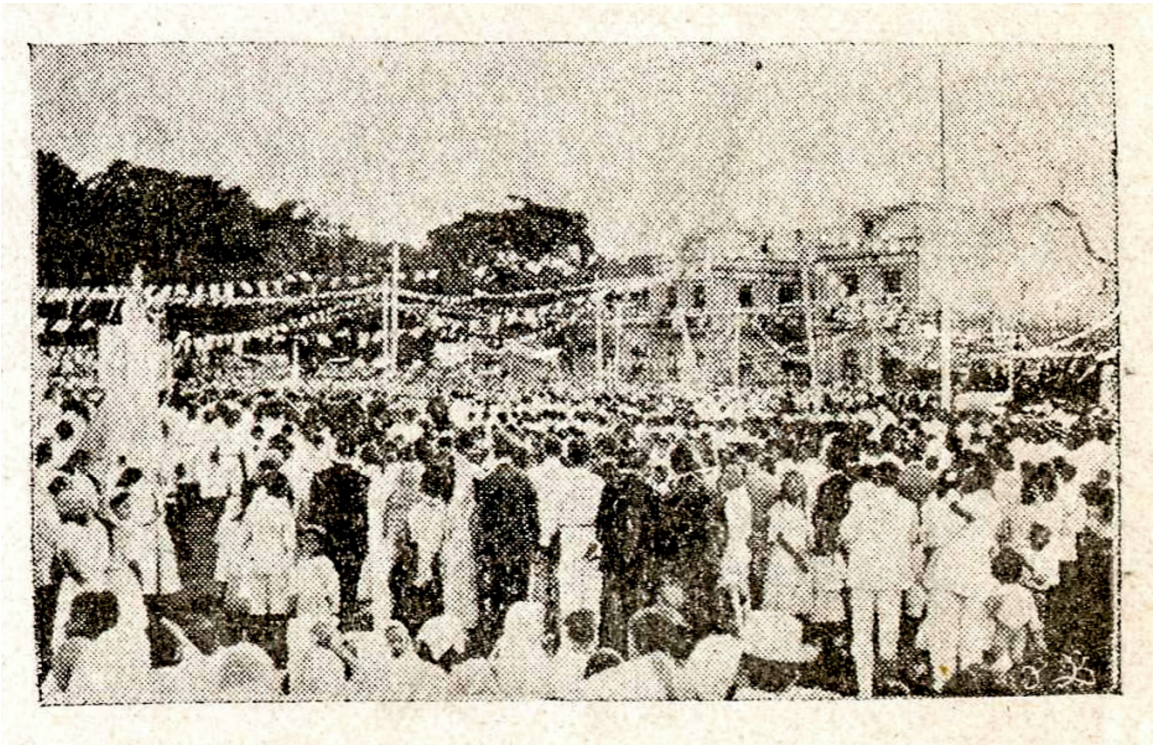

Figure 3.2. "The oath to the flag in Managua (1917)."[18] Source: IHNCA-UCA.

National Anthems of Nicaragua before the Intervention

Various compositions served in some capacity as national anthems in Nicaragua before the intervention. They first appeared during the second half of the nineteenth century.[19] The earliest mention of a national anthem heard in civic ceremony is found a geographic and economic survey published by the French engineer Paul Lévy in 1873.[20]

[18] "La jura de la bandera en Managua (1917)," *Educación* (September 1918), 153.
[19] For a study on ceremonial musics in Nicaragua before the intervention, see Salomón Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía del himno nacional de Nicaragua* (Managua: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, 1955).
[20] Pablo Lévy, *Notas geográficas y económicas sobre la República de Nicaragua* (Paris: Librería Española de E. Denné Schmitz, 1873). Lévy's book focused on the viability of the inter-oceanic canal across Nicaragua, yet also included descriptions of cultural expressions wherever he went throughout the country.

In reference to the music that accompanied such ceremonies, he recalled, "there is no anthem officially recognized as national, but *La marseillaise* is played and sung on all patriotic occasions."[21] As suggested by the quote, Nicaragua likely had no official national anthem, a point Lévy may confirmed for himself, yet patriotic music did have a place in civic ritual, and continued to do so in the decades that followed.

Nicaraguan composer José del Carmen Vega (1845–1919)[22] wrote the anthem "Nicaragua" in 1876, perhaps the earliest musical work to carry a distinctly nationalist function.[23] The anthem is somewhat of an enigma, however, in that its text has less to do with Nicaragua and more with Central American Independence (Figure 3.3). Nevertheless, various writers have uncritically accepted the work as having been the first national anthem, although no primary source has come to light.[24] And while they provided no evidence beyond supposition for the alleged function of the work, the

[21] Ibid., 293. "…no hay himno oficialmente reconocido como nacional; pero la Marsellesa se toca y canta en todas las ocasiones patrióticas."

[22] For a brief biography of José del Carmen Vega Raudes, see Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Breviario del recuerdo. Antología de músicos nicaragüenses* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945), 109–114.

[23] Salomón Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía del himno nacional de Nicaragua* (Managua: República de Nicaragua, 1955), 12; and Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Breviario del recuerdo. Antología de músicos nicaragüenses* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945), 112–113. The text is attributed to an F. Álvarez.

[24] Both Ibarra Mayorga and Vega Miranda considered the work to have been employed as the national anthem, but did not examine any possibility as to why a text declaring independence from Spain would have been appropriate as a representation of republican Nicaragua. More importantly, neither provided any proof beyond anecdotal evidence, calling into question their shared assertion. Historian Frances Kinloch accepted Ibarra Mayorga's perspective on the matter, but theorized the work to have been created in response to a Guatemalan military invasion. Guatemalan President Justo Rufino Barrios, with the support of other regional heads of state, she noted, organized the military action in an effort to reunite Central America, which successfully resisted by Nicaragua; see Frances Kinloch, *El imaginario del canal y la nación cosmopolita. Nicaragua, Siglo XIX* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2015), 327–328.

anthem does have something in common with the national flag and emblem—they were all vestiges of the Central American Federation. Thus, the musical work could have very well functioned as a patriotic music without having been an official national anthem. Much later, on at least one occasion during the intervention, a work entitled "Patriótica—Himno de Nicaragua" was heard on a concert program in Managua,[25] which appears to have been the "anthem" in question, confirming its continued relevance as a patriotic music.[26]

Figure 3.3. Unattributed, "Himno 'Nicaragua,'" text.[27]

Original	*English translation*
1st verse Soldados ciudadanos a las armas,	*1st verse* To arms, citizen soldiers,
esgrimid las espadas con valor	Wield your swords with courage,
que más vale morir independientes	It is better to die independent
a vivir subyugados en la opresión.	Than to live under oppression.
2nd verse Hoy se lanza la patria querida	*2nd verse* Today, the beloved *patria* delivers itself
sobre un campo de gloria inmortal,	Over a field of immortal glory,
hoy, alzando su frente abatida,	Today, raising a downcast brow,
aniquila el poder colonial.	It destroys the colonial power.
3rd verse	*3rd verse*

[25] "Programa del concierto que anoche obsequiaron los filarmónicos liberals al doctor Irías," *La Noticia* (Managua), Sep. 14, 1916.
[26] In *Cuzcatlán típico* (1951), a study of folk musics and traditions of El Salvador, Salvadorean composer María Mendoza de Baratta recounted having been given a copy of the song "La patriótica," dated 1821, whose text is nearly identical to the anthem by José del Carmen Vega. Unfortunately, she only received the text, and thus there is no music for further corroboration; see Baratta, *Cuzcatlán*, 519. In the 1940s, Vega Miranda noted that the work was still sung by school children during Nicaraguan Independence Day celebrations; see Vega Mirada, *Breviario*, 112.
[27] Salomón Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía del himno nacional de Nicaragua* (Managua: República de Nicaragua, 1955), 12. Variants of this text are found in María Mendoza de Baratta and Jeremías Mendoza, *Cuzcatlán típico: Ensayo sobre etnofonía de El Salvador* (San Salvador: Ministerio de Cultura, 1951), 519; and Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Breviario del recuerdo. Antología de músicos nicaragüenses* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945), 112–113.

De Septiembre la luz se levanta	From September, the light rises
bella, pura, cual hija del Sol,	Beautiful, pure, that daughter of the sun,
y a su vista el Ibero se espanta,	And her sight scares the Iberian,
tiembla y cae el león Español.	The Spanish lion trembles and falls.

Belgian composer Alejandro Cousin (ca. 1835–1910) wrote the first official works to be employed as national anthems.[28] In his capacity as the director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes (1868–ca. 1892), Cousin produced the instrumental march *Roberto Sacasa* (1890),[29] during the presidency of its eponymous dedicatee, and the anthem *Hermosa soberana* (after 1900),[30] for President José Santos Zelaya (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4. Unattributed, *Hermosa soberana*, text.[31]

Original	*English translation*
1st verse Hermosa soberana	*1st verse* Beautiful, sovereign,
Cual sultana, Nicaragua	That sultaness, Nicaragua,
De sus lagos al rumor	From whose lakes, it is said,
Ven en sus hijos denodados	Sees in her valiant sons,
Los soldados del honor	Soldiers of honor,
Siempre libre y hechicera	Always free and enchanting,
Su bandera ve flotar	Her standard flies.
2nd verse Apacible se reclina	*2nd verse* She reclines peacefully,
Cual ondina de la mar, Orgullosa cual deidad,	Like a sea nymph, Proud deity,

[28] There is no biographical study on Alejandro Cousin, but the extant sources suggest a noteworthy life and legacy. For a biographical sketch of Cousin, see Appendix C.
[29] Alejandro Cousin, "Nicaragua. Robert Sacasa. Patriotic Air," in *National, Patriotic, and Typical Airs of All Lands*, ed. John Philip Sousa (Philadelphia: H. Coleman, 1890), 173; and "Marcha Roberto Sacasa. Himno nacional nicaragüense. Por Alejandro Cousin," *Boletín Nicaragüense de Bibliografía y Documentación* 48 (1982), 29–30.
[30] Alejandro Cousin, *Himno de Nicaragua. Para la Escuelas Nacionales de la República* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1905). The text is unattributed and its author remains the subject of speculation.
[31] *Recordatorio patriótico: obsequio del Señor Presidente de la República, Doctor Don Alfonso Quiñones Molina, a las escuelas de El Salvador* (San Salvador: Imprenta Nacional, 1923), [94].

Muestra altiva y noble el pecho	Exhibits an elevated and a noble bosom
En defensa del derecho	In defense of justice
Y su santa libertad	And her sacred liberty.

Of the patriotic musics prior to the intervention, *Hermosa soberana* is among a few notable works that continued to be sung in Nicaragua following the fall of Zelaya. Its association with the vanquished Liberal regime from May of 1911, or directly with President Zelaya, contributed to its perpetuation as a musical standard around which the Liberal faction could rally, while a series of Conservative governments held power throughout much of the intervention.[32] It was thus a composition that did the political work of musical nationalism without musical style, carrying a strong political association with liberalism. The government suppressed *Hermosa soberana* by the time Nicaragua was converted into a U.S. protectorate in 1912, as part of an official project to eradicate any and all vestiges of the Zelaya government, referred to in the pejorative as "Zelayism."

In the 1920s, the anthem carried enough significance to warrant recording twice by Victor—the first under the title "Liberal Anthem of Nicaragua" (1925), and the second

[32] This may be a partial reason as to why the erstwhile anthem was erroneously printed as the official anthem of Nicaragua in a number of publications during the first half of the twentieth century; see "Himno Nacional de Nicaragua," *Hispano-America* (San Francisco), Sep. 14, 1918; "Himno Nacional de Nicaragua," *Hispano-America* (San Francisco), Sep. 20, 1919; *Recordatorio patriótico: obsequio del Señor Presidente de la República, Doctor Don Alfonso Quiñones Molina, a las escuelas de El Salvador* (San Salvador: Imprenta Nacional, 1923), [94]; Frederick Starr, *Central America: Readings in Prose and Poetry from Central American Writers* (Chicago: Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co., 1930), 191–192. Gabriel Monserrat, *El poema del Himno Nacional argentino* (Buenos Aires: Librería del Colegio, 1932), 191; José María Bonilla Ruano, *Anotaciones críticodidactas: sobre el poema del Himno Nacional de Guatemala* (Guatemala: [Unión Tipográfica], 1935), 286;

under its incipit title (1929)—accompanying *La patria amada* on each occasion.[33] Its political significance and association with the Liberal Party was confirmed in a letter from the Legation of the United States of America in Managua to the Secretary of State in April of 1926. In fulfillment of a request for the text and music to the national anthem of Nicaragua, Ambassador Charles C. Eberhardt[34] included *Hermosa soberana*, a precise manuscript copy of the printed edition from 1905, in recognition of its importance "among the intensely loyal Liberal element."[35] Its supposed importance, however, remained a matter of internal ritual within the party itself.[36] When Nicaragua experienced a transition from a Conservative to a Liberal administration in 1928, there was no change of anthem, or least no priority to drop *La patria amada* for an alternative musical symbol.

Origin Story of *La patria amada*

The national anthem of Nicaragua during the intervention, *La patria amada* (The Beloved Country), was based on existing instrumental music. Shrouded in mystery, details of its origins have been lost or invented over time, but references consistently point to the music, in a simpler form, as reaching back to the Spanish colonial period. In his *Monografía del himno nacional de Nicaragua* (1955), Salomón Ibarra Mayorga was

[33] See Appendix A.
[34] "Charles Christopher Eberhardt (1871–1965)," Office of the Historian, Department of State, United States of America, accessed May 25, 2018, https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/eberhardt-charles-christopher. Ambassador Eberhardt served in Nicaragua from March 12, 1925–May 10, 1929. His official title was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.
[35] Charles C. Eberhardt, letter to the Secretary of State, Washington D.C., April 22, 1926.
[36] *Hermosa soberana* was adopted in recent decades by a Liberal faction that separated from the historic Liberal Party in 1968. The Partido Liberal Constitutionalista sings the anthem at official gatherings; see *Estatuto PLC: Gran Convención, Sesión Ordinaria* ([Managua]: 2015).

the first writer to attempt an origin story of the music, tracing a connection within Nicaraguan history, and its function as part of Catholic ritual.[37] In constructing more of an anecdote than an historical account, he offered an imprecise narrative:

> A friar by the name of Ernesto or Anselmo Castinove, native of Toledo, Spain, introduced it to [Nicaragua] during the late [colonial period]. It is an anonymous psalm, solemn and grave, a type of liturgical chant, profoundly mystical… Its tonality was brilliant: G Major. An esteemed musician from León, famous for his command of various instruments, and a man of seriousness beyond question, Marcelo Soto[38] recounted it [to me] in this manner. For a long time, he kept the original music of the beautiful chant that would become, after 121 years since its appearance in 1789, the national anthem of our homeland, with new and more elegant vestments.[39]

In retelling the story, passed on by a musician whom he perceived as having unquestionable authority, Ibarra Mayorga constructed a myth, a tale recalling a very old religious music of untraceable authorship, brought to Nicaragua by someone whose name could hardly be placed with any accuracy, as the source of the national anthem.[40]

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[37] Salomón, Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía del himno nacional de Nicaragua* (Managua: República de Nicaragua, 1955).

[38] For a biographical sketch of Marcelo Soto, see Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Breviario del recuerdo. Antología de músicos nicaragüenses* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945), 39–41.

[39] Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 2. "…lo introdujo al país un fraile catequista de nombre Ernesto o Anselmo Castinove, natural de Toledo, España, en las postrimerías del decadente poder colonial. Se trata de un salmo anónimo, de ritmo solemne y grave, una especie de canto litúrgico, profundamente místico… Su tonalidad era brillante: Sol Mayor. Esto lo relataba don Marcelo Soto, gran músico leonés, famoso en la ejecución de varios instrumentos y hombre de irreprochable seriedad. Don Marcelo conservó durante mucho tiempo los originales de aquel hermoso canto que llegaría a ser en 1910, al cabo de 121 años desde su aparecimiento en 1789, el himno nacional de nuestra patria, con nuevas y más elegantes vestiduras."

[40] The invention or molding of myths grounded in history or historical assertion are part of the construction of the nation. They appear to be integral concerns in the themes and signifiers employed in national anthems. As Leonel Alvarado has noted, "the nation-state and the mythical nation come together in the [national] anthem"; see Leonel Alvarado, "La invención lírica de la nación: los himnos nacionales de Centroamérica," in *Cuadernos americanos* 129 (2009), 109. "…en el himno convergen la nación-Estado y una nación mítica."

Furthermore, the attachment of a surprisingly exact date of 1789 to the origin of the music may not be all that coincidental: Ibarra Mayorga may have been trying to associate the musical material of the Nicaraguan national anthem with the start of the French Revolution, and thus imbuing the former with a spirit of liberty. The details of the myth would later form part of a government decree in 1971, which prescribed the characteristics and proper use of the national symbols of Nicaragua, further inscribing their origins within a particular narrative in the public imaginary and record.[41]

Gilberto Vega Miranda attempted to set the record straight with an alternative origin story a few years after the publication of the *Monografía*. But it proved to be futile as the account by Ibarra Mayorga, which had been commissioned by the Nicaraguan government, was already embedded in the nationalist discourse.[42] Nevertheless, writing in the Managua newspaper *La Noticia* in November of 1961, he claimed to have wanted to respond earlier to Ibarra Mayorga, but had misplaced the evidence. He then proceeded to dismiss various accepted legends attributing the music to either Emilio Pacheco Cooper[43]; an unnamed European monarch who bequeathed the music as a gift to

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[41] "Ley sobre características y uso de los símbolos patrios," *La Gaceta* (Managua), Aug. 27, 1971. Several printings of Ibarra Mayorga's *Monografía* (1964, 1982, and 2000) have continued to reinforce the myth.

[42] Ibarra Mayorga's *Monografía* benefitted greatly from having been a government commission and publication. In spite of attempts to address errors and spurious information since its first printing, it continues to carry a measure of authority as a reference work.

[43] A number of authors have erroneously attached Emilio Pacheco Cooper to the music or text of the more than one Nicaraguan national anthem during the twentieth century. This wandering misattribution might now be laid to rest. In *Historia y antología de la literatura costarricense* (1957), the editor Abelardo Bonilla noted Pacheco Cooper to have been "possibly the most romantic and rebellious of the poets in the anthology, and the most varied or least unified in his subjects"; see Abelardo Bonilla, *Historia y antología de la literatura costarricense* (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de Costa Rica, 1957), 193. There exists a possibility that Pacheco Cooper wrote the text to the only anthem which remains unattributed,

Nicaragua; or the friar Anselmo Castinove. Vega Miranda pointed to the composer: "Father Góñez, a Jesuit in the service of the Chaplaincy of Guatemala."[44] He provided photographic evidence accompanying the article, a fragment of music torn from a manuscript he claimed was taken from the "archive of colonial Guatemala" by a "maestro Pinzón," who had sent it to him (Figure 3.5).[45] The caption under the photograph invoked the received myth, placing the origins of the music in the Spanish colonial period: "This is the national anthem of Nicaragua. It was played in Colonial Guatemala during the time of the *Oidor* when people would go to church to celebrate mass, with a march past by military troops."[46] Much of the fragment in the photograph closely resembled the melody found in a late nineteenth century edition that would be the basis for *La patria amada* (Example 3.1).[47] However, the attribution to Father Góñez may be spurious.[48]

Hermosa soberana. However, if that were to be confirmed, it would be problematic for a Costa Rican to have written a text in honor of Nicaragua, given the historic nationalistic rivalry between the neighboring countries.

[44] Gilberto Vega Miranda, "El padre Góñez, autor del himno nacional," *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 22, 1961. "…Padre Goñez, jesuita al servicio de la Capellanía de Guatemala…"

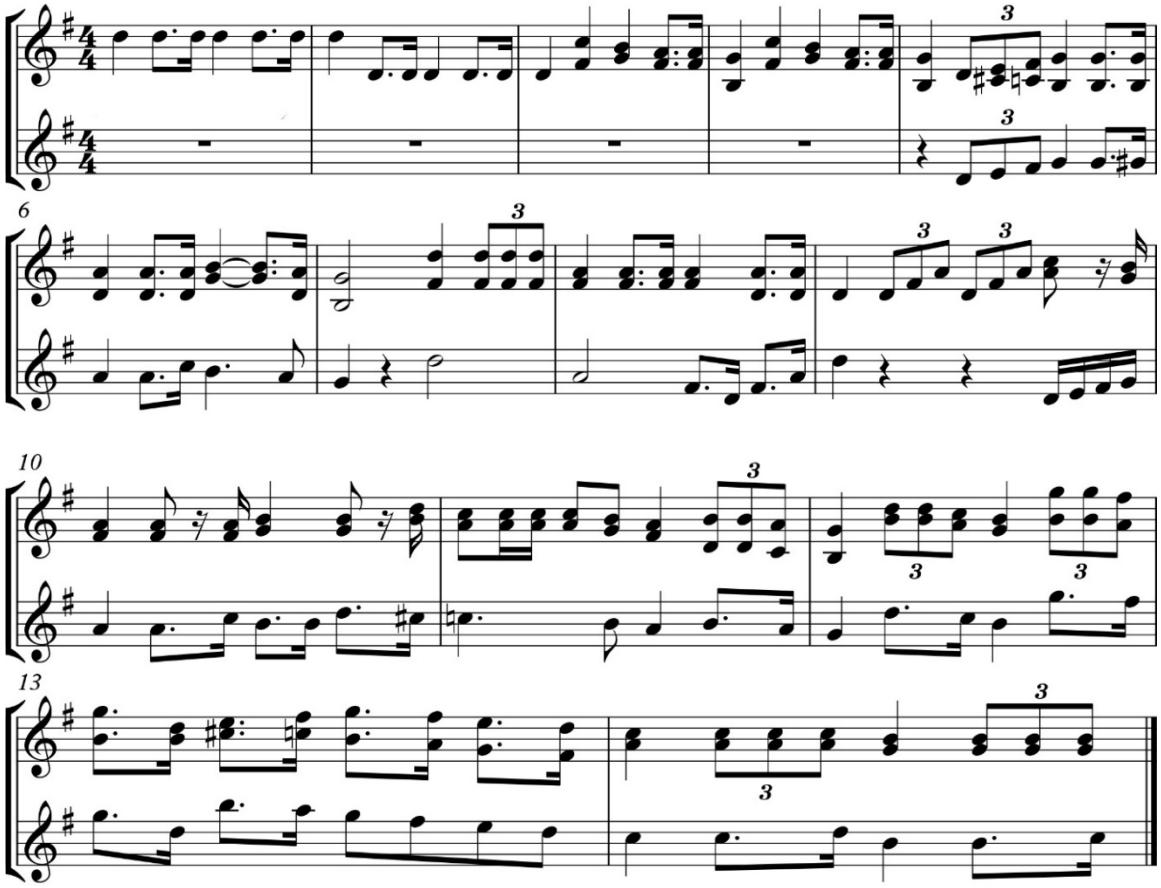
[45] Ibid. "…el maestro Pinzón arrancó esta hoja del archivo de la antigua Guatemala para enviármela tal como ahora la presento."

[46] Ibid. "Este es el Himno Nacional de Nicaragua. Se tocaba en la Antigua Guatemala en tiempos del Oidor cuando se dirigía al templo a oír misa, pasando de tropa en tropa."

[47] Ibid.; and John Philip Sousa, *National, Patriotic, and Typical Airs of All Lands* (Philadelphia: H. Coleman, 1890), 174.

[48] In another publication, Vega Miranda mentions a Father Góñez, also a Jesuit, as the childhood music teacher of his father, Pablo Vega y Raudes (1850–1919). If this is the same Father Góñez of whom he wrote in *La Noticia*, then it could very well be that Vega Miranda conflated two narrative lines, decades apart; see Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Breviario del recuerdo. Antología de músicos nicaragüenses* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945), 117.

Example 3.1. MS Father Góñez (n.d.), complete fragment[49]; Villalta (1890), mm. 2–11.[50]



An early version of the music as a ceremonial work is found in an anthology of national anthems and patriotic songs published by John Philip Sousa in 1890. Part of a global project initiated by Sousa and executed by the U.S. Department of the Navy,[51] the anthology included two untexted works for piano representing Nicaragua: the "patriotic

[49] Vega Miranda, "El padre Góñez."
[50] Sousa, *National*.
[51] Sousa recalled the project behind the anthology in an autobiography; see John Philip Sousa, *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women, and Music* (Boston: Hale, Cushman & Flint, 1928), 107–108.

air" *Robert Sacasa* by Alejandro Cousin,[52] and an otherwise non-descript "national air" attributed to Blas Villalta.[53] The latter work would later form the basis for *La patria amada*, but in this version there is more musical material. In the key of G major, marked *Andante*, the composition is organized in two sections. The first section (8 + 8 + 3 bars) does little more than move harmonically between the tonic and dominant, while the second (4 + 4 + 5 + 5 bars) ambitiously departs to E minor, gradually making its way back to G major. A *da capo* sees a repetition of the first section before the conclusion. By the time a text was added during the early years of the intervention, the second section had disappeared altogether.[54]

[52] This was known as the march "Roberto Sacasa."

[53] Sousa, *National, Patriotic, and Typical Airs*, 173–174. A footnote accompanied the "national air": "'This air was composed by a member of the Government Band at Managua, and having been played by that Band on occasions of state, the Government of the Republic has adopted it as the National Hymn. I received this copy from Governor Delgadillo.' *Mr. Wm. A. Brown, Consul at San Juan del Norte* [a.k.a. Greytown], *Nicaragua*." According to extant diplomatic correspondence sent by Charles Henry Wills (1824–1896), Consul to Managua, to the Department of State, the Nicaraguan government did not have an official national anthem as of mid-January 1890–incidentally, contradicting the footnote—but that Alejandro Cousin would soon compose a work (*Robert Sacasa*) and provide it to the legation.

[54] Citing another Nicaraguan musician, Ibarra Mayorga included an anecdote in the *Monografía* as to how the E minor section disappeared. He recounted having been told that Villalta added the section in an effort to improve the work, but instead, made it worse. It was thus rejected because it style was incongruent with the beauty of the first section; see Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 3.

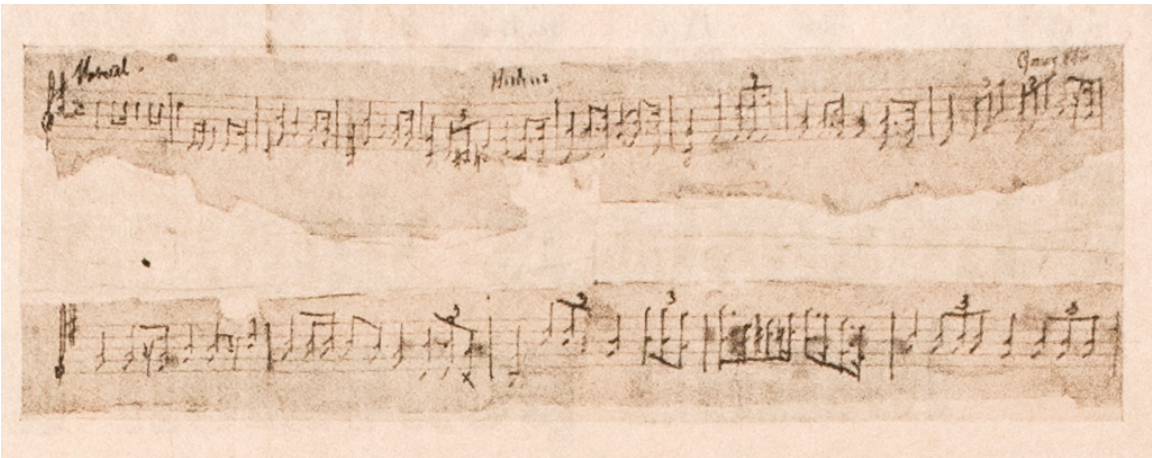


Figure 3.5. Father Goñez, "Himno." Source: *La Noticia* (Managua).[55]

Printed and Manuscript Sources

The Nicaraguan government does not appear to have published an official version of *La patria amada* during the intervention.[56] Much of this is due to the disorganized way in which the separate historical trajectories of the music and text came together in the first decade of the period, producing a work with multiple variants of the music or text. I will discuss the text at length below, but there are a few points that may help to explain the reason as to why no official publication ever came to light. Firstly, the anthem was sung for the first time on Central American Independence Day in 1913.[57] Its text was the

[55] Ibid.
[56] I make this claim on the presumption that the Nicaraguan government would have produced an edition, as it had during the Zelaya administration, to serve a pedagogical function explicitly for grade school children of the republic. Furthermore, the lack of references to a published version strongly suggests there was no official publication during the intervention.
[57] I make this claim based on a single newspaper source from 1939, and have yet to locate a primary or secondary source that is contemporary with that particular independence commemoration.

initiative of a private individual and not the government.[58] Secondly, the government did not declare *La patria amada* to be the national anthem until April of 1918, and only as a preparatory measure in advance of a competition that would replace its text.[59] The only outcome of that competition was the official change in key of the music from G major to E-flat major.[60] The music and text stabilize (somewhat) thereafter, but textual variants nevertheless continued to be published in local periodical literature. The haphazard manner in which this developed suggests that the publication of a standard version of the anthem, which would have to wait until 1936, was not a priority for the Nicaraguan government during the intervention. Furthermore, this was not yet the responsibility of the national congress, as would later be prescribed by the Nicaraguan constitution.

An extant version of *La patria amada* reveals how an early form of the music prior to a change of key, closely resembling the instrumental arrangement by Villalta, was initially adapted alongside the text. Published by C. Jesús Alas in 1916 as part of a collection of Salvadorean grade-schools songs, a version in G major preserves much of the form of the ceremonial music, yet with minor differences in rhythm and contour of the melody.[61] As mentioned previously, the second section of the ceremonial music had

[58] It is unclear as to what work, if any, replaced *Hermosa soberana* immediately after the fall of Zelaya and through the beginning of the intervention.
[59] "Declárase himno nacional," *La Gaceta* 292 (Managua), Dec. 20, 1918.
[60] "El Himno Nacional escrito en Sol Mayor…," *La Gaceta* 75 (Managua), Apr. 2, 1919.
[61] C. Jesús Alas, *Cartilla musical: para las escuelas de párvulos, escuelas elementales, escuelas medias y escuelas superiores de la República de El Salvador…* (San Salvador: Tipografía Musical Anexa a la Imprenta Nacional, 1916/23).The collection included each of the national anthems to the then five Central American nation-states. Alas included a footnote along with the Nicaraguan national anthem: "Mr. Luis B. Velásquez, music teacher from Chinandega [Nicaragua], provided me with a copy of the previous anthem." / "La copia de Himno anterior la remitió de Chinandega [Nicaragua] el Prof. de música don Luis B. Velásquez."

disappeared by the time the text was added, but it kept the original structure and length of the first section, while adding a single measure. The form was now thus: 2 + 6 +10 + 3 bars. The director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes in the first years if the intervention, José Antonio Zapata, who immediately preceded Delgadillo, was almost certainly responsible for the earliest setting of the anthem, both its musical form and text alignment.[62]

After 1918, Delgadillo arranged a version of *La patria amada* following the official change of key to E-flat major. The version exhibits a musical structure little-changed from the Salvadorean publication, except that the musical material is more developed: the simplistic oom-pah bass line of the former now has more melodic interest, employing a walking bass line, measured trills mimicking drum rolls, and arpeggiated figures. Additionally, the manuscript contains a tempo marking missing in other versions of the music (♩= 66), thereby imposing a solemn character and pace worthy of its *maestoso* style indication. This arrangement of the music survived the intervention, and continued to be sung through the rest of the twentieth century, and up to the present day. An undated fair copy of a manuscript arrangement for piano in the key of E-flat major[63] supports a later claim that Delgadillo took "special care in polishing and scoring [the anthem] in the majestic form… heard in bands and choir."[64] In his claim, Delgadillo

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[62] Ibarra Mayorga proposes as much in the *Monografía*; see Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 16. And yet Delgadillo also claimed to have arranged it for public performance; see Delgadillo, "Por nuestro."

[63] Luis A. Delgadillo, arr. "Himno Nacional de Nicaragua" for piano, Manuscript in the possession of Donald Delgadillo Tapia.

[64] Delgadillo, "Por nuestro." "…especial esmero en pulirlo y orquestarlo en la forma majestuosa… que se escucha en bandas y coro."

alluded to his work at director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes, which produced numerous arrangements for ensemble as part of his responsibilities.[65] When the Nicaraguan government finally published an official version of *La patria amada* for voice and piano in 1936, as I noted previously, the musical arrangement was nearly identical to the one prepared by Delgadillo years earlier.[66] In addition to the historic role he had in its development and codification, both of the aforementioned Victor recordings of *La patria amada* in 1925 and 1929 employed arrangements by Delgadillo.[67] Moreover, in the conclusion to the *Monografía*, Ibarra Mayorga recognized the extensive role taken by Delgadillo in the history of the music to the national anthem, summarizing the nuance and details of development, while attaching him to the national discourse to which the *Monografía* contributed in 1955. Ibarra Mayorga noted,

> [Delgadillo] has updated, refined and corrected the anthem; removed discrepancies, harmonized its two best parts, and laid it out in the form of a anthem, just as it sounds today; and he later scored it for large band, infusing the entirety of the work, with admirable technique, the breath of its own spirit, the breath of new vitality. In moderately reducing its antique and profound religiosity, he left in [the anthem], whole and permanent, a character unmistakably secular in lineage.[68]

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[65] See Chapter 2. I am referring specifically to the second period (1918–1921) in which Delgadillo held the directorship.

[66] Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Cantos escolares* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1936). The anthem was included in a collection of school songs.

[67] See Appendix E.

[68] Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 21. "…la ha remozado, pulido y corregido; le suprimió algunas incoherencias, armonizó sus dos mejores partes y las dispuso en forma de himno, tal como suena ahora; y luego la instrumentó para gran banda, infundiendo al conjunto de la obra, con admirable técnica, el aliento de su propio espíritu, el soplo de una nueva vitalidad. Desfanatizándola un poco de su antigua y profunda religiosidad, dejó en ella, íntegra y permanente, el carácter inconfundible de linaje secular."

Official and Variant Texts of *La patria amada*

The text of *La patria amada* was attached to existing ceremonial music the year after Nicaragua was established as a protectorate of the United States (1912–1933). The words were first sung as part of Central American Independence Day celebrations on September 15, 1913.[69] The impetus or inspiration for their creation are unclear. However, the author, Conservative educator Marco Antonio Ortega (fl. 1911–20),[70] originally composed four verses, but only the first verse took hold.[71] The few lines that made up the first verse, though lacking the evocation of ardent loyalty to country and bellicose pledge of the complete four-verse poem, was nonetheless a patriotic, if succinct expression (Figure 3.6). The short length of the text demanded multiple repetitions of the final line, as well as a reiteration of the final words—*amor y paz*—in order to fully underlay all of the music.[72] This apparent solution to an insufficiency of text earned the work an alternate title: the anthem "love and peace."[73]

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[69] "Himno nacional," *La Prensa* (Managua), Oct. 18, 1939.

[70] Marco Antonio Ortega was director of the Instituto Nacional de Oriente in Granada at the time he wrote *La patria amada*. He is the paternal grandfather of Daniel Ortega Saavedra, a current and former President of Nicaragua. For a summary of Marco Antonio Ortega's accomplishments, see Humberto Ortega, "Cartas al director. Sobre "La estirpe de los Ortega Saavedra," *La Prensa* (Managua), Feb. 7, 2018; and Humberto Ortega, *La epopeya de la insurrección* (Managua: Lea Grupo Editorial, 2004), 35–37.

[71] Ortega composed another set of verses to the same music in 1919. Entitled *Yo amo a mi patria* (I love my homeland), they were expressly written as "adaptable to the national anthem" and dedicated to the Minister of War; see Marco Antonio Ortega, "La lira de Apolo. Yo amo a mi patria," *Los Domingos*, Sep. 14, 1919.

[72] The line *que le debemos amor y paz* (That we owe her love and peace) is uttered four times, while *amor y paz* (love and peace) receives six iterations. In total, the final words are sung ten times.

[73] Delgadillo, "Por nuestro." At least one professional musician and teacher considered the repetitive text hardly bearable; see Victor M. Zúniga G., "De arte. Incomprensiones," *Los Domingos*, Sep. 14, 1919.

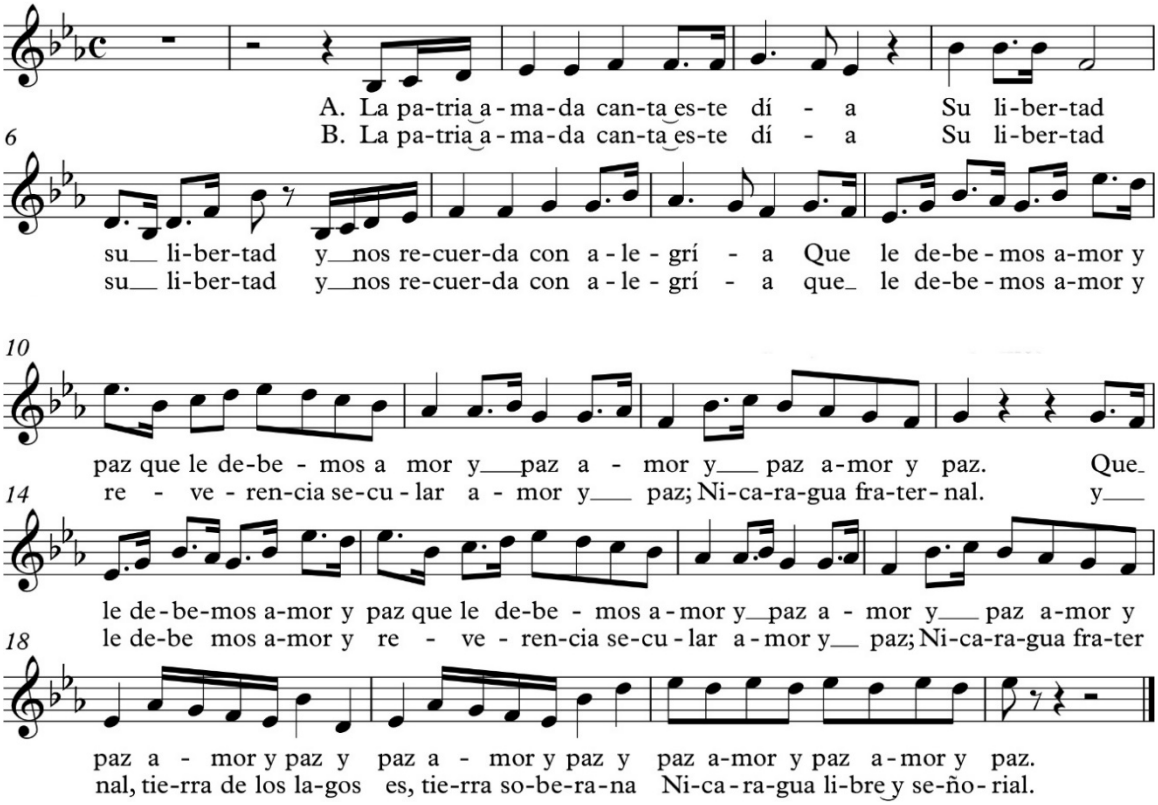
Figure 3.6. M.A. Ortega, *La patria amada*, text (1913).[74]

Original	*English translation*
La patria amada	The beloved homeland
canta este día	Sings this day
su libertad, su libertad,	Its liberty, its liberty
y nos recuerda con alegría	And joyfully reminds us
que le debemos amor y paz.	That we owe it love and peace.

The extant piano arrangement by Delgadillo, prepared after 1918, attempted to address the repetition issue with a complementary text (Figure 3.7). To the call for "love and peace," Delgadillo added an invocation of fraternity and non-religious veneration toward the *patria*: "fraternal Nicaragua… we owe it love and civil reverence."[75] Furthermore, the text closed with an image of the land, and of a sovereign and free Nicaragua. The added text fit the music neatly and efficiently, maintaining a mostly syllabic underlay (Example 3.2). The new textual material aside, this version does not appear to have ever been adopted. And although other versions of the text cropped up now and again, the single verse was sung for over a quarter of a century.[76]

[74] Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Cantos escolares* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1936), 4.
[75] It is unclear if Delgadillo wrote the added text.
[76] For yet another extant text variant of *La patria amada*, see Appendix D, Figure 3.

Example 3.2. *La patria amada* (A: Vega M., 1936[77]; B: Delgadillo, after 1918[78]).



The theme of love and peace in *La patria amada* was a novel concept in a Nicaraguan national anthem, as was the depiction of a *patria* in the act of singing. The anthem during the Zelaya presidency, *Hermosa soberana*, sang of an exoticized sovereign, a maternal figure with soldiers for children at the ready to defend her, presenting war as a potential necessity for preserving liberty. The intervention-era anthem kept the feminine figure as the focal point, but, instead of a sovereign, it evoked a non-

[77] Vega Miranda, *Cantos*.
[78] Delgadillo, arr. "Himno Nacional." The underlay is my own as the original manuscript separates the text from the music.

descript personification of the homeland. A passive patriot witnessed—in fact, sang of—the *patria* in the act of singing of her own freedom, and by extension, theirs as well. And in doing so she reminds them: you all owe me love and peace. There is no apparent reason given for why there is a debt to be paid, or why her words, a joyful attitude notwithstanding, are given in the manner of a command. And why sing of liberty while Nicaragua is under intervention? The brief text of *La patria amada* is thus surreal and dictatorial. Many decades after the text of the anthem had been replaced by his own, Ibarra Mayorga recalled *La patria amada* to have been a "cynical song to the U.S.-American intervention."[79] Indeed, the anthem not only denies the presence of intervention, while proclaiming sovereignty, its text is devoid of any reference that would explicitly associate it with Nicaragua—unlike the anthem texts that historically precede and follow it, *La patria amada* does not mention to which beloved country her people should revere.

Figure 3.7. Luis A. Delgadillo, *La patria amada*, text (after 1918).

Original	*English translation*
La Patria amada canta este día	The beloved homeland sings this day
su libertad, su libertad;	Its liberty, its liberty;
y nos recuerda con alegría	And joyfully reminds us
que le debemos amor y reverencia secular	That we owe it love and civil reverence—
–amor y paz ; Nicaragua fraternal,	Love and peace; fraternal Nicaragua,
y le debemos amor y reverencia secular,	And we owe it love and civil reverence,
amor y paz ; Nicaragua fraternal,	Love and peace; fraternal Nicaragua,
tierra de los lagos es,	It is a land of lakes,
tierra soberana, Nicaragua libre y señorial.	A sovereign land, free and stately Nicaragua.

[79] Eduardo Marenco Tercero, "Himno Nacional fue censurado," *Barricada* (Managua), Sep. 14, 1995. "…canto cínico a la intervención norteamericana…"

Both *La patria amada* and *Salve a tí, Nicaragua* depart from the more typical markers—evocations of history (past) and aspirations (future) of the nation—found in national anthems, and often employed in other national symbols. Jorge Alvarado, a comparative literature scholar, has posited that national anthems can be understood as a kind of *Janus Bifrons*, a representation of the Roman deity Janus, whose two faces (*bifrons*) simultaneously looked to the past and to the future.[80] In an effort to impose a vision of the nation, the textual symbols present in Central American national anthems "bring together Romantic *costumbrismo* realism, with its bucolic vision of the countryside (the virgin indigenous woman, landscapes, humble laborers), and the scientific discourse that advocates for progress, not just the individual, but also the national."[81] An imaginary land and its people represent the past, a part of the history of the nation. The discourse of progress, an aspiration toward a future reality, uses the image of the land, and its cultivation, as a promise to fulfill, a future defined by civilization. These are concepts are typically found in nationalist symbols and discourses in Central America.[82]

The *Janus Bifrons* is absent in *La patria amada*, which neither looks to the past nor the future. There is only a present, an immediate reality. In this regard, Ibarra Mayorga responded with a summation of the day to which the beloved homeland sings:

[80] Alvarado, "La invención," 109.
[81] Ibid., 122. "…convergen el realismo costumbrista del romanticismo, con su visión bucólica del paisaje (la india virgen, los paisajes, los labriegos sencillos), y el discurso cientificista que aboga por el progreso, no sólo individual sino también nacional."
[82] See Chapter 6.

"Which day?" he recalled, "that of the intervention."[83] Delgadillo tried to restore an evocation of the land in his version of the text, attempting to give the symbol a sense of past and an implied future, but it did not catch on. The reiteration of "love and peace" are consistent with the inculcation process of repeated ritual, which is principally about ascribing familial love onto notions of homeland. The subject of peace alludes to the Nicaraguan civil wars during the first years of the intervention, a period in which Conservatives returned to power and called for U.S. assistance in maintaining order.[84] The role of peace in *La patria amada* not only contrasted with the bellicose anthem from the Zelaya era, but represented a Conservative vision of a future without war.

Competition for a New Text

In April of 1918, by request of the Minister of War, Tomás Masís, the Nicaraguan National Congress authorized a change of text to the national anthem.[85] At the same time, they declared *La patria amada* as the official national anthem, a gesture overlooked in the five years that the work previously functioned as such.[86] Months later, the Ministry of War contracted Delgadillo to announce the competition and present its terms: compose a new text along particular thematic lines, including "historical references to '56, or something that signifies or captures the soul of the *patria*"[87]; two or three verses in

[83] Marenco Tercero, "Himno Nacional." "¿Cuál día?, el de la intervención."
[84] See Chapter 1, Table 1.
[85] "Declárase himno nacional," *La Gaceta* 292 (Managua), Dec. 20, 1918.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Concurso literario para nueva letra del Himno Nacional," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Oct. 27, 1918. "…referencias históricas del 56, o de algo que signifique o sintetice el alma de la Patria." The reference to "el 56" is the date–September 14, 1856–on which the U.S. soldier of fortune and expansionist William Walker was defeated at the Battle of San Jacinto and

length, adapted to each section of the [existing] music; and submitted under a pseudonym by the deadline of November 10.[88] The winner was to receive a sum of 50 Nicaraguan córdobas.[89] Delgadillo had a further role in the process—to work with each entrant and ensure their text was properly adapted to the music.[90]

On the afternoon of December 16, a five-member jury gathered at the Ministry of War to decide the best entry.[91] A number of Nicaraguan poets and writers, some well-known, submitted works for evaluation.[92] One by one, each text was sung by Luis A. Delgadillo and two recognized Nicaraguan musicians: Carlos Ramírez Velásquez, and Alberto Selva.[93] When all was said and done, the jury selected the text submitted under

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driven out of the country. The event was of sufficient historical significance to warrant its commemoration as a second Independence Day from the 1870s onward. From the last decades of the nineteenth century to the present day, Nicaraguans have thus commemorated independence on both September 14 and September 15 (Central American Independence from Spain). In his *Monografía*, Ibarra Mayorga did not accurately remember the terms of the competition, and appears to have reframed them around his winning text; see Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 17.

[88] Ibid. In the same announcement, Delgadillo noted that the Ministry of War had contracted him to make a new arrangement of the music to the national anthem for the Banda de los Supremos Poderes. The ministry paid him 250 Nicaraguan córdobas for the work, which included its transposition to a lower key (from G major to E-flat major); see "A Otoniel Ruzardo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Oct. 3, 1918. The arrangement was heard a number of times in the following months, among various official events, at the close of *Parque Central* concerts in April, May, July, and September of 1919; see Appendix F.

[89] Ibid. The announcement was published on October 10, giving potential competitors one month to prepare their entries.

[90] "Nueva letra para el Himno Nacional," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Oct. 27, 1918. He would have known many of the competitors, especially Salomón Ibarra Mayorga, from different social and political circles.

[91] "Designar a los señores…," *La Gaceta* 287 (Managua), Dec. 23, 1918. The members of the jury were "Ingeniero don José Andrés Urtecho, Doctor don Modesto Barrios, Doctor don Salvador Berberena Díaz, Doctor don Santiago Arguello y don Mariano Zelaya B."

[92] "Ahora que se debate el cambio del himno nac., conviene recordar estos antecedentes," *La Prensa* (Managua), Aug. 5, 1939. Apart from Ibarra Mayorga, the competitors included Salvador Ruiz Morales, Gabry Rivas, Octavio Rivas Ortiz, Aristides Mayorga, Ramón Sáenz Morales, Luis Avilés Ramírez, Antonio Bermúdez, and José T. Olivares.

[93] Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 21.

the pseudonym “Rómulo,” the name Salomón Ibarra Mayorga (1889–1985) had chosen to enter the competition.[94] A pair of quatrains, his text—*Salve a tí, Nicaragua* (Hail to thee, Nicaragua)—celebrated the themes of peace and work (Figure 2).[95] Ibarra Mayorga was a member of an elite Liberal family from Managua, an aspect that may have come to bear on the fate of the text.

Figure 3.8. Salomón Ibarra Mayorga, *Salve a tí, Nicaragua*, text.[96]

Original	*English translation*
1st verse Salve a tí, Nicaragua. En tu suelo	*1st verse* Hail to thee, Nicaragua. On your soil
ya no ruge la voz del cañon	The cannon roars no longer
ni se tiñe con sangre de hermanos	Nor stains, with the blood of brothers,
tu glorioso pendón bicolor.	Your glorious two-toned banner.
2nd verse Brille hermosa la paz en tu cielo,	*2nd verse* Let peace beautifully shine in your skies
nada empañe tu gloria inmortal,	Let nothing tarnish your immortal glory,
que el trabajo es tu digno laurel	That work is your worthy laurel
y el honor es tu enseña triunfal.	And honor is your triumphant insignia.

The text of *Salve a tí, Nicaragua* paints a somewhat different scene than that of the anthem is was meant to replace. The first verse opens with a salutation to the *patria*. But instead of invoking a non-descript country, as *La patria amada* does, Nicaragua is explicitly named as a point of focus. A poetic description of the cessation of war follows,

[94] “Por decreto,” *La Prensa*.
[95] Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 17.
[96] “Himno Nacional de Nicaragua,” Ministerio de Instrucción Pública, after Dec. 1939. The card with Ibarra Mayorga’s text was printed following the late 1939 decree. It had the following footnote: “Nota:—Esta letra debe sustituir a la de la «Patria Amada» ajustada a la misma música del Himno Nacional.” / “Note: This text ought to substitute that of *La patria amada*, adjusted to the same music of the national anthem.”

implying peace, while invoking the national flag, another national symbol. The second verse reinforces the image of peace extended to the sky and the light from which it emanates. The references to glory, work, and honor detailed the rewards that a love of the homeland begat.

Returning to the image of the *Janus Bifrons*, the text of *Salve a tí, Nicaragua* also fixates on the present. Although it is devoid of references to the past, the text attempts to subtly impose a future through the use of the subjunctive. However hopeful that might be, that future is uncertain and lacks promise. The absence of typical textual attributes in notwithstanding, it is worth remembering that the music itself predates the text; it is a vestige of the past, and therefore begins to symbolically complete a more typical nationalist vision.

In an unexpected turn of events, the results of the competition were voided the following day. Despite their initial judgment, various members of the jury admitted to the press that the text had, in fact, not been properly adapted to the music, giving the Ministry of War sufficient reason to void the result.[97] Ibarra Mayorga would later cite political reasons for the cancellation, pointing to directly to the "peace imposed by the unrelenting U.S.-American intervention."[98] In an interview granted not long before his death in 1985, he recalled that the text was an "offense to the *yanqui* interventors," though he did not elaborate further, and that he had publicly insulted the Conservative

[97] Zúniga G., "De arte. Incomprensiones."
[98] Marenco Tercero, "Himno Nacional." "...la paz impuesta por la férrea intervención norteamericana."

