Reception of Musical Hispanism in New York at the Turn of the 20th Century and the ‘Boom’ in Spanish Lyric Theatre through the Work of Enrique Granados and Quinito Valverde

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Abstract: This study offers a broad overview of the Spanish musicians who traveled to the United States in the early 20th century, and, more specifically, describes the reception of Spanish opera and zarzuela on the East Coast of the U.S. at that time. It reviews the studies on the reception of Hispanic music in North America from the 19th century onward and contextualizes the debuts of Enrique Granados’s opera Goyescas (1916) and Quinito Valverde’s zarzuela The Land of Joy (1917), as these two works, whose New York debuts took place only twenty-one months apart, played a key role in developing a taste for Hispanic lyric theatre in the U.S. Granados’s opera is associated with prestige and the cultural elite, and it presented a modern image of Spain linked to the so-called Generation of ‘98, whereas Valverde’s zarzuela is a light, accessible, easy-to-digest revue built on Spanish stereotypes. These debuts marked the definitive establishment of a lyric theatre in New York City that was Spanish in both language and themes.

Keywords: Hispanic music, zarzuela, reception, Enrique Granados, Goyescas, Quinito Valverde, The Land of Joy

1 [Editors’ note: This is an English translation, offered by the Observatorio, of the Spanish original submitted by the author. See study 068-02/2021SP.]
1. Introduction

During the rehearsal and debut of Enrique Granados’s opera *Goyescas* at the New York Metropolitan Opera, the composer and his wife, Amparo Gal, wrote letters to their children in which they remarked on the number of Spaniards living in the city between December of 1915 and March of 1916, including María Gay, Miguel Llobet, Paquita Madriguera, and Rosa Nin. Although this circumstance is well known in musicology circles, no scholar has ever investigated what these Spaniards were doing in New York City, how long they had been there, how long they stayed, whether they succeeded there, or whether they were welcomed by a network of countrymen. It is also well known in the academic community that *Goyescas* did not enjoy positive critical reception in the U.S.; in fact, the libretto was found especially unappealing. The production closed after five performances, with no subsequent revivals. Nevertheless, in 1915, Granados was received and welcomed with such enthusiasm that he became a leading media figure. Why did this happen? Granados was not an operatic composer with a particularly established or renowned career. Is it possible that Spanish music itself held prestige in the country? What do we really know about the reception of Spanish music in the U.S.?

Studies on Spaniards and Spanish music abroad in the 19th and 20th centuries have tended to focus on Europe—particularly on Paris, as the cultural hub *par excellence*—and on certain Latin American countries, but in recent years, they have turned to North America. After the research by Víctor Sánchez and Matilde Olarte, Virginia Sánchez published a study on the soprano María Barrientos;
2016, José Manuel Gamboa published the first volume of ¡En er mundo!: de cómo Nueva York le mangó a París la idea moderna del flamenco;⁴ and Kiko Mora has written several texts, independently and with others, on Spanish or Hispanic-inspired recordings by U.S. record labels and how certain dancers influenced the reception of Spanish popular music.⁵

Granados (Lérida, 1867 – Canal de la Mancha, 1916) did not achieve success with Goyescas, but this did not prevent the composer from becoming a fashionable figure during his stay in New York, at which time he cultivated the city’s fondness for all things Spanish, as is clear from the era’s news coverage. The great Spanish musical smash was to come the following year, in 1917, with the debut of The Land of Joy. This light zarzuela by Quinito Valverde (Madrid, 1875 – Mexico City, 1918) definitively popularized Spanish music for much of New York and East Coast society. After that, Spanish theatre, or Spanish-inspired theatre, was often staged in New York, and even appeared on the silver screen in audience favorites and box-office hits thanks to Hispanic works and works that dealt with Hispanic themes. In this study, we will examine why this took place during the 1910s and 1920s, and not in earlier or subsequent decades, and we will attempt to explain why this success did not extend to Goyescas.

An examination of this phenomenon in the early decades of the 20th century requires a review of the preceding decades, an analysis of how Spanish works were received, and a contextualization of Spanish music and culture in the 19th century.
U.S. Despite evidence of Spanish music reaching the U.S. during the Romantic era, the fondness and esteem for Hispanic culture, and by extension Hispanic music, largely began in the 20th century. As Richard L. Kagan notes, ‘Spain mania’ became widespread following the Spanish-American War of 1898, during which it extended throughout the United States. In the realm of music, however, Hispanism only took off on the East Coast beginning in 1916, during a zarzuela and opera season. Until then, Spanish culture had a negligible presence in North American culture and entertainment.

2. Background: construction and persistence of the Spanish romantic myth

Although a handful of Spanish cultural works received attention in the U.S. at specific moments in the 19th century, these were exceptional and exclusive cases not indicative of a general trend. The fact is that in the U.S., Spanish culture was rarely studied, largely unknown, and not infrequently denigrated. Kagan offers a clear example: in 1891, banker Morris Ketchum Jesup argued that Spain was a dead civilization. Even years later, in the second decade of the twentieth century, the Spanish language was considered to have only commercial value, and little to no cultural merit (Fernández, 2005). Until the 20th century, France and England were the European models of good taste for the North American upper class, while Italy was the model for art and music, though Wagner forcefully upended this status quo in the 1880s. Even after the Hispanic Society of America’s successful Joaquín Sorolla exhibition in 1909 and Ignacio Zuloaga exhibition in 1916, and, especially, after the unprecedented media frenzy surrounding the debut of Granados’s Goyescas, Galician ABC journalist Julio Camba bitterly complained in February 1917 of North American society’s ignorance of Spain: “Here we have no legend, no devotees, no audience […] We were the ones who discovered America, yet the Americans have yet
Spain and its culture were unfamiliar to the general public, but this situation was about to change.

The debut and reception of Goyescas and, later, *The Land of Joy* were the product of romantic Spanish stereotypes that have endured for decades. A romantic image of Spain took shape in the 19th century thanks to the accounts of travelers such as Richard Ford, as well as writers such as Washington Irving and his successful book *The Alhambra: A Series of Tales and Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards* (1832), and painters such as John Singer Sargent (Kagan, 2019: 133-169). These works present Spain as a sunny land with Arabian palaces, Gypsy dancers, and brutish peasants. This picturesque image, in which Andalusia is a metonym for the entire country, associates Spain with rural and preindustrial values, in stark contrast to Europe and North America, which were bourgeois and industrialized. Spanish men and women were characterized as impulsive, unpredictable creatures, uncultivated and, therefore, natural and passionate.

This image came not from the U.S., but from Europe, and it is important to highlight that the penchant for exoticizing Spain through an Andalusian stereotype reached the U.S. by way of France. The best example of this is Bizet’s opera *Carmen*, which reached icon status in the U.S. (even outside of culturally elite circles) following its 1878 debut, and especially after the production featuring Emma Calvé in 1893. This opera’s success continued well into the early years of the 20th century, transcending the stage and appearing in phonographic recordings and films. Thus, enjoyment of this myth was not restricted to those who could afford a ticket, and the phenomenon traversed every stratum of society. For the U.S. population, *Carmen* was

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*The original versions of all the Spanish quotes translated into English here can be found in the Spanish version of this study (068-02/2021SP).
the quintessence of Spanish music and dance (Christoforidis and Kertesz, 2019) despite being the work of a French composer and French librettists, based on a French novella. The origin of a work’s authors was not a condition that influenced its perceived authenticity. This same phenomenon was also taking place in Europe: Russian and French composers were writing in a Spanish style, and their works were being deemed Spanish (Llano, 2013).

