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From "Greater America" to *America's Music*: Gilbert Chase and the Historiography of Borders

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Abstract
This essay considers the hotly debated U.S. border and its relationship to music historiography vis-à-vis the unconventional career of Gilbert Chase (1906-92), the first U.S. musicologist to take seriously the music of the Spanish-speaking world. I draw on his papers, housed at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, to suggest that little-known facts of Chase's scholarly perspectives can give us food for thought in the fraught present. Central here are two visions of "American music," both rooted in politics. One, the concept of "Greater America," dates from the 1920s through World War II and informed Chase's scholarly vision early on. Another vision, one that effectively reinforced U.S. superpower status, grew out of the Cold War. Paradoxically, it is Greater America, which Chase abruptly abandoned—as did U.S. society at large—that holds out the greatest promise today.

Keywords: cultural diplomacy, historiography, Gilbert Chase, radio, Good Neighbor Policy, Cold War

Resumen

Este ensayo considera la muy debatida frontera de los Estados Unidos y su relación con la historiografía musical, tomando como punto de partida la poco tradicional carrera de Gilbert Chase (1906-92), el primer musicólogo estadounidense que tomó en serio la música de los hispanohablantes. Al examinar su archivo, que se encuentra en la New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, sugiero que ciertos hechos poco conocidos de las perspectivas académicas de Chase nos ofrecen temas para reflexionar sobre la convulsa situación actual. Destacan dos visiones de "American music", ambas arraigadas en la política. La primera, basada en el concepto de la "Gran América", data de los años 20 y duró hasta el término de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, sirviendo como fundación del pensamiento de Chase. La segunda, una visión reforzada en el estatus de superpotencia de los Estados Unidos, floreció gracias a la Guerra Fría y efectivamente excluyó a los hispanohablantes estadounidenses. Paradójicamente, es el concepto de Gran América, que Chase abruptamente abandonó—igual que la sociedad estadounidense en general—que nos tiende la mayor promesa hoy día.

Palabras clave: diplomacia cultural, historiografía, Gilbert Chase, radio, Política del Buen Vecino, Guerra Fría

A major tourist attraction in Mexico City is the set of murals by Diego Rivera at the National Palace, the storied edifice begun in 1692 on a site where one of Moctezuma's palaces once stood. Painted between 1929 and 1935 and teeming with motion, the murals depict major events in the history of Mexico, including the entrance of U.S. invaders in 1847 during the U.S.-Mexico War. Rivera's own relationship with the United States was complicated. A communist sympathizer, he collected handsome fees from his corporate sponsors in the United States. But when criticized in Mexico for

cozying up to capitalists, he simply explained that he had long "infiltrated" his work with anti-imperialist messages, thus attacking the "American way of life."[1]

What can these elusive borders—between art, political systems, and identities—tell us today? In 2011, the *Journal of the Society for American Music* published the colloquy "Studying U.S. Music in the Twenty-First Century," featuring seven Americanist musicologists. They sensed that "the world [felt] in flux," whether from economic insecurity after the Great Recession, diminished U.S. standing in the world, or the ravages of climate change. Music study felt similarly upended, with all agreeing that "instability has . . . become the norm."[2] Among them was George Lewis, who took the Rivera murals as a point of departure for musing over "the permanence of permeability, the transience of borders, and a *mestizaje* that draws its power from dialogue with an American trope of mobility."[3] He also questioned the practice of confining "American" music study to the United States, especially relevant in light of the growing Latinx population in the United States, projected to reach at 29% by 2050.[4] Indeed, since 2011, several positive steps have been taken along these lines. The 2018 Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society featured fifty-odd presentations on music of the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking world, unimaginable twenty-five years ago. Whereas students interested in Latin American music once had a single textbook at their disposal, twenty-first century instructors choose from an array of teaching materials; in 2017, the *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* published a roundtable discussion devoted to teaching Latin American music in the United States.[5] One might wonder: do we really need more conversation on the "transcience of borders?"[6]

Yet today we find ourselves confronting far greater instability than in 2011. The current chaos at the southern border takes an increasingly antihumanitarian turn as intemperate rhetoric blasts forth from the highest levels of the U.S. government. Many in Latin Americanist musicology circles wonder informally how we could have come so far amid so much bigotry and division. Meanwhile,

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[1] Jeffrey Belnap, "Diego Rivera's Greater America: Pan-American Patronage, Indigenism, and *H.P.*," *Cultural Critique* 63 (2008): 61-62.

[2] Charles Hiroshi Garrett and Carol Oja, "Introduction," "Studying U.S. Music in the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 3 (2011): 689.

[3] George Lewis, "Americanist Musicology and Nomadic Noise," in ibid., 692.

[4] Statistics from the Pew Research Center, cited in "The Hispanicisation of America: The Law of Large Numbers," *The Economist* 396, no. 8699 (11-17 September 2010): 35.

[5] Among other resources, see Mark Brill, *Music of Latin America and the Caribbean* (Boston, Columbus: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2011); Robin D. Moore and Walter A. Clark, eds. *Musics of Latin America* (New York: Norton, 2012); Carol A. Hess, *Experiencing Latin American Music* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018). The roundtable discussion is in *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 7, no. 2 (2017): 94-129.

[6] Two major sources on borderland issues and musicology are Olga Nájera-Ramírez, Norma E. Cantú, and Brenda M. Romero, editors, *Dancing Across Borders: Danzas y Bailes Mexicanos* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Alejandro L. Madrid, ed. *Transnational Encounters: Music and Performance at the U.S.–Mexico Border* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); see also Ana Alonso-Minutti's contribution to the roundtable discussion cited in n5 and highlighted below.