Party in print and in person, also points that went unexplained.[99] In 1918, the government put away his text for a little over two decades, at which point they replaced *La patria amada* for the text by Ibarra Mayorga, while preserving the music of the former.[100]

A possible reason for the disqualification of the text by Ibarra Mayorga, one to which he may have been referring as an offense to the intervention, concerned the verb tense of the first two lines of the second verse. As a form of resistance to the intervention, he purposely used the subjunctive as nationalist gesture. In the *Monografía*, he noted,

> With the intervention before [us], which suffocated our rights, we could hardly exclaim without being traitors:
>
> > Peace **shines** beautifully in your skies,
> > Nothing **tarnishes** your immortal glory…[101]
>
> We had to demand, in a dignified manner, crying out in broad daylight and full throated:
>
> > Let peace beautifully **shine** in your skies (because it did not shine)
> > Let nothing **tarnish** your immortal glory (because it was tarnished)[102]

The theme of peace was a significant issue for Ibarra Mayorga; he took pride in having written a text that celebrated a peace in contrast to the "cynical" evocation of the theme in *La patria amada*, which for him represented the pacification efforts of the

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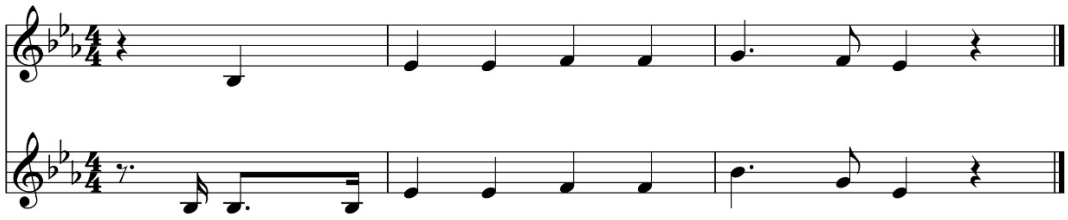
[99] Ibid. "…ofensa para los interventores *yanquis*." [italics in the original]
[100] "Por decreto," *La Prensa*.
[101] Curiously, when the Honduran newspaper *El Nuevo Tiempo* announced the winning text in mid-April of 1919, without noting the result to have been cancelled, Ibarra Mayorga's verses were also printed, but with the lines (and verbs) in question changed to the present tense; see "El nuevo Himno de Nicaragua," *El Nuevo Tiempo* (Tegucigalpa), Apr. 15, 1919.
[102] Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 18. "Frente a la intervención que ahogaba nuestros derechos no podíamos exclamar sin ser traidores: / **Brilla** hermosa la paz en tu cielo, / nada **empaña** tu gloria inmortal… / Teníamos que reclamar dignamente, gritando a plena luz y a pulmón lleno: / **Brille** hermosa la paz en tu cielo (porque no brillaba) / nada **empañe** tu gloria inmortal (porque estaba empanada)." Ibarra Mayorga may have wanted to employ the subjunctive form in the first verse, but chose to do otherwise; see Marenco Tercero, "Himno Nacional."

intervention. He opened the *Monografía* with the observation that most Latin American national anthems were imitations of the bellicose *La marseillaise*, while *Salve a tí, Nicaragua* broke from that tradition.[103] His point about the text is demonstrably true, but a possible interpretation of the music may be more in line with the French national anthem. Recalling the origin story of *La patria amada/Salve a tí, Nicaragua*, the music came out of a military tradition, yet its employment in civic ceremony transformed its nature, softening its character. Moreover, the original function aside, the music itself suggests a distinct model. If slightly deconstructed, the melody of the first phrase of *Salve* (mm. 2–4) appears to quote the opening of *La marseillaise* (Example 3.3). The quotation is not literal, but, with the exception of the first two notes of the final measure, it is otherwise exact, in addition to preserving its contour and bold, rising motion. *Salve a tí, Nicaragua* may not have a text that glorifies war, but the musical specter of *La marseillaise* is present.[104] Ibarra Mayorga was likely unaware of this bellicose aspect underlying the music. Nevertheless, as one of three national symbols venerated during the Oath to the Flag, the theme of peace would have been superseded by war in the annual ritual, implied in the line: "Thus, we owe [the homeland], with our love and reverence, as far as [giving] our life, if necessary."[105]

[103] Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 2.
[104] The desconstructed fragment of *Salve a tí, Nicaragua* more closely resembles (in fact, quotes exactly) the musical material that opens aria "Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen" from W.A. Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte*, KV 620.
[105] *Jura*, 7. "Le debemos, pues, con nuestro amor y veneración, hasta la ofrenda de la vida si es necesario."

Example 3.3. *Salve a tí, Nicaragua* (mm. 2–4); *La marseillaise* (mm. 1–3).



Conclusion

Luis A. Delgadillo is presently laid to rest in Managua, in a section of the city's historic General Cemetery known as the Rotonda de Hombres Ilustres (Circle of Ilustrious Men), where a number of men and women of political importance have been buried throughout the past century. Despite the traditional markers accompanying each grave of the circle, Delgadillo's final resting place is distinguished from the illustrious company by a billboard sitting immediately behind his grave. The imposing sign was placed there by the government years ago to inform the pilgrim or passerby as to his significance. A portrait taken late in life, various biographical details, and the name of the composer cover much of the space on the sign. The rest is occupied by a reproduction of an edition of the vocal score to *Salve a tí, Nicaragua*. For the keen reader, there is a single, if problematic takeaway: the sign claims Delgadillo to have been the composer of the music to the national anthem of Nicaragua. The spurious assertion notwithstanding, the takeaway is a testament to the received knowledge and government-sanctioned narrative attached to the work. More importantly, it reveals—by way of revisionism—the extent to which the narratives of Delgadillo and *Salve a tí, Nicaragua* have lost a certain veracity and nuance, while meeting at a point of ahistorical conflation. Delgadillo played

a role in the early histories of *La patria amada* and *Salve a tí, Nicaragua*, whose tangled musical and textual histories, insistent themes of peace, and nationalist intent belie their distinct roles during the intervention. As the national anthem of Nicaragua during the intervention, *La patria amada* was, indeed, a representation of the nation under foreign control, and a result of Conservative politics of complicity—the musical symbol of an anonymous *patria* that expected love, for its own sake, while imposing peace devoid of self-determination.

CHAPTER 4

El tranqueado fox-trot: Contested Meaning of U.S.-American Popular Music in Nicaragua under Intervention

Introduction

In 1932, as the autumn of the intervention dragged to a close, Nicaraguan playwright and folklorist Pablo Antonio Cuadra (1912–2002) wrote an ominous letter to a friend on the meaning of music and its importance as an inherent expression of national identity.[1] He initially reflected on the nature of music and the human being, proposing that humans possess an internal and external rhythm, one having a reciprocal relationship to the other. He also reflected on the human need to vibrate, apparent in the creation of music as an expression of emotion. He figured that the social make-up of a country contained a distinct, collective vibration evident in yet another necessity: the soul of a nation—whose internal rhythm formed in tandem with its history and memory—needed its own music. Cuadra concluded that Nicaragua ought to have its own, but questioned whether the country was, indeed, in possession of it. His response was diplomatic: "[Nicaragua does have its own music], but overall, only the internal. We have been losing the external…"[2] He then conflated the notion of a reciprocal internal and external rhythm present in humans with an equivalent binary of musics. The expression of a native external music,

[1] Pablo Antonio Cuadra, "Carta sobre música nicaragüense a Eduardo Alaniz," *El Pez y La Serpiente* 22/23 (1978/79): 46–49. The letter is found only in secondary sources and does not carry a more specific date other than the year. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
[2] Ibid.: 48. "…la tiene, pero sobre todo, interna: La externa la hemos ido perdiendo…"

he observed, was lost over a period of time in urban centers due to the "imitation of the foreign," which he blamed on the spread of "Victrolas with a completely foreign repertoire, film, [and] imported dance music."[3] He affirmed the Spanish colonial legacy of *mestizo* music, a native external expression he deemed to be fully Nicaraguan, yet lamented its gradual disappearance. Its fate was that of dormancy, manifested in silence, a result of "one of the many ills brought by that hateful and insufferable foreign intervention."[4] However, not all was lost, he consoled, but at a dangerous precipice: if the struggle between the (native) internal rhythm, remarkably weak in its dormant state, and the (foreign) external rhythm persisted, a musical defeat would occur—"We will dance to the music they play for us!"[5] Nicaraguans had allowed the process to occur by their own accord, and were willing participants in the decline of native culture. "We are de-musicking ourselves, [and] our skeleton is becoming *Yanqui*," he charged. [6] Cuadra did not specify the repertoire responsible for the suppression of Nicaraguan music, but he was clear in casting the intervention as the antagonist, the Victrola and silent film as its commercial weapons, and imported social dances as the musical accompaniment. Furthermore, his critique was not just a response to the cultural effects of the intervention, but a nationalist exegesis revealing antagonisms—modern/pre-modern,

[3] Ibid. "…las vitrolas de repertorio totalmente extranjero, al cine, al baile de música importada…" Apparently, the *campesino* in the countryside and certain towns were spared this fate.
[4] Ibid. "…uno de los tantos males que trae esa odiosa e insoportable intervención extranjera."
[5] Ibid., 49. "¡Danzaremos al son que nos toquen!"
[6] Ibid. My use of the word "musicking" (with a prefix) reflects the meaning of the original Spanish, and has no relationship to the neologism coined by ethnomusicologist Christopher Small. "Nos estamos des-musicando. Se nos está haciendo yanqui el esqueleto."

urban/rural, fashionable/traditional, Protestant/Catholic—behind his anxiety about the state of Nicaraguan music.

In this chapter, I will show the manner in which imported U.S.-American popular music took on contested meaning in Nicaragua during the intervention. I will examine the fox-trot, particularly, as a critical focal point for understanding how imported music existed in a state of duality—embraced and resisted—while it underwent transculturation and became Nicaraguan music. As I will argue, this ambivalence was not new to Nicaraguan culture, but the latest guise of "Americanization," a process through which Nicaraguans mediated and adapted U.S. institutions and customs, beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Modern Dances, Fox-Trot Origins, and Commercialization

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, New York City—whose name Nicaraguans associated with some of the most attractive cultural trappings of modernity—was the site where a confluence of social, musical, and commercial factors gave birth to modern dancing, a term for various social dance patterns accompanied by ragtime music implying "newness, sophistication, and fashionability."[7] Primarily influenced by nineteenth-century African American and European American dancing, the first formalized dance patterns to ragtime music appeared in the 1890s with the cakewalk, whose exaggerated strut by forward-facing couples and popularity among the New York

[7] Danielle Robinson, *Modern Moves: Dancing Race during the Ragtime and Jazz Eras* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3.

City elite belied its origins as a parody of Southern U.S.-American ballroom processions by plantation slaves.[8] The next dance patterns in ragtime, popular in the years leading up to the beginning of the Great War, went by the collective moniker "animal dances." The turkey trot, monkey glide, bunny hug, and grizzly bear, among others, were known for their self-evident characteristics and humorous gestures.[9] They were also known to be racially marked: participants and observers understood ragtime music and dance to be black, even when they were not. Animal dances, linked to the history and conventions of minstrelsy, projected associations with or "generated stereotypical renderings of African Americans relating to animality, primitivism, and sexuality."[10]

The modern dances that followed in the 1910s were adapted from the animal dances, and projected the antithesis of their predecessors as they came under the domain of the social dance professional and mass-marketing.[11] They did not mimic, as in minstrelsy, but evoked exoticized abstractions of the "Oriental, Indian [Native American], and Negro."[12] An aesthetic of restraint was the hallmark of the modern dance.[13] According to historian Danielle Robinson, dance professionals "valued control, containment, organization, rules, and inhibition" apparent in the most popular of the standardized modern dances—one-step and fox-trot.[14] The former was adapted from the

[8] Ibid., 5–6.
[9] Ibid., 61–62.
[10] Ibid., 66, 70, and 76.
[11] Ibid., 84.
[12] Ibid., 75. This is part of a quote used by Robinson and taken from Susan Manning, *Modern Dance, Negro Dance: Race in Motion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 10.
[13] Ibid., 86.
[14] Ibid. There are various period spellings of the latter dance—fox, fox trot, fox-trot, and foxtrot. I have chosen to use its hyphenated form in reflection of its most common spelling in Nicaraguan primary source material of the 1910s and 1920s.

turkey trot, and the latter influenced by the slow drag, a catch-all term for a series of movements—walks, slides, drags, stamps, and pauses—accompanied by "blues, ragtime, jazz, [or] 'lowdown' music."[15] Other modern dances included the tango, maxixe, half and half, Apache, and at least three variations of waltz: Boston, hesitation, and lame duck.[16] In marketing them as "refined" to a general public, professionals simplified their steps, a process amounting to purification, and a conscious distancing from the embodiment of blackness at the core of ragtime.[17] The mass-marketing of modern dances through print and recorded media, as well as by dance professionals, contributed significantly to this process, while popularizing "refined" dances throughout the United States and across the globe, an aspect seen early on in the fox-trot.

Modern dancing allowed for the empowerment of women in public spaces where traditional gender roles were otherwise strictly reinforced. Historian Linda Tomko has asserted, "working women's dancing bodies were important registers for experimenting with the measure of social and sexual autonomy that derived from their wage labor."[18] As I will demonstrate, modern dancing also had an impact on women as it took hold in Nicaragua during the postwar period; particularly, with the arrival of feminism and the notion of the "modern woman."

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[15] Ibid., 84 and 37–38. Robinson presents a detailed explanation of her theory, based on Vernon Castle's published admission, that the slow drag was the fox-trot's strongest if partial antecedent in pp. 38–40, 43–44, and 54–56.
[16] Ibid., 86; and Vernon Castle and Irene Castle, *Modern Dancing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1914), 79.
[17] Ibid., 77, 88, and 94.
[18] Linda Tomko, *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890–1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), 26–27, and 147.

The origin story of the fox-trot has been told through varying narratives, often centered on dance professionals of the period.[19] The principal of these surrounds Vernon and Irene Castle,[20] the most famous professional duo of modern dance during the ragtime era, who gave credit to James Reese Europe, their music director, for the development of the fox-trot.[21] While on tour with the Castles in the spring of 1914, Europe was struck by the moderate pace of W.C. Handy's song "Memphis Blues," which he recommended to Vernon Castle as a contrast to the faster dances in their repertoire. The Castles added steps to the dance and tried it out at private parties where it was well-received.[22] These parties were evidently not all that private—by the end of August of the same year, news of the fox-trot created a buzz through print media that reached parts of Latin America.[23]

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[19] Although I present the origin of the fox-trot as principally shaped by the Castles, scholar Claude Conyers asserts an alternative, yet not unconnected narrative in "Foxtrot," *Grove Music Online*, Accessed Mar. 27, 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002219055.

[20] For an autobiographical account of the Castles see Irene Castle, *My Husband* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), and Irene Castle, *Castles in the Air* (Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc., 1958).

[21] Reid Badger, *A Life in Ragtime: A Biography of James Reese Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 116. In turn, Europe credited W.C. Handy. Elsewhere, he suggested the fox-trot to have been a development of the schottische; see "Notes and Comment from the World of Music: Negro Composer of Race's Music," *New York Tribune* (New York City), Nov. 22, 1914.

[22] Ibid., 115.

[23] See José Alfaro Morán, "Impresiones norteamericanas. Reinado del baile. La tangomanía. Comentarios," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Aug. 31, 1914; "Social and Personal. Those who are fond of dancing…," *The Cuba News* (Havana), Nov. 7, 1914; Alberto Ruiz, "Mundo habanero. El popular Pubillones…," *El Mundo* (Havana), Nov. 23, 1914; and "Columbia. Dance Records Teach You…," *The Cuba News* (Havana), Feb. 20, 1915. For an examination of the fox-trot in Mexico in context of the *canción mexicana* during the first half of the twentieth century, see Leonora Saavedra, "Manuel M. Ponce y los músicos populares," *Heterofonía* 143 (2010), 51–84. For an examination of the fox-trot in Guatemala during the same period, see Andres Amado, "The Fox Trot in a Nation of Cosmopolitans: Music and Race in Early Twentieth-Century Guatemala" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2013).

Within months, the Castles presented their version of the fox-trot to a general public.[24] To accompany their public performances and cultivate followers, Vernon Castle published an article for *Ladies' Home Journal* in which he revealed the intricacies of the dance through detailed instructions and photographs posed in each step.[25] The article further reinforced a direct connection of the fox-trot to the Castles and, by extension, to James Reese Europe. And while it would take on a life of its own through other dance professionals, popular social dance practice, and national and transnational mass-marketing, the origins of the fox-trot were strongly attached to the Castle version.[26]

The musical characteristics of the fox-trot come from those that generally mark ragtime music and those initially codified by the Castles and Europe. Among the most distinct is the prevalence of syncopated rhythms, an enduring musical feature of ragtime, gestures also reflected in the "visual accents" of the steps.[27] Other general characteristics

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[24] Badger, *A Life*, 117. The Castles introduced the fox-trot to the general public in early December of 1914 through the musical *Watch Your Step*, a highly-successful publicity vehicle for them that ran for 171 performances. Irving Berlin composed the music and lyrics, giving the soon-to-be-iconic dance at least two numbers: "Show Us How to do the Fox Trot" and "The Syncopated Walk." The latter number was recorded by Columbia Records not long after the premiere of the musical; see *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, Columbia matrix 37094 "The Syncopated Walk. Prince's Band. G. Hepburn Wilson," accessed March 26, 2018, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/2000142433/37094-The_syncopated_walk.

[25] Vernon Castle, "Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Castle's Dances for this Winter. III: The Castle Fox Trot," *Ladies' Home Journal* 31, no. 12, December 1914.

[26] The fox-trot was also a source of at least a couple of developments in U.S. popular music. Historian Reid Badger has asserted the dance to be historically important in that "it provided the basis for many subsequent popular dances and the rhythm for many familiar American popular songs"; and "it constituted the first manifestation of the diffusion of the blues into mainstream American culture," informing the development of jazz, among other popular music genres.[26] The latter development recalls the interest Europe took in W.C. Handy's song and the importance of the blues as a foundation for the fox-trot.

[27] Robinson, *Modern Moves*, 63. Although the steps of modern dances are integral to our understanding of the music, a number of scholars have already examined them, and thus I will only reference movement if it is explicitly related to the music.

include a grounded duple meter in cut time, punctuated by a rocking or "Oom-pah" bass motion, accentuating the tactus; and an overall structure in binary or ternary form (each section repeated) with an introduction. However, variants of these can be found throughout the repertoire, and are present in those written by Nicaraguan composers. The matter of tempo, one of its defining features, was partially addressed by Vernon Castle: "…if you play an ordinary 'rag' half as fast as you would play it for the one-step you will have a pretty good idea of the music and the tempo."[28] Jazz scholar Reid Badger noted the fox-trot tempo had been a notable departure from other modern dances, which tended to be fast and energetic.[29] The influence of the blues appears to have been a critical factor.[30]

The Fox-Trot in Nicaragua

The year 1919 was the earliest point in which the fox-trot had a noteworthy presence as a social dance in private and public spaces in Managua. Between its development in the United States and the end of the Great War, there were remarkably few references to the dance in Nicaraguan print media.[31] And at that, it was rarely

[28] Castle, "Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Castle's."
[29] Reid Badger, "James Reese Europe and the Prehistory of Jazz," *American Music* 7/1 (1989): 59.
[30] Ibid.
[31] "Programa de los conciertos que con motivo de los festejos de la paz…" *La Tribuna* (Managua), Nov. 28, 1918. An especially surprising instance in which the fox-trot does not appear, considering its global popularity by that year, is a series of public concerts by the Banda de los Supremos Poderes marking the end of World War I. From November 28–30 the Nicaraguan government organized three days of celebrations comprised of one concert per day, none of which included a fox-trot. And only one program presented a one-step, the war-era song "Goodbye Broadway, Hello France" by Billy Baskette.

included in social entertainment features, announcements, or reports.[32] The fox-trot and other modern dances became a staple on the programs of twice-weekly concerts given at *Parque Central* (Central Park) by the Banda de los Supremos Poderes in 1919. The establishment of a Victor Records agent in the capital, also in 1919, and a Columbia Records representative the following year, facilitated the transmission and accessibility of the fox-trot in private life. Other commercial avenues were already present by that year—piano sheet music, player pianos, and music accompanying silent film.[33] However, the sources I have examined—which illuminate music and music-making at band concerts or social gatherings, and in record catalogs—are surprisingly quiet on these media channels. Their contents are thus left mostly to speculation. Nevertheless, the extant source material sheds light on much more regarding the presence of the fox-trot in Managua than as a mere statistic, including references to pre-existing media.

The periodical literature reveals a society in which U.S.-American modern dances were accepted, celebrated, and transformed to the extent that the fox-trot, in particular, was naturalized, made Nicaraguan, as I will elaborate below. The publication of the first magazine devoted exclusively to women, *Revista femenina ilustrada*,[34] inaugurated during the immediate post-war period, heightened the U.S.-American notion of the modern woman as "an image [or] identity of femininity that emerged through much of

[32] Seemingly random instances occur in programs by the Banda de los Supremos Poderes as early as 1916, as well as private dances in 1918, including a *soirée* in which Delgadillo premiered his fox-trot "Los Domingos," dedicated to an eponymous weekly culture magazine.
[33] For a recent study of the history of cinema in Nicaragua, see Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *El cine entre los nicas* (Managua: JEA-editor, 2017); and Karly Gaitán Morales, *A la conquista de un sueño: historia del cine en Nicaragua* (Managua: FUCINE, 2014).
[34] "Revista femenina ilustrada." *La Tribuna* (Managua), Aug. 27, 1918. The first issue was published in October of 1918.

the world in the 1920s."[35] The *Revista* contributed, as did similar subsequent publications, to the empowerment and presence of women, especially, gentlewomen[36] in the public sphere, an aspect that became more and more evident throughout the intervention. The modern woman was not necessarily synonymous with feminism, a movement that took hold in Nicaragua just after the Great War, but there was much overlap.[37] The music of choice for the modern woman was the fox-trot and other modern dances, which accompanied a number of modern goods and forms of entertainment,[38] all types of materialism emanating from the United States.[39] Historian Michel Gobat has asserted, "the image of the 'modern woman' was spread [to Nicaragua] by the wives and daughters of dollar diplomats and U.S. businessmen as well as female U.S. missionaries."[40]

With these points in mind, I will focus on two strong transmission channels for the fox-trot in Nicaragua: the Victor Records catalog of music by Nicaraguan composers, and Banda de los Supremos Poderes concert programs regularly given in Managua, both

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[35] Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 185.
[36] Women in their late teens and early twenties from middle and upper class society.
[37] Nicaraguan feminism pushed for suffrage and the presence of women in political life, while the "modern woman" dealt with autonomy and expression in the public sphere. Michel Gobat has noted that while some gentlewomen from Conservative families took part in U.S. fashions, they did not necessarily consider it a feminist expression.
[38] Gobat, *Confronting*, 184. Gobat points to "modern" goods as "silk stockings, sleeveless dresses, and lipstick"; and forms to entertainment in "going to the cinema and dance halls, playing or watching sports, and riding around in automobiles."
[39] Ibid. Gobat asserts those goods and leisurely activities to have been the result of a "post-war revolution in communications and the 1920s economic boom." However, I would add that the intervention perhaps facilitated the transmission of modern goods and entertainment into Nicaragua through economic and commercial mechanisms facilitated closer to the beginning of the intervention.
[40] Ibid., 185.

of which were linked to some degree, in an effort to build a picture of the presence of the fox-trot as a highly-desired music. Additionally, I will briefly address the presence of the player piano derived from the scant yet available source material.

The global commercialization of the player piano coincided with the intervention in Nicaragua as "the heyday of the player piano in Latin America extended through the 1910s and 1920s."[41] Despite a lack of source material on the player piano in Nicaragua, there are a few details that suggest it was a strong channel for U.S.-American imported popular music.[42] The first concerns the number of instrument dealers in Managua, representatives of companies based in the United States. There were agents for three makers of commercially available player pianos in the capital during the first decade of the intervention—Starr Piano Company (Figure 4.1),[43] Aeolian Company,[44] and Rudolph Wurlitzer Company.[45] Dealers rarely listed their piano roll stock, often leaving the terms "classical" and "dance" music as sufficient to tempt the potential customer in a given advertisement. However, the agent for Wurlitzer, Indalecio Hernández (1860–1933),

[41] Sergio Ospina Romero, "Ghosts in the Machine and Other Tales around a 'Marvelous Invention': Player Pianos in Latin America in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72/1 (2019): 22.
[42] Ospina Romero cites a 1915 study by Alfred Thomas Marks regarding U.S. exports of musical instruments and musical merchandise, showing Nicaragua to have had a demand for player pianos, among other kinds of keyboards. Although the leger cited only covers the period from July 13–June 1914, it does offer a tempting potential for further research; see Ospina Romero, "Ghosts," 16.
[43] Deogracias Rivas sold Starr automatic pianos in Managua as early as January of 1915; see "Acaban de llegarme…," *El Comercio* (Managua), January 14, 1915.
[44] Dionisio Villa V. sold Aeolian player pianos in Managua as early as May of 1918; see "Tres distintivos del pianola-piano," *El Comercio* (Managua), May 2, 1918.
[45] Indalecio Hernández sold Wurlitzer player pianos in Managua as early as December of 1916; see "Indalecio E. Hernández. Profesor de piano y canto," *El Comercio* (Managua), December 31, 1916.

published a detailed list of stock at least once in March of 1924, targeting a local, insatiable demand for fox-trots with over a dozen of the "loveliest and newest" pieces on piano roll, and at least one as sheet music.[46] Delgadillo did not care much for the player piano, and much less for Hernández, to whom he referred as "that Mexican of the pianolas."[47] His personal opinion of Hernández notwithstanding, Delgadillo once claimed to prefer the Aeolian Company, "because [their pianolas] could delight the finest audience through the performance of the most difficult piano music."[48] The sound of the player piano was heard in the home, school, cantina, and social club, washing over these spaces with imported popular music. Nicaraguan journalist and writer Hernán Robleto constructed a particularly vivid description of a player piano in a cantina setting in his anti-interventionist novel *Los estrangulados* (The Strangled Ones, 1933), painting a dystopian image of its mechanism and lack of humanity in the performance: "The piano strikes the notes of an outlandish fox-trot. No-one sits at the little bench of the piano—it is mechanical, soulless, [and] with little more inflection than the pulsation of the electrical current."[49] The fictional depiction by Robleto, a mirror of reality, also pointed

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[46] "Almacén de música, pianos y pianos automáticos," *Faces y Facetas*, March 6, 1924. A Mexican composer and pianist, Hernández knew his clientele quite well. He had resided in Nicaragua since early 1906, following his appointment as director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes, and established a piano studio and dealership in Managua during the early years of the intervention. He and his wife Catalina Talamante ran the music school Colegio Santa Cecilia.
[47] Pedro Roa, "Tipos intelectuales. Luis A. Delgadillo," *Los Domingos*, April 27, 1919. "…aquel Mejicano de las pianolas."
[48] Luis A. Delgadillo, *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1919), 5. "…que puede deleitar al mejor público haciendo oír las más grandes dificultades pianísticas."
[49] Hernán Robleto, *Los estrangulados: El imperialismo yanqui en Nicaragua* (Madrid: Editorial Cenit, 1933), 30. "El piano ataca las notas de un fox estrambótico. Nadie hay sentado en el banquito del piano: aquello es mecánico, sin alma, sin más inflexiones que las que marca la corriente eléctrica."

to a cultural fatigue that had set-in by the end of the intervention. The ubiquitous presence of the player piano and fox-trot reached a point, like the intervention, where they outstayed their welcome.

Figure 4.1. Advertisement for Starr Piano Co. player pianos, Managua, 1915. Source: *El Comercio*.[50]

Victor Recordings of Nicaraguan Composers

By the time the Victor Talking Machine Company released its first recording of music by a Nicaraguan composer in 1914—the waltz "Club Social" by Carlos Ramírez Velásquez (1882–1976)[51]—the company had led the market for record players, or

[50] "Acaban de llegarme…."
[51] Carlos Ramírez Velásquez, "Club social vals," Victor matrix B-15278, *Discography of American Historical Recordings*," accessed March 29, 2018, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/700000270/B-15278-Club_social_vals. The Victor ledgers listed the recording "for export."

phonographs, on a global scale for many years.[52] Much of its international success came from an exacting yet somewhat flexible business model that met demands of consumer cultures outside of the United States. With the establishment of Manuel Riguero as an "exclusive agent" in Managua by July of 1919,[53] the model was extended to middle- and upper-class Nicaraguans: the purchase of a Victrola phonograph, and any number of records, promised to elevate the lifestyle of an individual and meet their cosmopolitan desires by "listening to the best artists in the world."[54] Riguero advertised in local magazines and newspapers throughout much of the intervention, tempting readers with free accessories or installment payment plans (Figure 4.2).[55] He sometimes adjusted the boilerplate in advertisements by listing the names of those who had purchased a Victrola,[56] or by publishing a detailed inventory of the latest 78rpms on offer. The former reinforced or fomented societal aspirations, while the latter reminded Victrola owners that there was a standard of lifestyle to be maintained. The advertisement may have also

[52] For a historical account of the Victor Talking Machine Company, see William Howland Kenney, "His Master's Voice," in *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890–1945* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 44–64. Referred to as "Victor" from this point forward.
[53] "Para bailar," *El Comercio* (Managua), July 2, 1919. Riguero was also an agent for other U.S. American businesses, including the Ford Motor Company and the Singer Sewing Machine, among others.
[54] "Discos Victor." *Los Domingos*, August 24, 1919. "…oyendo los mejores artistas del mundo."
[55] Of the other two internationally successful recording companies, Columbia and Edison, only the former had a representative in Nicaragua. José Gordillo was the agent for Columbia Records in Managua as early as August 1920; see "Today's Music Today," *Los Domingos*, August 26, 1920.
[56] "Encargó usted la suya?" *La Noticia Ilustrada*, October 9, 1927.

been meant to simply entice potential customers. Riguero also managed "sub-agents" in other Nicaraguan cities.[57]

Figure 4.2. An advertisement for Victrola phonographs by dealer Manuel J. Riguero, Managua, 1919. Source: *El Comercio*.[58]

The Victor agent in Managua, as in other parts of Latin America, was not just a dealer, or a one-way distributor of goods, but a procurer of music manuscripts for potential addition to the company catalog.[59] There is no extant information from the period as to the approach Riguero took in gathering new repertoire for Victor, but a brief

[57] "Manuel J. Riguero," *Mensajero*, February 1924. Riguero's sub-agents were César A. Terán (León), Manuel A. Arcia (Granada), Félix Saravia (Chinandega), and F. González (Carazo [Department], Matagalpa).
[58] "La alegría del hogar," *El Comercio* (Managua), Aug. 20, 1919.
[59] For an examination of the Victor Talking Machine Company in Latin America, see Sergio Ospina Romero, "Recording Studios on Tour: The Expeditions of the Victor Talking Machine Company through Latin America, 1903–1926," PhD diss., Cornell University, 2019.

recollection found in a music manuscript decades later gives a glimpse of the process. In the last years of his life, Carlos Ramírez Velásquez noted in an instrumental part to his waltz "Carmencita," released by Victor in 1918,[60] "I wrote this waltz, more or less, forty five years ago. Mr. Manuel J. Riguero sent it to Victor and the records [later] arrived in Nicaragua."[61] In general, Riguero likely sent or delivered a manuscript piano score to Victor where its Foreign Department division orchestrated, recorded, and selected the best "rendition," translating the title and other information for the catalog, and placing it on the market.[62] Some of the music by Nicaraguan composers made its way back to Managua where Riguero sold it alongside hundreds of other options. The repertoire by local composers thus contributed to the Nicaraguan lifestyle, and affirmed a notion of national identity, as it met the demands of cosmopolitan tastes or aspirations.

Works by Nicaraguan composers represented in the Victor catalog were produced from 1914–1930, spanning most of the intervention period.[63] The Nicaraguan market was the primary target, and in a few instances, elsewhere in Latin America, many sold under

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[60] Carlos Ramírez Velásquez, "Carmencita," *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, Victor matrix B-21420, accessed March 29, 2018, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/700006536/B-21420-Carmencita.

[61] Carlos Ramírez Velásquez, Waltz "Carmencita," Manuscript part, violin II, Caja 1, no. 17, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. "Este Valse lo escribí, hace más o menos, 45 años. Don Manuel J. Riguero lo envió a la Victor y llegaron discos a Nicaragua." In another of his works, the same waltz released by Victor in 1914, the channel to the company was different. Ramírez Velásquez recalled, "I dedicated this first waltz to the Social Club of Masaya, premiered in 1915 (sic). The club then sent it to Victor and the records [later] arrived." ("Este primer Valse lo dediqué al Club Social de Masaya y se estrenó en 1915 (sic). El Club, lo mando a la Victor y [vinieron los] discos.")

[62] For a detailed autobiographical account by one of Victor's resident conductors who recorded hundreds of works by non-U.S. American composers, and was directly involved in the production process, see Nathaniel Shilkret, *Nathaniel Shilkret: Sixty Years in the Music Business*, ed. Niel Shell and Barbara Shilkret (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005).

[63] See appendix F.

the Victor "Black Label," signaling recordings whose principal categorization was "ethnic," meaning, "non-[U.S.]American music."[64] Victor recorded approximately 109 works, representing fourteen Nicaraguan composers—none of which are locatable at present, making it especially problematic to determine which, if any, were also texted.[65] Surprisingly, the variety of musical genre is somewhat narrow, but perhaps telling of a commercial demand: dance music is the most prevalent alongside a small number of songs, including recordings of the Nicaraguan National Anthem. Of the nineteenth-century dances, the waltz is most ample, with the pasillo, bolero, and gavota to a much lesser degree. As for the modern dances, the one-step and the tango are minimally present. The fox-trot outshines in number all other music in the catalog. It was not only the most often recorded dance type, but nearly every Nicaraguan composer in the catalog produced at least one, some by the dozen. Nicaraguan composers without fox-trots in the catalog, nevertheless, were well-known to Nicaraguan audiences, including José de la Cruz Mena (1874–1907) and Hernán Zúñiga (1855–1918).[66] The presence of Nicaraguan composers in the Victor catalog did the cultural work of musical nationalism because it

[64] For an examination of "ethnic" Victor recordings, see William Howland Kenney, "The Phonograph and the Evolution of 'Foreign' and 'Ethnic' Records," in *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890–1945* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 44–64.

[65] A few carried the label "canción," generaly, an explicit signal of a texted work, but there may be other which were songs are can only be confirmed through audition.

[66] See Appendix E. For biographical accounts of José de la Cruz Mena, see H. Isaías Ulloa, "José de la Cruz Mena," *Los Domingos* (Managua), May–Jul., 1922; Gratus Halftermeyer, *José de la Cruz Mena: biografía, 1874–1907* (Leon: Tipografía "Hospicio," 1941); Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Mena, su vida y su obra* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1949); and Edgardo Buitrago, *José de la Cruz Mena: su vida y su obra* (Leon: UNAN, 1963). For a biography of Hernán Zúñiga, see Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Breviario del recuerdo. Antología de músicos nicaragüenses* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945), 137–139.

reinforced notions of the imagined community through a social medium of local entertainment.[67]

Various aspects of the fox-trot by Nicaraguan composers in the Victor catalog reveal details beyond the recording itself, and illuminate the different social contexts for which it was produced in Nicaragua. Foxtrots appear in recording no earlier than 1922, and span nearly the rest of the intervention, yet some were composed as early as 1919. Their titles represent social contexts or purposes for which they were originally created: social dancing—*bailes* (balls or dances) and beauty pageants; *Parque Central* concerts; basketball teams; explicitly patriotic or nationalist character; or other dedicatory purposes.[68]

Balls, beauty pageants, and *Parque Central* concerts are connected to the courting rituals of single adults, as well as the contexts in which women of marrying age were expected to take part in social dancing, a preferred activity of the "modern [Nicaraguan] woman."[69] Numerous titles in the catalog carry the first names of women, in full or diminutive form, sometimes the names of men, or refer to physical attributes, each suggesting a dedicatory purpose.[70] Basketball was closely related to the previous social activities. The exclusive domain of gentlewomen, many of the competitive basketball clubs formed from 1923 onward in the capital and nearby cities had their own fox-trot,

[67] The sole example of musical nationalism *with* nationalist style in the catalog is the unattributed recording of the cradle song "Duerme niñito," arranged as a fox-trot; see Appendix E.
[68] Some carry abstract titles which defy all of these categorizations.
[69] Gobat, *Confronting*, 185.
[70] The sole exception is the fox-trot "Rosibel Riguero," dedicated to the daughter of the Victor agent in Managua, and composed by Gilberto Vega Miranda.

and was, on occasion, published as sheet music in women's magazines.[71] According to Gobat, fans often celebrated team "victories at evening parties where young men and women danced the fox-trot."[72] The fox-trots "Club Alpino" by Carlos Tünnermann López and "Club Deportivo" by Gilberto Vega Miranda in the Victor catalog represent the very first organized teams in Managua.[73]

Works of a patriotic or nationalist character sometimes carried one word titles (e.g. "Patria" or "Nica"), or perhaps referred to figures from the Nicaraguan historical imaginary. The fox-trot "El cacique Tenderí," originally titled "Mister Tenderí," by Alejandro Vega Matus, was an immediate success at its premier in November of 1923, approximately a year before the Victor release. An observer noted, "[the piece] has translated all of the sentimentalism of the indigenous race," revealing contemporary if problematic perceptions of indigenous people and their musical representation in popular music.[74] Other fox-trot titles are much less clear as to their original purpose or context, but nevertheless hint at a prevailing aesthetic or sentiment. The presence of fox-trots by native composers in the Victor catalog is an indication of their commercial viability and success during the latter half of the intervention.[75] The few dozen in the Victor catalog are a mere glimpse, a small fraction, of the many fox-trots created or imported for social

[71] Among the magazines that published sheet music were *Los Domingos, Faces y Facetas*, and *Mujer nicaragüense*.
[72] Gobat, *Confronting*, 191.
[73] See Appendix F.
[74] "Algo sobre música," *Los Domingos*, November 4, 1923. "…se haya traducido todo el sentimentalismo de la raza indígena."
[75] According to one Victor ledger, the fox-trot "As rojo" by Alejandro Vega Matus sold 11661 copies. Other also sold into the thousands; see Appendix F.

dancing in the capital. Each work by native composer is thus a vestige of a rich production once sustained by local demand for musical entertainment.

The extant manuscripts and editions of fox-trots by Nicaraguans exhibit similarities in form and content, likely modeled as a whole after a received U.S.-American type. The fox-trot "Dulce y sabroso" (Sweet and Savory) by Delgadillo is an apt example of those produced in Nicaragua from 1919 onward.[76] Moreover, the work is the only one whose path from composition to recording is clearly traceable over a period of years. Delgadillo completed the piano score, possibly for use as a short score, on May 22, 1919.[77] In an arrangement for military band, Humberto Rivas directed the Banda de los Supremos Poderes at its premiere exactly one month later at *Parque Central*.[78] Not long after relocating to Mexico City in late 1921, Delgadillo published the piano version with a local music printer, Salvador Cabrera,[79] and registered it under Mexican copyright

[76] My general observations are based on a comparison of extant fox-trots by Delgadillo in manuscript score—"No tiene nombre," Mi Juanín," "En la ciudad que alegría" from *La rosa del paraíso* (1924), and "Un pollo de bigotito" from *Pájaros del norte* (1936)—or incomplete instrumental parts—"El zanatillo"; and those by Nicaraguan composers published in installments in the women's magazine *Faces y Facetas*—"Mario" (Santos José Cermeño), "Firpino" (Evaristo Espinoza), "Ecos del norte" (Ramón Ruiz V.), "Nena" (Carlos Tünnermann López), "Clotilde" by Ramiro Vega Jiménez, and "Bella Angelita" (Gilberto Vega Miranda); in *Los Domingos*—"Tollita," "Lola Abaunza," and "María Ernestina" (Gilberto Vega Miranda), "Amame siempre!" [texted] and "Gretchen" (Carlos Tünnermann López), "Sueños de un niño" (Arturo José Medal), "Mina" (Alberto Ramírez G.), and "Aisabé kikí" (Carlos Ramírez Velásquez); and a single instance of an intervention-era fox-trot in manuscript—"Club Alpino" (Carlos Tünnermann López), copied by Pedro J. González M. on April 4, 1962, months after the composer's death.
[77] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Dulce y sabroso" for piano (May 22, 1919), Manuscript score, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.
[78] "Información. Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 22, 1919.
[79] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Dulce y sabroso" for piano, Printed score, Mexico City: Salvador Cabrera, 1922.

the following year (Figure 4.3).[80] Victor recorded an in-house arrangement with the Orquesta Internacional in late February of 1923, releasing it for export approximately seven months later.[81] The otherwise inaccessible ensemble arrangements aside, the piano version changes little between the autograph manuscript (1919) and the published edition (1922). The form of the work is binary (each section repeats), with an introduction. In typical fashion, the B section modulates, in this instance, to the relative major.[82] Following a complete pass through the work, it is repeated entirely, minus the introduction, reflecting it practical purpose as music for dancing. The technical demands of the work are not great. It was perhaps meant more for the amateur than a professional pianist, though the published edition has a slightly more active left hand in the B section. Surprisingly, in a notable departure from the extant fox-trots I have examined by Nicaraguan composers, Delgadillo included a metronome marking in the autograph manuscript, later removed from the edition. The tempo of 80 beats per minute to the half note, accompanied by a *moderato* indication, reflects an aspect of style transmission from the U.S.-American fox-trot to its Nicaraguan counterpart.

[80] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Miscelánea mexicana," *Los Domingos*, March 12, 1922. Delgadillo earned 40% from the sale of each copy.
[81] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Dulce y sabroso," Victor matrix B-27632, *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, Accessed March 30, 2018, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800001603/B-27632-Dulce_y_sabroso.
[82] The B sections of other fox-trots also modulated, though they varied as to their direction: the submediant, subdominant, relative minor, parallel major (if the work is in a minor key), and dominant.

Figure 4.3. Luis A. Delgadillo, fox-trot "Dulce y sabroso," title page of Mexican edition. Source: UNAM.

Parque Central Concerts, 1919

With his return as director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes in early January of 1919, Delgadillo resumed the duties he had held in the same position from 1915–1917: the musical preparation and education of the principal Nicaraguan military band, as well as the selection of its repertoire for official ceremonies and entertainments, which

consisted of regular weekly concerts at *Parque Central* in Managua.[83] Delgadillo or his assistant director, Humberto Rivas, conducted performances on Thursdays and Sundays, and began well into the evening at 8pm.[84] A U.S. Marine once observed the ambience of *Parque Central* concerts—their social and political implications, and the quality of the performance—noting, with a certain poetic flair,

> the local beauties vie with each other in displaying their various plumes and wares with assumed Parisian miens and strides to match. The local sheiks, scions of officiales (sic) and politicos, of past and present regimes, likewise assume a courtly dignity in their leisurely strides to the musical renderings. In their acknowledgement of a smile from some local belle, they will outdo the most ardent cavalier in curtseying… The Nicaraguans are enthusiastic musicians, and the band, comprising only 25 or 30 players, affords some excellent classical music. This band is called the 'President's Own,' and usually plays at all official functions and military parades by the Nicaraguan forces.[85]

This observation reveals an inherent social dynamic at *Parque Central* concerts: the courting rituals of middle- and upper-class men and women of marrying age. However, given the context, the description did not include any mention or suggestion of social dancing, presumably, as concert programs normally included modern dances, a collective repertoire specifically for dancing. And yet it may have been an unspoken feature, nonetheless, in that the same courting rituals included dancing in similar contexts (e.g. private balls and parties). The assessment of Nicaraguan musicians and the quality of the music, a rare instance of its documentation, is a testament to the level of music-

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[83] "Programa del primer concierto del maestro Delgadillo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jan. 11, 1919. Nicaraguan composer and dance band leader Alejandro Vega Matus held the directorship of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes through much of the previous year, with Gilberto Bermúdez as his assistant; see "El último acuerdo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jan. 29, 1918.
[84] For a detailed listing of the programs given in 1919, see Appendix G. Rivas may have been a not-too-distant relative as Delgadillo's mother shared the same surname (maiden).
[85] "Nicaragua and the United States Marines." *The Leatherneck* 7/12, March 15, 1924.

making and its impression on an outsider, someone relatively knowledgeable about art music, who deemed it worthy of mention for a contemporary U.S. Marine readership.[86]

Delgadillo selected the music for each program, typically made up of six or seven pieces, and he often arranged or composed new works to complement those already in the band repertoire.[87] The works in a given concert, which mixed art and popular music, were drawn from European, U.S.-American, or Nicaraguan sources, and adapted to the instrumentation of the ensemble—woodwinds, brass, and percussion. Each concert program drew from various genres of repertoire: Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italian, French, and German opera, Spanish zarzuela, waltzes, and marches were interwoven with U.S.-American popular songs, martial music, and modern dances (especially, the one-step and fox-trot).[88] Although infrequent, concert programs included waltzes, fox-trots, and one-steps by Nicaraguan composers throughout the year. Delgadillo also made arrangements of music by Renaissance or Baroque composers, a repertoire he introduced at *Parque Central* concerts during his first tenure as director (1915–1917), in an effort to entertain and educate Managua audiences with music he perceived to be little-known in the capital. In the culture magazine *Los Domingos*, he noted, "the Banda de los Supremos Poderes… is committed to the interpretation of ancient and modern music by the finest composers, in order to thus contribute a grain of

[86] *The Leatherneck* was a periodical for internal consumption in the U.S. Marines.
[87] An added responsibility of his was to enlarge the music library.
[88] Despite its nineteenth-century European origins and associated characteristics, waltz music could have different dance patterns other than its traditional ones, as can been seen in certain modern dances: the Boston, hesitation, and lame duck, among others.

sand to the urgent development of music in Nicaragua."[89] To this end, he programmed two concerts around a central theme in 1919: "Italian School" and religious music. The latter is of particular interest as music of a religious nature appears to have been rarely heard outside of a church context. In the concert announcement,[90] which included a detailed program, Delgadillo explained his motivation for the thematic focus in an accompanying program note (Figure 4.4).[91]

Figure 4.4. Concert Program, Banda de los Supremos Poderes, July 10, 1919.

1. Egmont—Obertura—Beethoven.
2. Ave María de Gounod.
3. Stabat Mater—Inflamatus—Rossini.
4. Kirie de una misa de Palestrina (arreglo: Delgadillo).
5. El Rosario—Música de Nevin.
6. Célebre Largo de Haendel.

As the reader will note, almost all of the music on program today is intentionally religious, which exists in the repertoire arranged by distinguished foreign arrangers or composers of music. It is only fair that Protestants, atheists, and the indifferent should enjoy all manner of works in public, including the same sacred music, which, far from being prohibited by His Holiness [The Pope] for interpretation outside of church, even appears within secular music, as in ancient and modern opera. In this way, we remember *La Vestale*, *Cavallería Rusticana*, *Aida*, *Faust*, *Lohengrin*, etc.

Those unaccustomed to attending church may listen to good religious music [later] today without any obligation of knowing as to how it was created or to which genre it belongs, the true dilettante searching for the best manner in which to feel art, in the same way one savors a magnificent delicacy that only the chef knows the recipe for giving it flavor.[92]

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[89] Luis A. Delgadillo, "De la evolución musical," *Los Domingos*, January 12, 1919. "…la Banda de los Supremos Poderes… se permita ejecutar música antigua y moderna de los mejores autores, para contribuir así con un grano de arena a la perentoria evolución de la música en Nicaragua."
[90] Concert programs for the Banda de los Supremos Poderes were typically printed in the local newspaper *La Tribuna*.
[91] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 10, 1919.
[92] Ibid. "Como verá el público lector, casi toda, de intento, la música del programa de hoy es música religiosa, que existe en el repertorio arreglada por ilustres arregladores o compositores de música, extranjeros. Es justo que también protestantes, ateos e indiferentes *amateurs* gocen al oír en lugar público toda clase de obras, incluyendo la misma música sacra, que lejos de estar prohibida por Su Santidad para ejecutarse fuera del templo, aparece aun entre la música profana,

In spite of the unusual mixture of religious and pseudo-religious music—including the decidedly non-religious arrangement of the aria "Ombra mai fu" from the opera *Serse* by George Frideric Handel, listed simply as the "Celebrated Largo by Handel,"—Delgadillo apparently programmed a concert that was no different to a secular equivalent if a certain demographic is taken into account. Beyond the ecumenical concept behind the program, the typical *Parque Central* concert catered to a potential audience chiefly made up of Nicaraguans (Catholics), U.S-Americans (Protestants), and Europeans (Catholics, Protestants, Jewish).[93] The religious theme was thus another way of entertaining the same audience, perhaps giving them something different to appreciate, and another lens with which to understand them, even if the absence of the typical repertoire might have been more of a surprise for regular attendees. Furthermore, Delgadillo seems to have been quite proud of the concert programming.[94] In concluding the program note with a cooking analogy—in essence, suggesting himself to be a "chef" who was in on a secret—he projected a position of power as a guardian of musical knowledge, and set himself apart from contemporaries.

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como la ópera antigua y moderna; así recordamos, *La Vestale*, *Cavallería Rusticana*, *Aida*, *Fausto*, *Lohengrin*, etc. / Los que no acostumbran ir a la iglesia, pueden hoy, pues, escuchar buena música religiosa, sin estar en la obligación de saber cómo se hizo ni qué género es, buscando el verdadero diletante la mejor manera de SENTIR el Arte, como se paladea un magnífico manjar, que sólo el cocinero sabe la fórmula para darle sabor."

[93] Atheism was an identity found in Latin America at the time, especially in Mexico. I know of no literature on atheism in Nicaragua.

[94] Victor M. Zúniga, a member of the band, published an essay in *Los Domingos*, criticizing Delgadillo for his treatment of the mass section by Palestrina, and added that the church was a more appropriate site for its presentation; see Victor M. Zúniga, "Motivos de arte y de crítica. Enseñanza y vulgarización," *Los Domingos*, June 29, 1919.

The *Parque Central* concerts in 1919 were also a venue for which Delgadillo composed new works—art and popular music—especially those considered *música nacional*, or works with a nationalist function, usually signaled by the title. He had already tested the waters during his first tenure as director with *Aires populares de Nicaragua* (Traditional Airs from Nicaragua, 1916),[95] but it had been an arrangement and not a wholly original work. This time around he produced one of his first nationalist compositions—*Escenas pastoriles* (Pastoral Landscapes, 1919)—a four-movement programmatic suite depicting *campesino* life and the countryside.[96] He included a short descriptive note of each movement in the published concert announcement, and closed with the suggestion, "Listen without prejudice, and you will then be able appreciate such a serious musical endeavor."[97] In presenting his this composition, Delgadillo felt the need to remind, perhaps educate, the public of the respect his music deserved; and by extension, respect for music as a profession.

From the middle of 1919, audiences were treated once in a while to fox-trots by Delgadillo—"Dulce y sabroso,"[98] "Mexicanas de Vera Cruz,"[99] and "El zanatillo"[100]—

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[95] This work is not extant. It was first performed in late 1916; see "Un Voltaire músico?" *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 27, 1916. And subsequently in March of 1917; see "El concierto de hoy," *La Noticia* (Managua), Mar. 4, 1917. It was also presented in September of 1919; see Appendix G.

[96] See Chapter 6. The version for band has not survived, but a later version for orchestra is extant; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Escenas pastoriles (Suite orquestal)" for orchestra, Manuscript score and parts, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.

[97] "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 5, 1919. "Escúchese sin prevención y se podrá entonces apreciar tan seria labor musical."

[98] "Información. Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 22, 1919.

[99] "Programa de los conciertos…," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 14, 1919. This work is not extant.

[100] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 29, 1919.

the last of which signaled his practice of musical nationalism with music in a nationalist style.[101] As I will address below, although he was ambivalent about the effects of U.S.-American popular music in Nicaragua, especially the fox-trot (literally and symbolically), he nevertheless composed music in a popular vein, while appeasing desires for fashionable dances, as a matter of professional obligation in his role as director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes. Premiered on June 29, Delgadillo sought to "cultivate Nicaraguan folklore" by presenting "El zanatillo" (The Little Zanate Bird), a traditional "humoristic and danceable" song known for its "roguish text," in the form of a fox-trot.[102] And with this gesture, aside from revealing a personal sense of humor, Delgadillo created a "current [U.S.] American music with an explicitly local or native flavor, [thereby] promoting true popular song."[103] The presence of U.S.-American (fox-trot musical characteristics) and Nicaraguan ("El zanatillo" melody) elements gave way to a new type of cultural musical expression in Nicaragua, notably represented in a number of nationalist compositions by Delgadillo, yet there were other Nicaraguans who produced similar works.[104]

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[101] Delgadillo also composed fox-trots in 1920, none of which are extant, including "La serbulita," "La escuadra," and "Contestando a Hindostán"; see "Programa del concierto," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jan. 4, 1920; "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jan. 4, 1920; and *La Tribuna* (Managua), Mar. 14, 1920.

[102] Ibid., "…música humorística y danzante, con letra picaresca… Luis A. Delgadillo cultiva de esta manera el *folk-lore* nicaragüense…"

[103] Ibid., "…música de actualidad americana con sabor netamente lugareño o autóctono, así se fomenta la verdadera canción popular…"

[104] In an open letter concerning the state of Nicaraguan music following the end of the intervention, wherein he lauded efforts on the part of Delgadillo to foment a *música nacional*, José Santamaría noted without giving any detail that Alejandro Vega Matus and Carlos Ramírez Velásquez had composed dance music incorporating musical material from rural areas; see José Santamaría, "Música," *La Reacción* (Granada, Nicaragua), Apr. 15, 1934.

Local composers produced works to meet the demands for U.S.-American popular music, or dance music associated with Europe, in and out of Managua. Delgadillo included six native composers in the concert programs for 1919,[105] mostly waltzes[106]; the only exceptions were the one-step "Yo sé, que no sé"[107] (I Know That I Do Not Know) by Carlos Ramírez Velásquez, and the fox-trot "Revista femenina"[108] by Carlos Tünnermann López.[109] This was only the beginning, however, as Nicaraguan composers became adept throughout the rest of the intervention in creating modern dances, to the extent that there would be an acknowledged fox-trot particular to Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan fox-trot was a new cultural phenomenon, a product of the process of transculturation.[110] In encapsulating this process, including those produced in Central America, Delgadillo noted the Nicaraguan fox-trot to be "a *yanqui* music with meaningful nuances of lyricism particular to Latin American romanticism. Such are Central American fox-trots—wanting to be black [African American], they are [instead]

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[105] Delgadillo promoted the music of native composers during his first tenure (1915–1917), a facet he claimed did not exist prior to his direction; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Consejos sinceros para los jóvenes compositores," *La Tribuna* (Managua), May 13, 1917.
[106] Among these composers were two former directors of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes, including José Antonio Zapata and Alejandro Vega Matus; see Appendix G.
[107] "Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Oct. 19, 1919.
[108] "Programa del concierto de hoy en el parque," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Nov. 20, 1919.
[109] The latter dedicated to, and taking the title of, the first women's magazine published in Nicaragua.
[110] Originating in 1940 with Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz, the term transculturation has been employed to mark a particular kind of cultural process. In my use of the term, I draw from the work of scholar Diana Taylor, who describes it as "the transformative process undergone by a society in the acquisition of foreign cultural material."[110] The process consists of three stages: "[1]the acquisition of new cultural material from a foreign culture, [2] the loss or displacement of one's own culture, and [3] the creation of new cultural phenomena"; see Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 94 and 104. Taylor bases her definition on Ortiz and Uruguayan writer Ángel Rama.

of a Spanish or *criollo* character."[111] It is unclear exactly as to what Delgadillo meant by "meaningful nuances of lyricism" or "Latin American romanticism," qualities that may have been apparent only to him. He was, nonetheless, categorically marking difference from U.S.-American fox-trots, while establishing an equation: the Spanish/*criollo* as Nicaraguan. This consideration puts his own fox-trots in a new light, which may explain their production beyond mere professional obligation. Delgadillo valued his own fox-trots, and those of other Central Americans, above U.S.-American models because his could not possibly be anything but *criollo*, even if fox-trot "wanted" to be otherwise racially marked. The process of transculturation not only created a new kind of fox-trot, but the work itself was endowed with the racial identity of the composer. As I examine below, Delgadillo explicitly resisted only the U.S.-American fox-trot, and the trappings of modernity it symbolically represented. Thus, his observations regarding the fox-trot were not necessarily reductive value judgements as much as an ongoing negotiation of meaning between the local and foreign, an ambivalence he embodied in the face of a U.S. cultural onslaught during the intervention.