The Hispanic music known on the East Coast of the U.S. was largely linked to Andalusian dance. Mora (2015) establishes two periods in which Anglo-American interest was clear: the first wave, which occurred between 1828 and 1860, took place following the establishment of Spanish dance academies in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Albany. This was thanks largely to the efforts of non-Spanish European artists: Gamboa (2016) identifies several of these foreigners, including Viennese dancer Fanny Essler (1840), Italian Fanny Cerito (1855), and the bizarre Irishwoman Lola Montes, who arrived in New York in 1853. These Spanish dances and songs were incorporated into other theatrical works or performances.

It seems probable that the East Coast’s interest in Spain was initially driven by the arrival of two Iberian musician in Paris, meaning that Spanish music reached the U.S. by way of a French-speaking country, as mentioned above: the first Spanish guitarist with a global reach, Trinidad Huerta (Orihuela, Alicante, 1800 - Paris, 1874), who has been the object of recent studies, and Manuel del Pópolo García (Seville, 1775 - Paris, 1832), undoubtedly the most international Spanish musician of the

7 This picturesque view of Spanish that continued until the 20th century goes hand-in-hand with the whitewashing of the Spanish Black Legend. Two works that contributed to this phenomenon were Helen Hunt Jackson’s best-seller Ramona (1884), one of the most important and influential North American novels of the late 19th century, which an idealized southern California with Mexican roots, and Charles Fletcher Lummis’s Spanish Pioneers (1893).

8 The accompaniment for this dance is the guitar, an instrument associated with popular music that utilizes strumming as an idiomatic characteristic. In fact, researchers have found that the early decades of the romantic era in the U.S. are linked to dance and guitar performance, as the instrument’s ease of transportation facilitated performance of Spanish music through dance and parlor songs beginning in the early decades of the 20th century. Regarding Spanish songs, and pending further research, Stein mentions that at the turn of the century, it was largely sung by foreign singers (not necessarily from the U.S.), and in other languages (Stein, 2002, p. 196).
19th century and Rossini’s preferred tenor, who introduced New York to Italian opera. Huerta came to the U.S. in 1824, four years before the start of the first wave. He toured U.S. cities across the East Coast, the same cities where dance schools would later be built: New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. He also visited Saratoga Springs (summer spa retreat for New York high society), Boston, and Washington D.C. His repertoire featured romantic European works (Suárez-Pajares, 2020) and “national airs” based on popular dances, such as the fandango, the bolero, the cachucha, Spanish folías, and jaleo; thus, he was responsible for the beginnings of this repertoire’s U.S. and international trajectory. Huerta received a warm welcome and very favorable reviews. In October 1825, Manuel García arrived with a troupe that included his family; he undoubtedly brought musical Andalusianism with him to the young country through the December debut of his opera *L’amante astute* (The Cunning Lover), which featured Spanish musical numbers. In this way, García contributed to the Romantic concept of ‘Spanishness’ in the U.S., something he had already done in Paris (Casares, 2018). Huerta and García performed together at Huerta’s farewell concert on January 2, 1826, in New York. The moneyed classes of the U.S. had embraced them both.

The second wave began in the latter half of the 19th century when second-rate Spanish dancers traveled to the U.S., as the family of Llorent, Pepita Soto and Isabel Cubasta. For example, “señorita Soto” met with outstanding success throughout the eastern United States, including in New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Louisiana between the years of 1852 and 1855. These artists joined a new kind of performance, dubbed “Spanish Divertissement” or “Gran Spanish Ballet” by British and U.S. newspapers, which consisted of an independent pantomimic program as well as the usual variety shows. For example, Pepita Soto appeared in Nashville in
the ballet *La belle de Andalusia* [sic], in which she performed dances from various parts of the world, including a “bolero Spanish dance.”

Mora does not mention a third wave, but it would not be outlandish to point out that, in the late 19th century, from Trinidad Huertas “la Cuenca,” with his interesting performance dressed as a bullfighter (1888), to Carmen Dauzet Moreno, better known as Carmencita, there was a ‘tidal wave’ of passion. This final wave, which also arrived by way of Paris, triumphed in the U.S. from 1889 to 1895. Needless to say, these performers’ enormous fame prompted a massive amount of activity among Spanish dancers seeking wealth and popularity in the U.S., among them Bella Otero, who would also travel to New York, though she would ultimately be less successful than Carmencita. Kertesz and Christoforidis note that Calvé’s success in her role as Bizet’s Carmen in 1893 coincided with Carmencita’s visit to the U.S.; Kertesz even believes that the opera’s success could possibly have stemmed from the frenzy triggered by the Spanish dancer (Kertesz, 2020, p. 201).

Later, in the 20th century, more and more popular musicians arrived on the East Coast of the U.S., though still by way of Paris, with musical numbers that were added to broader theatrical productions. This was the case of Faíco (Francisco Menéndez Ríos), Lola la Flamenca, and guitarist Amalio Cuenca. The three would participate in the first flamenco troupe ever seen in the U.S., as part of the musical *Miss Innocence*, which debuted on November 30, 1908. Before them came La Tortajada, dancer and singer Rosario Guerrero, and Bella Romero in the same year (Gamboa, 2016).

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9 “Adelphi theatre,” *Nashville Union and American*, April 7, 1854. Since 1850, Sánchez Sánchez has also documented artists, namely singers and dancers of Hispanic origin on the West Coast, who joined lyric companies that performed in San Francisco theatres and cafes (Sánchez Sánchez, 2009), along with family companies from Mexico that enriched theatre performances with Andalusian-style song and dance, such as the “Compañía de la familia Estrella” in 1862 and, especially, the *Royal Spanish Opera Troupe* in 1870.
3. The Spanish lyric genre: zarzuela in New York

Up to this point we have described performances on the East Coast of the United States that included or emulated songs and dances of Hispanic origin, and which largely served to exotify certain moments in broader works or shows for more diverse, not necessarily Hispanic audiences. These performances took place in music halls, theatres, and cafes.

Regardless of its language, a complete Spanish lyrical piece can only succeed if there is a large enough group of individuals with an interest in the show who can pay to create and enjoy it. The indication of an established taste for Hispanic performances occurs when a regular season has been set up. Before this, the target audience of zarzuela—the lyrical genre most characteristic of Spanish music—was, necessarily, the Hispanic population. This is why there are former Spanish territories on the West Coast, and cities like Los Angeles, where Spanish-language theatre is performed on a regular basis.

