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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
RIVERSIDE

Negotiating Politics and Aesthetics: The Untold History of Latin American Modern Art  
Music in the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood (1940-1951)

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

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

Hermann H. Hudde.

September 2021

Dissertation Committee:

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2021

The Dissertation of Hermann H. Hudde is approved:

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Negotiating Politics and Aesthetics: The Untold History of Latin American Modern Art  
Music in the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood (1940-1951)

by

Hermann H. Hudde

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Music  
University of California, Riverside, September 2021  
Dr. Walter A. Clark, Co-Chairperson  
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During the twentieth century, music festivals and organizations became places for composers to construct identity, negotiate aesthetics, promote cultural exchange, and exercise agency on the American continent. The visionary American conductor Serge Koussevitzky (1874–1951) officially founded the Berkshire Music Center in 1940 and imagined a music festival that would serve as a music-education center of the highest level for musicians in the Western art-music tradition. He appointed eminent musicians to support him to achieve this educational and musical dream, especially Aaron Copland (1900–1990) as Head of the Faculty. During that time, Copland was fully invested in cultural diplomacy as a way of promoting U.S. culture and values internationally, sponsored by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, the U.S. State Department, and U.S.-based private foundations (Rockefeller and Guggenheim). Thereby, the dissertation contends that Copland invited Latin American composers to Tanglewood to support the Good Neighbor Policy agenda during World War II (1939–1945), and later the Truman Doctrine within the inter-American system during the early Cold War era (1947–1997).

The dissertation similarly examines individuals, groups and concepts, such as *Grupo Renovación* (Argentina, 1929–1944), *Grupo de los cuatro* (Mexico, 1936-1940), *Música Viva* (Brazil, 1939–1948), *Grupo de Renovación Musical* (Cuba, 1942–1948), and Francisco Curt Lange’s (1903-1997) *Americanismo musical*, just to name a few, who fostered a vibrant and creative Modern-music scene in Latin America during the first half century. Although some recent publications have discussed and reviewed the role of modern art music on the American continent and its intersection with U.S. cultural diplomacy during the periods of Pan-Americanism and Inter-Americanism, the impact of Latin American modern music at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood remains unstudied. Throughout the dissertation, I examine how the geocultural and epistemological category of Latin American art music, despite possessing a musical/cultural history, must constantly negotiate aesthetics and politics vis-à-vis the ethnocentric and epistemological hierarchies of Western modernity. The purpose of the dissertation is to examine the intersection of Latin American modern music at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood (1941-1951), U.S. cultural diplomacy and Western modernity, thus shedding needed light on this untold episode from the Western hemisphere’s art-music history.



## DEDICATION

The dissertation is dedicated to all the Latin American Composers at the Tanglewood Music Center and Festival, Aaron Copland and Serge Koussevitzky.

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## INTRODUCTION

As someone who studied with composer Alvaro Cordero (b. Venezuela, 1956), winner of the 1980 Koussevitzky Tanglewood Composition Prize, I have always wondered about the other Latin American composers who participated in this esteemed music festival. Establishing the Berkshire Music Center was conductor Serge Koussevitzky's (1874–1951) educational and musical dream. Koussevitzky imagined a music festival that would house a musical education center of the highest level for professional musicians from the Western art-music tradition. For this reason, he sought committed and renowned musicians who shared his holistic vision and, supported by a group of art music patrons led by Gertrude Robinson Smith (1881–1963), Koussevitzky officially founded the Berkshire Music Center in 1940. The Berkshire Music Center—later renamed the Tanglewood Music Center—became a destination for classical-music pilgrims, professional musicians, and audiences alike. Tanglewood has been not only the summer residence of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, but also a place that annually receives composers, conductors, singers, and instrumentalists from around the world.<sup>1</sup>

During my residence in Boston, years later, I researched the Boston Symphony Orchestra Archival Collection, in which I found vast information about Latin American modern art music at the Berkshire Music Center in Tanglewood that exceeded my expectations. I realized that modern Latin American composers who later built international

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<sup>1</sup> In general, the literature on the Berkshire Music Center seems scant when one considers the many possibilities that this topic offers for original research. Mark Anthony Dewolfé Howe, *The Tale of Tanglewood: Scene of the Berkshire Music Festivals* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1946); Andrew L. Pincus, *Tanglewood: The Clash Between Tradition and Change* (New England: Northeastern University Press, 1998), and Peggy Daniel, *Tanglewood: A Group Memoir* (New York: Amadeus Press, 2008).



careers had been Fellows from 1941 to 1951 at the Tanglewood Music Festival.<sup>2</sup> Immediately, some questions came to my mind. Has the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood been studied in a scholarly manner? Why have the musical contributions by Latin American composers at the Berkshire Music Center since 1941 never been academically examined? Who attended the Berkshire Music Center, and in which years? Which works by Latin American composers received performances? Were works of other Latin American composers, other than the fellows at the festival, performed at Tanglewood?

By researching more about the festival and its documents, I realized that Koussevitzky offered the Chair of Composition to Aaron Copland (1900–1990), one of the most outstanding composers during the twentieth century. Copland was fully invested in cultural diplomacy as a way of promoting U.S. culture and values internationally.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, I noted

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<sup>2</sup> There are biographical publications that only mention individual Latin American composers' participation at Tanglewood, but do not develop the topic further. These include, for example, Velia Yedra, *Julián Orbón: A Biographical and Critical Essay* (Florida: Research Institute for Cuban Studies, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami, 1990), 19-20; Pola Suárez Urtubey, *Alberto Ginastera* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1967), 83 and See Cordero, Roque, "Vigencia del músico culto," in *América Latina en su música*, ed. Isabel Aretz (México D.F.: Siglo XXI editores, 1974), 154-173. In fact, for example, in his chapter, Cordero, briefly explains why the Berkshire Music Center in Tanglewood, as well as the United States, became an epicenter for art music during the twentieth century.

<sup>3</sup> Copland's bibliography is extremely helpful in understanding other nuances of the composer and his relation to Latin America. In addition to the abundant primary sources located at the Aaron Copland Collection at the Library of Congress and the composer's publications, new publications by Elizabeth B. Crist, Gayle Murchison, Nadine Hubbs, Emily Ansari, Sally Bick, Judith Tick, and Carol J. Oja, among others, have been added to a body of scholarly works about the composer. See, for example, Aaron Copland, *Our New Music* (New York: [Whittlesey House] McGraw-Hill, 1941 ), *On Music* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1944), *Ibid.*, *Music and Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951), Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942* (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984), *Copland: Since 1943* (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1989); Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, series: Music in American Life (Champaign, University of Illinois Press, 2000); Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Nadine Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of America's Sound: Gay Modernists, American Music, and National Identity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004); Elizabeth B. Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland during the Depression and War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Gayle M. Murchison, *The American Stravinsky: The Style and Aesthetics of Copland's New American Music, the Early Works, 1921-1938* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012); *Aaron Copland and His World*, eds. Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018); Emily A. Ansari, *The Sound of a Superpower: Musical Americanism and the Cold War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press,

that Copland saw an opportunity and invited Latin American composers to Tanglewood under the sponsorship of the Office for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, led by Nelson A. Rockefeller (1908–1979), the U.S. State Department, and U.S.-based private foundations. The aim was to support the Good Neighbor Policy agenda of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration (1932–1945), especially during World War II (1939–1945), and later promoting U.S. cultural diplomacy within Inter-Americanism during the initial Cold War (1947–1997). Therefore, U.S. musical diplomacy was conceived as a cultural representation strategy to portray a nation as capable of generating the modernity category of high culture products. The United States' musical diplomacy engaged with art music to reach elites and educated population sectors abroad to create the association between art music prestige, social value, and power with U.S.-American values such as democracy, freedom, modernity, and progress.

Once more, new questions came to my mind. How did the ideals of Americanism, Pan-Americanism, and Inter-Americanism impact the musical aesthetic of Latin American composers at the Berkshire Music Center? Did the Berkshire Music Center reinforce the musical identity and aesthetics of the American continent's composers vis-à-vis Europe? Did all the Latin American composers at the Center study with Aaron Copland, or did they study with other composition faculty members? Was the Berkshire Music Center a platform to project the Latin American composers' works?

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2018); and Sally Bick, *Unsettled Scores: Politics, Hollywood, and the Film Music of Aaron Copland and Hanns Eisler*, series: Music in American Life (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2019).

## Latin America Modern Music Scene from the 1920s to 1940s

In Latin America, during the early twentieth century, composers displayed cultural agency and entrepreneurship by participating in festivals and organizations to continue the American art-music tradition across the continent. These spaces became a place for creating, discussing, and exerting identity, culture, and aesthetics. Accordingly, individual and composer groups, such as *Grupo Renovación* (Argentina, 1929–1944), *Grupo de los cuatro* (Mexico, 1936–1940), *Música Viva* (Brazil, 1939–1948), and *Grupo de Renovación Musical* (Cuba, 1942–1948), fostered a dynamic and inventive modern music scene in Latin America during the first half-century. In his book, *The Invention of Latin American Music: A Transnational History*, Pablo Palomino explains that while a highly heterogeneous region, the notion of “Latin American” emerged first as a geopolitical category and later, from the 1920s, as a geocultural term in which the region’s intellectuals theorized its conceptualization throughout cultural products disseminated mainly across the Western hemisphere.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, with the United States’ rise as a continental and global power, the area became a culturally disputed zone with Europe, which compelled the Latin American imaginary to reinvent itself as a cultural history or cultural category. Ergo, Palomino states, “Far from an objective musical tradition, Latin American music is the history of a musical conversation about Latin America.”<sup>5</sup> Following this idea, a network of composers, musicologists, journalists, audiences, and other cultural brokers

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<sup>4</sup> Pablo Palomino, *The Invention of Latin American Music: A Transnational History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

<sup>5</sup> Palomino, *The Invention of Latin American Music*, 12.

generated, during the first half of the twentieth-century, a translational field of knowledge known as Latin American music.<sup>6</sup>

Amadeo Roldán, for example, claimed that “Being myself an American composer [Cuban], my aim is, of course, first of all, to attain a production thoroughly American in its substance, entirely apart from the European art.”<sup>7</sup> Roldán also advocated for “A new art . . . an American art expressed by American means.”<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, musicologist Francisco Curt Lange (1903-1997), for instance, promoted from Uruguay his American continent-based music project research, known as *Americanismo Musical*, which aimed to develop a transcontinental musical and cultural identity. The ideal of *Americanismo*, a term that had already circulated among Latin American composers, came originally from the political field originated by Simón Bolívar (1783-1830) and promoted later by José Martí (1853-1895). Lange conceived the theoretical foundation for his multinational initiative and intended the imaginary of *Americanismo musical* to support a transcontinental musical identity from the *Sección de Investigaciones Musicales* (1934) and later from the *Instituto Interamericano de Musicología* (1938) and developed—despite the absence of resources—his project of *Americanismo musical*, which materialized in his monumental publication *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música y Suplemento Musical* (1935–1946). Hence, one of the more significant findings to emerge from this dissertation is the role of musicologists and composer groups in Latin America before the Good Neighbor era and their modern-music achievements. Further, a topic of pivotal importance in this

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 139-171.

<sup>7</sup> Amadeo Roldán, “The Artistic Position of the American Composers,” in *American Composers on American Music: A Symposium*, ed. Henry Cowell (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1962 [1933]), 175.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

dissertation is the study of the *Americanismo Musical* to understand how the category of Latin American music was a continental creation by all kinds of actors within its cultural spheres.

Regarding the role of modern art music and its intersection with U.S. cultural diplomacy during the periods of Pan-Americanism and Inter-Americanism, some recent publications have discussed and reviewed the topic's constructed narratives. However, although the participation of Latin American composers and works was substantial at the Berkshire Music Center, their musical and cultural contribution remains unstudied.<sup>9</sup> Thereby, the focus of the dissertation is an interdisciplinary perspective to the study of musical and cultural contributions made by Latin American modern music at the Berkshire Music Center in Tanglewood from 1941 to 1951.

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<sup>9</sup> See for example, Carol A. Hess, "Walt Disney's Saludos Amigos: Hollywood and the Propaganda of Authenticity," in *The Tide Was Always High: The Music of Latin America in Los Angeles*, ed. Josh Kun (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 105-23, Ibid., *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), Ibid., "Copland in Argentina: Pan Americanist Politics, Folklore, and the Crisis in Modern Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66/1 (2013): 191-250, Ibid., "Leopold Stokowski, 'Latin' Music, and Pan Americanism," *Inter-American Music Review* 18/1-2 (2008): 395-401, and Ibid., "Ginastera's Bomarzo in the United States and the Impotence of the Pan American Dream," *Opera Quarterly* 22/3 (2006): 459-76; Jennifer L. Campbell, "Creating Something Out of Nothing: The Office of Inter-American Affairs Music Committee (1940-41) and the Inception of a Policy for Musical Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History* 36/1 (2012): 29-39, Ibid., "Shaping Solidarity: Music, Diplomacy, and Inter-American Relations, 1936-1946" (PhD diss., University of Connecticut 2010); Emily Abrams Ansar, "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Cultural Diplomacy," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5/3 (August 2011): 335-364, Ibid., *The Sound of a Superpower: Musical Americanism and the Cold War* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Miguel Astor, "Los ojos de Sojo: El conflicto entre nacionalismo y modernidad en los festivales de música de Caracas (1954-1966)" (Disertación Doctoral: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2009); Stephanie Stallings, "Pan/American Modernism of Carlos Chávez and Henry Cowell," in *Carlos Chávez and His World*, ed. Leonora Saavedra (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 28-45, Ibid., "Collective Difference: The Pan-American Association of Composers and Pan-American Ideology in Music" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2009); Deane L. Root, "The Pan American Association of Composers (1928-1934)," *Yearbook of Inter-American Music Research* 8 (1972): 49-70; Alyson Payne, "Creating Music of the Americas During the Cold War: Alberto Ginastera and the Inter-American Music Festivals," *Music Research Forum* 22 (2007): 57-79 and Ibid., "The 1964 Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain: A Critical Examination of IberoAmerican Musical Relations in the Context of Cold War Politics" (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 2012); Esteban Buch, *The Bormazo Affair: Ópera, perversion y dictadura* (Buenos Aires, Adriana Hidalgo editora, 2003), and Maria de Fátima Granja Tacuchian, "Panamericanismo, propaganda e música erudita: Estados Unidos e Brasil (1939-1948)" (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 1998).

Throughout the dissertation, I reveal in detail the work of Latin American composers at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood from 1941 to 1951 and demonstrates how the Latin American composers' agency operated at the Center during that time as a platform for promoting their music in the Western hemisphere. Although Latin American modern composers created their works with modern compositional techniques, like their colleagues from Europe and the United States, nonetheless, beyond the aesthetics and techniques such as neoclassicism, dodecaphony, and serialism the dissertation demonstrates an *Americanist* trend in which composers constructed a modern and hybrid twentieth-century musical identity based on the notion of transculturation. It is a finding that substantially adds to our understanding of how modernism was a comprehensive and diverse phenomenon.

### **Cultural Diplomacy of the United States**

This dissertation similarly expands extant research on the role of Western art music and its connection with cultural diplomacy during the periods of Pan-Americanism and Inter-Americanism. The dissertation addresses how the involvement of U.S. governmental institutions in alliance with private U.S. foundations, designed and articulated cultural diplomacy activities together as a foreign policy instrument. In doing so, the study examines the cultural-diplomatic objectives designed by the State Department's Division of Cultural Relations, the Office of the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs, and the Pan American Union Music Division to reach elite sectors of Latin American society.

The dissertation similarly discusses vital documents and actions needed to understand U.S. cultural diplomacy, its engineering and implementation. For example, it studies the "Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music," sponsored by the

Department of State Division of Cultural Relations in Washington, D.C., on October 18-19, 1939; Carleton Sprague Smith's (1905-1994) travels to South America, which he documented with the report *Musical Tour through South America, June-October 1940* for the Committee on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music; the Pan American Union's Music Division, led by Charles Seeger (1886–1979), as a center for inter-American musical activities and articulate/circulate the category of Latin American music in the United States as well as in Latin America with publications, recordings, and radio programs to foster a hemispheric identity of the people as well as Copland's travels to Latin America as Cultural Attaché for the Committee of Inter-American Affairs (1941) and Visiting Professor of Music (1947) to promote U.S.-American values and culture through concerts, conferences, radio programs, and recruit young composers for Tanglewood.<sup>10</sup> Put it differently, this dissertation proves the degree to which the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood became an epicenter for the realization of the cultural diplomacy of the United States.

### **Primary Sources and Theoretical Framework**

With the support of the findings from my archival research at the Tanglewood Music Festival's archive in Symphony Hall in Boston, the Aaron Copland Collection, the Serge Koussevitzky Archive, and the Seeger Family Tribute Collection at the Library of Congress's

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<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, *Conference on the Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music* (Washington D.C.: Department of State Division of Cultural Relations, 1940); Carleton Sprague Smith, *Musical Tour through South America, June-October 1940* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1940); John Haskins, "Panamericanism in Music," *Notes* 15/1 (1957): 43-49; Harold Hetrick, "Good Neighbors Through Music," *Music Educators Journal* 27/5 (1941): 30-32; Charles Seeger, "Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music," *Music Educators Journal* 27/5 (1941): 17-18 + 64-65; Aaron Copland Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter CCLC), "Report of South American Trip by Aaron Copland," August 19-December 13, 1941, folder 28, Box 358, and "Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947," CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

Music Division in Washington D.C., this dissertation's methodology entails the qualitative interpretation of documents, academic articles, and books, with the aim of providing a qualitative analysis of the actors and institutions that shaped this micro-story at Tanglewood.

Concerning the Western art music canon, Latin American art music has become an invisible or peripheral entity as a result of ethnocentric and epistemological hierarchies in which its works are considered not genuine cultural products. To this extent, this dissertation seeks to contribute towards the deconstruction of the continuous narrative that represents Latin American art music and musicians as merely peripheral, nationalist, or exotic. The problem here is not the knowledge produced on the "border," despite possessing an art music history of more than 500 years, but the European art music canon fundamentalism, whose power does not accept non-European art music traditions. In other words, because of the limited understanding of neither non-Eurocentric nor Euro-American knowledge that does not fit the univocal Western logos, the Western art music canon is established as the Self, and the art music by the American continent's composers as a "subaltern knowledge."

In order to establish from the dissertation's beginning the theoretical frame about how Western modernity has impacted Latin American art music as category, the succeeding paragraphs examine this historical/cultural dynamic informed by the work of the group of scholars –associated with the concept of the colonality of power: the persistence of colonial structures of power beyond the end of territorial colonization, and of the role of race in the global division of labor, one that began with the European conquest of America. For these scholars Modernity, and by extension globalization, began in 1492. In the history of humankind, this turning point represented the beginning of the circulation of ideas, people,



and goods on a global scale. The myth of modernity's construction, as Enrique Dussel defines it, has included the remapping of territories, peoples, and cultures by European powers, within the context of imposing hegemonic political, religious, economic and racial imaginaries.<sup>11</sup> Modernity is born when Europe, once emancipated as the Arab world periphery, is capable of constituting the Self from an Other.<sup>12</sup> In view of this, Dussel explains, "Europe could constitute itself as a unified ego exploring, conquering, colonizing an alterity that gave back its image of itself."<sup>13</sup>

Aníbal Quijano, nonetheless, argues, "Modernity is a phenomenon of all cultures, not just of Europe or the West."<sup>14</sup> In other words, rationality, secularization, high culture cultural products, and technological advancements were developed by a diverse group of non-European civilizations, before (Western) Europe positioned itself in a new geocultural role.<sup>15</sup> But from this point, and as a result of global European expansionism, modernity acquired a Eurocentered connotation known as Eurocentrism. Quijano explains that Eurocentrism promoted an ethnocentric project based on the theory of history in which a historical evolutionist perspective—homogeneous, linear, and continuous—led to the consolidation of Europe as the pinnacle of human civilization.<sup>16</sup> Quijano argues that the structure of modern

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<sup>11</sup> Enrique Dussel, "Eurocentrism and Modernity (Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures)," *boundary 2* 20/3 (1993): 65-76.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 66. Moreover, Fernando Coronil explains that "When Columbus landed in what Spain called the "Occidental Indies," Europe was still on the margins of the world's major civilizations in the Middle East and China, and Islam was the most expansive of the major religions." See Fernando Coronil, "Occidentalism," in *The Fernando Coronil Reader: The Struggle for Life Is the Matter*, eds. Julie Skurski, Gary Wilder, Laurent Dubois, Paul Eiss, Edward Murphy, Mariana Coronil, David Pedersen (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), 316; 319.

<sup>14</sup> Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," in *Coloniality at Large: Latin America and the Postcolonial Debate*, eds. Mabel Moraña, Enrique Dussel and Carlos A. Jáuregui (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 191.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 192-197

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

power became sustained by the theorizing of race as a category to construct hierarchies, and by the origin of a capital-wage world market system.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, he explains how the non-wage-based labor of Africans and Indigenous people made possible the consolidation of Europe as the modern metropole.<sup>18</sup> Besides, the Peruvian scholar voices that the Cartesian principle “Cogito, ergo sum” created a hierarchical and antagonistic dualism (mind/body; civilized/primitive; modern/pre-modern, among others) that operated a distorted relocation of time and of racial and geocultural identities<sup>19</sup>. This dynamic positioned Europe and its culture as the knowledge production center (mind, civilized, and modern) and the rest of the world as the Other (body, primitive, and pre-modern).

Europe transformed itself as a result of the events of 1492, because not only goods circulated between both continents, but also ideas, as claimed by Arturo Uslar Pietri. He argues that the American continent transformed European cosmology, cartography, sciences, philosophy, and culture and generated a global vision of the planet that broke with mercantilism and the feudal city-states and progressively enabled the rise of capitalism and nation-states.<sup>20</sup> Otherwise said, the American continent made possible the European transformation and transition from the pre-modern Middle Age into modernity. Pietri contends that the creation of a “New World” has shaped humankind's history with “[its] original presence and its own role in the history of humanity.”<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the encounter between the European and the so-called American civilizations, with its diverse outcomes,

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 182-184.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 182-184.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 203.

<sup>20</sup> Arturo Uslar Pietri, *La creación del nuevo mundo* (Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 192.

generated one of the most extraordinary dynamics for humanity. For this reason, “America was constituted as the first space/time of a new model of global vocation, and both in this way and by it became the first identity of modernity.”<sup>22</sup> Hence, modernity was heterogeneous and discontinuous, and as Quijano voices, “America was the first modern and global geocultural identity, Europe was the second and was constituted as a consequence of America, not the inverse ... So Europe and America,” concluded the scholar, “mutually produced themselves as the historical and the first two new geocultural identities of the modern world.”<sup>23</sup>

Although some scholars argue that America was invented, the same principle applies to Europe.<sup>24</sup> In other words, Europe was similarly invented, and its culture has been the result of diverse cultural flows and adoptions in time. Subsequently, Europe is not an authentic and pure cultural entity as it often represents itself, but the product of transculturation. This concept, articulated by Fernando Ortiz (1881–1969), entails a “complex transmutation of culture” applies to Europe as well.<sup>25</sup> In the field of culture, Ortiz reasons against the Eurocentric axiom of acculturation, in which a process of deculturation happens when a “dominant” culture displaces perpetually a “weaker” one, and proposes a different conceptualization. In accordance, Ortiz claims from his postcolonial epistemological position

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<sup>22</sup> Quijano, “Coloniality of Power,” 182.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>24</sup> See for example, Edmundo O’Gorman, *La invención de América: investigación acerca de la estructura histórica del Nuevo Mundo y del sentido de su devenir* (Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006 [1958]); Enrique Dussel, *The invention of the Americas: Eclipse of “the Other” and the Myth of Modernity* (New York: The Continuum Publishing, 1995) and Walter D. Mignolo, Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*. Translated from Spanish by Harriet de Onís, introduction by Bronislaw Malinowski, prologue by Herminio Portell Vilá, and new introduction by Fernando Coronil (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995).

that transculturation permanently embraces “the creation of new cultural phenomena, which could be called neoculturation.”<sup>26</sup>

Regarding music during this first phase of modern expansion, Western art music arrived on the American continent with the Spaniards, and to some extent the Portuguese, as part of their cultural arsenal to convert Indigenous people to Christianity (Catholicism). Thus, Western art music became a tool to acculturate the Indigenous communities and thus to construct and lead a vertical and asymmetrical intercultural relationship in Hispanic-American colonial society. However, the American continent’s composers progressively appropriated this musical tradition and have been transforming it according to their agency, culture, and history. Ramón Grosfoguel clarifies this idea by explaining that natives, from the space of the colonial difference with their cultural and political strategies of hybridity and *mestizo*, have been able to “insert epistemologies, cosmologies, and alternative political strategies to eurocentrism as resistance to existing power relations.”<sup>27</sup> These strategies are what Gloria Anzaldúa defines as “border thinking” a term that describes a decolonized knowledge created either in between or outside two contrasting modern essentialist and binary categories such as West/East, Self/Other, and civilized/primitive.<sup>28</sup>

Following the fall of the era of Luso-Spanish global imperial dominance, the Reformation (1517–1648), the Enlightenment and its Encyclopedism (ca. 1715–1789), and the French Revolution (1789–1799) arose and retained the same topoi about the American

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>27</sup> Ramón Grosfoguel, “Interculturalidad, ¿diálogo o monólogo?: la subalternidad desde la colonialidad del poder en los procesos fronterizos y transculturales latinoamericanos,” *Guaragua* 19/48 (2015): 98.

<sup>28</sup> Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza-La Frontera* (San Francisco: Spitters-Aunt Lute, 1987).

continent reproduced by the historiography of different European intellectual (scientific and artistic) disciplines.<sup>29</sup> At this new turning point, there was a shift between what Walter D. Mignolo calls the “first global design of the modern/colonial world,” based on the notion of *Orbis Christianus*, and the European Enlightenment, which engaged with the same global design project but from a “secular civilizing mission.”<sup>30</sup> In other words, the fall of the Hispanic/Catholic world and the rise of the Anglo-Saxon/Protestant world occasioned the reposition of the Enlightenment as modernity’s genesis.

Despite achieving political independence from Spain and Portugal, the creoles—subaltern within the Eurocentered modernity project—began a long and difficult path of identity formation in which they continually reproduced a sort of internal colonialism known as coloniality of power.<sup>31</sup> At that moment the geographical space of Hispanics and Luso-Americans became a zone of dispute not only for resources and markets but for culture. France tried to fill the space left by Spain and Portugal, as did Great Britain, and later the United States. As a result, the American continent was divided into two parts: the Hispanics/Lusos from the South and the Anglo-Saxons from the North. Nonetheless, France and its intellectuals launched the term “Latin” as a geocultural area to exercise some of the early practices of cultural diplomacy. The fact of being the main cultural European reference

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<sup>29</sup> Just to mention one example, G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) wrote in his *Lectures*, “The world is divided into the Old World and the New World. The name of the New World comes from the fact that America . . . has only recently come to be known by Europeans,” and “But Europe is absolutely the Center and the End,” as quoted in Dussel, “Eurocentrism and Modernity,” 69-71. In addition, I sustain the thesis that the French Revolution was possible because of the U.S.-American Independence (1776). Nevertheless, a kind of Eurocentric historiography always privilege the opposite narrative.

<sup>30</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, “Cosmopolitanism Localisms: Overcoming Colonial and Imperial Differences,” in *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2011), 256.

<sup>31</sup> See Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* and Quijano, “Coloniality of Power.”

during the nineteenth century for the American continent was used as a strategy, and as Walter D. Mignolo explains, the French “Latinidad” represents the “reticulation of the coloniality of power.”<sup>32</sup>

At the same time, the new designation of Spain and Portugal as second-rate powers raised the stigmatization of the cultural products produced both before and after by them and their former colonies. In music, Western art music historiography, as Judith Etzion clarifies, has halted “the history of Spanish music after its so-called ‘Golden Age’ of the sixteenth century,” as a result of the positioning of Spain in the Western periphery, and whose anachronism was due to the ‘Black Legend.’”<sup>33</sup> Therefore, Spain was treated by composers and musicologists as a highly exoticized object and area during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Another factor that impacted this enforced imagery was the fact of Spain's geocultural position as a recipient of the cultural legacy of the Arabs, who, together with the Jews, preserved the European cultural texts during the Middle Ages. However, the Christian Central-European fear towards Muslims (namely, the Ottoman Empire) was also a dualism/value projected towards the Hispanic-American territories and its inhabitants with a connotation of anti-Christianity, infidel, anti-modernity, and anti-progress.

All the previously discussed reasons would affect the future category of Latin American art music, not to mention the other artistic creations from this region. Western global culture, according to Aníbal Quijano, entails a racial/ethnic hierarchy that privileges the

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<sup>32</sup> Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, 70. Italics mine.

<sup>33</sup> The Black Legend's creation was used a political propaganda to undermine Spain's political power and international reputation. See Judith Etzion, “Spanish Music as Perceived in Western Music Historiography: A Case of the Black Legend?” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 29/2 (1998): 94-96.

cultural products of Europeans over those of non-Europeans.<sup>34</sup> Yara El-Ghadban explains why the category of Latin American art music, vis-a-vis the European canon, becomes the Other within the Western art music when she claims that:

The Other is treated as an object of Western musical representation but rarely is he or she treated as a subject and, thus, an active participant in and contributor to Western art music. In fact, the postcolonial Other ceases to be an object and suddenly comes to life only when the repertory studied, or genres examined move from art music to popular and hybrid musics.<sup>35</sup>

Subsequently, because of the limited understanding of hybrid knowledge that does not fit the Western logos, the Western art music canon is established as the Self, and the art music by the American continent's composers as a "subaltern knowledge."<sup>36</sup> Philip V. Bohlman argues that the automatically canonical dynamic of inclusion/exclusion uses a "process of disciplining to cover up the racism, colonialism, and sexism that underline many of the singular canons of the West."<sup>37</sup> While these musical works represent knowledge from the global South, epistemological hierarchies have been promoted as global colonialism (1492–1945) and then global coloniality (since 1945).<sup>38</sup>

The category of Latin American art music concerning the European art music canon becomes a sort of either invisible or peripheral entity as a result of ethnocentric and epistemological hierarchies in which its works are considered "by-products" and not genuine

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<sup>34</sup> Aíbal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power," 119-121.

<sup>35</sup> Yara El-Ghadban, "Facing the Music: Rituals of Belonging and Recognition in Contemporary Western Art Music," *American Ethnologist* 36/1 (2009): 142.

<sup>36</sup> I am adapting it from the concept of colonial difference.

<sup>37</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, "Epilogue: Musics and Canons," in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 198.

<sup>38</sup> See also Ramón Grosfoguel, "Transmodernity, border thinking, and global coloniality Decolonizing political economy and postcolonial studies," *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 80 (2008): 1-24 and Grosfoguel, "Interculturalidad, ¿diálogo o monólogo?" 103.

cultural products that resignified and remapped the Western art music category according to its cultural history.<sup>39</sup> In other words, this complex context has been a challenge for traditional musicology, because “. . .the inherent hybridity of Latin American music makes clear-cut distinctions and identifications nearly impossible,” as stated by Walter A. Clark, who similarly asks “where are the [cultural/musical] borders of Latin America?”<sup>40</sup> The problem here is not the knowledge produced on the “border,” but the European art music canon fundamentalism, whose power does not accept non-European art music traditions. Despite possessing a cultural history of more than 500 years, until the twentieth century’s beginning the art music in Latin America was only associated with each country. Nevertheless, Pablo Palomino articulates that the conjunction of intellectuals, institutions, and publications began constructing a transnational and regional musical/identity category that would become known globally as Latin American music.<sup>41</sup>

### **Organization of the Dissertation**

Chapter I, “The Pan-American Era and Latin American Modern Music,” discusses the early twentieth-century American continent’s history. The goal is to understand how these historical events shaped the ideals of Americanism, Pan-Americanism, and Inter-Americanism. This chapter seeks to analyze Aaron Copland’s and Serge Koussevitzky’s earlier lives and shows how both artists evolved until Tanglewood materialized. It also examines the art-music actors (composer groups and institutions), such as *Grupo Renovación* (Argentina,

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<sup>39</sup> See, for example, Lorenz, “Voices in Limbo.”

<sup>40</sup> Walter A. Clark, “What Makes Latin American Music ‘Latin’? Some Personal Reflections,” *The Musical Quarterly* 92/3, Latin American Music (2009): 170-171.

<sup>41</sup> See Pablo Palomino, *The Invention of Latin American Music* and Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979).



1929–1944), *Instituto Interamericano de Musicología* (1935–1947), *Grupo de los cuatro* (Mexico, 1936–1940), *Música Viva* (Brazil, 1939–1948) and *Grupo de Renovación Musical* (Cuba, 1942–1948).

Chapter II, “Cultural Diplomacy, the Good Neighbor Policy and the Berkshire Music Center’s Genesis,” examines the Good Neighbor Policy’s antecedents and design and traces its complex connections with U.S. cultural diplomacy starting in the 1930s. In so doing, this chapter’s argument reassesses this political approach while answering a fundamental question about cultural diplomacy design. It also studies the history of the inception of the Berkshire Music Center.

Chapter III, “The Berkshire Music Center: A Place for Musical Emancipation or Neocolonialism within Pan-Americanism and the Good Neighbor Policy (1940-1941)?,” studies the World War II historical milieu around the first generation of Latin American art music composers and their works at the Berkshire Music Center. The chapter cultivates an invaluable understanding of the Berkshire Music Center scholarships’ design by the Music Committee from the Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940–1945), the Pan American Union Music Division, and their connections with private and state sponsorship in the United States. Furthermore, the cultural-diplomatic educational goals allowed Copland to fulfill the political agenda of the Good Neighbor Policy. The chapter also discusses the “Goodwill” trip to Latin America (1940-1941), taken by Carlton Sprague Smith with a grant from the Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations to evaluate Latin American music scene and the potential opportunities for musical diplomacy, as well as fist Latin American music works by Heitor Villa-Lobos (1878-1959) and the initial fellow Blas Galindo (Mexico, 1910-1993).

Chapter IV, “The Difficult Years of Transition (1942–1946),” discusses the composer’s “goodwill” trip to Latin America (1941) as Cultural Attaché for the Committee of Inter-American Affairs by Aaron Copland and evaluates his agenda and discourses as an important actor within the U.S. cultural diplomacy toward Latin America. It also examines documents describing Koussevitzky’s vital role to navigate the World War II circumstances and keep the Berkshire Music Center functioning in 1942 with the hope and vision of reopening it after the conflict’s end, and the participation of Mexicans Blas Galindo (1910-1993) and José Pablo Moncayo (1912-1958) and Cuban Harold Gramatges (1918-2008). It briefly examines Copland Pan-American and general musical activities during this period.

Chapter V, “The Berkshire Music Center: The Transition from Pan-Americanism to Cold War (1946-1947),” analyzes the historical context after World War II with the beginning of the Cold War and clarifies how this historical shift impacted the music of the American continent. This chapter is mainly concerned with the significant festival participation of Latin American composers such as Roque Cordero (Panama, 1917–2008), Juan Orrego-Salas (Chile, 1919-2019), Alberto Ginastera (Argentina, 1916–1983), Pia Sebastiani (Argentina, 1925–2015), Carlos Riesco (Chile, 1925–2007), and Héctor Campos-Parsi (Puerto Rico, 1922–1998). Lastly, it explores Aaron Copland’s 1947 trip to Latin America (Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay) as a cultural ambassador for the State Department to examine his Inter-Americanist and developmental musical/political agenda.

Chapter VI, “The Berkshire Music Center: The Cold War and Inter-Americanism (1948-1951),” offers a helpful understanding of the culture and history that surround the works by Camargo Guarnieri (Brazil, 1907-1993), Carlos Riesco, and Héctor Campos Parsi at

Tanglewood. This chapter also focuses on Koussevitzky's festival speeches to show how the conductor's artistic philosophy impacted the festival's audiences and musicians alike. The death of Serge Koussevitzky in 1951 established an inflection point in this history; therefore, the chapter analyzes his legacy in modern music inside and outside Tanglewood.

About the American continent's music and musical festivals' importance, Brazilian composer Edino Krieger (1928) opined that "We are looking to what Europe has to teach us and very often forget what we have to show to the world. Inter-American Festivals . . . have been of great importance, I believe, to a better knowledge of our own musical contribution to the world."<sup>42</sup> Thus, with the support of an interdisciplinary theoretical frame, the dissertation aims to illuminate the overlooked history of the modern musical and cultural contributions that Latin American composers made at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood from 1941 to 1951.

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<sup>42</sup> Edino Krieger (Brazil, 1928) studied at Tanglewood in 1948. See Edino Krieger, e-mail message to author, November 30, 2011.

**CHAPTER I**  
**The Pan-American Era and Latin American Modern Music**

**Introduction**

The chapter starts with a brief historical examination focused mainly on two areas within Latin American history. Firstly, it analyzes the rise of the United States as a global actor toward the nineteenth century's end and the power it exercised on the American continent based on the Monroe Doctrine. Secondly, the chapter surveys the global consequences of World War I to understand how the fragile institutional and economic framework led to the outbreak of fascism in Europe and, eventually, to World War II. The present chapter also studies how Aaron Copland began and transformed his relationship with Latin America as a result of his encounter, friendship and artistic collaboration with Carlos Chávez (1899–1978), as well as his ties to Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979) and Serge Koussevitzky in France, just before Koussevitzky moved to the United States to become the Music Director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. By exploring these multifaceted relationships, the chapter shows that Copland's musical style and artistic persona changed as a result of these transcultural experiences. The chapter examines the actors (composer groups and institutions), events, and philosophies from the early twentieth century through the inception of the Berkshire Music Center.

To trace this story, it revisits the contributions from different composer organizations and institutions that created or promoted the construction of the continent's art-music tradition, such as the Pan American Union Music Concerts (1924–1939), *Grupo Renovación* (Argentina, 1929–1944), *Instituto Interamericano de Musicología* (1935–1947), *Grupo de los Cuatro* (Mexico, 1935-1939), *Festival Iberoamericano de Música* in Bogotá (1938), *Música Viva* (Brazil,

1939–1948) and *Grupo de Renovación Musical* (Cuba, 1942–1948), among others. It seeks to understand how these forums modeled the compositional voices of those who later attended the Berkshire Music Center.

### **Historical Context**

The *fin-de-siècle* brought changes in the Western hemisphere's geopolitical space. At the nineteenth century's end, the United States had already consolidated its international position with a growing economy and a larger territory. Manifest Destiny represented the incorporation of new lands into the previous thirteen colonies, which enabled the Colossus of the North to increase its internal market as well as its manufactured goods and services production. A series of events, including the Mexican–American War (1846-1848) and the Spanish-American War (1898), helped to reinforce its continental role.<sup>43</sup> The Caribbean became a sensitive region for the U.S. national security. During the early twentieth century, Latin America witnessed a number of military interventions in the region that aimed to assert the Monroe Doctrine. For example, the Venezuelan Crisis (1902-1903) and the Cuban intervention (1902), having previously included the Platt Amendment, signified some of the U.S.-American disciplinary actions to enforce its continental foreign policy and ensure markets and resources. Theodore Roosevelt's (1858-1919) administration displayed its own Monroe Doctrine interpretation and created a corollary, which was invoked to organize efforts to build the Panama Canal. This maneuver was strategic to control the international maritime commerce between the Atlantic

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<sup>43</sup> However, there was an exception regarding the United States military response's capacity to avoid the European presence on the American continent. During the U.S.-American Civil War (1861-1865) the United States was not able to request that the French troops immediately withdraw from Mexico, which positioned the Habsburg Maximilian I (1832-1867) as the Mexican emperor.

and the Pacific Oceans. Built between 1904 and 1911, the Panama Canal was a challenging engineering project and became the symbol of the United States' new hegemonic global power.

Meanwhile, William Howard Taft (1857-1930), Roosevelt's presidential successor, similarly displayed and enforced his own Monroe Doctrine interpretation with the Dollar Diplomacy in Latin America. The United States progressively displaced Britain and France, which had been the hegemonic powers in Latin America after the Spanish Empire's defeat. Part of its strategy was to become the financial provider for the region in terms of loans or investments. The flow of capital into the southern regional area was also a way to expand and promote capitalism into the region, to reproduce it, and (in turn) to generate profits for U.S. corporations such as, for example, the United Fruit Company. Therefore, during the period of Taft's administration (1909-1913), Latin Americans kept observing a continuing process of military interventions to protect this capital.