Latinx students confront microaggressions and legal challenges if undocumented.[7] International students have been known to ask recruiters: “is your university in a blue or a red state?”[8]

This essay does not presume to solve such problems. Rather, I consider the question of borders vis-à-vis historiography of Latin American in the United States. Central to my discussion is the unconventional career of Gilbert Chase (1906-92), the first U.S. musicologist to take seriously the music of the Spanish-speaking world and whose papers, housed at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (NYPL), have not been widely consulted.[9] My hope is that little-known facts of Chase’s scholarly perspectives can give us food for thought in the confused present. Central here are two visions of “American music,” both rooted in politics. One, the concept of “Greater America,” dates from the 1920s through World War II and informed Chase’s scholarly vision early on. Another vision, one that effectively reinforced U.S. superpower status, grew out of the Cold War. Paradoxically, it is Greater America, which Chase abruptly abandoned—as did U.S. society at large—that holds out the greatest promise today.

Chase and Greater America

It is 6 July 1944. Exactly one month ago, the Western Allies attacked German forces on the beaches at Normandy in the largest amphibious operation in history. The day is almost over in the greater New York area and 11:30 p.m., a handful of night owls, insomniacs, and radio fans sit beside their Philco A-361 cabinet models or Sears Silvertones to tune into NBC’s *Music of the New World*. With the final movement of Antonín Dvořák’s Symphony No. 9 in E Minor in the background, the voice of the host takes over:

> *Music of the New World*! The National Broadcasting Company and its affiliated stations present another program . . . Tonight, “The Americas Meet.”[10]

This confident preamble, some version of which was repeated weekly at that late hour, invites us to consider the role of music in joining the Americas against the Axis. Launched in 1942, *Music of the New World* aired after more than a century of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, with the occupations of Nicaragua (1912-33) and the Dominican Republic (1916-1924) recent memories. Certainly the term “new world” is objectionable to many today: as Gary Tomlinson has pointedly

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[7] H. Kenny Neinhusser, Blanca E. Vega, Mariella Cristina Saavedra Carquín, “Undocumented Students’ Experiences with Microaggression During Their College Choice Process,” *Teachers College Record* 118, (February 2016): 1-33.

[8] Stan Jastrzebski, “Budgets Suffer After a Drop in International Student Enrollment,” https://www.npr.org/2018/01/15/578098190/budgets-suffer-after-a-drop-in-international-student-enrollment (accessed 21 January 2018).

[9] I wish to thank George Boziwick and Jonathan Hiam of the NYPL for their assistance with this project. Thanks also to Beth Levy, Kevin Bartig, and D. Kern Holoman who made many valuable suggestions on earlier drafts of this essay.

[10] Scripts and programs for *Music of the New World* are found in the NYPL, boxes 11 and 12 (JPB-04-32), with folders indicated in each citation below.

asked, "New to whom?"[11] Yet in its time, *Music of the New World* held out hope, shared by many, that a unified Western Hemisphere could stand up to the enemy. Accordingly, that evening's program showcased U.S. composers paying homage to Latin America: Gershwin's *Cuban Overture*, with Henri Nosco conducting the NBC Symphony; Louis Moreau Gottschalk's "Dí que sí" for piano solo, performed by Arthur Balsam; Paul Bowles's *El carbonero* (The Coal Vendor) from *Three Songs from the Sierras* and sung by mezzo-soprano Nan Merriman; and "Guaracha," from Morton Gould's *Latin American Sinfonette*. At midnight, when the broadcast concluded, listeners learned that they could "increase [their] enjoyment of these broadcasts" by ordering "supplementary reading" in the form of 25-cent booklets. These booklets and the scripts, the host explains, are by Gilbert Chase.[12]

It might be argued that the 6 July program of "Music in the New World" offered little more than appropriation: U.S. composers helping themselves to genres, instruments, and subject matter alien to them, such that the resulting compositions amounted largely to "tourist music," with its attendant colonizing. Yet as Chase explains in his script, finally U.S. composers were paying attention to Latin America. Whereas once "most of our younger composers had their eyes and ears turned toward Europe," he observes, many now sought "creative stimulation in the themes and rhythms of Latin America. . . ."[13] Eager to supplant European models, widely seen as "universal," these U.S. composers were cultivating a musical voice unique to the Americas. "The Americas meet in music!" Chase enthuses. "In the fox-trot, the tango, the rumba, the samba … [in the] songs of Stephen Foster, the strains of 'La Paloma' or 'Estrellita'" All these expressions were "a vital part of the American scene."[14]

By "America," Chase meant all of the Americas, not just the United States. This principle prevailed over the life of *Music of the New World*. One segment, broadcast for eight weeks in late 1944, "American Cities," consisted of entire programs devoted to music in Mexico City, Williamsburg, Havana, Boston, Charleston, Rio de Janeiro, or Santiago de Chile, each city just as "American" as the other. Over its three years on the air, *Music of the New World* presented an admirable balance of genres, languages, performers, composers, and musical cultures from North, South, and Central America. In other words, the program made audible the "permanence of permeability" and "transience of borders" that Lewis would ponder sixty years later.

Chase was well suited to this job: he was born in Havana and Spanish was his first language, which he spoke with his cousins Anaïs Nin, the future erotica writer, and Joaquín Nin-Culmell, later a composer. After attending high school in New Jersey, Chase enrolled at Columbia University. But in 1928, he left college to seek his fortune in Paris, where he found work as correspondent for *Musical*

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[11] Gary Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World: Indigenous Voice in the Era of European Contact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 7.

[12] Having initially served as a researcher for the series during 1942, Chase took over the script-writing from John Tasker Howard in 1943. See Gilbert Chase, "Radio Broadcasting and the Music Library," *Notes*, series 2, no. 2 (1945): 91-92.

[13] Script, "The Americas Meet," box 12, folder 3, p. 4.

[14] Ibid., p. 3 (ellipses original).