We do not have data on when zarzuela grande was added to the U.S. repertoire until the case described by Sánchez in San Francisco\(^\text{10}\) regarding the “Spanish Opera Troupe,” which was the first to present this form of zarzuela through eighteen works, and five other one-act pieces, featuring the greatest composers within the genre. The company aimed to broaden zarzuela’s reach within the small Hispanic community located in San Francisco—which was composed mainly of Mexicans—and ultimately achieved significant public and critical success within a

\(^{10}\) San Francisco, along with Los Angeles, had become a major site in American opera circles and a hub of multicultural development, especially following the gold rush. Los Angeles in particular welcomed musicians and artists from the south, but San Francisco was different, with hardly any Spanish-language performances, possibly due to the lack of a Hispanic audience in the city; other communities in the city, such as those from France and Germany, enjoyed long season and stable venues (Sánchez Sánchez, 2010:123).
broader multicultural swath of the population. Nevertheless, as Hispanics were a minority, this success was not superlative. And as there were no other companies to continue down the path blazed by this traveling company, there was never a regular season in Northern California.

The situation on the East Coast was very different: as there was no significant or organized Spanish or Hispanic population, there were hardly any instances of Spanish operetta. As background, Mora has noted the Spanish-language performance of Mariano Soriano Fuertes’s *El ventorrillo de Alfarache* (1843)\(^{11}\) at Wallack’s Theatre in Brooklyn in 1854, though this was certainly a brief work similar to the short musical performances that were used as the finale for broader pieces. Sánchez, in his writing on San Francisco, has described this custom as it pertains to West Coast stages.

In 1880, the Hermanos Orrin included the Zarzuela Troupe de Subira on their poster. However, it seems that they had little success, no doubt because language proved to be a barrier. Kanellos (1990) notes that Spanish-language theatre in New York only began emerging in the 1890s, when the city became a theatrical hub for Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Dominican expatriates; the number of Spaniards in the city at that time was still low. In April of that year, the Criterion Theatre in Brooklyn put on two one-act zarzuelas under the direction of Toledo, Delgado and Cairo; these were Ruperto Chapí's *Música Clasica* [sic], with the libretto by José Estremera (1880), and *El hombre es débil*, with the text by Mariano Pina and music by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1871). In 1893, actor Luis Baralt, a native of Cuba, created an opera and oratory school that produced theatrical works between 1893 and 1898; and Kanellos (1990) notes that in December of 1895, the zarzuelas *Niña Pancha, Don*...

\(^{11}\) This was a brief, one-act work in seven scenes, with four characters and a chorus of smugglers located close to Seville; it lauds Spain, which it contrasts with other countries such as France and England.
Segismundo, and Tragarse la pildora\textsuperscript{12} were performed at the Berkeley Lyceum. In this brief archival review of theatre between 1898 and 1913 (pending more detailed research), the references to Spanish zarzuelas are few and far between, and in some instances include only arrangements of zarzuela numbers for various instruments or bands.

A regular number of zarzuelas began appearing in the second decade of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, given the growing population of Spanish migrants in New York. That is, just as Andalusian dance had arrived in the East Coast via Paris, and dance and zarzuela to the West Coast largely thanks to the Hispanic substratum, in New York, Spanish lyric theatre arose only after a Hispanic community with sufficient economic power and some cultural influence settled in the city.

Rueda Hernanz’s studies (1998) on Spanish immigration to the U.S. point out that over forty thousand Spaniards arrived in the country between 1820 and 1990, and that in the first half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century—and especially between 1901 and 1924\textsuperscript{13}—this figure reached 188,414, a considerable increase, even if it still only represented 0.4\% of immigration to the United States (80\% of which has been from Slavic and Latino countries since the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century). The cause of Spanish immigration to the U.S., other than the state of the Spanish economy and demographics, is the draw of the country’s wealth and dominance: between 1870 and 1900, it became the world’s leading power, with higher rates of population and GDP growth than any other nation. Thus, although the figure is very low compared to the total number of Spaniards who left for Latin America during the period of mass emigration (1880-1930), in the first decade of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, there was much

\textsuperscript{12} Niña Pancha, a one-act juguete cómico-lírico in verse, with a libretto by Constantino Gil and music by Julián Romea and Joaquín Valverde Durán (1886); Tragarse la pildora, a one-act zarzuela with lyrics by José Jackson Veyán and music by M. Nieto (1884); Don Segismundo, unknown work.

\textsuperscript{13} Due to restrictive immigration laws that were in place between 1921 and 1924, the total number of Spanish migrants to the U.S. dropped sharply beginning in 1921.
more Spanish immigration to the U.S. than in the previous century, a trend that was intensified by World War II. In Castañeda’s table about the country (2018), it is clear that Spanish migration far outshone Cuban migration in 1910 (22,000 Spaniards and 15,000 Cubans, rounding), and tripled the latter figure in 1920 (49,535 Spaniards and 14,872 Cubans). Kagan even mentions that as many as 52,000 Spaniards may have arrived between 1917 and 1921. In any case, we must remember that these are approximate figures that do not account for undocumented immigration.

In 1900, around 1,500 Spaniards were living in New York City, a figure that doubled by 1910, when 3,359 Spaniards resided there, along with 5,000 other Hispanic residents (Mora, 2018, p. 26). Thus, around 8,500 Hispanics lived in the city in 1910, nearly half of whom were Spaniards. This number necessarily grew as the decade drew to its close, which made it possible to have a dramatic or lyrics season in Spanish.

On the East Coast, zarzuela had an additional means of distribution: recording. Mora, who studied the National Phonograph Company (NPC) and the Columbia Phonograph Company (CPC) through 1914, notes that a significant number of zarzuelas and other forms of Spanish song began to be recorded for the Hispanic market outside the U.S. starting in 1901 (Mora, 2018), though this does not preclude the existence of an interested population within the country. Generally, the most commonly recorded composers and pieces were from the final third of the 19th century: Chapí, Chueca, Valverde, Fernández Caballero, Barbieri, Giménez, Gaztambide, and Bretón, although, to a lesser extent, there were also composers of lighter zarzuela more typical of the early 20th century, including Quinito Valverde, Luis Foglietti, José Serrano and, exceptionally, Rafael Calleja, as well as the most
successful *cuple* of the *género infimo* (“infamous genre”),\(^4\) including “La regadera” from *La alegre trompetería* (1907).

We should bear in mind that Mora’s study (2018) only goes as far as 1914, at which point World War I prompted a new configuration within the record industry: the NPC and CPS’s repertoire began prioritizing music that was popular within the U.S., rather than Europe, which seemed to thin their Spanish-language catalogues.\(^5\) Nevertheless, we hope to review studies on later years, as it seems probable there was a shift towards Hispanic popular music, such as the *cuple* and other songwriter forms, as well as an uptick in flamenco and classic Spanish nationalistic pieces that were canonized in the second decade of the 20th century with the rise of Granados, Albéniz, and Falla. As we will see below, 1916 was a key year in New York’s penchant for Spanish music, and the year that saw a boom in Spanish (or Hispanized) music. It would be very odd indeed if this were not reflected in subsequent years’ record catalogues.