As a result of the modernization process, the myth of progress turned out to be, at the same time, a barrier to constructing more inclusive and democratic institutions in Latin America. For instance, the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) represented the struggle of the indigenous and mestizo population to achieve fundamental human rights. From this perspective, the lack of lands, education, and public-health services triggered a popular uprising from the Mexican people against the dictatorial regime led by Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915), which privileged international investors over the Mexican people. *¡Tierra y Libertad!* was the Mexican people's main motto. After a succession of different political figures fighting for power and a more social and progressively oriented Constitution (1917), the armed conflict was coming to an end and institutionalization started taking its place, materializing in the

*Partido Revolucionario Institucional's* birth and consolidation as the Mexico's dominant political power.

In Europe, in the meantime, the twentieth century brought a reconfiguration in the geopolitical space as well. World War I (1914-1918) pitted the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary) against the Allies, (principally France, Britain, and Russia), until the United States joined in the war to tip the balance in favor of the Allies. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863-1914) in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, ignited an international conflict in which new technologies and strategies would result in an unprecedented death toll. The fragility in the European balance of power was similarly destabilized by ideology. One of the postwar aftermaths was that the Russian Czarist regime was definitively overthrown. The communist dogma served as a philosophical paradigm that engaged masses of peasants and middle-class workers in Russia to overthrow the monarchy. The Bolshevik revolution (1918-1920) deposed the monarchical system and established, for the first time in history, a communist regime. With the foundation of the Soviet Union, likewise, an internal struggle for power ended up with Josef Stalin (1878-1953) consolidating power.

The international community had intentions of bringing stability into the system, and one outcome of the Paris Peace Conference and the 'Treaty of Versailles' was the League of Nations (1920-1946). Initially, it was part of Woodrow Wilson's (1856-1924) Fourteen Points; nonetheless, the United States never became a member. The idea was to create a mechanism of collective security to deter any other kind of global conflict. However, the League of Nations did not fill the vacuum left by the postwar crisis and fulfilled a more symbolic than real role as an institution, since the national agendas were given a priority instead of international equilibrium.

For that reason, the fragility of the democratic political culture in the “Old World” opened a path for fascism. In Italy and Germany, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) and Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) were slowly gaining supporters for their political projects, and with its economic and institutional instability, the postwar milieu became fertile soil for the future authoritarian regimes. Besides, after World War I, citizens around the globe felt disillusionment about notions of progress and modernity, and there was a nostalgia for pre-modern times and cultures. One of the actions taken in this sensitive area was having sixty-five nations sign the Kellogg-Briand Pact in Paris (1928), in which the main goal was outlawing war in the world. Nevertheless, this treaty did not prevent the future outbreak of World War II.

The Wall Street Crash of 1929 and subsequent the Great Depression brought the United States and the global economic system to their knees, as international markets reached their lowest level in economic trade history. One consequence of this was the advent of authoritarian regimes in Europe, Latin America, and Asia. The year 1933 marked a turning point in history when Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President of the United States. Meanwhile, the New Deal policy designed and implemented by Roosevelt’s administration began animating the markets by stimulating consumption. Simultaneously, since his intuition predicted an international conflict following the depression years, Roosevelt reengineered the Monroe Doctrine and promoted it on the American continent. The Good Neighbor Policy attempted to redefine inter-American relations to ensure peace, security, and access to resources in the Western hemisphere. Besides involving the United States more proactively in the inter-American conferences and discouraging military intervention, Roosevelt demonstrated the U.S. government’s “goodwill” by withdrawing the Marines from Nicaragua



(1933), eliminating the Platt Amendment and its enforcement from the Cuba Constitution (1934) and supporting the Mexican Oil Nationalization (1938).

On the other hand, the dark cloud of fascism had already spread across European politics with Adolf Hitler becoming the German Chancellor (1933), the rise of Benito Mussolini in Italy (1922) which was later followed by the triumph of General Francisco Franco during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). By then, Japan's declaration of war on China (1937) along with Germany's annexation of Austria (1938) and subsequent invasion of Poland (1939) ushered in the Second World War.

### **Serge Koussevitzky and Aaron Copland: The Berkshire Music Center Founders' Encounter**

Serge Koussevitzky (1874-1951) was a double bass virtuoso, conductor, cultural entrepreneur, and modern music patron whose international career oriented him toward promoting contemporary music. During his early days in Russia, he included works by Russian composers such as Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), Sergey Rachmaninoff (1873-1943), Aleksandr Scriabin (1872-1915) and Sergey Prokofiev (1891-1953), among others, in the performances with his orchestras in Moscow and Petrograd (St. Petersburg).<sup>44</sup> Koussevitzky likewise published their scores with his company *L'Édition Musicale Russe*.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, the Russian Revolution's Bolshevik milieu reduced the options for his agency and socio-economic status, forcing Koussevitzky to leave Russia in 1920. One year later, after residing again for some time in Berlin, Koussevitzky settled in Paris. The cultural life of this cosmopolitan city offered

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<sup>44</sup> M. Montagu-Nathan, "Sergei Alexandrovich Koussevitzky," *The Musical Times* 92/1302 (1951): 351. Koussevitzky benefited from studying and attending the concerts of Hungarian conductor Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922) with the Berlin Philharmonic, who also was the Music Director at the Boston Symphony Orchestra from 1889-1893.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

fruitful space and artistic capital to Koussevitzky to keep promoting modern European art music, which he did by launching a concert series entitled “Concerts Koussevitzky” (1921-1929) at the *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées*.<sup>46</sup>

Meanwhile, the younger composer Aaron Copland (1900-1990) was taking his first steps in the world of art music in New York City, which became an intersectional haven of diverse cultures, cultural events, and institutions. In other words, New York City was a symbol and destination for immigrants from all over the world seeking a new and better life, including many artists, who converted it into a space to expose and exchange ideas and aesthetics. Thus, New York City became a leading venue for opera, symphonic, chamber music, and recital performances by international musicians that allowed Copland to experience performances of both canonical works and premieres of contemporary music.

Copland took piano lessons with various teachers, and later he decided to study composition with Rubin Goldmark (1872-1936) in Manhattan from 1916 to 1921. He described Goldmark as a pedagogue who “had an excellent grasp of the fundamentals of music and knew very well how to impart his ideas.”<sup>47</sup> Nonetheless, the experience with Goldmark saw tensions between both composers because of Goldmark’s conservative taste and disliked modern music.<sup>48</sup> Ergo, Copland led a double life as a composition student divided into two halves. One half was the public sphere, filled with the music for his lessons with Goldmark, during which the young composer was immersed in scores from the German Romantic

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<sup>46</sup> Anthony Gishford, “Serge Koussevitzky,” *Tempo* 16 (1950): 3-4.

<sup>47</sup> Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 34. See also Aaron Copland, “Composer from Brooklyn: An Autobiographical Sketch (1939, 1968),” in *Aaron Copland: A Reader Selected Writings 1923-1972*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), xx.

<sup>48</sup> Copland, *Aaron Copland*, xx-xxi.

tradition, which the Eurocentric teacher regarded as universal.<sup>49</sup> From this point on, Copland would have an ambivalent relationship with the German tradition that would last the rest of his life.<sup>50</sup> His second half was a private sphere, with his new scores such as *The Cat and the Mouse* (1920), and Copland developed a rapport with music by Claude Debussy (1862-1918), Charles Ives (1874-1954), and Maurice Ravel (1875-1937) among others modern composers, who shaped his technique, aesthetic, and apprenticeship.<sup>51</sup>

In 1920, Copland began thinking about going “abroad” (Europe) because “anyone who had serious pretensions as a composer would have to go abroad to finish his studies.”<sup>52</sup> The combination of the post-World War I historical context, the French art-music tradition nurtured by the *Paris Conservatoire*, *Schola Cantorum*, and *École Normale de Musique*, and the dynamic art scene in Paris became cultural magnets that encouraged U.S.-American composers to consider France instead of Germany as a destination to continue their musical training.<sup>53</sup> In Copland’s words, “After the war, the center of musical activity definitively shifted from Germany to France. . . . Whatever happened in France was of importance to the rest of the creative musical world.”<sup>54</sup> Paris was a cultural mecca in which artists exchanged and fluently negotiated aesthetics. Copland, “was not drawn to study with a particular teacher, but to be in

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<sup>49</sup> Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 34-37.

<sup>50</sup> Although Copland criticized this musical tradition in his writings, the composer wrote some works using the twelve-tone technique, such as *Piano Variations*, *Piano Quartet* and *Piano Fantasy*. Copland, likewise, utilized the German art music tradition’s formalism, in which composers used the sonata form as well as the symphony and sonata genres. See, for example, Bryan R. Simms, “Serialism in the Early Music of Aaron Copland,” *The Musical Quarterly* 90/2 (2007): 176-196.

<sup>51</sup> Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 34-37.

<sup>52</sup> Copland, *Aaron Copland*, xxi.

<sup>53</sup> See D. Kern Holoman, “The Paris Conservatoire in the Nineteenth Century,” *Oxford Handbooks Online* April 2015, accessed February 3, 2019, <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935321.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935321-e-114>.

<sup>54</sup> Aaron Copland, “Music between the Wars (1918-1939),” in *The New Music 1900-1960* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968), 54.

the midst of the latest musical trends of the early twentieth century.”<sup>55</sup> Since the American Conservatory at Fontainebleau was founded in 1921, Copland enrolled there to continue his composition studies.

While Copland started his studies with Paul A. Vidal (1863-1931) from the Paris Conservatoire, he later switched to the class of a young and gifted Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979). Nevertheless, even Copland possessed a progressive mind and was conscious of his gay orientation, which placed him in a marginalized group. Copland made this enrollment decision for himself, and not easily, because of gender pre-conceptions. As he expressed it:

There were several mental hurdles to get over first, however. No one to my knowledge had ever before thought of studying composition with a woman. This idea was absurd in the face of it. Everyone knows that the world has never produced a first-rate woman composer, so it is to follow that no woman could possibly hope to teach composition. Moreover, how would it sound to the folks back home? The whole idea was just a bit too revolutionary.<sup>56</sup>

Copland committed after attending a class in which Boulanger analyzed Modest Mussorgsky’s (1839-81) *Boris Godunov* (1874), a work that he had already heard before at the Metropolitan Opera, which “left him spellbound.”<sup>57</sup> Copland's choice to join Mademoiselle Boulanger’s class marked a turning point for him as a composer, because of the complete and holistic education in which she exposed him to varied music ranging from the Renaissance to the moderns. The musicians and intellectuals he met in her studio, including Igor Stravinsky (1882-

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<sup>55</sup> Gayle Murchison, “Paris and Jazz: French Neoclassicism and the New Modern American Music,” in *The American Stravinsky: The Style and Aesthetics of Copland's New American Music, the Early Works, 1921-1938* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 73.

<sup>56</sup> Copland, *Aaron Copland*, xxii.

<sup>57</sup> Copland, *Aaron Copland*, xxii. This experience also opened a path for future generations of U.S.-American composers who studied with Nadia Boulanger in France as well as during her sojourn in the United States during World War II. In order to understand the deep impact that *Boris Godunov* had on French composers, in particular Claude Debussy, see Rollo H. Myers, “Claude Debussy and Russian Music,” *Music & Letters* 39/4 (1958): 336-342. See Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 34.

1971), Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959), and *Les Six*, “symbolized a new 20th-century type of composer . . . who liked to go to night clubs like everybody else.”<sup>58</sup> This neoclassical group of composers “was both nationalist and modernist,” and their “rejection of German Romanticism made *Les Six* modern composers,” which attracted Copland, as conceptualized by Gayle Murchison.<sup>59</sup>

The scholar examines the extent to which Europe represented for Copland a place for experiencing, experimenting, and reflecting on how to compose works that were at once international yet American, without using any signifiers of “Americana.”<sup>60</sup> African-American jazz and blues, as well as neoclassicism, became mediators that directed the composer to liberate himself from the Germanic Romantic tradition and embrace modernism.<sup>61</sup> Copland “understood jazz as an international modern, urban vernacular music,” and by using its “rhythmic techniques,” he would be able to compose “modern, urban American art music that equaled that of Europe.”<sup>62</sup> The fact that European composers integrated jazz and ragtime music into their modernist musical works, before their U.S.-Americans counterparts did, gave Copland the cultural legitimacy to incorporate jazz into his music.<sup>63</sup> Copland soon realized a connection between “jazz with Americanism, internationalism, and modernism,” and the

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<sup>58</sup> Aaron Copland, *The New Music 1900-1960*, 58 and Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942* (New York: St. Martins/Marek, 1984), 53-92. Howard Pollack also demystifies the belief that Copland was the first U.S.-American Boulanger student. See Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, 46

<sup>59</sup> Gayle Murchison, *The American Stravinsky*, 77.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 93-94.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

circumstance “that European composers were using jazz further validated and legitimized Copland’s own use of the idiom.”<sup>64</sup>

The aforementioned nurturing environmental similarly led to an experience that transformed Copland’s musical career: his encounter with the Russian conductor Serge Koussevitzky (1874-1951). The Russian conductor’s social network included Nadia Boulanger, who organized a meeting between Koussevitzky and Copland during the spring of 1923, just before Koussevitzky was appointed the new Boston Symphony Orchestra conductor.<sup>65</sup>

Copland wrote that:

It was typical that at the Concerts Koussevitzky all the new and exciting European novelties were introduced. Mademoiselle Boulanger, knowing the Russian conductor’s interest in new creative talents of all countries, took it for granted that he would want to meet a young composer from the country he was about to visit for the first time. That she was entirely correct in her assumption was immediately evident from the interest he showed from the orchestral score under my arm.<sup>66</sup>

The meeting, according to Copland, happened in Koussevitzky’s house, where Sergei Prokofiev was also visiting. Koussevitzky’s musical sensitivity “was a profound understanding of the sound materials and rhetoric of nineteenth- and twentieth-century music,” as Leon Botstein has said.<sup>67</sup> Thus, after hearing Copland’s performance at the piano of *Cortège macabre*, the Russian conductor specified: “You [w]ill write an organ concerto, Mademoiselle Boulanger

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 79-82.

<sup>65</sup> Koussevitzky became a champion of U.S.-American new music works during his sojourn in the United States, and regarding Copland, the Russian conductor supported his career with commissions, performances and recordings of his works during his tenure as the Boston Symphony Orchestra conductor. See Aaron Copland, “Serge Koussevitzky and the American Composer,” *The Musical Quarterly* 30/3 (1944): 255-269.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 255.

<sup>67</sup> Leon Botstein, “On Conductors, Composers, and Music Directors: Serge Koussevitzky in Retrospect,” *The Musical Quarterly* 86/4 (2002): 585.

[w]ill play it, and I [w]ill conduct it”!<sup>68</sup> In the meantime, Copland expressed that, “I had left my drab Brooklyn street as a mere student with practically no musical connections, I was returning there in much the same state. As far as I was concerned, America was virgin soil,” and the facts demonstrate that the composer gained experience and educational capital in Europe.<sup>69</sup> Then it opened the path for his successful musical career in the United States and internationally.<sup>70</sup> The *Symphony for Organ and Orchestra* (1924) was performed by Nadia Boulanger during her tour in the United States with the New York Symphony Orchestra and the Boston Symphony Orchestra in the 1924-25 season.<sup>71</sup> This work became a platform for projecting Copland’s music on the U.S.-American circuit for commissions and performances after Copland returned to the United States in 1924.

### **Aaron Copland’s Introduction to Latin America: Carlos Chávez, Silvestre Revueltas and Mexico**

Carlos Chávez’s multifaceted work in music as composer, conductor, pedagogue, writer, cultural entrepreneur and art administrator aimed to break with the Romantic and Eurocentric nineteenth-century past in Mexican art music, then construct a new modern and *mestizo* one, according to post-revolutionary Mexico’s spirit of the times.<sup>72</sup> From his youth, Carlos Chávez started constructing his public musical and political persona with his

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<sup>68</sup> Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 92.

<sup>69</sup> Copland, *Aaron Copland*, xxiii.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> See Pollack, 121-128.

<sup>72</sup> Chávez, partly self-taught, also studied piano and music theory with musicians who grew up during the *Porfiriato* era, such as Manuel M. Ponce (1882-1948) and Pedro Luis Ogazón (1873-1929), among others. José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz Mori (1830-1915) ruled Mexico from 1876-1911. He was a war veteran who fought in the Mexican-American War (1946-48), helped in 1855 to overthrow Antonio López de Santa Ana (1794-1876), and participated in the military campaign against the Second French Intervention in Mexico (1862-67). Porfirio Díaz became a protégé of Benito Juárez (1806-72) and, once in office, Díaz’s political project consisted of transforming Mexico into a modern country by embracing and implementing policies with positivist, eugenic, and Eurocentric ideologies; however, this practice had a high cost in terms of social, economic and political rights for the Mexican people, who decided to defeat him by fighting in the Mexican Revolution.

compositions and his writings in newspapers and cultural magazines.<sup>73</sup> As an admirer of technology and mass-media innovations, Chávez used these to spread the ideas and aesthetics of modernism across the country, in particular those interrelated to forming Mexican musical modernism. Chávez first acknowledged the crucial role of composer Manuel M. Ponce (1882-1938) by pointing new generations of Mexican composers to the fruitful and inspirational folk aesthetic originating from the indigenous and *mestizo* cultures as a signifier of *Mexicanidad*.<sup>74</sup> For Chávez, modernism and folk music were compatible in music creation, and this idea gave rise to a new school of Mexican composers.<sup>75</sup> As a composer, Chávez debuted on May 25, 1921, at *Anfiteatro de la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*, with a program containing works for solo piano and chamber music.<sup>76</sup>

While Carlos Chávez has been represented as a Mexican nationalist composer, Leonora Saavedra points out that the encoding of “Mexican, pre-Columbian, or indigenous signifiers,” which connect his music to the Mexican Revolution’s (1910-1920) ideals and culture, makes Chávez’s musical and critical discourse ambiguous and difficult to define. Nonetheless, Saavedra believes that Chávez designed “the representation of the modern, the abstract, the primitive, the indigenous, the mestizo, or the machine-like, developing a

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<sup>73</sup> See, for example, Carlos Chávez, *Obras: Escritos periodísticos*, ed. Gloria Carmona (México D.F.: El Colegio Nacional, 1997).

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. The composer’s connection to positivism and the myth of “progress” is betrayed by the word “evolution” in the text. See Carlos Chávez, *Obras: Escritos periodísticos* and also Leonora Saavedra, “Of Selves and Others: Historiography, Ideology and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburg, 2001), 137-139. See also the debut concert program in Saavedra, “Of Selves and Others,” 141.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Saavedra also mentions that, significantly, Chávez did not include any of his Ponce-like versions of Mexican songs, which would have introduced him to the public as a composer of Mexican-sounding music. See Ibid., 139-140.



polysemic style capable of evoking a number of diverse associations.”<sup>77</sup> Regarding these ideas, Ricardo Miranda mentions that the post-revolutionary notion of “Mexican musical modernism,” as a cultural ideology, emanated from the principle of social justice (anti-bourgeois) and reconstructed and glorified Mexico’s pre-Hispanic past and sound.<sup>78</sup>

On the other hand, inspired and committed to the ideals of what Leonora Saavedra calls the “Myth of the Aztec Renaissance,” Chávez embraced this new hegemonic state discourse promoted by José Vasconcelos (1882-1959), among other intellectuals, from his position at the *Secretaría de Educación Pública*.<sup>79</sup> Consequently, Chávez composed some compelling musical works in concordance with the murals’ aesthetics and codes displayed by contemporary Mexican artists Diego Rivera (1886-1956), José Clemente Orozco (1883-1949), and David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896-1974), among others.<sup>80</sup> These artworks intended to engage and connect the Mexican people with an intertextual and intercultural dialog between their present and their pre-Columbian past, mediated by the colonial history of *Nueva España*. Therefore, these artworks not only attempted to “educate” the Mexican people about their history, customs, and beliefs, but they also attempted to construct their sense of modern Mexican identity. Saavedra argues that “Chávez was a major historical agent in the creation of modern Mexico as it now imagines itself: a nation of mixed culture, heir to refined European traditions as well as to a glorious pre-Conquest past.”<sup>81</sup> Still, this project comprised the

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<sup>77</sup> Leonora Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez’s Polysemic Style: Constructing the National, Seeking the Cosmopolitan,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 68/1 (2015): 99.

<sup>78</sup> Ricardo Miranda, “‘The heartbeat of an intense life’: Mexican Music and Carlos Chávez’s Orchestra Sinfónica de México, 1928-1948,” in *Carlos Chávez and His World*, ed. Leonora Saavedra (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 53.

<sup>79</sup> See Leonora Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez and the Myth of the Aztec Renaissance,” in *Carlos Chávez and His World*, ed. Leonora Saavedra (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 134-164.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 136

problem regarding its representation, because “The *indígenas* continued to be homogenized and constructed from outside, this time by mestizos for whom self-recognition in the indigenous/pre-Columbian culture, now turned into an idealized and valuable asset, was crucial.”<sup>82</sup>

Alejandro L. Madrid has a different interpretation and contends that Chávez was an avant-garde composer.<sup>83</sup> Madrid challenges the teleological conception institutionalized and reproduced by the “traditional rhetoric of Mexican cultural history” in which the “myth of origin” created “natural” art manifestations connecting the new state ideology with the national identity.<sup>84</sup> To understand Chávez’s aesthetics and politics in the 1920s as an avant-gardist, Madrid clarifies that modernism can have “two different phases” in which one (modernism) with roots in the nineteenth century aims to “establish new models of aesthetic organization and artistic communication.”<sup>85</sup> The other phase (avant-garde) is more radical, and it concerns the “nihilistic radicalization against tradition.”<sup>86</sup> Chávez—the individual and his subcultural, transgressive, and avant-garde musical aesthetic—challenged the traditional musical languages and hegemonic discourses in Mexico.<sup>87</sup> “Chávez’s multiple identity became a political tool, and his Avant-Gardism became a site for hegemonic contestation, an aesthetic critique of tradition that found his way into political action through his rise to power in the last years of the 1920s,” as Madrid argues.<sup>88</sup> In other words, Chávez’s agency within post-

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 140.

<sup>83</sup> Alejandro L. Madrid, “The Avant-Garde as a Site of Identification: Style and Ideology in Carlos Chavez’s Early Music,” in *Music Sounds of the Modern Nation: Music, Culture, and Ideas in Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 49-81.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 6

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

revolutionary Mexico allowed him to determine his country's artistic and intellectual plan, unlike the essentialist and teleological official historiographical rhetoric.<sup>89</sup>

To clarify ideas and find his position within the cultural world of post-revolutionary Mexico, Chávez decided to establish some distance and left Mexico for Europe (1922-1923). The trip's objective was to explore the modern European art music scene, publish his works, and meet some of the most relevant European composers and expose them to his music.<sup>90</sup> Nonetheless, Chávez's plans during his European sojourn developed differently, and he found old tropes with "the same routine, the same clichés, against which he had reacted in Mexico."<sup>91</sup> Therefore, the Mexican composer "turned his back on Europe" and decided to build his career on the American continent.<sup>92</sup> Chávez expressed that "In Europe, things are done; my time in Europe convinced me that we had to do our thing, build our scene and act in it, realize what we could do, a lot or a little, good or bad, but our own and somehow different."<sup>93</sup> The trip's significant aspect was the composer's reflections regarding his future role in Mexican music and the idea that he would become a cultural agent in the construction of modernism in Mexico and on the American continent. According to Leonora Saavedra, "Chávez's relation to Europe was mediated by the peripheral cultural position of the United States in the 1920s," which explains why Chávez decided to go to New York City from December 1923 to March

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>90</sup> Chávez visited Vienna, Berlin and Paris. See Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez: Vida y obra* (México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1960), 25-26.

<sup>91</sup> Herbert Weinstock, "Carlos Chávez," in *Carlos Chávez: Catalog of Works* (Washington D.C: Pan American Union, 1944), xii.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> The original text in Spanish states: "En Europa las cosas están hechas; mi estancia en Europa me convenció de que había que hacer lo nuestro, construir nuestra escena y actuar en ella, realizar lo que se pudiera, mucho o poco, bueno o malo, pero propio y diferente." See García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez*, 26.

1924.<sup>94</sup> Thus, he was attracted there by the dynamic art scene, technological innovations, and U.S.-American art and popular music.

During his first residency in New York, Chávez began building a network of modernists, including his Mexican fellow artists José Juan Tablada (1871-1945) and Miguel Covarrubias (1904-1957), who were involved with the “Mexico Vogue.”<sup>95</sup> In this city, Chávez’s music received performances at concerts organized by the International Composers’ Guild (1921-27) led by Edgard Varèse (1883-1965), including a successful premiere of his work originally for voice and piano, *Tres exágonos* (1924), on February 8, 1925, at the Aeolian Hall.<sup>96</sup> Chávez used New York as a platform to legitimize himself as a modern/avant-garde composer, a maneuver that Luis Velasco Pufleau mentions when he observes that “the activities of the International Composers’ Guild were decisive for the legitimization of Carlos Chávez’s musical persona within Mexico.”<sup>97</sup> Simultaneously, Chávez similarly utilized Mexico as a platform to legitimize himself within the international modern/avant-garde music movement.

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<sup>94</sup> See Leonora Saavedra, “Carlos Chávez’s Polysemic Style,” 102, and Christina Taylor Gibson, “The Music of Manuel M. Ponce, Julián Carrillo, and Carlos Chávez in New York, 1925-1932” (PhD diss., University of Maryland—College Park, 2008), 129.

<sup>95</sup> See Helen Delpar, “The Mexican Art Invasion,” in *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University Alabama Press, 1995), 125-164 and *ibid.*, “Carlos Chávez and the Mexican ‘Vogue,’ 1925-1940,” in *Carlos Chávez and His World*, 204-219.

<sup>96</sup> No work by Chávez was performed at the rival organization League of Composers’ concerts in New York City between 1923 and 1924, which contradicts Robert L. Parker’s statement regarding the performance of Chávez’s works “and programs of the League of Composers in New York in 1923 and 1924,” except for the *Mexican Pieces* on February 2, 1930, at the Arts Centre. See Robert L. Parker, “Copland and Chávez: Brothers-in-Arms,” *American Music* 5/4 (1987): 433. See also the chapter by Herbert Weinstock, “Carlos Chávez,” xii as well as David Metzger, “The League of Composers: The Initial Years,” *American Music* 15/1 (1997): 65.

<sup>97</sup> Luis Velasco Pufleau, “Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Cultural Construction: Carlos Chávez and Mexican Music (1921–1952),” translated by Silvio J. dos Santos, *Music & Politics* 6/2 (2012): 1.

Once back in Mexico, Chávez organized the concert series *Música Nueva* at the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* from 1924 to 1926.<sup>98</sup> In these concerts, Chávez and fellow musicians exposed Mexico City audiences to the premieres of works by Erik Satie (1866-1925), Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Béla Bartók (1881-1945), Darius Milhaud (1892-1974), Arthur Honegger (1892-1955), Igor Stravinsky and other European composers, together with some neoclassical Chávez works, *Extase*, *Imágen*, *Polígonos*, *Exágonos* (6), *Sonatina* for Violin and Piano, and *String Quartet*.<sup>99</sup> Although large audiences did not massively attend these events—as they did the future concerts at *Palacio de Bellas Artes*—the concert series *Música Nueva* allowed Chávez to consolidate his musical and public persona as a modern music promoter in Mexico and abroad. By positioning his music together with those contemporary European composers, Chávez aimed not only to bring modern music to the audiences in Mexico City but also to build a connection between the national and international modernism, to insert Mexican art music into the Western art-music circuit.

Carlos Chávez returned to New York City for a second residency from September 1926 to July 1928, and the International Composers' Guild included "Dance of Men and Machines" from *Caballos de Vapor* (H. P.) in the recital on November 26, 1926, at the Aeolian Hall.<sup>100</sup> Christina Taylor Gibson notes that Chávez's works performed from 1925 to 1932 were embedded within the aesthetic of modernism or ultra-modernism, without any ethnographic mapping or signifier alluding to Mexico.<sup>101</sup> Yet, during his second residency, the reception by

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<sup>98</sup> García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez*, 39.

<sup>99</sup> Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others," 149-151.

<sup>100</sup> Taylor Gibson, "Carlos Chávez in New York, 1925-1932," 129 and R. Allen Lott, "'New Music for New Ears': The International Composers' Guild," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36/2 (1983): 286.

<sup>101</sup> Taylor Gibson, "Carlos Chávez in New York, 1925-1932," 140.

fellow artists, music critics and possibly the composer himself, constructed his “public identity” as a “nationalist” and not as a modern or ultra-modern composer.<sup>102</sup> In the interim, Chávez continued expanding his network during this second New York residency to promote his music. Chávez met, for instance, composers Aaron Copland and Henry Cowell (1897-1965), music critic Paul Rosenfeld (1890-1946), music patroness Blanche Walton (1871-1963) and Alma Wertheim (1882-1953), among many other prominent art patrons and modern artists.<sup>103</sup>

Regarding Copland, he had a brief encounter with the lesser-known Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959), but during his time in Paris, he had little general knowledge of Latin American art music in the 1910s-1920s. Nonetheless, this context would change upon meeting Mexican composer Carlos Chávez. This mutual encounter was narrated later in his book, *Copland on Music*, where Copland commented: “In a tiny one-room apartment where he lived around 1927, Carlos Chavez [sic] played for me his ballet *The Four Suns*. I was enthusiastic about what I heard, and this time the concept of a Latin American music really

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 140-144.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 147-150. In addition, Oja points out that Alma Wertheim provided support for Chávez’s music with her music publishing company Cos Cob Press. In the end, Henry Cowell, and not Alma Wertheim, published the *Sonata* in *New Music* 6/2 (1933). See Carol Oja, “Cos Cob Press and the American Composer,” *Notes* 45/2 (1988): 238 and Taylor Gibson, “Carlos Chávez in New York,” 149. Italics are mine. Later, in 1933, Cowell, engaged a group of composers to write chapters for his book *American Composers on American Music: A Symposium*. This publication is an essential contribution to the topic because it embraces the implied philosophy of Americanism, with its anti-European and canonic approach, and discusses subjects related to the American composers’ music, such as race, gender, jazz, and experimentalism, among another critical themes. In the introduction, Cowell explains the book’s purpose as “to present the composer’s own point of view concerning creative music in America.”<sup>103</sup> Therefore this symposium is the result of what Cowell calls “American composition.”<sup>103</sup> When Cowell uses the term America in this publication, he means the American continents from Canada to Argentina, and he expands the geographical register to the composers as well. Cowell decided to invite composers “who are developing indigenous types of music, as they have more to do with America than those who follow European styles very closely.”<sup>103</sup>

stuck.”<sup>104</sup> This event would be the beginning of a lifelong artistic collaboration and friendship that changed Aaron Copland's artistic and personal path forever.

The encounter encouraged Copland to write the article “Carlos Chávez—Mexican Composer” for the progressive newspaper *New Republic*.<sup>105</sup> In the article, whose emotional and analytical content overlapped, Copland described the Mexican composer as “one of the few American musicians about whom we can say that he is more than a reflection from Europe.”<sup>106</sup> He concluded by sustaining “that his work presents itself as one of the first authentic signs of a new world with its own new music.”<sup>107</sup> Chávez’s music and persona resonated with Copland because their common cause was their determination to break with the European tradition on the American continent. They knew that their agency, combined with their culture and history, determined a modern American sonic narrative, different from that of their European colleagues.

During that time, Copland founded the Copland-Sessions concerts from 1928 to 1931 in New York, Paris, and London, and included some of Chávez’s solo and chamber music works.<sup>108</sup> In 1928, the New York Copland-Sessions included the following Chávez works, which Carol Oja points out: *Sonata* (1928) for piano and the *Three Sonatinas* (1924) for cello and piano, piano solo and violin and piano on April 22, 1928, at the Edith Totten Theater.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Aaron Copland, “The Composers of South America: 1941,” in *Copland on Music* (New York: Norton Library, 1963), 204.

<sup>105</sup> Aaron Copland, “Carlos Chávez-Mexican Composer,” *New Republic* May 2, 1928, 323.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 323.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 323.

<sup>108</sup> Stephanie Stallings, “The Pan/American Modernism of Carlos Chávez and Henry Cowell,” in *Carlos Chávez and His World*, 29.

<sup>109</sup> The article written by Oja about the Copland-Sessions Concerts provides an insightful analysis on the organization of concerts to present new music to the audiences. See Carol Oja, “The Copland-Sessions Concerts and Their Reception in the Contemporary Press,” *The Musical Quarterly* 65/2 (1979): 227-229.

Simultaneously, Chávez was a founding member, along with Edgard Varèse and Henry Cowell, of the Pan-American Association of Composers (PAAC, 1928-34).<sup>110</sup> Henry Cowell (1897-1965), for example, engaged in promoting the music by the American continent's composers. The New Music Society (1925-1936), founded in California by Cowell, included Latin American compositions in its concerts, as well as musical scores in its journal *New Music Quarterly*.<sup>111</sup> Some years later, Cowell co-founded the Pan-American Association of Composers, an organization born out of North, Central and South American composers' efforts to open venues (the United States, Cuba, Germany, and France) for performances to promote their works.<sup>112</sup> This organization tried as much as their means allowed it to represent a transnational Americanist ideology in music (1928-1934) which Stephanie Stallings defines as "an early form of transnationalism in the Americas within contemporary notions of national musical identity."<sup>113</sup>

This organization appointed Chávez as one of the four Vice-Presidents, and the PAAC performed seven of his works in the concerts and three on the radio.<sup>114</sup> However, as Stephanie Stallings shows, Chávez lost interest in this society because of the "lack of organization, funding, and critical attention to the PAAC between 1928 and 1930," as well as not being identified with either the conceptualization of "Americanism," which included the "entire

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<sup>110</sup> Root, "The Pan American Association of Composers (1928-1934)."

<sup>111</sup> Works by Heitor Villa-Lobos, Amadeo Roldán, Alejandro García Caturla, Carlos Chávez and the Cuban/Spanish Pedro Sanjuan and José Ardévol. See Rita H. Mead, "Henry Cowell's New Music Society," *The Journal of Musicology* 1/4 (1982): 449-463.

<sup>112</sup> See Root, "The Pan-American Association of Composers (1928-1934)," and Stephanie Stallings, "Collective Difference: The Pan-American Association of Composers and Pan-American Ideology in Music" and *Ibid.*, "Pan/American Modernism of Carlos Chávez and Henry Cowell."

<sup>113</sup> Stallings, "Collective Difference," 167

<sup>114</sup> Root, "The Pan-American Association of Composers (1928-1934)," 61.



continent,” or the U.S.-based “Pan-Americanism.”<sup>115</sup> In short, Chávez did not have continental musical political ambitions, unlike in Mexico, but he was only interested in becoming Mexico’s most significant modernist representative in music. In a few words, Chávez’s plan had two primary purposes: promoting his music internationally and inserting Mexican art music into musical modernism’s international circuit.

After his second sojourn in New York (1926-1928), Chávez received an offer from the *Sindicato de Músicos* to lead the *Orquesta Sinfónica de México* (OMS) and become its musical director.<sup>116</sup> Chávez understood that this modernist construction entailed not only becoming an outstanding music composer but also a *homo politicus* with interpersonal and arts-administration skills. This combination allowed him to occupy influential bureaucratic positions in Mexico to institutionalize his modern-music project within a highly volatile political milieu. Also, Luis Velasco Pufleau claims that Chávez “constantly adapted his ideas to the needs and political orientations of the current government, with which he had to negotiate.”<sup>117</sup> Robert M. Stevenson similarly mentions that Carlos Chávez’s political skills allowed him to “build the first stable orchestra in Mexico in large measure because he knew how to win government as well as private support for the enterprise.”<sup>118</sup> Chávez intended to

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<sup>115</sup> Stephanie Stallings, “The Pan/American Modernism,” 30.

<sup>116</sup> Robert L. Parker, *Carlos Chávez: Mexico’s Modern-Day Orpheus* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 6.

<sup>117</sup> Velasco Pufleau, “Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Cultural Construction,” 4.

<sup>118</sup> Robert M. Stevenson, *Music in Mexico* (New York: Apollo Editions, 1952), 240. Parker also mentions that although the orchestra had its hall at *Palacio de Bellas Artes*, it “turned to the workers to create a new mass audience but didn’t play down to them,” by hosting performance outreach programs in the community with the goal of “building a well[-]educated audience in our land, and audience that cuts through all social strata.” See Parker, *Modern-Day Orpheus*, 8. Ricardo Miranda argues that the “OMS was a privately funded enterprise . . . And although the OMS received some funds and support from the government, these were not significant enough to compel it to adopt any specific policy regarding the promotion of Mexican composers.” Ricardo Miranda, “‘The heartbeat of an intense life’: Mexican Music and Carlos Chávez’s Orquesta Sinfónica de México, 1928-1948,” in *Carlos Chávez and His World*, 47.

transform the orchestra, according to the Revolution's ideal, into an institution of Mexican modernism, national identity, and social inclusion.<sup>119</sup> Then, Chávez successfully institutionalized the orchestra and converted the *Palacio de Bellas Artes* into a musical temple with an eager and loyal audience for modern music by Mexican composers and the already canonical European composers.<sup>120</sup> Hence, Chávez transformed the orchestra into a platform of musical modernism by opening a path for new-music performances. Robert L. Parker summarizes the transformation with the following words: "In twenty-one seasons the orchestra played a total of 487 works of which 284 were Mexican premieres and eighty-eight world premieres."<sup>121</sup>

The extensive correspondence between Carlos Chávez and Aaron Copland shows how both composers embraced the rupture with Europe and the autonomy of the American continent's music. Composers in the Western hemisphere united with other artists' voices, who saw the empowerment of transculturation as a leading force to create American modern art. It was not only this break from the European milieu but also the simultaneous economic, cultural, and educational changes, that added to the new artistic consciousness and creative opportunities on the American continent and impacted the artists' mentality. European culture, which had dominated up to the nineteenth century, became progressively displaced, and for composers, the ideal of Musical Americanism (before Francisco Curt Lange

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 46-61. See also the comparison of the OMS and the New York Philharmonic (1938-39) in Christina Taylor Gibson, "Chávez, Modern Music, and the New York Scene," in *Carlos Chávez and His World*, 9. Robert Parker wrote that: "Now Chávez was in a position where he could promote Copland's music in Mexico, just as Copland was doing for him in New York, London, and Paris. This he did abundantly." See Parker, "Copland and Chávez: Brothers-in-Arms," 435. See also Aaron Copland Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter CCLC), "Letter from Aaron Copland to Carlos Chávez," May 8, 1932, folder 25, box 249.

<sup>121</sup> Parker, *Modern-Day Orpheus*, 8.

institutionalized it) was consistent with the zeitgeist and circulated across the continent. Both composers regarded Eurocentric aesthetics in fellow American composers' musical works as a sign of conservatism and an obstacle to modernism and innovation.

On September 7, 1931, in a letter to Copland, Chávez complained that “The musical organizations of America (the Continent) insist over and over again on the so-called ‘masterpieces’ of Europeans and completely ignore our own production. It cannot be otherwise,” continued the Mexican musician, “if these musical organizations are in the hands of European musicians. European musicians are the worst kind.”<sup>122</sup> Copland, who had just come back from Europe, answered:

All you wrote about music in America awoke a responsive echo in my heart. I am through with Europe, Carlos, and I believe as you do, that our salvation must come from ourselves and that we must fight the foreign element in America [.] which ignores American music. I am very anxious to see the music of Mexican and South American composers and I hope you will bring scores with you.<sup>123</sup>

For Copland, meanwhile, the reality was different, because the Great Depression affected every aspect of U.S.-American society, especially its artists, who portrayed in their works all the implications generated by the capitalist collapse. Gayle Murchison elaborates on how the new market forces impacted art-music production: “The severity of the crisis and depressing climate demanded a new style. . . . Composers were suffering financially and realized that if they were to continue creating music, they would have to court a new audience.”<sup>124</sup> Copland, whose

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<sup>122</sup> The text in Spanish: “Las organizaciones musicales de América (el Continente) insisten una y otra vez en las llamadas ‘obras maestras’ de los europeos e ignoran por complete nuestra propia producción. No puede ser de otra manera si dichas organizaciones musicales están en manos de músicos europeos. Músicos europeos de lo peor.” See “De Carlos Chávez a Aaron Copland,” in *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez*, ed. Carmona, Gloria (México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989), 125-126.

<sup>123</sup> “Letter from Aaron Copland to Carlos Chávez,” December 26, 1931, CCLC, folder 25, box 249.