Delgadillo included U.S.-American fox-trots in *Parque Central* concerts, some of which were performed multiple times throughout the year 1919.[112] His programs

[111] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Las dos tendencias musicales de América," *La Revista Musical* 20 (July 1929): 6. "…musica *yanqui* con sentidos matices de lirismo, tan solo propios del romanticismo latino americano. Tales son los *fox* centroamericanos: queriendo ser de negros, son de carácter español o criollo."

[112] He also programmed other U.S.-American popular musics; primarily, one-steps and military marches.

included non-descript pieces such as “Pretty Baby,”[113] “Smiles,”[114] and “Silver Fox,”[115] dances that were likely in fashion at the time, as well as those carrying exoticist titles: “Chin-Chin,”[116] “Indostán,”[117] and “Indianola.” The Banda de los Supremos Poderes performed the latter, “Indianola” by S.R. Henry, four times in 1919.[118] If the 1917 Victor Recording 78rpm is any indication, perhaps an interpretive model imitated by the Banda, the performance practice was marked by an isochronous pulsation in the A and B sections, played by a tenor drum, and an intermittent ululation by several unison voices in the B section—each is a musical signifier evoking an imaginary of the war drum and cry of the Native American.[119] At least one program announcement mentioned the work was selected *a petición* (by request), suggesting a popularity with concertgoers.[120] Only one other U.S.-American fox-trot was heard more often at *Parque Central* concerts in 1919—the World War I themed “Justamente la plegaria de un niño al atardecer” (“Just a Baby’s Prayer at Twilight”). The six performances from the middle of the year onward were

[113] “Más notas. Programs del concierto de hoy,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Mar. 30, 1919; and “Notas. El concierto de hoy, en el Parque Central,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 14, 1919.
[114] “Notas. Concierto de hoy,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Apr. 6, 1919; and “Programa del concierto de hoy,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 20, 1919.
[115] “Concierto de hoy,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 21, 1919.
[116] “Programa del concierto de hoy en el Parque de San Sabastián,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 23, 1919.
[117] “Programa de los conciertos…,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 14, 1919; and “Programa del concierto de hoy,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 28, 1919.
[118] “Notas. El concierto de hoy,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Mar. 16, 1919; “Concierto de gala...,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 4, 1919; “Notas. El concierto de hoy,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 31, 1919; and “Programa de los conciertos…,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 14, 1919.
[119] S.R. Henry, “Indianola,” Victor matrix B-21034, *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, accessed April 7, 2018, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/700006136/B-21034-Indianola.
[120] “Notas. El concierto de hoy,” *La Tribuna* (Managua), Mar. 16, 1919.

likely due to the unusually high regard Delgadillo held for the piece.[121] In what may be the only published commentary in a positive light of an U.S.-American fox-trot, he noted the work to be "an attractive and sweet *Yanki* music, which [he] liked because of its originality."[122] Moreover, the dance contained everything ("minus [genuine] prayer"), he observed, due to its form and character.[123] The last attribute may have been key for Delgadillo. The lyrical quality of the melody, combined with a slow tempo—slower than the typical fox-trot, if the tempo indications in the published vocal score are any guide—framed the text of the piece: a description of a child praying for the safety of her father who is away at war. The subtitle "For Her Daddy 'Over There,' is an apparent reference to the famous texted one-step by George M. Cohan, a work familiar to Managua audiences.[124] There is little likelihood that the fox-trot would have been sung by a member of the Banda, yet the text might have been already known following its release on 78rpm or sheet music in the United States the previous year.[125] Either medium could

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[121] "Más notas. Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 8, 1919; "Concierto de gala...," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 4, 1919; "Notas. Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 19, 1919; "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Aug. 12, 1919; "Programa de los conciertos…," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 14, 1919; and "Programas de los conciertos...," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 25, 1919. The title was consistently published in Spanish translation as either "Plegaria del niño" or "Plegaria del niño al atardecer."

[122] Luis A. Delgadillo, *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1919), 36. "…una bonita y dulce música YANKI, que nos gustó mucho por su originalidad." [Delgadillo's capitalization.]

[123] Ibid., "Un bailable que de todo puede tener, menos de plegaria, por su forma y su carácter."

[124] Performed four times by the Banda in 1919: April 13, May 2, July 4, and August 3; see Appendix G.

[125] The fox-trot was published as sheet music and recorded on 78rpm records; see M.K. Jerome, "Just a Baby's Prayer at Twilight: For Her Daddy Over There," New York: Walter, Berlin & Snyder Co., 1918); "Just a baby's prayer at twilight (For her daddy over there)," Victor matrix B-21439, *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, accessed April 7, 2018, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/700006556/B-21439-Just_a_babys_prayer_at_twilight_For_her_daddy_over_there.

have made its ways to the capital, eventually leading Delgadillo program the work. It may have also informed his fox-trot "Dulce y sabroso," in that their B sections have a remarkably similar four-measure phrase units characterized arched melodies of a narrow range. "Just a Baby's Prayer at Twilight" was one of a number of U.S.-American fox-trots heard in Managua that contributed to not only the first wave of modern dances regularly heard in public and private, but helped to generate a demand for imported popular music—specifically, from the United States—that was the impetus for the local production of popular music based on foreign models.

Embracing the Fox-Trot

The fox-trot appears to have been the most deeply embraced of all U.S.-American popular musics in Nicaragua, imported or local, and consumed by the entire strata of social classes during the intervention. The modern dance was a musical symbol, a meeting ground of cosmopolitan desires and nationalist expressions, from the upper (or elite) and middle classes, to the urban *obrero* and the rural *campesino*.[126] Of the first group, aside from their musical instruments or machines (e.g. Victrolas) in the home, and the public concert, the *baile* (social ball) was a site where the fox-trot took hold of the Nicaraguan imagination and body, allowing for an unprecedented sensual and artistic expression of femininity. Modern dance was part of an exhibition of collective taste and fashion, integral to the social lives of gentlewomen, whose clothes, make-up, and

[126] For a study of social class in Nicaragua during the first half of the twentieth century, see Sofonías Salvatierra, *Ensayo sobre la clase media en Nicaragua* (Managua: Tipografía Progreso, 1951).

hairstyle reflected the expectations of courting rituals. An editorial in *Los Domingos* celebrated one of these: the *pelona*, a woman who wore a bob hairstyle, popularized by Irene Castle in the 1910s.[127] In declaring a preference, the magazine announced a competition for the woman with the best bob. The editorial argued, "It is confusing to see a modern gentlewoman dancing a fox-trot, played by a jazz band, [and] wearing a large bush of hair in the manner of random curls, which would [otherwise] be fine for dancing the calm mazurka of yesteryear. The fox-trot, cinema, automobile, basketball, [and] tennis, all call out for the *coif*."[128] The bob was the hairstyle of choice for the "modern woman," and each of the aforementioned pastimes was a site where they displayed a personal sense of fashion in public. However, only one of these—the "fox-trot," employed by the editorial as an equivalent for social dance environments—was associated with intimacy between women and men. Gentlewomen came into direct contact with potential suitors at balls through the physical intimacy licensed by social dancing norms.[129] A poem by Aura Rostand, pseudonym of María de la Selva (1899–1957),[130] reveals a measure of erotic sensuality present in dance balls by 1923 (Example 4.5).

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[127] Irene Castle, *Castles in the Air* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1958), 116–117.
[128] "Concursos de actualidad. Las pelonas," *Los Domingos*, September 14–15, 1924. "Desentona ver a una señorita de actualidad bailando el *fox* que ejecuta el *jazz*, con una gran mata de pelo en forma de colinas accidentadas, ques estaría bien para bailar la reposada mazurka de antaño. El fox, el cine, el auto, el *basket*, el *tennis*, también piden a gritos la melena."
[129] For a detailed description of the rules and expectations at balls, see "Lecturas de etiquetas. Los bailes," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 5, 1926.
[130] Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *Literatura nicaragüense: siglo XIX e inicios del XX* (Managua: JEA-editor, 2017), 239.

Figure 4.5. Aura Rostand, "The Fox-trot," 1923.[131]

The fox-trot begins
And the soft
Notes deepen…

The lights break
On the beveled mirrors,
And there is a splendor,
A brilliance set alight
Within the soul,
One thousand and one lights…

And they dance…they dance…they dance
Couples…

And in the tepid atmosphere
of the blonde champagne,
One hears ardent words igniting…

And they dance…they dance…they dance
Sweet glances…
Languid glances…

And the crimson mouths
And the black eyes
And the delicate hands,
Play with the music,
In between laughter,
An enchanted game
That spins and excites…

And at the delight
Of soft notes,
Of deep notes,
Cupid laughs!...

Cupid laughs,
He mocks, he runs away,
And he leaves behind
A thousand fantasies…
Poor heart!
Cupid
Does not know
How to dance the fox-trot…

The poem also reveals the Nicaraguan body and mind had absorbed the fox-trot, the extent to which the music—indeed, the general soundscape of the *baile*—was integral to the memory of middle and upper class balls. Moreover, this is an example recalling the observation Pablo Antonio Cuadra made in his letter to a musician friend: it seems the Nicaraguan skeleton may have, indeed, been "becoming *Yanki*."

[131] Aura Rostand, "Fox-trot," *Los Domingos*, March 18, 1923. "Comienza el fox-trot / y las notas / suaves, se ahondan… / Las luces se quiebran / en los bicelados / espejos, / y hay una fulgencia / que enciende en las almas / un deslumbramiento / mil y una noches… / Y bailan…y bailan…y bailan… / parejas… / Y entre el tibio ambiente del rubio champán / se oyen las palabras cálidas que encienden… / Y bailan…y bailan…y bailan… / las miradas dulces… / las miradas lánguidas… / y las bocas rojas / y los ojos negros / y las manos finas, / juegan entre risas / con las armonías / un juego de encanto / que gira y exalta… / Y al encantamiento / de las notas suaves, / de las notas hondas, / se ríe el amor!... / El amor se ríe, / se burla, se escapa, / y mil fantasías / derrama… / ¡Pobre corazón! / el amor / no sabe / bailar el fox-trot…"

Around the same time, Nicaraguan composers wrote fox-trots that elicited labels distinguishing them from their imported counterparts. A number of published memoirs of balls, written primarily by women, sometimes qualified the kind of fox-trot heard and the emotion it evoked. One writer remembered, "…the melody of a joyful [Latin American] fox-trot."[132] Another recalled the contrasting sections and *affekt* of "Corazón the india"[133] (Heart of the Indian Woman) by native composer Alejandro Vega Matus, whose work was alternately referred to as "a tropical fox-trot… a Nicaraguan fox-trot."[134] Other mentions were broader in their descriptions. A brief note in *Los Domingos*, published on October of 1922, advertised the premieres of fox-trots by local composers under the heading *Música Nacional* (National Music), asserting nationalist notions in their textual inscription as Nicaraguan.[135] These examples reveal the work of musical nationalism (presumably) without musical style, yet marked by the demonstrably social function of the Nicaraguan fox-trot.

Fox-trots and other modern dances were not exclusively consumed by the middle and upper classes of Nicaraguan society. And while modern dances might have been transmitted through them via foreign commercial enterprises, other areas of society also appears to have embraced them, especially the foxtrot. There is remarkably little published documentation of cultural desire and expression within social groups

[132] Amelita Velásquez, "Recuerdos del baile de la fantasía," *Faces y Facetas*, January 17, 1924. "…la alegre melodía de un fox-trot latino…"
[133] Victor released a 78rpm of the fox-trot "Corazón de india" in 1923; see Appendix F.
[134] Darío Zúñiga Pallais, "Noche de luz y de Ensueño." *Faces y Facetas*, February 21, 1924. "…un fox tropical… un fox nicaragüense…"
[135] "Música nacional." *Los Domingos*, October 22, 1922.

considered part of the *clase inferior* (lower class) in Nicaraguan society during the intervention.[136] Of these groups, mentions relating to the *obrero* (artisan or worker), however sparse, are revelatory. A brief note in the form of advice, published in 1924, and addressed directly to the *obrero*, recommended the avoidance of vice by reading instruction books for the educational advancement of the family. The writer added that the *obrero* should tell his children to only learn beneficial things, and "before knowing how to dance the fox-trot, one-step, or tango, they should learn homemaking."[137] As with many a proscription, the behavior to avoid was likely the one already present or desired. The *obrero* was thus dancing the fox-trot by the middle of the 1920s (Figure 4.6).

[136] I use the term *clase inferior* in reflection of its employment by Nicaraguan sociologist Sofonías Salvatierra (1882–1964) in two books he authored: *Obrerismo y nacionalidad* (Managua: Tipografía Progreso, 1928); and *Ensayo sobre la clase media en Nicaragua* (Managua: Tipografía Progreso, 1951).

[137] "Consejos," *Los Domingos*, August 24, 1924. "…que antes que saber bailar «Fox trot, One-step o Tango», que aprendan a conocer la ciencia del hogar."

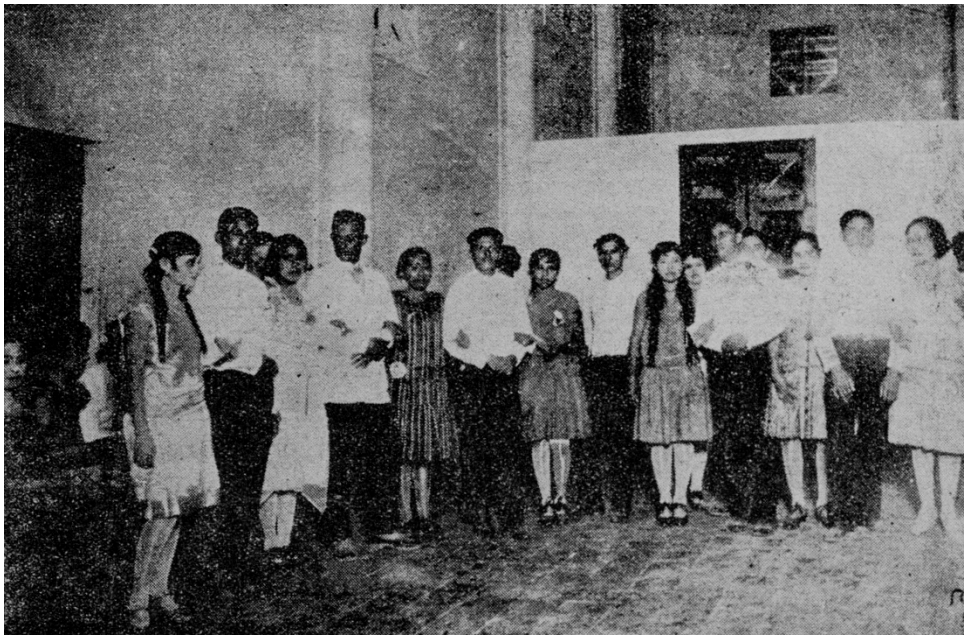

Figure 4.6. A workers' dance. The caption reads, "An aspect of the great obrero ball for General José María Zelaya C., in the salons of the new Municipal Palace, on the night of March 17. [In the photo] appear the beautiful and elegant *obreras*, Chepita Meza, Hermisenda Pérez, Trini Pérez, and Manuelita Díaz." Source: *La Noticia Ilustrada*.[138]

The theme of prohibition was also at the center of an open letter to a "young artisan" published in 1923, in which the poet-priest Azarías Pallais warned the recipient of succumbing to the "dances that are now being danced."[139] In building an argument he ruminated on past civilizations, praising or dismissing their particular dances. The Romans, whom he referred to as the "Yankees of Ancient History," would have easily taken to the one-step and the fox-trot, he argued, yet Pallais disapproved of them in a

[138] "Festivales Simpáticos. Baile obrero al Gral. Zelaya C.," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, March 25, 1928. "Un aspecto del gran baile obrero al General José María Zelaya C., en los salones del nuevo Palacio Municipal, la noche del 17 del corriente. Aparecen las bellas y elegantes obreras, Srtas. Chepita Meza, Hermisenda Pérez, Trini Pérez y Manuelita Díaz."
[139] Azarías Pallais, "Por la honestidad. Cartas a un joven artesano," *Los Domingos*, January 21, 1923. "Bailes que ahora se están bailando."

modern context, especially their corrupting influence on young observant women.[140] Other types of documents also suggest the fox-trot to have been part of *obrero* culture. A Victor recording of the fox-trot "Club obrero" (Workers' Club) by Gilberto Vega Miranda, whose motivation for composing the work remains unclear, suggests it was inspired by a namesake baseball or basketball team, activities typically connected with other classes of society.[141] The scant evidence notwithstanding, social dancing was a part of *obrero* culture. And in reflection of the middle and upper classes, the fox-trot was a symbol of desire, status, and self-identity among the *obrero*.

The presence of the fox-trot and other cosmopolitan expressions in *campesino* (peasant) rural culture is especially difficult to ascertain. A single account, published in 1919, brings into focus just how these expressions might have manifested in the countryside. On a trip to the sierras located immediately to the south of Managua, Gustavo Alemán Bolaños recalled,

> during the evening at the hacienda we had the joy and diversion of female and male farmhands. The guitar was played, and there was a lot of dancing. I would sometimes move gracefully with a barefoot *muchacha*, dancing closely. Our people are so alive! A one-step or fox-trot? Well, exactly as in a New York City cabaret. And there are those talkers among the farmhands, and there is no want of a well-read *campesino* who is familiar with Vargas Vila or that opines on cablegrams. And there are political orators just as in the city.[142]

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[140] Ibid.

[141] The fox-trot was recorded by Victor on June 27, 1930; see Appendix F. The gendered conventions of the Spanish language, while masculine in this case, imply the club to have been for either a men or women's team.

[142] G[ustavo] Alemán Bolaños, "Chronicas marchitas. De la vida en la alta sierra," *Los Domingos*, March 30, 1919. "Por la noche, en la *fazenda*, tenemos la alegría y divertimento de mozas y mozos. Se puntea la guitarra y se danza más y mejor. A veces me deslizo con alguna muchacha de pie descalzo y de bailar zandunguero. ¡Cuán despierta es nuestra gente! ¿Un *one step*, un *fox trot*? Pues, como en cabaré neoyorkino. Y los hay de ellos, de los mozos, conversadores, y no faltan literatos de cotona que leen a [José María] Vargas Vila y comentan los cablegramas. Y hay políticos declamadores como en la ciudad."

The perspective of an incidental participant, someone from outside of the rural community, allows for a glimpse into the presence of the fox-trot in the lives of people of a humble background. And to the typical musical instruments—including the Victrola—and ensembles that interpreted modern dances, the account added the guitar as a possibility for the accompaniment of modern dance music outside of an urban environment.

Resisting the Fox-Trot

As Nicaraguans embraced the fox-trot and its fashionable trappings for much of the intervention, a number of voices criticized it as an instigator of a cultural pandemic, a musical Trojan Horse accompanying U.S.-American capitalism. Delgadillo was among the earliest and most forceful critics of a perceived adulterating influence of the fox-trot on Nicaraguan culture, by which he meant the U.S.-American model of the modern dance. He initially criticized imported popular music in writings of a pedagogic nature, but over time, his tone changed, and the fox-trot became a strident musical symbol of the spread of U.S.-American materialism. Other Nicaraguan musicians shared similar opinions in print, outright claiming the public to be too little educated or interested in anything else. Worse yet, they added, the high-demand for dance music was responsible for the lack of development of Nicaraguan music, music schools, or government-supported programs. The fox-trot was also seen as a human vice alongside smoking and cinema attendance—all consequences of the intervention. Writer Emilia Murillo warned,

while the country fell prey to continuing political intrigue, that Nicaraguans were dancing themselves into a state of blissful and wanton ignorance. Her poem was a cautionary tale in the form of a history lesson (Example 4.7).

Figure 4.7. Emilia Murillo, "El Gallo está cantando..." ("The Rooster Sings…," 1930).

> The vigilant rooster sings for a long time, my friend:
> He expanded his chest
> during the Washington Conventions. [1907]
> He began singing clearly (without deceit) from the
> revolution on the [Caribbean] Coast. [1909]
> He sang sweetly to the tune of the contracts. [1910]
> Hoarse and strong, he sang at the time of the revolution
> of General Mena. [1911]
> He sang rhythmically at the time of the *Lomazo*. [1925]
> He warbled during the Intermezzo. [1926]
> He sang melodically at the last revolution. [1926–1927]
> He now sings a triumphal anthem as an epilogue
> to the comedic Nica-*yanqui* operetta, removing
> the mask of pacification. [1928–]
> He sings, the Saxon sings while….
> here we dance the charleston!"[143]

Published in 1919 in Managua, Delgadillo wrote his *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann* (Commentary on the Advice by Schumann) as a pedagogical tool specifically for aspiring musicians.[144] Yet, aside from its educational function, the book

[143] Emilia Murillo, "El gallo está cantando…," *Revista Mujer Nicaragüense*, November 1930, 9. For more context of the historical references in the poem, see Chapter 1, Table 1.1. "El gallo avizor, está cantando hace mucho / tiempo, amigo mío: Se compuso el pecho / cuando las Convenciones de Washington. / Empezó a cantar claro (ya sin gallos) desde / la revolución de la costa. / Cantó melifluamente al son de los contratos. / Cantó ronco y fuerte cuando la revolución del General Mena. / Cantó en Melopea cuando el Lomazo. / Hizo gorgoritos en el Intermezzo. / Cantó en Melopeya en la última revolución. / Canta ahora—un himno triunfal como epílogo de la opereta bufo-nica-yanqui—, quitándose la careta de la pacificación. / Canta, canta el sajón mientras..... / Aquí bailamos el charlestón!

[144] Delgadillo had broached the subject in a Managua newspaper as early as 1917, but the *Comentarios* book, his second, was a much more ample and refined examination of the topic; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Consejos sinceros para los jóvenes compositores," *La Tribuna* (Managua), May 13, 1917.

carried an agenda critical of U.S.-American popular music and, by extension, the intervention.[145] The book is straightforward in its purpose: Delgadillo translated and transcribed each of Robert Schumann's sixty-four instructions, originally published as a collection in 1850, and added glosses of varying lengths.[146] By presenting the book in this format, Delgadillo at once attached himself to a recognized European composer and tradition, and detached himself from them by making the advice his own through the commentary. Delgadillo did not merely adapt the advice, but transformed it for a Latin American readership, and updated it for a Nicaraguan reality under intervention. Moreover, the "translation" of Schumann was also a strategy for Delgadillo to publicly reinforce his image as a keeper of musical knowledge.

Delgadillo consistently painted U.S.-American modern dances as low quality music or poor models for imitation, variously describing them in the pejorative as *músicas ligeras* (light musics),[147] *músicas ratoneras* (rats nest musics),[148] *hierbillas del pentagrama* (weeds on music staves),[149] or *bonitas imbecilidades de baile* (attractive dance stupidities).[150] Following Schumann, he primarily addressed the aspiring pianist and composer, warning the former to avoid inexpressive or mechanical playing in the manner of a *pianola*—"…the best friends of someone who bangs on the piano are:

[145] Delgadillo, *Comentarios*.
[146] For a recent edition of Schumann's collection, see Robert Schumann, *Robert Schumann's Advice to Young Musicians*, edited by Steven Isserlis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
[147] Delgadillo, *Comentarios*, 19.
[148] Ibid., 28.
[149] Ibid., 57.
[150] Ibid., 50.

disorder, impulse, fox-trots, danzons (sic)";[151] and he recommended the latter to find appropriate instruction because "the rumba, fandangos, *Yanki* songs, [and] even the production of common waltzes have never been good examples of musical education in the world."[152] He allowed for a certain amount of agency in musicians to choose their path—in particular, the amateur—but only lauded those efforts leading to a professional level of ability and understanding. In an essay published two years later, he would lose all patience with the piano aficionado, who "learns fox-trots or little waltzes in 3/4 time as quickly as possible, annoying the entire household," for their lack of interest in a proper musical education, a familiar attitude among gentlewomen student pianists.[153]

Despite the fervor with which Delgadillo took a dialectical approach to the encouragement or proscription of musical values in *Comentarios*, he also declared there to be insufficient institutions for the fomentation of art music—neither complete orchestras, school or conservatories of music, theaters, nor government support for opera companies or orchestras—an observation made for Central America, as a whole.[154] The book appears to have been the continuation of his first book, *Consideraciones generales sobre arte musical en Nicaragua* (1913),[155] which critiqued the lack of public resources and overwhelming presence of U.S.-American popular music in Nicaragua. He returned

[151] Ibid., 8–9. "…los mejores amigos del aporreador de piano son: el desorden, el capricho, los fox-trots y los danzones..."
[152] Ibid., 23. "Nunca en el mundo han sido buen ejemplo de instrucción musical LA RUMBA, los fandangos, los aires YANKIS ni la fértil producción de vulgares valses."
[153] Luis A. Delgadillo, "A los estudiantes de música," *Los Domingos*, February 13, 1921.
[154] Delgadillo, *Comentarios*, 61–62. "Se aprenden a la pura greña y a puro fastidiar al vecino de casa, los *fox-trots* or valsecillos del tres al cuarto."
[155] Luis A. Delgadillo, *Consideraciones generales sobre arte musical en Nicaragua* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1913).

to the subject often in his writings, except he would eventually separate music pedagogy from politico-cultural criticism, although they informed one another and were thus inseparable. And while he remained a committed pedagogue, he would adapt his message and cultural agenda, for an international audience to which he projected in subsequent decades.

Delgadillo was not alone in his reservations about the state of music education in Nicaragua—understood more as music appreciation than literacy or proficiency. Other musicians raised similar concerns in *Los Domingos*. One writer was told by a pianist friend from León of how common it was to be interrupted with requests for a fox-trot while playing art music at receptions.[156] He attributed its repeated occurrence to a general lack of musical appreciation, and respect for local musicians, a condition he also noted was not uncommon in Granada, where the music of choice was *La cucaracha*.[157] The musician Francisco "Paco" Soto Carrión, a recognized bandleader, published a sharp, nationalist critique on the state of Nicaraguan music in June of 1920. He opened by claiming, "Nothing, almost nothing can be said of the art of music in Nicaragua, as little known at present as it was a century ago."[158] In getting to the heart of the matter, and locating the highest point in Nicaraguan music production, he recognized that the *arte patrio* (national art [of music]), which he admitted to be, in fact, "anti-national," could be

[156] Julián Veguero, "De arte. No hay educación musical," *Los Domingos*, February 5, 1921.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Francisco "Paco" Soto Carrión, "La música en Nicaragua," *Los Domingos*, June 20, 1920. "Nada, casi nada se puede decir acerca del arte musical en Nicaragua, tan desconocido ahora como hace un siglo."

reduced to a single type of music: the fox-trot.[159] This fact, he continued, was supported by Nicaraguan society, in general, as it was the music it knew best and preferred. He did not outright claim the problem to be a lack of education or appreciation of art music, as Delgadillo had done, but suggested that music other than popular genres were more or less unknown to the general public. On a technical level, he asserted that Nicaragua resembled other countries, where they could not distinguish music from dance, wherein the pulse was more important than the musical idea. Furthermore, he explained, this notion was supported by the typical dance ensemble in quintet or sextet formation, which included a drum kit, a recent accessory and "always in imitation of the *yanquis*."[160] In addition to public ignorance, he blamed Nicaraguan musicians for their lack of unity and organization in contributing to the state of music appreciation and respect for their profession. And in spite of offering a somber analysis, Soto Carrión closed with an optimistic reminder: time and hope might rectify an otherwise dire situation.[161] He and the previous writer articulated identical concerns to those presented by Delgadillo in *Comentarios*, but the latter would continue to tackle the same issues pertaining to musical culture in Nicaragua until the end of the intervention.

Resistance to the fox-trot was not limited to a criticism of music education or appreciation. Some writers signaled social anxieties toward modern conveniences (Figure 4.8), others tackled societal concerns that warned of a decline in shared values, possibly leading to moral ruin. The basis for the latter was not necessarily anchored in religious

[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid. "…siempre a imitación de los yanquis…"
[161] Ibid.

belief, as might be presumed in discussions of morality, yet for some it took precedent. An editorial in the Conservative women's magazine *Faces y Facetas*, published in January of 1924, lamented an apparent deterioration in a younger generation of adults, whose recreational preferences were evidence of "self-absorption" and "self-annihilation."[162] The writer cited three issues as the problem—the fox-trot (dancing), cinema (immoral propaganda), and the Camel cigarette (smoking). The fox-trot represented the absence of values and customs once held in an almost sacred regard; and was so common that "the best dancers [were] *foxistas* (dancers of the fox-trot)."[163] A result of cinema—*espectáculo mudo* (silent entertainment)—the writer noted, was to promote vice and dishonor in their various manifestations, especially that of free love, which could be solved by something akin to abstinence. The sentiment toward the cinema was not uncommon, and circulated through contemporary periodical literature, regardless of political affinity or readership. An editorial page in *Los Domingos*, published at the beginning of February of 1925, reprinted a polemic against the cinema that had appeared in Mexico City.[164] The author, José Vasconcelos, took issue with the culturally detrimental effects of cinema, which he felt superseded more acceptable forms of recreation and entertainment. Echoing the *Faces y Facetas* editorial, he succinctly dispatched, "the stupid cinema: incubator of a generation of the blind, a school of vulgarity, an example of poor taste, [and] a seedy establishment of erotic fumbling in

[162] "Fox-Cine-Camel," *Faces y Facetas*, January 24, 1924.
[163] Ibid., "…los mejores bailarines son los foxistas… bailadores del fox."
[164] José Vasconcelos, "La forma de divertirse," *Los Domingos*, February 1, 1925. This was an article originally printed in a Mexico City newspaper.

rhythm with the grotesque tripping of the fox-trot."[165] The cinema was a site were the fox-trot was not danced, but either seen (on screen) or heard (performed live) by the audience. Its primary function as a social dance, a participatory activity, was absent, and yet its reputation as contributing to the moral ruin of those present was bound up with the perceived infamy of the cinema. Under intervention, the two proved to be a powerful cultural concoction that disarmed and entertained the masses. The fox-trot, cinema, and other mediums of entertainment were thus easy targets for the self-appointed morally superior to rail against. And yet the presence and popularity of the fox-trot persisted until the very end of the intervention.

Figure 4.8. Unattributed, "El peligro mecánico" ("The Mechanical Danger," 1930).[166]

—Do you write?
No, I use a typewriter.
—Do you sing?
No, I have a gramophone.
—Do you play some musical instrument?
No, I have a player piano.
—Do you sow?
No, I have a Singer [sewing machine].
—Do you draw?
No, I have a Kodak [camera].
—Do you walk?
No, I have an automobile.
—Do you see [well]?
No, I use eyeglasses.
—Do you digest [well]?

[165] Ibid. "…el estúpido Cine incubador de una generación de ciegos, escuela de vulgaridad; dechado de cursilería, antro de manoseos rimados por la zancadilla grotesca del fox-trot."
[166] "Chiles Dulces y Chiltomas. El peligro mecánico," *Mujer Nicaragüense* 23 (June 1930), 8. "¿Tu escribes? / No. Uso una máquina de escribir. / ¿Cantas? / No. Tengo ortofónica. / ¿Tocas algún instrumento? / No. Tengo pianola. / ¿Coses? / No. Tengo una Singer. / ¿Dibujas? No. Tengo una Kodak. / ¿Caminas? / No. Tengo automóvil. / Tú ves? / No. Uso anteojo. / ¿Dijieres? / No. Tomo digestivos. / ¿Duermes? / No. Tomo narcótico."

No, I take digestives.
—Do you sleep?
No, I take [sleeping pills].

"Americanization": A Familiar Cultural Ambivalence

The cultural ambivalence engendered in Nicaragua by the spread of U.S.-American commercial influence was not a new phenomenon. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Nicaraguans had been mediating and adapting U.S. customs and institutions to the needs of the nation through a process known as "Americanization."[167] From 1858, with the transformation of the country from an independent state into a republic, a series of Conservative governments adopted cosmopolitan nationalist policies that looked to the United States for economic and political models. This process primarily involved building the so-called "interoceanic" canal across the country. As historian Michel Gobat has asserted, "[Nicaraguan] elites… believed that United States could help their country fulfill its own manifest destiny by constructing an interoceanic canal that would transform Nicaragua into the region's most prosperous nation."[168] With the influx of U.S.-American goods and forms of entertainment during the intervention, especially in the immediate postwar period, the process of "Americanization" focused and amplified this historic ambivalence, while also compromising local efforts to present alternatives to

[167] For an examination of this Nicaraguan cultural phenomenon, see Frances Kinloch [Tijerino], *El imaginario del canal y la nación cosmopolita. Nicaragua, Siglo XIX* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2015); Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005); Justin Wolfe, *The Everyday Nation-State: Community and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Nicaragua* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); and Arturo Cruz, Jr. *Nicaragua's Conservative Republic, 1858–93* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
[168] Gobat, *Confronting*, 6.

U.S. cultural products. The fox-trot was thus a locus for the process, attracting desire and scorn in unequal measure.

Conclusion

In his polemic on the furor generated by U.S.-American modern dances in Mexico, Manuel M. Ponce railed against the pernicious "invasion" of the fox-trot. He lashed out at one of its distinct musical features, the "wretched" drum set—a "*yanqui* invention," he bristled. And he held forth on the socio-cultural damage wrought on Mexicans by the fox-trot epidemic, which he baptized *foxtrotismo*. And to close the somber diagnosis, he prognosticated, "It is sad… that our young people unwittingly throw themselves into the arms of the *conquistador*, without taking into consideration that behind the invasion of dances from the United States, the coat-tails of Uncle Sam's tuxedo are drawn in a menacing fashion."[169] The phenomenon of the fox-trot was little different in Nicaragua, except for one notable detail. Uncle Sam had already invaded the country, built a home for himself in the capital (courtesy of Wall Street), and lived on the tributes of the native population, while casting a long and tenebrous shadow over every corner of society. Moreover, Nicaraguan young people did not throw themselves into his arms, but were already embracing him and the cultural accoutrements of modernity he represented by the time the fox-trot took hold. They nevertheless embraced him deeper

[169] Manuel M. Ponce, "S.M. el fox." *México Moderno* 1/9 (1921): 181. "Y es triste… que nuestra juventud se entregue inconsciente en los brazos del conquistador, sin considerar que detras del baile Americano que nos invade, se dibujan, como una amenaza, los faldones del frac de Tío Sam."

while slowly dancing the fox-trot through the close of the intervention, ignoring the warnings, pleas, and fits by contemporary writers. Delgadillo composed fox-trots resulting from a personal negotiation of cultural meaning and value, an embodiment of "Americanization." Nevertheless, it appears that no detractor could resist the *tranqueado* fox-trot in Nicaragua under intervention.

CHAPTER 5

La pelota: Anti-Interventionist Discourse in the Operettas of Hernán Robleto and Luis A. Delgadillo

Introduction

In early April of 1954, following his involvement in a forestalled armed revolt against President Anastasio Somoza García, Nicaraguan journalist Hernán Robleto (1895–1969) sought refuge at the Embassy of Costa Rica in Managua, where the sibling nation-state granted him political asylum.[1] As director of the Liberal newspaper *Flecha*, a daily that faced constant threat of censorship and closure for its critical views in opposition to the Somoza García government, Robleto had reached an unfortunate peak in his professional career.[2] Once favored by the president,[3] Robleto had come to be treated as a political enemy, a target for incarceration and torture in the years previous to the failed revolt.[4] The situation escalated under asylum—the president imposed martial law on the capital; ordered the *Guardia Nacional* to surround and control access to the embassy, while

[1] For an examination of the coup attempt, see Jorger Eduardo Arellano, *Tacho Somoza y su poder (1933–1956)* (Managua: JEA-Editor, 2016), 135–141; and Knut Walter, "La oposición armada," in *El régimen de Anastasio Somoza, 1936–1956* (Managua: IHNCA-UCA, 2004), 362–366; for an autobiographical account of Robleto under asylum, see Hernán Robleto, *Cárcel criolla* (San Jose, Costa Rica: Imprenta Tormo, 1955).
[2] Robleto, *Cárcel*, 84–85, and 139. Robleto was one of eight ex-military or civilian men who were directly implicated in the revolt.
[3] "'Pueblo que baila y canta nunca muere', dijo el Gral. Somoza en la inauguración del Templo de la Música," *La Noticia* (Managua), Dec. 12, 1939; and Gratus Halftermeyer, *Managua a través de la historia, 1846–1946* (León, Nicaragua: Editorial Hospicio San Juan de Dios, 1946), 129. Robleto was the minister or director of the National District, the official administrative status of Managua, during Somoza García's first presidential term (1937–1942); see Gratus Halftermeyer, "Hernán Robleto," *Novedades* (Managua), Feb. 22, 1969.
[4] Robleto, *Cárcel*, 161–169.

stationing soldiers on rooftops of neighboring buildings; and placed a bounty for his capture.[5] Despite having petitioned the Nicaraguan government for safe-conduct protection shortly after he received asylum, Robleto endured in the embassy for over six months.[6] In the midst of this precarious state, perhaps as an instinctive response from a journalist, he took to writing. In a matter of days, across the threshold of July and August, he produced a memoir that would be published under the title *Nido de memorias* (Nest of Memories, 1960), a nostalgic recollection of the early decades of his life.[7] The final chapters bring the book to a close with a detailed account of his first professional success as a playwright on the stage production *La rosa del paraíso* (The Rose of Paradise, 1921),[8] a work subsequently transformed into an operetta in collaboration with Luis A. Delgadillo. Years later, Robleto and Delgadillo came together once more on the operetta *Pájaros del norte* (Birds from the North, 1936).[9] Both operettas were works of nationalist theater in the *género chico* tradition, and were critical responses to the intervention.

In this chapter, I will show that *La rosa* and *Pájaros* can be understood as forms of anti-interventionist discourse. Representing contemporary social class strictures and abuses of power, the plot of the former reaches a climatic point with a call for

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[5] Walter, *El régimen*, 365; and Robleto, *Cárcel*, 14. Somoza García did the same for every embassy that took in the conspirators. The bounty was 10,000 Nicaraguan córdobas.
[6] Robleto, *Cárcel*, 13; and "A las 12 y 50 pm de hoy saldrá exilado a C. Rica el periodista Hernán Robleto," *La Noticia* (Managua), Oct. 9, 1954.
[7] Hernán Robleto, *Nido de memorias: poesía y tragedia en el caribe* (Mexico: Libro Mex, 1960): 331. From here onward referred to as *Nido*. Robleto wrote another memoir while under asylum, the already cited *Cárcel criolla* (1955), and possibly *La mitad de una vida*, an autobiographical account listed as "to be published" on the back inside cover to the first edition of *Cárcel*. To my knowledge, the latter memoir remains unpublished.
[8] Henceforth referred to as *La rosa*.
[9] Henceforth referred to as *Pájaros*.

insurrection, while the latter reckons with the practice of U.S. Marines deserting their Nicaraguan wives at the end of a tour of duty. Each employed *costrumbrismo* as an aesthetic to convey a distinctly nationalist stance. Their respective musical settings heightened a given political agenda through the employment of musical nationalism. Furthermore, both operettas reveal anti-interventionist tendencies on the part of Delgadillo that are otherwise notably absent in his compositions or published writings.

Costrumbrismo (costumbrism) originated in seventeenth-century Spain as a literary genre that depicted constructed representations of daily life through satirical or political themes.[10] The genre was later "closely linked with romanticism, which dominated a considerable part of [literary production] from the first half of the nineteenth century, especially the daily newspaper."[11] With the Spanish Revolution of 1868, a new populist theatrical genre arose—*género chico* (little genre). Part of the "lyrical theater," and firmly within the zarzuela tradition, *género chico* incorporated *costumbrismo* as fundamental aesthetic for the depiction of constructed realities, or idealizations, of modernity.[12] The theatrical genre was subsequently exported to Latin America—initially, Argentina, Cuba, and Mexico—where it was mediated and adapted to capture

[10] For a history of *costumbrismo* in Spain, see Lee Fontanella, "The Fashion and Styles of Spain's Costumbrismo," *Revista Canadiense De Estudios Hispánicos* 6/2 (1982): 175–189; and Javier Herrero, "El naranjo romántico: esencia del costumbrismo," *Hispanic Review* 46/3 (1978): 343–354.
[11] Javier Herrero, "El naranjo romántico: esencia del costumbrismo," *Hispanic Review* 46/3 (1978): 344. "…íntimamente ligado al romanticism, que domina una parte considerable de la literatura de la primera mitad del siglo XIX (especialmente de la prensa periódica)…"
[12] Margot Versteeg, *De fusiladores y morcilleros: el discurso cómico del género chico* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2000), 56. "…ambientes castizos o bucólicos… la presencia de una música folklórica o folklorizada."

contemporary life in the city or countryside.[13] The use of local language, actors, and repertory marked the theater as a site where productions helped to construct a sense of national identity.

Robleto, *costumbrismo,* and *género chico*

Decades before he opposed Somoza García, Robleto forged a career as a journalist, poet, and writer during the early years of the intervention.[14] He was especially known in Liberal circles as a writer of *costumbrista* stories that drew from rural or urban life, landscapes, or Nicaraguan history.[15] They were among his first passes as a writer of popular literature with a nationalist bent, in which he sought to express political affinity or a shared identity with his readers.[16]

As a subject of interest in the lives and myths of the folk, *costumbrismo* appeared in Nicaraguan literature at the turn of the twentieth century through native writers of short stories.[17] In turn, *costumbrismo* ushered the development of *regionalismo* (regionalism), and its preoccupation with the world of the *campesino* (peasant), from the beginning of

[13] Mexico has a vibrant *género chico* tradition, and may have had some not insignificant influence on musical theater in Managua, Nicaragua; see Armando de María y Campos, *El teatro de género chico en la revolución mexicana* (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1956); and María de los Ángeles Bezanilla Chapa, *La música de género chico de la Biblioteca Nacional de México: catálogo de zarzuelas y operetas* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013).
[14] Robleto was an anti-interventionist from the onset of the U.S. presence in Nicaraguan internal affairs. His loyalty to the Liberal cause was so strong that he fought in both the "October" (1909) and "Mena" (1912) revolutions; see Hernán Robleto, *Nido de memorias: poesía y tragedia en el caribe* (Mexico: Libro Mex, 1960), 194–199 and 227–255.
[15] Robleto published his poetry and essays, most notably, in the culture magazine *Los Domingos,* intended for a Liberal readership in Managua.
[16] I use the term "popular" to mean a representation of the folk.
[17] Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *Literatura nicaragüense* (Managua: Ediciones Distribuidora Cultural, 1997), 95.

the 1920s.[18] According to historian Jorge Eduardo Arellano, the latter genre was a response to "a desire to find a national identity, motivated by the [United States] intervention."[19] Writers of *regionalista* works, including Robleto, created "narrative and descriptive prose that gave birth to the native, recording turns of phrase and idioms, arcane voices, actual events of others, with their own names, or the autobiographic, without any significant elaboration; [and with] a popular language, [mixing] cultured and vernacular terminology, the phrase of the learned… with the proverbial."[20]

On the surface, *costumbrismo* and *regionalismo* might suggest noteworthy differences, and in some cases they may. Yet, on closer inspection, they can refer to the same literary production, and can be synonymous terms. Indeed, they can also be bound up with *lo nacional* (the national), connecting a particular reference or subject to nationalist discourse. This appears to be the case with the Nicaraguan theater tradition from the early twentieth century. Although native writers produced theatrical works for local audiences in the last decades of the nineteenth century—influenced to an extent by itinerant troupes that presented zarzuela, opera, sainete, or *variedad*, among others, in the Spanish or French traditions; notably, works by José Echegaray or Victorien Sardou—the first recognized playwrights on national subjects began to appear around the same time as

[18] Ibid., 98.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 100. "…prosa narrativa y descriptiva que brota al natural, registrando giros y modismos, voces arcaizantes, hechos reales ajenos y con nombres propios o autobiográficos, sin mayor elaboración; de una lengua popular, aunque enlaza la terminología culta con la vulgar, la frase del profesor… con la refranera."

costumbrismo emerged in Nicaragua.[21] The subjects of their work varied, but they nevertheless looked to everyday life for models, some no different than as *costumbrista* representations: the stage reflected "social customs and vices… nourished by the identification of popular figures, the necessity of reproducing vernacular color and flavor, in the use of the expressions of the people, [and] in the search for a collective humor."[22]

Among the more prominent of the early Nicaraguan playwrights was Hernán Robleto, whose *costumbrista* stories earned him a reputation throughout Central America as a regionalist writer. This work would not only precede his entry into writing for the theater, but it legitimized those of his plays intended or received as either *costumbrista* or *regionalista*. During the 1910s he published *costumbrista* stories in various Managua periodicals, honing his craft while building a local following. These stories informed the creation of his first theatrical work, the nationalist play *La Rosa de "El Paraíso": Comedia de costumbres nicaragüenses en 2 actos*.[23] The exuberant reception of the premiere and subsequent performances inspired Delgadillo to adapt it into an operetta in collaboration with Robleto,[24] initiating an artistic relationship that would culminate in

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[21] Jorge Eduardo Arellano, "1900–1950: Los altibajos de una tradición," in *Un siglo de teatro en Nicaragua*, edited by Jorge Eduardo Arellano (Managua: Instituto Nicaragüense de Cultura, 1993), 6–7.
[22] Arellano, *Literatura nicaragüense*, 164. "costumbres y vicios sociales… se sustentaba en la identificación de los tipos populares, en la necesidad de imprimir el color y el sabor vernáculos, en el uso de las expresiones verbales del pueblo, en la búsqueda de la comicidad colectiva."
[23] Hernán Robleto, *La Rosa de "El Paraíso"* (Managua: Tipografía Pérez, 1921). The title page of the published libretto is the only instance in which the title appears written differently than elsewhere in the literature of the period and at present. Robleto generally wrote the title as *La rosa del paraíso*.
[24] Luis A. Delgadillo and Hernán Robleto, "La rosa del paraíso (opereta regional)," Manuscript short score, Managua, Nicaragua, October 30, 1925, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.

another operetta, *Pájaros del norte*.[25] The pair of collaborations are the sole extant Nicaraguan operettas relating to the intervention.[26]

La rosa and *Pájaros* belong to the Spanish theater tradition of the *género chico*, or more specifically, the *zarzuela chica regionalista*, a small-scale version of its centuries-old eponymous musical theater.[27] The *género chico* genre, a fundamental repertoire of the *teatro por horas* (theater by the hour) commercial theater enterprise, is characterized by regional customs expressed through speech via dialects, and non-verbally through a "stylized staging of locales and important milieus, typically festive, with musical discourses of 'regional' inspiration, dances, and traditional dress."[28] The setting may take place in either a rural or urban environment, and may be inspired by a topical subject or current events.[29] Moreover, the work may also contain strong *costrumbrista* elements marked by those found in Nicaraguan theater: the appearance of "plebian figures, quite distinguished linguistically, of rural origin, [who] allow

[25] Hernán Robleto, "Pájaros del norte. Ópera nicaragüense en dos actos (1936)," *Boletín nicaragüense de bibliografía y documentación* 49 (1982): 42–63.
[26] Although Delgadillo composed other operettas and zarzuelas, only *Aura del Mombacho* (1941) survives; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Aura del Mombacho (opereta nacional)," Text by Ildo Sol. Manuscript short score, parts, and libretto. Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.
[27] For a history of the Spanish *género chico* and its various sub-genres, see Alberto A. Romero Ferrer, *Antología del género chico* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2005), and Margot Versteeg, *De fusiladores y morcilleros: el discurso cómico del género chico* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2000).
[28] Versteeg, *De fusiladores*, 362. "…escenificación estilizada de espacios y ambientes significativos y generalmente festivos, discurso musical de inspiración 'regional', bailes, vestimenta típica."
[29] Alberto A. Romero Ferrer, *Antología del género chico* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2005), 28–29.

themselves, by design, to be deceived by the lure of the city."[30] As in the Nicaraguan literary tradition, *costumbrismo* and *regionalismo* appear to emerge as somewhat interchangeable labels within *género chico*. And yet it seems that context might have played a role in their specific use, especially in Nicaraguan theater. In the case of *La rosa*, or even *Pájaros*, these stylistic labels—for the author and work—were interchangeable depending on the site of presentation, within or outside of Nicaragua. As a mediums for addressing current events, directly and indirectly, both works were apt vehicles for responding to the intervention through nationalist theater.

Background and Reception of *La rosa del paraíso* (stage play, 1921)

Much like his *costumbrista* stories, Robleto constructed *La rosa* by interweaving fictional, verisimilar, and ethnographic details. Under the umbrella of a nationalist subject, these contributed to the success of its promotion and reception in Managua and elsewhere.[31] The disposition of the six characters who appear throughout much of the work were based on the personality of the actor who originated the role—all were

[30] Ibid., 39. "…tipos plebeyos, muy caracterizados lingüísticamente, de origen rural y que tópicamente se dejan engañar ante los encantos de la ciudad…"

[31] Robleto, *Nido*, 312–316. Robleto conceived of *La rosa* in an incidental manner during a period without regular employment, while living with his family in the rural *sierra* region just south of Managua. After attending a performance at the Teatro Variedades, by a troupe made up of Nicaraguan actors, he approached their leader with an idea for a comedy. The troupe was well-versed in the presentation of Spanish zarzuelas and *sainetes* (comedy sketches), or fragments thereof, as was a discerning local audience, and they took to the potential of presenting a novel work imbued with a national subject. Robleto immediately began to write *La rosa* at fever pitch, finishing within twenty-four hours.

typecast.[32] However, only one of them, Paco García, who premiered the role of José, was given a musical number as he was able to "inspire love through song."[33] Gilberto Vega Miranda, a recognized local composer, wrote the only song in the play that José performs in the second act.[34] Robleto recalled, "[Vega Miranda] set to music a song I wrote, suitable for Paco's voice. Its melancholy, dance-like mood was inserted into a departing scene... [Vega Miranda], a Nicaraguan composer, took interest and inspiration in that little musical piece that later ran throughout the country."[35] Robleto intended on writing a nationalist work as a counterpoint to the regular fare of imported theater, and imagined it to be a sign of similar cultural productions to come.[36] He also intended the work to have a social and political function (see below).

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[32] Ibid., 315. The actors who premiered *La rosa* were Mélida Bermúdez (Rosa), Paco García (José), Alfredo Zelaya (Coronel Vivas), Manuela García (Ña Antonia), Ricardo Solórzano (Jerónimo), and Gonzalo Robleto (Don Manuelito).

[33] Ibid. "…sabía enamorar con tonadas." At the end of the 1920s, Paco García relocated to El Salvador where he spent over five decades presenting *teatro lírico* (zarzuela and operetta) through theater companies organized and promoted by him. With an early troupe, the *Compañia García-Pares*, co-directed with the Spanish actor Carlos Pares, he presented a one-act drama entitled *Sandino*, a work that presented the Nicaraguan revolutionary nationalist in a heroic light; see Carlos Velis, *Las artes escénicas salvadoreñas: Una historia de amor y heroísmo* (Santa Tecla, El Salvador: Clásicos Roxsil, 2002).

[34] The 1921 libretto omits the song title, but is explicit in its position within a particular scene and accompanying stage direction: "A song is heard. It is about love, but melancholy, like a lament. José moves slowly across the stage at the back, singing. Rosa listens and then exits" (Act 2, Scene III).

[35] Robleto, *Nido*, 317. I have yet to find a title, score, or other reference to this song. However, it may have been released under the title "Rosas del cielo" by Victor Recordings in 1928; see Appendix E. "Vega le puso música a una canción que escribí, apropiada para la voz de Paco. Se intercalaba con su nota melancólica, de danza, en una escena de despedida... Gilberto Vega, compositor nacional, puso interés e inspiración en aquel trocito musical que después corrió por el pueblo."

[36] Ibid., 315.

Robleto made significant efforts to promote *La rosa*, taking advantage of personal and professional contacts, and was well rewarded for his endeavor.[37] The local culture magazine *Los Domingos* offered substantial publicity—announcements, brief essays, and an interview—that not only promoted the event, but celebrated him as a longtime employee.[38] The magazine praised Robleto for succeeding where other Nicaraguan writers—in particular, those who prospered while living abroad—fell short within their native country: "[They] could not fight under the skies of the homeland because our sun does not shine brightly enough or because the clouds are as yet too dense and expansive."[39] The magazine went so far as to predict an emerging national genre.[40] Historian Jorge Eduardo Arellano, who considers Robleto the "founder of Nicaraguan *costumbrista* theater," has observed that *costumbrista* works by native playwrights had preceded *La rosa*, but none attracted comparable attention from the outset.[41] A similar observation, made in an editorial in *Los Domingos* shortly before the premiere,

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[37] Robleto, *Nido*, 317–324. While the actors prepared their parts, Robleto proceeded to secure the Teatro Variedades for the premiere, and approached his newspaper and printing contacts to promote the event. On approaching newspaper contacts, he found only assistance and generosity. His former boss at *El Comercio* refused to charge for advertising, and assigned a reporter to dedicate an entire column of space to the premiere. The printing house Tipografía Pérez provided 2000 fliers at no cost, which were then distributed voluntarily by a number of Managua coachmen. The same house printed the programs, charging only for the cost of the paper. An acquaintance and local character, "El Loco Robleto Mejía," made announcements on various street corners the day of the premiere, also without charge.