America and for the British publications *Continental Daily Mail* and *Musical Times*.[15] He returned to the United States in 1935, just as U.S. universities were beginning to embrace historical musicology. Lacking academic credentials, he worked as Associate Editor and leading contributor to the *International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians* and Associate Editor for *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*. Besides *Musical America*, he wrote for mass-circulation magazines such as the *Saturday Review of Literature* and the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*. He also involved himself in musicology, publishing in *Musical Quarterly* and joining the newly founded American Musicological Society, which he served in various capacities.[16]

NBC's *Music of the New World*, which hired Chase in 1942, was no ordinary music-appreciation radio program. Rather, it was part of the Good Neighbor policy, the campaign crafted by the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to promote solidarity throughout the Americas and counteract Nazi infiltration in the hemisphere. The policy effectively repackaged several concepts that had risen and fallen since the era of the Monroe Doctrine. One of these was that the Americas are united by geography simply by virtue of occupying the Western Hemisphere. Another principle held that the Americas constituted a tabula rasa, a blank slate on which fresh histories and fresh artistic expressions free of European influence could flourish; indeed, some form of the word "fresh" surfaces repeatedly in Good Neighbor-era rhetoric. A third concept was that citizens of the Americas, having successfully rebelled against colonial powers, shared a common interest in democracy.[17] Undergirding all was the heady ideal of diversity within unity, such that the individual cultures and personalities of the twenty-one American republics were all celebrated under one hospitable embrace. This mindset, which one contemporaneous scholar called "the Western Hemisphere idea," sometimes took on a "rational-mystical" tone, especially in moments of political urgency.[18] The Roosevelt administration went beyond rhetoric, however. In 1933, Secretary of State Cordell Hull announced that the United States would no longer intervene in Latin American governments, and three years later, the president himself was wildly cheered on the streets of Buenos Aires. In 1938, the United States government gave up its long-held resistance to government-sponsored cultural diplomacy by establishing the Division of Cultural Relations to focus "soft power" on Latin America.[19]

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[15] Chase's early writings are listed in Gilbert Chase, *Two Lectures in the Form of a Pair: Music, Culture, and History, Structuralism in Music* (New York: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1973).

[16] Carol A. Hess, "'De aspecto inglés pero de alma española': Gilbert Chase, Spain, and Musicology in the United States," *Revista de Musicología* (Spain), 35, no. 2 (2012): 283.

[17] See Eldon Kenworthy, *America/Américas: Myth in the Making of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 18; on music and the Good Neighbor Policy, see Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1-41.

[18] Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Western Hemisphere Idea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), 3.

[19] Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* 119, no. 2 (2004): 255-70; on music and early cultural diplomacy in the United States, see Jennifer L. Campbell, "Creating Something Out of Nothing: The Office of Inter-American Affairs Music Committee (1940-1941) and the Inception of a Policy for Musical Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History* 26, no. 1 (2012): 29-39.

The Good Neighbor policy mixed desire, prejudice, politics, and idealism. It was far from perfect, and many errors were committed in its name; indeed, those few who give it a passing thought today may well conjure up Carmen Miranda cavorting in her banana headdress and blurting out mangled English, thus reinforcing anti-Latinx stereotypes.[20] Throughout the 1930s, moreover, thousands of Mexicans and Mexican Americans were deported on the premise that they were taking jobs from "Americans."[21] Also, in light of its brief duration—the Good Neighbor Policy died an abrupt death once the war ended—Roosevelt's campaign was attacked as insincere by the very "neighbors" it so assiduously courted.

Still, some of its principles merit our attention today. Among these is the pedagogical concept of "Greater America." It was conceived by historian Herbert E. Bolton in the 1920s, like today, an era of fear-mongering and immigration restrictions. Bolton looked beyond Plymouth Rock and the Mayflower to recognize non-English speaking peoples in the history of the United States. He also questioned the borders of the United States, such as those established by force during the U.S.-Mexican War. In other words, Greater America promoted respect for and understanding of Latin America, the same narrative Chase's radio scripts upheld.

Bolton, who taught at the University of California, Berkeley, was convinced that U.S. history pedagogy lacked "freshness."[22] In taking into account non-English speaking colonies, he challenged the creation myth on which U.S. history teachers had long relied, namely, that the United States arose through the struggles of the thirteen colonies in the East. In his folksy style, Bolton summed up traditional, Anglo-centric pedagogy: "Americans licked England; they licked the Indians; all good Indians were dead; the English came to America to build homes, the Spaniards merely explored and hunted gold; Spain failed in the New World; the English always succeeded.. . ."[23] He was also aware of the effects of this pedagogy. In a 1932 keynote address, he warned the American Historical

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[20] Of the ample literature on this subject, see Charles Ramirez Berg, "Stereotyping and Resistance: A Crash Course on Hollywood's Latino Imagery," in *The Future of Latino Independent Media: A NALIP Sourcebook,* edited by Chon A. Noriega, 3–14. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 2000. Fearful that Hollywood would sabotage the Good Neighbor policy, in 1941 the studios hired the bilingual and bicultural consultant Addison Durland to counteract these stereotypes. See Brian O'Neil, "The Demands of Authenticity: Addison Durland and Hollywood's Latin Images during World War II," in Daniel Bernardi, ed., *Classic Hollywood, Classic Whiteness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 359-85. On Carmen Miranda, see Walter Aaron Clark, "Doing the Samba on Sunset Boulevard: Carmen Miranda and the Hollywoodization of Latin American Music," in Walter Aaron Clark, ed., *From Tejano to Tango: Latin American Popular Music* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 252-76.

[21] Francisco Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

[22] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *History of the Americas. A Syllabus with Maps* (Boston: Ginn, 1928), iii; cited in Lewis Hanke, ed. *Do the Americas Have a Common History? A Critique of the Bolton Theory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 17.

[23] Letter, Bolton to his brother E. L. Bolton, cited in Hanke, *Do The Americas Have a Common History?*, 11.