<sup>124</sup> Murchison, *The American Stravinsky*, 149.

communicative nature was prominent throughout his musical career, modified his style in order to connect to audiences. Murchison calls this turnaround “populism” and contends that it signified the composer’s approach to the concept of *Gebrauchsmusik* concept.<sup>125</sup>

In the composer’s words, Copland expressed his “increasing dissatisfaction” with the composer/audience relationship in the 1930s, where the modern technologies of radio and the phonograph were shaping the audience’s musical tastes.<sup>126</sup> These changes led him to feel “that we composers were in danger of working in a vacuum,” and he thus decided to display an “imposed simplicity” in his new works to bridge the gulf between composers and audiences.<sup>127</sup> During this period, Copland composed some works for amateurs, a market niche barely explored by serious art music composers.<sup>128</sup> However, economic reasons were not the sole motivation. There was a social aspect about opening up audience participation in artmaking as a way to promote and connect social inclusion with modernism. In other words, the composer’s populist works intended to eliminate modern music’s elitist connotation by making his music more uncomplicated and more accessible. Not only did financial reasons change the composer’s aesthetic, but the U.S.S.R.’s communist experiment worked as a magnet for intellectuals worldwide. This context impelled intellectuals to look elsewhere to find a model to follow, and art turned out to be a more open medium for social critique. Hence, the artists’ dissatisfaction drew them closer to communism, with its egalitarian

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 151-156.

<sup>126</sup> Copland, “Composer from Brooklyn: An Autobiographical Sketch (1939,1968),” in *Aaron Copland: A Reader Selected Writings 1923-1972*, xxvi.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> For example: *What Do We Plant?* (1935); *Two Children’s Pieces* for Piano (1936), *The Second Hurricane* (1937) and *An Outdoor Overture* (1938). See Murchison, *The American Stravinsky*, 156.

narrative to construct community and overcome the capitalist gospel of individualism endorsed by U.S.-American industrialism.<sup>129</sup>

In the field of art music, the modern movement, whose creators identified with left-oriented politics, felt the attraction to the progressivist discourse as a corrective against elitist modernism.<sup>130</sup> Elizabeth B. Crist explains that in the United States, composers created and joined organizations such as the Workers Music League (1931), the Young Composers Group (1932), and Composer' Collective (1932-1936) to channel music as a tool for social and political change in alignment with the Popular Front phenomenon and philosophy.<sup>131</sup> Aaron Copland, Roy Harris (1898-1979), Ruth Crawford Seeger (1901-1953), Charles Seeger (1886-1979) and Marc Blitzstein (1905-1964), who were among the previous composer groups' members, redefined their artistic visions and adopted a different musical aesthetic with the aim of bringing modern music closer to the "people."<sup>132</sup>

Murchison points out that "One of the weapons in the class struggle was proletarian art, that is, art created by, for, and about the working class."<sup>133</sup> The ideal of social realism displaced abstract art and atonal music, aiming to create folklore-inspired art and music that would connect with and empower the people.<sup>134</sup> Thus, the proletarian avant-garde embedded in mass songs, music works, and later ballets was simplified in the composers' language to convey the political and social message smoothly.<sup>135</sup> Namely, Crist describes that in

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<sup>129</sup> Elizabeth B. Crist, "Communism and the Cultural Front," in *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland During the Depression and War* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 15-42.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Murchison, *The American Stravinsky*, 176.

<sup>134</sup> Crist, *Music for the Common Man*.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. Copland's musical contributions included the works *Piano Variations* (1934) and *Statements for Orchestra* (1935) as well as the song "Into the Streets May First," printed in *Workers Songbook II*.

concordance with the Communist Party and Comintern policies, the rise of Pan-Americanism, the New Deal, and the Popular Front by the mid-1930s, folklore became a symbol for progressive politics.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, “Copland too, moved away from the militant idiom of the proletarian avant-garde and toward an accessible, folkloric style that was to bring his greatest success.”<sup>137</sup>

As Murchison demonstrates, folklore and popular music were ignored by the Composer’s Collective group, including Charles Seeger, because they were not considered revolutionary. Although Charles Seeger and most of his Composer’s Collective colleagues were trying to reach the masses with their “Proletarian music” printed in the *Workers’ Song Books* (1934–1935), their modernist and Social Realist elitist ideologies encouraged, “disdain for everything folk,” and as a result “the composers expressly rejected folksongs...”<sup>138</sup> However, “The turning point came in 1937, when the Popular Front began to use American folk culture to advance its cause. Folk music officially became part of the movement.”<sup>139</sup> Nonetheless, Murchison argues that Copland’s approach to the people’s music—folklore—was not part of his cultural memory or musical environment, and the composer found his sources “from books—cultural reconstructions, in a sense—of folk music to create his version of populist music that sprouted from the aesthetic ideology shaped by his engagement with the cultural politics of the Popular Front.”<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Andrea Franzius, “Forging Music into Ideology: Charles Seeger and the Politics of Cultural Pluralism in American Domestic and Foreign Policy,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 56/3 (2011): 354.

<sup>139</sup> Murchison, *The American Stravinsky*, 182.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 189.

In the meantime, Carlos Chávez's position in the construction of Mexican cultural life grew stronger with his appointment as conductor of *Orquesta Sinfónica de México* (1928-1949), Dean of the *Conservatorio Nacional de México* (1928-1933) and *Director of the Departamento de Bellas Artes del Ministerio de Educación* (1933-1934).<sup>141</sup> These political/cultural platforms allowed Chávez to organize an all-Copland concert for the first time in his life, which was an honor for the young U.S. colleague.<sup>142</sup> Ergo, after postponing on diverse occasions, Aaron Copland traveled to the country in 1932, an experience that made him feel that "At last I have found a country where I am as famous as Gershwin!"<sup>143</sup> The trip included attending performances of his works at the *Conservatorio Nacional*, in addition to getting acquainted with Mexican culture and the "people." Mexico turned out to be a place where progressive artists, like Copland, idealized pre-modernism and pre-capitalism as a neutral zone in which to contest and reject modern alienation and its still-active Romantic and bourgeois values.<sup>144</sup>

After leaving Mexico, Copland shared with Chávez some of his reflections: "When I was in Mexico I was a little envious of the opportunity you had to serve your country in a musical way."<sup>145</sup> Copland believed that "Here in the U.S.A. we composers have no possibility of directing the musical affairs of the nation—on the contrary, since my return, I have the

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<sup>141</sup> Madrid, *Music Sounds of the Modern Nation*, 80-81.

<sup>142</sup> Chávez already had conducted Copland's *Music for the Theatre* (1929) and *Symphony no. 1* (1930) with the OSM. The program included the following works: *Two Pieces for String Quartet*, *Piano Variations*, *Two Pieces for Chorus*, and *Music for the Theatre*. Gayle Murchison points out that "Copland himself offered an all-Copland concert on March 16, 1934, at the Degeyter Club," for works from the 1920s, which did not reflect his new aesthetics, but the previous aesthetics. See Murchison, *The American Stravinsky*, 177. See also Copland, "Composer from Brooklyn: An Autobiographical Sketch (1939,1968)," xxvii.

<sup>143</sup> Carlos Chávez began programming Aaron Copland's works in 1928. Gloria Carmona explains that Chávez offered Copland's *Piano Concerto* with the *Orquesta Sinfónica de México*; nonetheless, Copland clarified, in his letter on October 31, that the score was still unfinished and suggested that Chávez perform *Music for the Theater* instead. See *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez*, 85-86. See also "Letter from Aaron Copland to Serge and Natalie Koussevitzky," September 5, 1932, CCLC, folder 27, box 257.

<sup>144</sup> Crist., *Music for the Common Man*, 48.

<sup>145</sup> "Letter from Aaron Copland to Carlos Chávez," December 16, 1933, CCLC, folder 26, box 249.

impression that more and more we are writing in a vacuum.”<sup>146</sup> He continued by claiming, “There seems to me less than ever a real rapport between the public and the composers and of course that is a very unhealthy state of affairs.”<sup>147</sup> Mexico opened Copland’s awareness of the role that modern art music can also play within and beyond the state. In short, the state can contribute to channeling some cultural initiatives with a social impact.

Nevertheless, with the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the advent of New Deal art programs, Copland found potential relief, and he began rethinking the composer’s role in society. For that reason, he said, “So you can see that for me your work as *Jefe de Bellas Artes* is a very important way of creating an audience and being in contact with an audience. When one has done that, one can compose with real joy.”<sup>148</sup> Copland’s communicative and cultural bridge between the audience and composer contemplates the potential mediation of the state and the public sphere. “Even though Copland remained always a tourist, easily enchanted by the exotic,” as Elizabeth B. Crist expresses, “the cultural and musical traditions of Latin America profoundly influenced his sense of musical nationalism.”<sup>149</sup> After his first “south of the border” experience, Copland, whose music started gradually absorbing diverse Latin American sonic elements, conceived a musical response in *El Salón México*. This work signified the debut of a musical style that embraced and represented the Popular Front philosophy of ethnic pluralism and cross-class solidarity that would connect modern music and the people (audiences), creating a “holistic modern community grounded in folk culture.”<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Crist, *Music for the Common Man*, 44.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 48.



It is not surprising, however, that Copland turned to idealized Mexican folklore as the antithesis of Euro-American modernity to write his first simplistic and populist-style work. Copland idealized topoi about Mexico (pure, spiritual, shyness) related to exoticism, and he recurred to the European example of constructing the difference between the Self and Others. Copland expressed that “It seemed natural to use popular Mexican melodies for thematic material; after all, Chabrier and Debussy,” he argued, “did not hesitate to help themselves to the melodic riches of Spain. There was no reason I should not use the tunes of the Hispanic land on our southern doorstep.”<sup>151</sup> Copland's changes to the populist musical style represented an unnatural move for his artistic consciousness. But it allowed him to fulfill and reconcile with the Popular Front's pan-ethnic ideal.<sup>152</sup> *El Salón México's* orchestral arrangement was premiered by Carlos Chávez conducting the *Orquesta Sinfónica de México* on August 27, 1937, in Mexico City, during Copland's second visit to Mexico.<sup>153</sup>

Composer Silvestre Revueltas (1899-1940) similarly impacted Copland during his Mexican trips. Copland's article “Mexican Composer” for the *New York Times* in 1937, which engages more with Revueltas than Chávez, claims that “Revueltas deserves to be equally well known, because he has already produced music which makes him a figure of importance in the general scheme of the modern musical movement.”<sup>154</sup> Copland's attractions to Revueltas's music had a connection to the Popular Front philosophy, because of Revueltas's ability to capture and represent the Mexican people's soundscapes in his works. Revueltas “composes organically tunes which are almost indistinguishable from the original folk material itself,” and

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<sup>151</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 245.

<sup>152</sup> See Crist *Music for the Common Man* and Murchison, *The American Stravinsky*.

<sup>153</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 246.

<sup>154</sup> Aaron Copland, “Mexican Composer,” *New York Times*, May 9, 1937.

for Copland, this feature meant a special and anti-elitist connection that Euro-American artists and intellectuals, perhaps, lacked.<sup>155</sup>

The fact that Revueltas did not quote Mexican folk music in his works but instead generated them from memories of his immediate soundscape, fascinated his U.S. American colleague. Otherwise stated, Revueltas's musical life and culture belonged to the Mexican people; thereby, he knew how to articulate the Mexican people's musical semantics in his works. Another aspect was that the formalist Revueltas, who "is a progressive soul in every sense of the word," composed anti-bourgeois music because "he does not write symphonies and sonatas so much as vivid tone pictures."<sup>156</sup> In other words, Revueltas's music resonated with Copland's Popular Front sentiments, because he engaged with ordinary people's daily lives, and he disliked any kind of status quo, bourgeoisie, or privilege. Therefore, Revueltas's music encoded political messages. As Roberto Kolb Neuhaus expresses, "Revueltas's concept of modernity—change and progress in the arts linked to his political ideals—was now mostly sacrificed in the name of a socialist utopia as the nature and topics of his music began to echo this purpose."<sup>157</sup>

This ability to emulate social realism's precepts connected with audiences—as Copland also aimed to do with his new simple style—in the concert halls. Elizabeth B. Crist argues, "Copland's accessible music sounds reminiscent of—and influenced by—Revueltas's compositional style," not to mention that Revueltas's music for the film *Redes* (1937), with its social realism and working-class emphasis that Copland watched in New York City, gave him

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Roberto Kolb-Neuhaus, "Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas: Retracing and Ignored Dialogue," in *Carlos Chávez and His World*, 96.

the idea to start seeking film-music commissions.<sup>158</sup> Both composers were politically committed to social justice and citizenship, and this empathy likewise connected them.

Copland's relationship with Latin American music and culture had a profound impact on his own music. Copland cultivated a more involved agency within Pan-Americanism inspired by the "ideal" of cultural diplomacy within the Good Neighbor Policy agenda, especially during his years leading the composition class at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood, from 1940 until his retirement in 1965. Copland, Chávez, and Revueltas produced works that represented the values of the New Deal era in the United States and the post-revolutionary era in Mexico, where composers consistently reflected and negotiated their role in shaping modern society and creating music with social and political codes. Howard Pollack describes their contribution as "more than good neighbors south of the borders."<sup>159</sup> Thus, they collaborated among themselves as well as with other artists (painters, dancers, writers, poets, composers, choreographers) to promote modernism in New York City and Mexico City. By so doing, they joined forces and created much of the American continent's modern music.

### **Musical Americanism in Latin America**

All through the twentieth century's first two decades, Latin America and its art-music tradition experimented with changes as a response to internal and external fluctuations. This period was a turning point in which a new generation of composers rejected the Romantic aesthetic to create new compositional techniques to represent a new *Zeitgeist*. The

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<sup>158</sup> Crist, *Music for the Common Man*, 48. In the "Notes to Pages," Crist states, "In any event, the influence of Mexico and Mexican composers was certainly decisive on Copland's developing an accessible melodic style." Ibid., 216.

<sup>159</sup> Howard Pollack, "Aaron Copland, Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas" in *Carlos Chávez and His World*, 108.

consolidation of a middle class with access to better education and culture within more stable nation-states nurtured modern art on the American continent. Under post-World War I circumstance; some composers decided to join forces and work together to promote their new music.

The current sub-section shows the intensive activity in Latin America regarding modern music, but only emphasizes those countries visited by Aaron Copland in which the United States invested more during the Good Neighbor Policy. Ergo, it engages with composers' groups and associations that challenged the established musical status quo and its compositional trends, which aligned with either neo-Romanticism or neo-Impressionism, and proposed the creation of spaces for new music. As previously mentioned, a younger generation of composers used modern aesthetics and techniques such as neoclassicism, dodecaphony, and serialism, nonetheless there was also an *Americanist* modern musical trend. Namely, the modern movement reacted against those works and artists, who contributed to consolidating the national imaginary by using folkloric elements in their musical works. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that each generation played a historic role in constructing its country's musical memory and unique identity.

Graciela Paraskevaídis clarifies the misconception about twelve-tone and serialist music in Latin America was not thoughtlessly integrated by the younger composers in the 1930s and 1940s, but just adapted to the aesthetical and ideological composers' necessities.<sup>160</sup> In Latin America, twelve-tone music and serialism represented a language's renovation and a

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<sup>160</sup> Graciela Paraskevaídis, "An introduction to twelve-tone music and serialism in Latin America," *Journal of New Music Research* 13/3 (1984): 133-147.

political posture against academicism.<sup>161</sup> Paraskevaïdis points out with great precision that while in Europe both were censored by fascist regimes as “degenerated art” and widely unknown between 1933 and 1945 (before Darmstadt), in Latin America (Argentina and Brazil) works of twelve-tone and serialist music were publicly performed and discussed.<sup>162</sup> “Composers of the older and younger generation in Latin America—in its most ‘advanced’ capitals—were involved,” she concludes, “in serial techniques with different levels of creativity and originality, with different degrees of orthodoxy and rigor, with different proposals in the application of serial possibilities and derivations.”<sup>163</sup> Thus, the segment explores the Pan-Latin American conversation among composers and artists, before the U.S. conceived and endorsed Pan-Americanism through the Good Neighbor Policy.

### **Early Pan-American Musical Contacts**

In his book *Notes on the History of Music Exchange Between the Americas Before 1940*, Chilean historian Dr. Eugenio Pereira Salas (1904-1979) traced his interpretation of this fascinating transnational and transcultural past.<sup>164</sup> A publication sponsored by the Pan American Union Music Division mentions that sailors’ journals were the first to address musical contact between the North and the South.<sup>165</sup> Then, the study of native American and pre-Columbian cultures generated a flux of scholars starting in 1883, the year the first publication about this topic appeared in the United States.<sup>166</sup> Patriotic songs, opera companies, and performers such

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid. 142.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>164</sup> Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Notes on the History of Music Exchange Between the Americas Before 1940* (Washington D.C.: Pan American Union, 1943).

<sup>165</sup> For example, the *A Narrative of a Voyage and Travels in the Northern Hemisphere* (1817) and *Journal of a Cruise Made to the Pacific Ocean in the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814* (1915). See Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>166</sup> See, for example, Edwin A. Barber, “Indian Music,” *American Naturalist* 17 (1883): 267-274. Ibid., 3.

as Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869) toured the South and circulated across South America.<sup>167</sup> This publication briefly reviews the history of the musical exchange among the various American countries. This exchange encompasses art music, folklore, and popular music. Nevertheless, Latin American performers/composers also traveled and lived in the United States during the nineteenth century, such as Teresa Carreño (Venezuela, 1853-1917), Ignacio Cervantes (Cuba, 1847-1905), Gonzalo Núñez (Puerto Rico, 1850-1915), Carlos Gomes (Brazil, 1836-1896), and the Havana Opera Company (1833-1850).<sup>168</sup>

During the *fin de siècle*, three U.S.-American Expositions, the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition (New Orleans, 1884-1885), the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893), and the Pan American Exposition (Buffalo NY, 1901), presented music from Latin America including folklore, popular and art music.<sup>169</sup> In the field of popular music and folklore, similarly, musical genres circulated from South to North, such as cuecas, tangos, maxixes, jarabes, rumbas, congas, and sambas.<sup>170</sup> Publications and societies such as the American Folklore Society (1888), *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (1939), *Bibliography of Latin American Folklore* (1940), for example, contributed to the diffusion of these hybrid musical genres in the United States.<sup>171</sup> During the twentieth century, Latin American art music was displayed in different venues, including the Pan American Union (1924-1939), radio stations, orchestras, the New York World's Fair (1939), the Golden Gate Exposition (1939),

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 4-6

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 6-10.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 10-14.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 14-16.

and the Festivals of Mexican and Brazilian Music at the Museum of Modern Art (1940).<sup>172</sup>

Henry Grattan Doyle wrote about the Pan American Union concerts transmitted by radio to the rest of the American continent from Washington by using short waves (Pan American wavelengths), which were granted by the Federal Radio Commission as part of the early Good Neighbor Policy steps by the Hoover administration.<sup>173</sup> The text states:

The Pan American Union concerts of Latin American music have won an international reputation, largely due to the fostering interest of Dr. Leo S. Rowe and the unremitting efforts of Mr. Franklin Adams. Equally important with the concerts is the work of the Army and Navy musicians in developing a mastery of Latin American music here. A large library of the original music and orchestral arrangements made under the auspices of the Union and the Army Band has been collected, and will be made available for musicians of other countries.<sup>174</sup>

Since the founding of the Pan-American Union, the inter-American relations functioned according to historical events on the American continent. Music was always present as a signifier for each of the American republics' identities. Still, it never achieved the same level of importance as trade, for instance, until the Good Neighbor Policy. Nevertheless, and without the mediation of the Pan American Union, the Latin American composers were connecting intranational or transnationally, across the continent in the different categories of art, popular and folk music.

***Grupo Renovación Musical (1929-1944) and Conciertos de la Nueva Música (1936-1944) (Argentina 1944-1972)***

In Argentina, the group Renovación Musical marked a turning point in the national language of new music. Guillermo Scarabino explains the antecedents regarding how *fin-de-*

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 16-19. Pereira Salas listed and counted 93 concerts in "Latin American Artists Appearing in the Pan-American Union Concerts 1924 through 1939," some of them being broadcasted during these 15 years. However, he did not list the performed works and composers.

<sup>173</sup> Henry Grattan Doyle, "Opinions," *Hispania* 12/3 (1929): 315-318.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

*siècle* composers, performers, institutions, and debates generated the transition to modernism. In 1915, the founding of the *Sociedad Nacional de Música* directed by Alberto Williams (1862-1952), whose first principal objective was to “make the works of Argentine composers heard for the first time,” intended to promote Argentinean national art music.<sup>175</sup> The institution became a place to discuss how composers would compose art music with an Argentinean identity, and the incorporation of folklore was a trend that prevailed among the composers.<sup>176</sup> Not only Williams but colleagues such as Julián Aguirre (1868-1924) and Carlos López Buchardo (1881-1948), among others, discussed their perceptions about whether folklore would similarly generate national art music or not.

Nevertheless, Scarabino mentions that their connection to and knowledge about folklore was distant and minimal, because Argentinean folklore was not a daily and natural sonic element of their musical culture.<sup>177</sup> In other words, national art music, according to the positivist epoch’s cultural mentality, aimed to imagine a modern musical nation with a blend of folklore and art-music compositional techniques. Omar Corrado also makes the distinction between those contemporary composers who were also already deeply embedded in their folkloric traditions, whose works unconsciously and naturally captured and represented folkloric semantics, and those who use folklore as a superficial, socio-politically insensitive, exotic local color.<sup>178</sup> Folklore for modern composers meant a commitment to make music with social realism’s ideal as an anti-bourgeoise and Romantic reaction.

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<sup>175</sup> The text in Spanish: “hacer oír por primera vez las obras de los compositores argentinos.” See Guillermo Scarabino, *El Grupo Renovación (1929-1944) y la “nueva música” en la Argentina del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica Argentina, 1999), 25.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-33.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> Omar Corrado, *Música y modernidad en Buenos Aires: 1920-1940* (Buenos Aires, Ediciones Gourmet Musical 2010), 57-59.



Scarabino examines how some external and internal circumstances shaped the path toward musical modernism in Argentina. In 1922 the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) was established in Salzburg, and it motivated modern composers on the American continent to reproduce similar organizations to articulate and promote new music.<sup>179</sup> Internally, Buenos Aires hosted a large number of private conservatories, but the composition students were basically repeating the established late-Romantic or conventional Impressionist styles.<sup>180</sup> However, émigré Italian composer Eduardo Fomarini (1887-1967) modified this panorama. He shared his knowledge of modern music with his students Juan Carlos Paz (1897-1972), Juan José Castro (1895-1968) and José María Castro (1892-1964), three *future Grupo Renovación Musical* members.<sup>181</sup>

Events such as the Teatro Colón theater opening (1908), Diaghilev's *Ballet Russes* tour with conductor Ernest Ansermet (1883-1969), and the establishment of the *Orquesta Filarmónica de la Asociación del Profesorado Orquestal* (1922) and its Symphonic Works Contest (1924) for Argentinean composers, the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música y Declamación* (1924), the society *Amigos del Arte* (1924), and the *Orquesta de Cámara Renacimiento* (1928), readings or performances by Ansermet of neoclassical works by Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), Arthur Honegger (1892-1955), and Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), among others, created stimuli for modern music supported by private art patrons and the government.<sup>182</sup> The media in Buenos

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<sup>179</sup> Scarabino, *El Grupo Renovación*, 37.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-42.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> The *Asociación del Profesorado Orquestal* (APO), founded in 1894, came into being as a result of institutional crisis the Orquesta Filarmónica de la Asociación del Profesorado Orquestal in 1922. Starting in the 1920s, the orchestra hosted international conductors at the Teatro Colón such as Arthur Nikisch, Bernardino Molinari, André Messager, Felix Weingartner, Richard Strauss, Ernest Ansermet, Erich Kleiber, Clemens Krauss, Nikolai Malko, Alfredo Casella, Oskar Fried, Fritz Busch, Albert Wolff and the Argentinean Juan J. Castro. The Symphonic Works Contest launched in 1924 awarded members of the group as well, for example, *Dans les Jardins des Morts*

Aires similarly became a dynamic space for intellectuals and artists to debate ideas about how to imagine the modern Argentinean identity, embodied in publications such as *Proa*, *Martín Fierro* (1920s) and *Sur* (1930s).<sup>183</sup>

In 1929, the Buenos Aires musical community witnessed the *Renovación Musical* group's founding by Juan Carlos Paz, Jacobo Ficher (1896-1978), Juan José Castro, Gilardo Gilardi (1899-1963), and José María Castro.<sup>184</sup> The group aimed to become a platform to promote concerts of their members' stylistically eclectic compositions, give priority to other Argentinean contemporary music, publish their works, and become a space for public debates related to contemporary music.<sup>185</sup> The *Grupo Renovación Musical* was accepted as a member of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) in 1932, opening a new chapter in terms of international relations and exchange in music.<sup>186</sup> Honorio Siccardi, who published some articles expressing the group's opinion, clarified their strong opposition to those who were considered "Folklore Slaves," and he defended the group's intention to create modern works without using Argentinean folklore or popular music to conceal a lack of modernistic compositional technique.<sup>187</sup> Omar Corrado explains that for contemporary Argentinean composers, neoclassicism was not a political or aesthetic reaction but rather a sign of progress

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(1924), *A una madre* (1925), and *La Chellab* (1927) by J. J. Castro; *Poema heroico* (1926) by J. C. Paz; *Obertura patética* (1929) by J. Ficher and *Turay-turay* (1929) by L. Gianneo. Moreover, Scarabino mentions the private sponsorship by Argentinean art patrons who wished to gain social prestige by sponsoring modern arts disciplines, such as Adelina Acevedo and Elena Sansinena de Elizalde (*Amigos del Arte*), Magdalena Bengolea de Sánchez Elía (*Sociedad Cultural de Conciertos*) and Victoria Ocampo (*Editorial Sur*). *Ibid.*, 47-68. See also Corrado, *Música y modernidad*, 181.

<sup>183</sup> Corrado, *Música y modernidad*, 113.

<sup>184</sup> Scarabino, *El Grupo Renovación*, 65. See the "Manifestos" in APPENDIX E.

<sup>185</sup> The following group's list includes the totality of its member as well as the affiliation years: Juan Carlos Paz, 1929-1936; Jacobo Ficher, 1929-1944; Juan José Castro, 1929-1933; Gilardo Gilardi, 1929-1932; José María Castro, 1929-1944; Luis Gianneo, 1929-1944; Honorio Siccardi, 1931-1944; Alfredo Pinto, 1931-1932; Julio Perceval, 1931-1933, and Washington Castro, 1941-1944. See *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 75-78.

and an entrée to modernity.<sup>188</sup> Nonetheless, although the group's eclectic concert works inclined toward neoclassicism, the arrival of Austrian music performers and scores in Buenos Aires began altering the musicians' sonic universe. Twelve-tone and serial works started circulating in the music scene, and as Omar Corrado poignantly points out, the first serial work publicly performed in Argentina was not by a European composer but rather *Composición sobre los doce tonos* for flute and piano by the Argentinean Juan Carlos Paz.<sup>189</sup> The work was premiered within the group's concerts on October 31, 1934 and repeated on September 9, 1935.<sup>190</sup>

In 1936 the founding member Juan Carlos Paz left the group and, supported with private sponsorship, launched a new concert series, *Conciertos de Nueva Música*, in 1937.<sup>191</sup> Paz, whose early style was neoclassical in the 1920s, moved progressively toward atonal techniques. Nevertheless, the group continued its activities until 1944 and offered sixty-two concerts in total, with various programs that signified the interwar modern music scene's diversity in Argentina.<sup>192</sup> With Juan Carlos Paz's separation from the *Grupo Renovación Musical* (GRM) in 1936, the composer began a new concert series. Scholars differ about the reason that prompted Paz to leave the group. The GRM concerts between 1934 and 1936 were the spaces in which Paz introduced his first four twelve-tone works.<sup>193</sup> For Paz, as suggested by Michelle Tabor, "musical developments of the twentieth century have been, and continue to be, in a state of 'permanent revolution.'"<sup>194</sup> Therefore, "He believes that any composer who does not strive to

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<sup>188</sup> See Corrado, *Música y modernidad*, 218-219 and *Ibid.*, "Neoclasicismo y objetividad en la música argentina de la década de 1930" *Revista Argentina de Musicología* 8 (2007): 18-67.

<sup>189</sup> Corrado, *Música y modernidad*, 277.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> Scarabino, *El Grupo Renovación*, 95.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 104-109.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>194</sup> Michelle Tabor, "Juan Carlos Paz: A Latin American Supporter of the International Avant-Garde," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 9/2 (1988): 209.

remain in the vanguard will only fall ever farther behind the latest development.”<sup>195</sup> Although Paz held faithfully to the teleological notion that new music was evolving—and a notion to which his colleagues were not adhering—Guillermo Scarabino argues that the rupture’s cause was Paz’s own misconduct, as the composer Washington Castro explained in a letter.<sup>196</sup> Based on Paz’s correspondence with composer Slavko Ostrec (1895-1941), who was part of the jury during the XV ISCM Festival in Paris 1937 and offered support to get a work performed, Paz submitted his work “Passacaglia.”<sup>197</sup> Guillermo Scarabino believes that Paz’s unilateral action and silence with his group’s colleagues offended them.<sup>198</sup> On the other hand, Omar Corrado addressed diverse reasons argued by the composer in different documents about the separation, including Paz’s essential ideas regarding new music.<sup>199</sup>

With the founding of *Conciertos de la Nueva Música*, Paz began a new musical, cultural, social and political path in his construction of modern Argentinean music construction, one encouraged by the study of works by Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern and the presence of Austrian émigré musicians such as Rita Kurzman (1900-1942), Erwin Leuchter (1902-1973), Wilhelm Grätzer (1914-1993), Sophie Knoll (1908-1970), and Erich Kleiber in Buenos Aires.<sup>200</sup> In 1944 the concert series was renamed *Agrupación Nueva Música*.

### ***Grupo de los Cuatro (Mexico 1935-1941)***

Mexico has been the entrance point to the new historical and cultural path named “modern Latin America” by historians. Subsequently, after conquest and colonization,

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Scarabino, *El Grupo Renovación*, 93-94.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Omar Corrado, *Vanguardias al Sur: La música de Juan Carlos Paz* (Bernal: Editorial Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2012), 128.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 133.

emerging from its status as the Viceroyalty of New Spain to a modern nation state, one whose independence was threatened by foreign and conservative powers, Mexican identity reached a historical turning point with the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). In other words, Mexico underwent radical structural changes during the early decades of the twentieth century. As noted by Otto Mayer-Serra, the Revolution provided “A strong ideological, non-musical, impetus [that] was needed for them to reach this new position. ...Three of its postulates—the social, the national, and the emphasis on the Indian—deeply affected the musicians.”<sup>201</sup> For that reason, one of these fundamental renovations was the fact that identities were being negotiated from the bottom up and not imposed, as in the past, from top to bottom. Accordingly, education was a pivotal to integrating and legitimizing most of Mexicans, most of them indigenous, into the nation. Within the arts, music was a major part of the state program led by the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI), from 1929 onwards.

Among the group of musicians who were involved in using music as a medium for social and political transformation was Carlos Chávez. From different institutional platforms, Chávez became a crucial agent of change by deconstructing hegemonic Romanticism and Eurocentricity in Mexican art music and, simultaneously, constructing a *mestiza* twentieth-century Mexican musical identity. Besides the *Orquesta Sinfónica de México*, for Chávez, the *Conservatorio de Música* similarly played an essential role in building the post-revolutionary Mexican musical identity. Chávez was appointed the new *Conservatorio* Director in December 1928 by Antonio Castro Leal (1896-1981), president of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de*

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<sup>201</sup> Otto Mayer-Serra, *The Present State of Music in Mexico* (Washington D.C.: Organization of American States, 1977 [1946]), 35.

*México* (UNAM, 1928-1929), a position that Chávez held until 1933.<sup>202</sup> However, his selection faced robust resistance from the conservative sectors of Mexican musical society because of Chávez's already defiant role, and the objectors requested that Mexican President Emilio Portes Gil (1890-1978) remove him from the leadership position.<sup>203</sup> Antonio Castro Leal stood by Chávez's appointment, and, as explained by José-Ángel Beristáin-Cardoso, the *Conservatorio* separated institutionally in 1929 from the university.<sup>204</sup>

In 1929, Chávez published some articles specifically about the Conservatory's role in Mexican society to share not only his philosophical but his pragmatic approach regarding the complex relationship between the music, the conservatory, and the public. For the composer:

We have repeatedly spoken of the transcendental importance of the Conservatory, not only the cultivation of professionals of the best quality . . . but the Conservatory must give equal attention to the promotion and cultivation of audiences, who are the complementary part of the musical process. The work of approaching the people, which has been talked about so much and on so many occasions, must fundamentally constitute, for the Conservatory, increasing the quantity and improving the quality of the public.<sup>205</sup>

Chávez's reforms intended to connect the *Conservatorio* musicians to Mexican traditions, customs, and climate, and not support Eurocentric and "Ivory Tower" professionals wholly

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<sup>202</sup> He left the Conservatorio in 1933 and afterwards came back from May to December in 1934. See Parker, *Modern-Day Orpheus*, 9

<sup>203</sup> Chávez responded publicly to the sectors who accused him of not fulfilling the law's requirements to be the institution's director with newspaper opinion articles. See *Carlos Chávez: Escritos periodísticos (1916-1939)*.

<sup>204</sup> See also José-Ángel Beristáin-Cardoso, "La Orquesta del Conservatorio en el seno de la Universidad Nacional (1917-1929)," *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación Superior* 10/27 (2019): 93-113.

<sup>205</sup> The text in Spanish: "En repetidas ocasiones hemos hablado de la importancia transcendental que tiene el Conservatorio, no solamente el cultivo de profesionales de la mejor calidad... sino que el Conservatorio debe dar igual atención al fomento y cultivo de los públicos, que son la parte complementaria del proceso musical. La labor de acercamiento al pueblo, de que tanto y en tan diversas ocasiones se ha hablado, debe constituir fundamentalmente, para el Conservatorio, el acrecentar la cantidad y mejorar la calidad de los públicos. See Carlos Chávez, "Una nueva actividad del Conservatorio Nacional," *El Universal*, September 6, 1929," in *Carlos Chávez: Escritos periodísticos (1916-1939)*, 142.

dissociated from their social environment.<sup>206</sup> Chávez envisioned music as a national interest and the institution as the center of the country's musical activity.<sup>207</sup>

With Chávez's reforms, the *Conservatorio* launched and expanded its instrumental chamber-music groups, founded the choir, and launched an outreach program for various communities, which he called *Cooperativas de Trabajo*.<sup>208</sup> The presentation of chamber-music groups within the city fulfilled part of the social agenda about bringing music to working classes and broke with the previous tradition of keeping the *Conservatorio* and its activities inside the institution's walls, which communicated a message of elitism to Mexican society. Chávez also believed in the authority of music research as a way to construct Mexican cultural, historical and musical identity, and he founded three *Academias de Investigación* (Popular Music, History and Bibliography and Investigation of New Musical Possibilities).<sup>209</sup> Robert L. Parker states, "These investigations put into the hands of musicians and music students indigenous music and musical instruments hitherto unavailable to them in modern Mexico."<sup>210</sup> It simultaneously fulfilled Chávez's commitment with the rights to culture and ethnic integration of Mexico as a multicultural nation, embodied in the Mexican Constitution of 1917.<sup>211</sup>

Chávez actively engaged with music scholarship because he knew that the transformation from a Romantic to a modern institution would not be possible if the same principles and values were left intact. Therefore, he modified their program by, for example,

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<sup>206</sup> See Carlos Chávez, "El Conservatorio y la música en México," *Arte y Cultura*, 1929," in *ibid.*, 145-146.

<sup>207</sup> See Carlos Chávez, "El Conservatorio en 1929," *El Universal*, January 5, 1929," in *ibid.*, 147.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 148-149.

<sup>209</sup> García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez*, 61-62 and Parker, *Modern-Day Orpheus*, 10-11.

<sup>210</sup> Parker, *Modern-Day Orpheus*, 11

<sup>211</sup> See the Constitution's Article 2.

embracing the study of music cultures beyond Europe, including their theoretical systems.

With his own words, Chávez's post-colonial position argued that:

In addition, we have said before that it is intended to play music from all periods and from all countries and we found that the Conservatory only taught music from some countries in Europe. The one from Asia, the one from Africa and, finally, the most regrettable, the one from America, including Mexico was unknown. And although I have said that Europe's was known, that continent's was exclusively known during the XVIII and XIX centuries. The XX century was ignored and it was almost completely ignored from the XVII century onwards. The technical preparation, the necessary equipment for the student who is going to face such a wide program needs to be very complete. It is not enough to study the major and minor diatonic scale and the harmonic and contrapuntal sciences, deduced from this system; it is essential to know all the scales called exotic and primitive, the Greek and liturgical ways and all the consequences of these systems. These modes are not believed to be exotic or primitive in reality, even if they are designated by this name. On the contrary, they are used by highly refined peoples, on the one hand, and by non-exotic groups or tribes such as, for example, those who see and hear nothing else here a few minutes away, in the State of Mexico.<sup>212</sup>

Put differently; Chávez's *Conservatorio* reengineering process aimed to epistemologically decolonize and pragmatize the institution and incorporate it into post-revolutionary culture as an agent for social change and real independence. Chávez concluded the text by sharing his preoccupation with the *Conservatorio* obstacle regarding "musical creation" and hoped to transform the institution so that it would help young Mexican musicians to express themselves

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<sup>212</sup> The text in Spanish: "Además, hemos dicho antes que se pretende ejecutar la música de todas las épocas y de todos países y nos encontramos con que en el Conservatorio solamente se enseñaba la música de algunos países de Europa. Se desconocía la de Asia, la de África y, por último, lo más lamentable, la de América, México inclusive. Y si bien he dicho que se conocía la de Europa, se conocía exclusivamente la de ese continente durante los siglos XVIII y XIX. Se ignoraba el XX y se ignoraba casi completamente desde el XVII para atrás. La preparación técnica, el equipo necesario al alumno que se va a enfrentar con un programa tan amplio necesita ser muy completo. No basta estudiar la escala diatónica mayor y menor y las ciencias armónicas y contrapuntísticas, deducidas de este sistema; es indispensable conocer todas las escalas llamadas exóticas y primitivas, los modos griegos y litúrgicos y todas las consecuencias de estos sistemas. No se crea que estos modos son exóticos o primitivos en realidad, aunque se les designe con este nombre. Son, por el contrario, usados por pueblos altamente refinados, por una parte, y por grupos o tribus nada exóticos como son, por ejemplo, los que vemos y escuchamos nada más aquí a unos cuantos minutos, en el Estado de México." See Carlos Chávez, "El Conservatorio en 1929," *El Universal*, January 5, 1929," in *Carlos Chávez: Escritos periodísticos (1916-1939)*, 150.



musically.<sup>213</sup> In other words, Chávez signified musical composition. Chávez commented on his disappointment about some young Mexican composers, who still had “an intention so determined not to be independent of what Europe said in the XVIII and XIX centuries.”<sup>214</sup> Chávez became the broker who transformed the *Conservatorio’s* institutional culture from a nineteenth-century Eurocentric Conservatory into a modern and Mexican one, to liberate his country culturally and musically.

The composition class or *Clase de creación musical*, later renamed the *Taller de composición*, included Chávez’s colleagues Silvestre Revueltas, Candelario Huízar and Vicente T. Mendoza, as well a younger generation of students: Daniel Ayala (1906-1975), Blas Galindo (1910-1993), Salvador Contreras (1910-1972), and José Pablo Moncayo (1912-1958).<sup>215</sup> Blas Galindo explains the pedagogical method:

The program—to put it in a few words—included the creation of solo melodies, from the simplest to those conceived on the scale of twelve tones. Thus the plan was broadly in line with the historical process of the evolution of the melody. After this first stage of studies, the task was to superimpose two melodies. Then: three, four, etc., until acquiring, as a result of such linear superpositions, the harmonic sense of verticality and the sense of form, determined by cadential rests. All the melodies were thought to be played by specific instruments, or by human voices. Thus, from the first lessons, the student became familiar with the resources of the instruments and the voices.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>214</sup> The text in Spanish: “una intención tan decidida a no ser independientes a lo que Europa dijo en los siglos XVIII y XIX.” Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> See Clara Meierovich, “Especulación y verdad: Novedad histórica en la biografía más temprana de Carlos Chávez,” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 13/1 (1992): 114-115 and Parker, *Modern-Day Orpheus*, 62.