[38] Ibid., 324.

[39] "El teatro nacional," *Los Domingos*, October 23, 1921. "…no pudieron luchar bajo el cielo patrio, porque nuestro sol no da luz suficiente o porque las sombras todavía son muy densas y largas."

[40] Ibid. "Augurábase en la revista predilecta el surgimiento del teatro nacional."

[41] Arellano, *Literatura*, 163–166. "Fundador del teatro costumbrista nicaragüense…"; and Jorge Eduardo Arellano, "1900–1950: Los altibajos de una tradición," in *Un siglo de teatro en Nicaragua*, edited by Jorge Eduardo Arellano (Managua: Instituto Nicaragüense de Cultura, 1993), 8.

acknowledged readers who had correctly identified works earlier based on national themes, a point to which the magazine concurred; however, the editorial clarified, "Nicaraguan theater that portrays, critiques, ridicules, or praises our customs, had not been written before *La rosa del paraíso*."[42]

The expectation built prior to the premiere may also be attributed to its timing and political reality in context of the intervention. Although local *costumbrista* plays had preceded it, *La rosa* opened not long after the centennial celebrations of Central American Independence (September 15).[43] Its appearance coincided with a certain national and isthmian pride ignited by the centennial, thereby attaching the success of the play to this period, and setting *La rosa* apart as more memorable from previous works in a similar genre.

The first performance of *La rosa* took place on Tuesday, November 8, 1921. Its reception was ebullient and immediate.[44] Robleto attributed the reaction of the audience to the nationalist function of the play.

> The public saw itself in the little work, in the lively [characters] that repeated everyday life, its passion, its activities. For the first time, on the brilliant stage, they heard their manner of speaking. And in place of long skirts made of velvet, the neck ruff worn by knights donning cloak and sword, costume jewelry and tiaras, [and] a bewildering plot, there appeared—gilded by the footlights and power of illumination—little outfits made of printed cotton, the *caites* (sandals) of the Indian, [and] the most pure memento

[42] "Más sobre 'La rosa del paraíso,'" *Los Domingos*, October 30, 1921. "…teatro nicaragüense, que retrate, que critique o ridiculice o exalte nuestras costumbres, no se había escrito antes de «La Rosa del Paraíso»."
[43] Official centennial celebrations in Managua were postponed due to a military conflict that had broken out in the north of the country in late August; see Chapter 6.
[44] Despite numerous mentions in *Nido* of Monday—without an exact date—as the night of the premiere, I deduced the correct date from a review of the play published on November 10, in which the author opens by claiming to have attended on a Tuesday: "With a full theater, Hernán Robleto's libretto was staged on Tuesday night…"; see "Estreno de La rosa del paraíso," *El Comercio* (Managua), Nov. 10, 1921.

represented by the *chocoyito* (a native bird), and taken from the mountain to give to "The Most Pure" of "El Paraíso."[45]

There was a similar reception in the press. The newspaper *El Comercio* observed the comedy to have been "simply rustic and particular to Nicaragua."[46] A review in *Los Domingos* took note of an audience "indistinguishable in social rank or political identity [that] applauded until it could no longer," who commented favorably on the performance as they exited the theater.[47] In a much longer critique published weeks later in *Los Domingos* (November 27, 1921), journalist Victor Mercado repeated a prediction made prior to the first performance—Robleto was to be a pioneer: "[he] has immersed himself in our customs; the national spirit lives in his work like a fish in water; a refined observer, in his soul resides an artificial landscape of native land, and he embodies the spirit of the countryman in all of its possibilities."[48] And despite some detailed reservations about the narrative, the author considered the overall work to be laudable. The positive reception of

[45] Ibid. "El público se vio a sí mismo en la obrita, en los animados muñecos que repetían los actos de la vida cotidiana, su pasión, sus incidentes. Por primera vez oyó que, en la refulgencia de las tablas, se hablaba de su lenguaje. Y en lugar del terciopelo de las largas faldas, de la gorguera de los caballeros de capa y espada, de las joyas de similor y las diademas, de la mistificación del argumento, aparecían dorados por las candilejas, por el poder de la batería, los vestiditos de zaraza, los caites del indio, el más puro presente del chocoyito cogido en las montaña para "La Purísima" de "El Paraíso."

[46] "Estreno de La rosa del paraíso," *El Comercio* (Managua), Nov. 10, 1921. "…sencillamente rústico y autóctono…"

[47] "Críticos verédes. Es indudable…," *Los Domingos*, November 13, 1921. "…sin distinción de rango social o color político, aplaudió a más no poder…" The brief critique was a defense, in part, against a polemical review that had appeared in *Nicaragua Industrial*, in which the author accused Robleto of writing a *sainete* (comedic sketch) aimed directly against the present government, a libel that was not wholly untrue, in my opinion. The reviewer from *Los Domingos* discredited the polemic by claiming its author to have harbored enmity toward Robleto.

[48] Victor M. Mercado, "Crítica. La rosa del paraíso," *Los Domingos*, November 27, 1921. "…se ha saturado de nuestras costumbres; la vida nacional vive en su obra como el pez en el agua; fino observador, tiene en su alma un paisaje sintético del terruño y el espíritu paisano se ha encarnado en él en todas sus manifestaciones."

the premiere would be the first of a number of similar reactions from audiences and reviewers, whether *La rosa* was seen as a local (Nicaraguan) or regional (Central American) representation, or whether it was produced as either a play or an operetta.

Within a few weeks Robleto took the play on the road. His first stop was the city of León, located to the north of Managua, where he presented *La rosa* before a local audience.[49] Reviews from León were generally positive, yet some critics appreciated the work more than the acting.[50] These reviews, along with a handful from Managua, would later serve to promote the play in Honduras where Robleto resided from 1922 onward.[51]

On June 24, 1923, Robleto staged a production of *La rosa* in Tegucigalpa, Honduras.[52] The cast was primarily made up of local actors with the exception of the roles of José and Don Manuelito, played by Robleto and his brother Gonzalo, respectively.[53]A brief essay in the newspaper *Excélsior*¸ published in anticipation of the performance, recognized how tiresome the typical, mostly European theatrical fare had become in the capital. And although *La rosa* was Nicaraguan, it was not seen as foreign to local audiences. On the contrary, they found affinity with its apparent regional (e.g.

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[49] "Hernán Robleto," *Los Domingos*, December 18, 1921.
[50] F. Berríos, "La obra de don Hernán Robleto," *Los Domingos*, January 8, 1922; J.D. Vanegas, "Mi aplauso… a Hernán Robleto," *Excélsior* (Tegucigalpa), Jun. 21, 1923; "Opiniones sobre 'La rosa de el paraíso,'" *Excélsior* (Tegucigalpa), Jun. 22, 1923; and "Socialismo en 'La rosa de el paraíso,'" *Excélsior* (Tegucigalpa), Jun. 23, 1923.
[51] "El viaje de don Hernán Robleto," *Los Domingos*, March 19, 1922. Robleto formally departed Nicaragua in March of 1922, and resided in Tegucigalpa by the middle of October of the same year; see "Con Hernán Robleto," *Los Domingos*, October 22, 1922.
[52] "La velada de la logia. Ya se está ensayando la comedia," *Excélsior* (Tegucigalpa), June 7, 1923; and K.T. Ban, "La velada del sábado," *Excélsior* (Tegucigalpa), Jun. 26, 1923. The staging was a benefit for the local Masonic lodge.
[53] Ban, "La velada del sábado." The other cast members were Martha Montis (Rosa), Leonor García (Ña Antonia), Augusto Montesinos (Coronel Vivas), and Francisco Abad (Jerónimo).

nationalist) qualities: "It is of our life, of Central American life, with our familiar people, and our purpose placed in relief within the theater."[54] A glowing review of the performance appeared in the same newspaper toward the end of the month, which praised Robleto for the verisimilitude of the work, "copying society and peasant life, in all of its innocence, vices and virtues."[55] The audience reaction in Tegucigalpa was similar to that of Managua and León. In each instance the spectators saw themselves and their immediate world reflected in the drama, an important aspect that had either been missing in nationalist theatrical productions prior to *La rosa*, or perhaps one whose moment had arrived. The performance in Honduras appears to have been the first time the play was staged outside of Nicaragua, a notable detail that has escaped scholars to the present day.[56]

Synopsis of the Play

The story is set on the farm El Paraíso, owned by Nicaraguan senator Martiniano Lavado, located in the countryside not far from Managua.[57] The title character of Rosa, a naïve orphaned "girl of fifteen years," is the focal point of a love triangle between her and two males, José and Don Manuelito, neither of whom are much older than she,

[54] La velada de la logia. "…es de vida nuestra, de vida centroamericana, con nuestros tipos conocidos, y nuestros usos puestos de relieve en el teatro."
[55] Ban, "La velada del sábado." "…copiando la vida social y la vida campesina, con todas sus inocencias, vicios y virtudes."
[56] Arellano, "1900–1950," 9. Arellano believes the first performance abroad to have taken place in April of 1926 at Lima, Peru.
[57] Hernán Robleto, *La Rosa de "El Paraíso"* (Managua: Tipografía Pérez, 1921). My synopsis of the play is a distillation of the original published libretto. The descriptions of each character in quotation marks are all taken from the libretto.

though they are distinguished by social class. José is a "handsome guy" and *mozo* (farmhand) at El Paraíso, where he has worked long enough to have developed a close and trusting friendship with Rosa. Their relationship is platonic, though José waits for the day when she will come of age. Don Manuelito is a well-to-do "young man from the city" and the son of the farm owner.[58] Throughout the play José tries to protect Rosa from the advances of Manuelito, who wants to take sexual advantage of her, once she has been convinced live with him in Managua. The two older peasant characters—Ña Antonia[59] and Jerónimo—are longtime employees at the farm who have helped to raise Rosa, especially Jerónimo who is her *chino*[60], yet both are deferential to the demands of Manuelito. Coronel Vivas, a retired military figure who maintains order at the farm, is the principal source of humor in the play due to his absurd behavior, involving physical comedy, expressions of grandeur ("I will soon be a General!"), and the punctuation of phrases with the command *incontinenti* (immediately). He apparently despises "Bolsheviks" and considers José to be one. The tension between Manuelito and José builds until the very end of the play, at which point the drama is interrupted by the

[58] The surname Lavado, meaning "washed" in Spanish, may be a coincidence, but it is difficult to ignore a couple of inferences about the only character given a first and last name. Firstly, this appears to be a distinction between Don Manuelito and the rest who are supposedly "unwashed." Secondly, it may also suggest his family to be wealthy, again, marking difference. The only other character with a surname is Coronel Vivas, who lacks a first name. His surname is the plural of the word "live," not uncommonly employed in the phrase beginning with "long live," as in "Long live the Liberal Party!," and fits with his blind loyalty whomever is in power.
[59] The word "Ña" is short for *doña* (a generic honorific for women).
[60] The libretto explains that in Nicaragua the word *chino* is used as a noun ("a person who looks after children; a babysitter"), or the verb *chinear* ("to hold a child in one's arms"), not to be mistaken for the suggestion of nationality. Either form is still in use in present-day Nicaragua.

appearance of revolutionary (anti-government) troops at the farm who identify as Liberal. The play concludes with the exile of Rosa and José from the farm.

In addition to its stylistic characteristics, *La rosa* is explicitly marked by the social strictures of Nicaraguan society, and the possibility of revolution toward the end of the play. The latter pointed to the anti-interventionist ideology of the playwright—it was subversive act on the part of Robleto to suggest insurrection, even a fictional one, while Nicaragua was under a Conservative government. Furthermore, it was a critical response to the intervention, a point of resistance that flew under the radar of the government censor.

A broader interpretation of the play as anti-interventionist discourse appears in the allegorical nature of the love triangle. Rosa is a stand-in for Nicaragua. She is a virgin who lives in the untouched countryside. And she is likened to *La purísima*, or Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, the patron virgin of Nicaragua. Rosa is thus the sacred and secular embodiment of the homeland. Don Manuelito represents Managua, a site where modernity has taken hold as a result of the intervention. His wanting to take Rosa to the city is not only about sexual conquest or violation, but the adulterating influences of the U.S. presence in the capital.[61] José represents a part of Nicaragua that rejects the allure of city, and by extension, the intervention itself. He is a latent revolutionary presence throughout the drama, the spirit who will eventually save Rosa/Nicaragua. The

[61] Robleto later characterized this presence, in a description of the U.S. flag seen at a distance from Managua, as "staining the blue of the patriotic sky with its bloody stripes"; see Hernán Robleto, *Los estrangulados: El imperialismo yanqui en Nicaragua* (Madrid: Editorial Cenit, 1933), 32. "…manchando el azul del cielo patrio con sus barras sangrientas."

conclusion gives hope to the possibility of a Liberal revolution and an escape from the intervention.

LOS DOMINGOS

REVISTA POPULAR ILUSTRADA

Director: Salv. Ruiz Morales. Gerente: Angel María Pérez:
Año IV.—Número 177. EDITADA EN LA TIPOGRAFIA PEREZ. 23 de Octubre de 1921.

El Teatro Nacional

SIEMPRE NOS HEMOS QUEJADO DE QUE en Nicaragua no hay estímulo para ninguna labor literaria y mucho menos para el arte.

Ha sido obra de la naturaleza, exclusivamente, la aparición de un gran poeta en nuestro solar, sin que nosotros hayamos contribuído al desarrollo de su ingenio, ni puesto en su fama, adquirida en otros medios, nada que la abrillantara o robusteciera. Antes por el contrario, mucho la deslustramos con nuestra pequeñez, hasta que hubo necesidad que el poeta mismo dijese en versos de aspiración patriótica algo consagratorio a las patrias pequeñas, recordando a Grecia, a Florencia y a su Nicaragua natal.

Sucede con las letras en este país, lo propio que con sus riquezas nacionales: existe la materia prima, efectivamente; pero así como aquéstas no hay quien las explote, por falta de capital, de iniciativa y de apoyo gubernativo, así aquellas no prosperan por falta de ambiente, de centros culturales, de facilidad editorial, de protección, en una palabra, de los administradores de la cosa pública.

Nuestros muchachos de inteligencia, si también lo son de esfuerzo, necesitan salvar las fronteras nativas para vivir de las letras y reclamar el puesto de gloria, a que tengan derecho, conforme a su tesón en la lucha y al éxito obtenido por sus talentos. De donde ocurre que Francisco Zamora y Roberto Barrios, hayan hecho de México su campo de acción y Leonardo Montalbán, Eduardo Avilés Ramírez, Salomón de la Selva, Francisco Guerrero, etc. vayan esparciendo su numen en los diversos países del continente. Unos y otros no pudieron luchar bajo el cielo patrio, porque nuestro sol no da luz suficiente o porque las sombras todavía son muy densas y largas.

Escribimos las anteriores acotaciones, en presencia de algo que nos da margen para ello, se ha inaugurado en Managua, con buen suceso, una compañía de actores nacionales. Llevan representadas ya varias bromas de sabor local y, según la crítica, los jóvenes principiantes saben su cuento, tienen gracia natural, manejan bastante bien la escena y, algunos de ellos, cantan con verdadero sentimiento de artistas.

Si aquí hubiera escuela, no se habría hecho de estos jóvenes un valioso contingente para la cultura patria?

Eso están pensando, por su propia cuenta, los intelectuales consagrados de esta ciudad, y ellos también, sin apoyo ninguno, han resuelto ayudar eficazmente a los artistas y se preparan a fin de que el triunfo no se haga esperar.

Hernán Robleto es el primero que saldrá a la palestra. Tiene terminada una preciosa comedia regional, que ha intitulado "LA ROSA DEL PARAÍSO" y que, probablemente, será llevada al Variedades en la semana entrante.

"LA ROSA DEL PARAÍSO" vendrá a ser algo así como la primera piedra del Teatro Nicaragüense y todos debemos cooperar, de corazón, a que el éxito de ésta sea el aliento que ha de darle vida a las otras en gestación.

Robleto ha puesto en LA ROSA DEL PARAÍSO su talento de escritor regionalista, y no dudamos de triunfo por eso y porque cuando nuestro público se de cuenta que tenemos asuntos, escritores y artistas nacionales, aplaudirá con entusiasmo patriótico.

DON HERNÁN ROBLETO,
AUTOR DE LA COMEDIA «LA ROSA DEL PARAÍSO», PRÓXIMA A ESTRENARSE.

Figure 5.1. "The National Theater." An editorial on Hernán Robleto and *La rosa del paraíso* in a local periodical, Managua, October 1921. Source: *Los Domingos*.[62]

[62] "El teatro nacional," *Los Domingos*, October 23, 1921.

From Play to Operetta (1924)

Delgadillo began to contemplate the adaptation of *La rosa* as an operetta shortly after moving to Mexico City in late 1921.[63] Having left Managua by September of that year, and long gone by the premiere of the play, he was settled and concertizing in the Mexican capital by the end of December.[64] In early 1922, he collaborated with a local theater company in the presentation of his zarzuela *México al día* (Mexico Today).[65] He recounted its production details in *Los Domingos*, noting that the plot, with its self-evident title, would be of little interest in Nicaragua. Yet he also alluded to a possible musical adaptation of *La rosa*: "I will soon create some musical theater for my homeland… I can already see Paco García with Mélida Bermúdez amusingly playing their parts!"[66] The reference to the actors who originated the lead roles of Rosa and José

[63] I employ the term "operetta" as a reflection of its use by Delgadillo, and by his contribution to the *género chico* genre from the Spanish zarzuela tradition (see above), resembling the late-nineteenth and twentieth century European or U.S.-American theatrical work of a sentimental character in a popular style that contained spoken dialogue, music, and dancing.
[64] "El concierto del maestro Delgadillo," *Los Domingos*, December 11, 1921.
[65] Luis A. Delgadillo, "México al día," *Los Domingos*, February 26, 1922. Delgadillo composed the zarzuela on a text by José Gómez Ugarte, director of the Mexican newspaper *El Universal*, and the Honduran writer Porfirio Hernández, who went by the pseudonym "Fígaro." The first performance of the work to took place on March 18, 1922, and was staged the by the Lupe Rivas Cacho Company at the Teatro Lírico in Mexico City. Although Delgadillo claimed this work to be his third in the genre, I have yet to come across a reference to a zarzuela or similar work of musical theater by him that predates it.
[66] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Miscelánea mexicana." *Los Domingos*, March 12, 1922. Evidently, Delgadillo had had change of opinion about the theatrical form since claiming in his first book, *Consideraciones generales* (1913), that *género chico* contained "depraved musics"; see Luis A. Delgadillo, *Consideraciones generales sobre arte musical en Nicaragua* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1913), 8. "…músicas depravadas…"

strongly suggests he may have been well aware of the play, and the potential of the actors to realize its adaptation into an operetta.[67]

There is remarkably little extant evidence to support a direct collaboration between Delgadillo and Robleto on the musical adaptation of *La rosa*. However, in early December of 1924, they appeared together at a *velada* (soirée) in Mexico City, held in celebration of Nicaraguan culture.[68] The event featured Delgadillo and his compositions, as well as recitations by Robleto. The program included a duet from the operetta *La rosa*, confirming that, at the very least, Robleto was aware of the musical adaptation of his play, if not directly involved.[69] The event received a positive review, though it did not mention the duet.[70]

In subsequent years, productions of the operetta followed in Guatemala City, Lima (Peru), and Managua. In August of 1925, it was performed in the capital of Guatemala by the *Grupo Artístico Nacional*, a local acting troupe, while Delgadillo passed through after his departure from Mexico.[71] The following year, on a tour of South America, Delgadillo collaborated with a local theater company in Lima, Peru, to present

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[67] Delgadillo already knew Paco García and Mélida Bermúdez, perhaps quite well. In July of 1921, the two had performed at a benefit concert to raise money for his move to Mexico; see "Recital a beneficio al maestro Delgadillo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), July 7, 1921; and "Programa del gran recital en honor del artista don Luis A. Delgadillo que se verificará el lunes 11 de julio de 1921 a las 9pm en punto, en el Teatro Variedades," *La Tribuna* (Managua), July 10, 1921.
[68] "Una velada de homenaje a la República de Nicaragua," (Mexico City), [Dec. 1924]. The event was hosted by *Grupo Ariel*.
[69] Ibid. The performers of the duet were Carmen Díaz Reynaga and José Torres, both members of *Grupo Ariel*.
[70] "Brillante velada en honor de Nicaragua," *El Universal Gráfico* (Mexico City), [Dec.] 11, 1924. Its absence from the review, while mentioning other musical works on the program, suggests that the duet may not have been performed.
[71] "Los conciertos del maestro Delgadillo," [*Diario de Centro América*] (Guatemala City), [Aug. 19, 1925]. I have not been able to locate a review of the performance.

the work.[72] In anticipation of the performance, a local newspaper described the operetta as "Nicaraguan in subject, [with] Central American folk themes."[73] The first performance took place on April 26, 1926, and was praised by local newspapers, which considered it a "brilliant success," Delgadillo later recalled.[74] The multiple performances that followed in the Peruvian capital confirmed its popular reception.[75]

Figure 5.2. Luis A. Delgadillo, ca. 1926. Source: Delgadillo Tapia Family Archive.

[72] See Chapter 2.
[73] "Mañana se estrenará 'La rosa del paraíso,'" [*El Tiempo*] (Lima), [Apr. 23, 1926]. "…asunto es típico nicaragüense, y en él ha podido desenvolver motivos folclóricos centroamericanos…"
[74] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Jira artística a Sudamérica. El Perú, tierra sagrada de los Incas," *La Noticia Ilustrada*, September 11, 1927. "…un éxito brillante…"
[75] "La 'Rosa del paraíso' se representó 18 veces en Lima," *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 13, 1932.

The first performance of *La rosa* in Nicaragua came about as a result of an unfortunate series circumstances that saw the local premiere scheduled and then postponed for a number of years. By the middle of 1928, Delgadillo was back in Managua, and preparing to travel to Europe and the Caribbean—he had received an invitation to participate in music conferences in Prague, Paris, and Havana, but was in desperate financial need to realize the trip.[76] Lacking resources, he decided to hold a benefit concert and programmed *La rosa* in the hopes of attracting a substantial audience.[77] Rehearsals began in early August with a performance tentatively scheduled for the end of the month.[78] But after weeks of preparation, the production met an insurmountable problem.[79] Despite an effort to mount the first public performance of the

[76] "Carta abierta pro-Delgadillo," *La Noticia* (Managua), Aug. 17, 1928. Delgadillo attempted to raise the money through personal and official channels. A number of society ladies petitioned Adolfo Díaz, President of Nicaragua, to support him. When a response was not forthcoming, they urged the composer to approach Díaz directly. The letter he sent the president is relatively brief and to the point—the customary lengthy, florid prose is replaced with economic, albeit formal language in an urgent tone—he needed to leave Managua within weeks and required an answer as soon as possible. Unfortunately, there was no support from the president. He then approached various municipalities and initially received a hopeful response. This time a number of society gentlemen signed an open letter "in favor of Delgadillo," published in *La Noticia*, beseeching the mayors of Managua and other municipalities to finance the trip. The effort yielded no financial assistance; see "El artista Delgadillo cree que se hará justicia," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 29, 1928; Luis A. Delgadillo to Adolfo Díaz, July 18, 1928, Adolfo Díaz Papers, D563-0515, Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica (IHNCA-UCA), Managua, Nicaragua; "El maestro Delgadillo irá a Europa por cuenta de las municipalidades," *El Comercio* (Managua), Jul. 21, 1928; and "Llamado patriótico a los músicos," *La Noticia* (Managua), Aug. 29, 1928.
[77] "Instantes con el Maestro Delgadillo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Aug. 22, 1928.
[78] "El beneficio de un artista," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Aug.1, 1928. Another work of his was to accompany the operetta—the *Suite colonial nicaragüense "diciembre"* (Nicaraguan Colonial Suite "December"), an orchestral work based on Nicaraguan devotional music; see "'La rosa del paraíso' del maestro Delgadillo," *La Noticia* (Managua), Aug.14, 1928; and Luis A. Delgadillo, "Suite colonial nicaragüense ('Diciembre')" for orchestra. Manuscript score. Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.
[79] "La fiesta de los obreros resultó mejor que los festejos oficiales," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sept. 18, 1928. The new date of the premiere was September 21.

operetta in Managua, the outbreak of an influenza epidemic in the capital forced the Ministry of the Interior to temporarily close all theaters.[80] By the time they reopened, Delgadillo had dropped plans for the performance, as well as the trip to Europe.[81] The performance of *La rosa* would have to wait for a local debut.[82]

The Managua premiere of *La rosa* finally took place on November 17, 1932 as a benefit for a local hospital.[83] Leading up to the performance, it received ample coverage in local newspapers as the "first national operetta," heightening public anticipation by promoting the international reputation of the composer.[84] *La Noticia* predicted its success from past presentations abroad, especially the numerous productions in Lima from 1926.[85]

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[80] "Funciones suspendidas," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sept. 23, 1928. The public closures included all churches.

[81] "La reapertura del Teatro Margot." *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sept. 29, 1928. The reopening of the Teatro Margot within a week signaled a change in the government closures. The lack of further news regarding *La rosa* suggests it was cancelled, especially since the first music conference to be held in Prague on October 7 was no longer a possibility for Delgadillo. He resided in Managua, at least, until the following July. From September–October of 1929, Delgadillo was in Havana, Cuba, where he promoted his music through concerts and lectures; see Chapter 1.

[82] Another turn of events may have also been a factor—national elections held on November 4 ushered in a new political era under a Liberal administration; see Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1910–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004), 199–203.

[83] "La 'Rosa del paraíso' será un acontecimiento nacional," *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 13, 1932.

[84] This may, indeed, be the first nationalist work of Nicaraguan musical theater, though a history of the genre in Nicaragua has yet to be written; see "La 'Rosa del paraíso' se representó 18 veces en Lima," *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 13, 1932; "El maestro Delgadillo en la Argentina. Recordando su triunfal jira artística," [*La Nación*] (Managua), [Oct. 22, 1932]; "La 'Rosa del paraíso' será un acontecimiento nacional," *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 13, 1932; "Hoy por fin, será el estreno de la 'Rosa del paraíso.' La primera opereta nacional, letra de Hernán Robleto y música del maestro Luis A. Delgadillo," [*La Noticia*] (Managua), [Nov. 1932]; and "Teatro Margot. Hoy jueves 17 de noviembre a las 8 y 30 pm. 'La Rosa del paraíso,'" (Managua), [Nov. 1932].

[85] Ibid.

Critics showered the premiere of the "first Nicaraguan operetta" with praise.[86] A reviewer for *El Comercio* noted the musical adaptation to be "worth one-hundred-percent more than the original [play], with music [at once] rapturous, delightful, and flowing like a stream."[87] Another journalist praised various aspects of the production, including the musical adaptation, the actors, chorus, and orchestra (conducted by Delgadillo).[88] Among the musical numbers, and echoing other reviews, the same review singled-out the beauty of the *Canción de la pajarita* (Song of the Little [Female] Bird), sung by Rosa.[89] The review also observed, "*La rosa del paraíso* is the first Nicaraguan operetta that points to a faithful and ardent era of nationalism over here."[90] A little over a decade after its initial appearance as a play, the reception of the story, no doubt heighted by its musical adaptation, continued to elicit a sense of national pride in Managua, pointing to a certain

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[86] "Tuvo completo éxito La Rosa de paraíso," (Managua), [Nov. 1932]: "…primera opereta nacional…." See also "La Rosa del paraíso. Por falta de espacio…," [*La Prensa*] (Managua), [Nov. 1932]; J.G. Cedeño, "Noches de Arte. 'La Rosa del paraíso.' Ansiábamos ver esta obra…," [*El Comercio*] (Managua), [Nov. 1932]; P.P. Bizet, "'La Rosa del paraíso' en el Margot fue un éxito de verdad," *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 20, 1932; and "Teatro Nacional. La Rosa del paraíso," [*La Prensa*] (Managua), [Nov. 19, 1932].

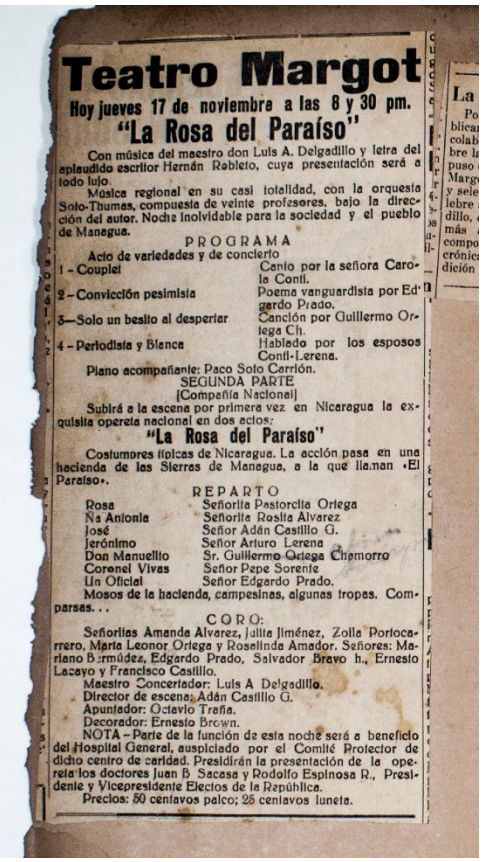
[87] J.G. Cedeño, "Noches de Arte. 'La Rosa del paraíso.' Ansiábamos ver esta obra…," [*El Comercio*] (Managua), [Nov. 1932]. "…vale un ciento por ciento más de su original, con la música arrobadora, deleitante, fluida como un arroyuelo…"

[88] Bizet, P.P. "'La rosa del paraíso' en el Margot fue un éxito de verdad," *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 20, 1932. The actors who took part in the first performance were Pastorcita Ortega (Rosa), Adán Castillo (José), Pepe Sorente [Mestayer] (Coronel Vivas), Rosita Álvarez (Ña Antonia), Arturo Lerena (Jerónimo), and Alfonso Solórzano, Jr. (Don Manuelito). They were part of a local acting troupe directed by Adán Castillo. Delgadillo conducted a local ensemble, the Soto-Thomas Orchestra.

[89] Ibid. A separate autograph manuscript of the *Canción* for voice and piano, dated August of 1961, is extant. Delgadillo may have had special affection for the song as he produced this version a few months before his death; see Luis A. Delgadillo, "Canción de la pajarita" from "La rosa del paraíso," Manuscript vocal score, Managua, August 1961, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense. National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua

[90] Ibid. "*La rosa del paraíso*… es la primera opereta nicaragüense que señala una leal y ferviente era de nacionalismo por acá."

strength and veracity of its *costumbrista* representation, and its social and political function as nationalist theater.



Teatro Margot

Hoy jueves 17 de noviembre a las 8 y 30 pm.

"La Rosa del Paraíso"

Con música del maestro don Luis A. Delgadillo y letra del aplaudido escritor Hernán Robleto, cuya presentación será a todo lujo.

Música regional en su casi totalidad, con la orquesta Soto-Thumas, compuesta de veinte profesores, bajo la dirección del autor. Noche inolvidable para la sociedad y el pueblo de Managua.

PROGRAMA

Acto de variedades y de concierto

1 - Coupiel — Canto por la señora Carola Conti.
2 - Convicción pesimista — Poema vanguardista por Edgardo Prado.
3—Solo un beslto al despertar — Canción por Guillermo Ortega Ch.
4 - Periodista y Blanca — Hablado por los esposos Conti-Lerena.

Piano acompañante: Paco Soto Carrión.

SEGUNDA PARTE

[Compañía Nacional]

Subirá a la escena por primera vez en Nicaragua la exquisita opereta nacional en dos actos:

"La Rosa del Paraíso"

Costumbres típicas de Nicaragua. La acción pasa en una hacienda de las Sierras de Managua, a la que llaman «El Paraíso».

REPARTO

Rosa	Señorita Pastorcita Ortega
Na Antonia	Señorita Rosita Alvarez
José	Señor Adán Castillo G.
Jerónimo	Señor Arturo Lerena
Don Manuelito	Sr. Guillermo Ortega Chamorro
Coronel Vivas	Señor Pepe Sorente
Un Oficial	Señor Edgardo Prado.

Mosos de la hacienda, campesinas, algunas tropas. Comparsas. . .

CORO:

Señoritas Amanda Alvarez, Julia Jiménez, Zoila Portocarrero, María Leonor Ortega y Roselinda Amador. Señores: Mariano Bermúdez, Edgardo Prado, Salvador Bravo h., Ernesto Lacayo y Francisco Castillo.

Maestro Concertador: Luis A Delgadillo.
Director de escena: Adán Castillo G.
Apuntador: Octavio Traña.
Decorador: Ernesto Brown.

NOTA – Parte de la función de esta noche será a beneficio del Hospital General, auspiciado por el Comité Protector de dicho centro de caridad. Presidirán la presentación de la opereta los doctores Juan B Sacasa y Rodolfo Espinosa R., Presidente y Vicepresidente Electos de la República.

Precios: 50 centavos palco; 25 centavos luneta.

Figure 5.3. *La rosa del paraíso*, operetta program, Managua, 1932. Source: [Managua newspaper].[91]

Musical Transformation of *La rosa*

The undated typescript libretto prepared for the operetta reveals a number of features regarding the musical adaptation of the play.[92] Among the broader characteristics

[91] "Teatro Margot. Hoy jueves 17 de noviembre a las 8 y 30 pm. 'La Rosa del paraíso,'" (Managua), Nov. 17, [1932].

[92] Luis A. Delgadillo and Hernán Robleto, "La rosa del paraíso (opereta regional)," Typescript libretto, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. The typescript is unbound and twenty-five un-numbered pages in length. The text

are the textual changes from the original published libretto.[93] In general, Delgadillo preserved much of the 1921 text, yet he made minor changes—sometimes shortened or truncated the dialogue; moved text around within a scene; or wrote new text possibly to ease connections between scenes.[94] In a notable case, he removed crucial background details to José (original libretto: Act 1, Scene IX, and Act 2, Scene IX), giving him more of an air of mystery. Delgadillo consistently adjusted the text when inserting a song or instrumental music into a scene. In one instance, at the end of the first act, he removed the final exchange of words between Don Manuelito and José, omitting the closing mortal threat made by the latter, in order to introduce the final musical number sung by José and the chorus. In another instance, he added an entire scene to feature Coronel Vivas and chorus in a single musical number (Act 1, Scene V). Delgadillo did not write music for the moment that featured Paco García (as José) in the original libretto (Act 2, Scene III). Instead, he moved the song to a later point (Act 2, Scene VI), and changed its *affekt* from a lovelorn lament to a lyrical *romanza*.

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appears only on the recto side of each page. Indications for act and scene changes, listing of characters in a given scene, and spoken or sung text are typed in red; indications for specific names of individuals speaking or singing a given text, personnel movement or action, explicit non-verbal emotion, and changes from sung to spoken text are typed in black. The first page of the libretto is the exception in which the colors of the aforementioned indications are reversed.

[93] All observations or comparisons are based on this typescript libretto and the already-cited 1921 published edition that accompanied the play. Although there is no evidence of attribution anywhere on the typescript, or reference in another source, I am inclined to presume that Delgadillo adapted all of text and theatrical indications. For a list of characters, musical numbers, scene changes, and constellation to the operetta, see Appendix G.

[94] For example, the beginning of Act 1, Scene IV.

There is only one extant score of the operetta[95]—a manuscript short score from which Delgadillo appears to have directed the music, the dating of which is unclear.[96] Instrumental cues are sparse, and too few to determine the qualities of the instrumentation. The score is otherwise quite legible.[97] The multiple layers of writing are evidence of a working score, and of changes suggesting its use on possibly more than one occasion from 1924 onward.

The music for *La rosa* is varied, and reflects the cosmopolitan musical tastes of Managua audiences. There are fifteen musical numbers interspersed throughout the work.[98] Songs for solo voice, as well as duos or trios in dialogue, are assigned to every character except for Ña Antonia. They are generally strophic and include an introduction. Choruses nearly always appear as part of the scoring of a song, either to complement or

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[95] Luis A. Delgadillo and Hernán Robleto, "La rosa del paraíso (opereta regional)," Manuscript short score, San Salvador, El Salvador, October 30, 1925, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. The score is thirty-seven pages in length; both recto and verso sides contain the work, with page numbers appearing only on the recto. Pages 20–22, most of the overture to Act 2, are missing. For a list of characters, musical numbers, scene changes, and constellation to the operetta, see Appendix G. All references are to this copy of the score.

[96] A fair copy, lacking text underlay and many other extra-musical indications, was completed and signed by "Domingo E. Andino" in the capital of El Salvador on October 30, 1925. At a later date, Delgadillo crossed-out the name of the copyist, and part of the location, in purple pencil. He then added "México" and changed the final number of the year of completion to "4," thereby adjusting the year of the fair copy to 1924. In charcoal pencil, he added all of the text underlay in a cursive hand, either above or below the corresponding music, and, on occasion, completed the melody of a given song when omitted in the fair copy. He also added other indications in charcoal pencil—names of characters assigned to a particular song, numbering of each section, dialogue text cues, and rehearsal markings of various kinds in different colored pencils. In at least one instance, the text underlay differs from the typescript libretto.

[97] The condition of the manuscript is good. Apart from a significant tear in the first page, which removed its title and some heading information, none of the subsequent tears or other kinds of damage to the score have lost a significant amount of music.

[98] For a list of characters, musical numbers, scene changes, and constellation to the operetta, see Appendix G.

repeat the text. The compositional fabric of the work is comprised of songs marked by lyrical qualities,[99] modeled after imported social dances (particularly, the foxtrot and waltz),[100] or set to Nicaraguan folk melodies. There are two kinds of instrumental music—overtures for each act, and otherwise brief incidental music.[101]

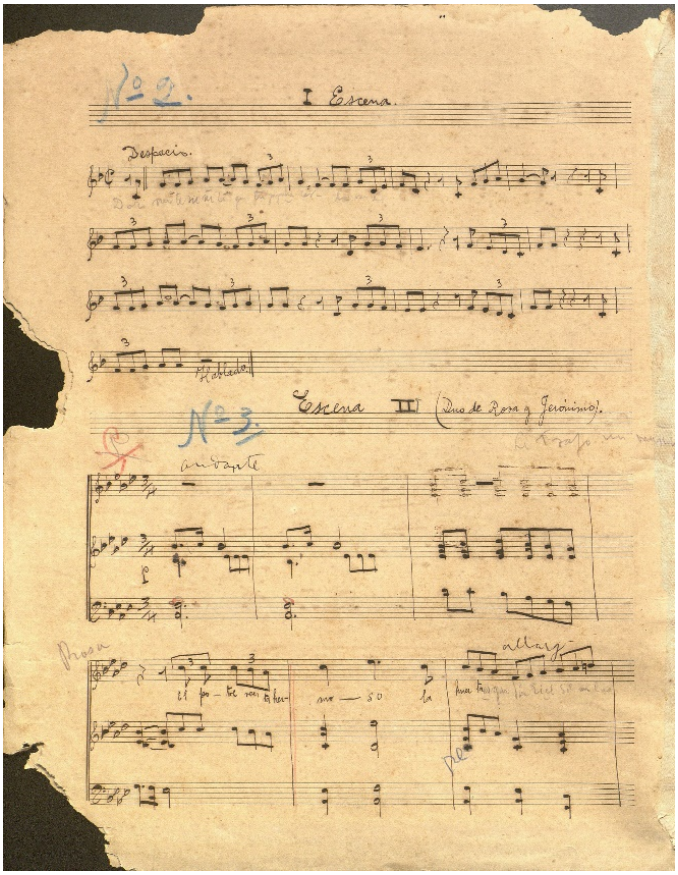

Figure 5.4. *La rosa del paraíso*, short score, p. 4. Source: FONMUNIC.

[99] Rosa's *Canción de la pajarita*, Act 1, Scene VII; and the *Romanza de José*, Act 2, Scene VI.
[100] The duo between Rosa and Coronel Vivas, "Vuelan del nido todas las aves" (Tempo di vals), Act 2, Scene V; the solo by Don Manuelito "Una Rosa adorada" (Vals lento), Act 1, Scene XV; and the solo/choral complex with Jerónimo, "En la ciudad de alegría," Act 2, Scene IV. The latter is not explicitly labeled as a foxtrot, but its musical gestures and form closely resemble the handful of such dances Delgadillo composed intermittently for at least two decades from the 1920s onward (see Chapter 3).
[101] An Allegretto bufón in Act 1, Scene XII; Andante mosso in the same act, Scene XVI; and the bugle calls in Act 2, Scene XII.

Musically Signifying the *Patria*

Delgadillo incorporated four Nicaraguan popular melodies in *La rosa*—"Dormite niñito," *El zanatillo, Los diablitos,* and *La pelota*. Each melody would have been recognizable to a local audience in Managua. Indeed, one review from the premiere in 1932 noted the spontaneous applause elicited by the "scoring of national songs" found in various guises throughout the work.[102] With the exception of *La pelota,* all were politically neutral as they formed part of a symbolic *cancionero* (songbook) likely familiar to a cross-section of Nicaraguan society.[103] Honduran writer Rafael Heliodor Valle captured the greater meaning of popular song in Central America, and its implied role in musical nationalism: "The domestic guitar and rural accordion repeat the sayings and verses; the stirred soul reveals them; the generations adjust the nuances of that fragmentary poetry despite their zeal; and the people, 'the great poet,' pulsate songs in all of the pristine beauty."[104] The melody *La pelota,* as I will examine below, was anything but politically neutral, and contributed to the subversive message presented at the end of the story.

The character of Jerónimo sings and hums the cradle song "Dormite niñito" (Sleep Little Baby) at the beginning of Act 1 (Example 5.1).[105] Delgadillo also quotes it in the first overture and briefly at the end of the same act.[106] The typically understated

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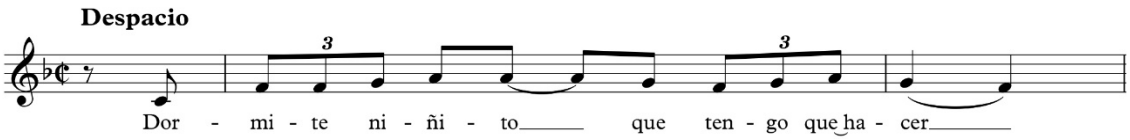
[102] "Teatro Nacional." "…aires nacionales… en la partitura musical…"
[103] No popular songbooks were compiled or published in Nicaragua until the 1940s.
[104] Rafael Heliodoro Valle, "El folklore en la literatura de Centro América," *The Journal of American Folklore* 36/140 (1923), 105.
[105] Luis A. Delgadillo and Hernán Robleto, "La rosa del paraíso (opereta regional)," Manuscript short score, San Salvador, El Salvador, October 30, 1924, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua, 4.
[106] Ibid., 1 and 19.

melody of the cradle song presented in full orchestration was intended to open the operetta not only in a grand manner, but as a musical gesture to which a local audience would immediately ascribe a sense of belonging. Delgadillo likely used it as a strategy to trigger a notion of the "imagined community" through popular song.

Example 5.1. Robleto and Delgadillo, *La rosa del paraíso* (1924), Act 1, Scene I, "2. Dormite niñito" (Jerónimo), mm. 1–2.[107]

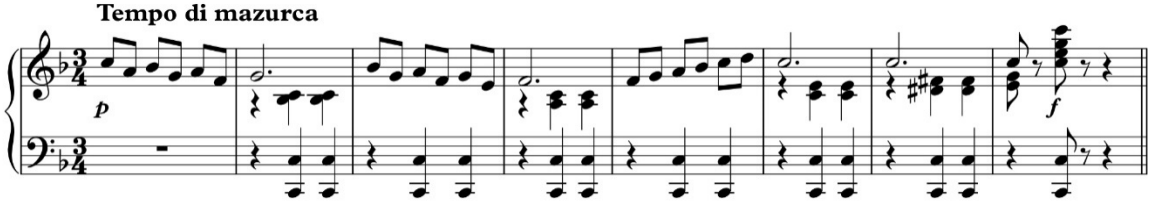


The melody *El zanatillo* (The Little Zanate [Bird]), whose original text describes the problems of love through metaphor, is the basis for the song "Ya el gobierno no soporta" (The Government No Longer Tolerates) in Act 1, Scene V (Example 5.2).[108] In a *Tempo di mazurca*, Coronel Vivas sings his first *bufo* air about "wiping out" communists, echoed toward the end of the number by a chorus. In the score, however, Delgadillo changed communists to "intestinal plague."[109] In a reference to current events, one reviewer suggested the same words be replaced with "Sandinista plague."[110] The number nevertheless magnified the paradoxical nature of Coronel Vivas as a caricature, a blend of tragic military figure of yesteryear and theatrical clown: the violent message of

[107] Ibid., 4.
[108] Delgadillo and Robleto, "La rosa," 7–10.
[109] Ibid., 8. The change to "intestinal plague" may have been inspired by an epidemic the residents of Managua suffered once in a while. There was at least one episode in late 1928, not long after the cancellation of *La rosa*, and apparently noted in a newspaper another epidemic of it in the capital; see "Carnet del Cronista. El flagelo de la intestinal," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 12, 1928.
[110] "Teatro Nacional. La Rosa del paraíso," [*La Prensa*] (Managua), [Nov. 19, 1932].

the text and traditional association of the love song reach a peak of comic absurdity in the musical number.[111]

Example 5.2. Robleto and Delgadillo, *La rosa del paraíso* (1924), Act 1, Scene V, "4. Ya el gobierno no soporta" (Coronel Vivas), set to *El zanatillo*, introduction, mm. 1–8.[112]



The song *Los diablitos* (The Little Devils), taken from a traditional Nicaraguan *baile* (folk dance), features Rosa in Act 2, Scene VIII.[113] The text was adjusted for the operetta, but the music is drawn from the original practice. Robleto recalled the traditional context of the dance in *Nido*:

> …the elegant youth of Granada dressed in costume as "the little devils," competing [against each other] in their extravagant dress: satin, silk, [and] highly artistic imported masks aided in the mocking of social scrutiny with costume, taking advantage [of the condition] to criticize, satirize, and laugh in its honor or vanity. The group invaded domestic salons, and with the dance began a series of intentional verses: 'We are the devils / that come from the underworld / to take mothers-in-law / that do not want their sons-in-law.'[114]

[111] One reviewer waxed at length about Coronel Vivas's role, going so far as to suggest a change in the song "Ya el gobierno no soporta" from "intestinal plague" to "Sandinista plague," no doubt a reference to the Nicaraguan revolutionary nationalist Augusto César Sandino (1895–1934), and the protracted conflict he waged against the U.S. Marines in the north of Nicaragua toward the end of the intervention; see "Teatro Nacional. La Rosa del paraíso," [*La Prensa*] (Managua), [Nov. 19, 1932]. "…plaga sandinista…"

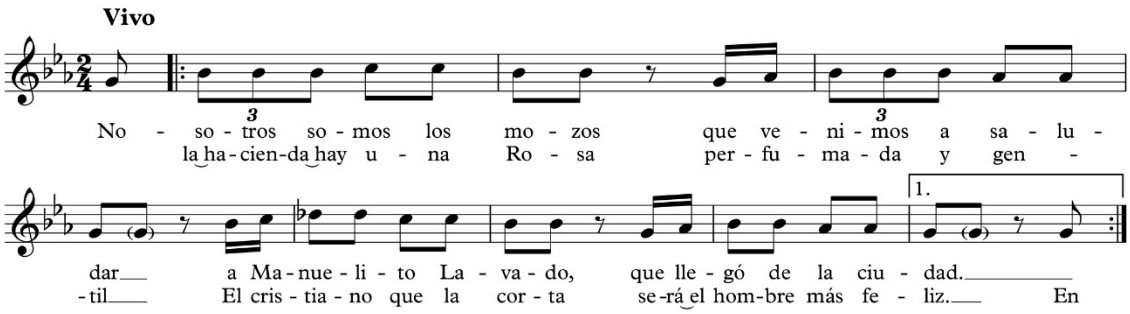
[112] Delgadillo and Robleto, "La rosa," 32.

[113] Ibid., 31–32.

[114] Robleto, *Nido*, 132. "…los jóvenes elegantes de Granada se disfrazaban de 'diablitos' rivalizando de la riqueza de los trajes: raso, seda, máscaras extranjeras muy artísticas, que lograban burlar la investigación social con el disfraz aprovechando para la crítica, para la sátira, para la cosquilla en las honras o en la vanidad. La tropa invadía los salones y con el baile comenzaba la serie de coplas intencionadas: 'Nosotros somos los diablos / que venimos de los Infiernos / a llevarnos a las suegras / que no quieren a sus yernos."

Delgadillo preserved the music to *Los diablitos*, but adjusted the text for *La rosa*, transforming the "little devils" into *mozos*, or farmhands (Example 5.3). The new text converted its once satirical message into a welcome song for the character of Don Manuelito, foreshadowing his intentions toward Rosa.

Example 5.3. Robleto and Delgadillo, *La rosa del paraíso* (1924), Act 2, Scene VIII, "13. Nosotros somos los mozos" (Chorus and Rosa), mm. 19–26.

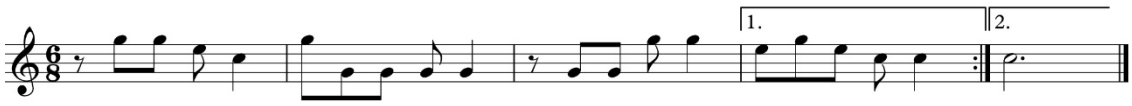


The tune *La pelota* is quoted as part of a succession of bugle calls with accompaniment just before the final chorus of Act 2.[115] The manuscript indicates the various decisions Delgadillo made before deciding to use the tune, including a quotation of *La marseillaise*, played by a muted bugle.[116] *La pelota* originated as instrumental military music (Example 5.4),[117] which was then given a text, "¿Que parió tu mamá,

[115] Delgadillo and Robleto, *La rosa*, score, 36.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Salomón Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía del himno nacional de Nicaragua* (Managua: República de Nicaragua, 1955), 3 and 5.

Pelota?" ("To what did your mother give birth, Pelota?)[118]; hence, the title of the bugle call.[119]

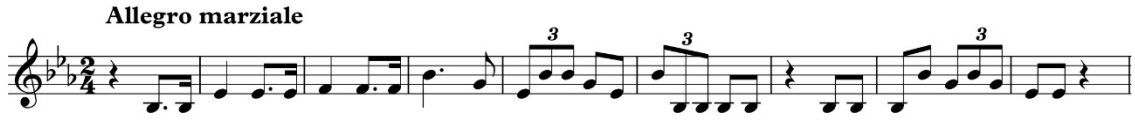
Example 5.4. *La pelota.*[120]



The appearance of *La pelota* is not casual in the operetta. It was not just any military call, as Robleto noted more than once in *Nido*, but a musical signifier for the cheer "Long Live the Liberal Party."[121] The revolutionary forces that appear at the end of *La rosa* were not a generic entity, a symbol that could be re-inscribed as the audience saw fit, but a group with Liberal sympathies with whom the character of José had political affinity. The inclusion of *La marseillaise* signified a historic call for revolution, while *La pelota* demanded a Liberal insurrection (Example 5.5). Furthermore, its presence is evidence of a shared nationalist desire on the part of Robleto and Delgadillo. And while the former was a well-known Liberal anti-interventionist figure, the musical adaptation of *La rosa* suggests Delgadillo was an anti-interventionist himself.

[118] Carlos Mántica Abaunza, *El habla nicaragüense y otros ensayos* (Managua: Editorial HISPAMER, 2008), 277. The earliest version of the text I have been able to locate is in English, see Salomón de la Selva, "Tropical Dance (Central American Folk-song)," in *Tropical Town and Other Poems* (New York: John Lane Company; and London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1918), 21.
[119] "Pelota" was a contemporary popular nickname; see Ernesto Barahona López, ed., *100 años de Managua, D.N.* (Managua, 1946), 24.
[120] Ibarra Mayorga, *Monografía*, 5.
[121] In the novel *Los estrangulados* (1933), Robleto referred to it as a *diana regional* (regional bugle call).

Example 5.5. Robleto and Delgadillo, *La rosa del paraíso* (1924), Act 2, "15a. Toque de clarín con sordina," *La marseillaise* and *La pelota*, mm. 10–17. [122]



Premiere of *Pájaros del norte* (1936)

Although the intervention had concluded four years earlier, and the U.S. Marines withdrawn from the country, the protracted episode was still fresh in Nicaraguan memory when *Pájaros* premiered in Managua on January 15, 1937.[123] The country had, in fact, just experienced a soft revolution—Anastasio Somoza García (1896–1856), commander of the *Guardia Nacional*, had staged a successful *coup d'état* the previous June, and then proceeded with national elections that handed him the presidency.[124] This was to be the beginning of a four-decade long dictatorship, an infamous family dynasty sustained by Somoza García and his two sons.[125] The early years of the dictatorship, however, were a more deceptively innocent time, a period that could still look back in contemplation of the intervention before new realities took hold.

[122] Delgadillo and Robleto, "La rosa," 36.
[123] "Hoy 'Los pájaros del norte' en el Teatro González," *La Noticia* (Managua), Jan.15, 1937.
[124] Frances Kinloch Tijerino, *Historia de Nicaragua* ([Managua]: Universidad Centroamericana, and Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica, 2005), 258.
[125] For an examination of the Somoza dictatorship, see Frances Kinloch Tijerino, "Dicatadura y geopolítica (1934–1971)," in *Historia de Nicaragua* ([Managua]: Universidad Centroamericana, and Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica, 2005); and Enrique Bolaños Geyer, *Historia de Nicaragua: La lucha por el poder* (Managua: 2017), 204–207.