The song “Clavelitos” offers a paradigmatic case: created by Quinito Valverde, it was part of the repertoire of Spanish opera stars associated with the New York Metropolitan Opera, including Lucrecia Bori. Five versions of the piece were recorded between 1914 and 1920, and ten more by 1928, according to the Discography of American Historical Recordings (DAHR) database.\(^6\)

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\(^4\) See section 5 of this study, page 22.

\(^5\) Both the NPC and the CPC privileged recording of opera (primarily foreign works such as *Il Trovatore*, though they also recorded some Spanish pieces such as *Marina* and *La Dolores*). In terms of properly Spanish repertoire, zarzuela and *canción de autor* are of particular note. Fermín García Álvarez and Sebastián Iradier are the most recorded composers in the *canción de autor* genre, and Iradier’s “La paloma” was recorded in the most versions. Beginning in 1904, folk music gained prominence; beginning in 1906, Caribbean music, Spanish dance music, and operetta did the same.

significant case is that of José María Lacalle, author of the celebrated song “Amapola.” He worked for the CPC for twenty-five years, and his song appears in the DAHR database at least twenty-one times between 1925 and 1941. There are 112 entries for José Padilla between 1911 and 1941. Finally, the writer Van Vechten says in his book *The Music of Spain* (1918) that the Victor Phonograph Co. catalogue offers Spanish and Gypsy music.

4. Acceptance of españolismo among the U.S. cultural elite: academic music and the debut of Goyescas

Beginning in 1914, several factors led to the reception that Granados and Goyescas received, which, later, with the debut of *The Land of Joy*, served as a wake-up call for New York society: Spanish culture was to be appreciated and studied. Why did this happen? First, the outbreak of World War I entailed a rejection of Germany as a cultural model and, consequently, a prohibition on studying the German language. It was replaced by Spanish, a useful language in business given that, following the war in Cuba and the establishment of a protectorate on the island, the U.S. had expanded its market with a model of new economic imperialism implemented throughout the Caribbean. This was the gateway to the country’s hyper-productive, enormous industrial and business output. Colonial expansion, prompted by the war in Europe, coincided with the opening of the Panama Canal, also in 1914, incentivizing the study of Spanish in order to establish commercial relations with Asia. Thus, U.S. interest in the Spanish-speaking nations of the Americas grew, and the language acquired economic worth, given that its cultural worth had previously been widely dismissed (Fernández 2005). That dismissal prompted influential Spaniards in New York society to establish associations and create cultural initiatives to restore prestige for the Spanish language and the history of Spanish colonization: the American Association of Teachers in Spanish (AATS), promotor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, was established in October 1916; its
primary goal was to vindicate the Spanish language and challenge its reputation as an inferior language. In 1917, the Fiesta de la Raza was established in various places throughout the U.S., and in 1916 the influential Arturo Cuyás translated the famous Lummis work *Spanish Pioneers*, which describes the Spanish conquest of the Americas and affirms that Spain brought civilization and progress to the New World. Cuyás completed this translation in collaboration with the important engineers and Spanish emigrants Eusebio Molera and Juan Cebrián (Varela Lago, 2018). In 1915, Spanish began appearing in middle schools, high schools, and universities, and the AATS ultimately established the Hispanic Institute at Columbia University in 1920.

In the U.S., Spanish culture was valued for its exoticism, already popular thanks to phenomena such as the opera *Carmen*, described above, and all things Hispanic were beginning to be appreciated thanks to initiatives such as the founding of the Hispanic Society, an organization with connections to the U.S. upper class; it was officially formed in 1908.

Within the realm of ‘serious’ music, we have only managed to identify a single (failed) attempt to stage a Spanish opera, *Los Dolores* by Tomás Bretón, which Oscar Hammerstein tried to produce at the Manhattan Opera House in 1908. In terms of performance, few instrumentalists took the initiative to cross the Atlantic to reach new audiences before 1914, with a few exceptions: we know that Albéniz was in the U.S. in 1876, that Enrique Fernández Arbós traveled there in 1903, and that Pau Casals toured the country to perform Spanish music in 1901.17 Most of the musicians we are able to identify arrived beginning in the 1900s, when several Spanish lyric singers traveled to the U.S. as part of various opera companies. Beginning in 1907, if not earlier, Catalan baritone Ramón Blanchart, Valencian bass

Andrés de Segurola, and Basque tenor Florencio Constantino were part of the San Carlo Opera company, which ultimately established a season at the Boston Opera House in 1910. Internationally acclaimed Valencian soprano Emilia Vergeri also joined in 1912, although she had moved to California by 1915. There are also mentions of the bass José Mardones from Álava working with the company in 1910 and later becoming the leading bass at the Boston Opera Company. Mardones would go on to tour the U.S. with this and other groups, such as the Alice Nielsen Company, and in 1917 he settled in New York, where he lived until 1926, collaborating on more than 400 performances with the Metropolitan Opera.

Mardones was not the only Catalan singer in the city. Valencian soprano Lucrecia Bori met with astounding success at the Metropolitan Opera and became an integral part of New York society from 1912 until her death. Another Spanish great who performed at the Met—although he is practically unknown in Spain today—was Andrés de Segurola, who became a runaway success and major media figure beginning in 1911. Both Bori and Segurola had supposed links to nobility—Bori through the papal family and Segurola through his countess mother—which played well with U.S. patrons. Segurola himself played into this connection, retaining

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18 According to the Boston Herald, September 12, 1907, millionaire Otto Khan’s goal was to establish a stable opera company in Boston.

19 She made her Met debut on November 11, 1912 in the role of Manon in Puccini’s opera. This was the beginning of her collaboration with the great New York opera house, which lasted until 1915, when a throat condition prevented her from singing—it even made it impossible for her to perform in Goyescas, for which she had been rehearsing. She rejoined the Met in 1912, at which point she had a virtually uninterrupted run until 1936, when she retired. They held the “Bori Farewell Gala” when she departed on March 29, 1936.

20 There are very few references to Segurola in dictionaries of singers, and the few allusions make only a brief mention of his time in New York. He appears in the archives of the Metropolitan Opera in 1901, where he sang with the Romeo y Julieta company in Toronto, Canada; he continued working in the U.S., including with the San Carlo Company, as mentioned above, and beginning in 1909 he established a permanent connection with the Metropolitan Opera.

21 Lucrecia’s original surname was Borgia, which alludes to the Valencian papal family that inspired Victor Hugo and Donizetti’s opera La Maltese Fiera. Although it appears that Lucrezia Borja never commented on the subject, her posthumous biography relates the following anecdotes: “Signorina Borja, I never asked you, but are you not descended from our illustrious Borgia family?” [...] “Yes, we are the Spanish branch of the family” Marion, F. (1962). Lucrezia Bori of the Metropolitan Opera. P. J. Kennedy, 34-35.

22 “De Segurola, a real Count, but he disdains the title,” Musical America, December 25, 1909, is one of several articles that describes his aristocratic background.
old-world practices well into the 20th century: he wore a monocle,\textsuperscript{23} pinned kerchiefs rather than neckties, and walked with a cane.