<sup>216</sup> The text in Spanish: “El programa -para decirlo en breves palabras- comprendía la creación de melodías a solo, desde las más sencillas hasta aquellas concebidas en la escala de doce sonidos. Así el plan se ajustaba, en grandes rasgos, al proceso histórico de la evolución de la melodía. Después de esta primera etapa de estudios, la tarea consistía en superponer dos melodías. Luego: tres, cuatro, etcétera, hasta adquirir, como resultado de tales superposiciones lineales, el sentido armónico de la verticalidad y el sentido de la forma, determinada ésta por los reposos cadenciales. Todas las melodías eran pensadas para ser ejecutadas por instrumentos determinados, o por voces humanas. Así, desde las primeras lecciones, el alumno se familiarizaba con los recursos propios de los instrumentos y de las voces.” See Blas Galindo, “Compositores de mi generación,” *Nuestra Música*, 3/10 (1948): 73-81 as quoted in Xochiquetzal Ruiz Ortiz, *Blas Galindo: Biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (México D.F.: CENIDIM, 1994), 44.

Galindo clarified that “The musical creation class was not scholastic; the goal was to develop the imagination.”<sup>217</sup> Chávez’s musical and political persona was known as being openly outspoken against academicism in music because it represented the elitist obstacle to musical modernism in Mexico, and he also believed that music was a social activity meant to generate well-being for the community of workers.

In 1933, the four younger composers contributed musical works to the conservatory’s concert series at the Teatro Hidalgo.<sup>218</sup> Nonetheless, institutional politics Carlos Chávez to resign from his position in 1934, and the class disbanded until 1935, when they reunited to participate together in a concert at the *Teatro Orientación de la Secretaría de Educación Pública*.<sup>219</sup> The aforementioned younger generation joined forces and became known by the music critics for five years as the *Grupo de los cuatro*. They continued their formal musical training (harmony, form, counterpoint, and fugue) with composers Candelario Huízar and Jose Rolón (1876-1945), and informally with Chávez.<sup>220</sup> The composers trusted each other’s opinions as well, and as Galindo explains, they used to gather for “a frequent exchange of ideas and opinions. Week after week, we met at my house to discuss technical and other problems related to our future. We read, analyzed scores, and critically commented on our work done during the week.”<sup>221</sup> Another shared activity consisted of visiting villages in the countryside to have

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<sup>217</sup> The text in Spanish: “La clase de creación musical no era escolástica; el objetivo era desarrollar la imaginación.” See Roberto García Bonilla y Xochiquetzal Ruiz Ortiz, “Entrevista con Blas Galindo,” *Pauta: Cuadernos de teoría y crítica musical* 11/41 (1992): 53.

<sup>218</sup> Xochiquetzal Ruiz Ortiz, *Blas Galindo*, 44.

<sup>219</sup> The performed works were: *Sonata para violín y violoncello* by J. P. Moncayo, *Sonata para violín y violoncello* by Salvador Contreras, *Piezas para cuarteto de cuerdas* by Daniel Ayala and *Suite para violín y violoncello* by Blas Galindo. Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> The text in Spanish: “...un frecuente intercambio de ideas y pareceres. Semana a semana nos reuníamos en mi casa con objeto de discutir problemas técnicos y otros relacionados con nuestro porvenir. Leíamos, analizábamos partituras y comentábamos, en forma crítica, nuestros trabajos realizados durante la semana.” See

contact with folklore and collect its melodies, chord progressions, forms, melodic gestures, and instrumentations, among other features, as a way to understand Mexico's musical cultures. José Pablo Moncayo recalled that "Blas Galindo (1910) and I went to Alvarado, one of the places where folk music is preserved in its purest form; we were collecting for several days melodies, rhythms, and instrumentation."<sup>222</sup>

Music was not only the tie that kept them together, but also politics. Coming either from indigenous or working-class backgrounds, the musicians knew the value of education and the opportunity opened by the Revolution. Therefore, the members shared similar progressive political views and partnered with the *Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios* (LEAR), which sponsored some of the *Grupo's* concerts.<sup>223</sup> Thus, from 1935 to its dissolution in 1941, the *Grupo de los cuatro* organized chamber-music and symphonic concerts with their works in different venues in Mexico City, Boston, and New York. The group's music played a significant role in the post-revolutionary modern Mexican art-music scene, embracing the aesthetic and cultural values of post-revolutionary Mexico.

### ***Instituto Interamericano de Musicología and Primer Festival de Música Latino Americana (Uruguay, 1935–1947)***

The German-born musicologist Francisco Curt Lange (1903-1997) arrived in Montevideo during the 1920s looking for new projects and personal opportunities after

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Blas Galindo, "Compositores de mi generación," *Nuestra Música* 3/10 (1948) as quoted in Ruiz Ortiz, *Blas Galindo*, 21.

<sup>222</sup> José Antonio Alcaráz, *La obra de José Pablo Moncayo*. Cuadernos de Música Nueva Serie/2 (México: UNAM, Difusión Cultural, Departamento de Música, 1975).

<sup>223</sup> Ruiz Ortiz, *Blas Galindo*, 22-23. See also a complete list of dates and venues where the group presented their works in, for example, Tonatiuh García Jiménez, "Between Assimilation and Resistance of Western Musical Culture: Traces of Nationalism on José Pablo Moncayo's Viola Sonata" (DMA diss., Texas Tech University, 2014), 49-56.

escaping from the European interwar context that eventually led to his birth country falling into National Socialism and, ultimately, World War II. In Uruguay, Lange was hired by the government to work as an advisor to support the *Servicio Oficial de Difusión Radio Eléctrica* (SODRE).<sup>224</sup> Already a scholar trained in the humanities, Lange settled in Montevideo. He began his American continent-based music research, which, combined with the extensive epistolary exchange with composers and intellectuals, as explained by Daniela Fugellie, guided the scholar to conceive his *Americanismo Musical*.<sup>225</sup>

Lange was able to conceptualize an ongoing continental dialogue among composers and intellectuals about *Americanismo*. The term was conceived initially by Latin Americans in political philosophy as a symbolic consciousness against colonialism during the nineteenth century that helped to engage the population to fight and achieve political independence. Nonetheless, it was an ideal constructed by and for intellectuals, becoming part of the Latin American post-colonial imaginary. Otherwise stated, the imaginary of *Americanismo* embraced a transcontinental identity shared by Hispanic, Luso-, and Anglo-Americans as a result of a similar postcolonial past.

During the end of the 1920s, Uruguay established the basis for its musicological research with the founding of the *Instituto de Estudios Superiores*. Its statutes aimed to generate scientific scholarship about various types of music from Uruguay.<sup>226</sup> In 1934, Lange was

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<sup>224</sup> Jorge Velazco, “La confluencia intelectual y académica en la formación escolástica y la obra de investigación de Francisco Curt Lange,” *Revista Musical de Venezuela* 10/28 (1989): 207-223.

<sup>225</sup> Daniela Fugellie, “¿El ‘embajador de Schoenberg’ en Sudamérica? Francisco Curt Lange como promotor de la música de vanguardia (1933–1953),” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 39/1 (2018): 53-88.

<sup>226</sup> Leonardo Manzino, “Musicología Uruguaya e Investigación: Barroco Musical Sudamericano, Música Colonial y Música Uruguaya Republicana del Siglo XIX,” in *Musicología en el Uruguay: Aportes a la construcción de su campo de estudio*, ed. Gustavo Goldman and Leonardo Manzino (Montevideo: Ediciones Perro Andaluz, 2014), 80.

appointed director of the *Instituto's* newly created *Sección de Investigaciones Musicales*.<sup>227</sup> Lange outlined all the functions of his new position in the document *Americanismo Musical: la sección de investigaciones musicales, su creación, propósitos y finalidades*.<sup>228</sup> The institute was divided into two sections (Latin American and Europe), and Lange proposed objectives for the Latin American part as follows:

- 1) Research and publications. Latin American Music Lexicon
- 2) Latin American Library of Music
- 3) Discography of Latin American works
- 4) Latin American museum of indigenous instruments, scores and other documents
- 5) Latin American Music Bulletin
- 6) Organization of the Latin American Music Congress<sup>229</sup>

In this document, Lange established the philosophical basis for his great transnational enterprise. Lange's text, imbued with good ideas and intentions, as well as some essentialism, claimed that the "young" American continent was multiethnic, which, despite being highly heterogeneous, shared a common history, soul and "germs of future arts, the magnitude, wealth and diversity of which few imagine."<sup>230</sup> For Lange, music, among all the different arts, was the ideal and most efficient transnational and intertextual medium on the American continent to engage in a "conquest of the future."<sup>231</sup> Moreover, Lange defined the current 1930s context as "tragic" because of modernity's many dialectics. Still, he claimed that

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<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>228</sup> Francisco Curt Lange, *Americanismo Musical: la sección de investigaciones musicales, su creación, propósitos y finalidades* (Montevideo: Instituto de Estudios Superiores, 1934), 5-32.

<sup>229</sup> The text in Spanish: 1) Investigaciones y publicaciones. Léxico Latinoamericano de Música; 2) Biblioteca latino-americana de música; 3) Discoteca de obras latino-americanas; 4) Museo latino-americano de instrumentos indígenas, partituras y demás documentos; 5) Boletín Latino Americano de Música and 6) Organización del Congreso Latino Americano de Música." See Lange, "Americanismo Musical," 17. As Daniela Fugellie similarly noted, not all these projects became a reality, especially due to the lack of ability to raise public funds. Lange and his collaborators worked ad-honorem and the financial situation was also the reason the musicologist only completed six volumes of his BLAM. See Fugellie, "¿El 'embajador de Schoenberg' en Sudamérica?"

<sup>230</sup> The text in Spanish: "Su suelo encierra gérmenes de artes futuras, cuya magnitud, riqueza y diversidad pocos imaginan." Lange, *Americanismo Musical: la sección de investigaciones musicales, su creación, propósitos y finalidades*, 5.

<sup>231</sup> The text in Spanish: "conquista del porvenir." Ibid.

*Americanismo Musical* would reach “its healthy and prudent artistic autonomy.”<sup>232</sup> With the rhetorical sentence “Friends, guide your gaze fascinated by the cultural environments of Europe, towards yourselves,” Lange invited all of those artists related to the musical world on the American continent to engage in cultural introspection.<sup>233</sup> Lange denounced the Eurocentric and regular practice of Occidentalism to label American music as exotic, favoring instead a “doctrine of our art,” whose origin came from the Monroe Doctrine’s “American music for Americans.”<sup>234</sup> Lange claimed that Latin America was entirely wide awake musically, and he called for a proactive organizational exchange between its actors as well as for eliminating the destructive conflict over any imagined inferiority complex in relation to Europe.<sup>235</sup> Lange continued the text by denying and disapproving of some modern teleological laws, mass media, and cultural products/agents from Europe and the United States that were generating content from outside the culture that Latin American would create from the inside.<sup>236</sup> Therefore, Lange appealed for support in working toward constructing the American continent’s own musical culture.<sup>237</sup>

Regarding the *Sección de Investigaciones Musicales*, Lange designed the program to break down the isolation among composers, musicologists, performers, and music educators from the different countries on the American continent. The section dedicated to the American branch intended to research and promote its diverse musics from colonial to modern times throughout its publications. Therefore, research in folklore, popular and art music aimed to

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<sup>232</sup> The text in Spanish: “su autonomía artística sana y prudente.” Ibid., 7.

<sup>233</sup> The text in Spanish: “Amigos, guiad vuestras miradas fascinadas por los ambientes culturales de Europa, hacia vosotros mismos.” Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> The text in Spanish: Una doctrina de nuestro arte: la música americana para los americanos. Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 8-10.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 10-12.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 13-15.

generate a body of documents such as musicological books, scores, and recordings, which materialized in the first edition of *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música y Suplemento Musical* in 1935.<sup>238</sup> Besides, it aimed to organize a Latin American music congress and advocated for the composers to receive copyright payments.<sup>239</sup> Lange realized the unifying power that *Americanismo Musical* has and started a continental outreach program to find private and public allies, contributors, and funding for his project.<sup>240</sup>

In *Boletín Latin Americano de Música*, musicologist Lauro Ayestarán (193-1966) wrote a text entitled *Las actividades de la sección de investigaciones musicales 1935-1936*, with the aim of reporting the main musical activities of *Sección de Investigaciones Musicales* during the years mentioned.<sup>241</sup> Ayestarán highlighted the organization of the *Primer Festival de Música Latino Americana*, in Montevideo, whose purpose was to promote instrumental, vocal, choral, and children's art music by Latin American composers.<sup>242</sup> Originally, the event consisted of three concerts at the *Estudio Auditorio*, including a complete concert dedicated to the Argentinean *Grupo Renovación*. Nevertheless, some logistic obstacles and Lange's trip to Lima, Peru, resulted in the realization of only one.<sup>243</sup> Ayestarán's perception was varied. While he emphasized the music's welcoming and warm reception by about four hundred listeners and praised the performers' interpretation, the quality of information included in the concert program, and

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<sup>238</sup> The complete list of Lange's series *Boletín Latino—Americano de Música* includes: Vol. I (Montevideo/Uruguay, 1935), Vol. II (Lima/Perú, 1936), Vol. III (Montevideo/Uruguay, 1937), Vol. IV (Bogotá/Colombia, 1938), Vol. V (Montevideo/Uruguay, 1941) and Vol. VI. (Rio de Janeiro/Brazil, 1946).

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>240</sup> Luis Merino, "Francisco Curt Lange (1903-1997): tributo a un americanista de excepción," *Revista Musical Chilena* 52/189 (1998): 11-13.

<sup>241</sup> Lauro Ayestarán, "Las actividades de la sección de investigaciones musicales 1935-1936," *Boletín Latino Americano de Música* 2 (Lima: Editorial Cooperativa Interamericana de Compositores, 1936), 419-420.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*

the posters designed by the Fine Arts Department, he criticized the Montevideo concert-goers' Eurocentric taste as well that of the music critics, whom he invited to learn about American music to "culturally improve a setting" and try to "balance the unbearable disproportion that reigns in all of our America, in matters of European music and national music."<sup>244</sup> Due to the audience's enthusiasm, Ayestarán concludes with a positive feeling of hope for the success of future concerts of Latin American art music.

Francisco Curt Lange pronounced an opening speech during the festival's sole concert, where he had the opportunity to share with a lay audience his ideal of *Americanismo Musical*.<sup>245</sup> Consequently, he began saying that within what he called the highly heterogeneous Latin-American continent, there are people whose indifference to local art, artists, scholars, and all kind of elevated intellectual production has created the "derogatory custom of denying any American artistic creation's value..."<sup>246</sup> Those who follow this attitude thus "hinder the birth of artistic autonomy."<sup>247</sup> Lange, wished to defeat the cultural determinist perception of backwardness in Uruguay and other Latin American countries and claimed that *Sección de Investigaciones Musicales del Instituto de Estudios Superiores*, as an internationally recognized institution, wished to work as the movement's platform to spread the artists' musical works worldwide. Moreover, he argued, national consciousness is the only means to create a real and independent artistic growth to confront the "mania of copying European precepts and accept dictates coming from beyond the ocean."<sup>248</sup> He invited the audience to "be more American,"

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<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Francisco Curt Lange, "Primer Festival de Música Latino Americana," *Boletín Latino Americano de Música* 2 (Lima: Editorial Cooperativa Interamericana de Compositores, 1936), 420-425.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.



and to “consciously penetrate the multiple elements that make up the American culture of the past and present,” to construct the best possible environment for enabling the artists to create the American continent’s culture.<sup>249</sup> Similarly, he mentioned the importance of supporting the national and regional performers, who, unlike the “materialists foreign virtuosos,” would be the first to promote the national musical literature.<sup>250</sup> Lange concluded his speech by reaffirming the hope and optimism that his *Americanismo Musical* was generating.<sup>251</sup> Afterwards, three international events initiated the establishment of the *Instituto Interamericano de Musicología* in 1938. The *VIII Conferencia Internacional Americana* (Lima, 1938), the International Congress of Musicology (New York, 1939), and the First Inter American Conference in the Field of Music (Washington D.C., 1939) led the Uruguayan government to create the institution on June 26, 1940.<sup>252</sup>

Since the *Boletín*’s first edition, Francisco Curt Lange included a section about music from the United States. Earlier, Lange had considered the United States, together with Europe, as entities whose cultural products circulated in Latin America, which strongly impacted the maturation of Latin American identity. However, the Good Neighbor context and the need for funding and professional opportunities modified his approach toward the United States. Therefore, during his presentation *Americanismo Musical* for the American Musicological Society at its annual meeting in 1939, he concluded his presentation by calling for continental unity. He did that by subtly invoking an encoded U.S.-American “E Pluribus Unum” when he asked the musicological audience about the “acceptance of the term ‘Musical Americanism’ as

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<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Merino, “Francisco Curt Lange (1903-1997),” 13.

equally valid for North and South America, for the one indivisible America.”<sup>253</sup> Francisco Curt Lange labored to break down artistic isolationism by creating continental institutions.<sup>254</sup> On the other, he aimed to epistemologically displace the European notion of “universalism” with a transnational Americanism generated by national and regional creative and intellectual actors and institutions as a result of a permanently synergistic dialogue.<sup>255</sup>

### ***Festival de Música de Cámara Panamericana en México (1937)***

In the United States of America, philanthropy has been associated with families led by patriarchal figures such as Henry Ford (1863-1947), John D. Hertz (1879-1961), and Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), just to name a few.<sup>256</sup> These businessmen embraced philanthropy not only as a gesture to give part of their wealth back to society, but as a medium to increase and maintain their social and political prestige and influence. Nevertheless, as a group of scholars demonstrated in the book *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860*, women became the cultural agents. They constructed and designed U.S.-American twentieth-century art music.<sup>257</sup> Women’s involvement in art-music patronage had a different connotation than that of their male counterparts. Hence, modern values about equity, citizenship, and rights represented part of their contributions. These women were not merely observant and passive participants who provided financial support, but highly professional and trained musicians. However, as a result of social prejudices that affected their agency and career

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<sup>253</sup> Francisco Curt Lange, “Americanismo Musical,” *papers read by members of the American Musicological Society at the Annual Meeting* (September 11th to 16th, 1939): 283.

<sup>254</sup> Pablo Palomino, *The Invention of Latin American Music: A Transnational History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 147.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, 147-155.

<sup>256</sup> See the program in APPENDIX A.

<sup>257</sup> *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860*, eds. Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

development within the cultural industry, they were not able to launch careers similar to those of their male colleagues.

Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge (1864-1953) was one of these: a music patron whose musical training in piano and composition nurtured a special sensitivity for chamber music. Being an heir and a member of a social group of wealthy families, Sprague Coolidge invested part of her fortune into promoting chamber music. “Her work as a patron of music was a second career, begun in her early fifties. ...She began with the familiar route of the women's club and settlement house,” as Cyrilla Barr explains, “but very soon moved beyond it into a position that ultimately challenged the U.S. government to take on the cause of the arts.”<sup>258</sup> Namely, Sprague Coolidge’s music support signified political activism for social change. Therefore, after supporting the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and launching the Berkshire Festival with its Berkshire Quartet and the chamber-music competition, one of her lasting legacy initiatives was establishing the Coolidge Foundation at the Library of Congress in 1925.<sup>259</sup> The foundation sponsored the Chamber Music Festival and negotiated the construction of the auditorium with the support of Carl Engel (1883-1944), Chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress.<sup>260</sup> By selecting the political capital of the United States as a center for her chamber music concert series, Sprague Coolidge not only aimed to engage politicians, but to send them a message as well. With her strong passion for chamber music, her foundation aimed to fund chamber-music concerts and festivals as well as to sponsor composition commissions and musicological studies in the same musical genre. Besides the

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<sup>258</sup> Cyrilla Barr, “A Style of Her Own: The Patronage of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge,” in *Cultivating Music in America*, 185.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, 189-193.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 191-192.

United States, Sprague Coolidge supported chamber-music festivals in different European cities. Still, with the outbreak of World War II, “she simply changed the venues to Mexico City, San Juan, and Honolulu.”<sup>261</sup>

Regarding the chamber-music festival in Mexico, Carlos Chávez was chosen as the leading composer to organize the event. Chávez sent a letter to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge on June 6, 1936, sharing his thoughts and desires about the Pan-American Chamber Music Festival.<sup>262</sup> Chávez suggested July (1937) as the best date during the year as well as the idea to organize between six and nine concerts in total, with diverse instrumental combinations.<sup>263</sup> Thereafter he asked whether the Pro Arte String Quartet was scheduled to perform at the Festival or not, and he continued suggesting names for the Latin American composers who could be performed at the Festival.<sup>264</sup> Chávez wrote, “About the Latin American composers, I think [they] could be represented like this: Cuba, Amadeo Roldán, and perhaps, Alejandro García Caturla; Argentina, Juan José Castro; Mexico, Candelario Huízar, José Pablo Moncayo, Bas Galindo, Francisco Contreras, Silvestre Revueltas and myself.”<sup>265</sup> Chávez used the opportunity to express his idea about promoting Latin American younger composers. He pointed out that “I believe one of the most beneficial aspects of this festival could be the discovery of new talents in other Latin American countries.”<sup>266</sup> He recommended celebrating

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 193.

<sup>262</sup> Carlos Chávez, “De Carlos Chávez a Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge,” in *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez*, 226-227.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 226.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> The text in Spanish: “Los compositores latinoamericanos creo que podrían ser representados así: Cuba, Amadeo Roldán, y tal vez, Alejandro García Caturla; Argentina, Juan José Castro; México, Candelario Huízar, José Pablo Moncayo, Bas Galindo, Francisco Contreras, Silvestre Revueltas y yo.” Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> The text in Spanish: “Creo que uno de los aspectos más benéficos de este festival podría ser el descubrimiento de nuevos talentos en otros países latinoamericanos.” Ibid.

a composition contest open to Latin Americans.<sup>267</sup> Towards the letter's end, Chávez shared some information about his last tour in the United States, conducting the Boston and Philadelphia orchestras, as well as the invitation to participate in the next Coolidge Festival in Washington, D.C., conducting a work for viola and chamber orchestra by Paul Hindemith with the German composer as a soloist.<sup>268</sup>

Sprague Coolidge answered Chávez with a letter on June 15, 1937 and expressed her joy in sponsoring the Festival in Mexico City.<sup>269</sup> She suggested organizing only five concerts and explained that the Pro Arte String Quartet had a residency engagement during July at Mills College.<sup>270</sup> Nonetheless, she informed Chávez of the Coolidge Quartet's founding and its readiness to participate in the younger composer's composition contest.<sup>271</sup>

Reviewing the program's repertoire invites us to ask some questions: Why, within a Pan-American Chamber Music Festival, did the programs include works by European composers? Why did no other Latin American composers who already had solid chamber-music credentials get invited to participate? What happened with composers Roldán, Caturla, and Galindo?<sup>272</sup> How was the repertoire selected for the programs? Was the inclusion of European composers a way to legitimize the Festival within the Western art-music tradition? Was it a representation of a Latin American neocolonial mentality?

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<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 227.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 228.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid.

<sup>272</sup> Francisco Curt Lange mentioned Amadeo Roldán's work "Rítmica para orquesta de cámara" in his *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música*, but Carmona did not acknowledge it in her publication. See Lange, *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música* 3 (Montevideo: Editorial Cooperativa Interamericana de Compositores, 1937), 485.

Alma Goudy wrote an article for *Modern Music* entitled “Coolidge Fiesta in Mexico,” in which she reviewed the Pan-American Music Festival.<sup>273</sup> Although the title suggested some exoticism, Goudy engaged with the performances. She introduced her article by acknowledging Carlos Chávez’s organizational skills. Then, she wrote, “He not only arranged the fête but, with Hugo Kortschak and Carl Engel, also acted as a judge of the two works which won the Coolidge prize and honorable mention for 1937.”<sup>274</sup> She praised the interpretations by Puerto Rican pianist Jesús M. Sanromá (1902-1984), the Coolidge Quartet and Chávez, and about the creators said: “Honors among composers repeatedly went to those whose works had been tried in the fires of previous performances.”<sup>275</sup>

The Coolidge Prize was given to the Ukrainian-Argentinian composer Jacobo Ficher, and the Honorable Mention went to Brazilian composer Francisco Casabona (1895-1979). At that point, “Without the benefit of the score or more than one hearing, members of the audience in Mexico City could not be as exacting in passing judgment on the 1937 Coolidge prize quartet or the honorable mention. Over sixty entries,” Goudy declared, “were said to be examined by the judges before handing down their verdict. The wonder was what the other fifty-odd might have contained.”<sup>276</sup> About the U.S.-American composers, she voiced, “Wheat found in the chaff was present more frequently in North American music. There was also a disturbing mediocrity in ideas and treatment that came from the same northerly direction.”<sup>277</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos’ works received again a fully embedded appraisal of exoticism when Goudy penned, “It was fitting in a land of Indian and Latin background that the composer displaying

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<sup>273</sup> Alma Goudy, “Coolidge Fiesta in Mexico,” *Modern Music* 15/1 (1937): 37-40.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*

the caliber of genius should be Heitor Villa-Lobos. In that setting,” she assumed, “his *Settimino* and *Chóros No. 5* continued to be ripe fruit for the musical markets of the world.”<sup>278</sup>

Lange published a review of the Festival in his *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música* 3 (1937), and praised Chávez’s initiative and proactivity by declaring, “This first step taken by Chávez has been a great trial and a great success. We need men like him, who do not forget our problems and who work practically go down in your solution.”<sup>279</sup> On the other hand, Lange complained about the participation of six Latin American countries, which he articulated as “The ratio is too poor to be considered as fair and balanced participation of our continent,” and he hoped that the Festival would be a reference for future similar events.<sup>280</sup>

The Pan-American Chamber Music Festival was celebrated from July 13 to 24, 1937. Chávez sent a letter to Sprague Coolidge on July 30, 1937, to share his highly positive reflections about the Festival’s flow.<sup>281</sup> The Mexican composer voiced some of the ideas as follows:

As a whole, the Festival was a true and complete success, which was recognized by all. The presentation of music from all parts of our continent, showing the variety of trends and characteristics; the fact that the musicians in charge of the performances were all from Anglo or Latin America; the heterogeneous auditorium, also international, that was present at the Festivals, aroused all this, a deep and true interest. In particular, the quality of the interpretations was very good or excellent. The cooperation of the Coolidge Quartet was one of the highlights of the Festival. The same Sanromá. The Ruvalcaba Quartet made a very good impression and offered a very detailed and own presentation of the awarded works. The Chamber Music groups, and other soloists of the Festival, Mrs. Ayala and Mrs. Ortega did their parts with distinction.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid. 40. Gloria Carmona mentioned *Chóros no. 3* instead of *Chóros no. 5*.

<sup>279</sup> The text in Spanish: “Este primer paso dado por Chávez ha sido un gran ensayo y un gran acierto. Nos hacen falta hombres como él, que no olviden nuestros problemas y que trabajen prácticamente en su solución.” See Francisco Curt Lange, “El Festival de Música de Cámara Panamericana,” in *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música* 3 (Montevideo: Montevideo: Editorial Cooperativa Interamericana de Compositores, 1937), 485-486.

<sup>280</sup> The text in Spanish: “La proporción es demasiado pobre como para que pueda ser considerada como una participación justa y equilibrada de nuestro continente.” Ibid., 486.

<sup>281</sup> Chávez “De Carlos Chávez a Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge,” in *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez*, 267.

<sup>282</sup> The text in Spanish: Como un todo, el Festival fue un verdadero y complete éxito, lo que fue reconocido por todos. La presentación de la música proveniente de todas las partes de nuestro continente, mostrando la variedad

Chávez concluded the letter expressing to Sprague Coolidge, who was not able to travel to Mexico and attend the event because of her poor health, his gratitude for the Festival, all his best wishes, and hopes to meet her in the near future.<sup>283</sup> Later, Sprague Coolidge responded to Chávez expressing her gratitude for the successful Festival and offering her future cooperation “in this interesting field of mutual interest.”<sup>284</sup>

### **El Festival Ibero-Americano de Música (Bogotá, 1938)**

Bogotá's fourth foundation centenary celebration represented the right moment for the Colombian conductor Guillermo Espinosa (1905–1990) to launch the Festival Ibero-Americano de Música in Bogotá (1938).<sup>285</sup> The event counted among its overseas guest musicians Oscar Lorenzo Fernández (Brazil, 1897–1948), Vicente Emilio Sojo (Venezuela, 1887–1974), Armando Carvajal (Chile, 1893–1972), Alfredo de Saint-Maló (Panama, 1898–1984), Nicolás Slonimsky, (United States, 1894–1995), and Francisco Curt Lange (Uruguay, 1903–1997). Colombia was also represented by composer Guillermo Uribe Holguín (1880–1971) as well as singer Luis Macías and pianists Magdalena Osuna de Hernández, Tatjana

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de tendencias y características; el hecho de que los músicos al cuidado de las ejecuciones fueran, todos, provenientes de la América inglesa o de la latina; el heterogéneo auditorio, también internacional, que estuvo presente en los Festivales, todo ello despertó, un profundo y verdadero interés. En particular, la calidad de las ejecuciones fue muy buena o excelente. La cooperación del Cuarteto Coolidge fue uno de los rasgos más sobresalientes del Festival. Lo mismo Sanromá. El Cuarteto Ruvalcaba hizo muy buena impresión y ofreció una presentación muy propia y detallada de los trabajos premiados. Los grupos de Música de Cámara y otros solistas del Festival, la señora Ayala y la señora Ortega hicieron sus partes con distinción. Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, “De Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge,” undated, in *Epistolario Selecto de Carlos Chávez*, 268.

<sup>285</sup> Francisco Curt Lange, “El Festival Ibero-Americano de Música,” *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música* 4 (Bogotá: Editorial Cooperativa Interamericana de Compositores, 1938), 55–63.



Gontscharowa, and Lucía Pérez.<sup>286</sup> The ensembles were *Cuarteto Bogotá*, *Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional* from Colombia, and “Orfeón Lamas” from Venezuela.<sup>287</sup>

Lange commented that despite the financial and logistic obstacles, Espinosa was able to make the festival a reality. It included a last-minute-organized composition contest sponsored by the New Music Association of California, whose fifth rule seeks to honor “works in modern idiom” rather than “works too conservative in character.”<sup>288</sup> Prizes were given to *Tres piezas para violín y piano* by Domingo Santa-Cruz (Chile, 1899–1987), *Tres preludios* by Uribe-Holguín, *Tres piezas infantiles* by Carvajal, and *Batuque* by Fernández.<sup>289</sup> All the works’ music scores were published in the journal *New Music* in 1939 as part of the award.<sup>290</sup> Nevertheless, Lange complained that the short notice did not allow more composers to participate, which would have provided a more challenging contest.<sup>291</sup> The festival attracted audiences not only with the music, but also with the conferences in which Lange, Lorenzo Fernández, Carvajal, and Slonimsky shared their ideas about topics such as *Musical Americanism*, *Brazilian Popular Music*, *Chile’s Conservatory Organization*, and *Modern Music*.<sup>292</sup>

Although the festival involved the participation of musicians from the American continent, in concordance with the Pan-American zeitgeist, naming the festival “Ibero-American” signified a connection between Bogota and its historical past as the capital of the Spanish Viceroyalty of New Granada (1717–1819). Another reason could have been to

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<sup>286</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., and see also Rita H. Mead, “Latin American Accents in ‘New Music,’” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 3/2 (1982): 213–214.

<sup>290</sup> Mead, “Latin American Accents in ‘New Music,’” 213–214.

<sup>291</sup> Lange, “El Festival Ibero-Americano de Música,” 62.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

counterpoint the Ibero-American music festival from 1929 celebrated in Spain.<sup>293</sup> In other words, the art music transition shift from Europe to the American continent had started, and some years later, the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood became the epicenter for this geomusical change. Lange ultimately hoped the festival would contribute to *Musical Americanism's* continuation, and the experience also motivated Espinosa to organize more music festivals such as those in *Cartagena de Indias* in Colombia and the Inter-American Music Festivals in Washington D.C.<sup>294</sup>

### ***Grupo Música Viva (Brazil, 1939-1950)***

Until the twentieth century's third decade, as argued by José María Neves in his book *Música contemporânea brasileira*, Brazilian music embraced and embodied two variables that Mario de Andrade defined as “national thesis” and “national consciousness.”<sup>295</sup> Nevertheless, immigration is part of the process of transculturation's early steps with the arrival of European émigrés in Brazil not only in the form of musical scores but also people. German composer/instrumentalist Hans-Joachim Koellreutter (1915-2005) arrived in the Southwest part of the American continent while escaping from the Nazi regime. At that moment, he decided to settle in Brazil, where he became an agent of change in the art-music scene, and, at

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<sup>293</sup> See, for example, Daniel Moro Valina, “El Festival de Música de América y España (1964–1970). Intercambios musicales entre las dos orillas,” *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 24 (2012): 143–173 and Alyson Payne, “The 1964 Festival of Music of the Americas and Spain: A Critical Examination of Ibero-American Musical Relations in the Context of Cold War Politics” (PhD diss., University of California, Riverside, 2012).

<sup>294</sup> Silvia Restrepo and María A. Palacios, “Los compositores de Santa Capilla en los Festivales de Música de Caracas,” *Cuadernos de Análisis y Debate sobre Músicas Latinoamericanas Contemporáneas* 2 (2019): 8. I would also like to clarify that Dr. Inocente Palacios (1908–1996) was the organizer of the *Festivales Latinoamericanos de Música de Caracas* (1954, 1957, and 1966), and not Guillermo Espinosa. See Miguel, Astor, “Los ojos de Sojo: El conflicto entre nacionalismo y modernidad en los festivales de música de Caracas (1954–1966)” (Disertación Doctoral: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 2009).

<sup>295</sup> José María Neves, *Música contemporânea brasileira* (São Paulo: Ricordi Brasileira, 1981), 77-83. See the “Manifestos” in APPENDIX E.

the same time, his style changed as a result of contact with Brazilian music. Coming from the Berlin Academy of Music and Geneva Conservatoire, where he met and became affiliated with composer Paul Hindemith and conductor Hermann Scherchen (1891-1966), Koellreutter identified and advocated for twelve-tone and serialist music.<sup>296</sup>

Since 1937, Koellreutter had begun teaching music theory at the Brazilian Conservatory in Rio de Janeiro (1937–52) and, later, the São Paulo Institute of Music (1942–4). In these institutions, he taught some musicians from the new generation of Brazilian composers, including Eunice Katunda (1915-1990), César Guerra-Peixe (1914-1993), Claudio Santoro (1919-1989) and Edino Krieger (1928), among others.<sup>297</sup> Simultaneously, the German composer likewise connected with colleagues who shared his passion and missionary zeal for new music, such as Juan Carlos Paz, who praised him for showing the “folklorists . . . that the music is a sound structure,” and Francisco Curt Lange, who supported the group with publications.<sup>298</sup> Thereby, inspired to promote new music more expansively, in 1939 Koellreutter decided to create *Grupo Música Viva*, which included a younger generation of Brazilian composers who achieved recognition with their works nationally and internationally.<sup>299</sup>

In addition to concerts, radio programs and musical editions, the group published eleven editions in Rio de Janeiro of the *Música Viva, Órgão Oficial do Grupo Música Viva* (nos. 1-16, 1940-1948) with a musical supplement.<sup>300</sup> Subsequently, only one edition was published in

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<sup>296</sup> Gerard Béhague, *Latin American Music: An Introduction* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1979), 279.

<sup>297</sup> Neves, *Música contemporânea brasileira*, 85.

<sup>298</sup> The text in Spanish: “folkloristas . . . que la música es una estructuración sonora.” See Juan Carlos Paz, “H. J. Koellreutter y el Grupo Música Viva,” *Latitud* (1945): 16-17 as quoted in Neves, 86.

<sup>299</sup> There was also a group brand in São Paulo. See Carlos Kater, *Música Viva e H. J. Koellreutter: Movimentos em direção à modernidade* (São Paulo: Atravez Associação Artístico-Cultural, 2000), 49.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 139-164.

Montevideo together with Francisco Curt Lange, *Música Viva, revista mensual, Organo oficial de la Editorial Cooperativa Interamericana de Compositores Grupo* (no. 1, 1942), as a medium to spread its activities.<sup>301</sup> The group documented its institutionalization by writing its *Estatutos* (1943) and two *Manifestos* (1944/1946), where the group outlined its philosophical, political, and aesthetic discourse and agency.<sup>302</sup> Composer Edino Krieger, who attended the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood in 1948, commented about Koellreutter's impact in Rio de Janeiro:

But when Koellreutter arrived here at the end of the thirties he began to show that there were other experiments that were going on then in Europe -- the Viennese school, with Schoenberg, Webern, etc., and this because some of his students, above all Claudio Santoro, began to get interested in this, to ask Koellreutter for information about it, and wanted to know, beyond traditional and nationalist music, what one could do, what the other paths were, the other possibilities, and they wanted to get up to date. And so he began to teach about serialism, and a little group got started to study it, which provoked a very violent reaction on the part of the traditionalists, the academicists, here in Rio de Janeiro, and in São Paulo, on the part of the nationalists. And so there were battles on two fronts against this opening that Koellreutter was proposing. It was period of many fights on aesthetic matters. Camargo Guarnieri wrote an unfortunate article defending nationalist music, and accusing Koellreutter of leading young Brazilians down the wrong path. Really, it was terrible. This was in the fifties. Later it all blew over. . . . So when Koellreutter arrived and began to widen people's perspectives, to show people how to understand the harmonic structures of Hindemith, what was called acoustic harmony, to study the acoustic principles of harmony, and not simply the rules -- not just to avoid parallel fifths and octaves in the harmony, but to understand why -- this way of teaching of Koellreutter's provoked a very great reaction.<sup>303</sup>

Koellreutter's eruption in Brazil caused criticism by those composers whose modernism was created alongside the transcultural values of the *Manifesto Antropófago*, which asserted the category of Brazilianness, instead of acculturated, neutral, abstract, and Eurocentric serialism. Gerard Béhague said that "It symbolized for the majority of Brazilian composers a strong disruption of national values and a foreign intrusion into the country's musical world."<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid., 50-77.

<sup>303</sup> Tom Moore, "An Interview with Edino Krieger," *21<sup>st</sup> Century Music* 12/12 (2005), accessed April 20, 2020, <http://21st-centurymusic.blogspot.com/2005/12/interview-with-edino-krieger-tom-moore.html>.

<sup>304</sup> Béhague, *Latin American Music*, 279.

However, José María Neves explained that the Brazilian composers simply adapted twelve-tone and serial techniques to their expressive and musical needs and environment, keeping their creative independence and never becoming orthodox in using these techniques.<sup>305</sup>

### ***Grupo de Renovación Musical (Cuba, 1942-1948)***

Throughout the twentieth century, artists have formed groups to consolidate Cuba's cultural identity, and the capital city of Havana was the principal location for art music. Thereby, this cosmopolitan urban center hosted a varied number of institutions, performers, art patrons and media related to the national and international art-music scene. Cultural institutions such as the *Sociedad de Cuartetos de La Habana* (1910-1924), *Sociedad Pro-Arte Musical* (1918), *Sinfónica de La Habana* (1922-1958), *Filarmónica de La Habana* (1924), *Revista musicalia* (1928), *Asociación Panamericana de Compositores* (1928-1934), *Sociedad Contemporánea de Música Cubana* (1929), *Sociedad Coral de la Habana* (1931) and *Orquesta de Cámara de La Habana* (1934-1952) presented various contributors and trends shaping the musical landscape and opening spaces for Cuban composers in Havana.<sup>306</sup>

Artists and intellectuals were committed to using the arts as a tool for social and political change in Cuba. The *Grupo Minorista* signed a cultural/political “Declaración del Grupo Minorista” on May 7, 1927, in Havana, and created the *Revista de Avance* as an outlet for their ideals.<sup>307</sup> The group aimed to collaborate in diverse arts disciplines to establish a modern and inclusive democracy in Cuba and Latin America, by launching educational

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<sup>305</sup> Neves, *Música contemporánea brasileira*, 93.

<sup>306</sup> See, for example, Radamés Giro, *Diccionario enciclopédico de la música en Cuba*, Tomo IV (La Habana: Editorial de Letras Cubanas, 2009); Consuelo Carredano and Victoria Eli, “Sintonías, desencuentros y pérdidas,” in *La música en Hispanoamérica en el siglo XX* (México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2015), 148-152.