Robleto and Delgadillo presented *Pájaros* as a "patriotic response"[126] to the intervention, couched as a nationalist tragicomedy with music from an era that had scarcely begun to fade from memory.[127] The second operetta to carry both of their names was a joint collaboration, although there is no evidence at this point for the impetus of the project or process of development.[128] Nevertheless, the playwright and composer were well-known to local audiences, and each was experienced in their respective aspect of *género chico*.[129]

As a subject, the intervention had been treated by Robleto in two of his novels: *Sangre en el trópico* (Blood in the Tropics, 1930)[130] and *Los estrangulados* (The Strangled Ones, 1933),[131] both of whose subtitles explicitly referenced the *yanki* intervention in Nicaragua. The story of *Sangre en el trópico* is set during the "Constitutionalist" war that took place in Nicaragua (1926–1927), which concluded with the return of a U.S. Marine occupying force. It is narrated by the protagonist—a civilian who joins a band of Liberals in fighting against the Nicaraguan government—in the manner of an autobiographical account, revealing the nature of war in gruesome, journalistic detail.[132] At least one reviewer observed it to be "filled more with the truth

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[126] Arellano, *Literatura,* 166.
[127] Delgadillo composed another work of musical theater in December of 1936, the zarzuela *Las muchachas desobedientes* (The Disobedient Women) for the young women's school in Managua; see "Nueva zarzuela del maestro Delgadillo," *La Noticia* (Managua), Dec. 22, 1937.
[128] I have yet to find source material to shed light on the background to their collaboration.
[129] "Hoy 'Los pájaros.'"
[130] Hernán Robleto, *Sangre en el trópico: la novela de la intervención yanqui en Nicaragua* (Madrid: Editorial Cenit, 1930).
[131] Hernán Robleto, *Los estrangulados: El imperialismo yanqui en Nicaragua* (Madrid: Editorial Cenit, 1933).
[132] Arellano, *Literatura nicaragüense*, 124.

than with tales," suggesting that Robleto may have imbued the story with autobiographical details.[133] The second novel, *Los estrangulados*, focused on the abuses of the economic system put in place by the intervention and the parasitic banking practices that broke, or "strangled," a number of Nicaraguan plantation owners. The narrative follows one such owner, and part of the Liberal cause, who loses his farm in a plot against him by the bank and customs house. Subsequently moving to a rural area in the center of the country, he is forced to fight the U.S. Marines after they destroy his property.

The characterization of U.S. Marine characters in both novels—Sargeants Clifford Smith and Peter Robinson, respectively—was a trope that later appeared in *Pájaros*: each is a caricature, unaware of the nefarious exceptionalism they exude when engaging Nicaraguans, or their notable lack of command of Spanish. The contempt held by Robleto for the intervention, while apparent in the subject matter, manifested in each representation of a U.S. Marine in his writings, culminating in the character of Sargento Smith in *Pájaros*, who Robleto subtly derides, constructing him as an insensitive and clownish brute.

A front-page feature in *La Noticia* on the day of the premiere of *Pájaros* showered praise on Robleto and Delgadillo, noting, "[the work] has produced what was hoped for: a great interest in attendance…."[134] The actors who took part were also

[133] Luis Bello, "Novelas de América. 'Sangre en el trópico,' por Hernán Robleto," *El Sol* (Madrid), Aug. 17, 1930. "…más llena de verdad más que de literatura."
[134] Ibid. "…ha producido lo que era de esperarse: un gran interés por asistir…"

highlighted.[135] And despite only one performance, the work received a positive if mixed review in *La Prensa* a few days later, lauding all aspects of the production, especially the music.[136] In the midst of glowing commentary, the reviewer focused on the painful historical details of the plot, while framing it in vivid terms:

> The new operetta… unfolds within the atmosphere we lived in those [dark] and sad days of the *yanky* occupation in Nicaragua, witnessing the removal of our traditions, deformation of our education, and sophistication of our habits. From the stage, Robleto relives the difficult experiences suffered by our women, victims of their naïveté and sincerity. [The operetta] shows us, in red, the residue of ungratefulness and deception that the Nicaraguan household suffered by the presence of the *yanky* marines, which ingratiated itself to our women, only to, at the hour of departure to destinations indicated by military orders, leave our innocent girls—dreamers and simple-hearted—forgotten and abandoned with a *mestizo* [mixed-race male] in their arms.[137]

The basis of the operetta and reflection by the *La Prensa* reviewer were not fictionalized accounts. U.S. Marines did marry local women during the occupation in Nicaragua, only to leave them once their tour of duty ended. A news item published in the U.S. Marine magazine *The Leatherneck* in September of 1923, confirmed the practice in Managua as it described an unexpected turn of events that befell a Marine named Slim: "Some of the men who 'tie up' down here expect to go back to the United States and

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[135] "Las bellas intérpretes de la opereta 'Pájaros del norte,'" *La Noticia* (Managua), Jan. 12, 1937. The actors who premiered the roles were María Teresa Cuadra, Margarita Morales, Angelita Robleto Barquero, Adán Castillo (the same actor who played José in the musical adaptation of *La rosa*), Carlos Berberena, and Enrique Lanzas.

[136] E.P., "Pájaros del norte," *La Prensa* (Managua), Jan. 17, 1937.

[137] Ibid. "La nueva opereta… se desarrolla dentro del ambiente que vivimos en los mal recordados y tristes días de la ocupación yanky en Nicaragua, la que vio a remover nuestras costumbres, a mixtificar nuestra educación y a sofisticar nuestros hábitos. Robleto desde el escenario, revive aquellas duras experiencias que sufrieron nuestras mujeres, víctimas de la ingenuidad y de la sinceridad. 'Pájaros del norte' nos enseña al rojo el saldo de ingratitud y de engaño que sufrió el Hogar nicaragüense con la presencia de la marinería yanky, la que se introdujo en el sentimiento de nuestras mujeres, para después, a la hora del retorno hacia los confines donde la orden militar indicare, dejasen en el olvido y en el abandono a nuestras incautas mozas—soñadoras y sencillas—con un mestizo entre sus brazos."

leave their fair one behind. Slim's gal, however, reversed the proceedings by leaving first. She did not even promise to send for him."[138]

The *La Prensa* review also uncovered a notable vestige of the intervention, namely, that its lingering effects were still a collective open wound in the Nicaraguan psyche at the time of the premiere of *Pájaros*.[139]

Synopsis and Characters

The libretto of *Pájaros* shares a clarity of story and simplicity of moral with that of *La rosa*, except on this occasion the *costumbrismo* is located in an urban environment.[140] Set in Managua, and organized in two acts with the second divided into a pair of tableaux, the operetta primarily takes place in a "middle class" living room with pretensions toward greater comforts. The protagonist María, a young woman of marrying age, is the point of focus in a love triangle between her and two males, Enrique and Sargento Smith. The former, a friend of hers, is in love with her, but she rejects his advances—his lack of professional prospects makes him an unattractive catch. The latter,

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[138] "Monthly Semper Fidelis Club Smoker," *The Leatherneck*, September 18, 1923.
[139] Unlike *La rosa*, the first performance of *Pájaros* appears to have be the only one ever given. It is unclear as to how Delgadillo felt about the production or reception. However, he did not include *Pájaros* in the only catalog of his works published during his lifetime; see "Luis A. Delgadillo," in *Compositores de América 2* (Washington D.C.: Unión Panamericana, 1956/1962), 41–49.
[140] Hernán Robleto, "Pájaros del norte. Ópera nicaragüense en dos actos (1936)," *Boletín nicaragüense de bibliografía y documentación* 49 (1982), 42–63. The libretto does not appear to have been published around the time of the premiere. It was subsequently included in a collection of secondary sources relating to Nicaraguan theater published in 1982. The source on which the publication was based came from the "Archive of María Teresa Cuadra," named after one of the actors who took part in the premiere. For a list of characters, musical numbers, scene changes, and constellation to the operetta, see Appendix H.

a U.S. Marine, wants to marry her, though perhaps only for the convenience of having sex while in Nicaragua. As the story progresses Smith becomes more forceful in his advances toward María, promising to take her back to the United States. His ostensibly terrible command of spoken Spanish is marked by mispronunciation that often leads to misunderstanding in conversation. He is also arrogant and insensitive—quick to remind Nicaraguans of a perceived inferiority. Chon, María's mother, supports the advances made by Sargento Smith, pressuring her daughter at the expense of their dignity. Petrona, a household employee, adds an air of humor and sobriety, often in the service of her boss. Emeterio, a loyal friend to María, has a pronounced stutter (vocal disfluency), which makes him focal point for mockery and punch lines.[141] There are moments in which he is presented as a sympathetic character who holds great affection for María. A group of *muchachas* (women), acquaintances of María, visit the household to exchange gossip, barely hiding their *schadenfreude* toward her. The drama builds toward a lamentable end—María is abandoned by Sergeant Smith, who leaves Nicaragua without confronting her.

Similar to *La rosa*, and alongside its explicit criticism of the intervention at the heart of its plot, the love triangle in *Pájaros* also points to an anti-interventionist discourse through allegory. María, pure and untouched despite her residence in the city, represents Nicaragua. Sargento Smith, the literal embodiment of U.S. intervention, lures her with promises and then violates her/Nicaragua. Enrique, whose sense of patriotism

[141] There is a history of stuttering in music that extends back to the sixteenth century; see Blake Howe, ed., "Musical Representation of Disability," *Louisiana State University*, accessed December 10, 2017, https://www.lsu.edu/faculty/bhowe/disability-representation.html.

rejects the intervention, fails to save her, but remains to deal with the fallout once Sargento Smith is gone. Whereas *La rosa* gave hope for the escape from intervention, *Pájaros* presents only relief, at the whim of the U.S., from literal and symbolic exploitation. *Pájaros* is thus a cautionary tale about U.S. intervention and military occupation.

Musical Construction

Delgadillo prepared a short score of *Pájaros*, a fair copy dated December of 1936.[142] Nearly all of the music and extra-musical indications were in place at the time the score was completed—text underlay in cursive handwriting, names of characters assigned to a particular song, numbering of each section, and rehearsal markings.[143] Minor accretions, which appear to be a result of the rehearsal process, were added at a later time.[144] As in *La rosa,* instrumental cues are too sparse to reconstruct its instrumentation.[145] The score is generally clear and legible.

There are fourteen musical numbers interspersed throughout the spoken drama—eight songs and six instrumental numbers. The songs, mostly solos in addition to a duet and a trio, are generally strophic and include an introduction. Choruses appear only in a

[142] Luis A. Delgadillo and Hernán Robleto, "Pájaros del norte (opereta nacional)," Manuscript short score, Managua, Nicaragua, December 1936, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. The autograph score is twenty-nine un-numbered pages in length, with both recto and verso sides containing the work. For a list of characters, musical numbers, scene changes, and constellation to the operetta, see Appendix H. All references are to this copy of the score. There are also a set of instrumental parts in the FONMUNIC, which I have not been able to access.
[143] The score was completed in ink.
[144] Later accretions are either in charcoal or colored pencil.
[145] A set of parts, or fragments, to the operetta is not extant.

complementary role to a given song. The character of María is given most of the songs, some modeled after imported social dance music forms (blues, waltz, fox-trot). There are three types of instrumental music: introductions that begin each act, brief martial pieces or fragments that punctuate the drama in various scenes, and a pair of stylized social dances.

In general, the music in the operetta heightens or frames the *affekt* of a given scene, allowing for further reflection on the drama through song or instrumental music. But the dance sequence in Act 2, Tableau 1, Scene III stands apart as a musical confrontation between U.S.-American and Nicaraguan culture, a battle of musical nationalisms. Culminating in final heated exchange between Enrique and Sargento Smith the scene closes with a cakewalk and Nicaraguan *zapateado*, respectively.[146] Sargento Smith prompts the first dance by mocking local music and dance: "[Does Nicaragua have] beautiful things? No. No. Neither flowers, nor music, or blues, or shimmy. You do not know how to dance here. Hop, hop, hop![147]

The dances that follow are an exhibition of musical embodiment, and a contest through which to prove cultural superiority. The musical form of the cakewalk, an early social dance from the ragtime era associated with black U.S.-American culture,[148] is straightforward—two-part (A B, each repeated) in D-major with an introduction,

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[146] Hernán Robleto, "Pájaros del norte. Ópera nicaragüense en dos actos (1936)," *Boletín nicaragüense de bibliografía y documentación* 49 (1982): 42–63. Aside from the indication "Baile del Kake Walk y del Zapateado" in the published libretto, there is no extant choreography or other information to shed light on the action of the dance sequence. My interpretation is thus speculative.

[147] Ibid., 58. "¿Cosas bonitas bonitas? No. No. Ni flor, ni músic, ni blues, ni schimve. Aquí no saber bailar. Hop! Hop! Hop!"

[148] See Chapter 4.

containing a principal pentatonic motive and characteristic syncopated rhythms employed throughout. The Nicaraguan *zapateado* is longer, and comprises four sections (A B C D, each repeated) in Ab-major with an introduction and a coda, containing various musical ideas, some repeated, over a habanera accompaniment.

The symbolism and strategic placement of these two dances in striking. In evoking popular music from the United States heard in Managua during the intervention, Delgadillo did not include one of the more common imported social dances—fox-trot, one-step, blues, waltz—for the musical confrontation. None would have necessarily signified U.S.-Americanness to a local audience at the time of the premiere of *Pájaros*. They were already part of the cultural fabric and soundscape of Managua, whether imported or produced by local composers. In other words, those dances were already national musics and would have not functioned in representing the U.S.-American other. Delgadillo may have selected the cakewalk for two reasons: it was a social dance sufficiently outmoded that the audience could have associated it as U.S. American, especially if it was embodied by Sargento Smith; and it was a dance that did not need much more physical ability than to move back and forth in a grandiose manner, thus offering a practical solution for choreographing U.S. popular music with only one dancer. The cakewalk contrasted well with the Nicaraguan dance that followed it. The *zapateado* would have made an impression for its length, containing more music than the cakewalk, therefore, giving the dancers more opportunity for displays of footwork; and for its position in the contest—Nicaraguan music had the final word at the close of the scene. A local audience likely responded by cheering their dance above the cakewalk, and justified

a sense of victory over the disparaging comments made by Sargento Smith. Nicaraguan cultural nationalism would have conquered the usurper on home turf.

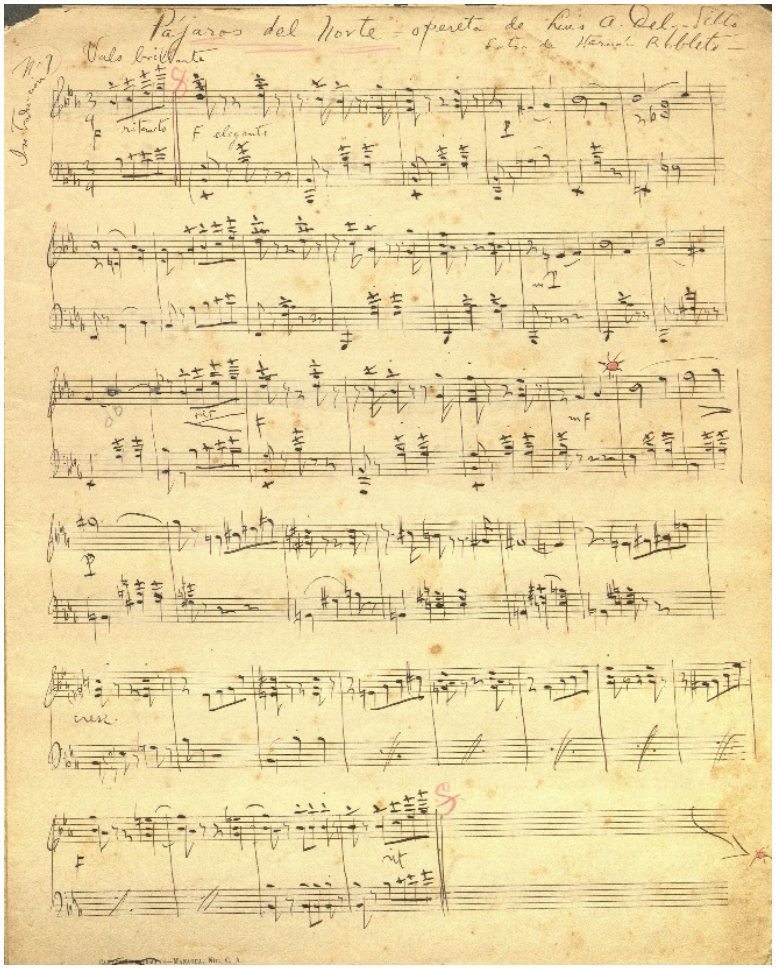


Figure 5.5. *Pájaros del norte*, autograph short score, p. 3. Source: FONMUNIC.

La pelota: Musical Signifier of Liberalism

Whereas a handful of folk melodies marked the *costumbrista* representation of *La rosa*, Delgadillo included only one melody in *Pájaros*— the military bugle call *La pelota*. The tune appeared twice, and continued to be a signifier for the Liberal Party, or

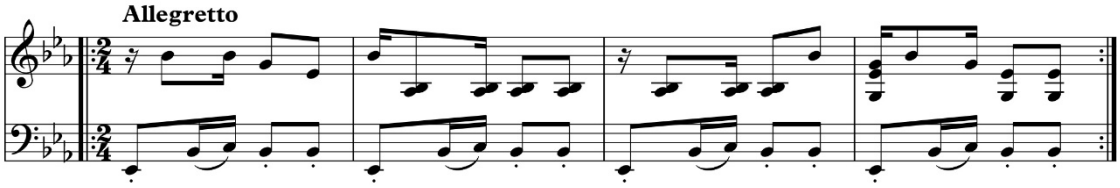
liberalism, in general. In its first appearance in Act 1, Scene VIII, it is woven into the fabric of the musical number—a song featuring the character of María—that comprises the entire scene. Moreover, the scene is only section of the operetta to reference current politics, as was apropos of the genre.[149]

Taking a comical, if surreal turn, María and a chorus of *gatitas* (cats) sing in a call (verses) and response (refrain) manner, respectively, to a fox-trot. Having just been propositioned by Sargento Smith in the previous scene, María reflects on her immediate rejection of the advance. The subject of her verses then change to President Anastasio Somoza García, whose first term, concurrent with the premiere of *Pájaros*, initially earned him a reputation for turning down all manner of favor or request. The chorus echoes the message of rejection, for both Smith and Somoza García, but also suggests the future possibility of acceptance.

A fragment of *La pelota* introduces the number, while it is also heard quoted fully and repeated a number times in a *baile* (dance sequence) following the exchanges between María and chorus. Recast in syncopated rhythms (Example 5.6), the inclusion of the tune reinforces the Liberal ideology present in referencing Somoza García, aside from those already-determined thought of the playwright and composer.

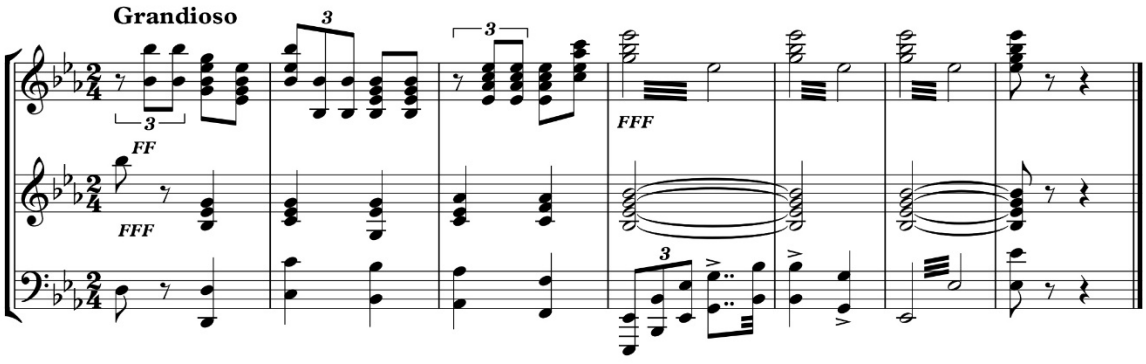
[149] The function of this number may have been intended to ingratiate the playwright and composer to Somoza García.

Example 5.6. Robleto and Delgadillo, *Pájaros del norte*, Act 1, Scene VIII, No. 4, mm. 38–41.



The tune returns at the very end of the operetta, in partial quote, following the departure of Sargento Smith and resolution through an exchange by María, Enrique, and Emeterio. Played a full orchestra at the coda of the Finale (Example 5.7), its presence marks the end of the intervention, and the power of Liberal politics of the moment, as well as the political reality at the time of premiere of *Pájaros*. The both nostalgic and celebratory (present/past) allusions to liberalism represented by *La pelota*, belied the dark beginnings of a decades-long dictatorship of the Somoza Dynasty in Nicaragua.[150]

Example 5.7. Robleto and Delgadillo, *Pájaros del norte*, Act 1, Tableau 2, Scene 5, No. 14, mm. 34–40.



[150] For an examination of Somoza García at the forefront of Nicaraguan politics, see Knut Walter, *The Regime of Anastasio Somoza García 1936–1956* (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 1993).

Conclusion

In August of 1961, a few months before his death, Delgadillo returned to *La rosa del paraíso*. With minor changes, he faithfully transcribed only the *Canción de la pajarita* (Song of the Little [Female] Bird).[151] It is unclear as to why, after many decades since its staging, he came back to the work, and particularly this song. Perhaps the sentimental and exoticist music triggered a sense of nostalgia for a Managua that no longer existed. Or perhaps it had more to do with people from that era that had passed away. Or maybe, for an elderly art music composer whose reputation had begun to dim, he wanted to relive some of the glories of his professional career. Indeed, *La rosa* was his greatest critical success in musical nationalism during the intervention. The operetta constituted a first in a pair collaborations with Hernán Robleto that explored *costumbrismo* in representation of popular archetypes, customs, and language. Through his collaborations with Robleto, Delgadillo not only sought to adapt and elevate the received literary genre through the medium of *género chico*, but he imbued each drama with markedly political musical signifiers.[152] The inclusion of the tune *La pelota*, the only Nicaraguan music common to both operettas, signified a rallying cry for the Liberal Party, and revealed the ideological stances of the playwright and composer. Whether

[151] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Canción de la pajarita" from "La rosa del paraíso," Manuscript vocal score, Managua, August 1961, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense. National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.

[152] Delgadillo collaborated with other Nicaraguan writers, including Rodolfo Arana Sándigo on the Indianist opera *Mavaltayán*, and Ildo Sol on the nationalist operetta *Aura del Mombacho*. Both collaborations took place after 1940.

calling for revolution in *La rosa*, or reckoning with U.S. Marine abuses in *Pájaros*, both works presented anti-interventionist discourses through nationalist musical theater.

CHAPTER 6

Centenario: Representation of the Indigenous in Luis A. Delgadillo's *Sinfonía indígena*

Introduction

On the morning of September 15, 1921, exactly one hundred years to the day, Guatemalan historian Antonio Batres Jáuregui (1847–1928)[1] delivered the *discurso oficial* (official speech) to mark the centennial of Central American Independence.[2] Held at the Palacio del Centenario in Guatemala City, before an audience of guests of the state and local public, he presented a sweeping, poetic narrative uniting the region and its five nation-states: Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Those in attendance heard an abbreviated history of Central America, recounted chronologically through nationalist tropes. Batres Jáuregui evoked a distant pre-Columbian past, an ancient and fertile land inhabited by indigenous peoples. The narrative then moved on to the Spanish Conquest and ensuing centuries of colonial domination, which were responsible for the creation of a "new race and a new civilization," he claimed.[3] This led to the "inevitable" collective independence of the New Spanish provinces, their subsequent union as a federation, and later reformation into sovereign republics. Batres Jáuregui painted an image of a hard-fought regional progress, a teleology across several

[1] Martin E. Erickson, "Antonio Batres Jáuregui: Guatemalan Critic," *Hispania* 25/3 (1942), 343.
[2] Antonio Batres Jáuregui, *Discurso oficial pronunciado el 15 de septiembre de 1921, en el centenario de la Independencia de la América del Centro* (Guatemala: Imprenta "La Patria," 1921).
[3] Ibid., 3. "…nueva raza y nueva civilización…"

centuries leading directly to the centennial. Before closing, he returned to the subject of a Central American federation, noting the possibility of a reunification that year. And he expressed a desire for its realization in order that "the manifest destiny of Central America should be completed."[4] In closing, he invoked the national motto of the historic federation: *¡Dios, Unión y Libertad!* (God, Union, and Liberty!).

A highly romanticized narrative, the speech is noteworthy for its constructed depiction of indigenous culture in Central American history as existing solely in the past. Aside from references to the "remarkable footprints of theocratic empires," the "wild Quetzal bird of the heroic soil of Tecún Umán," and "locations of dead civilizations," there is no mention of a *living* indigenous legacy.[5] The role of the indigenous-past thus served to frame ideas of progress and nation-building in the modern era. Historian Rebecca Earle has argued that such constructions were not uncommon in nineteenth-century Latin American independence speeches: "Praise for the indigenous past as a source of national identity was usually premised on the rejection of the indigenous present, and the severing of any links between the Indian population and the pre-Columbian past."[6] Batres Jáuregui followed in this discursive tradition by constructing a history of Central America that erased the indigenous-present, reinforcing notions of the region as culturally homogenous.

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[4] Ibid., 9. "El destino manifiesto de la América Central ha de cumplirse."
[5] Ibid., 3,4, and 10. "…huellas portentosas de teocráticos imperios"; "…indómito quetzal en el heroico suelo de Tecún-Umán"; "…sitios de civilizaciones muertas…"
[6] Rebecca Earle, "'Padres de la Patria' and the Ancestral Past: Commemorations of Independence in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34/4 (2002), 805.

The omission of the indigenous-present by Batres Jáuregui was not a matter of casual oversight, but one of politics—a reflection of national discourse to which he had been contributing for many years. While elite *mestizo* notions of what constituted national/regional identity—progress and civilization—were the thrust of his speech, he could not include the indigenous-present, which, for him, did not necessarily represent (part of) the nation. In his study *Los indios* (The Indians, 1893), a history of indigenous populations in Guatemala, Batres Jáuregui asserted that, while the indigenous were worthy of examination, his principal goal was to "construct a history of them and look into the manner in which to increase their civilization and development"[7]; in other words, bring them into line with modernity, an ideology later shared by those present at his speech in September of 1921.

The explicit message of the official speech was in contrast to the concert program given the previous evening at the Palacio del Centenario. Wielding a baton as guest of honor at the centennial celebrations, Delgadillo conducted the premiere of his *Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana* (Indigenous or Central American Symphony, 1921), based on the Central American narrative of the *Baile de la Conquista* (Dance of the Spanish Conquest)—the death of Maya K'iche' warrior Tecún Umán at the hands of Spanish *conquistador* Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras. The four-movement work did not merely carry a symbolic title, but employed indigenous and popular melodies from Guatemala and Nicaragua, respectively. Delgadillo acquired the indigenous musical material from

[7] Antonio Batres Jáuregui, *Los indios: su historia y su civilización* (Guatemala: Establecimiento Tipográfico La Unión, 1893), 4. "…historiarlos e inquirir el modo de acrecentar su civilización y desarrollo…."

Guatemalan composer Jesús Castillo (1877–1946), who had been studying and transcribing the music of contemporary Maya K'iche' for a number of years. On the surface, the resulting work by Delgadillo represented the indigenous-present via musical elements from a living expressive culture. Yet, on closer inspection, the work was no different from the political discourse presented by Batres Jáuregui.

In this chapter I will examine the *Sinfonía indígena* as a work that represents the indigenous-past, which reinforced nation-building discourses of *mestizo* (or *ladino*) identity and Central American unity, while employing elements of the indigenous-present as a strategy of artistic legitimacy. I will contextualize these aspects through the centennial celebrations in Managua and Guatemala City, and the geopolitical backdrop of the reunification efforts of the Central American Federation that were thwarted by the intervention in Nicaragua.

The terms "indigenous-past" and "indigenous-present" refer to representations of indigenous people, culture, and history. The indigenous-past may be constructed from myths, legends, or historic detail, and may serve as an imaginary in nation-building discourse. The indigenous-present constitutes the living legacy of indigenous expressive culture, embodied by the people, communities, or regions they inhabit; and may also find a place in nation-building discourse. I use both terms, generally, in binary opposition to one another, although they may be directly connected or embodied in a single conceptualization.

The indigenous-present in Nicaragua is historically bound up with the socio-political identity of the *mestizo* or so-called "myth" of *mestizaje*. The common coin term

in the nineteenth-century Central America was *ladino*, a political label that came out of the Spanish colonial era.[8] The Nicaraguan *ladino*, as in the rest of the isthmus, was a mixed-race individual (= *mestizo*) or it was employed as a metonymy for "not Indian."[9] In either case it suggested a form of dissolution or erasure of indigenous identity. This developed out of nineteenth-century discourses founded on the construction of an ethnically homogenous nation, and national projects defined by Comtean liberalism, themselves based on ideas of progress. Historian Jeffrey Gould has asserted, "since the 1880s, when official [Nicaraguan] discourse trumpeted the victory of ladino 'civilization' over Indian 'barbarism,' elite liberal and popular ideologies have denied the validity of indigenous identity."[10] Indeed, this is confirmed in the first history of Nicaragua, published in 1882. In reference to indigenous people, historian Tomás Ayón recognized that America was inhabited by "cruel and fierce populations" he considered to be "vestiges of [the] past."[11] This was nothing of which to be ashamed, he asserted, as they would reach "civilization and culture" equal to more advanced societies in a short period

[8] Possibly originating in medieval Iberian Peninsula, the term *ladino* was used as an adjective during the early Spanish colonial period— a subgroup of the *indio* caste, the *indio-ladino* was marked by bilingualism (they spoke Spanish) and Spanish manner of dress. During the early eighteenth century, *ladino* was used as a noun to designate someone who was neither Spanish nor indigenous, while substituting for various classifications of *mestizos* and mulattos. *Ladino* could also refer to rural Spaniards. During the nineteenth century, the *ladino* was a generalization for rural populations, who were neither part of indigenous communities nor from urban elite *criollo* families; see Isabel Rodas Nuñez, "Ladinos ¿mestizaje, clasificación, administrativa y tributaria, identidad política o identidad cultura?" in *De Españoles a Ladinos: Cambio social y relaciones de parentesco en el Altiplano central colonial guatemalteco* (Guatemala: Ediciones ICAPI, 2004), 155–183.
[9] Jeffrey L. Gould, *To Die in this Way: Nicaraguan Indians and the Myth of Mestizaje, 1880–1965* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 136.
[10] Ibid., 6.
[11] Tomás Ayón, *Historia de Nicaragua* (Granada, Nicaragua: Tipografía de "El Centro-americano," 1882), 11.

of time. A succession Nicaraguan governments sought to delegitimize and disarticulate contemporary indigenous communities, while employing the indigenous-past only to serve nation-building.[12]

Hope and Failure of a New Central American Federation

For much of the centennial year, the possibility of a formal, regional unification loomed over the Central American isthmus, a perpetual dream since the dissolution of the Central American Federation (1824–1841).[13] Efforts to reunite the region surfaced intermittently throughout the nineteenth century, but none came as close as the collective endeavor initiated in late 1920.[14] For approximately six weeks (December 5, 1920–January 19, 1921), official delegates from each country met in San José, Costa Rica to discuss the conditions of reestablishment.[15] The invocation of "peace, justice, equality and liberty, progress and general welfare" guided the proceedings.[16] The resulting draft of a *Pacto de Unión* (Union Pact, 1921), a crucial first step toward realizing a long-

[12] Gould, *To Die*, 134.
[13] Nicaragua was the first to separate from the union on April 30, 1838. For a summary analysis of the reasons for the original federation's failure to remain intact, see Jorge Eduardo Arellano, "I. Antecedentes: genesis, formación y fracturación del estado nacional," in *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1912–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004), 71–75.
[14] Sterling Evans, "At Union's Brink: Ideals and Problems in Restoring the United Provinces of Central America, 1920–1922," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 32/1 (1997): 69. There were twenty-five separate attempts to reunite Central America between the dissolution of the federation and the year 1921.
[15] For a contemporary report on the proceedings and results of the San José conference, including a translation of the pact, see "Central American Federation," *The Southwestern Political Science Quarterly* 1/4 (1921), 397–407.
[16] Joaquin E. Thomas, "La union centroamericana en los tratados y convenios diplomaticos (Desde la Federación de 1824 a la Federación de 1921)," *Revista Española de Derecho Internacional* 5/3 (1952): 889. "…la paz, la justicia, igualdad y libertad, progreso y bienestar general…"

anticipated dream, represented "a spirit of compromise reflecting diverse regional considerations," yet awaited ratification by individual governments.[17]

The Partido Unionista Centroamericano (Central American Unionist Party), a minority political party in the region, had been the force behind a political and ideological wave that culminated with the conference at San José.[18] Led by Nicaraguan intellectual Salvador Mendieta Cascante (1882–1958),[19] a group of university students formed a unionist movement in 1899 in Guatemala City, partially, as a response to "the imminent position of power of the United States in the region following its victory in the Spanish-American-Cuban War."[20] Its members believed that isthmian unity would not only keep the United States or other dominant powers at bay, but bring "peace, social justice, and the advancement of culture and civilization."[21] The movement turned into a political party in 1904, gaining momentum toward the promotion of these goals, and continued under Mendieta.[22] By the start of the conference in late 1920, significant interest in unification across the region insured the official backing of every Central American country.

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[17] Evans, "At Union's Brink," 74.
[18] For a history of the Partido Unionista Centroamericano, see Edgar Solano Muñoz, "La república centroamericana en la visión de Salvador Mendieta y el Partido Unionista," *Revista de Historia de América* 141 (2009): 39–52.
[19] Flavio Rivera Montealegre, "Homenaje a Dr. Salvador Mendieta Cascante," *Temas nicaragüenses* 56 (2012), 4.
[20] Evans, "At Union's Brink," 70.F
[21] Ibid.
[22] For a selection of writings by Salvador Mendieta, see *La nacionalidad y el Partido unionista centroamericano* (San José, Costa Rica: Imprenta de A. Alsina, 1905); *La enfermedad de Centro América I: Descripción del sujeto y síntomas de la enfermedad* (Barcelona: Tipografía Maucci, 1910); and *Alrededor del problema unionista de Centroamérica* (Barcelona: Tipografía Maucci, 1934).

Despite the ostensible success of the conference in drafting a pact, there was an insurmountable problem—the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916. The delegation from Nicaragua, on behalf their government acting under U.S. influence, insisted on provisions recognizing the treaty, which had given rights to the United States to build a second inter-oceanic canal across Nicaragua, and a naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca. Part of the proposed canal route ran the length of the San Juan River, situated along much of the southeastern border with Costa Rica, while the gulf was shared with Honduras and El Salvador at the northwest corner of the country. Beginning in 1913, Nicaragua did not consult any of its neighbors during the process of negotiating the treaty with the United States.[23] Despite protests and accusations leveled against Nicaragua for its violation of a number of standing international agreements, the United States moved forward with the treaty.[24] Once ratified, Costa Rica took the matter up with the Central American Court of Justice, which ruled in its favor. However, Nicaragua ignored the ruling with the support of the United States, and ended any hope of regional justice.[25] When Nicaragua insisted on a provision for the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty in the pact at the San José conference, the matter reopened old wounds and triggered the same opposition arguments from its neighbors. The conference managed to find an acceptable compromise, even for the delegate from Nicaragua, but the Nicaraguan government ultimately rejected it.[26]

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[23] George W. Baker, Jr., "The Wilson Administration and Nicaragua, 1913–1921," *The Americas* 22/4 (1966), 339–376.
[24] For a Nicaraguan perspective on the treaty in context of the intervention, see Jorge Eduardo Arellano, "El tratado Bryan-Chamorro," in *La pax americana en Nicaragua (1912–1932)* (Managua: Fondo Editorial CIRA, 2004),135–138.
[25] The apparent feebleness of the court in enforcing the ruling resulted in its own demise.
[26] Evans, "Union's Brink," 76–77.

Except for Nicaragua, all of the countries of Central America signed the Union Pact on January 17, 1921. Months later, the governments of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador ratified the document, though it failed to reach a majority vote in the Costa Rican National Assembly. By August of 1921, the three northern-most countries in the region chartered a constitution and formed the Republic of Central America, which then approached the United States for recognition. But the U.S. stalled and, in the interim, a revolution in Guatemala in early December brought down its unionist president. The new Guatemalan government seceded from the republic in mid-January of 1922, and the remaining union formally dissolved later that month.[27]

In relying on recognition from the United States, the attempted union in 1921 may have been doomed from the start. At the heart of the matter was a perception of anti-U.S. sentiment in the region. Historian Sterling Evans has noted, "President [Woodrow] Wilson … opposed Central American union, fearing that a unified nation would turn anti-American." This may have been more than casual paranoia on the part of an U.S. president. In casting his unconditional support for union in August of 1920, Nicaraguan writer Salomón de la Selva predicted, "the United States of America… would not recognize the Central American Federation. All work for that ideal was therefore futile. And this doctrine easily gained ground on the predicated strength that Washington, minded imperialistically, preferred the segregation of Central America in order to absorb it, in the weakness of its disunion, all the more easily. Is it this and this only, an all-sufficing explanation for every manner of America[n] interference in Central America,

[27] Ibid., 76–84.

that has bred in those ardent latitudes the unquestionable anti-American feeling existing there."[28] Indeed, the goals and ideals of the Partido Unionista Centroamericano could be argued as founded upon "anti-American" sentiment, but its aim was peace and progress in the service of a union that could withstand intervention from Uncle Sam.

The fleeting reality of a union, however compromised by geopolitics, was palpable at the centennial celebrations in Guatemala City in September of 1921. Batres Jáuregui echoed its imminence in his speech and expressed a personal desire for its success. The concurrent celebrations in Nicaragua generated a similar spirit of historic unity, and were decidedly eventful, but for very different reasons.

Nicaragua: Centennial Celebration in Two Acts

Despite the intended celebrations in Managua—traditionally, commemorating the Battle of San Jacinto (September 14)[29] and Central American Independence (September 15)—the Nicaraguan government did not realize them as expected. President Diego Manuel Chamorro decided to postpone them, instead, due to an uprising in the northwest of the country that had begun late the previous month, forcing the government to send a military troops to the region and place the country under martial law.[30] With the military

[28] Salomón de la Selva, "On the Proposed Union of Central America," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 3/4 (1920): 568.
[29] Nicaragua has celebrated two days of independence since the 1870s. On September 14, 1856, the Battle of San Jacinto ended the so-called "National War," in which a collective military representing all of Central America, fought against U.S.-American expansionist William Walker and his filibuster army.
[30] Arellano, *La pax*, 145. To help quell the uprising, the U.S. "shipped 10,000 rifles, a number of machine guns and several million rounds of ammunition"; see Freeman and Nearing, *Dollar*, 170–171.

still present in the north by mid-September, Chamorro announced, "the glorious centennial of that independence is now fulfilled, and we will celebrate it, not in these days of hurt and setbacks for the *patria*, but later in the centennial year."[31]

The postponement of official acts notwithstanding, the Banda de los Supremos Poderes went ahead with the planned gala concerts at *Parque Central*. Conducted by Tomás Urroz, who had succeeded Delgadillo as band director earlier in the year, the concerts gave the public the usual fare—marches, fashionable social dances, and arrangements from zarzuelas, operas, and ballets (Example 1)—some written by Nicaraguan composers, including a work dedicated to the centennial.[32] The inclusion of the fox-trot "Dulce y sabroso" by Delgadillo on the first program represented a modest work of his in a popular vein,[33] while on the same day he was to be found in Guatemala City, conducting the premier of his grand *Sinfonía indígena* for orchestra. The Independence Day concerts resulted in "very lively and well-attended" events that contrasted with the otherwise somber mood created by the deferred celebrations.[34]

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[31] Diego Manuel Chamorro, "Orden general para el 14 y 15 de Stbre. de 1921, en Managua," *La Tribuna* (Managua), September 14, 1921. "El glorioso centenario de esa independencia se cumple ahora y lo celebraremos, no en estos días de pena y contrariedades para la Patria, sino dentro del mismo año centenario."

[32] The Nicaraguan composers were Carlos Tünnermann López, Luis A. Delgadillo, Nicolás C. Arróliga, and Tomás Urroz.

[33] See Chapter 4.

[34] "El 14 y 15 de Septiembre," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sept. 17, 1921. "…muy animados y concurridos."

Figure 6.1. Gala concert programs, Managua, September 14–15, 1921.[35]

Wednesday, September 14
1—Quiebros y requiebros—Marcha Militar—[Rafael] Gascôn.
2—Diamantes de la corona—Obertura—[Francisco Barbieri].[36]
3—Margarita—Vals—[Carlos Tünnermann López].
4—La duquesa del Baltabarín—[Leo Bard].
5—Dulce y sabroso—Fox-trot—[Luis A.] Delgadillo.
6—Salut D'Amour—Característica—[Edward] Elgar.
7—Luxemburgo—Vals—[Franz] Lehár.
8—Stop It[!]—One-step—[Mel B.] Kaufman.

Thursday, September 15
1—El centenario—Marcha Militar (1ª vez) —Nicolás C. Arróliga.
2—Fidelio—Obertura—Beethoven.
3—La divorciada—Vals—[Leo] Fall.
4—Ballet de Fausto—A B C—[Charles] Gounod.
5—Zoma—Fox-trot—E. S. Litchfield.
6—Corte de Faraón—Fantasía—[Reveriano] Soutullo.
7—June—Vals—Line Boxter.
8—Club Social de Managua—One-step (1ª vez)—[Tomás] Urroz.

Months later, the Nicaraguan government finally held celebrations across three consecutive days in late December of 1921, the last concluding on Christmas Day. The themes of independence, peace, liberty, and sovereignty pervaded the commemoration discourse, each part of a collective expression of patriotism. The official daily *La Gaceta* reported the highlights that took place in central Managua.[37] On the morning of the 23rd, before an audience of high-ranking public servants, Catholic hierarchy, and members of the diplomatic corps, President Chamorro opened a formal session of the National Congress with a prayer. He was followed by Congressman Carlos Cuadra Pasos, who read the *palabra oficial* (official speech) that touched upon Nicaraguan history. Those

[35] "Conciertos de gala…," *La Tribuna* (Managua), September 14, 1921.
[36] The program erroneously listed Rossini as the composer.
[37] "La celebración del centenario en esta capital." *La Gaceta* 288 (Managua), Dec. 26, 1921.

present then moved to the nearby Cathedral of Managua, where Archbishop José Antonio Lezcano y Ortega celebrated a Te Deum, peppering his expansive prayer of thanks with references to national independence and liberty, as well as beseeching God to "bless our mother Spain, which gave us her blood and [religious] faith."[38]

Once concluded, the entourage walked over to *Parque Darío* (a park named in memory of poet Rubén Darío), where the president, members of the National Congress, and Supreme Court of Justice, planted the *Árbol del Centenario* (Centennial Tree), the only monument especially "erected" to mark the centennial in the capital (Figure 6.2). The president then led military forces in a *Jura de la bandera* (Oath to the National Flag).[39] In the afternoon, a formal reception of distinguished guests at the Presidential Mansion witnessed a parade of military forces and grade-school students march past the national flag and national emblem. Closing the celebrations for the day, one student from each school kissed the national emblem and honored the president with a military salute.[40]

The official centennial event on the 24th was a more modest affair than the previous day. The Instituto Nacional Central de Varones (National Central Institute of Boys) hosted a private reading of "important speeches relating to the founding fathers of… independence" before a select gathering of government functionaries and society elite.[41] The *Gaceta* made no mention of an official event for the final day of

[38] Ibid., "Bendice a nuestra madre España que nos dio su sangre y su fe…"
[39] For the official protocol of the oath, see *Jura de la bandera nacional* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1917).
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., "…importantes discursos acerca de los próceres de nuestra independencia…"

commemoration. However, there were public celebrations on the latter two evenings. In addition to gala concerts presented at *Parque Central*, and a fireworks display organized by the local *colonia china* (a group of residents of Chinese origin or descendancy), a special screening of a films for local students took place at *Parque Darío* and various cinemas around the city. A movie about the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, which had ended the Great War, was among the offerings echoing the theme of peace central to the festivities.[42]

Aside from overt displays of patriotism, commemoration of historic acts, and official declarations of sovereignty and liberty, there is a question that puts the centennial celebrations into stark relief: how could Nicaraguans celebrate independence while under intervention?

Writer and journalist Hernán Robleto reflected on the apparent contradiction between independence and intervention, and their cohabitation, in his anti-interventionist novel *Los estrangulados* (The Strangled Ones, 1933). In the manner of a polemic, he inserted a scathing reflection on the *Árbol del Centenario*, and its greater meaning in context of the centennial celebrations, while taking aim at the presiding Conservative government, its dependence on a public discourse imbued with religious artifice, and its abdication to a foreign power and economy.

> The honorary laurel, the legendary laurel once used to crown heroes during antiquity, continues to grow. Like human beings, it lives, it moves—drawing nourishment from the air, sun, water, and chemistry of the soil. It rises among a thousand menacing currents of the atmosphere. The men who came up with the idea of planting it, on a September 15, in the year 1921, cynically moved ahead, like automata, with the same automatic manner in which they dress themselves for official parties. That Indian laurel is also a sign of indolence, a creole idleness. What is the cost of the ephemeral labor of a farmer who only

[42] Ibid.

> inserts a stake in a hole? The functionary, the flamboyant President of the Republic, planted the *Árbol del Centenario* at an official ceremony, in the presence of the *yanqui* marines, while dressed in a tuxedo. Following the chore, he brushed the dust off of his hands and body, like a chicken after it rolls around in the dirt. He left the rest to God, [and] to nature, which nourishes vegetation, birds, and beasts.
>
> In place of a monument that would represent artistic restlessness, and [symbolically]carry the sweat of human labor; in place of a work of intelligent magnitude, trust is placed in God, resting on him, [and thus] labor is relegated to signify neglect. A mark of this process, in reflection of idleness—evidence of moral and physical misery that the highest [public] duties have deposited (or abandoned) into foreign hands—is the motto inscribed on Nicaraguan coins: "In God We Trust." It is the highest expression of the current men [in power], who have not been able to defend themselves, or a legacy of dignity that ought to remain pristine. [The motto] is a slavish copy of the hypocritical U.S. dollar, which only works for itself.
>
> We trust in God that he may give life to trees; that he may instigate the flow of silver coins in world markets; that he may willingly accept the role of merchant and traitor.[43]

The final paragraph is noteworthy for the manner in which Robleto closed the polemic. It carried a sense of bitter resignation in remembrance of the centennial

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[43] Hernán Robleto, *Los estrangulados: El imperialismo yanqui en Nicaragua* (Madrid: Editorial Cenit, 1933), 74–75. "El laurel honorífico, el legendario laurel con que se ceñían en la antigüedad las frentes de los héroes, sigue creciendo. Como los seres, tiene vida, tiene movimiento: se alimenta de aire, de sol, de agua, de los jugos de la tierra. Es algo que sube entre la atmósfera viciada por mil corrientes. Los hombres que tuvieron la idea de plantarlo, en un 15 de septiembre, en el año 21, procedieron con cinismo, automáticos, con el mismo automatismo con que se meten dentro del jaquet para asistir a las fiestas palaciegas. También ese laurel de Indias es una significación de la indolencia, de la pereza criolla. ¿Qué cuesta el esfuerzo efímero del agricultor que sólo mete una estaca en un hoyo? El funcionario, el flamante presidente de la República, que en una ceremonia oficial, en presencia de los marinos yaquis, vestidos de gala, plantó el Árbol del Centenario, se sacudió las manos después de la faena, y se sacudió el cuerpo, como la gallina después de revolcarse en el polvo. Luego dejó la labor a Dios, a la Naturaleza, que alimenta las plantas, a los pájaros y a las bestias. / En lugar de un monumento que indicara inquietud artística y que llevara sudor humano; en lugar de una obra de alcances inteligentes, se confía en Dios, se descansa en él, se le deja la labor en una significación de abandono. Signo de este procedimiento, que refleja la molicie, prueba de la miseria moral y física que ha depositado o abandonado en manos extrañas los más altos deberes, es la inscripción que figura en las monedas nacionales: «En Dios confiamos». Es lo más expresivo de los hombres actuales, que no han podido defenderse ni defender una herencia de dignidad, que debiera permanecer inmaculada. Copia servil del hipócrita dólar, que si trabaja por sí solo. / En Dios confiamos para que inyecte vida a los árboles, para que haga correr los discos de plata de los mercados del mundo, para que acepte gustoso el puesto de mercader y traidor."

celebrations under intervention, and the hypocrisy that the *Árbol del Centenario* represented for him. Moreover, the final paragraph could be mistaken for a religious supplication if it were not for the tenor of its message. It is thus an anti-prayer—a malediction—that lays bare the capitalist motivation of U.S. intervention and the complicit manipulation of local culture through public theater and ritual.

Figure 6.2. Árbol del Centenario (center), Parque Darío, Managua, 1931. Source: IHNCA.

Centennial Celebrations in Guatemala City[44]

For nine days, beginning on September 10, 1921, Guatemala hosted an extensive and lavish program of events in the capital to mark the centennial of Central American Independence.[45] It was a cosmopolitan affair that extolled the parallel histories, unity, and progress of the region. Special envoys with diplomatic ties to Guatemala, representing nations from the Americas and Europe, took part as guests of the state.[46] The newly built Palacio del Centenario (Figure 6.3) hosted many of the principal official events, highlighting those sibling nations that belonged to historic Central America.[47] Unlike the proceedings in Managua, the Catholic Church had no officially recognized presence or role at the celebrations.[48]

The program of events appears to have had a dramatic arc that culminated with the arrival of September 15. As the clock struck midnight, a hoisting of the Guatemalan

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[44] For an examination of centennial commemoration in Guatemala City and throughout historic Central America, see Patricia Fumero-Vargas, "National Identities in Central America in a Comparative Perspective: The Modern Public Sphere and the Celebration of Centennial of Central American Independence, September 15, 1921" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2005).
[45] *Centenario de la Independencia de Centro-América 1821–1921: Libreto de ceremonias* (Guatemala: Tipografía Sánchez & de Guise, 1922). Official events were held the 10–18, and 20.
[46] Ibid., 15–42. The diplomatic corps included permanent and special envoys—Central America: Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica; Mexico; South America: Colombia, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, Ecuador, and Brazil; The Caribbean: Cuba, and Dominican Republic; United States; Europe: Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, Belgium, France, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden.
[47] Ibid., 48–50. The centennial month also saw the *Congreso del Trabajo Centroamericano* (Central American Labor Conference). Although it was not recognized as part of the official celebrations, the *Federación Obrera de Guatemala* (Artisan Federation of Guatemala) addressed the realities and struggles of the worker movement in exchanges with representatives from the region; see *Memoria del Congreso del Trabajo Centroamericano celebrado en Guatemala en el mes de septiembre de 1921, a iniciativa de la Federación Obrera de Guatemala para la protección legal del trabajo* (Guatemala: Imprenta Nacional, [1921]).
[48] Fumero-Vargas, "National Identities," 100. Guatemala was under a Liberal government during the period, ensuring the separation of the church from all state functions.

flag in *Parque Central* included 101 peals of bells and singing of the Central American anthem.[49] In the days previous and following this climax, a multitude of events—ceremonies, public acts, banquets, concerts, sporting competitions, military displays, and dance balls—brought the capital to life and entertained the masses.[50]

Music accompanied many of these gatherings, including a number of dedicated concerts presented out of doors or at the Palacio del Centenario. Held on the 14, 15, and 17, the concerts at the Palacio were formal affairs with orchestral programs directed by Luis A. Delgadillo,[51] Luis Roche (fl. 1912–1924),[52] and Alberto Mendoza (1889–1960),[53] respectively. The latter two directors were Guatemalan composers from the capital, while the first was a guest of the state, reinforcing the purpose of the celebration in highlighting the artistic achievements of the region.

[49] Ibid., 60. It is unclear as to what text and music was sung at the event. It may have been an existing work or one specially commissioned for the centennial.
[50] Ibid., 53–64.
[51] Ibid., 60–61, 63.
[52] [Rafael A. Vásquez, *Historia de la Música en Guatemala* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1950), 131–135, 158–164.]
[53] [Ibid., 135–137.]

Figure 6.3. Palacio del Centenario, Guatemala City, Guatemala. Source: Collection of the author.