Association that this "purely nationalistic presentation" had "helped to raise up a nation of chauvinists."[24]

Accordingly, one of Bolton's textbooks, coauthored with a former student, devoted the first three chapters to New Spain, along with Portuguese incursions into the Americas. In chapters eight, nine, and sixteen, the authors return to Spain, thus delivering on the promise made in the introduction: "to write a book from a different point of view."[25] Can Bolton be accused of a colonizing mentality? He argued against the widely held notion that Spain "'failed' as a colonizer" by criticizing the "faulty method" of prior historians, who gave Columbus's voyages due attention but then concentrated on "territory now within the United States—Florida, New Mexico, Texas—forgetting that these regions were to Spain only northern outposts, and omitting the . . . story of Spanish achievement farther south."[26] If today some recoil over the notion of "Spanish achievement," Bolton nonetheless defied anti-Spanish prejudice among U.S. historians, many of whom subscribed to the Black Legend. According to it, Spaniards were *uniquely* blood-thirsty, *uniquely* gold-hungry, and *uniquely* brutal, a racist assessment that collapses in light of the atrocities committed by the British or the French, for example. An 1898 study explains that "the flag of the Spaniard in the Western Hemisphere was the emblem solely of rapine and pillage."[27] Closer to Bolton's time was William Warren Sweet, whose 1919 textbook discusses the preponderance of "half-breeds" in Latin America and the "sentimental and impulsive" nature of its elites, all descendants of the temperamental *conquistadores*.[28]

With the coinage "Greater America," Bolton also challenged ordinary English usage, which lacks an adjective for "of the United States," unlike Spanish (*estadounidense*) and Portuguese (*estadunidense*). Were we to accept Greater America's premises, we would resist equating "the United States" with "America," as Cuban poet and revolutionary José Martí advocated in his hard-hitting 1891 essay *Nuestra América*. We would find other ways to clarify exactly what we mean in referring to "American values," "American history," or "American music." This was a distinction of which Chase was well aware.

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[24] Ibid., 1.

[25] Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492 to 1783* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), i. According to a 1927 report, not even a "comprehensive atlas" of Latin America was available. "Report on the Teaching of Latin American History," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 61 (June 1927): 550.

[26] Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492 to 1783*, i.

[27] Cited in Philip Powell, Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World (New York and London: Basic Books, 1971), 123. Hanke surveys this historiographical trend in Do the Americas Have a Common History?, 4-7.

[28] William Warren Sweet, *A History of Latin America* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1919), 222.

Bolton's class at Berkeley was one of the most popular on campus, often enrolling over a thousand students per semester.[29] Popularity also drove the Good Neighbor policy. Thanks to Roosevelt's likeability and his powers of persuasion—along with the very real threat of war—political leaders, media figures, and ordinary citizens hastened to build bridges with Latin America as the administration scrambled to find consultants fluent in Spanish, not easy when U.S. public education favored Latin or French.[30] It is not clear how much Chase actually knew about Latin American music at this time. Still, he had written regularly on Spain for *Musical America*, and his "debut" book, *The Music of Spain* (W.W. Norton, 1941), was the first single-volume, comprehensive study of Spanish music in English.[31] In it, Chase addressed Spanish popular music, a bold approach in an era when musicologists focused on medieval and Renaissance music.[32]

Chase was pressed into service for a variety of "soft-power" activities. In 1940, he was hired as a Latin American Specialist in the Music Division of the Library of Congress and the music editor of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, published by the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress. He also worked as a consultant for the Music Section of the Pan-American Union, a clearinghouse for scores and recordings directed by Charles Seeger that also coordinated musical activities at the Union, such as concerts, publications, and lectures.[33] To disseminate Latin American music, Chase compiled several resources.[34]

Historiographer of the Airwaves

In 1943, with the United States already at war, Chase became the Educational Music Supervisor for NBC. Radio, the medium that proved so powerful for Roosevelt, was widely seen as a weapon against Axis infiltration into Latin America. A Radio Division was established under government auspices to further the Good Neighbor policy. U.S. radio would excel not only "in the quality of offerings" but it would be "more exciting, more varied, more colorful" than anything Axis

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[29] Herbert Eugene Bolton, "Confessions of a Wayward Professor," *The Americas* 6, no. 3 (1950): 362.

[30] Irwin F. Gellman, *Good Neighbor Diplomacy: United States Policies in Latin America, 1933-1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 1, 17-28.

[31] On Chase's articles on Spain see Hess, "'De aspecto inglés pero de alma española,'" 273.

[32] On scholarship and Spanish music in the United States, see Louise K. Stein, "Before the Latin Tinge: Spanish Music and the 'Spanish Idiom' in the United States, 1778-1940," in Richard L Kagan, ed. *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 199-208.

[33] Leila Fern, "Origins and Function of the Inter-American Music Center," *Notes*, series 2, 1, no. 1 (December 1943): 18. The Pan American Union later became the Organization of American States (OAS).

[34] See his *Partial List of Latin American Music Obtainable in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union, 1941; 2d ed., 1942) and a *Bibliography of Latin American Folk Music* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1942). He also contributed to *Music in Latin America: A Brief Survey* (Washington, D.C., Pan American Union, 1942).

radio might offer.[35] Obviously music was tapped. When Aaron Copland visited Latin America on a State Department-sponsored goodwill tour in late 1941, he played representative selections of U.S. music in seven of his eight radio addresses.[36] In 1942, the U.S. government conducted a survey of radio listeners in Latin America, who responded to a detailed series of questions in Spanish, Portuguese, or English on transmission quality, programming, or whatever else occurred to them. One listener in Bahia Blanca, Argentina, complained that "no American programs come in as consistently well here as do [those of] the . . . Germans."[37]

Music of the New World was broadcast under the auspices of NBC's Inter-American University of the Air, a Peabody Award-winning distance-education series of programs on music. An "ethereal university," dedicated to the "spiritual defense of the Americas," it saw itself as nothing less than a "permanent agency for mutual understanding based on the finest cultural thinking," as general supervisor and announcer James Rowland Angell declared.[38] Besides researching all the music and writing the scripts, Chase had to track down scores, coordinate live performances, and ensure that both music and narrative fit into the thirty-minute slot—all at the dizzying pace the weekly schedule demanded.