<sup>307</sup> “Declaración del Grupo Minorista,” accessed April 5, 2020, <https://cubaproject.org/cuban-republic/intellectuals/grupo-minorista/>. The *Revista de Avance* was published from 1927 to 1930.

reforms and contesting the conservative status quo.<sup>308</sup> The *Minorismo*, as Carpentier called the movement, called for “vernacular art and, in general, for new art in its various manifestations.”<sup>309</sup> The intellectuals Fernando Ortiz (1881-1969), Nicolás Guillén (1902-89), Alejo Carpentier (1904-80), and Pedro Sanjuán (1886-1976), among others, were members of this group and became some of the most influential creators and promoters of Afro-Cuban culture in the twentieth century.<sup>310</sup> Positioned in the field of epistemology as a postcolonial scholar, Fernando Ortiz, whose cultural/historical experience and epistemological interpretation differed from European trends, coined the term “transculturation.” He aimed to provide a more accurate interpretation of the Cuban and Latin American context, simultaneously challenging the Eurocentric notion of acculturation. Thereby, Ortiz explained, “*Acculturation* is used to describe the process of transition from one culture to another, and its manifold social repercussion. But *transculturation* is a more fitting term.”<sup>311</sup> Ortiz clarified his concept by reasoning:

I have chosen to use the word *transculturation* to express the highly varied phenomena that have come about in Cuba as a result of the extremely complex transmutations of culture that have taken place here and without a knowledge of which it is impossible to understand the evolution

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<sup>308</sup> The manifesto stated: “For the revision of the false and spent values; For vernacular art and, in general, for new art in its various manifestations; For the introduction and popularization in Cuba of the latest doctrines, theories, and artistic and scientific practices; For the reform of public education and against the corrupted systems of opposition to the chairs; For university autonomy; For the economic independence of Cuba and against Yankee imperialism; Against universal political dictatorships, in the world, in America, in Cuba; Against the violations of the pseudo democracy, against the farce of suffrage and for the effective participation of the people in the government; For the improvement of the farmer, the settler and the worker in Cuba; For cordiality and Latin American union.” Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> The text in Spanish: “Por el arte vernáculo y, en general, por el arte nuevo en sus diversas manifestaciones.” Ibid.

<sup>310</sup> It is important to clarify that although Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturra studied for a while with Pedro Sanjuán, his disciples embraced Afrocubanism earlier than he did. See Greta Perón Hernández, “Pedro Sanjuán y el Afrocubanismo musical en el contexto de la vanguardia cubana de la década de 1920,” *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 23 (2012): 87-106.

<sup>311</sup> Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, translated from Spanish by Harriet de Onís, introduction by Bronislaw Malinowski, prologue by Herminio Portell Vilá, and new introduction by Fernando Coronil (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995 [1940]): 98.

of the Cuban folk, either in the economic or in the institutional, legal, ethical, religious, artistic, linguistic, psychological, sexual, and other aspects of its life.<sup>312</sup>

Through his Cuban musical and cultural research, Ortiz became an advocate for *Afro-Cubanismo*; Guillén, with his poems, inspired contemporary Cuban composers and the writer/musicologist, and Carpentier published a fundamental book for the musical historiography of Cuba and Latin America: *The Music of Cuba* (1946).<sup>313</sup>

In the area of Cuban art music, Carpentier joined forces with composers Amadeo Roldán (1900-39) and Alejandro García Caturla (1906-40). They intended to build a “mature collective mind” and launch “fierce campaigns” under the slogan “Down with the lyre, long live the bongo!” against the Italian opera “for the recognition of Afro-Cuban folklore.”<sup>314</sup> Composer Alejandro García Caturla, for instance, requests to move far away from the modernist binary categories such as bad/good or old/new in music.<sup>315</sup> For him, Cuban music must be different from the European, and he suggests that “In order, however, to arrive at a genuinely Cuban music, it is necessary to work with the living folklore.”<sup>316</sup> By folklore, he means mainly the transcultural “Afro-Cuban.”<sup>317</sup> Caturla similarly supported the idea of adding

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid.

<sup>313</sup> See, for example, Fernando Ortiz, *Los instrumentos de la música afrocubana*, 1-5 (La Habana: Publicaciones de la Dirección de Cultura del Ministerio de Educación, 1952) and Alejo Carpentier, *La música en Cuba* (México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946).

For example, Nicolás Guillén inspired Alejandro Caturla, Amadeo Roldán and Eliseo Grenet with his cycle of poems *Motivos de son*. Likewise, the eminent Mexican composer Silvestre Revueltas (1899-1940) was inspired by Guillén’s poetry to write his well-known work *Sensemayá* (1937). See Noriko Manabe, “Reinterpretations of the Son: Versions of Guillén’s Motivos De Son by Grenet, García Caturla, and Roldán,” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 30/2 (2009): 115-58 and Ricardo Zohn-Muldoon, “The Song of the Snake: Silvestre Revueltas’ ‘Sensemayá,’” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 19/2 (1998): 133-159.

<sup>314</sup> Alejo Carpentier, “La música contemporánea en Cuba,” *Revista Musical Chilena* 3-27 (1947): 9-13.

<sup>315</sup> Alejandro García Caturla, “The Development of the Cuban Music,” in *American Composers on American Music: A Symposium*, ed. Henry Cowell (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1962 [1933]), 173-174.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>317</sup> Transculturation is a term coined by Cuban musicologist/anthropologist Fernando Ortiz (1881-1969). Ibid., 174.

Afro-Cuban and indigenous percussion instruments to construct modern sounds and ensembles.<sup>318</sup>

New musical works by these two composers included *Obertura sobre temas Cubanos* (1925), *La Rebambaramba* (1928), and *Rítmicas* (1930) by Amadeo Roldán; and *Tres danzas cubanas* (1927), *Obertura cubana* (1928) and *Manita en el suelo* (1934/37/ with libretto de Alejo Carpentier) by Alejandro García Caturla. These laid the foundations for a new Cuban musical aesthetic. Therefore, *Grupo Minorista* sought to appropriate Afro-Cuban culture to create cultural products that would consolidate Cuba's cultural identity against the colonialist influence of the United States and Europe.

With the premature disappearance of these two leading composers, Cuban and Latin American art music suffered a severe blow to its vitality. This void was filled by the *Grupo de Renovación Musical* (1942-48), who were students at the *Conservatorio* and led by the Spanish émigré José Ardévol (1911-81).<sup>319</sup> This group had an eclectic nature regarding its members' aesthetics. Ardévol, who succeeded Roldán as a professor at the *Conservatorio*, had two primary objectives. In his words, "The first was musical creation; the second, the education of our environment, by all possible means."<sup>320</sup> The group sought to continue the modern school of

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<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> José Ardévol met Alejandro García Caturla and Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, who represented Cuba at the *Festivales Sinfónicos Iberoamericanos* in the *Exposición de Barcelona* in 1929. See Clara Díaz, "Presencia de José Ardévol en la vida musical cubana," in *José Ardévol: Correspondencia cruzada*, selección, introducción y notas de Clara Díaz (La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 2004): 11. Besides José Ardévol, the members were: Gisela Hernández (1912-1971), Julián Orbón (1925-1991), Harold Gramatges (1918-2008), Argeliers León (1918–1991), Edgardo Martín (1915-2004), Juan Antonio Cámara (1917-1994), Serafín Pro (1906-1977), Virginia Fleites (1916-1966), Enrique Aparicio Bellver (1909-1990), Dolores Torres (1922-2009), Hilario González (1924 —1996 ), Esther Rodríguez (1920-?), Natalio Galán (1917-1984), Francisco Formell (1904-1964), Helen Metzger, Margot Fleites, and Alberto Fernández.

<sup>320</sup> The text in Spanish: "El primero era la creación musical; el segundo, la educación de nuestro medio ambiente, por todos los medios posibles." See José Ardévol, "El Grupo Renovación de La Habana," *Revista Musical Chilena* 3-27 (1947): 17.



Cuban composition, combining the strict formalistic approach of pre-classical and classical forms (sonatas, symphonies, suites) and modernist compositional techniques, with Cuban music elements as a creative path toward musical works with a “universal” projection.”<sup>321</sup>

Robin Moore offers a socio-cultural and functionalist reading of José Ardévol’s persona performance in modern Cuban art music as elitist and detached from the Cuban context.<sup>322</sup> Ardévol’s actions seem to control the historical time and the local innovative aesthetics to maintain a connection with Eurocentric and Ethnocentric modern macro-history. In that sense, Moore concludes, “Artistic ‘Rebellion’ in the 1940s consisted of formal experimentation, not the conceptual articulation of modern art to marginal groups or classes.”<sup>323</sup>

The deaths of Caturla and Roldán left a vacuum in the Cuban art-music sphere, which Ardévol aimed to fill from diverse institutional positions such as *Conservatorio* and, later, from the *Orquesta de Cámara de La Habana*. Furthermore, Belén Vega Pichaco argues that Ardévol’s ideological and conservative agenda promoted a change of direction from the previous Afro-Cuban aesthetic trend.<sup>324</sup> In other words, the Spanish composer did not consider it a tradition and suggested overcoming it as a way to achieve universality in Cuban music. As a refugee from the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), he favored Spanish over Cuban music in the process of modernization process.<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> José L. Fanjul, “Grupo de Renovación (1942-1948): Neoclasicismo musical en Cuba,” *Revista Argentina de Musicología* 14 (2013): 204.

<sup>322</sup> Robin Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afro-Cubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>324</sup> Belén Vega Pichaco, “Discursos y prácticas en torno a la construcción de una ‘escuela cubana de composición’: José Ardévol, el Grupo de Renovación Musical y la Orquesta de Cámara de La Habana (1934-1946),” *Resonancias* 23/45 (2019): 91-120.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*

Besides his positions at the Conservatory and the orchestra, Ardévol supported legitimizing his ideological and aesthetic agenda with the publications *Boletín del Grupo de Renovación Musical* and later *Presencia cubana en la música universal*, to create the category of *Escuela cubana de composición*.<sup>326</sup> The group's private sphere, as José Luis Fanjul explains, held meetings to hear and debate their works as well as those by already established art-music composers.<sup>327</sup> In addition to the public concerts, the group's public sphere and agency aimed to use modern media like radio and publications such as the *Boletín del Grupo de Renovación Musical*, *Conservatorio*, and musical-opinion sections in national newspapers.<sup>328</sup> In its magazine, *Boletín del Grupo de Renovación Musical* published a short manifesto with three artistic objectives. The text stated:

- 1) Organize concerts and conferences to publicize, cultivate, and spread good music, according to the purest current trends.
- 2) Create an artistic consciousness in our country, through a work that aims to originate a musical concept typically from the twentieth century, that is, "ours."
- 3) Constantly to further the practice of guiding and constructive criticism on the most critical problems of universal music and, particularly, about those extremes that, in one way or another, concern our art.<sup>329</sup>

From these frequent gatherings, the group decided to document what they called "the main spiritual problems related to Cuban music, focused primarily on creation."<sup>330</sup> The product was the text *Presencia cubana en la música universal*, divided into seven sections dealing with diverse

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<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

<sup>327</sup> Fanjul, "Grupo de Renovación (1942-1948)," 187-205.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid.

<sup>329</sup> The text in Spanish: "1) Organizar conciertos y conferencias para dar a conocer, cultivar y difundir la buena música, según las más puras tendencias actuales. 2) Crear en nuestro país una conciencia artística, por medio de una labor que tenga como fin originar un concepto musical típicamente del siglo XX, es decir 'nuestro.' 3) Tratar de hacer una obra constante de crítica orientadora y constructiva sobre los más importantes problemas de la música universal y, muy particularmente, sobre aquellos extremos que de una forma u otra atañan a nuestro arte." See *Boletín del Grupo de Renovación Musical* (La Habana), núm. 1, febrero de 1943 as quoted in Radamés Giro, *Grupo Renovación Musical de Cuba* (La Habana: Ediciones Museo de la Música, 2009), 24.

<sup>330</sup> The text in Spanish: "los principales problemas espirituales relacionados con la música cubana, enfocados primordialmente desde el punto de vista de la creación." See Ibid., 51.

cultural and musical subjects.<sup>331</sup> A general examination of the document published in *Publicaciones del Conservatorio* shows the composers' aims to justify neoclassicism and Pan-Hispanism as paths to achieve the promised Cuban musical universality. Accordingly, the text established a kind of self-legitimizing tone, and, as Belén Vega Pachico observes, "it constituted the self-proclamation of the Musical Renewal Group as a 'Cuban composition school' and Ardévol, as its founder and tutor."<sup>332</sup>

José Ardévol's purpose was to create an ideological framework for acculturating a new generation of Cuban composers, which explains his rejection of the transcultural Afro-Cubanism. His position in the group's superstructure was to civilize, convert, and modernize the younger composers within a neocolonial Pan-Hispanism in opposition to the Pan-Americanism promoted by the United States in the region. In other words, he advocated for the Spanish music model as the "grand tradition."<sup>333</sup> He racialized the Afro-Cuban art-music movement, because of its African elements, as the "small great tradition."<sup>334</sup> Moreover, Ardévol held up Manuel de Falla's music as an archetype to follow, together with the neoclassicism of Igor Stravinsky.<sup>335</sup> "In his address to the audience in the first concert of his music in Cuba in 1932," Marysol Quevedo reaffirms this notion by showing that "Ardévol explains that Manuel de Falla's and Stravinsky's music offer great possibilities for Cuban

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<sup>331</sup> The text is Spanish: 1) Fuentes populares y fuentes populacheras, 2) Creación nacional popular. Presencia auditiva interna e idiosincrasia Sonora, 3) Asimilación de algunos elementos que por su relación histórica integran la idiosincrasia sonora cubana, 4) Sobre diversos tipos de técnica contrapuntística y armónica características, 5) Problemas que se derivan de la existencia o no existencia de una obra original, 6) Tradición española y tradición colonial y 7) Provincianismo. Nacionalismo. Universalidad. *Ibid.*, 51-78.

<sup>332</sup> The text in Spanish: "constituyó la autoproclamación del Grupo de Renovación Musical como "escuela cubana de composición" y de Ardévol, como su fundador y maestro." See Vega Pachico, "Grupo de Renovación Musical," 100.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-101.

composers to follow, citing two direct influences from his European training, Falla from Spain and Stravinsky from Paris.”<sup>336</sup> For Ardévol, neoclassicism “was then one of the most widespread movements in the countries with the greatest musical activity, that is, it had been—and still was—the universal contemporary.”<sup>337</sup> The younger composers also accepted formalist and technical development as a path to composing modern Cuban works. The Spanish composer claimed that “As long as the superior means of the composition were not mastered, to the point of being able to make a well-structured sonata movement, some variations, a fugue, a quartet, a symphony or concert movement,” in accordance, “very little could be expressed, by what our neoclassicism had a bit of a means, too, as a training workshop.”<sup>338</sup>

From the *Grupo de Renovación Musical* emerged composers who would establish Cuba’s musical modernity and have international projection. Edgardo Martín summarized the group’s impact and legacy in Cuban musical history as well as in the forthcoming generation of Cuban composers with the following ideas:

- 1) It had revalued the Cuban musical and opened the doors to a wider Cuban, materialized in various creative ways.
- 2) It had found the need for the creation of Cuban essence based on robust and complete techniques.
- 3) It had fought all rhapsodic, colorful, provincial, anecdotal nationalism.
- 4) It had formulated the principle of national-universal music based on the proper use of magnificent forms, instrumental, vocal, and mixed.

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<sup>336</sup> Marysol Quevedo, “Cubanness, Innovation, and Politics in Art Music in Cuba, 1942-1979” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2016), 119.

<sup>337</sup> The text in Spanish: “era entonces uno de los movimientos más extendidos en los países de mayor actividad musical, es decir, había sido—y era todavía—lo contemporáneo universal.” See José Ardévol, *Introducción a Cuba: La Música* (La Habana: Instituto del Libro, 1969), 91.

<sup>338</sup> The text in Spanish: “Mientras no se dominaran los medios superiores de la composición, hasta el punto de poder hacer en lo estructural un buen tiempo de sonata, unas variaciones, una fuga, un cuarteto, un tiempo de sinfonía o de concierto, muy poco sería posible expresar, por lo que nuestro neoclasicismo tuvo un poco el carácter, también, de taller formativo.” Ibid., 91-92.

- 5) It left behind a Cuban work and created the conditions for the further and dialectical development of a few good national composers, members of the following generations.<sup>339</sup>

Despite Ardévol's aesthetic and ideological discipline, the group's members repositioned Afro-Cubanism as a significant cultural referent for their future works. As explained by Bélen Vega Pichaco, ironically, the core and *manifesto* document *Presencia cubana en la música universal* with its "concept of 'Cuban sonorous idiosyncrasy'" resonated among native Cuban composers and eventually "led to the disintegration of the group."<sup>340</sup>

In summary, all these composer groups, as well as those in other countries such as Chile, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru, played an essential role in creating the Latin American modern art music that renovated their musical language and discourses.

## Conclusion

The argument set out in this chapter traces the historical events after World War I that led to the Berkshire Music Center's foundation in 1940. Therefore, it investigated Aaron Copland's origins as a composer and his subsequent residence in France to understand how the European modern- music scene, as well as his studies with Nadia Boulanger, shaped his music and intellect. Indeed, as the chapter argues, Boulanger's impact goes beyond the pedagogical, and the nurturing musical/intellectual ambiance constructed a network of artists

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<sup>339</sup> The text in Spanish: "1) Había revalorado lo cubano musical y abierto las puertas a una cubanía amplia, materializada en diversos caminos creadores. 2) Había fundado la necesidad de la creación de esencia cubana en base a técnicas sólidas y completas. 3) Había combatido todo nacionalismo rapsódico, colorista, provinciano, anecdótico. 4) Había formulado el principio de una música nacional—universal, fundamentada en el empleo propio de las grandes formas, instrumentales, vocales y mixtas. 5) Dejaba realizada una obra cubana y creadas las condiciones para el desarrollo ulterior y dialéctico de unos cuantos buenos compositores nacionales, integrantes de las generaciones siguientes." See Edgardo Martín, "Movimiento de Renovación Musical," in *Grupo Renovación Musical de Cuba*, 101-102.

<sup>340</sup> Vega Pichaco, "Grupo de Renovación Musical," 96.

that led to the encounter between Serge Koussevitzky and Aaron Copland. This chapter shows how Copland's American aesthetic was the result of experiencing popular music, especially jazz and ragtime, in Europe. One of the more significant findings to emerge from this chapter is the role in Latin America of composer groups before the Good Neighbor era and their modern-music achievements. Thus, a topic of pivotal importance in the chapter is the study of *Americanismo musical* and the affiliated modern composers' associations in Latin America. It represents an important topic to study because it demonstrates the vibrant contemporary-music scene, comparable to that in the U.S., with significant production of music scores, publications, concerts, radio programs, and symposia, among other activities.

**CHAPTER II**  
**Cultural Diplomacy, The Good Neighbor Policy and the Berkshire Music Center's**  
**Genesis**

**Introduction**

The present study aims to investigate historical connections between the Monroe Doctrine and its reinvention into the Good Neighbor Policy. The chapter also explores the United States' cultural diplomacy after the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace was held (December 1–23, 1936) in Buenos Aires. By invoking this idea, it examines the new role exhibited by the Department of State's Division of Cultural Relations. Following this, the chapter elaborates on the "Goodwill" tours by Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957) and Leopold Stokowski (1882-1977) to South America, intending to examine how these trips impacted cultural diplomacy. From there, the chapter engages with the genesis of the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood and Serge Koussevitzky as the project's leading protagonist.

**Historical Context**

Since the continental territory was re-baptized by the Europeans as America in modern history, there has been a permanent circulation of people, goods, and ideas across it. This flow has never been equal because of the complex, contrasting, and highly heterogeneous features within the continent. Therefore, after they achieved independence from European powers during the 19th century, the new nation-states still faced a slow and difficult path to construct their national and post-colonial identity apart from their former European colonizers. Simultaneously, on the American continent, the inequalities have also forced its actors to regulate the relations between the new nation-states. One of these actions was initiated by Simón Bolívar (1783-1830), when he invited a group of representatives from the

young and still-weak South American republics to the Amphitryonic Congress in Panama (June 22-July 15, 1826). The goal was to coordinate and unify multilateral policies, not only to protect themselves against any reconquest by European powers but also to reject the United States' intervention on the American continent, following the principles of the Monroe Doctrine (1823). Gordon Connell-Smith explains that the Monroe Doctrine's role "[was] closely linked with another fundamental 'doctrine' of United States international relations: isolationism."<sup>341</sup> George Washington (1732-1799), in his Farewell Address on September 17, 1796, declared this isolationist ideal to keep the young U.S.-American republic apart and protect it from the European powers' internal and external conflicts. Washington pronounced:

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. ... Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected.<sup>342</sup>

James Monroe, who was James Madison's (1751-1836) Secretary of State, encouraged the U.S. government to adopt a position regarding independence movements in Latin America. Therefore, to send a political signal to the European powers that had territories bordering with the United States, like Spain, Monroe engaged the U.S. Congress to approve the "No Transfer Resolution. U.S. Congress, January 15, 1811," which stated:

Taking into view the peculiar position of Spain and her American provinces; and considering the influence which the destiny of the territory adjoining the southern boundary of the United States may have upon their security, tranquility, and commerce: Therefore, Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the United States, under the peculiar circumstances of the existing crisis, cannot without

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<sup>341</sup> Gordon Connell-Smith, "Latin America in the Foreign Relations of the United States," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 8/1 (1976): 137.

<sup>342</sup> George Washington, "Farewell Address," The American Presidency Project, accessed February 15, 2020, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/farewell-address>.



serious inquietude see any part of the said territory pass into the hands of any foreign Power; and that a due regard to their own safety compels them to provide under certain contingencies, for the temporary occupation of the said territory; they, at the same time, declare that the said territory shall, in their hands, remain subject to a future negotiation.<sup>343</sup>

As the American continent's territorial fight continued, James Monroe assumed the U.S. presidency in 1816. In the meantime, Demetrio Boersner explains that the Holy Alliance (Russia, Prussia, and Austria) monarchs met with England at the Congress of Verona in 1822 (from October 20 to December 14) to discuss the actions against the liberal movements in Europe. Their objectives were to maintain the monarchical status quo in Europe and restore King Ferdinand VII of Spain (1784-1833) to power again, since he had been deposed a second time by the liberal revolution in 1820 in Spain, which had temporarily established the liberal Constitution of 1812.<sup>344</sup> During this summit, England's diplomatic efforts failed to persuade the Holy Alliance, and France, governed by Louis XVIII, sent troops known as the "Hundred Thousand Sons of St. Louis" into Spain.<sup>345</sup> The troops restored King Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne, and he began planning the support for a military expedition to South America with the same goal.<sup>346</sup> Therefore, the United States and England decided to join diplomatic efforts to prevent any European powers from seizing territory in Latin America in order to further their geopolitical interests in the region.<sup>347</sup>

Meanwhile, John Quincy Adams (1767-1848), the U.S. Secretary of State, decided to use this opportunity to proclaim a unilateral declaration to obtain a political advantage over

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<sup>343</sup> See also William S. Belko, "The Origins of the Monroe Doctrine Revisited: The Madison Administration, the West Florida Revolt, and the No Transfer Policy," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 90/2 (2011): 157-192.

<sup>344</sup> Demetrio Boersner, *Relaciones Internacionales de América Latina: Breve Historia* (Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1996), 74-79.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*

England in South America. Ergo, he knew that the British Royal Navy would have stopped any previous Holy Alliance attempts to reconquer the independent South American colonies.<sup>348</sup> At the same time, George Canning (1770-1827), the Foreign Office Secretary, negotiated an agreement with France, later known as the Polignac Memorandum, to achieve France's commitment to supporting a military enterprise in South America.<sup>349</sup>

On December 2, 1823, during his "President's Annual Message" to the United States' Congress and with respect to U.S. foreign policy, James Monroe (1758-1831) proclaimed:

. . . the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and the interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European Power. . . . In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> Ibid.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid.

<sup>350</sup> James Monroe, "Seventh Annual Message," The American Presidency Project, accessed February 8, 2020, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/seventh-annual-message-1>.

This policy was cemented with the phrase “America for the Americans.”<sup>351</sup> In view of this, *El Libertador* Simón Bolívar feared the United States’ expansionism, based on the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, would undermine the consolidation of independent confederations in Latin America by filling the hegemonic role and vacuum left by Spain in the Western hemisphere, and this doctrine would serve as an excuse for future U.S. armed interventions in Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine increased internal territorial expansion based on Manifest Destiny. On that account, the United States annexed the states of Louisiana (purchased from France in 1803), Florida (when the Adams-Onís Treaty was signed in 1819), Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Texas, and Utah (after the Mexican-American War’s and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848) and Alaska (when the Alaska Treaty was signed with Imperial Russia in 1867).

Since the First Inter-American Conference (1889-1890) in Washington, D.C., there would be more meetings between the republics of the Americas to define conventional policies.<sup>352</sup> However, from this time on, the Latin American governments demanded a change of direction regarding U.S.-American foreign policy, because of its interventionist and neo-colonialist nature according to the guidelines of the Monroe Doctrine—and later the Roosevelt Corollary and the Dollar Diplomacy.<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Watt Steward, “The Good Neighbor Policy and Hispanic America,” *Social Science* 14/1 (1939): 7.

<sup>352</sup> The following Inter-American conferences were Mexico (1901), Rio de Janeiro (1906), Buenos Aires (1910), Santiago (1923), Havana (1928), Montevideo (1933) and Lima (1938). In these meetings the Pan American Union was founded in 1910. See Organization of American States, “Our history,” accessed February 8, 2020, [http://www.oas.org/es/acerca/nuestra\\_historia.asp](http://www.oas.org/es/acerca/nuestra_historia.asp). See also Enrique Ventura Corominas, *Historia de las conferencias interamericanas, desde el Congreso de Panamá hasta la Conferencia Interamericana de Caracas, en 1954* (Buenos Aires, Editorial Propulsión, 1959).

<sup>353</sup> Despite the Monroe Doctrine’s existence, the United States did not enforce it as a result of internal problems. For example, the French invasion of Mexico (1862–1867) and the subsequent coronation of Maximilian of Habsburg (1832-1867), Archduke of Austria as Emperor of Mexico, was allowed to proceed because of the U.S.-American Civil War (1861–1865).

During his presidency, Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) added a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, predicated on the assumption of the superiority of U.S. civilization and material progress over Hispanic and Luso America. It represented a cultural and political determinism that declared the novel Latin American republics unable to consolidate democratic institutions. Earl R. Beck explains Theodore Roosevelt's corollary as the prerogative for the United States to "judge of the justice and competence of the actions of the other countries in the Western Hemisphere and to make provision for the rectification of policies where they fell short of American ideals."<sup>354</sup> Gordon Connell-Smith explicates how the Roosevelt corollary changed the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine by positioning the United States as an entity displacing Europe, and it "provided a rationale for the United States policy of intervention: to forestall intervention by extra-continental powers."<sup>355</sup>

After the Spanish-American War in 1898, which provided the United States with the territories of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, Theodore Roosevelt established the Platt Amendment in the Cuban Constitution to legitimate any intervention in the island.<sup>356</sup> Then, to improve the United States' geopolitical domination, Theodore Roosevelt organized the separation of Panama from Colombia.<sup>357</sup> The geopolitical goal was to build the Panama Canal, which would enable the United States to have access to and control the transit between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. These foreign-policy actions aimed to consolidate the United States' position of power on the American continent, but they generated an anti-U.S.-

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<sup>354</sup> Earl R. Beck, "The Good Neighbor Policy, 1933-1938," *The Historian* 1/2 (1939): 111.

<sup>355</sup> Connell-Smith, "Latin America in the Foreign Relations of the United States," 138.

<sup>356</sup> Lars Schoultz, "Money Doctors, Democracy Doctors, and Marine," in *In Their Own Best Interest: A History of the U.S. Effort to Improve Latin Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 43-69.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*

American sentiment in the Western hemisphere, which would become an obstacle in promoting his Good Neighbor Policy.

After the Sixth International Conference of American States in Havana (January 16 to February 20, 1928), Latin Americans kept pressuring the U.S. government to recognize and add a non-intervention clause to international public law. At the time, the U.S. government knew, as voiced by Gene A. Sessions, that Theodore Roosevelt's "Big Stick" policy was counterproductive for the United States, and the State Department needed to redefine the Monroe Doctrine.<sup>358</sup> Reuben Clark was a State Department staff member, who wrote a "Memorandum on the Right to Protect Citizens in Foreign Countries by Landing Forces" and worked for the Republican administrations of Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft (1857-1930), and later Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933). He was assigned to find a solution.<sup>359</sup> His answer was a document entitled "The Clark Memorandum," which redesigned it "as part of America's right to self-protection . . . an exercise of self-defense" against Europe and not Latin America.<sup>360</sup> In other words, this was the interventionist doctrine that caused the U.S. Marines to emerge in the twentieth century.<sup>361</sup>

The administration of Republican Herbert Hoover (1874-1964) began to shift U.S. foreign policy. Hoover had an earlier connection to Latin America and the Inter-American system through his previous position as Chairman of the Inter-American High Commission for Trade and Financial Cooperation after World War I. Nonetheless, Hoover believed that mere commerce was not enough to constitute a stable and mutual relationship across the

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<sup>358</sup> Gene A. Sessions, "The Clark Memorandum Myth," *Americas* 34/1 (1977): 40.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-45.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-47.

<sup>361</sup> See a list of the interventions in John Charles Chasteen, "Neocolonialism" in *Born in Blood & Fire: A Concise History of Latin America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011 [2001]), 203.

American continent, when culture and language had been put aside.<sup>362</sup> Bryce Wood clarifies that “the Good Neighbor Policy, commonly associated with the administration of Roosevelt, was actually Hoover’s creation.”<sup>363</sup> His inauguration speech coincided with the outbreak of the Great Depression in the United States, which occurred after Wall Street crashed. That being the case, Hoover sent a message to reassure the continent that he still hoped to terminate military interventionism and said, “Those who have a true understanding of America know that we have no desire for territorial expansion, for economic or other domination of other peoples. Such purposes are repugnant to our ideals of human freedom.”<sup>364</sup>

Hoover visited Central and South America during a Goodwill tour in 1928, before he took office. He represented his south-of-the-border travel experience positively for his fellow citizens, invoking unusual words in this “Contentious Neighbors” historical relationship, as noted by Michael J. La Rosa and Frank O. Mora.<sup>365</sup> The traditional history between the United States and Latin America, as Stephanie M. Kelly enlightens us, was one in which the U.S.-Americans considered Latin Americans as “racially, religiously and culturally inferior to the Anglo-Saxon Protestant population.”<sup>366</sup> Therefore, the change of direction expressed in Hoover’s words signified some modification in the United States’ regional agenda.

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<sup>362</sup> Manuel Espinosa, *Inter-American Beginnings of U.S. Cultural Diplomacy: 1936-1948*, Cultural Relations Programs of the U.S. Department of State: Historical Studies: Number 2 (Washington: Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs U.S. Department of State, 1976), 19.

<sup>363</sup> Bryce Wood, “The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy,” in *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations*, eds. Frank O. Mora and Michael J. LaRosa, third edition (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015), 102 and Espinosa, *Inter-American Beginnings of U.S. Cultural Diplomacy: 1936-1948*, 23-27.

<sup>364</sup> Herbert Hoover, “Inaugural Address,” The American Presidency Project, accessed February 9, 2020, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/inaugural-address-9>.

<sup>365</sup> See Michael J. La Rosa and Frank O. Mora, “Introduction: Contentious Neighbors in the Western Hemisphere,” in *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations*, 1-17.

<sup>366</sup> Stephanie M. Kelly, “Strategic Philanthropy: The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in Latin America and the Origins of American Global Reform” (PhD diss., University of Houston, 2013), 17.

Hoover said:

I have lately returned from a journey among our sister Republics of the Western Hemisphere. I have received unbounded hospitality and courtesy as their expression of friendliness to our country. We are held by particular bonds of sympathy and common interest with them. They are each of them building a racial character and a culture which is an impressive contribution to human progress. We wish only for the maintenance of their independence, the growth of their stability and their prosperity. While we have had wars in the Western Hemisphere, yet on the whole the record is in encouraging contrast with that of other parts of the world. Fortunately the New World is largely free from the inheritances of fear and distrust which have so troubled the Old World. We should keep it so.<sup>367</sup>

When Hoover left his presidency, the global financial situation was in its worst moment, and the incoming administration had to reinvent some variables to allow for recovery. Consequently, Franklin D. Roosevelt's intuition and intellect led him to reconceptualize the state's role in the economy after the Crash. While the private sector was barely producing, his administration implemented the New Deal Policy to promote temporary state-subsidized production and jobs to stimulate consumption and stimulate the economy. In Latin America, the Great Depression's adverse effects were also felt, and the United States risked losing symbolic power and markets on the continent, which would generate more anti-U.S.-American sentiments in the Western hemisphere. At the same time, it would open more space in the region for fascists to penetrate.

Subsequently, FDR, who "adopted and expanded" the existing Good Neighbor practice, engaged with the idea of revisiting the Pan-Americanist ideal to support the United States' national interest and foreign policy during the Great Depression.<sup>368</sup> In his inaugural

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<sup>367</sup> Hoover, *Inaugural Address*.

<sup>368</sup> Wood, "The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy," 102.

speech on March 4, 1933, the newly elected president stated his philosophical and pragmatic approach to foreign policy. He declared that:

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.”<sup>369</sup>

During the “Seventh International Conference of American States” at Montevideo, the final document, “Convention on Rights and Duties of States,” included some of the agreements that the Roosevelt administration decided to make to enforce its Good Neighbor Policy in Latin America and show a different approach. Therefore, the final document contains some significant features such as Article 8, stating that “No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another.”<sup>370</sup> With this article, the United States renounced the practice of military intervention. Another document example was Article 9, which claimed, “The jurisdiction of states within the limits of national territory applies to all the inhabitants. Nationals and foreigners are under the same protection of the law and the national authorities and,” accordingly “the foreigners may not claim rights other or more extensive than those of the nationals.”<sup>371</sup> In other words, the United States’ renouncing the practice of projecting its internal laws transnationally to enforce its interests and of recognizing the Latin American judicial systems were an essential gesture from the Roosevelt administration toward the Latin American republics to increase trust in the United States. In the “Reservations” section,

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<sup>369</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, “FDR’s First Inaugural Address Declaring ‘War’ on the Great Depression,” National Archives, accessed February 8, 2020, <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/fdr-inaugural>.

<sup>370</sup> See Department of State Publication 8484, *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America 1776-1949*, Compiled under the direction of Charles I. Bevans LL. B 3, multilateral 1931-1945 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1969), 145-151.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*



Secretary of State Cordell Hull (1871-1955) expressed the following, with the aim of gaining the Latin American republics' support and confidence:

Every observing person must by this time thoroughly understand that under the Roosevelt Administration the United States Government is as much opposed as any other government to interference with the freedom, the sovereignty, or other internal affairs or processes of the governments of other nations... I feel safe in undertaking to say that under our support of the general principle of non-intervention as has been suggested, no government need fear any intervention on the part of the United States under the Roosevelt Administration.<sup>372</sup>

Darlene Rivas believes that the goal of maintaining a “300-mile security perimeter around the Western hemisphere,” based on the ideal of “hemispheric solidarity,” motivated Roosevelt’s administration to accept the principles of non-intervention and multilateralism on the American continent.<sup>373</sup>

After the 1933 conference in Montevideo, Roosevelt thought it necessary to reinforce the “Good Neighbor” message more clearly across the continent, and he decided to request a new summit in 1936, entitled Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace.<sup>374</sup> Therefore, on January 30, 1936, Roosevelt sent the document, “Letter Suggesting an Inter-American Conference to Advance American and World Peace” to all American republics to invite them to talk and establish an agreement for regional peace and security. In the letter, Roosevelt shared with his fellow heads of state:

It has seemed to me that the American Governments might for these reasons view favorably the suggestion that an extraordinary inter-American conference be summoned to assemble at an early date, at Buenos Aires, should the Government of the Argentine Republic so desire, or, if not, at some other capital of this Continent, to determine how the maintenance of peace among the American Republics may best be safeguarded-whether, perhaps, through the prompt ratification of all of the inter-American peace instruments already negotiated; whether through the amendment of existing peace instruments in such manner as experience has

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<sup>372</sup> Ibid., 149-150.

<sup>373</sup> Darlene Rivas, “United States–Latin American Relations, 1942–1960,” in *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*, ed. Robert Schulzinger (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003): 231-232.

<sup>374</sup> Roosevelt also wanted to prevent other conflict in the continent, like the *Guerra del Chaco* (1932-1935) between Bolivia and Paraguay, with the goal of ensuring the hemispheric peace and defense coordination.

demonstrated to be most necessary; or perhaps through the creation by common accord of new instruments of peace additional to those already formulated.<sup>375</sup>

Franklin D. Roosevelt attended the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held in Buenos Aires (December 1–23, 1936) to address the Nazi-Germany and Fascist-Italy menace diplomatically and securing alliances on the American continent for the United States.

As an astute political statesman, FDR knew that sooner or later, the United States would again find itself in the middle of a European conflict. Subsequently, Roosevelt traveled to Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay to promote the Good Neighbor agenda himself and to meet with key government and private people. During his official visit to Brazil, Roosevelt gave an “Address before a Joint Session of the National Congress and the Supreme Court of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro” on November 27, and then he went to Argentina.<sup>376</sup> In Buenos Aires, Roosevelt gave an “Address before the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,” where he addressed the participating representatives of twenty-one republics as “Members of the American Family of Nations.”<sup>377</sup> In his speech’s opening *peroration*, Roosevelt used the anaphora technique to build momentum to a climax before summarizing the principal ideals of his address:

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<sup>375</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Letter Suggesting an Inter-American Conference to Advance American and World Peace,” The American Presidency Project, accessed February 8, 2020, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/letter-suggesting-inter-american-conference-advance-american-and-world-peace>.

<sup>376</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Address before a Joint Session of the National Congress and the Supreme Court of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro,” The American Presidency Project, accessed February 8, 2020, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-national-congress-and-the-supreme-court-brazil-rio-de>.

<sup>377</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Address before the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, Argentina,” The American Presidency Project, accessed February 8, 2020, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-the-inter-american-conference-for-the-maintenance-peace-buenos-aires>.

Finally, in expressing our faith of the Western World, let us affirm: That we maintain and defend the democratic form of constitutional representative government. That through such government we can more greatly provide a wider distribution of culture, of education, of thought, and of free expression. That through it we can obtain a greater security of life for our citizens and a more equal opportunity for them to prosper. That through it we can best foster commerce and the exchange of art and science between Nations. That through it we can avoid the rivalry of armaments, avert hatreds, and encourage good-will and true justice. That through it we offer hope for peace and a more abundant life to the peoples of the whole world.<sup>378</sup>

Roosevelt's leading political and economic priority aimed to prevent war, keep the peace, and provide hemispheric security.

The "Declaration of Principles of Inter-American Solidarity and Cooperation" was signed on December 21, and in the document the principles of non-intervention, sovereignty, peaceful-resolution mechanisms, and democracy as an American system of government were legally recognized.<sup>379</sup> In other words, it proclaimed the American Republics' right to "the harmonious development of their commerce and their cultural aspirations in the various fields of political, economic, social, scientific and artistic activities."<sup>380</sup> The same day, the representative delegations approved the resolution "Cooperation of Private Organizations in the Work of Peace," which supported the person-to-person, cultural diplomacy backed by

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<sup>378</sup> Ibid.

<sup>379</sup> The document stated that: 1. That the American Nations, true to their republican institutions, proclaim their absolute juridical liberty, their unqualified respect for their respective sovereignties and the existence of a common democracy throughout America; 2. That every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them, and justifies the initiation of the procedure of consultation provided for in the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation and Reestablishment of Peace, signed at this Conference; and 3. That the following principles are accepted by the American community of Nations: (a) Proscription of territorial conquest and that, in consequence, no acquisition made through violence shall be recognized; (b) Intervention by one State in the internal or external affairs of another State is condemned; (c) Forcible collection of pecuniary debts is illegal; and (d) Any difference or dispute between the American nations, whatever its nature or origin, shall be settled by the methods of conciliation, or unrestricted arbitration, or through operation of international justice. See Department of State Publication 8484, *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America 1776-1949*, compiled under the direction of Charles I. Bevans LL. B, volume 3, multilateral 1931-1945 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1969), 300-301.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid., 301.