A Nicaraguan "Guest of Honor"

In early August of 1921, Delgadillo received a letter from Guatemala. The chair of the organizing committee for the centennial celebrations, Félix Foncéa, wrote to inform Delgadillo that, in light of his artistic merit and expected presence in the Guatemalan capital, he was to be recognized as a *Huésped de Honor* (Guest of Honor) during the festivities.[54] The acknowledgement must have reassured the Nicaraguan composer that it was not just an affirmation of his work, but a vindication of the public embarrassment he had endured earlier in the year involving his removal from the directorship of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes, a result of ongoing conflict within

[54] The invitation from Foncéa was reprinted in local periodicals in Managua; see "Sucesos de la Semana. Los triunfos de Luis A. Delgadillo." *Los Domingos*, September 25, 1921; and "El artista Sr. Delgadillo ha sido declarado Huésped de Honor por el Comité de Festejos," [(Managua) Aug. 1921].

the band.[55] Indeed, the response in Managua to this international recognition, and subsequent departure, inspired a combination of national pride and shame.[56] One journalist, writing about his success in the local newspaper *La Tribuna*, connected the plights of Delgadillo and the celebrated Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío, predicting a similar fate for the composer: "Delgadillo is another [individual] that hunger casts out of his *patria*, only to be crowned with triumph elsewhere. Rubén Darío left under the same conditions, to be covered in glory in other countries, so as to return to die beneath a shower of funeral speeches and prayers."[57]

When Delgadillo set foot in Guatemala City in September of 1921, it was a first for him, though he had been preceded by his music and reputation, no doubt contributing to his status as an honored guest of the celebrations.[58] His performances in the capital

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[55] "Los que se van. Apenas salió de Nicaragua Luis Delgadillo…," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sept. 30, 1921. Rivals of Delgadillo, among whom were likely Víctor M. Zúniga Gutiérrez and Indalecio Hernández, conspired against him because of his refusal to program the tune "La cucaracha" as part of an official event. Tomás Urroz replaced Delgadillo as director, and was joined by Nicolás C. Arróliga as assistant director; see "¿Cambios radicales en la banda?" *La Tribuna* (Managua), June 28, 1921.

[56] Ibid. The dual sentiment was already felt in Managua before the recognition arrived in early August; see "Párrafos Editoriales. Luis A. Delgadillo." *Los Domingos*, July 17, 1921.

[57] Ibid. "Delgadillo es otro que el hambre arroja de su patria para encontrar en otras tierras las coronas del triunfo; así salió Rubén Darío a cubrirse de gloria en otros países, para volver a morir bajo un aguacero de discursos y oraciones fúnebres."

[58] Delgadillo's music had already been heard in the Guatemalan capital well before the centennial celebrations. On December 8, 1917, while living in exile in Guatemala, Nicaraguan Liberal intellectual Alejandro Bermúdez Nuñez published a short memoir in the Managua newspaper *La Tribuna*, in which he beamed with national pride after hearing a performance of Delgadillo's music at the Teatro Colón in Guatemala City. Upon discovering during the concert that a work on the program (Melody #10 for violin and piano), which had received much applause and an immediate repeat performance, had been written by Delgadillo, Bermúdez Nuñez praised the work at length. He described the composer as "my compatriot, a Nicaraguan artist, misunderstood back home because of the spiritual *chatez*, as Rubén [Darío] would say…" [Note: Bermúdez Nuñez was a close friend and confidant of Darío, especially during the poet's last years.]; see Alejandro Bermúdez, "Recuerdos de Guatemala. Una noche de arte en el Teatro Colón," *La*

took place across three events—a couple of piano recitals in which he interpreted his own works, and the direction of an orchestra on the eve of Independence Day.[59] At the latter event he directed two of his symphonic works, including the world-premiere of the *Sinfonía indígena*, a large-scale work he had completed a few months prior.[60]

Begun sometime in October of 1920, Delgadillo first acquired musical material for the *Sinfonía indígena* from a colleague, Jesús Castillo (1877–1946), a noted Guatemalan composer and music ethnographer.[61] Castillo, who had been transcribing the music and studying culture of contemporary Maya K'iche' for a number of years, provided Delgadillo with "four musical fragments of K'iche' songs," two of which were employed in the *Sinfonía indígena*.[62] Relaying information provided by Castillo, Delgadillo attributed the fragments to indigenous musicians Nazario Juárez of Chicalajá y Santo Colop of Almolonga.[63] Popular music from Nicaragua—the song *El zopilote* (The Buzzard) and a Christmas villancico—complemented the musical material of the work.[64] No documentation survives to shed light on the compositional process in between

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Tribuna (Managua), Dec. 8, 1917. "…es mi compatriota, es un artista nicaragüense, mal comprendido en el terruño por la chatez espiritual—que diría Rubén…."

[59] "Los que se van."

[60] Some of the extant manuscript parts, copied by Serapio Durán in Managua, carry date June 20, 1921, suggesting the full score was completed not long before.

[61] For Castillo's study of the Maya K'iche', see Jesús Castillo, *La música Maya-Quiché. Región guatemalteca* (Quetzaltenango, Guatemala: Tipografía E. Cifuentes, 1941). For a biographical sketch of Castillo, see Dieter Lehnhoff, "Valoración de las herencias autóctonas e influencias del entorno," in *Creación musical en Guatemala* (Guatemala: Universidad Rafael Landívar and Fundación G&T Continental, 2005), 247–250.

[62] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Cantos indígenas," *Los Domingos*, October 3, 1920. "…4 trozos musicales de canciones *quichés*...."

[63] Ibid.

[64] "La sinfonía indígena del maestro Delgadillo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sept. 29, 1921. The term "popular" refers to or is associated with the people or folk practices. A "Christmas villancico" is a twentieth-century strophic song in Spanish with a text on a Christmas theme.

the preparatory efforts by Delgadillo and the performance at the centennial celebrations. However, he did organize a well-received public run-through in Managua as part of his farewell concert with the Banda de los Supremos Poderes.[65]

Before a crowd of "8000 people from every social class," on the evening of September 14, Delgadillo conducted a symphony orchestra of a hundred musicians at the premiere of his *Sinfonía indígena*.[66] The program took place at the Palacio del Centenario, and included his *Escenas pastoriles* (Pastoral Landscapes, 1919).[67] The audience thus received his most expansive works; his most explicitly nationalist creations as a composer at that point in his professional career (see Chapter 2). At the close of each of the two works, comprising the entirety of the program, "extended applause, flowers, and cheers" honored the composer.[68] After the second work, the ephemeral praise was followed by a formal presentation of gifts from the state. Delgadillo received a laurel crown and a gold medal.[69]

In response to the concert, journalist Simón Paulin critically examined the program, focusing primarily on the *Sinfonía indígena*.[70] He initially observed that the centennial celebrations had broken a years-long tedium, though sporadic, of concert programs devoted to European music. For him, the centennial concerts had reinvigorated

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[65] "Crónica de la Semana. La banda," *Los Domingos*, July 3, 1921.
[66] "Los que se van." "…8,000 personas de todas clases sociales…."
[67] "La sinfonía indígena."
[68] "Los que se van." "…dilatados aplausos, flores y alegres dianas…."
[69] "Sucesos de la Semana. Los triunfos de Luis A. Delgadillo," *Los Domingos*, September 25, 1921; and "Los que se van."
[70] Simón Paulin, "Impresiones del concierto Delgadillo. La Sinfonía indígena," (Guatemala City), [Sep. 1921]. The only source available for this review comes from Delgadillo's personal album of clippings, which does not carry any information as to the newspaper or date of publication.

a sense of regional identity as much as an artistic one. His impression of the *Sinfonía indígena* was positive, yet he waxed poetic about the character and mood of its four movements: "[the symphony] engendered four stages of *criollo* sentimentality; four great poems of pulsating life; four episodes in which the sorrow of the Kaqchikel soul breathes sadness and pain, gentleness and calm, warlike rejoicing and mysticism of souls contorted under the sun."[71] For Paulin, the work represented the ladino as a romanticized creator of art, a civilized being, while the indigenous are characterized in reductive terms as primitive, an indigenous-past evoked in the service of reinforcing contemporary political discourse. It is unclear if Paulin was aware that the narrative basis for the symphony—*La Conquista* (The Spanish Conquest) in Central America—did not, in fact, include the Maya Kaqchikel. But the misnomer would have nevertheless served to locate the Maya as a point of reference for the reader as an Internal Other.[72] In musically assessing the work, perhaps the most substantial part of the article, he deferred to a concise impression by Guatemalan composer Fabián Rodríguez (1862–1929),[73] who considered the third movement, in particular, to have had a "beautiful theme…, refined orchestration and rich harmony."[74]

[71] Ibid. "…engendró cuatro etapas de sentimentalismo criollo; cuatro grandes poemas de vida palpitante; cuatro episodios, en que las tristezas del alma catchikel respiran melancolía y dolor, mansedumbre y quietud, regocijos guerreros y misticismo de almas contorsionadas bajo el sol."
[72] He described *Escenas pastoriles* in a similar poetic manner, more briefly, but there were no technical references to the music.
[73] [Vásquez, *Historia*, 67, 157–58.] Rodríguez orchestrated Jesús Castillo's nationalist opera *Quiché Vinak* (1924).
[74] Paulin, "Impresiones." "lindo tema…, orquestación fina y armonía completa."

Narrative Basis for the *Sinfonía indígena*

At the end of September of 1921, the Managua newspaper *La Tribuna* published a program note for the *Sinfonía indígena* from the centennial eve concert.[75] It was, in fact, a reprint that had appeared in Guatemala City, and published prior to the celebrations in *El Unionista*, the official periodical of the Unionist Party in Guatemala. Lacking any introduction or concluding words, the notes presented the narrative basis at the heart of the *Sinfonía indígena*, information otherwise missing from other extant sources, to which Paulin merely alluded in his review. The symphony drew inspiration from an aspect of the Spanish Conquest relating to Central American history—the confrontation between Spanish *conquistador* Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras and the indigenous warrior Tecún Umán, which led to the death of the latter, and contributed to the defeat of the Maya K'iche' in 1524.[76] Resembling program notes typically published by Delgadillo while he was director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes—indeed, he may have provided them to *El Unionista*—the essay combined narrative and musical observation, both in a telegraph style, for each movement:

> The musical themes were taken from the dance *La Conquista* (The Conquest). The most prominent subject of the symphony is the death of Tecún Umán. The first indigenous theme is the call to war. A battle [ensues] between *don* Pedro de Alvarado and Tecún. The latter dies: a very beautiful motive representing a funeral march, which carries the profound sadness of the captive Indian.

[75] "La sinfonía indígena del maestro Delgadillo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sept. 29, 1921. The essay is unattributed, except for the end which noted, in brackets, "Del Unionista, de Guatemala."
[76] Accounts of the confrontation are found in extant Maya documents and letters written by Pedro de Alvarado. Tecún Umán was mauled to death by Alvarado's dogs; see Olga Lidia Xicará Méndez, *Un héroe K'iche' llamado Tecún Umán* (Guatemala: Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes, 2014); and *La muerte de Tecún Umán: Estudio crítico de la conquista del altiplano occidental de la república* (Guatemala: Editorial del Ejercito, 1963).

> The *Andante triste* (second movement) is an anguished little poem, heavy and poetically musical. The funeral march of Tecún, very delicate and indigenous, is noticeably more expressive, which is the reason it appears as a central theme in various and novel forms in the work by Delgadillo.
>
> The *Scherzo* (third movement) is an *Allegretto pastoril* [based on] Christmas music, whose brief theme was a transcription of a Nicaraguan villancico. In the trio, the well-known and humorous song *El zopilote* (very popular music in that country) is heard. Pleasant in style, this musical fragment takes us out of the repetitive melancholy of the minor modes used by indigenous musicians.
>
> The Finale of the symphony (fourth movement) is expressive and vibrant—the previous themes are presented, once again, forming a grand symphonic tapestry, in which the author displays his knowledge of elevated composition and formal aesthetic.[77]

The *Baile de la Conquista* (Dance of the Spanish Conquest) is a form of popular theater in Guatemala, recounting an aspect of its history and the violent confrontation of civilizations.[78] Its representation in musical form complemented the official speech delivered by Batres Jáuregui at the Palacio del Centenario on Independence Day. The symphony by Delgadillo thus reflected certain collective political ideology of those in

[77] Ibid. "Los temas fueron tomados del poema bailable «La Conquista». El motivo más saliente de la sinfonía, es el de la muerte de Tecún Umán. El primer tema indio, es el toque guerrero. Batalla entre don Pedro de Alvarado y Tecún. Muere el último: motivo bellísimo que constituye la marcha fúnebre, la que tiene toda la honda tristeza del cautivo indio. / El *Andante triste* (segundo tiempo) es un poemita de dolor, intenso y poéticamente musical. Se escucha más expresivo el tema de la marcha fúnebre de Tecún, que es delicadísimo y muy indígena; por el cual se presenta en la obra del Maestro Delgadillo como tema-guía en diversas-nuevas formas. / El *Scherzo* (tercer tiempo) es un *Allegretto pastoril* de música pascual, cuyo temita fue transcrito de un villancico nicaragüense. En el trio, se escucha el conocido y guasón aire del «Zopilote», música popularísima en aquel país. Como amenidad de estilo, sale este trozo musical de la monótona tristeza que usan en tonos menores los filarmónicos indígenas. / El final de la sinfonía (cuarto tiempo) es elocuente y pujante; re-exposición de los temas anteriores formando un grandioso engranaje sinfónico, donde el autor demuestra sus conocimientos de alta composición y educativa estética."

[78] For an examination of the *Baile de la Conquista* in Guatemala, see Matilde Montoya, *Estudio sobre el baile de la conquista* (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1970).

attendance at the celebrations by invoking the indigenous-past in the construction of modern Central America.

Musical Construction of Maya K'iche' History

The synopsis for the *Sinfonía indígena*, using the program note from *La Tribuna* as a guide, is a freely realized account of the battle of 1524 between Alvarado and Tecún Umán, and the death and funeral of the defeated. The extant manuscript of the symphony, a full score dated 1921, contains no textual references to the story, but the composition strongly exhibits musical elements—instrumentation, melodies, accompaniments—that Delgadillo employed as signifiers of the indigenous.[79] These signifiers are extensions of tropes derived from the French exoticist musical tradition, in which Delgadillo was conversant.[80] He constructed a programmatic work not so much approaching the realism or barbarity of the Spanish Conquest—marked by settler colonial violence or perceived indigenous primitivism—but more of a pastoral conflict with the death of a "noble savage," a well-worn trope which cast Tecún Umán as a fallen hero, a vanquished Other worthy of mourning and commemoration. The musical representation of the symbolic close of the pre-Columbian era in Central America reinforced the Maya K'iche' tale as part of an indigenous-past employed in later constructions of *mestizo* history.

[79] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana" for orchestra. Manuscript score, short score and parts. Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.
[80] See Chapter 2.

Delgadillo sought to evoke the sounds of indigenous musical instruments, "chirimías, quijongos, or atabales,"[81] but he called for just the *atabal* in the score, indicated in the first and third movements, the only explicitly indigenous element present in the symphony. The *atabal* is a generic name for a drum, of any size, used by indigenous populations in Western Nicaragua.[82] The term does not appear in Guatemala, but Jesús Castillo noted three kinds of indigenous drums, the medium-sized of which was "the inseparable companion to the *chirimía*, a Middle Eastern [reed wind] instrument imported by the *conquistadores*, [which] marks the choreography and staging of the 'Dance of the Conquest.'"[83] Its American associations notwithstanding, the *atabal* may have come from Europe. According to the seventeenth-century Spanish lexicographer Sebastián de Covarrubias, it was "synonymous with the *atambor*, or drum, for [having the shape] of a round drum, covered on either end with smooth calf hides, typically referred to as parchment, to whose call [soldiers] move, march, or fight."[84] The word *atabal* thus referred to a percussion instrument heard in Spanish colonial military maneuvers, while much later associated with indigenous culture. Delgadillo integrated it as part of accompanimental textures in the symphony, thus contributing to the linking of the indigenous past and present.

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[81] "La sinfonía indígena," *La Tribuna*.
[82] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Del folklore musical en Nicaragua," *Gaceta Musical* (September 1928): 25; and Luis A. Delgadillo, "La música indígena y colonial en Nicaragua," *Revista de estudios musicales* 1/3 (1950): 53.
[83] Jesús Castillo, *La música Maya-Quiché. Región guatemalteca* (Quetzaltenango, Guatemala: Tipografía E. Cifuentes, 1941), 42.
[84] Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), 99. "…por otro nombre dicho atambor, o caxa, por ser una caxa redonda, cubierta de una parte y de otra con pieles rasas de bezerros, que comúnmente llamamos pergaminos, al son de los cuales el campo se mueve, o marchando, o peleando."

Delgadillo employed particular orchestral instruments in representation of the indigenous. The oboe and English horn were both replacements for the *chirimía*. While not indicated in the extant score, he labeled a number of manuscript oboe parts, "oboes or obbligato *chirimías*," which often doubled the violin or flute line, or appeared in unison with the English horn (2nd mvt., mm. 1–3).[85] It remains to be seen if actual *chirimías* were ever used in performance, but the option in the oboe part may have reminded the performer of the quality or character of sound they produce. Another kind of instrument altogether, Delgadillo evoked the *quijongo*—a monochord particular to Central America[86]—through rhythmic textures in the lower instruments, often sounding the tonic and dominant. It is present as a texture comprising the French horn, percussion, and lowest strings in sections of the first movement (Example 6.1), among others. The evocation of the *chirimía* and *quijongo* through European instruments bolstered the representative nature of the composition as indigenous.

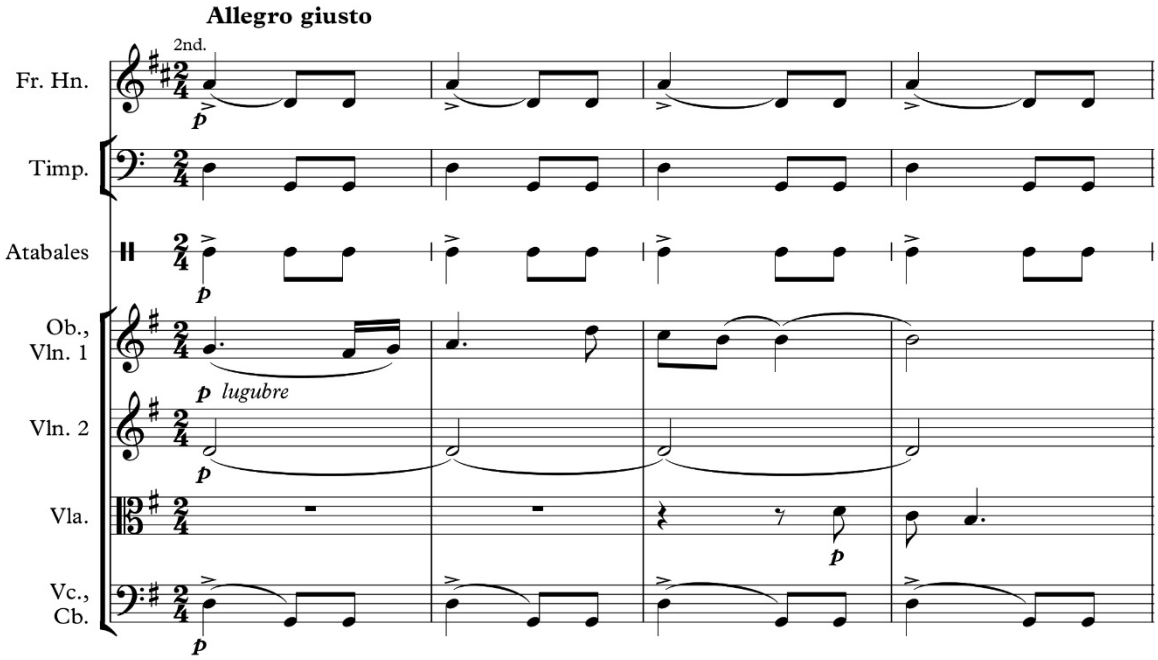
The melodies used in the symphony are tonal and modal, a reflection of the work as a whole, and are in major or minor mode. The former are nearly always diatonic, while the latter are made up of five, six, or seven hemitonic pitch collections. Both make up an opposing binary of representations, with melodies in the minor mode alluding to contemporary perceptions of the indigenous as "melancholy"—a point repeatedly

[85] Delgadillo, "Sinfonía indígena." "oboes (o chirimías obbligadas)."
[86] The instrument has two names in historic Central America: *quijongo* (Nicaragua and Costa Rica) and *carimba* or *caramba* (Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador). See Delgadillo, "Del folklore," 25; and María Mendoza de Baratta and Jeremías Mendoza, *Cuzcatlán típico: Ensayo sobre etnofonía de El Salvador I* (San Salvador: Ministerio de Cultura, 1951): 118–121.

observed by Delgadillo and the Guatemalan critic Paulin.[87] Although Delgadillo supposedly included two indigenous melodies acquired from Castillo, it is unclear as to which these might be as he did not signal their presence in the score. He may have adapted them to fit a periodic structure of a given phrase, in which case they could be hidden in a restructured guise or an adapted melody. Moreover, none of the melodies in minor mode from the *Sinfonia indigena*, intact or fragmented, appear in the study of contemporary Maya K'iche' music Castillo undertook, and later published in the 1940s, around the time he sent material to Delgadillo.[88] With few exceptions, all melodies are set above drones or ostinati, homophonic textures signifying the primitive. The predominant ostinato patterns either pulsate on the beat, sometimes its subdivision, or create a dactylic rhythmic pattern (Example 6.1). The only melody to deviate from this type of accompaniment is what I term the Funeral Theme (Example 5), introduced in the second movement. Although it can appear accompanied by a drone, ostinato, or by itself, it is also treated contrapuntally in the second and fourth movements.

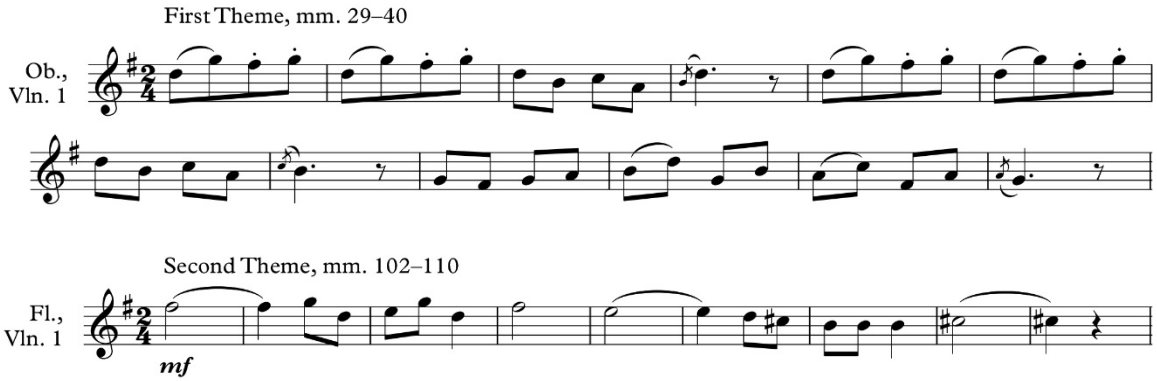
[87] See Chapter 2.
[88] See Castillo, *La música Maya-Quiché*.

Example 6.1. Delgadillo, *Sinfonía indígena*, 1st mvt., mm. 168–171.



A four-movement work in G major, the *Sinfonía indigena* was the earliest composition by Delgadillo to carry "symphony" in the title, a reflection of the compositional tradition to which it belonged and its conventional formal elements. The first movement (*Poco andante—Allegro giusto*) adheres to sonata-form, yet subverts some of its principles. As expected, the first theme (FT) is exposed in the tonic (Example 6.2). Its initial three-phrase period statement is then developed motivically throughout the movement, seeing complete restatements, single-phrase quotation, or fragmentation of the first measure, in the tonic and related keys. The initial entrance of second theme (ST) defies convention by not appearing in the dominant, subdominant, or mediant: it is a six hemitonic pitch collection in B-Dorian set above an accompaniment in F# major. Its two-phrase period is immediately repeated, but with slight rhythmic alterations to the theme.

Example 6.2. Delgadillo, *Sinfonía indígena,* 1st mvt., Exposition, First & Second Themes.

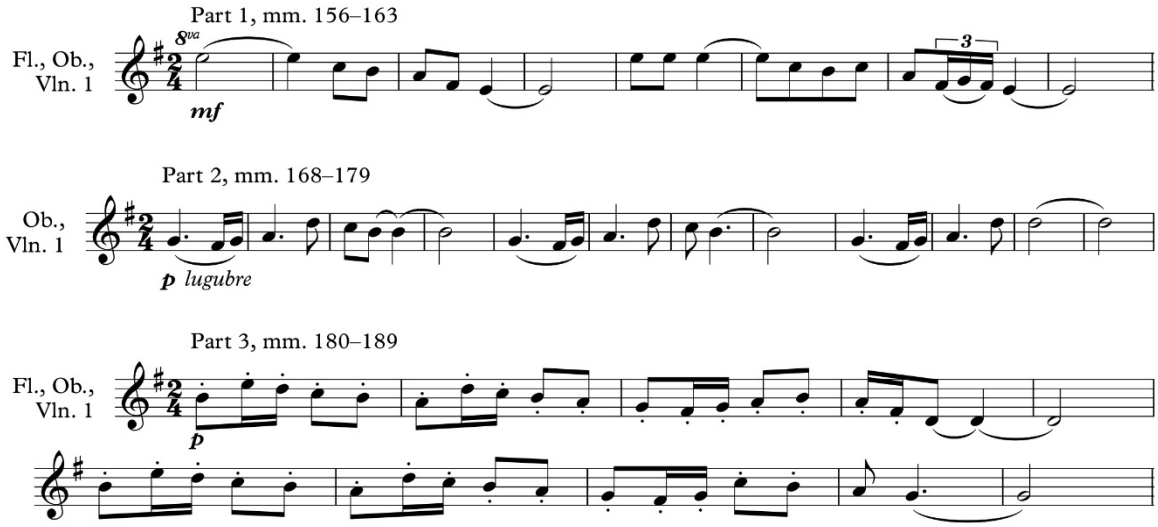


A set of three themes, or parts, form a closing group (CG) of the exposition (Example 6.3). The first part is made up of a pentatonic collection in A—representing the Delgadillo's ideology of indigenous music as constructed from five notes[89]—set above an accompanimental texture in the supertonic, with the passing inclusion of a note outside of the collection in an ornamental turn at the cadence. The second part is a three-phrase period in the tonic set against a dactylic ostinato. The final part (two-phrase period) follows immediately, also in the tonic and with the same accompaniment. Once stated, the themes of the CG are not developed motivically, but CG2 and 3 are subsequently restated, only once, in full extension during the Recapitulation. Moreover, CG2 and 3

[89] According to Delgadillo, "the pentatonic scale and monodic structure of the melody, which does not cycle between more than eight and fourteen measures, generally, in binary rhythm, informs the traditional form of indigenous music"; see, Luis A. Delgadillo, "Jira artística a Sudamérica. El teatro chino en Lima," *La Noticia Ilustrada,* September 25, 1927. "La escala pentáfona y el sistema monódico de la melodía, que no gira más que entre ocho o catorce compases, generalmente, en ritmo binario, advierte la forma tradicional de la música indígena."

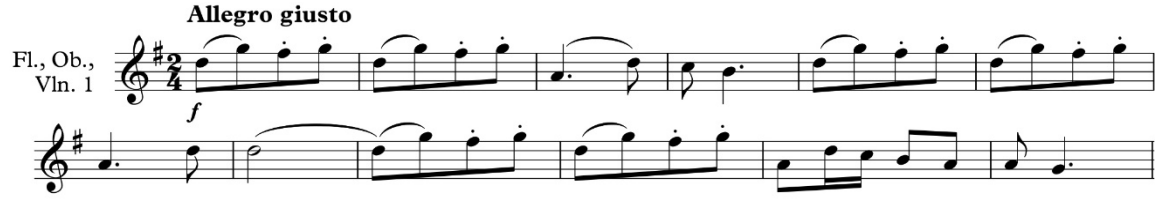
appear in subsequent movements, while full statements and fragments of CG2 surface in all four.

Example 6.3. Delgadillo, *Sinfonía indígena*, 1st mvt., Exposition, Closing Group.



The first movement lacks a development section. A relatively brief recapitulation (41 measures) begins with some internal material of the FT interwoven melodically with those of the CG 2 and 3, uniting all of the themes in tonic (Example 6.4).

Example 6.4. Delgadillo, *Sinfonía indígena*, 1st mvt., Recapitulation, mm. 206–217.



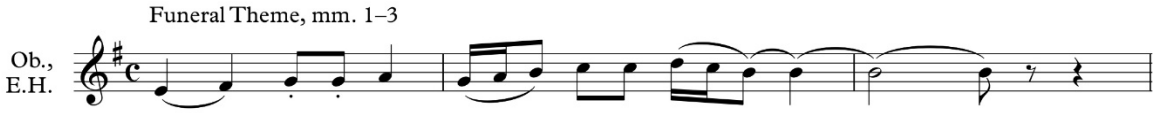
Delgadillo decided on a subtle musical realization of the Maya K'iche' tale rather than an overtly programmatic work. The sequence from the first to last movement functions as a teleology: a battle between two cultures leading to *mestizaje* through the absorption of indigenous identity. The music represents Alvarado (or the European) and Tecún Umán (or the indigenous) through a binary of themes/modes: major for the former, minor/modal for the latter. The exposing of the FT and ST correspond to both figures/concepts, respectively. Tecún Umán is dead by the beginning of the Recapitulation as his theme (or any other minor/modal theme) vanishes from this point forward. His musical disappearance confirms the Spanish victory over the Maya K'iche'. The interweaving of the FT and CG2, and restatement of CG3, confirm the consolidation of European presence in the recapitulation.

The second movement (*Andante triste*) introduces the Funeral Theme (FuT), a melody in E-Aeolian (Example 6.5). It is stated strictly in full extension a number of times throughout the movement, anchoring the *affekt* associated with mourning. In general, it is restated in its initial mode, but also appears in Mixolydian (mm. 34–37, 74–75, and 75–77; the last with a raised î). As noted earlier, the FuT is the only theme to receive contrapuntal treatment in the entire symphony. In mm. 19–20 it appears in imitation with two overlapping statements, the latter phased by two beats. In contrast, for each instance where the oboe and English horn play the theme in unison, there is no accompaniment.

The second movement is precisely 100 measures in length, perhaps a hidden compositional design feature Delgadillo included in marking the Central American

centennial, in addition to the explicit mourning of the death of Tecún Umán. And while the *Sinfonía indígena*, as a whole, links the indigenous past and present, the symbolic sum of measures connects the death of Tecún Umán with historic regional independence, suggesting a chronological inevitability, a teleology of history and progress.

Example 6.5. Delgadillo, *Sinfonía indígena*, 2nd mvt., Funeral Theme.



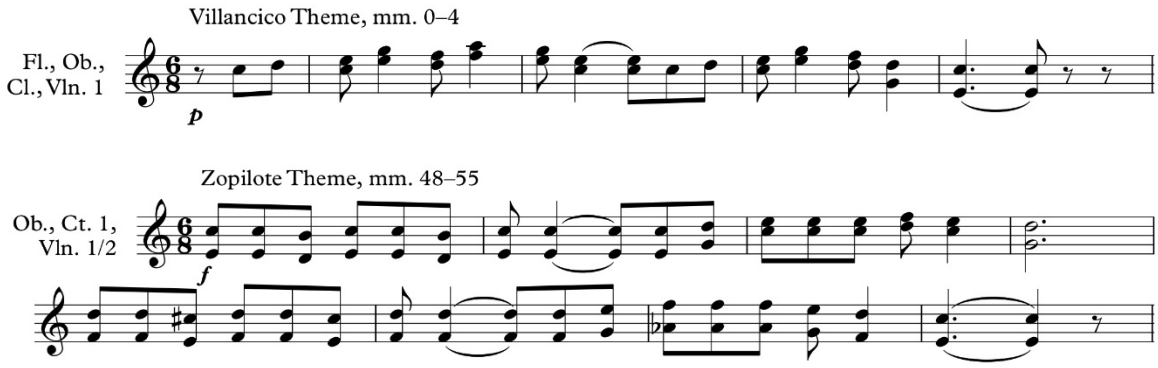
The second movement is a funeral for Tecún Umán, represented by the FuT, but the FT, CG2–3 interject throughout. The power of the FuT is thus allayed by a looming European presence. The *atabal* is silent during the funeral.

A stark departure in character from the preceding lament, the third movement (*Allegretto pastoral*)[90] presents an upbeat and jocular music in C major. The use of Nicaraguan popular mestizo songs—a villancico and *El zopilote*—compliment the indigenous themes from Guatemala, uniting the region through a diversity of music traditions, sacred and secular. In reflection of popular practice, Delgadillo harmonized each melody at the third or sixth interval. But his European training is betrayed: the harmonization is in the style of "horn 5ths" (Example 6.6). Statements of each theme are repeated, followed by a subsidiary theme in A minor, while retaining a dance-like character. The CG2 (latter two phrases) and CG3 (full quotation) bridge the opening

[90] Elsewhere is it marked *Scherzo*.

villancico section with that of the zopilote. The *atabal* accompanies the texture during statements of each melody.

Example 6.6. Delgadillo, *Sinfonía indígena*, 3rd mvt., Villancico and Zopilote Themes.



Delgadillo employed *El zopilote* to denote Nicaraguan popular music, yet it may have also represented its popular humor. The text of the song, likely unfamiliar to a Guatemalan audience, describes the death of a buzzard in the first verse (Figure 6.4). The succeeding verses give reasons for his passing, and note different kinds of people who inherited parts of his body. It cannot be mere coincidence that its inclusion in the third movement follows the symbolic funeral of Tecún Umán. Nevertheless, Delgadillo may have been consciously imbuing the symphony with a bit of irony, and by extension, revealing his own impish sense of humor.[91]

[91] Delgadillo later included a setting of *El zopilote*, with a different text, in a collection of school grade songs; see Luis A. Delgadillo, *Cantos escolares nicaragüenses* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1943).

Figure 6.4. *El zopilote*, first verse, text and translation.[92]

Original	*English translation*
Ya el zopilote murió	The buzzard has died
ya lo llevan a enterrar,	Now he is taken to be buried,
ya lo llevan a enterrar,	Now he is taken to be buried,
échele bastante tierra,	Throw plenty of dirt over him,
no vaya a resucitar,	Lest he resurrect,
no vaya a resucitar.	Lest he resurrect.

The *atabal* reappears in the third movement, though now it has been absorbed as part of popular mestizo culture, comprised of religious devotion (VT) and sardonic poetry (ZT). The CG2 also appears in this movement, if only to remind the listener of the European roots of Latin American culture.

The fourth movement (*Larghetto maestoso—Allegro final—Presto*) is the most substantial of the work, returning to G major. Following a short introduction, in which the entire orchestra (in unison) quotes the FuT in the subdominant minor, much of the rest of movement sees the FuT either restated in full or deconstructed to create melodic material recalling the theme. Moreover, Delgadillo does not introduce any new thematic material, but brings back the FT, ST, CG 2–3, and the VT, either in full extension or fragmented. The ZT makes no appearance. The movement ebbs and flows with intensity, primarily, through a shift in orchestral texture. As might be expected, the *Presto* heightens the pace, pressing the movement toward closure. The CG2 in quoted in full, marking the last theme heard in the symphony, just before the coda.

[92] Gilberto Vega Miranda, *La canción nicaragüense 2: compilación de cantos populares* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1945), 54.

A forceful statement of the FuT opens the final movement, marking a remembrance of the indigenous past. The subsequent fleeting appearance of the FuT, as well as the ST, is overtaken by its fragmentation and reconstruction, a dissolving of the indigenous into *mestizaje*. Prominent appearances of the FT, CG2–3, and VT press toward conclusion. Indeed, the VT appears recast as a heroic motive, highlighting the historic role of the Catholic Church in Central America. A brief statement of the CG2, the last theme heard in the symphony, just prior to the coda reinforces the European over the memory of the indigenous past.

Conclusion

In November of 1954, Delgadillo returned to Guatemala City, once again, as a Guest of Honor.[93] At an official function, life-long unionist Salvador Mendieta introduced his compatriot with a certain amount of pride, recalling the distinction Delgadillo had achieved on his initial visit during the centennial celebrations in1921, while Guatemala was under a Liberal-Unionist government.[94] His passing mention of the celebrations belied the greater political backdrop in the region during that period, one of hope for a new Central American federation vis-à-vis U.S. intervention. A brief acknowledgment of the *Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana*, among a number of nationalist works mentioned in the introduction, also belied the greater political significance of the symphony at the celebrations. Based on the Central American *Baile de*

[93] "Invitan al maestro Delgadillo," *Novedades* (Managua), Nov. 15, 1954.
[94] Salvador Mendieta, "El maestro Luis A. Delgadillo, virtuoso del piano," November 30, 1954, Archive of the Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica, Managua, Nicaragua.

la Conquista, and employing indigenous and popular *mestizo* themes, Delgadillo constructed a musical representation of the indigenous-past that contributed to nationalist notions of race and modernity, while reinforcing perceptions of the indigenous-present as primitive.

EPILOGUE

Nicaraguan culture paid a steep price for U.S. intervention. It fell victim to the political, economic, and military mechanisms of the Monroe Doctrine that compromised state sovereignty and independence in Nicaragua. Indeed, a succession of Conservative and Liberal governments, local middle managers of U.S. capitalism, not only invited the impositions of intervention, but also placated its incessant demands, whose only gifts in return were state impoverishment and protracted subjugation. In the absence of vigorous state-generated projects to counter the exacerbation of a polarized society, and the disintegration of the nation, Nicaraguan culture buckled under intervention, seeing the removal of traditions, deformation of education, and sophistication of habits, to echo a contemporary journalist.[1] As a response to these cultural effects (and others), nationalism in art came to the fore as a manifestation of self-determination, and a symbolic weapon of resistance toward the U.S., and Nicaraguan government.

Musical nationalism was a tool for both resistance to and complicity with the intervention. The practice was thus a symbol of a new kind of negotiation with U.S. institutions and customs, the historic Nicaraguan process of "Americanization." Delgadillo embodied this process through both tools of musical nationalism under intervention. As its principal Nicaraguan proponent, he created nationalist music that resisted U.S. cultural adulteration through national, regional, or continental representation. His art and popular musics collapsed imaginaries of history, memory, and

[1] See Chapter 5.

homeland in an effort to contribute to nation-building discourses, rooted in markers of *mestizo* identity and the internal Other. In the employ of the Nicaraguan government, Delgadillo also contributed to state support of the intervention, fulfilling his professional obligation toward creating a façade of civic nationalism and education. The apparent contradiction inherent in his musical nationalism was nothing of the sort, but rather a result of his sustained negotiation with a culture under intervention.

Nationalism in art and literature during the intervention planted the seeds for future state-generated and private projects in music. Delgadillo played a role in their advocacy and development throughout his lifetime. The first popular *cancioneros* (songbooks) published in the 1940s were the result of national recognition and funding for such projects, as were the albums of printed music representing the nation during the 1950s. The one and only recorded anthology of Nicaraguan popular and indigenous music, released in the 1970s, owes its impetus to the intervention and the cultural processes of nation-building during the early years of the Somoza García dictatorship. The rise of the *marimba de arco* and the *son Nica* as national symbols are both results of a lengthy search for a musical identity in the wake of intervention. Taking its name from the revolutionary nationalist created by the intervention, the Sandinista Revolution audited all Nicaraguan culture and kept that which best served its own projects, much of which responded to U.S. intervention—past, present, and future.

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APPENDIX A

Nationalist Works by Luis A. Delgadillo, 1916–1931

1916 "Aires populares de Nicaragua"[1]
Genre: military band [lost]
Sources: *Máma Ramona* and *El zopilote*
Premiere: Managua, Nicaragua, [before or during 1916]

1919 "Escenas pastoriles"[2]
Genre: military band, 1919 [lost]; orchestra, 192[?]
(fl, ob, 3 cl, [2] bn, 2 hn, 2 ct, 2 trb, timp, perc, str)
Movements: I. Allegretto spiritoso; II. Andante espressivo; III. Tempo di berceuse; IV. Andante—Allegro festivo
Premiere: June 5, 1919[3]

"El zanatillo (fox-trot)"[4]
Genre: military band, 1919 [lost][5]
Sources: *El zanatillo*
Premiere: June 29, 1919

"Monólogo de Colón (Despertar cerca de América)"[6]
Genre: piano solo; orchestra [lost]
Publication: *Revista Femenina Ilustrada* (no. 1), Managua, Nicaragua[7]
Date: before March of 1919

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[1] "Un Voltaire músico?" *La Noticia* (Managua), Nov. 27, 1916.
[2] "Escenas pastoriles (Suite orquestal)" for orchestra, Manuscript score and parts, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. The score is undated, while the set of parts exhibit various dates, appearing to be an amalgam of manuscript copies produced over many years, and by different hands. The earliest date found in the set of parts places the orchestration in the 1920s, but the exact year is rubbed out in every instance.
[3] "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 5, 1919.
[4] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 29, 1919.
[5] "El zanatillo (fox-trot)" for military band, Manuscript fragment band parts, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. The few extant manuscript parts in the FONMUNIC (pic, cl, 2 t sax, 3 trb) may come from this instrumentation.
[6] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Asuntos musicales. De la melodía, como composición musical," *Los Domingos*, March 16, 1919.
[7] Victor M. Zúniga G., "Crítica musical," *Los Domingos*, March 16, 1919.

1920 "La serbulita (fox-trot nacional)"[8]
Genre: military band, 1920 [lost]
Sources: *El zopilote* and *Don Simón*[9]
Premiere: January 4, 1920

1921 "Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana"[10]
Genre: military band, 1921 [lost][11]; orchestra, 1921 ([2] fl, [2] ob, eng hn, 2 cl, [2] bn, 4 hn, 2 ct, 3 trb, tba, timp, "atabales," cym, tamb, str)
Movements: I. Poco andante—Allegro giusto; II. Andante triste; III. Allegretto pastoril; IV. Larghetto maestoso—Allegro final
Sources: "Maya-quiché melodies," *El zopilote*, and a Nicaraguan villancico
Completed: [Mid] 1921; Managua, Nicaragua
Premiere: September 14, 1921; Guatemala City, Guatemala

1922 "México al día/de hoy (zarzuela)"[12]
Genre: musical theater [lost]
Libretto: José Gómez Ugarte and Porfírio Hernández (Fígaro)[13]
Staging: Teatro Lírico (Lupe Rivas Cacho, dir.)[14]
Premiere: February 18, 1922; Mexico City, Mexico[15]

1923 "Sinfonía mexicana"[16]
Genre: piano solo [lost], 1923; orchestra, 1923 ([2] fl, [2] ob, 2 cl, 2 bn, 2 ct, tpt 2, hn, 3 trb, timp, perc, cel, str)[17]
Movements: I. Allegro moderato—Andante, II. Andante, III. Allegro scherzoso, IV. Andante—Allegro non troppo vivo

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[8] "Programa del concierto," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jan. 4, 1920.
[9] "Programa del concierto," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Feb. 8, 1920.
[10] "Sinfonía indígena o centroamericana" for orchestra, Manuscript score, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. The cover page of the manuscript score contains details of the premiere: "First performance, Sept. 14, 1921, Guatemala City, Guatemala orchestra, composer conducting."
[11] "La banda," *Los Domingos*, July 1921.
[12] Delgadillo does not mention this work anywhere beyond the pieces that appeared in print in Nicaragua around the date of the premiere.
[13] Luis A. Delgadillo, "México al día," *Los Domingos*, Feb. 26, 1922.
[14] Luis A. Delgadillo, "Miscelánea mexicana," *Los Domingos*, Mar. 12, 1922.
[15] "El México de hoy," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Feb. 16, 1922.
[16] "Sinfonía Mexicana" for orchestra, Manuscript draft score, short score, full score, and orchestral parts, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.
[17] The set of mixed manuscript parts are undated. However, they are in Delgadillo's hand and those of other unattributed copyists, and represent various performances over a period of time.

Sources: *La chaparrita, La cucaracha, La estrellita, Las mañanitas, Las posadas, El payo Nicolás, La borrachita*, and *Letanía de la Virgen*[18]
Completed: September 2, 1923; Mexico City, Mexico[19]
Premiere: October 20, 1929; Havana, Cuba[20]

1924 *La rosa del paraíso (Opereta regional en dos actos)*[21]
Genre: operetta, 1924 (based on the eponymous play by H. Robleto, 1921)
Sources: *Dormite niñito, El zanatillo, Los diablitos, La pelota*
Premiere: August 1925: Guatemala City, Guatemala[22]

"Raza triste"[23]
Genre: voice and piano
Premiere: May 9, 1924; Mexico City, Mexico (radio broadcast)

"Rapsodia nicaragüense"[24]
Genre: piano solo
Sources: Nicaraguan popular songs

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[18] Otto Mayer-Serra, "Delgadillo, Luis Abraham," *Música y músicos de Latinoamérica* (Mexico: Editorial Atlante, 1947), 312; and "El radio-concierto de anoche en la estación 'El Universal'. - 'La Casa del Radio'. - La gran sinfonía del maestro Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Jan. 12, 1924.
[19] The completion date is taken from an extant short score in Delgadillo's hand, which may have been the earliest version. Moreover, it includes the time of completion: "10:30pm"; see "Sinfonía mexicana" for orchestra, Manuscript draft score, short score, full score, and orchestral parts, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.
[20] Ibid. A public performance of the final movement in an arrangement for two pianos took place in Mexico City approximately three years before the orchestral premiere. Delgadillo and Esperanza Rodríguez were the soloists; see "El gran concierto de orquesta y piano de despedida del maestro Delgadillo," *El Demócrata* (Mexico City), Jul. 11, 1925.
[21] Luis A. Delgadillo and Hernán Robleto. "La rosa del paraíso (opereta regional)." Manuscript short score. San Salvador, El Salvador, October 30, 1924. Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense. National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.
[22] "Los conciertos del maestro Delgadillo," [*Diario de Centro América*] (Guatemala City), [Aug. 19, 1925]. A duo from the operetta was programmed for performance in Mexico City in December of 1924. However, it may not have been performed as the review did not mention the work; see "Una velada en homenaje a la República de Nicaragua," *El Universal* [?] (Mexico City), Dec. 9, 1924; and "Brillante velada en honor a Nicaragua," *El Universal Gráfico* (Mexico City), Dec. 11, 1924.
[23] "El Radioconcierto Internacional de [ ]er, en honor de las repúblicas centroamericanas, fue un éxito," *El Universal* (Mexico City), May 10, 1924.
[24] "Una velada en homenaje a la República de Nicaragua," *El Universal* [?] (Mexico City), Dec. 9, 1924; and "Brillante velada en honor a Nicaragua," *El Universal Gráfico* (Mexico City), Dec. 11, 1924.

Premiere: December 9, 1924; Mexico City, Mexico

1925 *Teotihuacán (Suite mexicana)*[25]

Genre: orchestra, 1925 (pic, [2] fl, [2] ob, 2 cl, [2] bn, [2] hn, [2] ct, 2 trb, timp, "tambores indios," str)

Movements: I. Andante calmo, II. Allegretto vivo, III. Allegretto pastoral, IV. Allegro melancólico

Sources: *El alabado*, *La montera*, *Los archileos*, and *La hermosa niña*[26]

Completed: [1925]; Mexico City, Mexico

Premiere: July 12, 1925; Mexico City, Mexico[27]; performed by the Sindicato de Filarmónicos del Distrito Federal[28]

1926 "Sinfonía incaica"[29]

Genre: orchestra, 1926 (pic, [2] fl, [2] ob, [2] cl, [2] bn, 4 hn, [2] tpt, 3 trb, timp, perc, str)

Movements: I. Poco allegro, II. Andante espressivo—Quasi allegro, ma sacro—Andante, III. Intermezzo "Danza incaica" (Allegro brioso, salvaje), IV. Final (Andante—Allegro, quasi presto—Tempo di allegro marziale—[Allegro, quasi presto]—Grandioso sonoro)

Sources: "Huayños"

Orchestration completed: August 14, 1926; Buenos Aires, Argentina

Premiere: May 20, 1927; Caracas, Venezuela

"Lucerito de la luna (Romance indígena)"[30]

Genre: voice and piano

Text incipit: "Tú eres lucerito de amor"

Completed: May 5, 1926; Lima, Peru

"Indian Romance / Romance Indio"[31]

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[25] *Teotihuacán (Suite Mexicana)* for orchestra, Manuscript short score and parts, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.

[26] "Es bellísima la 'suite' mexicana 'Teotihuacán' del maestro Delgadillo," *El Demócrata* (Mexico City), Jul. 11, 1925.

[27] "El gran concierto de orquesta y piano de despedida del maestro Delgadillo," *El Demócrata* (Mexico City), Jul. 11, 1925.

[28] "El homenaje al maestro Sr. D. Luis A. Delgadillo," *El Excélsior* (Mexico City), July 12, 1925.

[29] "Sinfonía incaica" for orchestra, Manuscript score, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua.

[30] "Lucerito de la luna (Romance indígena)" for voice and piano, Manuscript vocal score, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. The subtitle was originally "Romance incaico." Delgadillo was the author of the text.

[31] "Indian Romance" for violin and piano, Manuscript violin part and score, Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. The title page

Genre: violin and piano
Completed: 1926

1928 "Suite colonial nicaragüense (*Diciembre*)"
Genre: orchestra, 1928 ([2] fl, [2] ob, [2] cl, [2] bn, 4 hn, [2] tpt, 3 trb, timp, perc, str)
Movements: I. Andantino ("Toda hermosa es María"), II. Allegretto pastoril ("Baile de pastores"), III. Allegro festivo ("Procesión del Niño Dios"), IV. Allegro festivo, non troppo vivo—Andantino grandioso ("Fiesta del Niño Dios")
Sources: Son de Pascua "Pase del Niño Dios en Managua" and other traditional songs for the Nicaraguan Christmas season
Completed: April 8, 1928; "Hacienda Sta. Isabel" [Nicaragua?]
Premiere: October 20, 1929; Havana, Cuba

1929 "Obertura indiana"[32]
Genre: orchestra [lost]
Performance: October 27, 1929; Havana, Cuba.[33]

1930 "Invocación a la luna / Invocation to the Moon"[34]
Genre: orchestra, [before 1932] (picc, [2] fl, ob, 2 cl, bn, 2 hn, 2 tpt, trb, perc, timp, str)
Movement: I. Andante expressivo

"Tipitapa" and "Remembrances of Monimbó"[35]
Genre: piano solo
Performance: April 21, 1930; Washington, D.C.

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carries the following note: "Published on the page of honor in the distinguished newspaper 'La Prensa' of Buenos Aires (Argentina) on December 12, 1926."

[32] Mentioned in "Se encuentra en San Salvador el reputado compositor Luis A. Delgadillo. Dará aquí un gran concierto de Orquesta," [*Diario del Salvador*] (San Salvador), [Sep. 22, 1925].

[33] "Concierto de la Filarmónica," *El Mundo* (Havana), Oct. 27, 1929; and "Teatro. El concierto de la Filarmónica en el Nacional," *Diario de la Marina* (Havana), Oct. 28, 1929.

[34] "Invocación a la luna" for orchestra. Manuscript parts. Fondo Histórico Documental de la Música Nicaragüense, National Archives, Managua, Nicaragua. An undated manuscript score is found in an unattributed hand. There are a few autograph parts (incomplete), also undated. The date comes from a January 1932 publication in which some Delgadillo's works are mentioned; see "Chiquita Olivia. Serenta Infantil," *Cine-Mundial*, January 1932, 42–43.

[35] "Tipitapa" and "Remembrances of Monimbó," Concert program, Hall of the Americas, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C., April 21, 1930. Delgadillo was the piano soloist. In addition to these two piano works, Delgadillo conducted the United Service Orchestra in his "Indigenous Dance 'Danza salvaje,'" presumably the extracted third movement from the composer's "Sinfonía incaica.

APPENDIX B

Luis A. Delgadillo, Promotion and Reception by Foreign Press, 1921–1932[1]

GUATEMALA, 1921

Guatemala City (September 1921)

"El artista Sr. Delgadillo ha sido declarado Huesped de Honor por el Comité de Festejos," (Guatemala City), [Aug. 1921].

"La sinfonía indígena del maestro Delgadillo," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sept. 29, 1921. [Reprint from *El Unionista*.]

Simón Paulin, "Impresiones del concierto Delgadillo," (Guatemala City), [Sep. 1921].

MEXICO, 1921–1925

Mexico City (October 1921–July 1925)

"Del Momento Artístico. Una gran músico nicaragüense," (Mexico City), [Oct. 1921].

"Conciertos de maestro Luis Delgadillo," *Excélsior* (Mexico City), Oct. 18, 1921.

"Concierto de un centro americano," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Oct. 23, 1921.

"Recital del pianista Luis Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Oct. 25, 1921.

"El concierto del maestro Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Oct. 27, 1921.

"Se encuentra en México un compositor de Nicaragua," *El Universal* (Mexico City), [1921].

"Piden que se toque música de Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), [1922].

"Notas Diversas. Luis A. Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Nov. 10, 1921.

Humberto Ruiz Sandoval, "La Sociedad al Día. El señor Luis [A.] Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Dec. 1, 1921.

"Información. Sucesos, Notas y Noticias. El concierto del maestro Delgadillo," *Los Domingos*, December 11, 1921.

"El bello fox del artista Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Dec. 27, 1921.

"Concierto. A beneficio del pianista y compositor centroamericano Luis A. Delgadillo…," *Cine-Mundial*, January 1922.

"Una gran audición en honor del maestro Delgadillo," [*Heraldo de México*] (Mexico City, [Jan. 5, 1922].

"Una audición en honor del maestro Delgadillo," [*El Universal*] (Mexico City), [Jan. 1921].

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[1] Primarily taken from Delgadillo's personal album of newspaper clippings. Bibliographic citations are arranged in chronological order. Information in brackets is either found in Delgadillo's hand or missing from the printed source. The black lines separate extended periods of travel or residence abroad, and imply a return to Nicaragua by the composer.