Bori and Segurola, both of whom reached stardom in the U.S., helped establish a favorable image of Spaniards among New York society through their work, and through their links to Spanish aristocracy as well. Their noble lineage fascinated the young North American society. In fact, Segurola became an influential figure and one of the driving forces behind seasons of Spanish-language music in New York beginning in 1919. María Gay is another of the singers who established a presence in the U.S., but her case is different: a mezzo-soprano from Barcelona, she received praise from the English-language press after making her debut in Bizet’s Carmen at Covent Garden, which was enormously successful. She signed a contract with the Metropolitan Opera, but the reviews of her Met debut on December 3, 1908 were not positive as she was considered too exaggerated on stage, among other reasons. Despite attempts to capitalize on her identity as a Spanish woman in order to become an icon of exotic-but-bourgeois ‘Spanishness,’ she did not achieve the same degree of recognition as her countrymen.\textsuperscript{24} In November 1915, Catalan singer Conchita Supervía joined the Chicago opera scene through Cleofonte Campanini’s company—the same company that would welcome María Kousnezoff a few months later—in which she, too, sang the role of Carmen, but in a more refined and ‘innocent’ presentation than Gay. This version was more tolerable for polite society.


\textsuperscript{24} In fact, she specialized in femmes fatales: her principal role would become Carmen, but she also played Dalila from Saint-Saëns’ Samson et Dalila, Azucena in Il Trovatore, and Amneris from Aida. Although she received these roles because of her voice type, she herself caused a ‘scandal’ by making a series of erotic comments, as when she stated that she posed semi-nude for a French painter and threatened to sing similarly unclothed at the Boston Opera (“Delilah likely to shock Boston,” Hartford Courant [November 10, 1911]).
The eruption of World War I had given European artists an incentive to seek out new markets. Beginning in 1915, singers and instrumentalists began arriving in New York, but without plans to permanently settle in the country. Pontevedra violinist Manuel Quiroga performed at the Hippodrome Theatre there in October 1914; on October 13th of the same year, the *New York Tribune* noted that the war in Europe was what led him to the U.S. In 1916, polemical Barcelona tenor Hipólito Lázaro arrived in the U.S.; he sang at the Metropolitan Opera for three years, although he would also collaborate with other companies, such as the Bracale Opera Company, and he frequently toured the U.S. The soprano María Barrientos, also from Barcelona, debuted at the Met a few days after the premier of *Goyescas*, playing the title role in *Lucia di Lammermoor* on January 31, 1916. She did not settle in the U.S., but did enjoy a fruitful career there, and spent long seasons in New York until 1920, when she performed at the Met for the final time.

As we will see, Enrique Granados came to New York at a crucial moment, as there was a significant current of support for Spanish culture among both the English-speaking population and the growing Spanish community there, which was heightened by an intense cultural exodus from Europe to New York following the outbreak of the war. Granados arrived in 1915 thanks to U.S. pianist Ernest Henry Schelling (Belvedere, NJ, 1978 – New York, 1939), who became an influential figure late in his life. The two had been close friends ever since Schelling performed in Barcelona in 1912, and Schelling supported Granados in a variety of different endeavors: he introduced the English-speaking world to his work through the performance of *Goyescas*, first in London in 1913; he acted as an intermediary between the composer and the U.S. publisher Schirmer, where Granados published several of his works; and it is even possible that the pianist was the driving force behind the planned production of *Goyescas* in its lyric theatre version at the Grand

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25 Quiroga was in Zurich when the war broke out, with a long list of European commitments. These were immediately canceled, and he made arrangements with the Shuberts to tour the U.S., where he had never previously performed. This tour through the U.S. included Baltimore, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Washington D.C., and other cities. He stayed in the country until June 1916.
Opéra in Paris, though this ultimately never took place due to the war, leading to the New York production in January 1916.

Schelling was a member of high society, which facilitated the welcome that Granados received. The photographs that have survived from the era speak to his character: confident, modern, and attractive, Schelling even owned a castle in Garengo, near Céligny (Switzerland), where Granados and his daughter Soledad spent the summer of 1914. There, they rubbed shoulders with the pianist’s friends, including Polish musicians Ignacy Paderewski and Josef Hofman, as well as the singer Marcella Sembrich; they also met Swiss poet Morax, teacher and musician Jacques Dalcroze, and other members of Central European high society and its intelligentsia, who frequently visited Schelling.

On November 25, 1915, Granados boarded the Montevideo in Barcelona, en route to New York for his Met debut, which took place on January 28th of the following year. Aboard the same vessel were pianist and conductor José Lasalle and his wife, Russian singer and dancer Maria Kousnezoff, as well as Barcelona guitarist Miguel Llobet. These musicians, like Granados, were hoping to achieve success and reach new markets in the U.S.

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26 “My dearest: we must begin with gratitude to Schelling. Out of nowhere, he has brought me to the top. The opera will be enthusiastically welcomed at the Grand Opéra this winter.” Paris, ca. June 16, 1914 (Perandones, 2016a, p. 423).

27 Following the outbreak of World War I, she traveled to Spain, where she created her own company whose first work was a show entitled La maja, of which Lasalle was conductor. There are no references to both of them working in Chicago, though there are allusions to Kousnezoff’s solo work.

28 Also on board was Zenobia Camprubí, who shortly thereafter married Juan Ramón Jiménez. The poet and his wife would arrange Granados’s marriage during their time in the city.

29 Granados’s reception and success in New York prompted other musicians to try to follow in his footsteps. Paquita Madriguera (Igualada, 1900 – Montevideo, 1965), a pianist and student of Granados, traveled to the West Coast of the U.S. in 1915; on April 15, 1916, she appeared at Aeolian Hall under the ‘umbrella’ of her teacher.
In New York, Granados was embraced by the cultural and social elite of which his close friend Pau Casals was already a member; Casals was married to the well positioned U.S mezzo-soprano Susan Metcalfe, who had already achieved international acclaim. This positive reception is confirmed by his letters, which also reveal the friendship Granados established with sculptor Malvina Hoffman, his connections with multi-millionaire Otto Kahn, and his invitation to attend the wedding of renowned lyric singer Geraldine Farrar, simply because Granados was a ‘fashionable’ figure. Even painter Ignacio Zuloaga recommended an introduction to “Madame Philip Lydig, a woman of extraordinary renown and influence in New York” (Perandones, 2016a, p. 447). The society that welcomed Granados in 1916 quickly made him a celebrity: Schelling had put together a series of concerts that initially could not go forward because the composer was ill, though both were performed later: the first, with Casals, for the New York Friends of Music on January 23rd of that year, before the debut of Goyescas; and the second, for the general public, on February 22nd at Aeolian Hall. On January 19th, Granados was appointed an honorary member of the Hispanic Society by the founder and director Archer Huntington, and received its Silver Medal of Arts and Letter. To top it all off, he was invited to the White House, where he was met by President Wilson.30

Granados and the librettist Fernando Periquet were mindful of the general and specialized press, which were eager to report on that season’s debut production, Goyescas. The city was inundated with Spanish culture: “Wherever you look, they are celebrating all things Spanish! If the government does not award him with a high decoration, it will prove itself truly ungrateful, as Spain’s stock has gone up one hundred percent,” Granados’s wife Amparo wrote in a letter to their children (Perandones, 2016a, p. 468). This interest was reflected in the press, which clearly made no distinction whatsoever between Spanish and Latino. For example, The

30 His reception and travels through the U.S. are analyzed in Chapter 9, “Un montón de proyectos,” of the biography of Granados by Walter A. Clark (2016 [2012], and described in detail in Rebés Molina (2019).
Evening Herald published an entitled “Spanish Art Trails Omelette and Onion! City Meekly Surrenders to Invasion” (February 3, 1916), which wrote “scarfs and mantillas sold in the Fifth Avenue shops, and Frijoles are a popular order in the restaurants,”31; it asserted that “The fashion designers are undoubtedly being egged on to the Spanish model by the recent production of that much heralded Spanish opera Goyesca [sic]”32 and that “Goyescas Hair Ornaments”33 were sold months after the debut.