U.S.-American foundations.<sup>381</sup> Public opinion was essential to “promoting good understanding and cultural relations between the members of the family of American nations.”<sup>382</sup>

Later, on December 23, “The Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations,” introduced by the U.S.-American delegation, was approved without opposition. It aimed, as its preface states, to advance the “mutual knowledge and understanding of the people and institutions’ of the countries represented and a more consistent educational solidarity on the American continent.”<sup>383</sup> Thus, the convention would foster cultural exchange. In Buenos Aires, the U.S.-American delegation surprised their delegate colleagues by bringing forth five agreements about cultural and educational exchange.<sup>384</sup> By reinventing the Monroe Doctrine into the Good Neighbor Policy, Franklin D. Roosevelt redefined isolationism. As Charles G. Fenwick contends, the “Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace” in Buenos Aires made “the Monroe Doctrine the common doctrine of all the American Republics.”<sup>385</sup>

The “Report of the Delegation of the United States of America to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,” in its Committee VI: Intellectual Cooperation,

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<sup>381</sup> *Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, December: 1-23, 1936: Report on the Proceedings of the Conference* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), 74.

<sup>382</sup> The resolution establishes: 1. By encouraging these organizations which form public opinion in their efforts to develop among themselves, and in their communities, a greater appreciation of the culture of other American peoples; 2. By facilitating the exchange of visits and other relations between such groups in all the American countries; and 3. By organizing the scientific investigation of all matters tending to promote the spirit of peace among peoples, as a basic element of international cooperation. *Ibid.*

<sup>383</sup> Espinosa, *Inter-American Beginnings of U.S. Cultural Diplomacy: 1936-1948*, 82.

<sup>384</sup> Sarah Ellen Graham, *Propaganda Analysis, Philanthropy, and American Foreign Relations between the World War Culture and Propaganda: The Progressive Origins of American Public Diplomacy, 1936-1953* (London: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>385</sup> Charles G. Fenwick, “The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,” *American Journal of International Law* 31/2 (April 1937): 203. See also Graham Stuart, “Implementing the Good Neighbor Policy,” *World Affairs* 105/3 (1942): 214.

states, “It was believed that the promotion of cultural relationships was one of the most practical means of developing in the American republics a public opinion which would favor and support a rule of peace throughout the Western hemisphere.”<sup>386</sup> In respect to, culture was, for the first time in the U.S.-American government, an area in which to invest to achieve foreign-policy objectives. Thus, this legal document opened the path for the U.S.-American cultural diplomacy in Latin America, and later on other continents. The political science scholar Graham Stuart (1886-1983) termed it as “an ideal laboratory to make the experiment of intelligent and fair international cooperation.”<sup>387</sup>

But why did the United States decide to invest in cultural relations? This happened as a result of a change in the United States’ geopolitical position, from a new nation to the main actor in the international system. Therefore, because technological progress made it possible to increase the rate and speed at which information and people circulated across the globe, the field of international relations redefined itself. Put differently, international relations did not rely only on state actors but also on the redefinition of modern citizenship, and this gave space to non-state actors to participate and shape them. Historically, and culturally speaking, Latin American societies were closer to Europe than to the United States. Therefore, the lack of cultural products circulating across the American continent symbolized the complete absence of mutual understanding.

Charles A. Thompson and Walter H. C. Laves clarify that while European culture and cultural products were distributed widely all-over Latin America, “the United States seemed

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<sup>386</sup> *Report of the Delegation of the United States of America to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), 34.

<sup>387</sup> Graham Stuart, “Implementing the Good Neighbor Policy,” 215.

distant and alien. At best it appeared indifferent.”<sup>388</sup> They explain that in terms of representation:

the North American was not that of the scholar, the artist, the humanitarian, or even the ordinary, understandable human being . . . but rude and crude, avid for money and material goods . . . symbolized by the invading marine with his trampling boots or the exploiting and corrupting capitalist.”<sup>389</sup>

This image was useful for the Axis propaganda machinery in Latin America, which threatened U.S. national security. Therefore, this reality pressured the U.S. government to cultivate cultural diplomacy, because it could “enhance the national prestige of the United States,” as well as “serve as an [effective] antidote to Axis propaganda.”<sup>390</sup>

Justin Hart explains that it took almost a year to implement the conference agreements on scholarly exchanges. The role of Sumner Welles (1892-1961) and Laurence Duggan (1905–1948), both U.S. cultural-diplomacy forerunners with a background in Latin American relations, was crucial to move from rhetoric to action.<sup>391</sup> Both of them convinced Cordell Hull, the U.S. Secretary of State (1933-44), to create the Division of Cultural Relations within the State Department.<sup>392</sup> At that moment, the new Good Neighbor Policy division hired an expert on intellectual and international relations, Ben Cherrington (1885-1980). While asserting that Cherrington’s work was not about propaganda but rather about improving the United States’ image in Latin America via cultural means, Hart states that “Maybe government-sponsored

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<sup>388</sup> Charles A. Thompson and Walter H. C. Laves, *Cultural Relations and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), 35.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>391</sup> Justin Hart, *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 21-22.

<sup>392</sup> The Division of Cultural Relations also worked closely with the Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics (CCRA). *Ibid.*, 23-28.

cultural activities did not amount to propaganda in the strictest sense, but they were separated by a line in the sand just waiting for high tide.”<sup>393</sup>

The U.S. government founded new federal agencies to coordinate the philanthropic organization’s work behind the scenes, in order to avoid accusations of propaganda diffusion. Ergo, not only did these previous institutions become part of the mechanisms of cultural diplomacy, but as suggested by Stephanie M. Kelly, private foundations were integrated into it as well. She calls the U.S. foundations an “arm of U.S. foreign policy” and that non-state actors helped create a bridge between the U.S. government and the rest of the world. This partnership relied on the “ideology of development that emphasized collaboration between the state and private organizations.”<sup>394</sup>

The agenda was to use U.S.-American culture, values, and institutions to generate modernity, civilization, and integration into the capitalist economic system.<sup>395</sup> Kelly explains that private foundations, since the nineteenth century (a time in which the United States improved substantially in wealth creation, especially manufactured goods), had started becoming secular institutions to reach out to specific groups, nationally and internationally. United States cultural diplomacy can be traced to the eighteenth-century Enlightenment spirit, which inspired non-state actors, such as individuals and foundations, to promote transnational educational and scientific exchanges, research, and cultural events. The ideal has been, since then, about promoting the ideology of development and modernity embodied in scientific progress.<sup>396</sup> This kind of outreach is correspondingly culturally connected to the Anglo-Saxon

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<sup>393</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>394</sup> Stephanie M. Kelly, “Strategic Philanthropy,” 4-11.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid., 11-15.

Protestants, because “The feelings of racial and cultural superiority that permeated American society quickly manifested into a missionary impulse to share with the world the religious and cultural values that Americans had embraced.”<sup>397</sup> Sarah Ellen Graham illustrates this by writing, “America’s philanthropic foundations . . . undertook their own forms of ‘propaganda’ abroad and domestically by targeting specific social sectors.”<sup>398</sup> With the help of mass media, resources and technologies disseminated messages about the “benefits of modernity, rationality, and civic participation to so-called backward societies.”<sup>399</sup> To understand the complex distinctions relationships between the U.S. government and the U.S. civil society, Emily S. Rosenberg examines how the liberal-developmentalists’ ideology explains the twentieth-century American expansionism.<sup>400</sup> She explains that this ideology aimed to replicate the United States’ success elsewhere abroad.<sup>401</sup> The United States’ liberal-developmental mission, based on the Protestant Christian notion of progress as a precondition for material and technological modernity, believed in the internationalist idea that the world would follow the United States.<sup>402</sup>

This internationalist view relied on the internal and external combination and implementation of free-flowing private enterprise, capital, investments, ideas, and culture, with

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<sup>397</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>398</sup> Graham, *The Progressive Origins of American Public Diplomacy*, 35. Later, during World War II, for example, the propaganda production and dissemination were directed by another agency created on June 13, 1942, the Office of War Information (OWI). Ibid, 35. During the same year the U.S. government created a complementary agency the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). According to Emily S. Rosenberg, both agencies worked together until “A modus vivendi was finally evolved: the OWI dealt in presumably accurate information, but the OSS alone could disseminate disinformation. See Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945*, American Century Series (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 208-209.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid.

<sup>400</sup> Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 3-13. She classifies this connection into three parts: promotional state (1890s to World War I), cooperative state (1920s) and regulatory state (1930s to World War II).

<sup>401</sup> Ibid.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid., 8-9.



a minimum of government regulation.<sup>403</sup> In Rosenberg's words, "Government kept the pump of American businesses in working order, but it did not raise or lower the handle."<sup>404</sup> Even if "throughout its history, the United States was a strongly protectionist nation," Rosenberg explains that the market metaphor is the ideal place where citizens experience freedom, democracy, wisdom, and social integration for the ideology of the so-called American Dream.<sup>405</sup>

On May 23, 1938, the Department of State held a meeting on Inter-American Cultural Cooperation, at which major U.S. foundations (Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Guggenheim) were present, and this event endorsed the creation of the Division of Cultural Relations.<sup>406</sup> Thus, on July 26, 1938, Departmental Order No. 367 created the Division of Cultural Relations.<sup>407</sup> The newly created division enforced the "Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations," approved in 1936 in Buenos Aires. Emily S. Rosenberg asserts that "because of its small budget, the new agency relied heavily on existing institutions to administer its programs, especially on the Institute of International Educations, the American Council on Education, the American Library Association, and the American Council of Learned Societies."<sup>408</sup> Its primary function consisted of organizing and coordinating cultural relations in education, publications, libraries, art, motion pictures, and U.S. cultural institutions.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>405</sup> Ibid., 11-12. See, for example, the "Smoot-Hawley Tariff (1930)," accessed March 15, 2020, [https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/Senate\\_Passes\\_Smoot\\_Hawley\\_Tariff.htm](https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/minute/Senate_Passes_Smoot_Hawley_Tariff.htm).

<sup>406</sup> Graham, *The Progressive Origins of American Public Diplomacy*, 96.

<sup>407</sup> Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, *The Western Hemisphere: Its Influences on United States Policies to the End of World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 345.

<sup>408</sup> Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 205.

<sup>409</sup> *Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940).

Ben M. Cherrington, head of the Division of Cultural Relations, wrote that the agency would work together with private institutions in coordination with the U.S. federal government to promote cultural exchange and intellectual cooperation with Latin America.<sup>410</sup> For instance, in the field of music, Cherrington stated that “American music, other than popular dance music, has received little general hearing.”<sup>411</sup> Therefore, preparing the ground for upcoming “goodwill” musical tours, he believed that “Concerts and other forms of musical expression, as well as visits by individual artists, would contribute considerably to a diffusion of the knowledge of the culture of this country.”<sup>412</sup> Ergo, Cherrington stated that “It is evident, therefore, that the program of cultural relations is to be a people.”<sup>413</sup>

At the same time, U.S. musical diplomacy, as Danielle Fosler-Lussier articulates, was conceived as a cultural representation strategy to portray a nation as capable of generating the modernity category of high culture products.<sup>414</sup> The United States’ musical diplomacy displayed art music, despite its European connotations, as a mediation of prestige to reach elites and educated population sectors abroad to create the association between art music prestige, social value, and power with U.S.-American values such as democracy, freedom, modernism, and progress.<sup>415</sup> Therefore, art music—among other cultural products—has helped the United States to revert its reputation as a materialist country and show the intellectual and spiritual side of U.S.-Americans’ society of caring about arts.<sup>416</sup> She voices,

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<sup>410</sup> Ben M. Cherrington, “Cultural Ties That Bind in the Relations of the American Nations,” *The Modern Language Journal* 24/6 (1940): 406.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.* 408.

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.*, 409.

<sup>414</sup> Danielle Fosler-Lussier, “Classical Music and the Mediation of Prestige,” in *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 23-46.

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.*

“U.S. cultural presentations were initially conceived as propaganda that would impress foreign audiences with America's ‘highest achievements,’ counteracting the widespread European idea of the United States as consumed by financial rather than intellectual endeavors.”<sup>417</sup> Otherwise speaking the Good Neighbor Policy opened the path for U.S.-American art music in the region.

Later, in December 1938, Peru, hosted the Eighth International Conference of American States. During this summit, Secretary of State Cordell Hull reaffirmed the United States government's commitment by supporting the “Declaration of Lima” Chapter V. “Intellectual Cooperation and Moral Disarmament.”<sup>418</sup> Thus, Hull explained, “in doing everything possible to encourage and strengthen cultural relations and intellectual cooperation between the United States and other countries . . . for this purpose it has created a Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State.”<sup>419</sup> In the section “Committee V. Intellectual Cooperation and Moral Disarmament,” sub-section 4 proposed promoting the American composers under the following platform: “A resolution, based on projects submitted by Chile and Uruguay, recommending that the Pan American Union study measures for promoting Inter-American *Musical Exchange*, and recognizing the work done in this field by the Pan American Union and the ‘Instituto de Estudios Superiores del Uruguay.’”<sup>420</sup> Later, the *Report on the Results of the Conference* mentioned, “Inter-American Musical Exchange. The Pan American Union is requested to study the possibility of establishing a center for the

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<sup>417</sup> Danielle Fosler-Lussier, “Music Pushed, Music Pulled: Cultural Diplomacy, Globalization, and Imperialism,” *Diplomatic History* 36/1 (2012): 55.

<sup>418</sup> *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers 1938* 5 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956), 75.

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>420</sup> *Report on the Results of the Conference* “Eighth International Conference of American States, Lima, Peru, December 9-27, 1938,” (Washington D.C.: Pan American Union, 1939), 24.

dissemination of the works of American composers and to promote cooperative relations between the musical organizations and the composers of the various countries.”<sup>421</sup> In the section “Declarations, Resolutions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference,” in particular, the resolution LXIX (69) recognized the following:

**LXIX**  
**Inter-American Musical Exchange**

**Whereas:**

A wider reciprocal knowledge of the important contribution of the American Republics in the field of music may constitute a valuable means of strengthening the relations between their peoples,

The Eighth International Conference of American States

**Resolves:**

1. To request the Pan American Union to study the possibility of establishing a center for the dissemination of the works of American composers and to promote, to that end, cooperative relations between the musical organizations and the composers of the various countries.
2. To recognize the work already done in this respect by the Pan American Union through its concerts of the music of the Americas and by the “Sección de Investigaciones Musicales” of the “Instituto de Estudios Superiores del Uruguay,” the latter mainly through the efforts of the notable Uruguayan scholar, Francisco Curt Lange, editor of that excellent publication worthy of special mention, the Latin American Bulletin of Music.<sup>422</sup>

The Division of Cultural Relations represents the U.S. State Department’s foreign policymakers’ change of mind after they observed changes in the field of international relations and the interwar context. Therefore, internal and external events generated a different consciousness and approach toward the role of culture in the area of public diplomacy. The policymakers designed U.S. cultural relations according to their country’s political requirements, national interest, and security, with the goals of promoting and expanding U.S.-American values and institutions globally.

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<sup>421</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid., 77.

## **Arturo Toscanini and Leopold Stokowski's Latin American Tours: Good Neighbor Policy and Cultural Diplomacy?**

Good Neighbor Policy rhetoric and experimentation spread in different areas, and suddenly Latin America was “rediscovered,” musically and culturally, becoming a center stage for musical tours with goodwill political overtones.<sup>423</sup> Conductors Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957) and Leopold Stokowski, two European émigrés in the United States who achieved important conducting positions, decided almost simultaneously to launch tours with their orchestras in South America. Both conductors’ search for sponsorship led to a public battle in the media, with patriotic arguments from both sides, to ensure financial and institutional support.<sup>424</sup> Further, they represented the traditional conductor’s persona, that is, they operated the symphony orchestra as a highly hierarchical institution, where the conductors use the podium as a platform to display authority regarding the orchestra’s functioning. For this reason, the conductors selected programs, guest soloists, and musicians, in addition to enjoying a privileged position as icons in front of their Western art- music followers. Therefore, the conductor’s institutional behavior has traditionally diverged from the idea of a democratic public and profession. Still, the critical questions to answer are the following: Were these tours part of the Good Neighbor Policy or only a private corporate endeavor? Did the

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<sup>423</sup> Jennifer Campbell analyzes the role and dynamics of government institutions, such as the Division of Cultural Relations at the State Department and the Music Committee of the Office of Inter-American Affairs, in the design and implementation of cultural diplomacy to promote the United States’ interests in Latin America. Jennifer Campbell examines how race and musical styles play a role in representing the cultured United States. Moreover, she also scrutinizes the tours in South America undertaken by the Yale Glee Club, the American Ballet Caravan Tour, and the League of Composers Wind Quintet to promote a greater affinity with the United States. See the publications by Campbell “Shaping Solidarity: Music, Diplomacy, and Inter-American Relations, 1936-1946,” and “Creating Something Out of Nothing: The Office of Inter-American Affairs Music Committee (1940-41) and the Inception of a Policy for Musical Diplomacy.”

<sup>424</sup> See Donald C. Meyer, “Toscanini and the Good Neighbor Policy: The NBC Symphony Orchestra’s 1940 South American Tour,” *American Music* 18/3 (2000): 233-256 and Carol A. Hess, “Leopold Stokowski, “Latin” Music, and Pan Americanism,” *Inter-American Music Review* 18/1-2 (2008): 395-401.

trips serve the principle of reciprocity? Did the visits represent U.S.-American “intellectual” culture or a form of Americentrism? Did the tours promote U.S. national interests or reinforce the Axis image in the field of culture?

As Jennifer Campbell explains, in 1939 the State Department’s Division of Cultural Relations received two different proposals within a year to send Toscanini and Stokowski to South America.<sup>425</sup> Both proposed tours had U.S.-American corporate support and “Amidst all the suggestions, there were two that involved very high-profile musicians backed by the large radio conglomerates NBC and CBS.”<sup>426</sup> After both conductors and their sponsors engaged in a public contest accusing each other of stealing the idea to tour South America, “the State Department decided to remove itself from the fray and avoid any semblance of favoritism.”<sup>427</sup> Although the State Department’s Division of Cultural Relations helped with some logistics and accommodations in the tour countries, “it maintained its position—one that offered no funding and no endorsement; the tours came about as a result of private monies and corporate sponsorships.”<sup>428</sup> Donald C. Meyer shows how the private sponsorship not only from NBC but also from General Motors, Standard Oil, and Moore McCormack Line financed the

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<sup>425</sup> In 1939, the proposal from Toscanini and the NBC orchestra proposal arrived in March and the one from Stokowski and the All-American Youth Orchestra arrived in December. Leopold Stokowski also reached out to the Pan American Union unsuccessfully. See Campbell, “Shaping Solidarity,” 33-35.

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>427</sup> *Ibid.*, 36. Manuel Espinosa also wrote that: “Services were also given to the planning and overseas arrangements for the tours of South America by Toscanini and the NBC orchestra and Stokowski and the American Youth Orchestra. The Department report on these very successful tours stated, ‘the Division has endeavored to avoid any move which would indicate preference for either aggrupation.’” See Manuel J. Espinosa, *Inter-American Beginnings of U.S. Cultural Diplomacy, 1936-1948*, 149.

<sup>428</sup> Campbell, “Shaping Solidarity,” 37.

Toscanini tour.<sup>429</sup> Meyer concludes that “In this case, as in many others in the history of U.S.-Latin American relations, U.S. political interests were inseparable from its business interest.”<sup>430</sup>

Toscanini arrived in South America with the NBC Orchestra in June 1940, and they specifically visited Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, where large numbers of German, Italian, and Spanish communities lived. Rio de Janeiro had a special significance for Toscanini because of his debut there in 1886, conducting *Aida*.<sup>431</sup> Therefore, Rio de Janeiro was a nostalgic and pivotal place in his career. During the voyage, Toscanini, whose opposition to Benito Mussolini’s fascist regime was well-known, sent a letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt. The conductor expressed that “The hand that held the dagger has struck it in the back of its neighbor. ...With these words, you made the perfect moral picture of the Italian dictator. I thank you in advance,” wrote the conductor, “for all you will do in order to destroy and forever these two wild beast [sic] that commonly are called dictators.”<sup>432</sup> While the tour was received with enthusiasm by the public and the press, the orchestral repertoire, except for five works by Latin American composers and a unique work by a U.S.-American composer, featured mostly German and Italian composers, including Richard Wagner (1813-1883), whose music was used by the Nazis to promote the myth of German cultural and racial superiority.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>429</sup> Meyer, “Toscanini and the Good Neighbor Policy.”

<sup>430</sup> Ibid., 251.

<sup>431</sup> See Paul Stefan, “Rio de Janeiro,” in *Arturo Toscanini* (Canada: The Viking Press Inc., 1936), 33-36, and Denis Matthews, “From Parma to La Scala,” in *Arturo Toscanini* (Kent: Midas Books, 1982), 11-26.

<sup>432</sup> Arturo Toscanini, “Draft of TG or Letter, Possibly from aboard steamship *Brazil* or from South America, Shortly after 10 June 1940; to President Franklin D. Roosevelt (Washington); Orig. Eng. (All errors have been preserved); NYPLTL in *The Letters of Arturo Toscanini*, compiled, edited, and translated by Harvey Sachs (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002): 374. To read more about Toscanini’s story against fascist leaders see Harvey Sachs, “Toscanini and Mussolini” and “Toscanini, Hitler, and Salzburg,” in *Reflections on Toscanini* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991).

<sup>433</sup> The Latin American composers were: “Argentineans Julián Aguirre (1868-1924) and Alberto Williams (1862-1952), and Brazilians Oscar Lorenzo Fernández (1897-1948), Carlos Gomes (1836-96), and Francisco Mignone (1897-1986)” and the U.S.-American composer was Samuel Barber (1910-1981). See Meyer, “Toscanini and the

Stokowski, who had already visited Latin America some years earlier, revealed to the press two of his [Pan-American] dreams, which already included Good Neighbor ideology. His vision was “to form an orchestra of highly talented young players that is completely American[,] and to see all of the Americas united in spirit.”<sup>434</sup> The conductor continued his clearly well-considered idea by exclaiming, “We are going to South America on a musical mission of good-will and friendship to our sister republics.” And he clarifies that despite their languages, “Spanish and Portuguese,” Latin Americans “will all understand the universal language of music.”<sup>435</sup> With these words, Stokowski, who showed a lifelong fascination for the exotic and the “primitive,” conceived of the Latin American tour as a sort of missionary trip, in which he would bring the light of civilization to a benighted region. By performing a European repertoire under the euphemism of “universal,” sliding into Eurocentrism, Stokowski aimed to bring Culture (with capital C) to Latin America.

According to Oliver Daniel, Stokowski came to the idea of a youth orchestra touring South America as a result of his conversations with Jean Dalrymple (1902-1998), who worked in South America as the publicist for the Spanish conductor/pianist José Iturbi Báguena (1895-1980).<sup>436</sup> Dalrymple “had become disturbed by the amount of cultural propaganda being launched by German and Italy and the favorable reaction their efforts produced.”<sup>437</sup> Then Dalrymple continued clarifying how the Axis had already sent some of their most important

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Good Neighbor Policy,” 237. Toscanini’s complete tour programs are available in Mortimer H. Frank, “Appendix 2,” in *Arturo Toscanini: The NBC Years* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 2002), 265-267.

<sup>434</sup> See Leopold Stokowski, “With Accent on American Youth,” *New York Times*, July 21, 1940, XV as quoted in Carol A. Hess, “Leopold Stokowski, “Latin” Music, and Pan Americanism,” 398.

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>436</sup> Oliver Daniel, “The All-American Youth Orchestra,” in *Stokowski: A Counterpoint of View* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1982), 392.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*



cultural institutions to South America. She remarked that “Berlin had sent its famed Philharmonic; Italy had sent over La Scala. In Chile, she found that Germany had sent over the *Staatoper*, and the Chileans seemed both sympathetic and impressed.”<sup>438</sup>

Regarding the impact of fascist cultural diplomacy in Latin America, Fred K. Prieberg and Sam H. Shirakawa connect it to the German opera season in 1933 at the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires. The scholars discuss how the Swiss conductor Ernest Ansermet (1883-1969) brought the invitation from the Teatro Colón to conductor Fritz Busch (1890-1951), who initially declined the offer because he was beginning his tenure as conductor of the *Berliner Staatsoper*.<sup>439</sup> However, the internal political situation in Germany after the Nazis took power caused several positions to change hands in accordance with perceived loyalty to the Nazi Party. Hans Hinkel (1901-1960), who worked as a cultural propaganda Commissioner of State for the Prussian Ministry of Culture, did not succeed in convincing Busch “how important it was for the Reich to have a German presence in South America.”<sup>440</sup> Nonetheless, Busch changed his opinion and engaged with the tour project, supported by the Nazi cultural and diplomatic apparatus.<sup>441</sup> Fred K. Prieberg highlights the Nazi Party’s political objectives, including trade, military, and diplomatic exchanges with Argentina.<sup>442</sup> He contends that:

This is why it was necessary to use German arts to prove that everything was fine in the Reich; if it was not how could they dispatch an ensemble in which ‘Aryan’ and Jewish musicians

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<sup>438</sup> Ibid.

<sup>439</sup> Fred K. Prieberg, *Trial of Strength: Wilhelm Furtwängler in the Third Reich*, translated by Christopher Dolan (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994), 77 and Sam H. Shirakawa, *The Devil’s Music Master: The Controversial Life and Career of Wilhelm Furtwängler* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 235.

<sup>440</sup> Teatro Colón hired Erich Kleiber (1890-1956) who later abruptly cancelled the engagement, forcing the Argentinean institution to recontact Nazi Germany’s official institutions. See Prieberg, *Wilhelm Furtwängler*, 77.

<sup>441</sup> See Prieberg *Wilhelm Furtwängler*, 78 and Shirakawa, *The Controversial Life and Career of Wilhelm Furtwängler*, 234.

<sup>442</sup> Prieberg *Wilhelm Furtwängler*, 78.

performed side by side in such great works as *Parsifal*, *Die Meistersinger*, *Tristan und Isolde*, *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Fidelio*?”<sup>443</sup>

As noted by Michael Goebel, after World War I, German ministers of foreign policy decided to invest in culture, “because it considered propaganda essential to prevent another [Dolchstoßlegende] ‘stab in the back,’” which would also avoid violating the treaty of Versailles.<sup>444</sup> Therefore, from the 1920s, Germany’s Foreign Ministry (*Auswärtiges Amt*) opened a cultural bureau (*Kulturabteilung*) to reach out to pan-Germanic communities abroad (*Germandom*).<sup>445</sup> Moreover, Michael Goebel asserts that Germany’s new cultural policy “was partially geared towards achieving revision of the treaty of Versailles and restoration of Germany’s status as a world power by reviving the worldwide networks that had developed under Wilhelmine imperialism.”<sup>446</sup>

In Latin America, cultural relations came together with commercial and military exchange in contesting French and U.S.-American cultural ties. These objectives led German international relations policymakers to “tap in to the widespread disenchantment with the nineteenth-century promise of uniform progress toward a universal western modernity, which was widely associated with France and North America.”<sup>447</sup> However, as Michael Goebel points out, inflation, lack of exchange, unilateralism, economic depression, the return of national militarism, the rejection of German communities abroad, and the nonexistence of

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<sup>443</sup> Prieberg, *Wilhelm Furtwängler*, 78.

<sup>444</sup> Michael Goebel, “Decentering the German Spirit: The Weimar Republic’s Cultural Relations with Latin America,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 44 (2): 221-226. Goebel mentions the following: “The proponents of the *Dolchstoßlegende*—the widespread notion that Germany had lost not on the battlefield, but on the home front, where it had been ‘stabbed in the back’ by ‘anti-German’ detractors—urged that propaganda be placed at the heart of all future foreign policy in order to avoid any possible repetition of the humiliation of 1918.” *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>446</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid.*, 232.

coordination among non-state actors, the state and their Latin American counterparts generated some internal and external factors that impacted Germany's cultural relations in Latin America, reducing its effectiveness.<sup>448</sup>

Stokowski decided to approach RCA Victor (part of NBC) to gain support for his All-American Youth Orchestra tour. Nonetheless, preexisting commercial commitments with Toscanini negated Stokowski's proposition. For this reason, the conductor decided to do business with Columbia Records and signed a contract that financed "the entire cost of the South American tour in return for exclusive recordings of the new orchestra."<sup>449</sup> On that account, Stokowski brought sound engineers with the tour, and besides the Western art-music repertoire, he also recorded Brazilian popular music for Columbia Records.<sup>450</sup> Daniella Thompson explains that:

Stokowski was a self-professed aficionado of Brazilian music. Prior to sailing, he wrote to the Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos, whose works he'd been championing since 1927, and solicited his help in collecting and recording "the most legitimate popular Brazilian music." The maestro explained that because of his great interest in the music of Brazil, he would pay all expenses involved and even specified the types of music desired: *sambas*, *batucadas*, *marchas de rancho*, *macumba*, *emboladas*, etc. The proposed recordings were intended for release by Columbia Records. They were also to be played at an upcoming Pan-American folkloric congress (which never took place).<sup>451</sup>

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<sup>448</sup> Ibid., 233-244.

<sup>449</sup> Paul Robinson, *Stokowski. The Art of the Conductor Series* (Canada: Lester and Orpen Limited, 1977), 48-49.

<sup>450</sup> The All-American Youth Orchestra recorded three LPs in the theater Cinema Gran Rex, Buenos Aires, Argentina: Suite from Stravinsky's *The Firebird* (1919 Edition) as arranged by Stokowski (August 21, 1940), Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 in B Minor ("Pathétique"), op. 74, as arranged by Stokowski (August 23, 1940) and Weber's "Invitation to the Dance," op. 65, as transcribed by Stokowski (August 30, 1940). See Daniel, *Stokowski: A Counterpoint of View*, 993-1039. The Brazilian music was released under the title of "Native Brazilian Music."

<sup>451</sup> Daniella Thompson, "Stalking Stokowski" *Brazil Magazine*, accessed October 10, 2019, [http://daniellathompson.com/Texts/Stokowski/Stalking\\_Stokowski.htm](http://daniellathompson.com/Texts/Stokowski/Stalking_Stokowski.htm).

From our contemporary point of view, Stokowski's project raises ethical questions, because he used these recordings to finance the tour. The conductor's actions can be understood as a rather unethical cultural appropriation, which was later transformed, commodified, and sold as the LP series *Native Brazilian Music*. In other words, Stokowski and Columbia Records were selling the exotic, which simultaneously reinforced the stereotype of Latin America as an area with superb folklore and popular music but incapable of producing its own art-music works. Stokowski's practice is highly questionable regarding copyright compensation for the Brazilian musicians who participated in these recordings. The All-American Youth Orchestra Latin America Tour, Summer 1940, began just a few weeks after Toscanini's tour, and the orchestra's repertoire also contained mostly European compositions, except for the *Fantasy for Piano and Orchestra Mômoprecóce* (1919-1929) by Heitor Villa-Lobos.<sup>452</sup> The tour was also acclaimed, and the Roosevelt administration received the orchestra and the conductor back in the United States and promoted their success as a sign of goodwill.<sup>453</sup> A more in-depth examination sheds some light on this early attempt at "goodwill."

The first point to address is the repertoire. While Toscanini, Stokowski, and their orchestras showed a high-performance level, the music they played was mostly by European composers. Accordingly, the audience did not perceive the United States as a country capable of producing "cultured" musical works, which thus positioned this country behind the Axis (Germany and Italy) on the cultural front. Cultural diplomats, especially the Music Committee Cultural Relations Division (1940) inside the Office of Inter-American Affairs, learned this lesson later. At least the conductors and their orchestras included some Latin American art

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<sup>452</sup> Daniel, *Stokowski: A Counterpoint of View*, 405.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid., "Postlude," 412-416.

music as a gesture of reciprocity, as well as to forge connections with the host countries. In short, within the theory and practice of international relations, reciprocity is necessary to reach reliable and lasting agreements.

The fact of having two European conductors leading U.S.-American instrumentalists might have had two different readings. The first one is about the Eurocentric dependency in the United States as seen in institutions such as a symphony orchestra, which still needed European direction, and not like those popular cultural products that were U.S.-American directed (e.g., Walt Disney). The second one is more positive, related to the projection of the U.S.-American “dream” and the opportunity of material success associated with the U.S.-American model (capitalism and democracy). Donald C. Meyer explains, for instance, that Toscanini “was an icon of cultural authority, a symbol of the nation's progress from Gilded Age commercialism to a level of sophistication to rival Europe’s. Sending our European-born symbol of high culture to Latin American was a kind of self-congratulation.”<sup>454</sup> This sentiment would just as easily apply to Stokowski.

### **The Conference on the Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music by the Department of State**

During 1939, Washington, D.C., hosted several cultural events sponsored by the newly created State Department Division of Cultural Relations.<sup>455</sup> On October 18-19, a group of United States musical personalities met at the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music to discuss how music could become a U.S. tool for cultural diplomacy.

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<sup>454</sup> Meyer, “Toscanini and the Good Neighbor Policy,” 240.

<sup>455</sup> *Conference on the Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music* (Washington D.C.: Department of State Division of Cultural Relations, 1940). See the program in APPENDIX B.

Ironically, only two Latin American representatives with musical connections, Guatemalan José Castañeda (1898-1983) and Brazilian Walter Burle Marx (1902-1990), were present at this event, in addition to Francisco Curt Lange, who was representing his *Instituto Inter-Americano de Musicología* in Montevideo, Uruguay.

The first conference day, in the morning, the participants engaged with different topics related to music and public diplomacy. Ben M. Cherrington explained the new Division of Cultural Relations and its role, as well as how cultural relations in the United States had historically been pursued by private enterprises.<sup>456</sup> His speech emphasized that, in accordance with the constitution of the Division of Cultural Relations constitution, the U.S. government “officially assumed responsibility for international cultural relations until one year ago.”<sup>457</sup> However, his address also remarked on the government’s limits, according to U.S.-American political culture, and expressed that the government’s role was not about “exporting culture” but rather “to place its good offices.”<sup>458</sup>

Lange’s presentation, “Facilitating the Exchange of ‘Serious’ Musical Compositions, the Role of Libraries, Music Schools and Music Publishers,” engaged with the nuances of music publishing, performance, distribution and consumption in Latin America and offered his experience and perspective.<sup>459</sup> Lange expressed the conviction that the printing quality in the region was high, especially in Brazil and Argentina, but that the market for commercial music publications was small.<sup>460</sup> As a result of this condition, published music had a limited

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<sup>456</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>457</sup> Ibid.

<sup>458</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>459</sup> Francisco Curt Lange, “Facilitating the Exchange of ‘Serious’ Musical Compositions, the Role of Libraries, Music Schools and Music Publishers,” in *Conference on the Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music*, 1-8.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid., 1.

circulation and lacked channels of effective continental distribution.<sup>461</sup> Aiming to solve this problem, Lange offered his *Instituto Interamericano de Musicología* as an “information and distribution bureau,” where all the American continent’s publishers could “deposit a certain number of their printed works and would issue them at a cost to each interested party.”<sup>462</sup> Lange complemented the last idea by arguing, “The *Instituto* would make available in printed form from time to time unpublished Latin American music and, according to its resources,” clarified the scholar, “would give away or sell at cost price this music to all those persons or institutions really interested in its dissemination.”<sup>463</sup>

Lange continued by underlining the importance of regarding musical interchange: “We are very desirous of an exchange of materials on the basis of absolute reciprocity.”<sup>464</sup> He declared, “At the present time we lack North American books and music,” and expressed his gratitude to different colleagues and institutions in the United States, such as the Edwin A. Fleisher Collection, the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress, for collaborating in trying to find a way to make possible the publication of music by the American continent’s composers.<sup>465</sup> At that moment, Lange engaged with a critique of the music industry, in particular managers, regarding performers’ and orchestras’ programming of American composers’ music.

Before explaining to the audience his branded concept of Musical Americanism, Lange, who understood the nuances of cultural and political momentum, reaffirmed to the

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<sup>461</sup> Ibid.

<sup>462</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>463</sup> Ibid.

<sup>464</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>465</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

audience that “private initiative should always prevail. ...Let it be understood that a real reciprocal understanding is not possible solely through commercial means but rather through the generosity of individuals not seeking public applause.”<sup>466</sup> Immediately he followed it up by publicly declaring how thankful he was to the Guggenheim and Rockefeller Foundations, the Carnegie Corporation, and the Pan American Union.<sup>467</sup> He declared that these institutions “have contributed to an increase of this disinterested cooperation through the granting of fellowships, the acquisition of Latin American material,” and “the gift of North American material, the establishment of contacts, and publicity regarding the artistic and literary production of the two continents.”<sup>468</sup> In other words, Lange hailed the cultural diplomacy undertaken by the United States in Latin America, an experiment that granted positive results and would be replicated around the world during the Cold War years. Lange ended his address by sharing with the audience the obstacles he had faced to move forward his significant Musical Americanism project. He also announced plans to publish the fifth volume the *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música*, a number to be wholly dedicated to the United States. He claimed that the purpose of the Institute was “not to create a monopoly but to encourage relationships, interchange, performance, and publication.”<sup>469</sup> Last but not least, Lange advocated for the composers’ copyright payments as a way to promote and consolidate Musical Americanism, and he acknowledged the Division of Cultural Relations’ invitation as a way to position artistic interest over commercial interests.<sup>470</sup>

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<sup>466</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid.

<sup>469</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>470</sup> Ibid., 7-8.



William Berrien's (1902-1966) address claimed that "there is a lack of information," in the United States concerning Latin American music.<sup>471</sup> While he praised Dr. Francisco Curt Lange's Institute for Inter-American Music, Berrien stated, "We need, however, in this country a clearing house as soon as possible. We need it here and now."<sup>472</sup> This statement is the genesis of the Pan-American Union's Music Division. In concordance with Lange's address, Berrien also agreed:

that this program should be carried on for the most part through private initiative and with the aid of universities, music colleges and the foundations, of course . . . we will have to do it through private initiative or through clubs that have no particular diplomatic or governmental tag on them."<sup>473</sup>

Hence, Berrien wanted to avoid any hint of propaganda, as a progressive government favored person-to-person, Good Neighbor cultural diplomacy. Moreover, Berrien suggested hiring a group of experts, who would be able to classify and organize the Latin American life and brand in the United States, for the clearinghouse project. In respect to, Berrien hoped that "there will soon be a demand for Latin American music because it is good."<sup>474</sup>

Charles Seeger (1886-1979), who was working at the time for the Works Projects Administration's Music Program, delivered a more philosophical address entitled "The Importance to Cultural Understanding of Folk and Popular Music."<sup>475</sup> It was divided into three parts. In the first section, Seeger examined acculturation and contra-culturation (resistance and

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<sup>471</sup> William Berrien, "Address of Dr. William Berrien," in *Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music*, 1.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>475</sup> Charles Seeger, "The Importance to Cultural Understanding of Folk and Popular Music," in *Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music*, 1.

transculturation) processes before, during, and after the conquest and colonization of America in the following categories that he defined as folk, popular, “primitive,” art music, and their hybrids. In the second section, Seeger applied a taxonomic classification of the previously mentioned musical styles, according to acceptance, interest, and participation in the population.<sup>476</sup> Popular and folk music received the highest ratings against art and “primitive” music. In the third section, Seeger advocated for popular and folk music as a medium to unite the people. He concluded by emphasizing, “It is my profound conviction that in the music the common man can make in to be found the main substance of the benefit which international relations may derive through music.”<sup>477</sup>

All through the morning the other participants discussed folk music, copyrights for Latin American music, the Pan American Union concerts broadcast on the radio, publications (books and recordings) for schools, and Francisco Curt Lange’s mimeographed pamphlet “Programs of Latin American Music,” which was given to the conference members.<sup>478</sup> The same afternoon, the conference continued with an opening address delivered by the Secretary of State’s Assistant Adolph A. Berle Jr. (1895-1971), who represented Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Berle’s speech approached the conference members from an international-relations point of view. It connected the Good Neighbor Policy’s roots with the “efforts of Simón Bolívar, based on a grouping of republics designed to make a common civilization.”<sup>479</sup> However, this was the U.S.-American government’s reinterpretation of Simón Bolívar’s Pan-

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<sup>476</sup> Ibid., 5-7.

<sup>477</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>478</sup> “Wednesday Morning Session, October 18,” in *Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music*, 6-7.

<sup>479</sup> Adolph A. Berle Jr., “Address of the Honorable A. A. Berle Jr., Assistant Secretary of State,” in *Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music*, 1.

American doctrine. Bolívar's ideal was envisioned to protect the new Hispanic-American republics, not only from a European reconquest but also from U.S.-American continental expansionism. Bolívar, who also admired the virtues of the United States as a republic, understood the young nation's role in the Western hemisphere. Therefore, he knew that the U.S. would replace European hegemony to establish itself.