"El gran concierto en honor del Mtro. Rafael Delgadillo," *Excélsior* (Mexico City), Jan. 14, 1922.
"El concierto en honor del maestro Delgadillo," *Excélsior* (Mexico City), Jan. 17, 1922.
"Hoy será el concierto a beneficio del maestro Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Jan. 18, 1922.
"El concierto en honor del maestro Delgadillo," *El Universal* (Mexico City), [Jan. 19], 1922].
Duque de Mantua, "Notas de Arte Musical. El recital pro-Delgadillo," [*El Demócrata*] (Mexico City), [Jan. 19, 1922].
Manuel Barajas, "Impresiones Artísticas. El recital pro Delgadillo," [*El Heraldo*] (Mexico City), Jan. 20, 1922.
"El México de hoy," *El Universal* (Mexico City), Feb. 16, 1922.
"Pepito Figueroa, el precoz violinista da un concierto," *Excélsior* (Mexico City), Mar. 29, 1922.
"S. E. el Señor Ministro del Uruguay ofreció una brillante recepción ayer por la tarde," *Excélsior* (Mexico City), [Apr. 28], 1922.
"Velada literario-musical a beneficio del maestro D. Luis Delgadillo," *Excélsior* (Mexico City), May 3, 1922.
"Velada en honor del maestro Delgadillo," *Excélsior* (Mexico City), May 8, 1922.
"Veladas, Conciertos y Conferencias. Antenoche se verificó la velada literario-musical," [*El Universal*] (Mexico City), [May 12, 1922].
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“El prof. Delgadillo visita la casa de ‘Excélsior,’” [*Excélsior “El Pais”*] (Havana), [Sep. 15, 1929].
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“Sociedad de profesores y alumnos,” *El Mundo* (Havana), Oct. 16, 1929.
“Teatros. Música indígena de América. Estamos en vísperas de un acontecimiento artístico…,” (Havana), [Oct. 1929].
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“El concierto de hoy. Un gran concierto,” (Havana), [Oct. 1929].

"Concierto del Sr. Delgadillo. Se efectuará hoy en el teatro 'Nacional'.—Obras típicas," [*Diario de la Marina*] (Havana), [Oct. 20, 1929].
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"Teatro. Música y músicos. Don Luis Delgadillo obtuvo ayer un buen éxito.," *Diario de la Marina* (Havana), Oct. 21, 1929.
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"Symphony Concerts Resume," *The Havana Post* (Havana), Oct. 1929.
"Philharmonic Concert Sunday," [*The Havana Post*] (Havana), [Oct. 1929].
José Calero, "Arte Musical. Lerdo de Tejada y su brillante disertación," [*Heraldo de Cuba*] (Havana), Oct. 24, 1929.
"Teatro. El concierto de la Filharmónica en el Nacional," *Diario de la Marina* (Havana), Oct. 28, 1929.
"Concierto de la Filarmónica," [*El Mundo*] (Havana), [Oct. 27, 1929].
"El maestro compositor nicaragüense, Don Luis A. Delgadillo…, [*Diario de la Marina*] (Havana), [Oct. 31, 1929].
"Carteles. El prof. Delgadillo en la Filarmónica," [Nov. 3, 1929].
"Una conferencia interesante. Luis Abraham Delgadillo, en Campoamor," *Guía Musical*, [November 1929].

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New Orleans (November–December 1929)
"Composer Here from Nicaragua Plans Symphony. Famous Delgadillo Would Use Themes of 'Dixie' and 'Casey Jones,'" *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Nov. 10, 1929.
"Visiting Composer Heard in Recital. Nicaraguan Plays His Own Compositions for Circle of Friends," *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Nov. 11, 1929.
"Artistic Blues. Professor Luis A. Delgadillo," [*The Morning Tribune*] (New Orleans), Dec. 12, 1929.
"Society. Parties and Events. Mr. Emilio O'Brien Motta, entertained at a musicale in honor of Maestro Luis Delgadillo," *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Nov. 24, 1929.
"Delgadillo Would Give Concert Here. Latin American Consuls to Sponsor Composer's Program," [*The Times-Picayune*] (New Orleans), Nov. 24, 1929.
"Delgadillo Gives Concert on Dec. 12," [*The Times-Picayune*] (New Orleans), [Dec. 1, 1929].
"Nicaraguan Star to be Heard Here," *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Dec. 8, 1929.
"Orleans to Hear Spanish Pianist. Luiz Delgadillo Booked for Concert at Italian Hall," [*New Orleans Item*] (New Orleans), Dec. 8, 1929.
"Gives Concert Tonight. Professor Luis Delgadillo…," *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), Dec. 12, 1929.
"Prof. Delgadillo to Give Recital on Thursday," (New Orleans), [Dec. 1929].

"Noted Composer Plays in Recital. Professor Luis Delgadillo Renders Own Piano Compositions," [*The Times-Picayune*] (New Orleans), [Dec. 13, 1929].
"Concert. Maestro Luis Delgadillo donnait…," *La Guepe* (New Orleans), [Dec. 21, 1929].
"Latin-American Pianist Will Give Recital Here," [*New Orleans State*] (New Orleans), [Dec. 1929].
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New York City (February 1930–April 1932)
"Notable pianista y compositor en los Estados Unidos. Procedente de la Habana, vía New Orleans y Washington, D. C.," [*La Prensa*] (New York City), [Feb. 1, 1930].
Ramón Martel, "Crónica Social. Luis A. Delgadillo," *Gráfico* (New York City), Feb. 8, 1930.
Ramón Martel, "Crónica Social. La corte de Lourdes," *Gráfico* (New York City), Feb. 15, 1930.
"Spanish Concert Pianist Entertains. Prof. Luis A. Delgadillo Gives Instructive Lecture and Recital," *The Ram* (New York City), Feb. 28, 1930.
Ramón Martel, "Crónica Social. En la Universidad de For[d]ham," *Gráfico* (New York City), Mar. 8, 1930.
Ramón Martel, "Crónica Social. En casa de Rioseco," *Gráfico* (New York City), Mar. 15, 1930.
"Composer to Present His Aztec Symphonies," *The New York Sun* (New York City), Apr. 3, 1930.
"Un concerto del prof. Delgadillo," [*Carriere d'America*] (New York City), [Apr. 3, 1930].
"Concerto Delgadillo," [*Il Progresso Italo-americano*] (New York City), [Apr. 3, 1930].
"De Música. Recital Delgadillo esta noche," [*La Prensa*] (New York City), [Apr. 4, 1930].
Ramón Martel, "Crónica Social. De arte," *Gráfico* (New York City), Apr. 5, 1930.
"Luis A. Delgadillo Plays. Pianist Gives His Own Symphonies of Aztec and Inca Music," *The New York Times* (New York City), Apr. 5, 1930.
"Recital de Delgadillo en breve en Washington," [*La Prensa*] (New York City), [Apr. 9, 1930].
Ramón Martel, "Crónica Social. El concierto de viernes," *Gráfico* (New York City), Apr. 30, 1930.
"Radicará en Nueva York. El distinguido compositor y director de orquesta nicaragüense…," *La Prensa* (New York City), May 13, 1930.
Ramón Martel, "Mundo Elegante. En el Ritz," *Gráfico* (New York City), Jun. 21, 1930.
"Music Notes. The Spanish Institute of the United States (Instituto de las Españas)," *The New York Times*, Aug. 4, 1930.
"Spanish Music Heard at Columbia Concert. Luis Delgadillo Also Plays His Compositions Based on South American Indian Themes," *The New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1930.

F. Pérez de Vega, “Notas de Arte y Teatro. Un bello programa de música española en el Instituto de las Españas,” *El Debate* (New York City), Aug. 9, 1930.
Alberto Anderson Troyo, “Sociales y Personales. Gran baile en el ‘Plaza,’” *Gráfico* (New York City), Aug. 9, 1930.
“Notas de Sociedad. Pasa una temporada de descanso…,” *La Prensa* (New York City), Aug. 14, 1930.
“Promete ser muy lúcido el banquete mejicano,” *La Prensa* (New York City), Sep. 15, 1930.
“Se celebró con gran lucidez el festival centroamericano en Hotel Plaza,” *La Prensa* (New York City), Sep. 17, 1930.
“Informacion Cultural. ‘La Música indígena de la América Hispana,’” *La Prensa* (New York City), Oct. 18, 1930.
Eleanor Silberman, “‘Nicaragua Day’ Observed by Club. Prof. Luis Delgadillo Gives Recital before Curtis Spanish Students,” *Staten Island Advance* (New York City), Nov. 21, 1930.
“Junior Spanish Club Meets,” (New York City), [Nov. 1930].
Julian Seaman, “A piano recital…,” [*New York World*] (New York City), [Jan. 31, 1931].
“Music Notes. A program dedicated to compositions based on the folklore…,” *The New Times*, Feb. 1, 1931.
“Latin-American Concert,” [*Herald Tribune*] (New York City), [Feb. 1, 1931].
“Del folklore incaico,” *La Prensa* (New York City), Feb. 5, 1931.
F.D.F., “Delgadillo Gives Recital. Nicaraguan Pianist Plays Own Works in Roerich Museum,” [*Herald Tribune*] (New York City), [Feb. 6, 1931].
“El concierto musical del profesor Luis A. Delgadillo,” [*La Prensa*] (New York City), [Feb. 7, 1931].
“Artists Everywhere. Luis A. Delgadillo,” *Musical Courier*, March 28, 1931.
“Notas de sociedad. Un interesante programe musical ha preparado el Comité Pro Aviación Hondureña…,” *La Prensa* (New York City), Apr. 24, 1931.
“City Brevities. Professor Luis A. Delgadillo…,” [*The New York Times*] (New York City), [May 16, 1931].
“Un concierto a beneficio del profesor Luis A. Delgadillo,” [*La Prensa*] (New York City), [May 16, 1931].
“Concierto musical del compositor L. A. Delgadillo,” [*La Prensa*] (New York City), [May 19, 1931].
“Un magnífico concierto de música incaica,” [*La Prensa*] (New York City), [May 21, 1931].
“Sociedades Hispanas. Brillante concierto,” *El Debate* (New York City), May 23, 1931.
“La junta directiva del Club Esperanza,” [*La Prensa*] (New York City), [May 1931].
“Prof. Luis A. Delgadillo Appears in Concert,” *The Musician*, [May 1931].
“El hechizo de los trópicos,” [*La Prensa*] (New York City), [Jun. 2, 1931].
“7 to 8 P. M. 7:00—Abigail Parecis, soprano; mixed chorus; orchestra [NBC Radio],” [*The Sun*] (New York City), [Jun. 2, 1931].
“Concierto del maestro Delgadillo en N. York,” [*La Prensa*] (San Antonio, Texas), [Jun. 18, 1931].

"Otro triunfo hispanoamericano en Nueva York," *Hispano América* (San Francisco), Oct. 3, 1931.
"Chiquita Olivia. Serenata Infantil," *Cine-Mundial*, January 1931.
"El prof. Luis A. Delgadillo da un concierto el sábado," *La Prensa* (New York City), Mar. 15, 1932.
"Numeroso público asistió al concierto del profesor Luis A. Delgadillo," *La Prensa* (New York City), Mar. 22, 1932.
"Notas de Sociedad. En el vapor 'Atlántida' embarcaráse mañana para Centro América…," *La Prensa* (New York City), Apr. 15, 1932.
"Carteles. Luis Delgadillo, compositor y pianista nicaragüense…," [*Social*] (Havana), [May 1, 1932].

Washington, D.C. (April 1930 and July 1931)
Jean Eliot, "Pan-American Plans Honors For Dr. Olaya," [*The Washington Post*] (Washington, D.C.), [Apr. 18, 1930].
"Radiaráse ampliamente el programa de la Union Panamericana del lunes," *La Prensa* (New York City), Apr. 18, 1930.
"Latin American Artists," (Washington, D.C.), [Apr. 1930].
"Latin American Music at Pan-American Bldg.," [*The Sunday Star*] (Washington, D.C.), [Apr. 18, 1930].
"Pan-American Program. Tomorrow," [*The Evening Star*] (Washington, D.C.), [Apr. 20, 1930].
"Revamped Service Orchestra Debut. 100-Piece Organization Will Go on Air Tomorrow at Pan-American," *The Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), Apr. 20, 1930.
"Marine, Army, Navy Musicians in First Concert. Notables to Hear New Latin American Compositions by United Orchestra," *Boston Evening Transcript* (Boston), Apr. 21, 1930.
"1,000 Hear Concert of Hispanic Music. Compositions of 12 Latin-American Countries are Played on Program," [*The Washington Post*] (Washington, D.C.), [Apr. 22, 1930].
"Brilliant Concert in Nation's Capital," [*The New York Times*] (New York City), [Apr. 22, 1930].
Francis D. Perkins, "Capital Hears Latin-American Musical Recital," [*Herald Tribune*] (New York City), [Apr. 22, 1930].
"Historic Concert Unites Musicians. Three Orchestras Represented at Pan-American Union Affair," [*The Evening Star*] (Washington, D.C.), [Apr. 22, 1930].
Samuel L. Laciar, "Music. Unusual Concert in Capital," *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), [Apr. 23, 1930].
"A Fine Concert at Pan American," [*Washington Herald*] (Washington, D.C.), [Apr. 1930].
Theodore G. Joslin, "Capital Hears Native Music of Americas," [*Herald Tribune*] (New York City), [Apr. 1930].

"News of the Music World. Pan-American Concert Tomorrow Features Señorita Garza, Señor Gutiérrez and the United States Army Band," *The Sunday Star* (Washington, D.C.), Jul 26, 1931.
"Music and Musicians. Reviews and News of Capital's Programs," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), Jul 28, 1931.

HONDURAS, 1932

La Ceiba (April 1932)
"Distinguido pianista," [*El Pueblo*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Apr. 19, 1932].
"El maestro Delgadillo entre nosotros," [*Diario del Norte*] (La Ceiba, Honduras), [Apr. 23, 1932].
"El gran concierto de esta noche," [*Diario del Norte*] (La Ceiba, Honduras), [Apr. 26, 1932].
"El concierto del maestro Delgadillo," [*El Espectador*] (La Ceiba, Honduras), [Apr. 27, 1932].
"El concierto de antenoche," [*Diario del Norte*] (La Ceiba, Honduras), [Apr. 28, 1932].

San Pedro Sula (May 1932)
"Llegó el artista Delgadillo," [*El Norte*] (San Pedro Sula, Honduras), [May 5, 1932].
"Notable concertista de piano que ingresa a dar un recital," [*El Norte*] (San Pedro Sula, Honduras), [May 10, 1932].
"En el Casino Sampedrano. Dará su primer recital Delgadillo el martes venidero," [*El Norte*] (San Pedro Sula, Honduras), [May 14, 1932].
"El Maestro Delgadillo, que dará un recital el martes en el Casino Sampedrano," *El Norte* (San Pedro Sula, Honduras), [May 16, 1932].
"El alma de América," [*El Norte*] (San Pedro Sula, Honduras), [May 1932].
"Saludo. Está entre nosotros el renombrado compositor nicaragüense Luis A. Delgadillo…," [*Alma Latina*], [May 1932].
"Delgadillo, musicógrafo e intérprete excelente de sus obras," [*El Norte*] (San Pedro Sula, Honduras), [May 18, 1932].

Tegucigalpa (May 1932)
"Pronto llegará el gran compositor Delgadillo," [*El Pueblo*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [May 18, 1932].
"Ha llegado a Tegucigalpa el maestro Delgadillo," [*El Cronista*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [May 25, 1932].
"El concierto de Delgadillo," [*El Pueblo*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [May 1932].
"El maestro Luis A. Delgadillo," [*El Pueblo*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [May 25, 1932].
"Un eminente compositor," [*Tegucigalpa*], [May 29, 1932].
"Entrevista al distinguido compositor nicaragüense, Don Luis A. Delgadillo. Su actuación artística en los Estado Unidos," [*El Cronista*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [May 30, 1932].

"El maestro Delgadillo rectifica una frase de sangre… Señor de El Cronista…," *El Cronista* (Tegucigalpa), [May 1932].
"La conferencia de Delgadillo ayer en la Normal de Señoritas," [*El Cronista*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun. 2, 1932].
"Alguna opiniones sobre la obra del maestro Delgadillo," (Tegucigalpa), [Jun. 1932].
"El recital del maestro Delgadillo," [*El Cronista*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun 3, 1932].
"El recital del maestro Delgadillo," [*El Cronista*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun 4, 1932].
"El triunfo artístico del Profesor Delgadillo en el Teatro Nacional," [*El Pueblo*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun. 4, 1932].
Manuel de Adalid y Gamero, "Salutación al maestro Delgadillo," (Tegucigalpa), [Jun. 4, 1932].
"Brillante concierto del maestro Delgadillo," [*El Cronista*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun 4, 1932].
"Éxito de un concierto," [*Nuevo Tiempo*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun 4, 1932].
"El Profesor Delgadillo," [*El Pueblo*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun. 8, 1932].
"Despedida del maestro Delgadillo," [*El Pueblo*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun 8, 1932].
"Concierto a la colonia nicaragüense," [*El Cronista*] (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun 8, 1932].
G.A. Velásquez, "Noches del Nacional. El primer concierto de Luis A. Delgadillo," (Tegucigalpa, Honduras), [Jun 1932].
Manuel de Adalid y Gamero, "Consideraciones sobre la obra del maestro Luis A. Delgadillo," (Tegucigalpa), [Jun 1932].

APPENDIX C

Toward an Obituary of Alejandro Cousin[1]

(b. Belgium, ca. 1835; d. Cherbourg, France, September 2, 1910)[2]

On September 2, 1910, while on a transatlantic passenger vessel nearing Cherbourg, France, Alejandro Cousin passed away at approximately 75 years of age. At the time of death he was accompanied by his daughter, Blanca Cousin Oudart de Zelaya, and grandchildren.[3] José Santos Zelaya López (1853–1919), recently deposed President of Nicaragua, awaited them at Cherbourg, and expected to take them to Brussels. In lieu of transporting the deceased to the Belgian capital, he was buried at Cherbourg.[4] Cousin was preceded in death by his wife, Leonie Oudart de Cousin, who is buried in Managua.[5]

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[1] Little is known about Cousin, and no biography seems to have ever been undertaken. Nevertheless, he appears briefly in two books published during the twentieth century; see Jorge Eduardo Arellano, *Don Vicente Cuadra: lección histórica de gobernante ejemplar* (Managua: Academia de Geografía e Historia de Nicaragua, 2008), and Anselmo Flete Bolaños, *Recuerdos de los treinta años* (Managua: Tipografía Nacional, 1914).

[2] The registry of birth for Cousin is not extant. However, the manifest of a ship traveling from British Honduras (today, Belize) to New Orleans, on Feb. 14, 1868, listed an "A. Cousin… Belgian" as 33 years of age; see "A. Cousin," *New Orleans, Passenger Lists, 1813–1963*, Ancestry.com, accessed May 23, 2018, [database access limited to subscription]. The date of death was announced in the Salvadorean newspaper *Diario del Salvador*, which cited another periodical, *Le Matin* (Paris); see "El ex Presidente Zelaya en Bruselas. La muerte de su suegro frente a las costas de Francia," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Oct. 3, 1910.

[3] Nearly all of the Zelaya Cousin children traveled with their mother and grandfather: Berta, Isabel, Leonor, Emelina, Santos, and Anita. They remained in Nicaragua after José Santos Zelaya left the country in late 1909; see "Desde la Havana. Entrevista con el ex-presidente Zelaya…," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Mar. 8, 1910; and "Nicaragua. Don Alejandro Cousin solicitó…," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Aug. 10, 1910.

[4] "El ex Presidente Zelaya en Bruselas. La muerte de su suegro frente a las costas de Francia," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Oct. 3, 1910.

[5] I have confirmed, in person, that Leonie Oudart de Cousin is buried in San Pedro Cemetery, a historic burial ground for foreigners in Managua.

Cousin (born Alexandre Joseph Theodore Cousin) was a native of Belgium, possibly born in Namur.[6] He may have been the son of or related to Alexandre Cousin (1801–1861), former Director of Music of the 2nd Regiment of the Belgian Infantry.[7] The early years of his life remain somewhat of a mystery, as does his musical education, yet his early activity in Latin America reveals a substantial background in music,[8] and training as a civil engineer.[9] As a piano accompanist, he arrived in Panama in June of 1858 on a tour with "M.C. Tolly, violinist, from the Paris Conservatoire, with his wife, prima donna of the Paris Opera."[10] They gave performances at Panama City and Aspinwall (today, Colón) before moving on to Lima, Peru, where Cousin briefly resided as a voice and piano teacher.[11] By the end of the year, he returned to Aspinwall and worked as a private teacher of "singing, the piano, and other instruments," as well as a piano tuner and technician.[12] At Aspinwall he collaborated as piano accompanist in a

[6] "Blanche Marie Therese Alexandra Cousin," Oct. 16, 1875, in "Belgium, Births and Baptisms, 1560–1890," index, *FamilySearch*, accessed Dec. 21, 2012, https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/FVSJ-NZX.
[7] Édouard Georges Jacques, Gregoir, *Les artistes-musiciens belges au XVIIIme et au XIXme siècle* (Bruxelles: Schott Frères, 1885), 14.
[8] On a "List of Aliens," contained in a manifest of a ship traveling from Ostend, Belgium to London, England on May 11, 1858, Cousin declared his profession to be "music teacher"; see *England, Alien Arrivals, 1810–1811, 1826–1869*, Ancestry.com, accessed May 23, 2018, [database access limited to subscription].
[9] It is unclear when and where he received training as a civil engineer, but from 1889 he took part in a Commission of Isthmus Studies to determine the viability of an inter-oceanic canal through Panama, and was listed as having such expertise; see "The Canal Commission to make a Fair Report," *Panama Star and Herald* (Panama City), Nov. 18, 1889; "La venida del a Comisión de Estudios al Istmo…," *Estrella de Panama* (Panama City), Jan. 18, 1890; and "Le Canal," *Panama Star and Herald* (Panama City), Mar. 19, 1894.
[10] "We learn that a troupe of French Artistes…," *Panama Star and Herald* (Panama City), Jun. 12, 1858.
[11] "A. Cousin, Profesor de canto y piano…," *El Comercio* (Lima, Peru), Sep. 17, 1858.
[12] "To The Public," *Panama Star and Herald* (Panama City), Dec. 23, 1858.

public performance with Austrian prima donna Sophie Amic-Gazan and her sister, Emilia Kammerer, in a program of opera arias and duets. The concert also featured him as composer of and piano soloist in the waltz *Las perlas de oro* (Pearls of Gold), and in a demonstration of the "saxophorno," perhaps one of the earliest appearances of the musical invention by Adolphe Saxe in Latin America, with Kammerer accompanying at the piano.[13]

A few years later, Cousin secured employment as Director of Music of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes in El Salvador, a nation then embroiled in war, under the administration of President Gerardo Barrios.[14] On October 26, 1863, in addition to a number of foreign officers who worked for the president in San Salvador, Cousin was arrested and nearly executed by an occupying military force, following the departure of Barrios from the capital.[15] The most enduring musical composition produced while in El Salvador was the military march *Gerardo Barrios* (later referred to as a paso doble), which functioned in a ceremonial capacity as a patriotic or national music.[16]

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[13] "Salon del Cabildo, Gran concierto vocal e instrumental," *Panama Star and Herald* (Panama City), Dec. 11, 1858. Sophie Amic-Gazan died not long after her collaboration with Cousin, while traveling by steamship from Panama to San Francisco in late December of 1858. A native of Ludwigsburg, Germany, she was twenty-four years of age at the time of death, and married to M. Theodore Amic-Gazan, a former French soldier employed in a similar capacity by the Mexican government. He was also a professional photographer, one of the first to work in San Francisco during the 1850s; see "Died. On board the Golden Age…," *Daily Alta California*, Dec. 29, 1858; "We learn with regret that Madam Sophia Amic-Gazan…," *Panama Star and Herald* (Panama City), Jan. 20, 1859; and "French Expedition to Mexico," *Daily Alta California*, Dec. 12, 1859.

[14] "El señor don Alejandro Cousin…," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), Sep. 30, 1910.

[15] "Central America. Arrival of the Salvador. Twenty Eight Days of Siege of San Salvador," *Panama Star and Herald* (Panama City), Nov. 17, 1863.

[16] The march/paso doble was recorded by Victor in 1926; see "Gerardo Barrios," Victor matrix BVE-35691, *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, accessed May 23,

From the end of the 1860s until his death, Cousin resided for much of the rest of his life in Nicaragua. In 1868 the government hired him to be the founding director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes,[17] a military institution with a ceremonial and educational function, based in Managua.[18] Around 1870, Cousin and a French colleague, Paul Lévy, received government concessions to pursue business projects.[19] Within a couple of years he returned to Belgium, where he married Leonie Isidore Josephe Oudart, with whom he had two children, the aforementioned Blanca (1875–1957) and a son, Luis Alejandro (ca. 1881–1935), who later held the position of Minister of War under President Zelaya.[20] In mid-July 1882 he returned to Nicaragua and resumed direction of the national military band.[21] Among the official obligations of the band were to give concerts, known as *retretas* (tattoos), twice a week at *Parque Central* in Managua. The programs were published in advance, and reflected the tastes of the day—popular dances,

2018, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800009931/BVE-35691-Gerardo_Barrios.

[17] "Noticiero Centroamericano. Nicaragua. Managua, 12 mayo," *Diario del Salvador* (San Salvador), May 14, 1910; "Constancias-certificaciones, suscritas por A. Cousin, Director de la Banda S. S. P. P., Oct–Nov 1892," IHNCA, RS – Sección 2 / RS – 0069 (Managua). His appointment can be deduced, as can some of the later dates of his years in Nicaragua, from this particular letter of recommendation for musician Miguel Castillo, of whom Cousin had known since 1868. Furthermore, Lévy's survey, *Notas geográficas y económicas sobre la República de Nicaragua* (1873), claimed that Cousin founded the Banda de los Supremos Poderes. Cousin was hired by Secretary of State Tomás Ayón during the administration of President Fernando Guzmán.

[18] The band represented the only professional musical training for males in Nicaragua until the first half of the twentieth century.

[19] "Decreto de 14 de marzo…," CLAD, Ministerio de Fomento, 1870.

[20] "Blanche Marie Therese Alexandra Cousin," Oct. 16, 1875, in "Belgium, Births and Baptisms, 1560–1890," index, *FamilySearch*, accessed Dec. 21, 2012, https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/FVSJ-NZX.

[21] "Retreta," *El Ferrocarril* (Managua), Jul. 22, 1882.

military marches, and opera arrangements, as well as compositions by the director.[22] As an entrepreneur he sold and rented pianos in the capital, and offered a selection of sheet music for piano or other instruments.[23] Moreover, toward the end of the 1880s, he received a government concession to establish beer breweries.[24] Cousin was a proponent of music education, not just for the band under his direction, but for its inclusion in the public education system. In early December of 1888, he published an essay in the Managua newspaper *El País* that beseeched the government to incorporate music education into the national curriculum. The first paragraphs of the essay exhibited a nuanced argument, revealing a certain depth of argument and character of thought:

> It is an apparent fact that, after a few years here, the government of this Republic has made an effort at expanding public education, reducing illiteracy in the most remote villages, and preparing a new generation that would compare favorably with many cultivated countries in Latin America.
>
> For this, one factor is necessary—peace—a requirement alongside the integrity of a government which has ruled up to this point, and with the hope that the future may see a continuance, which would undoubtedly advance education towards greater strides, and as a consequence, the progress of the agriculture industry, the only future wealth that the generous soil of this beautiful country bestows upon us.
>
> I repeat, the government has done much for education, but I dare say it isn't everything they could have done. It might be due to omission or lack of initiative, yet one thing is certain, there's an absence of music education in our cities. Music, which is heard in all programs on the smallest stages in other countries; music, which has raised the stature of some cities, more than their literature; music, which strengthens familial ties and relieves the soul diminished

[22] For a representative sample of published programs, see "Retreta de Esta Noche," *El País* (Managua), Dec. 4–29, 1887; and "Retreta de hoy," *Diario de la Capital* (Managua), Apr. 5–Aug. 30, 1891.

[23] "Avisos. Música," *El País* (Managua), Apr. 4, 1888. He also sold strings and replacement parts, as well as offered cornets, flutes, violins, and other instruments.

[24] "Otro idem de 22 de marzo, a favor de don A. Cousin," *Colección de decretos legislativos* (Managua: 1887), 70–71. Cousin received an exclusive, five-year government concession to establish breweries in the departments of Managua, Masaya, and Granada.

> by work; music, nearly the only diversion during long tropical nights; music, a necessary adornment of youth, etc.
>
> As a country progresses, one necessity brings about another. Nicaragua's advancement arrived a few years ago to the point at which music education can now be introduced.[25]

Cousin likely left the directorship of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes by 1892, the year his daughter, Blanca, married José Santos Zelaya. The following year, Zelaya staged a coup d'état and initiated a sixteen-year Liberal administration of Nicaragua, considered by historians to have been a dictatorship, until it ended in an U.S.-maneuvered deposition in late 1909. Cousin held government positions other than music director during the Zelaya administration. Late in life he was appointed Consul General of Nicaragua in Brussels.[26]

His musical output, given that much of it remains lost, comprises of a couple of known compositions—the march *Roberto Sacasa* and national anthem *Hermosa*

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[25] Alejandro Cousin, "Instrucción Musical," *El País* (Managua), Jan. 19, 1888. "Es un hecho muy palpable que desde algunos años acá, los Gobiernos de esta República se han esforzado por ensanchar la instrucción pública, sacando así de la ignorancia hasta los pueblos más insignificantes y preparando a una nueva generación que en nada cederá a los pueblos más cultos de América. / Para esto se necesita de una importante cosa que es la paz. Esta condición agregada a la honradez de los Gobiernos que han regido hasta la vez, y con la esperanza de que los futuros sigan observando la misma conducta, sin duda hará marchar la instrucción a grandes pasos, y como consecuencia, el progreso de la agricultura, que es el único porvenir de riqueza que nos brinda el suelo generoso de este bello país. / Si, lo repito, los Gobiernos han hecho muchísimo por la instrucción, y sin embargo me atrevo a decir que no es todo lo que hubieran debido hacer. Sea por olvido o por carencia de iniciativa, lo cierto es que algo falta en la instrucción de nuestros pueblos, y es la música. La música, que figura en todos los programas de las más humildes escenas de otros países; la música, que ha elevado muy alto el nombre de algunos pueblos, más que su literatura. La música, que estrecha los lazos de la familia, que solaza el espíritu abatido por el trabajo; la música, casi el único recreo de las largas noches de los trópicos, el adorno necesario de la juventud, etc. etc. / A medida que un país va progresando, una necesidad trae consigo otra: así es que, el progreso de Nicaragua ha llegado hace algunos años, a tal altura que puede introducirse en ella la instrucción musical."

[26] "Bulletin officiel," *La Revue diplomatique: politique, littérature, finances, commerce international,* Aug. 1909, 7.

soberana—which served as official music under different Nicaraguan presidential administrations, those of Roberto Sacasa and José Santos Zelaya, respectively. Although few in number, other works are cited in programs by the Banda de los Supremos Poderes, including the polka-mazurka *Leonie*,[27] paso doble *Del Atlántico al Pacífico*,[28] and *Los Ecos del Salvador*.[29] The aforementioned march/paso doble *Gerardo Barrios* may be the only work still performed in Latin America.[30]

Aside from his compositions, Cousin left a musical legacy notable for his influence on the numerous musicians with whom he worked as director of the Banda de los Supremos Poderes, in El Salvador and Nicaragua, among others. This legacy was also bestowed upon members of his family. A prominent musical heir was a step-grandson, youngest child of President Zelaya and his first wife, Brígida Pérez[31]: Carlos Alfonso Zelaya Pérez, a promising vaudeville and concert pianist.[32]

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[27] "Retreta de esta noche," *El País* (Managua), Dec. 11, 1887.
[28] "Retreta de hoy," *Diario de la Capital* (Managua), Jun. 14, 1891. The work was dedicated to Aniceto G. Menocal, the Cuban engineer hired by the United States government to oversee the construction of an inter-oceanic canal in Nicaragua.
[29] "Retreta de hoy," *Diario de la Capital* (Managua), May 31, 1891; and "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Noticia* (Managua), May 15, 1917.
[30] A number of videos on YouTube attest to the work having been recorded in the recent past, and in ceremonial use within the Salvadorean military.
[31] "The Final Curtain. Zelaya—Señora Brígida Pérez…," *The Billboard*, November 13, 1948, 57.
[32] Luis A. Delgadillo, "A Manera de Suite… II. Cuánto vale la genialidad!" *La Noticia* (Managua), Sep. 29, 1956. Carlos Alfonso Zelaya later led a successful career in vaudeville, and as a Hollywood film actor, using the stage name "Don Zelaya." Delgadillo affectionately referred to him as the "'Liszt salvaje' de Nicaragua" ('Savage Liszt' of Nicaragua).

APPENDIX D

Variant Texts of *La patria amada*

I. Himno Nacional "La patria amada" (1913/1939).[1]

La patria amada
Canta este día
Su libertad,
Y nos recuerda
Con alegría
Que le debemos
Amor y Paz.

Por eso todos
Rodeando estamos
Su pabellón,
Y le brindamos
Con entusiasmo
La sangre ardiente
Del Corazón.

Y si algún día
Planta extranjera
Quisiese hollar
De nuestro suelo
Sus bellos campos
De libertad.

Ofrendaremos
La sangre y vida
Como un deber,
Esta bandera
De azul y blanco
Por defender.

II. Himno Nacional "La patria amada" (after 1918).[2]

La Patria amada canta este día
su libertad, su libertad;
y nos recuerda con alegría
que le debemos amor y reverencia secular
–amor y paz ; Nicaragua fraternal,
y le debemos amor y reverencia secular,
amor y paz ; Nicaragua fraternal,
tierra de los lagos es,
tierra soberana, Nicaragua libre y señorial.

[1] "Himno nacional," *La Prensa* (Managua), Oct. 18, 1939. The text carried the following note: "Nota de LA PRENSA—Estos versos fueron cantados por primera vez en un acto escolar de 15 de Septiembre de 1913 en el Instituto Nacional de Oriente, siendo Secretario del Instituto el Sr. Ortega / Editorial note—These verses were sung for the first time at a school event on September 15, 1913 at the Instituto Nacional de Oriente, while Mr. [Marco Antonio] Ortega was Secretary of the institute."

[2] Luis A. Delgadillo, arr. "Himno Nacional de Nicaragua" for piano, Manuscript in the Delgadillo Tapia Family Archive.

III. Himno Nacional "La patria amada" (1924).[3]

La Patria amada canta este día
su libertad,
y nos recuerda con alegría
que le debemos amor y paz

Estrofa

Por eso todos rodeando estamos
su pabellón
y nuestros pechos libres entonan
himnos del corazón.
Oh fecha excelsa de Nicaragua,
que nunca te hundas en el abismo,
ni en nuestras almas donde se fragua
el movimiento de patriotismo,
en el abismo más infeliz.

IV. Himno Nacional "La patria amada" (1936).[4]

La Patria amada
canta este día
su libertad, su libertad,
y nos recuerda con alegría
que le debemos amor y paz.

[3] "Nociones de instrucción cívica. Segunda parte," *Faces y Facetas* 68, January 17, 1924. A contextual description preceded the text: "Suelen tener las naciones, además de la bandera y del escudo, un canto o himno nacional propio, y Nicaragua tiene el suyo que no parece ser definitivo ya que en 1917 el gobierno de la nación abrió un concurso para premiar el mejor himno nacional. Como quiera que ese concurso no dio resultado…"
[4] Gilberto Vega Miranda, *Cantos escolares* (Managua: Talleres Nacionales, 1936), 4.

APPENDIX E

Victor Records, 78rpm, Nicaragua, 1914–1930

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
Nicaraguan Composers[1]				
[Unattributed]	Duerme niñito[2]	**Fox-trot**	07/10/1925	78231/B-32951
	Himno nacional de Nicaragua[3]	[None][4]	12/06/1929	46621[5]/BVE-57585
Cousin, Alejandro[6]	Gerardo Barrios[7]	Pasodoble	06/15/1926	78808/BVE-35691
	Hermosa soberana[8]	[None][9]	12/06/1929	46621[10]/BVE-57585

[1] All information was taken from the *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, accessed February 19, 2018, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php. Unless noted otherwise, all recordings were performed by the Orquesta Internacional (a.k.a. International Novelty Orchestra) and were intended for the Nicaraguan market.
[2] Paired with the Vals *Primer beso* by Alejandro Vega Matus.
[3] Although not specified by the Victor ledgers, this work was most likely an arrangement by Delgadillo of the Nicaraguan national anthem "La patria amada."
[4] National anthem.
[5] The master was also created under the label number 83770 (includes "arr. Luis A. Delgadillo").
[6] Appears under "Alejandro Cousin" and "A. Cousin."
[7] The recording was performed by the International Band, and marketed only in El Salvador.
[8] The recording was also marketed in Mexico.
[9] Former national anthem of Nicaragua at the time of recording.
[10] The master was also created under the label number 83770.

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
	Himno liberal de Nicaragua	[None][11]	07/09/1925	78230/B-32948
Delgadillo, Luis Abraham[12]	Contestando a Indostán[13]	**Fox-trot**	02/28/1923	73764/B-27630
	Dulce y sabroso[14]	**Fox-trot**	02/28/1923	73764/B-27632
	Himno nacional de Nicaragua[15]	[None][16]	05/26/1925	78230/B-32662
	Mi Ramón[17]	Vals lento	11/22/1929	46592/BVE-57724
	Sueño oriental[18]	Canción[19]	11/22/1929	46592/BVE-57725
Medal, Arturo José	Adiós mamá, adiós papa	Vals	11/24/1924	77835/B-31443[20]

[11] Former national anthem of Nicaragua at the time of recording.
[12] Appears under “Luis A. Delgadillo.”
[13] The recording was marketed only in Mexico.
[14] The recording was marketed only in Mexico.
[15] The recording was performed by the International Band. Although not specified by the Victor ledgers, this work was most likely an arrangement by Delgadillo of the Nicaraguan national anthem “La patria amada.”
[16] National anthem.
[17] Sung by Margarita Cueto.
[18] Sung by Margarita Cueto.
[19] Labeled “Melodía canción.”
[20] Sold 2323 copies; paired with the Vals *Conchita* by same composer.

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
	Conchita	Vals	11/05/1924	77835/B-31076[21]
	Isaura	**Fox-trot**	10/27/1924	77834/B-31052[22]
	Lucila	**Fox-trot**	10/02/1924	77782/B-30879
	No digas que no	**Fox-trot**	11/08/1922	73550/B-27126
	Ojos verdes	**Fox-trot**	10/16/1922	73550/B-26962
Mena, José de la Cruz[23]	Ave María	Bolero	12/02/1927	80391/BVE-41090
	Emilio	Vals	02/13/1929	46727/BVE-49945
	Los amores de Abraham[24]	Waltz	11/20/1923	[Destroyed]/B-29018
	Los amores de Abraham	Vals	12/07/1923	68647/C-29112
	Los amores de Abraham	Vals	04/02/1929	90004/CVE-50998
	Recuerdos a Engracia	Vals	03/30/1928	80759/BVE-43519

[21] Sold 2323 copies; paired with the Vals *Adiós mamá, adiós papa* by same composer.
[22] Sold 2673 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Olguita María* by Gilberto Vega Miranda.
[23] Also appears under "José Cruz Mena."
[24] Performed by the Victor Orchestra.

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
	Rosalía	Vals	03/23/1928	80758/BVE-43393
	Ruinas	Vals	12/07/1923	68647/C-29111
	Ruinas	Vals	04/02/1929	90004/CVE-50999
	Tus ojos	Vals	11/18/1927	80391/BVE-41048
Quinto J., Carlos	Alma doliente	**Fox-trot**	02/27/1924	77441/B-29551[25]
Ramírez Velásquez, Carlos[26]	Beso travieso	**Fox-trot**	03/12/1926	78644/BVE-35201
	Carmencita[27]	Vals	01/16/1918	72934/B-21420
	Chela[28]	Gavota	06/09/1916	69080/G-1538
	Club social vals[29]	Vals	10/19/1914	[none]/B-15278
	Después de un beso	Pasillo	03/23/1926	78689/BVE-35229

[25] Sold 1694 copies; paired with the Vals *Bajo la sombra* by Hernán Zuñiga.
[26] Also appears under "Carlos Ramírez Velasquez," "Carlos Ramírez," and "C. Ramírez."
[27] Performed by the Victor Orchestra.
[28] Performed by the Orquesta Setaro. The market was not listed.
[29] Performed by the Victor Orchestra. The market was listed as "for export."

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
	Flor de ensueño[30]	Vals	09/15/1916	69080/B-18432
	Flores de mi pueblo	**Fox-trot**	03/19/1926	78643/BVE-35222
	Góndola de plumas	**Fox-trot**	10/29/1923	77303/B-28788
	Lluvia de rosas	**Fox-trot**	03/19/1926	78644/BVE-35221
	Quejas del corazón	**Fox-trot**	10/15/1923	77303/B-28743
Soto Carrión, Paco	Iris[31]	**Fox-trot**	04/18/1928	80758/BVE-43644
	La mancha roja	**Fox-trot**	01/31/1930	46727/BVE-59134
	No me acuerdo	**Fox-trot**	04/18/1928	80759/BVE-43645
	Recuerdos de Managua	Vals	10/25/1929	46622/BVE-57024
Tünnermann López, Carlos[32]	Club Alpino	**Fox-trot**	10/01/1923	77305/B-28705

[30] Performed by the Orquesta Setaro and marketed only in Argentina.
[31] The composer name is not on the disc, but it is given on the Victor ledgers.
[32] Appears under “Carlos Timmermann.”

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
Urroz, José Jesús	Una lágrima[33]	**Fox-trot**	02/07/1923	73745/B-27461
Vega Jiménez, Ramiro[34]	Anita	**Fox-trot**	06/04/1925	78157/B-32684[35]
	Clotilde	**Fox-trot**	06/04/1925	78157/B-32685[36]
	Lucrecia	**Fox-trot**	06/02/1925	78202/B-32679[37]
	Noche de encanto	Vals	07/03/1925	78202/B-32936[38]
Vega Matus, Alejandro[39]	As rojo	**Fox-trot**	12/14/1922	73678/B-27232[40]
	Brunilda	**Fox-trot**	11/19/1924	77839/B-31424[41]
	Cachuchita	**Fox-trot**[42]	07/23/1924	77672/B-30614[43]

[33] Alternate title: *A Tear*.
[34] Appears under "Ramiro Vega."
[35] Sold 948 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Clotilde* by the same composer.
[36] Sold 948 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Anita* by the same composer.
[37] Sold 1108 copies; paired with the Vals *Noche de encanto* by the same composer.
[38] Sold 1108 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Lucrecia* by the same composer.
[39] Appears under "Alejandro Vega Matús (sic)" and "F. Vega Matús (sic)."
[40] Sold 11661 copies; paired with the Vals *Isaura* by the same composer.
[41] Sold 604 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Nica* by the same composer.
[42] Labeled "Fox-trot ligero."
[43] Sold 2489 copies; paired with the Vals *Pepita* by the same composer.

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
	Cantos de la mañana	[not listed]	06/18/1925	78227/B-32912
	Chupa que chupa	**Fox-trot**	09/03/1924	77737/B-30690
	Colo de mico[44]	**Fox-trot**	03/24/1925	78062/B-32243
	Corazón de india	**Fox-trot**	11/30/1923	77503/B-28995[45]
	Club Fénix	**Fox-trot**	12/03/1924	77878/B-31468[46]
	El cacique Tenderí	**Fox-trot**	09/11/1924	77737/B-30812
	En los baños de mar	One-step	04/02/1926	78687/BVE-35274
	Ermila	**Fox-trot**	10/07/1924	77770/B-30891[47]
	Gloria	**Fox-trot**	11/12/1924	77818/B-31406[48]
	Inesita	**Fox-trot**	01/06/1925	77904/B-31575
	Infame adorable	**Fox-trot**	01/09/1924	77503/B-29195

[44] Marketed in Colombia.
[45] Sold 3516 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Infame adorable* by the same composer.
[46] Sold 1505 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *René* by the same composer.
[47] Sold 5573 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Nadie me quiere* by the same composer.
[48] Sold 5399 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Recuerdo* by the same composer.

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
	Isaura[49]	Vals	10/16/1922	73678/B-26961
	Juventud alegre	Two-step	04/02/1926	78687/BVE-35273
	La mujer del consúl	**Fox-trot**	07/08/1925	78227/B-32942
	Los chicos de la prensa	**Fox-trot**	03/02/1926	78689/BVE-34658
	Murió de un beso[50]	Gavota	10/20/1924	77782/B-31033
	Nadie me quiere	**Fox-trot**	09/29/1924	77770/B-30862
	Nica	**Fox-trot**	11/21/1924	77839/B-31439
	Ondas plateadas	Vals	10/03/1930	30145/BVE-63367
	Pasitos de paloma	**Fox-trot**	03/24/1925	78022/B-32242
	Pepita	Vals	07/10/1924	77672/B-30376
	Perfume de violetas	**Fox-trot**	03/05/1926	78643/BVE-34678
	Primer beso	Vals	07/03/1925	78231/B-32939

[49] Alternate title: *Ysama*.
[50] Performed by the Orquesta Tropical.

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
	Recuerdo	**Fox-trot**	10/27/1924	77818/B-31053
	Reina María	**Fox-trot**[51]	10/03/1930	30145/BVE-63365
	René	**Fox-trot**	12/10/1924	77878/B-31508
	Su sonrisa[52]	Vals	03/26/1925	78022/B-32255
	Zape gato[53]	**Fox-trot**	04/23/1925	78062/B-32466
Vega Miranda, Gilberto[54]	Adelfia	**Fox-trot**	05/9/1928	81230/BVE-43964[55]
	Bella Ernestina[56]	Vals	07/03/1928	81462/BVE-45845[57]
	Cantos de amor[58]	Canción	06/15/1928	81405/BVE-45637[59]
	Capitalino	**Fox-trot**	11/21/1924	77904/B-31441

[51] Labeled “Slow fox-trot.”
[52] Marketed only in Colombia.
[53] Marketed in Colombia.
[54] Appears under “Gilberto Vega.”
[55] Sold 2479 copies; paired with the Tango *Tegucigalpa* by the same composer.
[56] Also marketed in Mexico and Cuba.
[57] Sold 2964 copies; paired with the Canción *Rosas del cielo* by the same composer.
[58] Sung by Carlos Mejía.
[59] Sold 2838 copies; paired with the Canción sentimental *Patria* by the same composer.

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
	Club deportivo[60]	**Fox-trot**	11/30/1923	77305/B-28994
	Club obrero	**Fox-trot**	06/27/1930	46974/BVE-62758
	Emelina	**Fox-trot**	05/16/1928	81231/BVE-43986
	Isabel	**Fox-trot**	05/16/1928	81231/BVE-43985
	Lina	Vals	03/12/1925	78037/B-32096
	Luisita[61]	**Fox-trot**[62]	05/31/1927	79421/BVE-38799
	María Elsa	Vals	12/06/1929	46622/BVE-57586
	Mariposas	**Fox-trot**	01/23/1923	73745/B-27422
	Mariposas[63]	Tango	05/27/1927	79421/BVE-38792
	Merceditas	**Fox-trot**	08/21/1924	77764/B-30664
	Noche de amor	Vals	06/27/1930	46974/BVE-62759
	No hay mariguana	**Fox-trot**	03/23/1925	78037/B-32241

[60] Alternate title: *Sporting club*.
[61] Marketed only in El Salvador.
[62] Labeled “Fox-trot marcha.”
[63] Marketed only in El Salvador.

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
	Olguita María	**Fox-trot**	11/19/1924	77834/B-31422
	Patria[64]	Canción[65]	06/28/1928	81405/BVE-45836[66]
	Rosas del cielo[67]	Canción	07/20/1928	81462/BVE-45898[68]
	Rosibel Riguero	**Fox-trot**	10/02/1924	77764/B-30880
	Tegucigalpa	Tango	05/18/1928	81230/BVE-43994[69]
	Tegucigalpa[70]	Tango	08/24/1928	81706/BVE-46941
Zúniga, Hernán[71]	Bajo la sombra	Vals	03/12/1924	77441/B-29702[72]

[64] Sung by Juan Pulido.
[65] Labeled “Canción sentimental.”
[66] Sold 2838 copies; paired with the Canción *Cantos de amor* by the same composer.
[67] Sung by José Moriche, and also marketed in Mexico and Cuba.
[68] Sold 2964 copies; paired with the Vals *Bella Ernestina* by the same composer.
[69] Sold 2479 copies; paired with the Foxtrot *Adelfia* by the same composer.
[70] Performed by the Marimba Centro-Americana ensemble and marketed only in Honduras.
[71] Appears under “Hernan Zúñiga.”
[72] Sold 1694 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Alma doliente* by Carlos Quinto J.

Composer	Title	Type	Recording Date	Label/Matrix Nos.
Non-Nicaraguan Composers[73]				
Lleras Codazzi, Luis	Lejos de tí[74]	Vals	01/21/1921	72934/B-24901
Palma[n], José G.	Si me das un beso, te digo	**Fox-trot**	12/03/1924	77876/B-31474[75]
	Princesita enlutada	Vals	12/09/1924	77876/B-31495[76]
Quirós, Vicente	Flor caída[77]	**Canción**[78]	03/19/1926	78739/BVE-35223

[73] All information was taken from the *Discography of American Historical Recordings*, accessed February 19, 2018, http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php.
[74] Performed by the Victor Orchestra.
[75] Sold 2864 copies; paired with the Vals *Princesita enlutada* by the same composer.
[76] Sold 2864 copies; paired with the Fox-trot *Si me das un beso, te digo* by the same composer.
[77] Also marketed in Venezuela.
[78] Labeled “Canción fox.”

APPENDIX F

Concert Programs, Banda de los Supremos Poderes, Parque Central, Managua, January–December 1919

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jan. 12 (S), 8pm[1]	1. La gruta de Fingal—Obertura—Mendelssohn 2. Rossa del Sur—Vals—Juan Strauss. 3. Sunshine Girl—Selección de la opereta—Rubens. 4. Sangre de artista—Vals de la operetta—Eysler. 5. Tristan e Isolda—Preludio de ópera—Wagner. 6. ¿En qué piensa Ud.?—Vals lento—Berger. 7. Sansón y Dalila—Selección de la ópera—Saint Sáenz	Detailed header[2]
Humberto Rivas	Feb. 2 (S)[3]	1. Lorraine—Marcha militar—L. Ganne 2. Masaniello—Obertura—Aubert. 3. España—Vals—Waldteufel. 4. La Gran Vía—Selección—Chueca y Valverde. 5. Sobre la olas de la fortuna—Vals—Waldteufel. 6. It's a Long Way to Berlin, But We'll Get There—Two-step—L. Flatow.	Different location[4]
Humberto Rivas	Feb. 16 (S)[5]	1. La Princesa encantada—Obertura—Langlois. 2. Bellas Josefinas (a petición)—Vals—L. A. Delgadillo. 3. Pescadores de Perlas—Fantasía—G. Bizet.	

[1] "Programa del primer conccierto…," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jan. 11, 1919.
[2] "Programa del primer concierto del maestro Delgadillo."
[3] "Concierto en Candelaria," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Feb. 2, 1919.
[4] Concert presented in Candelaria neighborhood.
[5] "Programa de concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Feb. 16, 1919.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		4. Emma (primera vez)—Vals—H. Rivas. 5. Siamese Patrol—Característica—P. Lincke. 6. Sataniel—Vals—Adolf Ferrón.	
Humberto Rivas	Feb. 20 (R)[6]	1. Masaniello—Obertura—Aubert. 2. Hermosa primavera—Vals—Lincke. 3. Lombardi—Selección—Verdi. 4. Certamen—Vals—[José] Antonio Zapata.[7] 5. Venecia—One-step—E. Menicucci. 6. Impresión de amor—Vals—Von Blon.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Mar. 6 (R)[8]	1. Titus—Obertura—Mozart. 2. Canción sin palabras—Tschaikowsky. 3. Rigoletto—Selección de la ópera—Verdi. 4. Ave María de Gounod. 5. Noche encantadora—Vals—Moret. 6. Rienzi—Gran marcha—Wagner.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Mar. 13 (R)[9]	1. Coriolan—Obertura—Beethoven. 2. Momento musical de Schubert. 3. Lohengrin—Selección de la ópera—Wagner. 4. Víspera sicilianas—Bolero de la ópera—Verdi. 5. Cavatina de Raff—(Obligada a cornet.) 6. Los héroes de la Patria—Gran marcha—Siul.	

[6] "Información. Programa de concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Feb. 20, 1919.
[7] Nicaraguan composer.
[8] "Programa de concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Mar. 6, 1919.
[9] "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Mar. 13, 1919.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
Luis A. Delgadillo	Mar. 16 (S)[10]	1. [Everybody's Doing It Now]—One-step—Irving Berlin. 2. Querrámos—Vals—Briffaux. 3. La Corte de Faraón—Selección de la ópera—Lleo. 4. Indianola (a petición) —**Fox-trot**—[S. R.] Henry. 5. L'Isle d'amour—Vals lento—Edwards. 6. Alabama—One-step—L. Fall.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Mar. 30 (S)[11]	1. Quiebros y requiebros—Pasodoble—R. Gascou. 2. Barcarole—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. El Paraíso azul—Selección—Eysler. 4. Nupcias de las rosas—Intermezzo—Jessel. 5. Anita—Vals—C[arlos] Ramírez V[eláquez].[12] 6. Pretty Baby—**Fox-trot**—[Gus] Kahn.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Apr. 5 (S)[13]	1. Rosario—Marcha militar—A. Gevert. 2. La divorciada—Vals de la opereta—L. Fall. 3. Katinka—Selección de la operera—R. Frenal. 4. La Traviata—Aria para clarinet (solista Edmundo Dávila)—Verdi. 5. The Quaker Girl—Vals—L. Monckton. 6. Smiles (a petición) —**Fox-trot**—[Lee Roberts].	
Humberto Rivas	Apr. 8 (T)[14]	1. Luisa—Obertura—Canivez.	