The following survey of Chase's repertory choices reflects Greater America's ideals. On 8 July 1943, the program "The Fighting Americas" featured Morton Gould's *A Fanfare for Freedom*, composed in 1942 when conductor Eugene Goossens solicited fanfares for brass and percussion from U.S. composers to inspire patriotism. (Copland's *Fanfare for the Common Man* is the best-known example.) Chase also played the hymn-like "Put Your Shoulder to the Wheel" by pianist, arranger, and composer Victor Young; "The Ramparts We Watched," by R. Gordon Beecher; "You'll Get Used to It," for baritone, chorus, and orchestra by Freddy Grant; and "Stars and Stripes Forever," by John Philip Sousa. Interspersed with these expressions of U.S. patriotism were Henry Cowell's *Fanfare to the Forces of Our Latin American Allies* (another result of Goossens's project); "Alo! Tío Sam," for orchestra by the Brazilian journalist and composer David Nasser and his compatriot Haroldo Lobo; and the stirring *Cantar del Regimiento*, for chorus and orchestra by Augustín Lara.[39] In mid-1943, these musical assertions of military solidarity hit the mark. By then, all but two Latin American countries were either at war on the side of the Allies or had broken diplomatic ties with the Axis. Mexico, for

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[35] Nelson A. Rockefeller, quoted in Darlene J. Sadlier, *Americans All: Good Neighbor Cultural Diplomacy in World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 84.

[36] Aaron Copland, "Report of South American Trip," Copland Collection, Library of Congress, box 358, folder 28, p. 2; see also in the same collection Copland's "South American Diary, Aug-Dec 1941," box 243, folder 15.

[37] National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 229, Box 968, Office of Inter-American Affairs, Records of the Department of Information, Radio Division, Radio Reaction Reports (E-82).

[38] Quoted in Sadlier, *Americans All*, 97.

[39] Program listing, "The Fighting Americas," box 11, folder 18.

example, entered in May 1942, and Lara composed his march for "Escuadrón 201," part of the Mexican Expeditionary Air Force and known as the Aztec Eagles (Águilas Aztecas).[40]

Other broadcasts took a longer view of military mettle in the Western hemisphere. On 14 January 1943, Chase featured William Billings's *Chester* and James Hewitt's piano sonata *Washington's March at the Battle of Trenton*. Two weeks later, a complementary program titled "Independencias" offered "Canción a los Libertadores del sur" for soprano solo, chorus, and orchestra by the early-nineteenth century Venezuelan composer José María Isaza; "Gloria al bravo pueblo" by his younger compatriot Juan José Landaeta; a "Marcha patriótica" by the Spanish-born Blas Parera, who immigrated to Argentina in 1797; "Canción nacional" by Manuel Robles of Chile (one of several versions of the Chilean national anthem); and the Peruvian national anthem "Somos libres, seámoslo siempre," by José Bernardo Alcedo. Chase also included two works inspired by the South American liberator, a "Bolívar Waltz" for piano, flute, and violin by the Baltimore-based Christopher Meinecke, and a "Bolívar March" for orchestra by Augusto Brandt of Venezuela.[41] Each selection reinforced the idea that resisting colonial tyranny, long part of a shared history, was ideal preparation for the present conflict.

Not surprisingly, the Americas sought to distinguish themselves from Europe. The initial program, "The First American Music," broadcast on 10 October 1942, featured not the music of European-descended Puritans or Pilgrims but of indigenous peoples. Four selections are listed simply as "traditional Incan melodies"; two classical works, "Lament and Glorification" from *Ollanta* by the Peruvian composer José Valle Riestra and *Xochipili-Macuilxochitl* by Carlos Chávez, were also featured.[42] Lest the impact of North American indigenous music be overlooked, a program of 20 May 1943 showcased orchestral works by U.S. classical composers inspired by native music: *Navajo War Dance* by Arthur Farwell; "Lullaby" from the opera *Natoma* by Victor Herbert; *From the Land of the Sky-Blue Water* by Charles Wakefield Cadman; *Deer Dance*, by Charles S. Skilton; and "Village Festival" from *Indian Suite*, by Edward MacDowell.[43]

Another program showed how indigenous communities distinguished Greater America from Europe while also highlighting the wide-open spaces of the tabula rasa. "The Grand Canyon," broadcast on 9 March 1944, presented the "Indian singer," Swift Eagle, singing in Tewa, a language of the Pueblo nation, a people upheld by U.S. artists and intellectuals as the epitome of communitarian living, eternal values, and harmony with the natural world. Also representing Pueblo culture was Frederick Jacobi's "Corn Dance." Homer Grunn's *Zuni Indian Suite* paid homage to the Zuni, another Pueblo people, which the anthropologist Ruth Benedict admired for their "measure

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[40] See Thomas M. Leonard and John F. Bratzel, *Latin America during World War II* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

[41] Program listing, "Las Independencias," box 11, folder 18.

[42] Program listing, "The First American Music," box 11, folder 18.

[43] Program listing, "The Indian Influence," box 11, folder 18.

and sobriety."[44] The fact that much of this territory was ceded by Mexico during the Mexican-U.S. War of 1846-48 highlights "the transience of borders" as few phenomena can.

The broadcast of 15 April 1943, "The Negro's Contribution," featured "Batuque" from the orchestral suite *Reisado do Pastoreio* (Epiphany of the Shepherds), by the Brazilian composer Oscar Lorenzo Fernandez; arrangements of Afro-Cuban songs and North American spirituals performed by the Cuban singer and guitarist Graziella Párraga Ponce de León, one of several "regulars" in Chase's programs; the Scherzo from the *Afro-American Symphony* by William Grant Still, along with the same composer's *Victory Tide* (alternatively known as *Rising Tide*), performed at the 1939 World's Fair.[45] When it came to race, Chase risked criticism. For example, in "Brazil's First Capital" (14 October 1943), he refers matter-of-factly to Indian and African "intermarriage with Portuguese," which the Church permitted in colonial Brazil.[46] Society as a whole was racist, however, as the practice of *branqueamento* (whitening) confirms. Fashioned by elites in the late-nineteenth century, *branqueamento* aimed to eliminate the African presence through successive generations of intermarriage, which Theodore Roosevelt remarked while visiting Brazil in 1914, commenting that "the Negro question" would disappear "through the disappearance of the Negro himself . . . through his gradual absorption into the white race."[47] The former president thus summed up attitudes in the United States, where race-based marriage restrictions were struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court only in 1967. Chase treated enslaved Africans in Brazil with similarly directness, describing the "miserable huts of mud and thatch at the edge of the sugar fields" they were forced to inhabit, conditions that failed to silence their music, however.[48] He also explained the *maracatu*, an Afro-Brazilian celebration in which blacks chose their own "king," represented in the symphonic work *Congada*, by Francisco Mignone. One program, "Out of Africa" and broadcast 11 May 1944, showcased Haiti, with performances of "Wangole," "Philomene," and "Sole" by the Haitan Rada Group; and the Afro-Cuban song "Oh, Yemaya" along with the classical works *Africa* by Still; "Iniciación" by Pedro Sanjuan; and excerpts from *The Dance in Place Congo*; by Henry Franklin Gilbert.[49]