Berle admitted that the United States “[knows] only too well the mistakes we have made,” alluding to previous U.S. interventions.<sup>480</sup> He claimed, “the American republics must understand each other's ideals and each other's civilizations. They must know something about each other's art, and music, and books.”<sup>481</sup> Then he called the Division of Cultural Relations' founding a “revolution” but clarified that it should not be mistaken as “a symbol for propaganda.”<sup>482</sup> Instead, the idea was to transform governments into bridges for people to interact, because “The plan necessarily places the ultimate burden of cultural relations on groups like your own.”<sup>483</sup> Before finishing his address, in which he expressed gratitude to the conference participants, Berle praised the Latin American counterparts as “highly sophisticated people,” and elucidated that “there is now a cultural axis going from North to South America, instead of the traditional axis from east to west.”<sup>484</sup> After the introductory speech, the session proceeded with discussions about how to use the WPA orchestras and ensembles to “promote knowledge of the music of the Americas,” inter-American radio exchanges, the performance of Latin American symphonic works, folk and popular music on

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<sup>480</sup> Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>481</sup> Ibid.

<sup>482</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>483</sup> Ibid.

<sup>484</sup> Ibid.

the radio, copyrights for Latin American music, releasing Latin American music recordings in the United States, student and musician exchange, and cultural reciprocity.<sup>485</sup> The next day the conference members discussed a variety of topics<sup>486</sup>.

On the afternoon of October 19, the conference's last session addressed topics similar to those of the previous sessions such as radio and motion pictures, scholarship exchange, engaging Latin American conductors and orchestras in performing U.S.-American art music, and creating a potential fund to pay U.S.-American composers who send scores to Latin America. In addition, it also discussed anthropological studies of indigenous people in Latin America, visa procedures for Latin American ensembles and soloists to perform in the United States, and the inclusion and promotion of Chicano and Mexican-American music as minority cultural products within the U.S. American music collections to be sent to Latin America.<sup>487</sup> The Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music served as an exercise to design more efficient cultural diplomacy for the United States in Latin America. As shown, the title "Inter-American" falls short as a result of the general absence of Latin Americans in exchanging ideas, and it addressed the United States' needs.

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<sup>485</sup> "Wednesday Afternoon Session, October 18," in *Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music*, 8-13.

<sup>486</sup> They included the following: the Army, Navy and Marine bands performing Latin American compositions at the Pan American Union, the film for the South American market, the dissemination of U.S. American, folk, popular and art music, in books, scores and phonograph collections across libraries in Latin America, the potential creation of the Pan-American Association of Music Publishers, the diffusion of Latin American Music in the U.S. public school system, the possible formation of an Inter-American Musical Institute, establishing higher education courses about Latin America, as well as scholarships for music professors, art music composers and students, and the implementation of the 1936s Buenos Aires Convention in the field of culture and including/promoting African-American music as minority cultural product within the U.S. American music collections to be sent to Latin America. See "Thursday Morning Session, October 19," in *Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music*, 8-13.

<sup>487</sup> "Thursday Afternoon Session, October 19," in *Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music*, 22-25.

## **The Berkshires and the Origin of the Berkshire Music Center**

The Berkshires were connected to music before Koussevitzky decided to establish his Music Center project there. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge was related to the community of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in Berkshire County. After her husband's death, Coolidge embraced again her dreams of supporting chamber music and decided to establish the Berkshire Quartet (1917-1920).<sup>488</sup> As Cyrilla Barr points out, Coolidge was envisioning a "music colony" with a "Temple" for a chamber music festival.<sup>489</sup> Coolidge announced publicly in 1917 her intention to launch the first Berkshire Festival, including the Berkshire Competition in Composition to support the creation of new works for chamber ensemble.<sup>490</sup> The monetary prize (\$1,000) and a guaranteed performance inspired the submission of eighty-two string quartets.<sup>491</sup> The next year, on May 4, 1918, Coolidge and the audience inaugurated the Berkshire Music Colony, and after 1922 the chamber-music competition alternated yearly with a commission, thus becoming a biennial.<sup>492</sup> The Berkshire Festivals, later renamed in 1923 as the Festival Quartet of South Mountain, was celebrated for six years straight (1918-1924), and then for three more on separate occasions (1928, 1934 and 1938).

During a visit to Washington, D.C., British composer Frank Bridge (1879-1941) and his wife went to the Library of Congress, where they met with some of its staff. Coolidge subsequently decided to move her chamber-music events from the Berkshire to Washington, D.C. But Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge's name remains connected to the Berkshires as its

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<sup>488</sup> Cyrilla Barr, "Grand Lady of the Berkshires," in *Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge: American Patron of Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998), 133-152.

<sup>489</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>492</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

pioneer music patron. Her legacy, then, was perpetuated by Serge Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony Orchestra, who, supported by other Berkshire music lovers, carry on the region's musical activities.

Since its inception, the Berkshire Music Center—later re-christened the Tanglewood Music Center—has become a destination for Western art-music pilgrims: professional musicians and audiences alike. The Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood has not only been the summer residence of the Boston Symphony Orchestra but also a place that yearly welcomes composers, conductors, singers, and instrumentalists from around the world. The center was the educational and musical dream of visionary conductor and musical entrepreneur Serge Koussevitzky (1874-1951) since his days in Europe.<sup>493</sup> He imagined a music festival that would house a center of musical education of the highest level for college music majors and young professional musicians. Koussevitzky affirmed the Center's practical approach "in living and working in music to those who seek the best in music and related arts, and who long for a creative rest in summer. The Music Center is designed to lay special emphasis upon those aspects of musical education concerned with collective performance."<sup>494</sup> Then he divided the institution in two parts: The Institute for Advanced Study, for nurturing the skills of those who were making music a career, and the Academy, for amateurs.<sup>495</sup>

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<sup>493</sup> Koussevitzky planned to build it up in his native Russia, specifically in Moscow. He began with the project in 1914; however, the political situation in Czarist Russia and the upcoming overthrow of the Romanov monarchical government by the Bolshevik Revolution—which consolidated its power between October 24<sup>th</sup> and November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1917, together with the European context of World War I—ruined his project. There was a second attempt to develop it in the United States toward 1929, but one more time the milieu of the Great Depression caused it to be canceled.

<sup>494</sup> "Summer Music Mecca in the Berkshires: The Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood," *Music Educators Journal* 26/4 (1940): 46.

<sup>495</sup> *Ibid.*

The New York Philharmonic was the orchestra in residence at the Berkshire Symphonic Festival for two seasons. Later, the Boston Symphony Orchestra replaced them, and Koussevitzky's Music Center dream appeared again.<sup>496</sup> Koussevitzky wrote about the festival in 1936:

This year, the Berkshire Festival is doubling the number of concerts from three to six, and they are to be given for the first time in the orchestra's own home at [sic] "Tanglewood", a beautiful estate partly located in Lenox and partly in Stockbridge, in every way an ideal place for the Berkshire Music Festival. This generous gift of Mrs. Gorham Brooks gives a sense of permanence to our plan, and it brings closer the realization of a long cherished dream of mine to have summer festivals in America of a greater and wider scope than hitherto known.<sup>497</sup>

Afterwards a series of events occurred in which, in 1937, the Tappan family donated a surface of 210 acres to the BSO trustees. Inclement weather led to a fundraising campaign by the Berkshire Symphonic Festival, Inc., presided over by the arts patron Mrs. Gertrude Robinson Smith (1881-1963), to support construction of the famous Music Shed in 1938. The 1938 program requested donations to complete the Music Shed and described how the architect Eliel Saarinen (1873-1950) and engineer Joseph Franz (1882-1959) contributed to its design and construction, which "is believed to be the largest and most unique structure for Symphonic music in the United States."<sup>498</sup> During its inauguration, Gertrude Robinson Smith offered some choice words on the "Dedication of the Music Shed at Tanglewood."

In 1939, Koussevitzky sketched the document "Tentative Plans for an Academy of Music at 'Tanglewood,'" where the conductor established the different sections to be part of

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<sup>496</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984), 305.

<sup>497</sup> Serge Koussevitzky Archive at the Library of Congress, "Addresses or Statements by S.K.," undated, 1936 (henceforth SKALC) folder 1, box 169.

<sup>498</sup> "Programs," 1938, SKALC, folder, 18, box 169, 32.

the institution.”<sup>499</sup> After developing his ideas, Koussevitzky organized the “First Conference on Tanglewood Academy,” at the Curtis Hotel in Lenox, Massachusetts, with the future faculty from September 12 to 14 to discuss and refine his plans.<sup>500</sup> The group of musicians, which included Aaron Copland for the composition department, gave feedback on the conductor’s ideas. For example, regarding musical composition, the September 14 document states that “Mr. Copland outlined his plan for students of composition.”<sup>501</sup> Moreover, Copland established “A studio with piano,” where the composition students would receive “one hour each day of individual instruction,” and “two hours each afternoon for class analysis or class study in orchestration.”<sup>502</sup> Copland considered it essential that the composition students “should have the privilege conferring with B.S.O musicians on the practicability of each instrument . . . be allowed to play in the upper school of amateur orchestra,” and have their works “included in two composer’s concerts.”<sup>503</sup> Copland wanted a real-world experience for the fellows, especially when the time was short. The composer likewise shared with the colleagues that “[he] would be ready to give general lectures on recent music or another topic.”<sup>504</sup> On the other hand, Copland explained that “He would not be willing to give elementary classes in theory...”<sup>505</sup> The document concludes with the idea of taking into account the Berkshire Music Center as the potential final school’s name.<sup>506</sup>

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<sup>499</sup> “Berkshire Music Center,” September 12, 1939, SKALC, folder 23, box 169.

<sup>500</sup> The members present at the conference were: Serge Koussevitzky, Richard Burgin, G. W. Woodworth, Olin Downes, Aaron Copland, Dr. Graf, G. E. Judd, and J. N. Burk. Ibid.

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid.

<sup>505</sup> Ibid.

<sup>506</sup> Ibid., 8.



## **Conclusion**

Concerning the engineering process of constructing the Good Neighbor Policy, the evidence from this chapter suggests that the United States reinvented the Monroe Doctrine to open a space for cultural relations and cultural diplomacy. Namely, the inter-American system was used to expand continentally the previously rejected Monroe Doctrine. Thereby, it used culture as a medium to promote U.S.-American values in the region to safeguard continental support and provide self-defense against the menace of fascism in Latin America.

At the same time, the newly created U.S. cultural diplomacy understood that culture would be a crucial area that would provide needed alliances and resources; therefore, culture became a medium to deliver a different U.S. American image across the continent. Hence, internal agencies were created and funded, such as the Division of Cultural Relations, which designed and coordinated cultural diplomacy in Latin America, in tandem with private U.S. foundations and civil-society groups. By doing so, the chapter proved that U.S. cultural diplomacy was designed to avoid any accusation related to propaganda and governmental involvement, and instead, it was conceived to project an image of being a “people’s enterprise.” Continuing along the same cultural-diplomacy line, the chapter examined early U.S. cultural diplomacy with two case studies: the Arturo Toscanini and Leopold Stokowski “goodwill” tours and the Conference on the Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music by the Department of State (1939). It deconstructs them and demonstrates how these tours impeded any attempt at fruitful cultural diplomacy. On one hand, the tours only reinforced Latin American audiences’ perspective about the United States’ incapacity to generate high-culture musical compositions. Thus, this reproduced the idea of a country “culturally” behind Europe, not to mention the fact of having two European conductors, leading mostly U.S.

American musicians. On the other hand, it also showed the ineffectiveness and one-sided nature of early U.S. musical diplomacy. Finally, the chapter develops, through significant archival evidence, a narrative about the Berkshire Music Center's origins to understand how Koussevitzky engaged and received the support from a network of individuals and institutions to establish it.

**CHAPTER III**  
**The Berkshire Music Center: A Place for Musical Emancipation or Neocolonialism  
within Pan-Americanism and the Good Neighbor Policy (1940-1941)?**

**Introduction**

The year 1940 represents the official opening of Dr. Serge Koussevitzky's music center dream, as well as crucial developments in World War II, e.g., the fall of France and the Battle of Britain. This was hardly the most propitious historical moment in which to initiate the center, but his vision would become a successful reality, nonetheless. This chapter, accordingly, examines both the historical context that impacted the world and the Berkshire Music Center alike, due to their interrelation. As a consequence of the war and the United States' increasingly involvement in it, the U.S. government designed special mechanisms and institutions to address this historical emergency in order to protect its national interest. One of these conjunctural institutions was the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA), directed by Nelson A. Rockefeller, which deployed cultural diplomacy programs to and from Latin America.

Music played an important role in cultural diplomacy, and this chapter demonstrates with documents how the Berkshire Music Center became part of the U.S. governmental and private foundation's Good Neighbor Policy machinery, with the goal of fighting the ideological and cultural influence of fascism on the American continent. However, was the Berkshire Music Center a place to consolidate Latin American composers' musical identity or reproduce Euro-American neocolonial musical/cultural domination? Thus, this study aims to investigate Carleton Sprague Smith (1905-1994)'s membership in the Committee on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music in 1940 and studies the political connotations and goals behind

the Music Division at the Library of Congress, which was directed by Charles Seeger (1886-1979). The current study likewise involves investigating the effects of U.S. cultural diplomacy in Latin America which included the institutional efforts to incorporate Latin American music and composers within the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood. The chapter examines *Chôros no. 10* “*Rasga o Coração*” (1926) by Heitor Villa-Lobos, the first Latin American work performed at the Berkshire Music Center in 1941, as well as the participation during the same year of Mexican Blas Galindo, who was the first Latin American fellow.

### **Historical Context**

After World War I, Europe remained trapped in a cycle of instability that the Versailles Treaty contributed to feed. During an allocution on January 8, 1918, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) presented Fourteen Points to the United States Congress, and this document ended up being integrated in the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>507</sup> In these Fourteen Points, Woodrow Wilson voiced his visions about the international system and emphasized the concept of nation-state sovereignty. The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, and its final version was created through the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920) by the “Council of Four,” which included British Prime Minister David Lloyd George (1863-1945), French Premier George Clemenceau (1841-1929), Woodrow Wilson, and the Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando (1860-1952). However, it was a difficult document to conceive because of the attempt to maintain the balance of power among all the participants. As historian Robert E. Hannigan explains, “The Big Three (Italy and Japan played no significant role in these

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<sup>507</sup> Woodrow Wilson, “Wilson’s Fourteen Points, 1918,” Office of the Historian, accessed November 25, 2019, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/fourteen-points>.

discussions) all had different views, reflecting what they took to be their country's interests, their nation's geographic proximity to Germany, and their historical ties and experiences with that power.<sup>508</sup> Consequently, Germany hardly accepted the war's guilty clause, which entailed the obligation to pay compensation within the principle of international responsibility, and lost part of its territory in addition to agreeing to reduce its army and military industry.<sup>509</sup> The treaty conditions have been posited as one cause for the later emergence of fascism in Germany. At the same time, the combination of the incapacity to enforce some of the treaty sections, its future modifications, the failure of the Weimar Republic (1918-1933) to consolidate democracy, the rise of Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) and the Nazi Party in Germany (1919), the Great Depression (1928), and the German nationalist sentiment of humiliation created the conditions that led to its failure to prevent a new war in Europe.

In Russia, meanwhile, World War I became a historical turning point due to its disastrous involvement, which forced the monarchical regime led by Czar Nicholas II (1868-1918) to abdicate on March 15, 1917.<sup>510</sup> Then the Romanov monarchical family was deposed, arrested and later killed in 1918 by the Bolshevik government. Marxism consolidated in Russia with the new Soviet Union government commanded by Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924) and the Russian Communist Party, whose apparatus also included Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) and

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<sup>508</sup> Robert E. Hannigan, "The Treaty of Versailles," in *The Great War and American Foreign Policy, 1914-24* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 175.

<sup>509</sup> Alma Luckau, "Unconditional Acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles by the German Government, June 22-28, 1919," *The Journal of Modern History* 17/3 (1945): 215-220. See also Hannigan, *The Great War and American Foreign Policy*.

<sup>510</sup> Lambert McKenna, "The Bolsheviks," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 10/38 (1921): 221.

Joseph Stalin (1878-1953) as political leaders, who similarly diffused and enforced the new regime's Marxist ideology.<sup>511</sup>

In Germany, the internal milieu of hyperinflation, economic depression, war reparations, the lack of democratic political culture, anarchism and in general all kinds of turbulence, caused the Weimar Republic (1918-1933) to fail in establishing a firm government.<sup>512</sup> The aforementioned chaotic context was capitalized on by Hitler, who was elected in 1933 as Reich Chancellor and self-proclaimed in 1934 as *Führer* (supreme leader).<sup>513</sup> Since 1919 Hitler formed the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi Party), whose ideological and repressive fascist machinery fascinated "students, youth groups, and women's groups . . . disaffected youth, lower-income males, and poor farmers" and achieved total control and power over Germany.<sup>514</sup> Hence, by playing the chauvinist card, he engaged the population, which was seeking a politician to restore their nationalist pride, with his imperial plans.<sup>515</sup> Hitler's accusatory rhetoric blamed Jews, Marxists, anarchists, artists, homosexuals, intellectuals, and free-thinkers as scapegoats for Germany's problems and began their massive annihilation, creating one of the worst of all genocides: the Holocaust.<sup>516</sup>

Nazi Germany's strategy aimed to win time to rebuild its military forces, and Germany signed the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact with the Soviet Union (Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact)

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<sup>511</sup> Robert H. McNeal, "Trotsky's Interpretation of Stalin," *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes* 5 (1961): 87-97 and Neil Faulkner, "Lenin and the Bolsheviks," in *A People's History of the Russian Revolution* (Pluto Press, 2017): 52-87.

<sup>512</sup> John Wheeler-Bennett, "The End of the Weimar Republic," *Foreign Affairs* 50/2 (1972): 351-353.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.*, 364-371.

<sup>514</sup> Douglas Irvin-Erickson, "The League of Nations Years, 1933–1939," in *Raphael Lemkin and the Concept of Genocide* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 43.

<sup>515</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-46.

<sup>516</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-46.

in 1939 and the Tripartite Pact of 1940 with Italy and Japan.<sup>517</sup> Pan-Germanism and Aryanism were the doctrines that Nazi Germany claimed to begin a series of military invasions in Austria and Czechoslovakia (1938), and then the invasion of Poland (1939) generated a declaration of war from France and England. Afterwards, other invasions followed in Western and Eastern Europe as well as in North Africa, and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 led to the U.S.-American participation in the war.<sup>518</sup>

Geopolitically, Latin America was a vital part of the Western hemisphere because of its resources: without them it would have been almost impossible to defeat fascism globally during World War II. Latin America played a significant supporting role in the conflict, contributing as it did Mexican and Venezuelan oil; Brazilian rubber and agricultural products; and tactical geographical points, such as the Panama Canal and Brazil's air bases.<sup>519</sup> Furthermore, U.S. foreign policy included the Lend-Lease policy to buy raw materials from its allies, thereby promoting its own interests.<sup>520</sup> Nevertheless, raw materials and strategic geographical locations were not the only Latin American contributions to the war effort, as Brazil cooperated with the "Brazilian Expeditionary Force (FEB), [which] with over twenty-five thousand men and women, went to fight alongside the Americans and the Allied powers in Europe," and Mexico sent a squadron of fighter pilots into combat in the Philippines.<sup>521</sup> In

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<sup>517</sup> Gerhard L. Weinberg, "The Nazi-Soviet Pacts: A Half-Century Later," *Foreign Affairs* 68/4 (1989): 175-189.

<sup>518</sup> The Nazi army launched Operation Barbarossa (1941-42) but was defeated in crucial battles such as Leningrad (1941-1944) and Stalingrad (1942-1943). The United Kingdom avoided the German invasion by gaining air supremacy in the Battle of Britain (1940), and in North Africa the Allied troops defeated the Axis forces (Germany and Italy) in the Battle of El Alamein (1943). Meanwhile, in the Pacific, the United States' armed forces gained momentum by winning the Battle of Midway (1942).

<sup>519</sup> Lawrence A. Clayton, Michael L. Conniff and Susan M. Gauss, "Latin America in World War II," in *A New History of Modern Latin America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2017), 385-386.

<sup>520</sup> Clayton, Conniff and Gauss, 385-402 and "Records of the Inter-American Affairs," 1.

<sup>521</sup> Clayton et al., 395. Álvarez Curbelos argues that "Discrimination against Puerto Rican, African American, Mexican American, and other Afro-Latino soldiers was prevalent before, during, and after the conflict . . . Racist theories supported the notion that African American troops were inferior to White units on both

addition, “hundreds of thousands of Mexican laborers, called *braceros*,” and “250,000 Mexicans enlisted in the United States, and about 14,000 saw combat duty,” not to mention the communities of Latinos and Chicanos who also joined the conflict—as scholar Silvia Álvarez Curbelos shows—despite state racial policies.<sup>522</sup>

Some years before the conflict started, the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) knew the tactical importance of Latin America, and they began reaching out their communities of émigrés in different countries, which caught the United States by surprise. For example, large communities of German, Italian, Japanese and Spanish immigrants were feared to be a “fifth column” for Axis propaganda and espionage networks, which resulted in either their deportation or their confinement in detention centers.<sup>523</sup>

### **Tanglewood (1940)**

The Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood launched its first season in 1940, from July 8 to August 18.<sup>524</sup> For this occasion, the institution appointed to the faculty the following musicians: Herbert Graf (1903-1973), Metropolitan Opera Company Stage Director; Richard Burgin (1892-1981), assistant conductor from the Boston Symphony Orchestra; Olin Downes (1886-1955), music editor for the *New York Times*; Peter Douglas Kennedy (1922-2006),

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mechanical and mental aptitudes. This meant that Black soldiers were to be assigned to domestic chores, maintenance work, stevedoring, and, on a few occasions, transport duties. They were also prevented from assuming frontline combat responsibilities. Out of 380,000 Black U.S. soldiers recruited during the First World War, for instance, only 42,000 ever saw combat. Black troops also faced an inhospitable reception in their places of training. Southern governors, for example, were fierce in their opposition to the stationing of Black troops in training camps in their state.” See Silvia Álvarez Curbelos, “The Color of War Puerto Rican Soldiers and Discrimination during World War II,” in *Beyond the Latino World War II Hero: The Social and Political Legacy of a Generation*, eds. Maggie Rivas-Rodríguez and Emilio Zamora (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 111-112.  
<sup>522</sup> Ibid.

<sup>523</sup> Demetrio Boersner, “La época de la ‘política del buen vecino’ (1933-1945),” in *Relaciones internacionales de América Latina: Breve historia* (Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1990), 177-178.

<sup>524</sup> Serge Koussevitzky, “The Berkshire Music Center First Season 1940,” in *Tanglewood Music Center Yearbook 1940* (Boston: Boston Symphony Orchestra, 1940), 4.



president of the English Folk Dance Society; G. Wallace Woodworth (1902-1969), Harvard University Music Department Chairman; Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), composer; Aaron Copland (1900-1990), composer; and Serge Koussevitzky (1874-1951), conductor and instrumentalist from the Boston Symphony Orchestra.<sup>525</sup> The assistants were: Boris Goldovsky (1908-2001), head of the Opera Department at the Cleveland Institute of Music; Malcolm Holmes (1906-1953), conductor of the Harvard-Radcliffe and Wellesley College Orchestras, and Arthur Howard Abell (1906-1972), head of the Music Department at the Milton Academy.<sup>526</sup> The special lecturers were: Archibald T. Davidson (1883-1961), professor of choral music at Harvard University; Carleton Sprague Smith (1905-1944), chief of the New York Public Library's Division of Music; Randall Thompson (1899-1944), director of the Curtis Institute of Music, and Augustus D. Zanzig (1891-1977), music educator and Director of Music for the National Recreation Association.<sup>527</sup>

Koussevitzky wrote "A Statement from the Director," a text in which he highlighted some of the festival's objectives. Koussevitzky pointed out that "The Berkshire Music Center presents a unique opportunity for a summer of living and working in music," where the emphasis was the "collective" instead of the individual performances.<sup>528</sup> The Boston Symphony Orchestra's function was to be a model "for close observation of the work of a great orchestra," besides the participation in "student orchestras, choruses, chamber music and operatic groups," and the educational experience would be complemented by eminent

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<sup>525</sup> Ibid. See also "Summer Music Mecca in the Berkshires: The Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood," *Music Educators Journal* 26/4 (1940): 46 and "Berkshire Center Chooses Faculty: New Music School to Open on July," *New York Times*, December 10, 1939, 66.

<sup>526</sup> Koussevitzky, "The Berkshire Music Center First Season 1940," 4-10.

<sup>527</sup> Ibid.

<sup>528</sup> Ibid.

lecturers from “the arts and letters as well as in music.”<sup>529</sup> Koussevitzky explained that the “Music Center will have two sections: one to be known as the Institute for Advanced Study, limited to those who have had a thorough preliminary musical training and who are studying to make music their career,” and “the other to be known as the Academy, for music lovers with less specific qualifications, who have an intelligent interest in music and wish to increase their knowledge of the art of interpretation and to participate in a stimulating musical experience.”<sup>530</sup> The Institute for Advanced Study’s curriculum included Orchestral Conducting, the Institute Orchestra, Opera Dramatics, and Composition (Seminar in Harmony and Seminar in Counterpoint).<sup>531</sup> The Academy involved the Academy Chorus, the Academy Orchestra, Chamber Music, Folk Dancing and special classes (Choral Conducting and Music in the Schools).<sup>532</sup>

Koussevitzky offered the Chair of Composition to Aaron Copland, and the composition class was divided into two sections and shared with Paul Hindemith (1895-1963).<sup>533</sup> According to Luther Noss, in 1938 Koussevitzky offered Hindemith the opportunity to teach at the Berkshire Music Center’s first season in 1940.<sup>534</sup> The German composer also claimed that the conductor invited Stravinsky as well, but due to Stravinsky’s refusal, Koussevitzky offered the position to Aaron Copland.<sup>535</sup> After a lunch with Koussevitzky, Hindemith wrote in his journal, “He intends to establish in the Berkshires a large and

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<sup>529</sup> Ibid.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid.

<sup>531</sup> Ibid., 10-12.

<sup>532</sup> Ibid., 13-16.

<sup>533</sup> This information is also acknowledged on the TMC homepage, “Tanglewood Music Center History: A Transformative Experience” and it states that Copland served as Head of the Faculty, accessed May 4, 2019, <https://www.bso.org/brands/tanglewood-music-center/about-the-tmc/history.aspx>.

<sup>534</sup> Luther Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 10.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid., 72.

important summer music academy at which I and Stravinsky will teach. It will be in connection with the summer music festival that began there three years ago.”<sup>536</sup>

Hindemith recounted with frustration a meeting with Copland that they held in order to organize the composition and related courses for Tanglewood: “I could not persuade Copland to let me teach the course in instrumentation and orchestration he is scheduled to give.”<sup>537</sup> Then Hindemith pointed out, “Nor [could I] persuade him to take over the course in form and analysis that I am supposed to teach.”<sup>538</sup> He concluded with acquiescence, “Such a course makes no sense unless it includes a serious study of rhythm as well as form. However, I will try to work out something.”<sup>539</sup>

Upon his arrival at Tanglewood, Hindemith met the rest of the faculty, and during the meeting, “They finally got around to discuss my courses. I told them I did not want to give any stupid old harmony and counterpoint courses in what they call ‘Form.’”<sup>540</sup> Next the composer stated that “I then demanded that my composition students should not be allowed to study instrumentation and orchestration with Copland. It was all granted and I will have complete freedom to do as I wish.”<sup>541</sup> Hindemith discussed the courses for the Academy (amateurs) and outlined “I would conduct it about the same way I am doing with similar classes at Wells and Buffalo [by classroom demonstration of composing].”<sup>542</sup>

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<sup>536</sup> Ibid., 35

<sup>537</sup> The composer highlighted his experience as instrumentalist and added “(How could anyone teach it better than one who has played in an orchestra as long as I have?)” Ibid., 73.

<sup>538</sup> Hindemith claimed, “(Nobody knows what really happened in the course of music history; furthermore, any ass can tell the difference between a Scarlatti and Brahms sonata.)” Ibid.

<sup>539</sup> Ibid.

<sup>540</sup> Ibid.

<sup>541</sup> Ibid.

<sup>542</sup> Ibid.

Hindemith shared his festival experience with his wife, Gertrud (1900-1967), in a letter on July 14, 1940, which reveals the composer's teaching style:

The school started a week ago. The whole thing is a mixture of Donaueschingen, Ankara and the Hochschule, and I am profiting greatly from all my experiences in those places. Here I am of course a very 'famous' teacher, and the pupils have already spread rumors of the many unexpected things I make them do. The company is unfortunately not outstanding, except for one small and very good immigrant boy from Germany. During the first lessons there was some resistance, partly because of unaccustomed work I was demanding, partly in consequence of the absolute lack of attention I paid to the existing scores of my patients. With suitable treatment, however, even the most obstinate began to soften, and yesterday, after I had ground them down by the well-tried method of a three-hours exercise in strict counterpoint on the blackboard, they are now all extraordinarily well behaved, modest, and grateful. The main class—7 so-called composers—is dealt with 4 times a week in 4 morning lessons, each of 4 hours; then there are two other classes, each with 3 lessons a week; and finally on 2 evenings I give two more entertainment courses in the so-called academy (the section of the institute that caters more to amateurs). In these I make the participants (around 100 each) 'compose' a mixed chorus and a fugue. It is quiet amusing, and everyone enjoys it. My boys were quite appalled when they suddenly found themselves forced to sing what they had written, and even more so when required to take lessons in playing an instrument. The most surprised was my colleague Copland, who wants to do things very differently with his 6 composers and to perform their stuff for them, and who talks always of mature composers, instead of considering them, as I do, utter tyros and obliging them to submit to the appropriate treatment. Koussevitzky is completely on my side and happily agreed to my proposal that members of the teaching staff be forbidden to accept for performance anything written by the composition pupils. Put like this, it all sounds a bit comical, but it is absolutely necessary if one wants to get rid of all that more than monstrous sloppiness and ignorance prevailing in this country in matters of composition and music theory. There is still a great deal to do in the next 5 weeks.<sup>543</sup>

Hindemith had a more Eurocentric, hierarchical and condescending teaching style than Copland had, and he did not consider his younger fellows as colleagues. Nonetheless, the German composer had his teaching structure and seemed to seek, under his pedagogical approach, the students' improvement. Obviously, both composers represented opposite approaches toward teaching music composition; for instance, Copland taught his students in individual lessons of one and a half hours in composition and, two times per week, a class on

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<sup>543</sup> Paul Hindemith, *Selected Letters of Paul Hindemith*, edited and translated from the German by Geoffrey Skelton (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 165.

advanced orchestration in addition to analysis of major works; and Hindemith taught them in groups for four hours per day, during which he introduced the students to music and theory from earlier European style periods.<sup>544</sup> Composer Robert Palmer (1915-2010) described Copland's pedagogical style with the following statement: "What was remarkable about Aaron as a teacher was this combination of giving the necessary criticism without ruining a young composer's confidence."<sup>545</sup> The fact that Koussevitzky selected one U.S.-American and one European composer for the composition faculty signified that each composer symbolized a connection to the Western art music tradition in both directions, the "new" and "old" worlds together, with the pedagogical goal of offering two diverse perspectives to the students.

Hindemith's music was also performed during the festival, sometimes with the composer as a performer, and Koussevitzky asked him to return for the next year at Tanglewood. The German composer claimed that Koussevitzky "has offered me no less than the directorship of the whole thing, but I was not interested."<sup>546</sup> Whether true or not, Tanglewood would have been a different place if Hindemith, and not Copland, had taken its directorship. There are no doubts about Koussevitzky's high esteem for Hindemith's musical works and knowledge, even though Hindemith already had a reputation as a difficult person to deal with, but there is also no hesitation about Copland's commitment to Tanglewood being

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<sup>544</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984), 320.

<sup>545</sup> Robert Palmer was Copland's student at the festival in 1940. See Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 311. Likewise, Copland's Latin American students expressed the composer's interpersonal skills that helped the studio work. One pointed out about Copland's pedagogical method: "I had individual class with him twice a week. He would mainly analyze his own orchestral works pointing out details of the orchestration. As [homework] he asked me to orchestrate a Piano [four] hand Sonata by Lukas Foss. I did quite a few pages, and when he saw it, he smiled and said that it was better than the composer's own orchestration of the piece. . . . Of course, it was just a compliment to encourage me. . . . I did attend Copland's lectures. He was very much interested in Latin-American music and even spoke reasonable Spanish." Edino Krieger studied at Tanglewood in 1948. See Edino Krieger, e-mail message to author, November 30, 2011.

<sup>546</sup> Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States*, 76.

part of the Berkshire Music Center's future success and consolidation. Namely, any attempt to engage the Music Center in U.S. cultural diplomacy would have been impossible with Hindemith, and Copland became a more reliable and supportive long-term ally to Koussevitzky's project. At Tanglewood in 1940, Copland realized that the Berkshire Music Center could become a place to bring Latin American musicians as fellows without the American Federation of Musicians' opposition. In addition, to engage Koussevitzky with the project would not be difficult, because Koussevitzky's musical and personal way of life merged harmoniously with the cultural diplomacy that Copland would promote with the fellowship program at the Berkshire Music Center.

#### **Nelson A. Rockefeller, Cultural Diplomacy and the Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940–1945)**

Within the context of World War II and the Axis menace on the American continent, the State Department kept refining its institutional response's mechanism to address this framework. Therefore, after some bureaucratic changes, Franklin D. Roosevelt's government appointed Nelson Rockefeller (1908-1979), a young Republican party member related to one of the wealthiest U.S.-American families, to direct the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between American Republics (OCCCRBAR), which would later (in 1941) be renamed the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA or CIAA), and in 1945, the Office of Inter-American Affairs (henceforth OIAA).<sup>547</sup>

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<sup>547</sup> See the following documents' content: Order Establishing the Office for the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics (August 16, 1940), Executive Order, Establishing the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in the Executive Office of the President and Defining Its Functions and Duties (July 30, 1941), Executive Order Changing the Name of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (March 23, 1945), Executive Order Providing for the Termination of the Office of War Information, and for the Disposition of Its Functions and of Certain Functions of the Office of Inter-American Affairs (August 31, 1945) and Executive Order Terminating the Office of Inter-American Affairs and Transferring Certain of Its Functions (April 10, 1946), in Ronald W. Rowland, *History of the Coordinator of Inter-*

Nelson A. Rockefeller, one of the heirs of the Standard Oil Company and Chase Manhattan Bank empires, among other businesses established by John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937), was a key figure in defining U.S.-American foreign policy toward Latin America in the twentieth century. John D. Rockefeller, his grandfather and the first billionaire in modern history, built his empire using the legal figure of the trust and used the U.S. Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) and the doctrine of social Darwinism as a façade for monopolistic practices that enabled him to generate an immense fortune. However, the monopolies and the lack of competitiveness created socio-economic problems in the U.S. economy and impacted its population by destroying small companies, due to not giving citizens the option to decide which products and services to buy or not buy.

From 1890 forward, anti-trust laws in the United States, such as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, began changing the system's rules and practices, and in 1911 the U.S. Supreme Court dissolved the Standard Oil Trust. Between 1913 and 1914, another tragedy (the Ludlow Massacre) occurred because of the poor and unfair corporate practices related to the Rockefeller companies, in which the repression against striking coal miners and their families in Ludlow, Colorado, left children, women and men dead. Therefore, part of the response to this crisis was the creation by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (1874-1960) of the Rockefeller

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*American Affairs: Historical Reports on War Administration* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), 280-284. See also Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch, "Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs and the Quest for Pan-American Unity: An Introductory Essay," in *¡Américas unidas!: Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940-46)*, eds. Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2012), 15-52 and Jordan Lieser, "Ethnic Diplomacy: Race, the United States, and Mexico during World War II" (PhD diss., West Virginia University, 2013), 181.

Foundation, in order to use patronage to clean up the family's name in the U.S. public opinion.<sup>548</sup>

Concerning philanthropy in the United States, some literature elucidates that it was prompted by a combination of vanity and guilt concerning wealth accumulation, not to mention that philanthropy can also be used as a social mechanism to avoid the public's disapproval of unethical economic actions. Edward H. Berman claims that foundations seek to use modern philanthropic ideology to exercise hegemony in a society embedded within the theoretical frame of democratic elitism.<sup>549</sup> In reality, it aims to control the means of production and maintain a beneficial status quo for the dominant group.<sup>550</sup> Therefore, Berman explains that foundations in the twentieth century have been conceived by an upper-class group of technocrats to generate and circulate knowledge with the pretext of growing the general commonwealth.<sup>551</sup>

Another criticism encompasses tax policies, the promotion of conservative and neoliberal values, social control, Christianity, elitism, grassroots movements' displacement, and the consolidation of cultural hegemony, which are also argued to be embedded in philanthropy. Regarding Protestant ethic and its religious connotations, Sowa Hewa explains

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<sup>548</sup> See, for example, Cary Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller: Worlds to Conquer 1908-1958* (New York: Doubleday, 1996); James Desmond, *Nelson Rockefeller: A Political Biography* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1964); Darlene S. Rivas, *Missionary Capitalist: Nelson Rockefeller in Venezuela* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Frank Gervasi, *The Real Rockefeller: The Story of the Rise, Decline and Resurgence of the Presidential Aspiration of Nelson Rockefeller* (New York: Atheneum, 1964); Claude Curtis Erb, "Nelson Rockefeller and United States – Latin American Relations, 1940-1945" (PhD diss., Clark University, 1982), and Peter Bales, "Nelson Rockefeller and His Quest for Inter-American Unity" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1992).

<sup>549</sup> Edward H. Berman, "Foundations and the Extension of American Hegemony," in *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 11-40.

<sup>550</sup> Ibid.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid., 13.



that it developed a different kind of philanthropy that differs from Catholic charity, because it is mediated by rationality and not emotion.<sup>552</sup> The scholar elucidates that the “scientific philanthropy” displayed by U.S.-American foundations created a “combination of scientific principles and commercial practices,” not only to generate civilization and progress but also to reproduce its missionary aim to serve God in the world.<sup>553</sup>

Nelson A. Rockefeller’s introduction to Latin America consisted of the art collection from his mother Abigail Greene Rockefeller (1874-1948), but from 1933, new events further connected Nelson A. Rockefeller to Latin America.<sup>554</sup> The first event was the commission and later destruction of Mexican Diego Rivera’s (1886-1957) fresco *Man at the Crossroads* (1933) at the Rockefeller Center in New York City, because of the artist’s refusal to remove the Vladimir Lenin’s (1870-1924) portrait, together with glorifying the communist revolution, and painting such “‘typical’ American scenes as police riding down demonstrators on Wall Street.”<sup>555</sup> Rivera’s Marxist philosophy led him to change the original mural sketch, and he decided to include some modern anti-capitalist and anti-democracy symbols; basically, everything the Rockefeller family did not endorse. The second one was Nelson A. Rockefeller’s trip to Mexico to visit pre-Columbian ruins as a Modern Museum of Art (MOMA) board member. The third one was that the young magnate went to South America for three months in 1937,

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<sup>552</sup> Soma Hewa, “The Protestant Ethic and Rockefeller Benevolence: The Religious Impulse in American Philanthropy,” *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 27/4 (2001): 422-425.

<sup>553</sup> *Ibid.*, 424-427.

<sup>554</sup> Nelson A. Rockefeller was a trustee of the Museum of Modern Art since 1932. See “Trustees and Officers with Their Terms of Service 1870-1940,” *Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 70 (1939): 74.

<sup>555</sup> Desmond, *Nelson Rockefeller*, 50.

scheduling Venezuela as his last stop, where his family company, Standard Oil had its subsidiary, the Creole Petroleum of Venezuela.<sup>556</sup>

Returning to the United States from this trip, during a meeting with Standard Oil chief executives, Rockefeller claimed that the corporation had a social obligation to use capitalism together with the principle of *quid pro quo* to improve people's living conditions.<sup>557</sup> These connections between private enterprise and community well-being, which were not very welcome among the executive board, aimed, according to Claude Curtis Erb, to fuse "the goal of capitalist survival with the purposes of the modern missionary."<sup>558</sup>

In 1938, Nelson A. Rockefeller was the leader of a Standard Oil board delegation, which went to Mexico to negotiate directly with president Lázaro Cárdenas (1895-1970) about nationalizing Mexican oil as established in the Mexican Constitution, article 27, from 1917.<sup>559</sup> Due to the historical reasons explained by President Cárdenas to Rockefeller about the unequal U.S.-American and Mexican relationship, together with the pre-war international context, the U.S. delegation went back to the United States with an offer of compensation, which was accepted two years later.<sup>560</sup> This event signified another hard test for the U.S.

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<sup>556</sup> Gervasi, *The Real Rockefeller*, 67-68.

<sup>557</sup> Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, 168-169.