[10] "Notas. El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Mar. 16, 1919.
[11] "Más notas. Programs del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Mar. 30, 1919.
[12] Nicaraguan composer.
[13] "Notas. Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Apr. 6, 1919.
[14] "Programa de concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Apr. 8, 1919.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		2. William—Vals—Strauss. 3. Chaous—Fantasía—Heymans. 4. Claro de Luna—Vals—Fetrás. 5. Yo pienso—Gavota—Eibemberg. 6. Está lejos Berlín; pero llegaremos—Two-step— L. Flatow.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Apr. 10 (R)[15]	1. Fidelio—Obertura—Beethoven. 2. Baile árabe—Característica— S. Tchauhadijian. 3. Romero y Julieta—Selección de la ópera—Gounod. 4. Lied «Morgen Standschen»—F. Schubert. 5. Inmortal—Vals—Gungl. 6. Russian Festival—Gran marcha—Nápravník.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Apr. 13 (S)[16]	1. La gruta de Fingal—Obertura—Mendelssohn. 2. ¿En qué piensa Ud.?—Vals lento—Berger. 3. Toreador andaluz—Característica—A. Rubenstein. 4. Pique-Dame—Música de Suppé. 5. La Gioconda—Danza de las horas—Ponchielli. 6. William—Gran vals—Juan Strauss. 7. Over There (1ª vez)—One-step—[M. Cohan]. Himno Nacional de Nicaragua (Arreglo de L. A. Delgadillo).	[New instruments]

[15] "Notas. Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Apr. 10, 1919.
[16] "Notas. Concierto de gala," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Apr. 13, 1919. "Se ejecutará con los nuevos instrumentos de banda."

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
Luis A. Delgadillo	May 2 (R)[17]	1. La gruta de Fingal—Obertura—Mendelssohn. 2. ¿En qué piensa Ud.?—Vals lento—Berger. 3. Toreador andaluz—Característica—A. Rubenstein. 4. Pique-Dame—Música de Suppé. 5. La Gioconda—Danza de las horas—Ponchielli. 6. William—Gran vals—Juan Strauss. 7. Over There—One-step—M. Cohan. Himno Nacional de Nicaragua (Arreglo de L. A. Delgadillo).	Program note[18]
Luis A. Delgadillo	May 8 (R)[19]	1. Coriolan—Obertura—Beethoven.[20] 2. Canto de la alondra—Música característica—Schubert. 3. La mañana-Muerte de Asa—Suite de Grieg (Peer Gynt).[21] 4. Danza Anitra's-En la residencia del rey de la montaña. 5. Romanza sin palabras—Música de Mendelssohn. 6. Festival ruso—Gran marcha— Nápravník.	Program note

[17] "Concierto de gala con motive del estreno del nuevo instrumental," *La Tribuna* (Managua), May 2, 1919.

[18] Ibid. "Ejecutará bondadosamente el obligado de flauta de la Obertura Pique-Dame el joven artista nacional, don Pedro Ramírez Martínez, a solicitud del señor Ministro de la Guerra, y en Danza de la Horas tocará por primera vez el Bells el Subdirector de la Banda don Humberto Rivas."

[19] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), May 8, 1919.

[20] "Es una de las obras sinfónicas de mayor fuerza en el repertorio del colosal Beethoven. Coriolan consituye todo el vigor de una mentalidad potentísima. Verdadera sinfonía en un solo tiempo, cada día será más grande, como a manera de una inmensa catedral, a la que se le descubren más y más bellezas."

[21] "Peer Gynt suite de Grieg. Este inmortal compositor noruego es el delicioso miniaturista más exquisito que hasta hoy se conoce. Su música, de una poesía encantadora del norte, es originalísima, lírica, vehemente hasta lo sublime; que no abusa de las disonancias y las usa con sabia sobriedad. Su suite orquestal fue inspirada en el drama de Ibsen, intitulado Peer Gynt. Recomendamos al público diletante escuche con mucha atención esta música, especialmente, *Muerte de Ase y la Danza Anitra's*.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
Luis A. Delgadillo	May 22 (R)[22]	1. Gran marcha nupcial de Mendelssohn. 2. Iris—Himno al sol, de la ópera de Mascagni. 3. Cavatina de Raff. 4. Andante doloroso, de una sinfonía—Mendelssohn. 5. Polonesa de Chopin. 6. Marcha Apolínea—L. A. D[elgadillo].[23]	Program note
Humberto Rivas	May 25 (S)	1. L'Algeríame—Obertura—O. Metra. 2. La Novia—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. Eva (a petición)—Selección de la opereta—Lehar. 4. Soledad—Vals—Waldteufel. 5. Siamese Patrol—Característica—Lincke. 6. Canto Nupcial—Vals—Fahrback.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	May 29 (R)[24]	1. Guerreri d'Atalia—Marcha—Mendelssohn. 2. Efigenie en Aulide—Obertura—Gluck.	Program note[25]

[22] "Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), May 22, 1919.
[23] Ibid. "A ruego de varios diletantes se pondrá en ejecución esta nueva obra sinfónica del Director, en cuya música se deja oír un tema griego de rara disonancia."
[24] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), May 29, 1919.
[25] Ibid. "La Ópera Tosca de Puccini. / La ocasión es oportuna para invocar la ópera del célebre compositor italiano, Giacomo Puccini, ahora que el culto empresario, don Joaquín Martí, va a hacer pasar en cine la hermosísima película del drama La Tosca, de Sardou, maravillosamente interpretada en el arte mudo por la excelsa artista Francesca Bertini. / La Banda ejecutará, a este propósito, una escogida selección de la ópera Tosca. Trozos de los mejores que escribió Puccini, se escucharán. De difícil dinamismo, la música es de sabor esencialmente lirico. La crítica de verdad, la que es sesuda y enseña deleitando, dijo en Europa que Tosca, de Puccini, es de una arquitectura endeble; que es más fuerte el drama que la música. / Los Leit-Motiv son en la ópera de Puccini "guías de personajes, sin entrar para nada dentro del asunto". / Temas cortos pero bellos, así va la ópera: *Vise d'arte*, *ricondita Armonía*, *Oh Dolci Baci*, *Come la Tosca in teatro*, todos de exquisito lirismo y de una coloración melódica deliciosa, propia para sentirse con el corazón y sin necesidad de ser sabio o entendido en música, como se requiere en otras músicas, cual las de Wagner y de Debussy, para comprenderlas y admirarlas."

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		3. Encantado—Vals lento—Berger. 4. Tosca—Gran selección de la ópera—Puccini. 5. Danza Escosesa—Weber. 6. Tannhauser—Gran Marcha—Wagner.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jun. 1 (S)[26]	1. Guerreri d'Atalia—Gran marcha—Mendelssohn. 2. Ihpigenie en Aulide—Obertura—Gluck. 3. Encantado—Vals lento—Berger. 4. La Tosca—Selección de la ópera—Puccini. 5. Danza Escosesa—Característica—Weber. 6. Tannhauser—Gran Marcha—Wagner.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jun. 5 (R)[27]	1. Stabat Mater—Número—Rossini. 2. Stella—Vals lento—F[rancisco "Paco"] Soto Carrión.[28] [3.] Escenas Pastoriles—Suite por L. A. Delgadillo. (a petición)[29] [4.] Allegretto spiritoso-Andante expresivo. 5. Escucha, escucha la alondra—Romance—Schubert. 6. Rienzi—Gran marcha—Wagner.	Program note

[26] "Notas. Programs del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 1, 1919.
[27] "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 5, 1919.
[28] Nicaraguan composer.
[29] "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 5, 1919. "Escenas Pastoriles. 'Allegretto spiritoso'. Los cornos anuncian el pase de las ovejas. Se oye el silbar divagante del pastor; tema sobre el cual se desarrolla toda música del la Suite. 'Andante expresivo' El caminante solitario, pastor enamorado de una traviesa zagala, se descubre sentado en el tronco de una frondosa encina. El dolor le agobia; no cree ser correspondido. 'Tempo di berceuse' música para cuna mecedora. Todo parece sonreir. Los prometidos se alejan en prolongado idilio…. 'Allegro festivo': el pueblo se agita rebosante de alegría. Las campanas de la rústica iglesia tocan a repique solemne. Se realizan las bodas. La música expresa el júbilo popular. El carácter de esta música de sentimientos indígenas, aun en la holgura, ella es triste, y así la sintió el autor. Escúchese sin prevención y se podrá entonces apreciar tan seria labor musical."

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jun. 8 (S)[30]	1. Parada de pelicanos—One-step—Forster. 2. Bronces históricos—Vals—C[arlos] Ramírez V[eláquez].[31] 3. The Pink Lady—Selección de ópera—Daryll. 4. El Danubio azul (a petición) —Vals—Juan Strauss. 5. Plegaria del niño al atardecer—**Fox-trot**—Jerome.[32] 6. General Pershing (1ª vez)—One-step—[Carl D. Vandersloot].[33]	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jun. 12 (R)[34]	1. Cortejo nocturno—Marcha—Kessnis. 2. Los payasos—Prólogo de la ópera—Leoncavallo. 3. Charmant—Vals lento—Worsley. 4. Mefistófeles—Gran selección de la ópera—Boito. 5. Fausto—Polonesa de la ópera—Gounod. 6. Los héroes de la Patria—Marcha—Siul.	
[Luis A. Delgadillo]	Jun 20 (F)[35]	1. Fragata Sarmiento—Marcha militar. 2. Indiana—Obertura. 3. Orlando—Vals. 4. Escenas Pastoriles (2 y 4 partes.)	Program note[36] Different location[37]

[30] "Más notas. Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 8, 1919.
[31] Nicaraguan composer.
[32] Delgadillo gives the full title of this fox-trot in his book *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann*: "Justamente la plegaria de un niño al atardecer," a translation of its original title in English—Just a Baby's Prayer at Twilight.
[33] The program listed the composer as "G. W. Meyer," but the original composer of the texted one-step was Carl D. Vandersloot. Meyer may have made an arrangement of the song, or a misattribution.
[34] "Más notas. Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 12, 1919.
[35] "Notas. Concierto especial," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 19, 1919. Subtitled: "Homenaje del artista a su madre." All works composed by Delgadillo.
[36] Ibid., "Todas las obras del programa son producciones musicales del Director Delgadillo; frutos del huerto para su venerada madre."
[37] Ibid., The concert was not given in Parque Central. "El concierto se ejecutará frente a la casa de doña Paz v. de Avilés, día viernes."

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		5. Preludio Sinfónico—No. 6. 6. Marcha Apolínea.	
Humberto Rivas	Jun. 22 (S)[38]	1. Die Fledermaus—Obertura—J. Strauss. 2. Hermosa primavera—Vals—Lincke. 3. [ ]cile—Fantasía—Hey[ ].[39] 4. [ ][40]—Vals—[Alejandro] Vega Matus.[41] 5. Dulce y sabroso (estreno)—**Fox-trot**—L. A. Delgadillo. 6. Soledad—Vals—Waldteufel.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jun. 26 (R)[42]	1. El Pirata—Obertura—Bellini. 2. El Juramento—Cavatina y coro—Mercadante. 3. Un baile de máscaras—Selección de la ópera—Verdi. 4. Eternal City—Característica—Mascagni. 5. La reina del baile—Vals—Ivanovici. 6. Aída—Gran marcha de la ópera—Verdi.	Themed program[43]
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jun. 29 (S)[44]	1. Sangre torera—Pasodoble español—León. 2. Barcarole—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. La Corte de Faraón—Selección de la opereta—Lleo. 4. Sangre de artista—Vals, de la opereta—Eysler.	Program note

[38] "Información. Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 22, 1919.
[39] Illegible due to tear in newspaper.
[40] Illegible due to tear in newspaper.
[41] Nicaraguan composer.
[42] "Programa del concierto de hoy (Escuela italiana.)," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 26, 1919.
[43] Ibid., A concert of Italian repertoire.
[44] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jun. 29, 1919.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		5. El Zanatillo (1ª vez)—**Fox-trot**—L. A. Delgadillo.[45] 6. El General Pershing—One-step—[Carl D. Vandersloot].[46]	
Luis A. Delgadillo program[48]	Jul. 3 (R)[47]	1. El Pirata—Obertura—Bellini. 2. El Juramento—Cavatina y coro—Mercadante. 3. Un baile de máscaras—Selección de la ópera—Verdi. 4. Eternal City—Característica—Mascagni. 5. La reina del baile—Vals—Ivanovici. 6. Aída—Gran marcha de la ópera—Verdi.	Themed
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jul. 4 (F)[49]	Himno nacional de Estados Unidos 1. Good Bye, Broadway—One-step— [Billy] Baskette. 2. [Quaker] Girl—Vals—[Lionel] Monckton. 3. El Paraíso Azul—Selección de la opereta) —[Edmund] Eysler.	Descriptive heading[50] Attendance note[51]

[45] Ibid., "Esta nueva obra musical del Director Delgadillo ha sido escrita sobre motivos del muy conocido aire nacional que aquí llamamos el *zanatillo*, música humorística y danzante, con letra picaresca, tal como la cucaracha en México. Luis A. Delgadillo cultiva de esta manera el *folk-lore* nicaragüense; es decir, haciendo música de actualidad americana con sabor netamente lugareño o autóctono, así se fomenta la verdadera canción popular con que en Rusia, por ejemplo, han dado nacionalidad a su música los grandes compositores modernos. / Esta noche, pues, a reír con la humorada *nica* del maestro Delgadillo."

[46] The program listed the composer as "Roberts," but the original composer of the texted one-step was Carl D. Vandersloot. Roberts may have made an arrangement of the song, or a misattribution.

[47] "Programa del concierto de hoy [Escuela italiana]," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 3, 1919.

[48] Ibid., A repeat concert of Italian repertoire, first presented on June 26.

[49] "Concierto de gala...," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 4, 1919.

[50] Ibid., "Concierto de gala que ejecutará la Banda de los Supremos Poderes en el Parque Central con motivo de la celebración de la independencia de los Estados Unidos de Norte América, hoy, de 8 a 11 p.m."

[51] "Las festividades del 4," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 6, 1919. The concert attendance thinned after 10:00pm. "En la noche, el gran concierto de gala, el que estuvo muy concurrido temprano, notándose poca concurrencia después de las diez de la noche."

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		4. [Plegaria] de un niño al atardecer—**Fox-trot**—Jerome.[52] 5. Noche de alegrías—Vals— [Charles] Ancliffe. 6. Cantos de Sur—Aires americanos—J[ens Bodewalt] Lampe. 7. Indianola—**Fox-trot**—[S. R.] Henry. 8. Over There—One-step—[George M.] Cohan. 9. American Patrol—Característica— [Ivan] Caryll. 10. General Pershing—One-step—[Carl D. Vandersloot].[53] Himno nacional de Nicaragua	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jul. 10 (R)[54]	1. Egmont—Obertura—Beethoven. 2. Ave María de Gounod. 3. Stabat Mater—Inflamatus—Rossini. 4. Kirie de una misa de Palestrina (arreglo: Delgadillo). 5. El Rosario—Música de Nevin. 6. Célebre Largo de Haendel.	Program note[55]

[52] Delgadillo gives the full title of this fox-trot in his book *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann*: "Justamente la plegaria de un niño al atardecer," a translation of its original title in English—Just a Baby's Prayer at Twilight.

[53] The program listed the composer as "G. W. Meyer," but the original composer of the texted one-step was Carl D. Vandersloot. Meyer may have been the arranger of the song, or a misattribution.

[54] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 10, 1919.

[55] Ibid., "Como verá el público lector, casi toda, de intento, la música del programa de hoy es música religiosa, que existe en el repertorio arreglada por ilustres arregladores o compositores de música, extranjeros. Es justo que también protestantes, ateos e indiferentes *amateurs* gocen al oír en lugar público toda clase de obras, incluyendo la misma música sacra, que lejos de estar prohibida por Su Santidad para ejecutarse fuera del templo, aparece aun entre la música profana, como la ópera antigua y moderna; así recordamos, *La Vestale*, *Cavallería Rusticana*, *Aida*, *Fausto*, *Lohengrin*, etc. / Los que no acostumbran ir a la iglesia, pueden hoy, pues, escuchar buena música religiosa, sin estar en la obligación de saber cómo se hizo ni qué género es, buscando el verdadero diletante la mejor manera de SENTIR el Arte, como se paladea un magnífico manjar, que sólo el cocinero sabe la fórmula para darle sabor."

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
Luis A. Delgadillo	Jul. 13 (S)[56]	1. Sangre torera—Pasodoble español—León. 2. Barcarole—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. La Corte de Faraón—Selección de la opereta—Lleo. 4. Sangre de artista—Vals de la opereta—Eysler. 5. El Zanatillo—**Fox-trot**—L. A. Delgadillo. 6. El General Pershing—One-step—[Carl D. Vandersloot].[57]	
Humberto Rivas	Jul. 19 (Sat.)[58]	1. L'Algerienne—Obertura—O. Metra. 2. Visión—Vals lento—G. Worsley. 3. Amorita—Selección—Czibulka. 4. Boudeuse—Vals lento—G. Worsley. 5. Plegaria de mi niño [al atardecer]—**Fox-trot**—R. Jerome.[59] 6. Casta Susana—Vals—Lehar.	
Humberto Rivas	Jul. 20 (S)[60]	1. Los diamantes de la corona—Obertura—Aubert. 2. La Novia—Vals—E. Waldteufel. 3. Eva—Potpourri—F. Lehar. 4. William—Vals—J. Strauss. 5. Smile[s]—**Fox-trot**—[Lee Roberts]. 6. Orlando—Vals—L. A. Delgadillo.	

[56] "Programa del concierto," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 13, 1919.
[57] The program listed the composer as "W. Meyer," but the original composer of the texted one-step was Carl D. Vandersloot. Meyer may have made an arrangement of the song, or a misattribution.
[58] "Notas. Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 19, 1919.
[59] Delgadillo gives the full title of this fox-trot in his book *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann*: "Justamente la plegaria de un niño al atardecer," a translation of its original title in English—Just a Baby's Prayer at Twilight.
[60] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 20, 1919.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
Humberto Rivas	Jul. 31 (R)[61]	1. Dragones a la vanguardia—Marcha militar—B. Turcios. 2. Masaniello—Obertura—Aubert. 3. Claro de Luna—Vals—O. Fetrás. 4. Lombardi—Selección—Verdi. 5. Indianola—**Fox-trot**—[S. R.] Henry. 6. Boudeuse—Vals lento—Worlsey.	
Humberto Rivas	Aug. 3 (S)[62]	1. Si yo fuera rey—Obertura—Adam. 2. Noche estrellada—Vals—E. Waldteufel. 3. Retorno—Fantasía—J. Heymans. 4. Recuerdos de la exposición—Vals—R. Vallstedt. 5. Over There—One-step—J. M. Cohan. 6. Rosalía—Vals—[José de la] C[ruz] Mena.[63]	
[Not listed]	Aug. 12 (T)[64]	1. Astorga—Obertura—Aubert. 2. Orlando—Vals—L. A. Delgadillo. 3. Il Guarany—Fantasía—Gómez. 4. Casta Susana—Vals—Gilbert. 5. Plegaria de un niño [al atardecer]—**Fox-trot**—R. Jerome.[65] 6. Boudeuse—Vals lento—Worsley.	

[61] "Notas. El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Jul. 31, 1919.
[62] "Notas. Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Aug. 3, 1919.
[63] Nicaraguan composer.
[64] "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Aug. 12, 1919.
[65] Delgadillo gives the full title of this fox-trot in his book *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann*: "Justamente la plegaria de un niño al atardecer," a translation of its original title in English—Just a Baby's Prayer at Twilight.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
Luis A. Delgadillo	Aug. 28 (R)[66]	1. Iphigenia en Aulide—Obertura—Gluck. 2. Boudeuse—Vals lento—Worsley. 3. Un baile de máscaras—Selección de la ópera—Verdi. 4. Cavatina de Raff. 5. Célebre minuet—Paderewski. 6. Guerreros de Atila—Gran marcha—Mendelssohn.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Sep. 11 (R)[67]	1. Corolian—Obertura—Beethoven. 2. Fuga a tres voces—Bach. 3. Madama Butterfly—Selección de la ópera—Puccini. 4. Canción sin palabras—Tschaikovsky. 5. Cavantina de Raff (a petición). 6. Marcha a la reina (a petición)—L. A. Delgadillo.[68]	Program note
Luis A. Delgadillo	Sep. 14 (S)[69]	1. Alabama—One-step—[L. Fall] 2. Un día en Sevilla—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. Indostán—**Fox-trot**—[Oliver] Wallace. 4. Aires populares en Nicaragua—Potpourri—L. A. Delgadillo. 5. Stella—Vals lento—[Francisco "Paco"] S[oto] Carrión.[71] 6. Marcha a la reina—[L. A. Delgadillo] 7. Plegaria de un niño al atardecer—**Fox-trot**—Jerome.	Detailed heading[70]

[66] "Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Aug. 28, 1919.
[67] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 11, 1919.
[68] Ibid., "Esta marcha fue la que se estrenó en la Velada a la Reina de la simpática, señorita Estebanita Blanco."
[69] "Programa de los conciertos…," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 14, 1919.
[70] Ibid., "Programa de los conciertos de gala, que ejecutará la Banda de los S.S. P.P. en el Parque Central, los días 14 y 15 a las 8 p.m."
[71] Nicaraguan composer.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		8. General Pershing—One-step—[Carl D. Vandersloot].[72]	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Sep. 15 (M)[73]	1. Garibaldini en Francia—Gran marcha—A. Luiso.[74] 2. Bronces históricos—Vals—C[arlos] Ramírez V[elásquez].[76] 3. Indianola—**Fox-trot**—[S. R.] Henry. 4. El Paraíso azul—Selección de la ópera—Eysler. 5. ¿En que piensa Ud.?—Vals lento—Berger. 6. Mexicanas de Vera Cruz—**Fox-trot**—L. A. Delgadillo. 7. Noche encantadora—Vals lento—Moret. 8. Hamburger—Gavota—Czibulka. 9. Everybody's Doing It Now—Two-step—I. Berlin. Himno Nacional de Nicaragua.	Detailed heading[75]
Luis A. Delgadillo	Sep. 18 (R)[77]	1. Sangre torera—Pasodoble—J. León. 2. ¿En que piensa Ud.?—Vals lento—Berger. 3. 1ª Suite Peer Gynt—Grieg La mañana…… La muerte de Ase 4. Danza Anitra's En el salón del rey de la montaña 5. Cavatina de Raff.	

[72] The program listed the composer as "Meyer," but the original composer of the texted one-step was Carl D. Vandersloot. Meyer may have made an arrangement of the song, or a misattribution.
[73] "Programa de los conciertos…," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 14, 1919.
[74] The program noted the piece to be played for the time by the band. The composer's full name was listed as "Angelo Luiso."
[75] Ibid., "Programa de los conciertos de gala, que ejecutará la Banda de los S.S. P.P. en el Parque Central, los días 14 y 15 a las 8 p.m."
[76] Nicaraguan composer.
[77] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 18, 1919.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		6. El Profeta—Gran marcha—Wagner.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Sep. 21 (S)[78]	1. Everybody Ray With (1ª vez)—One-step—G. E. Boy. 2. Sangre de artista—Vals de la opereta—Eysler. 3. Katinka—Selección de la opereta—Mr. Friml. 4. Ballin' the Jack—**Fox-trot**—Smith. 5. Homenaje al artista—Vals—M. Andreus. 6. Templatión (1ª vez)—Ray Lodge.	
[Not listed]	Sep. 23 (T)[79]	1. Luisa—Obertura—Canivez. 2. La Novia—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. El Trovador (aria para salón) —Fantasía—Verdi. 4. Hermosa primavera—Vals—P. Lincke. 5. Die Waldvoglem (obligado a cornetines)—Polka—S. Maxjr. 6. Chin-Chin—**Fox-trot**—Ivan Caryll.	Different location[80]
[Not listed]	Sep. 28 (S)[81]	1. Luisa—Obertura—Canivez. 2. La Novia—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. El Trovador (aria para salón) —Fantasía—Verdi. 4. Boudeuse—Vals lento—Worsley. 5. Siamese Patrol—Característica—V. Lincke. 6. [Indostán] (a petición)—**Fox-trot**—[Oliver Wallace].	

[78] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 21, 1919.
[79] "Programa del concierto de hoy en el Parque de San Sabastián," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 23, 1919.
[80] The concert was presented at Parque San Sebastián, Managua.
[81] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Sep. 28, 1919.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
[Not listed]	Oct. 2 (R)[82]	1. Tutus—Obertura—Mozart. 2. Sobre el Bosforo—Característica—Lincke. 3. Werther—Selección de la ópera—Massenet. 4. Fuga Torial a 5 voces (duplicadas)—(1ª vez, arreglo de L. A. Delgadillo). 5. Silvia—Vals lento—Jelifes. 6. Escucha, escucha la alondra—Característica—Schubert.	
[Not listed]	Oct. 9 (R)[83]	1. Rienzi—Gran marcha—Wagner. 2. Isle de amor—Vals lento—Edwards. 3. Madame Butterfly—Selección—Puccini. 4. Cabalgata de las Walkirias—Wagner. 5. Romanza indiana—Característica—E. Reeves. 6. Gran marcha húngara—Berlin.	
[Not listed]	Oct. 14 (T)[84]	1. Midsummer Night's Dream—Obertura—Mendelssohn. 2. Cerca de tí—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. Ernani—Selección—Verdi. 4. L'Orologio—Característica—Arditi. 5. Amor secreto—Vals—F. Von Blom. 6. Rosas de Lorena (1ª vez)—**Fox-trot**—W. Smith.	
Humberto Rivas	Oct. 19 (S)[85]	1. Alejandro Stradella—Obertura—Flotow. 2. Boudeuse—Vals lento—Worsley. 3. Ernani—Selección de la ópera—Verdi.	

[82] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Oct. 2, 1919.
[83] "Programa del concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Oct. 9, 1919.
[84] "Programa del concierto de hoy en el parque," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Oct. 14, 1919.
[85] "Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Oct. 19, 1919.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		4. Patrulla turca—Característica—Michaelis. 5. Die Hydropaten—Vals—Gungl. 6. Yo sé, que no sé—One-step—C[arlos] Ramírez V[elásquez].[86]	
[Not listed]	Nov. 20 (R)[87]	1. Los dos Husares—Obertura—F. Doppler. 2. Hasta la vista—Vals—Wadlteufel. 3. Coppelia—Fantasía—Delibes. 4. Carmencita—Vals— C[arlos] Ramírez V[elásquez].[88] 5. Buenos Aires—One-step—E. Castillo. 6. Revista femenina—**Fox-trot**—[Carlos] Tünnermann [López].[89]	
[Not listed]	Nov. 23 (S)[90]	1. Domino negro—Obertura—F. Berr. 2. Visión—Vals lento—Worsley. 3. Mignon—Fantasía—Thomas. 4. Boudeuse—Vals lento—Worsley. 5. Mexicanas de Vera Cruz—**Fox-trot**— L. A. Delgadillo. 6. Baile de Corte—Vals—O. Fetrás.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Dec. 11 (R)[91]	1. Sangre torera—Pasodoble español—J. León. 2. Cuando el amor renace—Vals—Cremeaux. 3. La Gioconda (1ª vez) —Nuevo aire de la ópera de Ponchielli. 4. Ave María de Gounod.	

[86] Nicaraguan composer.
[87] "Programa del concierto de hoy en el parque," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Nov. 20, 1919.
[88] Nicaraguan composer.
[89] Nicaraguan composer.
[90] "El concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Nov. 23, 1919.
[91] "Notas. El concierto de hoy, en el Parque Central," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 11, 1919.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
		5. Todo a vos—Vals—E. Waldteufel. 6. Cortejo de Bacchus de Silvia—Delibes.	
[Not listed]	Dec. 14 (S)[92]	1. Lorraine—Marcha militar—Ganne. 2. Baile de Corte—Vals—O. Fetrás. 3. Gran fantasía americana (1ª vez)—Theo M. Tobani. 4. Sangre de artista—Vals—Eysler. 5. Pretty Baby—**Fox-trot**—[Gus Kahn]. 6. Está lejos Berlín; pero llegaremos—One-step—Flatow.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Dec. 18 (R)[93]	1. Sakintala—Obertura—C. Goldmark. 2. Guillermo Tell—Final del II acto—Rossini. 3. La Bohemia—Selección de la ópera—Puccini. 4. Nocturno No. 5—J. Leybach. 5. Minuet Rose—L. Ganne. 6. Los Hugonotes (baile húngaro)—G. Meyerbeer.	
Luis A. Delgadillo	Dec. 21 (S)[94]	1. La mantilla de la reina—Marcha militar—J, Strauss. 2. Manolo—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. Una fiesta a bordo—Fantasía—Heymans. 4. El cisne de la cinta azul—Vals—J[osé] A[ntonio] Zapata.[95] 5. Silver Fox—**Fox-trot**—Henry [Lodge]. 6. Chinatown, My Chinatown—One-step—Jean Schwartz.	

[92] "Notas. El concierto de hoy, en el Parque Central," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 14, 1919.
[93] "Notas. El concierto de hoy, en el Parque Central," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 18, 1919.
[94] "Concierto de hoy," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 21, 1919.
[95] Nicaraguan composer.

Conductor	Date	Program	Notes
Luis A. Delgadillo	Dec. 24 (W)[96]	1. Puña[d]o de rosas—Pasodoble—[ ]. 2. [ ]—[ ]—A. Thomas. 3. Orlando (a petición)—Vals—L. A. Delgadillo. 4. Plegaria de un niño [al atardecer]—**Fox-trot**—Jerome.[98] 5. Minuet de la rosa (a petición)—L. Ganne. 6. Toreador andaluz—Carácterística—Rubenstein. 7. Patrulla belga—Característica—Canivez. 8. All aboard for Dixie Land—One-step—J. C. Lewis.	Detailed heading[97]
Luis A. Delgadillo	Dec. 25 (R)[99]	1. Albin—Obertura—F. Flotow. 2. Soledad—Vals—Waldteufel. 3. Pescadores de perlas—Fantasía—Bizet. 4. Claro de Luna—Vals—O. Fetrás. 5. Tell me why—**Fox-trot**—V. Rose. 6. Canto nupcial—Vals—Farbach.	Detailed heading[100]

[96] "Programas de los conciertos...," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 25, 1919.
[97] Ibid., "Programas de los conciertos que ejecutará la Banda de los SS. PP. en el Parque Central."
[98] Delgadillo gives the full title of this fox-trot in his book *Comentarios a los consejos de Schumann*: "Justamente la plegaria de un niño al atardecer," a translation of its original title in English—Just a Baby's Prayer at Twilight.
[99] Programas de los conciertos...," *La Tribuna* (Managua), Dec. 25, 1919.
[100] Ibid., "Programas de los conciertos que ejecutará la Banda de los SS. PP. en el Parque Central."

APPENDIX G

La rosa del paraíso, Opereta regional en dos actos
(Guatemala City, Guatemala, August 1925)

Characters, music, scene changes, and constellation

Text: Hernán Robleto
Music: Luis A. Delgadillo

Characters

Rosa, "Girl of 15 years"
Ña Antonia, "Old rustic woman"
José, "Handsome guy"
Coronel Vivas, "Nicaraguan military officer"
Jerónimo, "Humble elderly man, Rosa's *chino*"
Don Manuelito, "Young gentleman from the city, [son of Senator Martiniano Lavado]"
An official
Soldiers / Chorus of peasants, soldiers, and onlookers

N.B. Scene order and content are taken from the operetta libretto and short score.

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1. Introduction
Allegro gro[ ]—Vivo como marcia—Allegretto pastoril

ACT 1

Scene I: Jerónimo

Jerónimo rocks a swaddled baby lying in a hammock while softly humming a cradle song. He recalls out loud the life he has led looking after children as a *chino* on the farm El Paraíso. He also remembers the scourge of yellow fever that took the lives of both of Rosa's parents and how he was left to help raise her. He notes that everyone likes her, and declares her to be *La Purísima* (patron virgin of Nicaragua) of the hacienda.

2. Jerónimo: "Dormite niñito" (Despacio)

Scene II: Jerónimo, Rosa

Rosa enters and sings about the flowers growing in fields of the farm, and is joined by Jerónimo. She then has a brief humorous exchange with him, revealing the baby to be Rosa's doll. The conversation turns to the subject of José as a possible husband for Rosa, but she admits that he does not think of her in that way. Nevertheless, Jerónimo describes him as a potentially ideal husband, extolling a handful of positive attributes.

3. Rosa and Jerónimo: "El potrero está hermoso" (Andante); "En la vejez" (Un poco mosso)

Scene III: Jerónimo, Rosa, Coronel Vivas

Coronel Vivas enters to report on the training he has just given the young men of the farm, intending on preparing as a military unit, for a time when he expects to assist the government with reinforcements in the suppression of a revolution. He softens his tone to engage Rosa in complements. Jerónimo and Rosa are shocked at the Coronel Vivas's promise of violence toward revolutionaries.

Scene IV: Jerónimo, Coronel Vivas

Jerónimo asks Coronel Vivas about what is gained by war. The coronel responds with an extended contemplation on the glories—symbolic and material—the victor stands to benefit. And adds that he may also be promoted to General, whose promotion will be celebrated accordingly in the capital. Jerónimo asks about the mention of revolution, and who might the revolutionaries be? Coronel Vivas answers, "Communists." (Perhaps a reference to the Russian Revolution of 1917.)

Scene V: Jerónimo, Coronel Vivas, Chorus

Coronel Vivas sings about "wiping out" communists*. The chorus dances and joins in the final refrain.

4. Coronel Vivas: "Ya el gobierno no soporta" (Tempo di mazurka; *El zanatillo*)—*Baile con el coro*—Chorus: "Cuatro tiros cada uno"

[*Delgadillo changes the word "communist" to "intestinal plague" in the score underlay.]

Scene VI: Jerónimo, Coronel Vivas, Ña Antonia

Ña Antonia arrives and chides Jerónimo for wasting time listening to Coronel Vivas, instead of preparing for the arrival of Don Manuelito, son of the farm owner. She then turns her ire toward Coronel Vivas and curses his military conceit.

Scene VII: Rosa, Ña Antonia

Rosa enters to sing a cautionary tale about succumbing to a fleeting romance. Ña Antonia continues to remind Jerónimo and Rosa that the farm is not yet prepared to receive Don Manuelito. She then recounts her having recently visited his home in Managua, where he asked after Rosa. It seems he is interested in taking her away from the farm. Ña Antonia asks Rosa if she might be interested in moving away, but Rosa rejects the possibility.

5. Rosa: "Una pajarita muerta" (Andantino cantabile; "Canción de la pajarita")

Scene VIII: Rosa, Ña Antonia, José

José enters with a little bird (*chocoyito*) for Rosa, which she intends to teach to sing. Ña Antonia reminds them that Don Manuelito is soon to arrive.

Scene IX: Rosa, José

Rosa asks to hear the story about the little bird. José explains that he found the little bird orphaned in a nest atop a tree branch. He took care of it, feeding it and protecting it from predatory hawks, until that day when he chose to bring it to Rosa. He vows to protect her like he did the little bird.

Scene X: Rosa, José, Ña Antonia

Ña Antonia expresses her disgust with Jerónimo who is wasting time by being trained in the use of a "sabre" (machete) by Coronel Vivas.

Scene XI: Jerónimo, Rosa, José, Ña Antonia, Coronel Vivas

Jerónimo and Coronel Vivas enter as their sparring ends. Coronel Vivas questions Jerónimo's purpose in life. José defends him, but Coronel Vivas turns the argument against José and his alleged motives.

Scene XII: Jerónimo, Rosa, José, Ña Antonia, Coronel Vivas, Don Manuelito

The group welcomes Don Manuelito. He turns his attention to Rosa and offers her a life in the city. She admits to dreaming of it. Ña Antonia and Jerónimo support the idea and sing Don Manuelito's praises. Coronel Vivas fantasizes of his promotion.

[**6.**] Instrumental (Allegretto bufón); Played immediately following the line spoken by Coronel Vivas—"De aquí saldrá mi ascenso, ya seré General."

Scene XIII: Jerónimo, Rosa, José, Ña Antonia, Coronel Vivas, Don Manuelito

Don Manuelito orders Ña Antonia and Jerónimo to prepare lunch. Coronel Vivas asks for and is granted leave.

Scene XIV: Ña Antonia, Rosa, Don Manuelito

With the assistance of Ña Antonia, Don Manuelito tries to entice Rosa with a life away from the farm. He then obligates her to have lunch with him, though she briefly resists.

Scene XV: Rosa, Don Manuelito

Don Manuelito tries to woo Rosa, who shies from accepting his complements. He sings promises of a life together in Managua, and ends by embracing her without permission. She asks him to release her.

7. Don Manuelito: "Rosa adorada" (Vivo alla marcia)

Scene XVI: Rosa, Don Manuelito, José, [and Chorus]

José enters and confronts Don Manuelito, who initially ordered him to leave. José suggests that Don Manuelito in only using Rosa, but Don Manuelito rejects his accusation and tries to put him in his place. The chorus enters singing of Rosa's virtues, and is joined by José.

8. Chorus: "En la hacienda es la Rosa" (Quasi marcia)—José: "Es la Rosa de estos montes"
8b. Instrumental (Andante mosso)

ACT 2

[**9. Introduction** (instrumental)**]**

Scene I: Don Manuelito, Ña Antonia

Ña Antonia greets Don Manuelito. He asks for Rosa, who has yet to come out of her room. Ña Antonia goes to find her. Don Manuelito promises to deal with José as an obstacle, in spite of José being his father's godson.

Scene II: Don Manuelito, Coronel Vivas

Coronel Vivas enters to find out from Don Manuelito that military troops might soon arrive at the farm. The coronel immediately begins to prepare for their arrival though uncertain as to when.

Scene III: Rosa, Ña Antonia, Don Manuelito

Ña Antonia arrives with Rosa and leaves her alone with Don Manuelito. He continues to offer her a home in Managua, but she finds difficult the thought of leaving the farm and her loved ones. The conversation turns to the incident with José. Don Manuelito promises to shoot him if there is another confrontation. Rosa defends him. Manuelito wonders why she doesn't want him.

Scene IV: Jerónimo, Don Manuelito, Rosa

Don Manuelito offers Jerónimo a modern home in Managua with Rosa. Jerónimo sings of city life, Rosa joins in the song, and Don Manuelito sings more promises to her. The chorus hums the music just sung by the trio, and the stage is transformed into a Managua cabaret in which the ensemble dances.

10. Jerónimo and Chorus: "En la ciudad de alegría" ([Fox-trot]); "Segunda parte del fox cantado por el coro a boca cerrada y después silbando."

Scene V: Rosa, Coronel Vivas

Rosa and Coronel Vivas share a moment. He tries to encourage her to accept Don Manuelito's advances, but she resists. She considers the possibility of taking José with her to Managua. Coronel Vivas and Rosa sing of happiness in the city. The coronel observes that Don Manuelito will not be leaving the farm without her.

11. Rosa and Coronel Vivas: "Vuelan del nido todas las aves" (Tempo di vals) "Allá tendrás placer"

Scene VI: Rosa, José

José sings of the beauty of nature around the farm. Rosa enters and they discuss the tension between Don Manuelito and José. She confesses to the plan of taking him with her to the city, but he expresses his disgust at the possibility, and admits he will soon leave the farm for good.

12. José: "Mi ilusión va en el viento del monte" (Andante; "Romanza de José")

Scene VII: Don Manuelito, Jerónimo, Ña Antonia

Don Manuelito and Jerónimo discuss plans to leave the farm. They call for Rosa and let her know of their departure later in the afternoon the same day.

Scene VIII: Don Manuelito, José, Ña Antonia, Coronal Vivas, Chorus of farmhands

Coronel Vivas enters with a group of farmhands to honor Don Manuelito. They sing in celebration of his having convinced Rosa to move to Managua. Coronel Vivas prompts them to sing an added verse about how he will save the nation. They follow with a dance. Rosa sings traditional verses about being a mischievous devil. Don Manuelito assures Rosa that she made the right decision.

13. Instrumental (Vivo; *Los diablitos*)—Chorus: "Nosotros somos los mozos"; Rosa: "Yo soy diablita traviesa"—Instrumental ("baile")

Scene IX: Don Manuelito, José, Ña Antonia, Coronel Vivas, Chorus of farmhands, José

José confronts Don Manuelito about his taking Rosa away. Jerónimo tries to calm him, but he calls out Don Manuelito for only wanting to take Rosa's virginity. Jerónimo takes Don Manuelito elsewhere.

Scene X: Rosa, José

José speaks candidly with Rosa. He suggests she has begun to fall from grace, and that she will ultimately return to the farm a forsaken woman. He will be gone when she returns. She believes in his sincerity, but feels helpless. José reveals his love for her, and his patience in waiting for her to come of age. José begins to sing about life's deceits, Rosa joins and expresses her love for him.

14. José: "Una dorada mentira" (Vals lento)

Scene XI: Rosa, José, Don Manuelito, Jerónimo, Coronel Vivas

Jerónimo returns with Don Manuelito. Jerónimo has changed his mind and will not be leaving the farm. Don Manuelito sees Rosa and José together and orders them off the farm immediately. Coronel Vivas interrupts them to announce the imminent arrival of military troops whose ranks he intends to join.

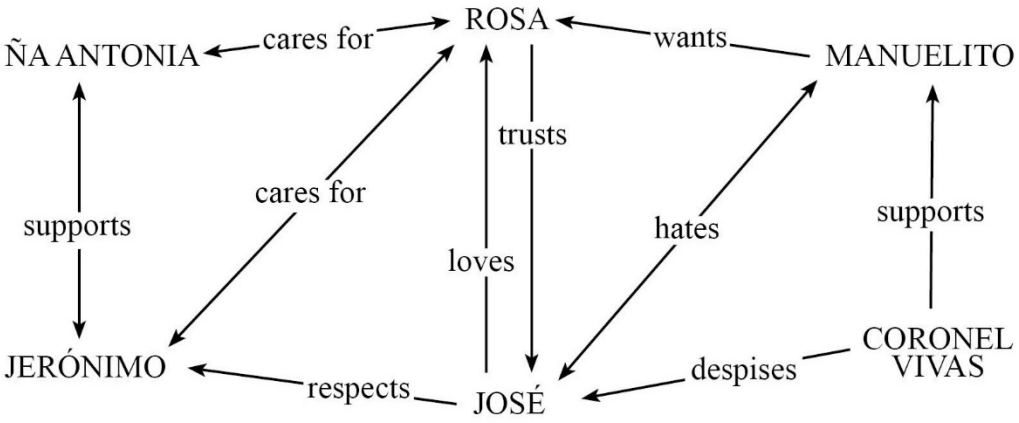
Scene XII: Rosa, José, Don Manuelito, Jerónimo, Coronel Vivas, Ña Antonia, An official, Chorus

Ña Antonia tells José to stay put as a result of the military arrival. They hear the sound of bugle calls. An official from the troops orders everyone still. Coronel Vivas celebrates the presence of government troops, but changes his loyalties when they turn on him and Antonia observes them to be revolutionaries. The official recognizes José as an

old friend. He then places Don Manuelito under arrest, but is released at José's behest. José vows to leave the farm with Rosa. Jerónimo intends to join them. The chorus sings verses from Rosa's Act 1, Scene VII song.

15a. Instrumental (Allegro marziale; "Toque de clarín con sordino"; Quotes *La marseillaise* and *La pelota*)
15b. Chorus: "Pajarita, porque lloras" (Andantino apasionato)

Constellation of characters



APPENDIX H

Pájaros del norte, Opereta nacional en dos actos (1936)
(Premier: Managua, Nicaragua, January 1937)

Characters, music, scene changes, and constellation

Text: Hernán Robleto
Music: Luis A. Delgadillo

Characters

Chon, the mother
María, the daughter
Emeterio, friend of María with a stutter
Enrique, friend of María
Sargento Smith, suitor/husband of María
Petrona, a servant
Women, acquaintances of María
A guy, messenger

ACT 1 (Chon's house)

1. Introduction (Vals brillante)

Scene I: Chon, María, Smith

Chon tries to convince María that she ought to accept Smith, but María declares that he is not her type. Smith enters and asserts his (and U.S.) cultural superiority through sports.

Scene II: Chon, María, Smith, Emeterio

Emeterio enters and interacts with those present. He has an aside with María, asking her if she likes Smith. She hints at the possibility, but does not say for certain. Smith and Chon make fun of Emeterio for aspiring to be a *diputado* in spite of his noticeable stutter.

Scene III: Chon, María

Chon and María discuss beauty tips and ways to attract men, U.S. Marines, in particular. Chon suggests María prefers Nicaraguan men. María is uninterested in fashion or customs of women her age, or the going vices. The talk of marriage comes up, and the

speed at which some couples marry is likened to electricity in U.S. culture. María sings of this electric culture.

2. María: "En los Estados Unidos" (Blues)

Scene IV: María, Chon, Emeterio

Emeterio arrives dressed in a golf outfit, yet wearing red stockings (more appropriate for a costumed feast day). He chose them for their association with the Liberal Party. Chon makes fun of his appearance and stutter, while María defends him. Chon exits and the two are left to share an intimate moment. Emeterio begins to declare his love for María, but she firmly, albeit gently rebukes him, stating that she cares for him like a brother. Chon returns ridiculously made up to go out for the evening.

Scene V: María, Chon, Enrique

Enrique enters to offer his company as the women begin to depart. He has an exchange of words, a battle of wits with Chon, who leaves the room. He then confronts María and indirectly expresses his love for her in spite of his being the wrong type. María admits that she is following her mother's desires. Enrique sings of the demands of the heart and warns María of the dangers of men who come speaking English.

3. Enrique: "El corazón nos manda amar" (Andantino)

Scene VI: María, Chon, Petrona

Chon recommends that María get rid of Enrique and Emeterio in case Smith gets turned discouraged when they are around. Pretona enters to pass on a request to Chon: a neighbor is entertaining Marines and would like to borrow a table cloth. The discussion of Nicaraguan women looking for a U.S.-American husband continues. María sings about the pressure she is under to please her mother.

[**6.**] María and chorus: "Porqué debe ser" (Vals un poco moderato)—"Pasará" (Mosso)

Scene VII: María, Smith, ["The Voice"]

Smith and María share an intimate moment. He asks if she cares for him. He then proposes marriage and promises to take her back to California, where he is a "grande" actor in Hollywood. While he continues to elicit a response and make promises, she daydreams of living in the U.S. as Smith's wife. Smith then asks for sex, but she rebuffs him.

["Música" precedes/accompanies La Voz: "Mañanitas, mañanitas"; possibly

5. Instrumental (Andantino con moto—[ ]—Listesso tempo—[ ])

Scene VIII: María, Choir (the cats)

María sings about the things that are not possible in life ("No se poten complacher"), beginning with herself and then making broader, philosophical references. She also references contemporary politics and an aspect of Anastasio Somoza Garcia's character.

4. María and chorus: "Un pollo de bigotito"—"Ay! Ayay!" (Allegretto; "Coplas de las gatas"; "Baile de 'La Pelota'")

Scene IX: María, Smith, Choir *de gatas*, Emeterio, Chon, Petrona

Emeterio tries unsuccessfully to flirt with María, and then exits. Smith continues to woo María with promises of a life in California (he is from Oakland). Chon enters and offers Smith a traditional drink (tiste), but Petrona reminds her boss that U.S.-Americans should be offered drinks of higher quality, more to their taste. Chon, María, and Smith briefly discuss the virtues of pronouncing María's name in English, as Smith prefers, Chon concurs, and María rejects.

Scene X: María, Smith, choir of cats, Chon, Petrona, Enrique

Enrique enters and joins the conversation about the pronunciation of María's name in Spanish, of which he supports, but Chon disagrees. Enrique and Chon discuss the strengths and weaknesses of men who can speak well. Enrique then has a moment with María. He observes, like the liquor that disagrees with her, Smith will only make her ill, and use her for his needs. Smith then proposes marriage in front of Chon, and then leads María out of the house before she can respond.

7. Instrumental (Marcha)

ACT 2

Tableau 1 (Chon's house)

8. Preludio [Instrumental] (Un po' agitato—Andante)

Scene I: Women, Smith

A tired and disheveled Smith interacts with a group of women, acquaintances of María, who comment on the noticeable change in his appearance. He admits to having

married María. They prod him for more information, but stop short of prying as he exits to have a meal.

Scene II: Women, María

María enters and is interrogated, in a sarcastic tone, by the women. She admits to having married Smith to please her mother, but adds that in the eight days they have been together, she has come to love him. While María is momentarily distracted, the women talk cynically of marriage. María sings of her joy. They prepare to leave once María turns her attention back to them.

9. María: "Lucerito azul es mi vivir feliz" (Arietta; Andantino un po' mosso)

Scene III: Women, María, Enrique, Chon, Smith

Enrique enters to the chagrin of Chon, who comments that his visits, as well as his passes on the street in front their home, might raise suspicions about a married woman. Enrique brings news of the forthcoming departure of the U.S. Marines from Nicaragua. No one present was aware, not even María. Smith returns, full from the meal, and rebuffs María's physical affection. Smith and María sing a duet in which he intimates a departure without her, yet it goes unnoticed. Chon begins mentally packing for the U.S., while the women ask for gifts once she is there. Enrique confronts María, reminding her of his loyalty as a friend, and warning her of a lost future with Smith. Enrique has an exchange with Smith, which turns tense over a misunderstanding. Smith chooses to let the offense pass, yet he goes on to comment that Nicaraguans to do not know how to dance.

10. María and Smith: "Que no pase la delicia el amor"/"Amame, amame mocho" (Allegretto grazioso)

[End of scene: "Baile del kake walk y del zapateado"]

11. Instrumental: kake walk (Vivo); zapateado nica (Allegretto vivo, scherzoso)

Scene IV: Women, María, Enrique, Chon, Smith, Emeterio, Petrona

Emeterio enters and receives a cold acknowledgment Chon. Smith levels another insult at Nicaraguans by claiming there to be no patriots in the country. Petrona confronts his accusation and momentarily leaves, returning with a banana for him as a gesture of hospitality. He eats it and leaves without saying goodbye. The women announce their departure and individually bid farewell to Chon and María.

Scene V: María, Enrique, Chon, Emeterio

Emeterio and Enrique argue with Chon about the choice María has made and whether Smith is really interested in her. Chon, María, and Emeterio sing about reaching their dreams (Emeterio disagrees with their observations). Enrique and Emeterio give María an emotional farewell (for good).

12. Chon, María, and Emeterio: "Mi sueño dorado ya cuajó"/"Y un solo beso en el amor"/"El titi tigre se la llevó" (Terceto; Allegretto; and *baile* with "flautas")

Tableau 2 (Chon's house)

Scene I: María, Chon

Managua is abuzz with the departing U.S. Marines. Chon and María prepare to leave the capital for good, but Smith has yet to give them notice.

Scene II: María, Chon, Petrona, Emeterio

Petrona arrives to report on the activity at the train station, where a number of women are saying goodbye to Marines. Emeterio arrives to see Chon and María off. Emeterio and María have a final, emotional exchange. Emeterio "sings."

13. "Solo de saxofón" ([Freely])

Scene III: María, Emeterio, Smith, Petrona

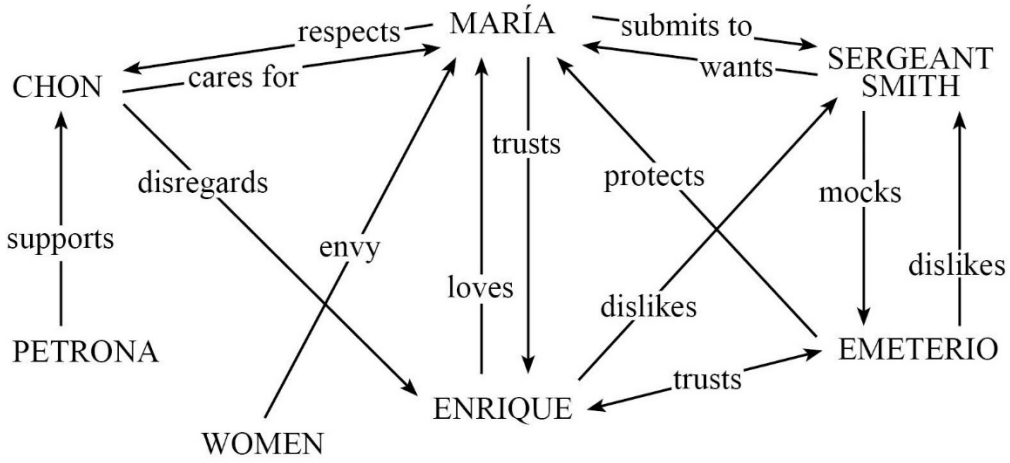
Smith arrives to take food from kitchen, and dismisses María's question. He ignores all present and quickly departs.

Scene IV: María, Emeterio, Chon, Enrique

María expresses her disgust at the way Smith treats her. Chon tells her to accept it with a smile. Enrique arrives to find them still at home and not at the station. He tried to flirt with María, but she rejects it.

Scene V: María, Emeterio, Chon, Enrique, A guy

A guy arrives to give María a note from Smith, who writes that he is leaving Nicaragua without her, and will mail the divorce papers. Chon tries to comfort a heartbroken María by expressing a sense of dismay and anger. Enrique is overjoyed at the turn of events.

14. Final de la opereta [instrumental]: (Mosso—Andante—Vivace—Agitato—Grandioso)

Constellation of characters