5. Meeting expectations of Spanish exoticism: Goyescas’s reception and The Land of Joy’s debut

However, Goyescas did not satisfy the exotic expectations that had been over 70 years in the making: it had little of the Andalusian exoticism that had fed the North American collective imagining of Spain, with its gypsies and Andalusian dancers, which had been cultivated through writing, painting, and popular musical ensembles since the early 19th century, and had been confirmed by Bizet’s French Carmen.

Rather, Granados attempted to convey a modern, Castilian style that was far removed from the romantic Andalusian stereotype (Perandones, 2009; Clark, 2019, Kertesz, 2019). With Goyescas, Granados established a link with the so-called Generation of ’98 that was in vogue in Spain, the purported casticismo goyesco (“Goyesque authenticity”) in which Castile and historical heritage were repositories of the quintessentially Spanish. Granados’s comments about Carmen were

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31 However, the piece went on to declare “Remember the Maine!”, a reference to the U.S. ship that was allegedly attacked by Spain, sparking the Spanish-American war of 1898. The article goes on to state that, through this frenzy for everything Hispanic in New York, in 1916 “Spain has taken her revenge for 1898” (N. Greeley-Smith, “Spanish Art Trails Omelette and Onion!”, The Evening World [February 3, 1916]).

32 “Dame Fashion Turn to Spain for new Ideas,” Buffalo Evening News (February 12, 1916).

33 “Hair Ornaments”, Chicago Tribune, July 18, 1916. Amparo Gal commented that the major department stores have created “Goyescas fashion, Goyescas combs, etc.” (Perandones, 2016ª, p. 469).
misinterpreted by the press,34 which inferred that Granados believed his opera to be superior to Bizet’s.35

Granados carried the banner for this movement in which Spain is the modern aesthetic, based on theories he took from his teacher Felipe Pedrell: he rejected the zarzuela and so-called Flamenquismo, that is, the light music free of aesthetic pretensions that was popularized in Spain via various subgenres of zarzuela, such as the género chico, the género ínfimo, variety shows, light operettas, and revues. Granados himself was proud that New York had not ‘fallen’ into the temptation of writing in these trifling genres, to which Quinito Valverde’s The Land of Joy, described as a revue, belonged.

The resounding success of Valverde’s work gave the final push necessary for the publication of an English-language history of Spanish music, which exalted The Land of Joy and had no particular fondness for Granados’s work. It was titled The Music of Spain, and it was intended for informational rather than academic purposes. The author, journalist Carl Van Vechten, makes no secret of his fascination with the Spanish revue.

Thus, the U.S.’s first examination of Spanish music places the emphasis on popular urban music, a style that had been fashionable in U.S. society since 1914. What would shortly thereafter be considered elitist music—embodied by Granados—was not particularly interesting to Van Vechten, and his historical narration contains its share of inaccuracies, even though the author reviewed the scant bibliography available. In any case, the history of Spanish music was practically unknown, and not

34 “When Georges Bizet’s opera Carmen is considered Spanish, the world has no idea what Spanish music is. Goyescas Will show the world,” in Fernández-Cid (1956, p. 269).
35 Clark reprinted Granados’s comments in Musical America: “For you, like so many other people... know nothing of the real musical contributions of Spain. The musical interpretation of Spain is not to be found in tawdry boleros and habaneras, in Moszkowski, in Carmen, in anything that has sharp dance rhythms accompanied by tambourines or castanets” (Clark, 2016, p. 186). Peyser, H. F. (1916). “Granados Here for Production of Goyescas”. Musical America, 23 (December 25), p. 4; en Clark (2016, p. 155).
just in the U.S. The Belgian and French historiography of the 19th century had presented the world with a fragmented and inexact version of Spanish history, and in his work on Spain, Hanslick concluded that the country had never contributed an original work to the general history of music (Stein, 2002, pp. 200-202). This certainly did not favor knowledge of Spanish repertoire in the academic world, be it European or American. But in the final years of the 19th century, the musical history of Spain was rewritten through the relationships that Felipe Pedrell and, later, Adolfo Salazar established with French historiographers. Both were part of a new discourse that spurned zarzuela and 19th-century Spanish music and lauded the nationalist cannon embodied in Granados, Albéniz, and Falla (Perandones, 2016b). It is paradigmatic of Van Vechten’s history that the prologue was written by Huelvan composer and critic Pedro García Morales, who allied himself with this modern discourse, in direct contrast with Van Vechten’s own opinions. Thus, Morales expressed a wish for this light music and the ‘picante’ aspects of Valverde to lead U.S. audiences to cherish the subtlety in Falla and Albéniz. He also rejects the Andalusian stereotype as essentially Spanish, highlighting the musical richness of Spain’s various regions. That is, Morales essentially argues in direct opposition to the virtues of Spanish music extolled by Van Vechten: where the latter emphasizes popular music, the former highlights highbrow or serious music.

Van Vechten concludes that true Spanish music is written not by natives of Spain, but by what he defines as the “Spanish idiom”, which was known in the North American cultural sphere mainly through the symphonic repertoire of Lalo, Chabrier, Rimsky Korsakoff, and Bizet. Only beginning in 1916, and especially after 1920, does repertoire from the nationalist cannon begin to enter the scene, mainly through Albéniz, Falla, and Turina; this work began to establish itself internationally thanks to these composers’ success in Paris, to its insertion in international historiographic
discourses (especially those produced in France\textsuperscript{36}), and to the extraordinary growth in taste for Spanish works that emerged in the 1920s.

A perfect example of the dichotomy that emerged between the reception of Spanish serious and popular music is the 1916 case of Miguel Llobet, the guitarist who arrived in New York at the same time as Granados. He performed a guitar concert for a U.S. audience at the Princess Theatre on January 17\textsuperscript{th} with repertoire that was shocking for the New York patrons, as it challenged their prejudices about a supposedly popular instrument: first, he presented the guitar as a concert instrument,\textsuperscript{37} and second, he elevated the guitarist to the status of artist, something that was not common among popular guitarists. Despite upending these expectations and receiving positive reviews, the concert had little impact.