Common activities also united the Americas. In "Cowboys and Vaqueros," broadcast on 3 February 1944, Chase programed U.S. classics such as "Whoopee-ti-yi-yo, git along little dogies" and "The Old Chisholm Trail" alongside "Cuatro milpas" (Four Corn Patches); "Versos de Montalgo," a *corrido* in the Lomax collection; and "Allá en el rancho grande," perhaps familiar to some listeners

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[44] Cited in Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor*, 31-38. Chase is likely referring to Grunn's *Zuni Impressions*. See Michael V. Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 338.

[45] Program listing, "The Negro's Contribution," box 11, folder 18.

[46] *Music of the New World*, script, "Brazil's First Capital," box 11, folder 20, p. 6.

[47] On Roosevelt's racism and its impact on US foreign policy, see James Bradley, *The Imperial Cruise: A Secret History of Empire and War* (New York, Boston, and London: Little, Brown and Company, 2009).

[48] Script, "Brazil's First Capital," box 11, folder 20, p. 1.

[49] Program listing, "Out of Africa," box 11, folder 18.

from Tito Guízar's performance in the eponymous 1936 film.[50] Another mutual undertaking was taming the Americas' abundant natural resources. "The Earth and its Riches," broadcast on 6 January 1943, emphasized "the generations of men in the New World, from the Conquistadores to the Klondikers, who have traveled, toiled and fought to seek out the treasures of the earth." Much depended on the mule, as shown in "Mi Mulita," a paean to this humble animal.[51] Another song, "Arre, buey!", made it clear that Mexican neighbors were not merely despoiling but cultivating the land, all the while paying homage to the oxen "that pulled the plow, urging them on with cries of 'Arre!'" On 13 January 1943 "The Rivers of the Americas" celebrated the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, and the Brazos River of Texas, the subject of "Brazos Boat Song" by Mary Austin Holley, cousin of Stephen Austin, "probably the first English song about Texas."[52] Several holidays also united the American republics. "Carnival," broadcast on 15 June 1944, showcased Rio de Janeiro's world-famous celebration with the samba "E bom parar" by Rubens Soares and the carnival march "O Te Cabello não negra" by Lamartine Babo, both performed by the Conjunto Copacabana; the Creole song "Marie Clemence" could have easily been heard in New Orleans Mardi Gras. Aired on the same program were two orchestral works, *Comparsa* by Ernesto Lecuona, which complemented the then-popular *Masquerade* by U.S. composer Carl McKinley. In "Christmas Folkways," broadcast on 23 December 1943, Chase selected the traditional "Kentucky Wassail Song"; the *aguinaldo* "Ábreme la puerta" from the Dominican Republic; a series of Mexican *posadas*; a *pastoril*, the Brazilian genre with origins in the mystery plays brought by the Jesuits; and several villancicos, including "Campanas de Belén" by Joaquín Nin (Chase's uncle), each showing that "the feelings of the season . . . transcend geographical boundaries and language."[53] All musical selections affirmed the principle of diversity within unity—of Greater America.

To be sure, *Music of the New World* contained several missteps. As the 23 December program shows, it was unequivocally Christian; a program on the California missions, broadcast on 16 March 1944, exposed audiences to Catholic Christianity through choruses such as the traditional Franciscan melody "Dios te salve," sung a cappella, along with an *alabado* (hymn of praise), arranged for baritone and instrumental quartet, whereas a traditional *jota aragonesa* by the Spanish folklorist Isart Durán reminds listeners of Spain's role in the evangelization of the Americas. Christianity could also reinforce military goals: in Lara's *Cantar del regimiento* singers appeal to the Virgin of Guadalupe ("que me cuide la Virgen Morena"). Among the promotional announcements for *Music of the New World*, one reminds us that "[w]e all like music—we hum or whistle at our work, we hear music in our churches, we sing to our children."[54] Music, therefore, is heard in churches, rather than synagogues or mosques.

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[50] Program listing, "Cowboys and Vaqueros," box 11, folder 19.

[51] Program listing, "The Earth and its Riches," box 11, folder 19.

[52] Script, "The Rivers of the Americas," box 12, folder 1, p. 5.

[53] Script, "Christmas Folkways," box 12, folder 1, p. 4.

[54] Promotional announcement for use on *Music of the New World*, 6 January 1944, script, "The Earth and Its Riches," box 12, folder 1, p. 6.