But the arrival and success of The Land of Joy did meet all expectations of the picturesque and exotic Spanish imaginary, which would endure and grow in the English-speaking U.S. popular imagination throughout the 1920s. Valverde provided the ‘Spanishness’ that the audience craved: satisfactory exoticism that included so many “Spanish ‘tangos’ and ‘seguidillas’ and ‘jotas’ and ‘malagueñas’ and ‘pasodobles’ that your feet will get entirely out of your control.”\textsuperscript{38} Not to mention, this show at the Park Theatre was accessible to the middle and working classes, as the most expensive tickets cost $1.50, whereas the standard price for orchestra seats at the Metropolitan Opera and the Manhattan Grand Opera House was between $5 and $7 for special performances and around $1.50 just for admission.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{36} Collet, Mitjana, and Aubry wrote key works between 1920 and 1922. \textit{Vid. Perandones, 2016b.}
\textsuperscript{37} Llobet not only played ‘modern’ Spanish repertoire such as Granados and Albéniz, but also Debussy, as well as adaptation of classics by Tárrega, his teacher, works by Bach, and a nocturne by Chopin, among other pieces. “The guitar is foolishly disdained by some who really believe that the piano is in itself a musical instrument,” Philip Hale wrote (in “Miss Clark and Mr. Llobet give joint Concert,” \textit{Boston Herald}, April 26, 1916).
This zarzuela’s debut took place during an inaugural season of Spanish-language theatre spearheaded by the Asturian actor, singer, and businessman Manuel Noriega following his arrival in New York in 1916, who capitalized on the favorable atmosphere produced by Goyescas and the historical moment in general. His company, Compañía Dramática Española, produced several theatrical seasons, not all of which were lyric, at the Leslie Theatre (beginning in June), at the Amsterdam Opera House (October), and at Carnegie Hall (December), the first serious attempt at a regular performance schedule. The New York Herald wrote that “Señor Noriega announces that the purpose is to promote interest in Spanish dramatic art and if this first venture is successful, he hopes that it will lead the establishment in New York of a permanent Spanish Theatre.”41 In September of 1916, The Sun reflected on the fact that there were no theatres dedicated to Spanish-language works, though such theatres did exist for Italian, German, French, and even Yiddish. Regarding the debut of Goyescas

Is the zarzuela to be acclimatized in New York? Is the most characteristic style of Spanish theatrical entertainment to become a feature of that part of the city which is topographically described as Broadway? [...] Occasionally dancers, last winter a singer and then a composer who brought with him an opera which had the honor of a performance at the Metropolitan Opera House – these are the few examples of the dramatic and musical art of Spain which are known to this country.42

All indications seemed to suggest that it would, in fact, be acclimatized. In November 1916, the New York Times Magazine published a full-page article on the arrival of Joaquín “Quinito” Valverde, whom it dubbed “the King of Tango” and Spain’s most popular composer. In the U.S., audiences were familiar with his

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42 “The Spanish Theatre,” The Sun (September 15, 1916).
“Clavelitos,” a song performed by Segurola, Mardones, and Bori in concert. The same article mentions that Antonio “La Argentina” Mercé had triumphed performing Valverde’s music, as she had in Paris in 1912.

*The Land of Joy*’s debut also coincided with a change in North American musical taste following World War I, as we mentioned above: the country was now in the grips of the foxtrot, ragtime, and other popular foreign genres. Quinito Valverde also wrote light music, and in the abovementioned article, he is even compared with Franz Lehar. His production meets Broadway’s highest standards, as if it were one of Zeigfield’s show (Zeigfield was the businessman par excellence of New York shows): he presents a simple and entertaining story with luscious costumes, exquisite staging, and attractive dance accompanied by happy, catchy music. The work debuted on October 31, 1917 at Park Theatre and, although this theatre is some distance from the center of Broadway, the show enjoyed a 12-week run until mid-January 1918 (when the company moved to the Knickerbocker Theatre on Broadway) for both a Spanish- and English-speaking public. “The Zarzuela Invades New York,” wrote *The World Magazine*. The show received overwhelmingly positive reviews.

The libretto for *The Land of Joy*, by José Elizondo and Estanislao Velasco, highlights the Spanish imaginary through allusions not just to Goya, but also to Granada and the Alhambra, bullfighting, and the popular Seville Fair. Originally, this work was performed in Spanish under the title *Mujeres y flores*, when it debuted in Havana on June 22nd or 23rd of 1917, and ran until October 16th (with over 100 performances) at the Teatro Payret. When it was brought to New York, it was adapted for a U.S. audience, and several musical numbers in English were added. The plot was also changed to include the story of a voyage from New York to Spain. It was produced bilingually with both U.S. and Spanish cast members, though the English-language portions of the show received the harshest reviews from critics, who

43 *The World Magazine* (December 2, 1917).
considered them unnecessary and unfunny, which prompted subsequent changes to the plot, with the addition and removal of several English parts. In late November they ultimately decided to change the English portions and bring in the actors Julius Tannen, Thoman Conkey, John Daly Murphy, and Edna Munsey (New York Tribute, December 2, 1917), even though these actors were not listed in the version score published by Schirmer in 1918. The production was gradually reworked to please the audience and, possibly, the professional needs of the performers. For example, on January 14th, when the show was moved to the Knickerbocker Theatre on Broadway, Julius Tannen was the only U.S. performer who moved with it. The work was so well received by U.S. audiences that, beginning in February, it toured in Washington D.C., Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Detroit until April of 1918.44

According to Schirmer’s score, The Land of Joy has two acts, and the rhythmic, coloristic music includes thirty-one numbers, including a fandango, several seguidillas, a garrotín, a Gypsy zambra, a chotis, a few bulerías, a farruca... That is, a hodgepodge of Spanish dances that were undoubtedly popular among critics, outshining the other aspects of the show which were also positively reviewed. La Argentina was part of the show, even though she had been unable to dance in Goyescas at the Met as planned; she had made her U.S. debut at Maxim Elliot’s Theatre on February 10th, 1916, a venue located across the street from the Met, possibly as a ‘consolation prize.’ She was only part of The Land of Joy cast for a limited period of time. In a line that would shape her career in the decades to come, Antonia Mercé offered a styled rendition of Spanish stereotypes: “[I]t presents [...] the fascinating L’Argentina in classic dances [fandangos and tarantelas] that should cause us to [...] realize that the art of dancing does not depend on displaying a pair of bare legs and kicking the roof off the house”.45 The Hermanas Verdiales (or

44 The truly successful tour would begin the following year, when Valverde’s company traveled throughout Latin America until 1922. This tour included several cities in Mexico, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and, once again, Cuba.

Berdiales) joined later, playing Doloretes and Manzanitita, two Gypsy women who dance to woo the audience: “Doloretes will never be permitted to return to Spain. Her skill and sinuosity in interpreting Gypsy and other characteristic dances of her native land, her personal magnetism, her unflagging energy could vitalize many a musical production on Broadway which has been compelled to close.”

The only male dancer who joined the cast was Antonio de Bilbao, one of the era’s most international and preeminent Spanish dancers, who achieved tremendous success in Paris, Brussels, London, and New York, but who is virtually unknown today.