Other problems concerned representation. Some of the "Incan melodies" were performed in a decidedly *in*authentic style, such as those played in an arrangement for clarinet quartet by David Bennett. In "Burnt Cork and Canvas Top" (1 June 1944), Chase took a sanguine view of blackface minstrelsy, featuring blackface songs from the United States exported to Santiago, Chile in 1848 by Whitby's Minstrel Troupe. "These tunes were zestful and exuberant—no wonder people liked them," Chase averred, speculating that they were perhaps the Chileans' "first taste of North American music."[55] Still, despite its imperfections, *Music of the New World* sought to persuade listeners that the concept of "America" was richer and more complicated than they might have realized. As a citizen advocate for Good Neighborly culture, Chase also helped counter Hitler and Mussolini through the medium of radio, itself a symbol of democracy. Another promotional announcement from NBC made this clear:

> Radio, as we know it, is proof of what can be accomplished in a land where free enterprise is a way of life—where great good for many people is preferred to benevolent despotism for the few . . . radio's place in American life has been achieved by merit. And because you, the radio audience, are entitled to the best in radio, NBC will continue to broadcast the programs you prefer."[56]

Did this mixing of democracy and consumerism not clash with the fervent and sometimes spiritualized proclamations of hemispheric amity of the Good Neighbor period? In fact, imposing "the American way of life"— the U.S. way of life—would prove a major point of contention in the Western Hemisphere during the Cold War, when U.S.-Latin American relations returned to their prior animosity.

From Greater America to *America's Music*

As noted, the Good Neighbor policy died an abrupt death after the Allied victory in 1945. In early 1947, Truman expounded on the need to contain Soviet influence before a joint session of Congress. This meant containing communism in countries such as Brazil, where the PCB (Partido Comunista do Brasil) was making inroads. Instead of recognition for the military personnel, raw materials, and bases supplied during the war, Latin Americans no longer enjoyed a special relationship with the United States. Under Truman's Four-Plan, Latin America was categorized as "underdeveloped" along with Asia and Africa, all potential breeding grounds for communism. Worse, the United States, now a superpower, revived the hated practice of interventionism, eroding whatever North-South amity the Good Neighbor Policy had generated.[57]

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[55] Script, "Burnt Cork and Canvas Top," box 12, folder 2, p. 1. The African musical presence in Chile has been debated in recent years. See Víctor Rondón, "Música y negritude in Chile: De la ausencia presente a la presencia ausente," *Latin American Music Review* 35, no. 1 (2014): 57; Juan Eduardo Wolf, *Styling Blackness in Chile: Music and Dance in the African Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019).

[56] Promotional Announcement for use on 10 February, 1944. Script, "Barracks and Battlefields," box 12, folder 1, p. 6.

[57] See Henry Raymont, *Troubled Neighbors: The Story of U.S.-Latin American Relations from FDR to the Present* (New York: Century Foundation, 2005), 69-125.

As Greater America petered out, the Black Legend made a dazzling comeback in history pedagogy. Cold War-era textbooks explained that Latin America's problems could be traced to the Iberian Peninsula. One from 1964 explained to sixth graders that "most Spaniards and Portuguese came to the New World to get rich" whereas "most settlers in the English colonies came to build permanent homes and a better way of life."[58] High-school students learned that whereas "Europeans" in the United States "established democratic governments . . . [through] the use of smart business methods," Latin Americans were but the descendants of "a backward people . . . unwilling to learn new ways."[59] Bolton, despite his scholarly productivity and striking podium presence, had made little impact. The Mexican historian Edmundo O'Gorman attacked him for emphasizing material phenomena and failing to recognize spiritual and psychological differences among the peoples of the Americas, and a handful of others believed Bolton had exaggerated North-South similarities. [60] Most, however, were apathetic, such that by the time Bolton died in 1953, the idea that "Spain failed in the New World; the English always succeeded" remained viable even as tensions with Latin America were on the rise.[61]

Chase followed suit, as can be seen in his next—and most enduring—scholarly project, the book *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present*, written while he was serving as a Cultural Affairs Officer and Attaché in Lima (1951-1953), followed by a stint in Buenos Aires (1953-1955). No longer did Chase rhapsodize over North-South musical commonalities. Rather, he covered "the music made or continuously used by the people of the United States."[62]

Given the wealth of material he had gathered at NBC and his direct familiarity with the Spanish-speaking world, we might expect that Chase would detail musical practices in those regions of the United States that once belonged to Spain or Mexico. Yet New England is Chase's point of origin, as his title makes explicit. In a nod to Good Neighborly principles, he reminds readers that the term "America" is "more properly applicable to the Western Hemisphere as a whole," acknowledging its explanatory power as a "symbolic name that binds us all to common ideals of peace, friendship, and cooperation." But Chase defends its restricted use in *America's Music*, pleading "euphony and convenience, supported by a literary tradition that has ample precedent."[63] In subsequent editions (1966, 1987), this caveat is omitted.

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[58] Powell, *Tree of Hate*, 139.

[59] Ibid., 141-42.

[60] Edmundo O'Gorman, "Do the Americas Have a Common History?" in Hanke, *Do the Americas Have a Common History?*, 103-11.

[61] Hanke, *Do the Americas Have a Common History?*, 46-50.

[62] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1955), xxi.

[63] Ibid., xxi-xxii. See also Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor*, 14.

In fact, Spanish-speaking peoples barely register in *America's Music*, as the following representative examples will show. Of its 678 pages of text, fewer than two (62-63) are dedicated to colonial-period music from those territories that would eventually become Texas, New Mexico, and California. Breathlessly, Chase covers *alabados* and *Los Pastores*, the Christmas play with music performed in that region for centuries. Puritan psalm singers, on the other hand, merit a dedicated chapter, as does the music of revivals and camp meetings. For Chase, a devout Roman Catholic, religious music of the colonial period was largely a Protestant enterprise.

In "The Americas Meet," Chase had expostulated on U.S. composers rejecting Europe and "finding creative stimulation" in Latin America. In *America's Music*, this practice goes largely unremarked. Not that Chase shows any particular reverence for Europe: he stated in the introduction that the "most important phase of [U.S.] music" was that which is most "different from European music," a declaration Richard Crawford later described as "fighting words."[64] Any Latin American music reinforcing that difference is negligible, however. The tango in Virgil Thomson's *Sonata da Chiesa*, for example, shows the influence of Satie (531); apropos Harry Partch's *Cuban-Fandango*, Chase merely refers to the "unlikely label" (592). Certainly he hints at the "Americas Meeting" by exploring the influence of selected Caribbean genres on the musical scene in New Orleans. But he refers only in passing to Morton Gould's "Latin American rhythms" (511) and cites Gershwin's *Cuban Overture* without so much as a mention of its Latin American features (493). Chase also omitted some fascinating information previously brought to light for NBC. In chapter 13, on minstrelsy, he refers to Santiago, Chile, as the destination of the minstrel troupe that performed there. But he omits the rise of Chile Town, the area of San Francisco populated by Chileans around the time of the gold rush, who brought with them the *tonadita* and the *cueca*. In *Music of the New World*, he devoted an entire program to this phenomenon.

America's Music appeared in 1955, the same year that its author, still uncredentialed, accepted an academic position at the University of Oklahoma. For the remainder of his career, the restless Chase accepted a series of visiting academic positions, occasionally spearheading a project with echoes of Greater America, such as founding the Inter-American Institute for Musical Research at Tulane University, when he taught in the 1960s and which published the *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research*. In 1974, he reviewed a draft of the journal's report, which concluded, "It was acknowledged that the potential of the Yearbook's circulation is vast as there are approximately 4,000 musicologists in this country." Chase took a red ballpoint pen, inserted two question marks in the margin, and wrote, "But only about 40 are interested in Lat. Am.!" [65]

Time showed that Chase was overly optimistic. Indeed, with the demise of Greater America, we should not be surprised that no reviewer of *America's Music* complained that Spanish America had been slighted. Some disliked its panoramic, grand-narrative format, with C.M. [Colin Mason?] observing in *Music and Letters* that *America's Music* was often "weary going—much as though

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[64] Chase, *America's Music*, xix. Richard Crawford, *The American Musical Landscape* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1993), 249.

[65] Minutes, meeting of University Committee and Staff of the *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research*, 11 September 1974, box 4, folder 2.

someone were to write a 350-page history of English music from Arne to Parry."[66] But it was a hit among students, thanks to its treatment of popular music.[67] In 1967, it was hailed as "our best text for an American music course"; a College Edition added to its luster.[68] A poll taken by the Sonneck Society reached the same conclusion apropos the third edition, which appeared in 1987.[69] Few taking that poll—and certainly no student—would have remembered Greater America.[70]

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What would Greater America look like in the music history classroom of the twenty-first century? As the 2011 colloquy indicates, some version of this question was asked well before Donald Trump became president of the United States. For some years now, many have transferred Bolton's ideas to our classrooms, whether aware of their source or not. Such instructors seek to "destabilize music history narratives that confine music according to nation-state divisions to engage instead in the study of music across borders," as Ana Alonso-Minutti aptly puts it.[71] Some teach *Únicamente la verdad*, the 2008 video-opera by the Mexican composer Gabriela Ortiz, set on the U.S.-Mexican border. Others try a hands-on approach: Robert Neustadt, of Northern Arizona University, has taken field trips with his students to the Arizona-Mexico border, where they sample the works of "sound-sculptor" Glenn Weyant, who uses a mallet or a cello bow to play on border walls, including those constructed after the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994 or after 9-11.[72] The students gather in a Red Cross-approved camp to tell stories and sing with those they once labeled migrants but now see as human beings, with Woody Guthrie's "This Land is Your Land" an especially moving experience. During the 2016 election, instructors created assignments around the corridos

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[66] C.M., *Music and Letters* 37, no. 4 (1956), 378.

[67] Several students wrote Chase to express their enthusiasm. See box 1, folder 12.

[68] Donald W. Krummel, "*America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* by Gilbert Chase," *Notes* 23, no. 4 (June 1967): 741.

[69] It was a particular favorite among graduate students. Susan L. Porter, "American Music: A Teaching Questionnaire," in *The Sonneck Society Bulletin* 15, no. 2 (1989): 52-53. In the Sonneck poll, *America's Music* beat out what was likely the third edition of H. Wiley Hitchcock's *Music in the United States* (NJ: Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1988) by one percentage point and Charles Hamm's *Music in the New World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983) by two.

[70] In the third edition, written while Chase was becoming increasingly disillusioned with musicology, he added a paragraph on Copland's *El salón México*, from which he segued into the corrido, Tex-Mex conjunto music, and the singer Lydia Mendoza, all covered in two pages (481-83) before launching into Yiddish music. One reviewer made the curious comment that "there are now several pages on the popular music of Mexican Americans and Jews." Bunker Clark, *American Music Teacher* 48, no. 5 (1989): 39.

[71] Ana Alonso-Minutti, "The 'Here and Now': Stories of Relevancy from the Borderlands," *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* 7, no. 2 (2017): 107.

[72] Robert Neustadt, "Border Songs: Bringing the Immigration Crisis to the Classroom with Music," *Music & Politics* 8, 1 (2014): 1-13.

on the three major candidates.[73] Also ripe for study is the *Fandango at the Wall* project, conceived during 2017-18 by the Grammy-winning jazz musician Arturo O'Farrill. In seeking to bring the United States and Mexico closer together through music, O'Farrill reminisces over the ambitious beginnings of cultural diplomacy, speculating on the benefits that cultural exchanges similar to those of the last century could accrue today, whether funded through the National Endowment for the Arts or Kickstarter.[74]

Can such efforts be traced back to the Good Neighbor policy and Greater America? It is just as easy to highlight the imperfections of Roosevelt's strategies as it is to question Chase's evident susceptibility to market and political forces of the Cold War. Yet in contemplating the challenges of the present, we could do far worse than to revisit on a political, social, and artistic scale those values that once prodded the United States toward higher principles in another era when basic liberties and democratic principles were under threat.

Hess, Carol A. "From "Greater America" to *America's Music*: Gilbert Chase and the Historiography of Borders." *Diagonal: An Ibero-American Music Review* 4, no. 2 (2019): 31–47.

[73] These include "Arriba con Hillary Clinton," "El Corrido de Donald Trump," or "El Quemazón," a play on Bernie Sanders's campaign slogan "Feel the Bern."

[74] Arturo O'Farrill, *Fandango at the Wall* (New York: Hachette Book Group, 2018), 16-17.