The immediate consequence of The Land of Joy’s success was the creation of a dance show called A Night in Spain, which Valverde’s company presented in December of 1917 in the Coconut Grove, a hall in the upper Century Theatre, with music composed for the occasion by Valverde himself.

The other consequence was that, from that moment on, producers considered Spanish shows, or shows with Hispanic themes, to be potentially profitable if they could hook English-speaking audiences. Following its resounding success, all other works that premiered in New York would have their success measured against The Land of Joy’s. The Wildcat, a translation of the opera El gato montés by Spanish composer Manuel Penella (Valencia, 1880-Cuernavaca, Mexico, 1939), which debuted at the Park Theatre in November 1921 and had seventy-four performances, was able to compete with Valverde’s work. This opera met U.S. standards of quality in terms of set, costume design, and choreography, and the composer himself traveled to New York in June of that year to arrange the production and to study other Broadway shows. Penella noted that aspects of productions that would go uncriticized in Europe would be considered unacceptable in the U.S., such as

46 Dramatic Mirror, press clipping from the New York Public Library.
costumes: “[H]ere everything must be new [...] genuine. [...] This is all very interesting and dazzling to the European eye.” In August of the previous year, 1920, the theatrical work Spanish Love by Avery Hopwood and Mary Roberts Rinehart, based on a comedy by Spanish playwright José Feliú y Codina, had debuted at Maxine Elliott’s Theatre in Manhattan, enjoying a nine-month run and 312 performances.\footnote{Taken from the official Internet Broadway Database <https://www.ibdb.com/> (accessed August 5, 2020).} Spanish Love is a dramatic work with a large amount of incidental music, including the diegetic music of French composer Henri Maurice Jacquet (1886-1954). This work followed the same winning formula: it was a sumptuous production with exotic themes that, in this case, reached New York with a spectacular and novel stage proposal from Paris.\footnote{Vid. Perandones: “Spanish Love triunfa en Nueva York: estudio de la circulación y recepción de la obra teatral María del Carmen de Feliú y Codina”, Hispanic Music Series; Universidad de Oviedo (forthcoming).} The libretto is an English translation of Aux jardins de Murcie (1911), a very successful French dramatic piece that, in turn, was an adaptation of María del Carmen (1896), the three-act comedy by Feliú y Codina. Both productions were so successful that in 1921, a film version of Spanish Love was released with the title Serenade, while Ernst Lubitsch adapted a German film version of Penella’s work, which reached the U.S. in November.

In December 1916, the New York Times wrote “As a start toward founding in New York a permanent Spanish Theatre, two performances of light Spanish operettas will be given on Wednesday and Friday evenings at the Amsterdam Opera House.”\footnote{That is, zarzuela, as Arrieta’s Marina would be performed, as well as Chapí’s El puñao de rosas “Light Opera in Spanish,” New York Times (December 18, 1916).} The newspaper also announced a season that would begin the following month, in January 1917, under the direction of Fernando L. Cabello. However, means were scarce, given that, as the same paper would announce a few days later, the second performance had to be changed because the score on which it was to be based, El Dúo de la Africana,\footnote{“Spanish Opera has Mishap. Missing Score of an Operetta Replaced with Vaudeville,” New York Times (December 23, 1916).} did not arrive. In May 1917, Cabello’s Gran Compañía Española
de Ópera y Zarzuela put on *La Marsellesa* (libretto by Miguel Ramos Carrión and music by F. Caballero), a zarzuela that would inaugurate the season at the Garden Theatre (adjacent to Madison Square Garden). And beginning in 1918, there would be performances every Sunday at the Amsterdam Opera House with Noriega’s company.

In any case, Noriega’s most ambitious project was undoubtedly the one he carried out in April 1919 in collaboration with the conductor Cabello at the Gran Compañía de Ópera y Zarzuela; we do not know if this company was operating between 1917 and 1919. On the occasion of this collaboration, Park Theatre was redubbed the Teatro Español, the first Spanish theatre in the city’s history, thanks to a Spanish, Greek, and U.S. business. This initiative received support from New York’s most important Spanish artists: María Barrientos, Hipólito Lázaro, José Mardones, Pau Casals, and Andrés de Segurola; the latter would be named president of the Teatro Español, and Noriega would become artistic director (Kanellos, 1990). Some of these singers even collaborated in the season (Blanchart debuted *Maruxa*; Barrientos and Mardones performed in *Marina*). Nevertheless, it was not long before problems began arising, including a strike by the company’s eighty actors and singers. Kanellos writes that the project failed due to Noriega’s naivety and lack of experience. However, the press identified other causes. The reviews following the premier of *Maruxa* on April 19th were not especially favorable, due largely to the lack of Andalusian exoticism and the absence of colorful gaiety on the stage—something likely stemming from the lack of resources. At the same time, the media derided the singers’ lack of professionalism and stage presence, which were considered clumsy. On May 9, 1919, *La Prensa* noted that the number of attendees at performances was declining and, additionally, that the company had been forced to refund the few tickets they had sold due to the strike. Critics

52 Program of the inaugural event at the Repositorio Digital de Música at the Universidad EAFIT in Colombia. [http://patrimoniomusical.eafit.edu.co/handle/10784.1/5965](http://patrimoniomusical.eafit.edu.co/handle/10784.1/5965)

compared *Maruxa* to *The Land of Joy*, and the regional, Galician-inspired zarzuela paled in comparison to Valverde’s brilliant exhibition of gleeful Spanish clichés.

## 6. Closing thoughts

In that same year of 1919, from July to October, the Spanish Opera Company put on several shows at the Cort Theatre, including *La Viejecita* by Fernández Caballero and a revue by Manuel Penella, *Dreams of Three* (whose original title in Spanish was *Las musas latinas*); despite staging errors and other missteps, these productions were more successful, possibly because, as *The Evening Word* notes, they were filled with Spanish songs and dances. And beginning in 1919, lyric theatre in Spanish was firmly established in New York City: zarzuelas were regularly produced, and the Spanish community even invited Penella to stay to direct more seasons of lyric theatre; various other companies filled the existing demand for zarzuela. However, it is true that the zarzuela seasons that had been performed since 1916, led by the Hispanic community and marketed primarily towards that same population, relied on a repertoire that, though successful in Spanish, received little recognition from U.S. critics due to the lack of over-the-top showmanship (due to lack of means) and because they did not meet that audience’s expectations of exotic “Spanishness.”

The success and establishment of Spanish lyric theatre aimed at U.S. audiences also began in 1916, for the reasons outlined above: the city’s growing Hispanic community and the increasing appreciation for Spanish language and culture, factors that have their roots in U.S. expansionism and economic imperialism. In this context, Granados’s opera *Goyescas* did not meet audiences’ expectations because the composer presented a Spanish identity linked to a modern aesthetic discourse in an attempt to distance himself from the cliché, Andalusian–inspired
caricature of Spain, a stereotype that had gained traction in the U.S. in the 19th century.

The 1920s produced a wealth of Hispanic artistic output, including films, plays, and musical productions, as Kagan points out. The description and study of these cases, however, remains a subject for future study.

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