<sup>558</sup> Erb, "Nelson Rockefeller and United States – Latin American Relations, 1940-1945," 9.

<sup>559</sup> This is the extract from article 27 in which the Constitution establishes the State ownership of the natural resources in Mexico. The article states: Ownership of the lands and waters within the boundaries of the national territory is vested originally in the Nation, which has had, and has, the right to transmit title thereof to private persons, thereby constituting private property...In the Nation is vested the direct ownership of all natural resources of the continental shelf and the submarine shelf of the islands; of all minerals or substances, which in veins, ledges, masses or ore pockets, form deposits of a nature distinct from the components of the earth itself, such as the minerals from which industrial metals and metalloids are extracted; deposits of precious stones, rock-salt and the deposits of salt formed by sea water; products derived from the decomposition of rocks, when subterranean works are required for their extraction; mineral or organic deposits of materials susceptible of utilization as fertilizers; solid mineral fuels; petroleum and all solid, liquid, and gaseous hydrocarbons; and the space above the national territory to the extent and within the terms fixed by international law. See the "Constitution of Mexico (1917)," accessed April 4, 2019, [https://www.oas.org/juridico/mla/en/mex/en\\_mex-int-text-const.pdf](https://www.oas.org/juridico/mla/en/mex/en_mex-int-text-const.pdf). See also Desmond, *Nelson Rockefeller*, 54.

<sup>560</sup> Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, 170.

government's Good Neighbor Policy, led by Franklin D. Roosevelt, in terms of future national security, because undermining Mexican sovereignty would have had a negative strategic outcome for the United States and its access to secure oil supplies during an armed conflict.

Since this historical event, Rockefeller reunited a number of colleagues from the private sector and founded *Junta*, whose members discussed international policy in connection to how the United States would respond to them according to its interests—in particular against the Nazi threat to U.S. security and economic interests in the area.<sup>561</sup> As Peter Bales similarly explained, their ideal consisted of “International cooperation, which should include private investment and cultural exchange, could promote mutual respect and aid in the march toward the common goals of eliminating poverty and suffering.”<sup>562</sup> However, Cary Reich has a different understanding and argues that this group’s principal function, which provided intellectual capital with their discussions, was to “act an advisory council for the edification of a single individual—a sort of private Council on Foreign Relations for the benefit of one man.”<sup>563</sup>

Franklin D. Roosevelt, meanwhile, was concerned with Latin American commodity exports and the Axis Powers’ geopolitical plans on the American continent.<sup>564</sup> Therefore, in 1940, Rockefeller delivered the memorandum “Hemispheric Economic Policy” directly into the hands of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The memorandum detailed the impact of World War II in Latin America and its connection with United States national security.<sup>565</sup> The document voiced that “Regardless of whether the outcome of the war is a German or Allied victory, the

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<sup>561</sup> Erb, “Nelson Rockefeller and United States – Latin American Relations, 1940-1945,” 12.

<sup>562</sup> Bales, “Nelson Rockefeller and His Quest for Inter-American Unity,” 54.

<sup>563</sup> Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller*, 165.

<sup>564</sup> Erb, “Nelson Rockefeller and United States – Latin American Relations, 1940-1945,” 29-63.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibid.*

United States must protect its international position through economic measures that are competitively effective against totalitarian regimes.”<sup>566</sup> The text explains how United States national security could be maintained by launching a *quid pro quo* continental policy or deal. Rockefeller specified that the United States’ security was linked to economic prosperity, cooperation and interdependence in the Western hemisphere.<sup>567</sup> The strategy to achieve this objective included, for example, buying commodity surpluses, giving or forgiving loans, and making infrastructure investments, Rockefeller highlighted that “A vigorous program [of culture and education] along these lines should be pursued concurrently with the economic program.”<sup>568</sup>

On June 15, 1940, Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote the next message to the Secretary of State: “I am anxious to get in specific form from several departments that are concerned with our economic relations with Latin America,” therefore, “the combined judgment of the Secretaries of the Departments of State, Treasury, Agriculture and Commerce relative to the action which this government should take.”<sup>569</sup> On August 16, 1940, this event followed the appointment of Nelson A. Rockefeller as the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA) head, whose headquarters not only “adopted two types of activity: cultural interchange and propaganda” but engaged in “major fields of activities [that] can be grouped under the following systematic categories: economic warfare, economic cooperation, transportation, health and sanitation, food supply, information and propaganda, and cultural

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<sup>566</sup> Rowland, *History of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs*, 279.

<sup>567</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid.*, 279-280.

<sup>569</sup> *Ibid.*, 279.

and educational activities.”<sup>570</sup> Annegret Fauser contends that the “State Department Division of Cultural Relations (1938)” did not accomplish a significant success in neutralizing the “Axis propaganda” in Latin America, which led Franklin D. Roosevelt to “create an organization that would be under his direct influence in order to translate his Pan-American policies into action.”<sup>571</sup> Roosevelt’s administration aimed for the OIAA to be more aggressive by using culture as encoded propaganda in Latin America. The State Department, however, emphasized the principle of reciprocity or exchange as a way to ensure the cultural diplomacy initiative’s success by earning the Latin American populations’ trust due to a cultural *quid pro quo* that similarly promoted their culture in the United States.<sup>572</sup>

It was a precise selection from the Roosevelt administration, because of the Rockefeller family’s business ties with leading personalities in the private and public sectors in Latin America and the United States, that helped the OIAA to establish “a close rapport with the corporate business community and cultural elites.”<sup>573</sup> Manuel Espinosa elaborating on the cultural diplomacy’s design, contends, “The increasing inter-American cultural activities on the part of the major private foundations, professional organizations, and educational institutions already engaged in this kind of work were stimulated by funds provided by the Coordinator’s Office.”<sup>574</sup> Simultaneously, Rockefeller’s interests in art, culture and education

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<sup>570</sup> See Cramer and Prutsch, “Nelson A. Rockefeller’s Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940 – 1946) and Record Group 229” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86/4 (2006): 791.

<sup>571</sup> Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 94.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>573</sup> Cramer and Prutsch, “Quest for Pan-American Unity,” 29.

<sup>574</sup> Espinosa continued his narrative and explains that “The Coordinators’ funds had an interacting multiplier effect on foundation contributions. Among the foundations the most notable work was that of the Carnegie Endowment, Rockefeller Foundation, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and the Carnegie Institution in Washington.” See Espinosa, *Inter-American Beginnings of U.S. Cultural Diplomacy: 1936-1948*, 178.

played a role in forming his strategies, since the “cultural side of the OCIAA proved to be an instrumental piece in successful ethnic diplomacy.”<sup>575</sup> This was the case because, “In terms of the diplomacy of race relations,” according to Jordan Lieser “the following history of the OCIAA and its antecedents reveal a dedication to cultural interchange, education reform, support for minorities, and an attempt to curb racial prejudice against Latin Americans in the United States.”<sup>576</sup> Jordan Lieser defines his term ethnic diplomacy as “all forms and styles of diplomacy—including cultural, public, or traditional—conducted with the intent of combating racial discrimination against a perceived ethnic group.”<sup>577</sup>

According to Darlene S. Rivas, Rockefeller also followed the advice provided by Latin Americanist historian C. H. Haring (1885-1960) to embody the cultural diplomacy with the values of “individual liberty, religious freedom, racial equality, and the equality of all nations” as an anti-fascist counter-discourse and policy path.<sup>578</sup> Another example of the Rockefellers’ expert guidance was the definition of cultural relations given by Robert G. Caldwell (1882-1976): “Cultural influences are those that affect life and thought among large numbers of people. For our program, preference should be given to efforts that will yield quick results in the two Americas, especially Latin America.”<sup>579</sup>

The conceptualization of the “two Americas” represents what Domingo F. Maza Zavala detailed about how on the same continent the historical, cultural, political, social, and economical characteristics shared between Anglo-America and Hispanic “Latin” America

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<sup>575</sup> Lieser, “Ethnic Diplomacy,” 176.

<sup>576</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>577</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>578</sup> Rivas, *Nelson Rockefeller in Venezuela*, 47.

<sup>579</sup> Darlene J. Sadlier, “The Culture Industry goes to War,” in *Americans All: Good Neighbor Cultural Diplomacy in World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 13.

generated “two Americas.”<sup>580</sup> Although both were European colonies, Maza Zavala explains, for instance, that Anglo-America was built based on Protestant, more specifically Calvinist, beliefs and faith, in which the individual seeks freedom through work and capitalism with the objective of generating material prosperity.<sup>581</sup> This is unlike Hispanic America, where Catholicism was the principal religion, the economic system was semi-feudal and mercantilist, and the Spanish monarchy exercised a monopoly regarding the exchange of gold, silver and raw materials for manufactured goods.<sup>582</sup> Thus, the narrative of the “two Americas” has been similarly used as a geopolitical argument, in particular from the United States, in order to justify expansion and hegemony.

The foundations’ philanthropic and altruistic external image, with their actions and ideals of political, economic, ideological, cultural neutrality and autonomy, as international-relations sociologist Inderjeet Parmar points out, hid an internal juxtaposition of the elite power agenda variables.<sup>583</sup> Parmar explains that U.S.-American hegemony is “constructed in significant part via cultural and intellectual penetration.”<sup>584</sup> Foundations reached out to intellectuals to use them as a link between the ruling class and the people.<sup>585</sup> Therefore, in the United States, U.S. foundations have played the role of supporting the federal government to promote global liberalism (Americanism) in foreign affairs, which seeks to gain support for

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<sup>580</sup> Domingo Felipe Maza Zavala, *Hispanoamérica-Angloamérica: Causas y factores de su diferente evolución* (Caracas: Grijalbo, 1994).

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>582</sup> *Ibid.*, 151-158.

<sup>583</sup> Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 1-3.

<sup>584</sup> This idea is related to the quote by the international relations historian Samuel P. Huntington in the first chapter, which claims that “[U.S.] American expansion has been characterized not by the acquisition of new territories but by their penetration. . . a variety of organizations, governmental and nongovernmental, have attempted to pursue the objectives important to them within the territory of other societies.” Samuel P. Huntington, “Transnational Organizations in World Politics,” *World Politics* 25/3 (1973): 333-368. *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>585</sup> Berman, *The Ideology of Philanthropy*, 13.

U.S.-American policies based on the socialization and constitution of a U.S.-American and foreign elite network.<sup>586</sup> Hence, foundations, as non-state actors, externally project “soft power” aimed toward the common good, independently from the state and the market.<sup>587</sup> However, foundations operate as mediators of state/nonstate organizations and individuals, and based on the society experts’ knowledge from different fields, these foundations articulate inputs to plan outputs.<sup>588</sup> After helping the federal government to construct U.S.-American civil society during the nineteenth century, by complementing the federal government, private foundations broke from isolationism and began global penetration by building a network of scholars, artists and experts with the aim of creating “a pro-American/Western approach to ‘modernization’ and ‘development’ as opposed to nationalist or procommunist strategies” and defeat “anti-Americanism.”<sup>589</sup> Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch clarify the U.S. government’s position of not interfering with the cultural sphere and the idea that this interaction between the people must “be left to civil society.”<sup>590</sup> According to Parmar, the foundations’ principal goal, more than solving all kinds of problems, is to build a solid and global network of knowledge, which flows as legitimate symbolic and cultural capital in and out from the foundation reproduces power internationally.<sup>591</sup> This complementation process between the private sphere (foundations) and the public sphere (state) contests previous theories about the division between the private and the public or industry and the state, and in terms of foreign

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<sup>586</sup> Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century*, 2-3.

<sup>587</sup> Parmar explains that there are four “fictions” associated with foundations, which are not accurate at all, but the opposite. He labels the fictions as: 1) independence, 2) nonpolitical, 3) nonbusiness and 4) scientific/nonideological. *Ibid.*, 3-6.

<sup>588</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>590</sup> Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch, “Quest for Pan-American Unity,” 21.

<sup>591</sup> Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century*, 7-15.



policy, these “cooperative state-private elite networks have played a powerful historical role in mobilizing for U.S. global expansionism.”<sup>592</sup>

This twentieth-century U.S.-American practice had the goal of reducing the governmental involvement in some foreign-policy aspects as well as to redistribute funding to other areas in which culture was not a priority. In other words, the United States, historically, barely invested in the promotion of U.S.-American culture abroad, and this activity was displaced to “private individuals, foundations and educational institutions” and the exchange with the Latin American republics was more institutional within the Pan American Union.<sup>593</sup> Thus, Rockefeller’s decision-making would impact the American continent, and it engaged private U.S.-American foundations with financial and investment relations in the rest of the American hemisphere. In the global arena, foundations display a “sophisticated form of cultural imperialism,” in respect to becoming “silent partners in American foreign policy,” with the goal of “linking third-world elites to major institutions in the United States,” and supporting U.S. political and economic interests abroad.<sup>594</sup> Particularly before, during and after World War II, foundations articulated their programs to fight fascism and, later, communism.

Since the Montevideo Conference in 1933, the Roosevelt administration decided to change the role and positionality of culture in U.S. foreign policy by developing deeper and more extensive cultural diplomacy. For this reason, during the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace in Buenos Aires (1936), the word culture was positioned together with politics and economics as a part of the inter-American rhetoric.<sup>595</sup> In this conference, the

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<sup>592</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>593</sup> Fred Fejes, *Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor: New Deal Foreign Policy and United States Shortwave Broadcasting to Latin America* (New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986), 72.

<sup>594</sup> Berman, *The Ideology of Philanthropy*, 14-17.

<sup>595</sup> “The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace,” *World Affairs* 99/4 (1936): 199-201.

United States, for the first time, took a leading role in promoting cultural affairs, and its delegation was able to achieve the approval of the “Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations.”<sup>596</sup> From his newly created position, Rockefeller launched a campaign of cultural diplomacy with the goal of gaining more support for the Good Neighbor Policy from the United States against the Axis.<sup>597</sup>

Germany and Italy, both with fascist regimes, were reaching out to large German and Italian émigré communities and networks, which settled down across Latin America, mainly in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, due to the positivist racial immigration policies developed by these Latin American governments. Similarly, this campaign included, for instance, promoting exports from Latin America to the United States through the Export-Import Bank (1934) and displacing Axis propaganda from the newspapers and radio stations by buying more advertising for articles and products from the United States.<sup>598</sup> In other words, the OIAA began targeting mass communication areas such as “radio, motion picture and the press” with the goal of neutralizing the already established pro-Nazi Germany propaganda network.<sup>599</sup>

Darlene J. Sadlier explains that Germany had, during that time, the most advanced broadcast shortwave technology and had been reaching their émigrés globally since the 1930s; therefore, the Roosevelt administration invested in the Radio Division to promote Good Neighbor values and neutralize Axis propaganda. It also worked within the United States to “indoctrinate U.S. audiences about Latin America and the Good Neighbor policy.”<sup>600</sup> Culture and education likewise played a vital role in this campaign, and the OIAA sponsored tours by

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<sup>596</sup> Fejes, *Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor*, 74.

<sup>597</sup> Erb, “Nelson Rockefeller and United States – Latin American Relations, 1940-1945,” 85.

<sup>598</sup> *Ibid.*, 85-145 and Fejes, *Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor*.

<sup>599</sup> Bales, “Nelson Rockefeller and His Quest for Inter-American Unity,” 79.

<sup>600</sup> Sadlier, *Americans All*, 28.

U.S.-American artists, composers, and educators, among others in South America, and promoted exchange from Latin America. The principle of reciprocity was implemented to preserve hemispheric security for the United States. It aimed to show the guests from Latin America the U.S.-American way of life, its values and institutions, in order to convince them about the benefits of taking sides with the United States and not with the Axis.

The strategy that Rockefeller designed consisted of finding ways to support the economies of Latin America, economies whose exportation of raw materials and food began suffering because of the conflict in Europe. By doing so, the United States blocked the Axis Powers' option to get raw materials and food from Latin American countries, and at the same time, redirected it toward itself. Jordan Lieser supported the idea that "The importance of Latin America during World War II was tantamount for two basic reasons: hemispheric security—which the U.S. needed to insure in order to execute a two-front war—and raw materials for production."<sup>601</sup> Lieser explains how the role of ethnic diplomacy involved in this process was displayed in order to make it possible: "One of main goals of ethnic diplomacy was to help avoid racially charged disturbances which would threaten the security and economic interests of the United States," especially with Mexico.<sup>602</sup> Thereby, ethnic diplomacy addressed race because "racism threatened the relationship between the United States and Latin America at a time when the United States needed Latin America more than ever before to help protect the Western Hemisphere and fuel the U.S. war machine."<sup>603</sup> Thus, even though Peter Bales mentioned the words "unity and brotherhood" as well as "everyone equal," as a

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<sup>601</sup> Lieser, "Ethnic Diplomacy," 9.

<sup>602</sup> *Ibid.*, 25

<sup>603</sup> *Ibid.*

sign of the Good Neighbor Policy with Rockefeller, the historical outcome demonstrates that this similarity was only circumstantial and designed, and it has never really existed.<sup>604</sup> In the field of culture the United States redefined its cultural industry to launch a major cultural offensive, in which culture was reengineered from entertainment to ideology and information (propaganda) with the objective of defeating Axis indoctrination.<sup>605</sup>

### **Carleton Sprague Smith and the United States Cultural Diplomacy Design**

Musicologist, librarian, flute virtuoso and diplomat Carleton Sprague Smith (1905-1994) was a vital person in designing and implementing the U.S. cultural diplomacy toward Latin America after the Good Neighbor Policy period. As John Sheppard acknowledges, Smith's agency as scholar and cultural representative "not only promoted awareness of the music of the United States, but as a diplomat he also facilitated cultural exchanges with Latin American countries, and enhanced the Music Division's holdings of music from those nations."<sup>606</sup> Smith, who was "a veteran of the Federal Music Project," as Pablo Palomino describes him, was the ideal candidate for the "idea of building up Pan American musical programs," because for him it was "a natural continuation of that same civilizational and public-centered ethos."<sup>607</sup>

Smith, a learned person whose cosmopolitan education gave him access to develop his fascination for foreign languages and cultures, had interpersonal skills that enabled him to communicate and earn respect and support for his professional endeavors in the United States

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<sup>604</sup> Ibid., 78

<sup>605</sup> Sadlier, "The Culture Industry goes to War," in *Americans All*.

<sup>606</sup> John Shepard, "The Legacy of Carleton Sprague Smith: Pan-American Holdings in the Music Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts," *Notes* 62/3 (2006): 661.

<sup>607</sup> Pablo Palomino, "Nationalist, Hemispheric, and Global: 'Latin American Music' and the Music Division of the Pan American Union, 1939-1947," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, eds. Anaïs Fléchet and Marcos Napolitano. Images, mémoires et sons. Musique et politique en Amérique Latine, XXe-XXIe siècles (2015): 5/19.

and abroad. Brazilian scholar Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, a longtime friend and colleague of Smith, described him as “profoundly American and broadly international.”<sup>608</sup> Following his return to the United States, from 1931 to 1959, Smith served as chief of the Music Division of the New York Public Library (NYPL), and he created three initiatives that impacted the music scholarship in the United States: founding the Music Library Association (MLA) and cofounding the American Musicological Society (AMS), as well as establishing the American Music Center at the New York Public Library.<sup>609</sup>

In 1938, Smith gave his Presidential Address at the New York Public Library for the Music Teachers and Music Scholars Annual Meeting.<sup>610</sup> The scholar used this platform to communicate to these professional associations because the imminent armed conflict in Europe, as well as the upcoming U.S.-American foreign and internal policy aligned with the Good Neighbor Policy against German music and scholarship, had a strong impact in the United States. Ergo, the education system was a sensitive area, because it was important for the efforts against the Axis to reinforce the sentiment and identity of belonging to the American continent, and not reproduce Eurocentric paradigms. Carleton Sprague Smith, for example, accused “a well-known German scholar recently published a bibliography on musical instruments, leaving out some of the most important reference works on the subject because

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<sup>608</sup> Luiz Heitor Correa de Azevedo, “Carleton Sprague Smith and Brazil,” in *Libraries, History, and the Performing Arts: Essays in Honor of Carleton Sprague Smith*, ed. Israel J. Katz, Festschrift Series no. 9 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1991), 209.

<sup>609</sup> Sprague Smith founded the Music Library Association in 1931 and became its president from 1936 to 1938 and became the American Musicological Society cofounder from 1939 to 1940. During this decade, Smith taught and gave conferences on U.S.-American and Ibero-American music at Columbia, New York and Stanford universities. See “Appendices,” in *Libraries, History, and the Performing Arts: Essays in Honor of Carleton Sprague Smith*, 420; see also Shepard, “The Legacy of Carleton Sprague Smith,” 621-622.

<sup>610</sup> Carleton Sprague Smith, “Presidential Address: Music Teachers and Music Scholars,” *papers read by members of the American Musicological Society at the Annual Meeting* (December 29 and 30, 1938): 1-7.

they were written by non-Aryans.”<sup>611</sup> Hence, the criticism was directed at deconstructing the racial discourses coming from Nazi Germany regarding the pseudo-narratives about racial superiority. Smith continued by expressing that “The evolution of the history of music has been recast abroad to suit national desires. This shameful betrayal of scholarship would be incredible if it were not in print and constantly before our eyes. Democracy, thank God, remains a true home for research.”<sup>612</sup> To conclude this speech, Smith appeals to the ideal of equity and inclusion and claims that “We teach that all men are created equal, and we will continue to do so, so long as the principle of democracy persists: that all men are created equal.”<sup>613</sup>

In 1939, as the President of the American Musicological Society, Smith organized the first International Musicological Congress in the United States in combination with the New York World’s Fair and with the Department of State, the Carnegie Corporation and the Pan American Union’s sponsorship.<sup>614</sup> During the event, he pointed out, using Good Neighbor Policy rhetoric, that “The International Musicological Congress has a special character in that a review of musical achievement in North and South America is being carefully planned, and artists from both continents will speak and play.”<sup>615</sup> During the same year, Smith went to the Library of Congress in order to participate in the Conference on Inter-American Relations in

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<sup>611</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>612</sup> Ibid.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid.

<sup>614</sup> Carleton Sprague Smith, “Welcoming Remarks: (Monday, September 11th, at luncheon),” *papers read by members of the American Musicological Society at the Annual Meeting* (September 11-16, 1939): 3.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid., 3.

the Field of Music, and due to this, the Committee on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music was founded with Smith acting as a Vice-Chair.<sup>616</sup>

From June to October 1940, Carleton Sprague Smith went to South America with the American Council of Learned Societies, the New York Public Library, the State Department and Pan-American Airways' financial support to travel, observe and participate in the musical life in the southern part of the American continents, which Smith documented in vivid detail in his report for the Committee on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music members.<sup>617</sup> The report outlined the objectives to renew or establish connections with composers, performers, musicologists and music societies, as well as to become familiar with musical life in South America and think about the musical exchange "between the two continents specifically."<sup>618</sup> The report continued by delineating its focus on Music-in-Education institutions, research collections, composers, venues, folkloric music and the options for musical exchange.<sup>619</sup> Smith's highly accurate report, which shows his training as musicologist and librarian, is divided into three sections.<sup>620</sup> For instance, in the subsection "(8) Artist and

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<sup>616</sup> Shepard, "The Legacy of Carleton Sprague Smith," 633-639.

<sup>617</sup> The four months of travel included the following countries and itinerary: 1) Venezuela (June 9-17), Brazil (June 17-July 27), Paraguay (July 28), Argentina (July 28-August 12), Uruguay (August 12-21), Chile (August 24-31), Bolivia (September 2-7), Peru (September 7-21), Ecuador (September 21-25), and Colombia (September 26-October 3). The U.S.-American scholars and flutist also performed bi-national chamber music programs with South American musicians. See Carleton Sprague Smith, *Musical Tour through South America, June-October, 1940* (New York: Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music, 1940).

<sup>618</sup> Smith wrote: "(I) To renew certain contacts with musicians, scholars and societies in South America (II) to establish new connections (III) to investigate musical conditions generally (IV) to examine the question of musical exchange between the two continents specifically." Ibid., I.

<sup>619</sup> Smith wrote: "(I) The main collections, conservatoires and archives interesting [to the] musicologist and musician (II) the needs for research and the facilities for carrying it out (III) the program of music education in the various countries, the texts used, the methods pursued (IV) the activities of the music associations and the leading composers (V) the size and availability of music halls (VI) the classification of folk music (VII) and the possibilities of scholarships, and financial assistance for students, musicologists and performers of music going to and coming from Latin America." Ibid.

<sup>620</sup> Smith wrote: "This report will be divided into (a) A summary of the actual travel and most important events in the trip (b) a review of the musical conditions and organizations in each of the cities visited and (c) comments

scholarship exchange,” the musicologist gave a number of suggestions, among which was that graduate students were the best candidates for this kind of program; language proficiency was required; it was obligatory to plan artist tours and budgets in advance in order to ensure success; the Latin American audiences’ quality expectations were high; and, among others, quality cultural exchange was the main focus.<sup>621</sup>

Smith’s report also acknowledged the parallel cultural diplomacy that the Axis was displaying already in Latin America; therefore, this account served the United States to redefine its Good Neighbor cultural diplomacy in order to be effective on the cultural front. As Pablo Palomino states, Smith “realized that the U.S. was far behind Europe.”<sup>622</sup> Regarding this topic, for example, Smith wrote the following anecdote about his visit to Rio de Janeiro:

There are many good democrats in South America who are being isolated and neglected. Vague promises of assistance from the United States, however, are worse than neglected. For that reason every trip is a delicate problem. Despite my frequent insistence that I was merely trying to find out about their local music, my presence aroused hopes in the breast of those who were friendly to democracy. German and Italian subsidies still function despite the war. This money is used in subtle ways to influence intellectuals and important men. Often the individual does not know that he is being “bribed” [sic]. A German business firm, however, that gives books to a local library is bound to make an impression. We all know that it is hard to look a gift horse in the mouth and not feel grateful when the things we want are available through domination. In short, unless we move immediately, Brazil, which has long been one of the best friends of the United States in South America, may cease to be a democratic country intellectually, as well as politically. It is just as important for U.S. to help Brazil to remain democratic as it was for England and France to back Republican Spain. The folly of not supporting France’s opponents is unfortunately all too apparent today. Perhaps fifty people living in Brazil begged me to try and get the United States to wake up. One of the best informed individuals was a former editor for the *Frankfurter-Zeitung* who reports for one in the government bureau from Rio de Janeiro. In his opinion, it is doubtful whether North American business or culture will continue unless more attention is paid to the friends of

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or anecdotes which may seem pertinent. At the end there is a summary with a few conclusions and suggestions. The musical set-up (b) of each community (by far the largest sections) are divided roughly into ten fields: 1) Radio broadcasting (2) concert life (operas, orchestras, theaters) (3) musical and cultural societies (4) choral music and band music (6) published music, books, records (7) libraries and archives (8) artist and scholarship exchange (9) typical music (10) inter-American key people, composers, conductors, managers, critics.” Ibid, II.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid., XXVI-XXX.

<sup>622</sup> Palomino, “Nationalist, Hemispheric, and Global,” 5.



democracy who, for want of money and moral backing, are slowly being either exterminated or rendered completely harmless. Our music program in South America has to be realistic if it is going to get anywhere. Numerous students should be brought to the United States to study and composers and scholars invited to conduct and lecture here. Something on the scale of the Rhodes Scholarships should be established and active propaganda made for our music down there and their music up here [sic].<sup>623</sup>

Carleton Sprague Smith supported his claim with real anecdotes about the Brazilian reality and outreach by the Axis Powers, who already had a more advanced and older infiltration policy via subsidies and donations to public institutions and personalities. Therefore, the U.S.-American scholar demanded more agency and proactivity from the United States government in supporting and promoting the achievements of U.S.-American musical culture to fulfill the principle of reciprocity. Otherwise, South America could misunderstand the U.S.-American efforts and reject them. In view of this, Smith emphasized bringing composers, scholars and performers to the United States.

In the report's conclusions, Carleton Sprague Smith emphasizes that "The formation of the Inter-American Music Division of the Pan American Union is the most important event that has yet occurred in the growth of Inter-American Music Relations," in accordance, "From now on, musical matters will have a permanent bureau dealing with the problems of the two continents."<sup>624</sup> With the aims of supporting his idea, Smith mentioned that the Fascist Government Music Department Head Adriano Lualdi (1885-1971) published his book *Viaggio Musicale nel Sud America* in Milan (1934) after a tour in South America, and he defined some strategies and actions for Benito Mussolini's fascist regime in the cultural field with the

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<sup>623</sup> Smith, *Musical Tour*, 45-46.

<sup>624</sup> *Ibid.*, 280.

objective of gaining more backing for it from the Italian émigrés and their descendants.<sup>625</sup> Consequently, Smith reminds us that “The sympathetic relationship we are trying to establish between North and South America is a delicate matter. One must proceed with caution, and yet the situation calls for boldness” and suggests that in order to be able to launch cultural diplomacy in the field of music, “One of the first tasks is to know oneself and yet many [U.S.] Americans are unacquainted with their own musical past and present.”<sup>626</sup> The scholar also recommends that organizers “present North and South American pieces in your concerts” and that they “not perform too many transcriptions, as they are generally unpopular,” in addition to “[being] informed about Latin American music.”<sup>627</sup>

Smith mentions historical and psychological factors regarding inter-American musical relations, which had played a role against it, and points out that “In the past, North and South Americans have generally turned to Europe when matters of cultural exchange were considered,” then explaining that “Latin America has been almost completely neglected by North Americans and vice versa.”<sup>628</sup> Therefore, the displacement of Europe as a cultural metropole would be a slow process. Smith keeps developing his idea about the dissimilarities and voices, saying that even though “Latin America is different from North America (and we wouldn’t wish it otherwise because each continent has its own particular spiritual and cultural

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<sup>625</sup> Adriano Lualdi’s plans included establishing an Athenaeum of Fascist Culture with Italian lectures, an Italian literature library, Italian language courses, a group of advisers, an Italian concert society, a permanent collection of Italian art, Italian radio programs, a group of Italian newspapers and a bulletin, a permanent exhibition of Italian products, Italian scientific books (the New Italian Political Order), an expanded Federation of Italian Clubs, a University scholar and student exchange program, and more promotion for commercial trade. *Ibid.*, 282-283.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.

<sup>627</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

destiny), and it is worthwhile knowing.”<sup>629</sup> In short, the inter-American enterprise would allow “A knowledge of our mutual cultures [that] will help U.S. to understand the psychology and general way of life of our neighbors. The trust and respect the U.S. engendered lead to greater sympathy.”<sup>630</sup>

Smith contrasts the music from Europe “as reflective, as ponderous, as metaphysical” with its “rough, humorous, exaggerated . . . sentimental, frequently to an extreme” counterpart to the American continent.<sup>631</sup> Nevertheless, the musicologist exclaims that “The future of inter-American musical relations depends on a wider dissemination of typical North and South American music in our respective continents.”<sup>632</sup> Afterwards, Smith rhetorically formulates the question “What is the future of inter-American musical relations?” He answers it by borrowing the term branded continentally by his colleague Francisco Curt Lange, expressing that the solution consists of “Exchanging music and artists in the chief task. . . . If it proves to be a success, the concept of *Americanismo Musical* must become generally known.”<sup>633</sup>

Frequently, in his “Musical Tour through South America,” Carleton Sprague Smith used adjectives to equate the American continent with youth; in addition, he referred to the “two continents” in order to address the division on the same continent between North and Latin America. Nevertheless, his report contained a high-value content and analysis, because it allowed him to redefine the United States cultural diplomacy in order to defend its national interest in Latin America. In the “Report of the Committee of the Conference on Inter-

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<sup>629</sup> Ibid.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid.

<sup>632</sup> Ibid.

<sup>633</sup> Ibid., 289. Italics mine.

American Relations in the Field of Music,” Smith was described by William Berrien as “a *persona simpática*” who “will establish the best and most fruitful connections for the Committee in the countries he visits, and give South Americans an excellent idea of the United States’ ‘gentleman and scholar.’”<sup>634</sup> These personal and professional credentials helped with the recollection and organization of information, together with the important and needed network of personal and professional relations with individuals and institutions.<sup>635</sup>

Ricardo D. Salvatore explains that U.S. scholars gathered information about Latin America during the twentieth century’s first half, an activity he defines as research designed to “[lay] the foundations of a comprehensive knowledge that could help diplomats and politicians formulate U.S. foreign policies for the region.”<sup>636</sup> Carleton Sprague Smith’s research design produced disciplinary knowledge from an industrialized nation’s expert, which Salvatore calls *imperial knowledge*.<sup>637</sup> Thus, Smith’s document *Musical Tour through South America* fulfills the requirements for imperial knowledge, because of its extraterritoriality, expanded visibility, simplification, usefulness, and empirical data.<sup>638</sup> Otherwise stated, the Committee of the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music benefited from Smith’s report, because as Salvatore articulates it, “These academic designs produced hemispheric and global visions that tended to concentrate the resources needed for understanding inter-American

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<sup>634</sup> William Berrien, “Chairman’s Summary,” in *Report of the Committee of the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music* (Washington D.C.: September 3, 1940), 8-9.

<sup>635</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>636</sup> Ricardo D. Salvatore, “Research Design of Transnational Scope,” in *Disciplinary Conquest U.S. Scholars in South America, 1900–1945* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2016), 52

<sup>637</sup> *Ibid.*, 53-54.

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

affairs in U.S. universities and learned societies.”<sup>639</sup> In summary, Carleton Sprague Smith was preparing the ground for the upcoming U.S.-American cultural diplomacy countermovement.

### **The OIAA Music Committee, Aaron Copland and the Berkshire Music Center Scholarships’ Engineering**

Music was part of the cultural-diplomatic offensive led by the OIAA during World War II. The State Department’s Division of Cultural Relations (1938) and its subsidiary Committee on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music (1939) functioned as the advisory organ regarding the role of music in the Good Neighbor Policy. Roosevelt and Rockefeller, who believed in the importance of culture in foreign policy, created the Cultural Relations Division (1940) inside the OIAA with its subsidiary Music Committee (1940)—also known as Committee on Music—with the objective of accelerating and controlling the implementation of his plans and avoiding the governmental bureaucracy.<sup>640</sup> In other words, previously the constitution of the Music Committee, as a subsidiary branch of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (1940), stated that U.S. cultural diplomacy was to be directed by the State Department’s Division of Cultural Relations (1938) and its lower division, the Committee on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music (1939). Nonetheless, it lacked decision-making enforcement and funding in comparison to the agency led by Nelson A. Rockefeller. In Latin America during this period, “The Division, which tended to embrace the ideology of a universal culture, cultivated Latin American elites—that

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<sup>639</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>640</sup> Jennifer L. Campbell, “Shaping Solidarity: Music, Diplomacy, and Inter-American Relations, 1936-1946” (PhD diss., University of Connecticut, 2010), 54-64.

five percent of the population with the education, wealth, and power to set cultural agendas”— as argued by Carol A. Hess.<sup>641</sup>

Vivian Perlis claims that “Copland wrote to the Department of State offering his services. ...In April a response arrived from the State Department designating Copland a member of the President’s Advisory Committee on Music.”<sup>642</sup> The United States’ consolidation as a main actor within the international system toward the nineteenth century’s end, and the professional experts’ input in its public and private sectors, became a legitimate basis for designing strategies and policies to obtain power as well as to advance a foreign-policy ideology.<sup>643</sup> Hereafter, during its meeting on November 14, 1940, the Music Committee decided to send Aaron Copland to Latin America.<sup>644</sup> The composer’s task was to promote U.S.-American modern art music in public and radio lectures in Spanish, as well as to conduct some of his works in order to project the message regarding the United States’ capacity to generate “cultured” products at the same level of European art music (Germany and Italy).<sup>645</sup> This elite group represented a U.S.-American position of power and decision-making and gave preference to Euro-American art music to represent U.S.-Americanness over, for example, jazz, which already had penetrated Europe as a popular U.S.-American cultural product.<sup>646</sup> Thus, jazz posed

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<sup>641</sup> Carol A. Hess, “Copland in Argentina: Pan Americanist Politics, Folklore, and the Crisis in Modern Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66/1 (2013): 197.

<sup>642</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 315-318.

<sup>643</sup> Ibid.

<sup>644</sup> “Minutes of Meeting of the Committee on Music at Harvard Club,” November 14, 1940, CCLC, folder 9, box 355.

<sup>645</sup> Campbell, “Shaping Solidarity,” 65-66.

<sup>646</sup> Although jazz became highly popular in Europe and was appropriated by modern European composers such as Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), Darius Milhaud (1892-1974), Erik Satie (1866-1925), Maurice Ravel (1875-1937) and others, Copland and other members of the Music Committee, during this pre-Civil Rights movement time, feared that jazz music would become the music genre associated with U.S.-Americanness. In other words, jazz was racialized, and its African-American origin and connotations, instead of White Anglo-Saxon origins, caused it to be rejected from the Music Committee to represent the United States. Moreover, for Copland, the only composer from the Music Committee, jazz was always associated with White performers such as Paul Whiteman

complications for U.S. image-making precisely because it was the music of America's most visible ethnic minority and, as such, gave racist discourses a renewed platform.<sup>647</sup> The document "Minutes of Meeting of the Committee on Music at the Harvard Club, Wednesday November 20, 1940 at 12:30" states that:

The Committee wishes to propose Aaron Copland as their choice as composer-lecturer to be sent to South America and it was agreed that William Berrien was the proper man to write Mr. Moe in order to inquire whether Mr. Moe's Committee would not be willing to finance Mr. Copland's journey inasmuch as this particular undertaking is so definitely in that field in which Mr. Moe operates.<sup>648</sup>

Simultaneously, Copland realized, perhaps by observing and admiring the success of his colleague Chávez in Mexico, that becoming part of the cultural bureaucratic apparatus, as a *homo politicus*, would have an impact on shaping musical/cultural policies regarding his agenda and musical works. Aaron Copland wrote that Rockefeller "was determined to set up an ideal model of what inter-cultural relations should be . . . Rockefeller's committee seemed more interested in American composers than in virtuoso performers."<sup>649</sup>

The U.S. cultural diplomacy outfit understood that the cultural front line would be stronger and more effective when U.S.-American music represented and conveyed better its creative worth and elite status ahead of the Europeans. The United States urgently sought to

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(1890-1967), Benny Goodman (1909-1986) and George Gershwin (1898-1937), but not with Charlie Parker (1920-1955), Thelonious. Monk (1917-1982) or Duke Ellington (1899-1974). See, for example, Aaron Copland, "Jazz Structure and Influence," in *Aaron Copland: A Reader: Selected Writings, 1923-1972*, eds. Richard Kostelanetz and Steve Silverstein (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 83-88. See also Campbell, "Shaping Solidarity," and Lieser, "Ethnic Diplomacy."

<sup>647</sup> Andrea Franzius, "Forging Music into Ideology: Charles Seeger and the Politics of Cultural Pluralism in American Domestic and Foreign Policy," *Amerikastudien/ American Studies* 56/3 (2011): 369.

<sup>648</sup> Humanist and philanthropist Henry Allen Moe (1894-1975) occupied leading positions at the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation. A previous document mentions Aaron Copland among the potential projects to receive funding for a South American tour. See "Minutes of Meeting of the Committee on Music at Harvard Club," November 14, 1940, CCLC, folder 9, box 355.

<sup>649</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 323.

demonstrate that it possessed artists capable of conceiving intellectual masterpieces that could challenge European cultural hegemony in the western hemisphere. Copland, meanwhile, tried to interest his composer colleague and friend, Carlos Chávez, in the ideal of Pan-Americanism.

In a letter to Chávez on November 28, 1940, Copland wrote:

Any other bright ideas you may have, along the lines of furthering cultural relations between Latin American countries and the USA, via music, would be very welcome. It is very possible that the Committee may send me down to visit South America in the spring for a few months. I am curious to see what their musical life is like.<sup>650</sup>

Chávez, nonetheless, was neither interested in nor involved with the Pan-American project, even during the years in which he was a founding member of the Pan-American Association of Composers, because his real focus on promoting Mexican music internationally and working on transforming Mexico into a modern art-music country. Hence, Chávez's participation in Pan-American musical events did not have an extra political motivation concerning this ideal beyond his interest in having his works performed. Equally, an official letter on "Council of National Defense" stationery, sent on December 13, 1940, from Carleton Sprague Smith to Aaron Copland, exclaims that "The idea of having five music scholarships at the Berkshire Music Center next summer is marvelous!"<sup>651</sup>

On December 16, 1940, Nelson A. Rockefeller sent an official and confidential memorandum entitled "Weekly Progress Report, Part II" from the Council of National Defense (Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics) to Aaron Copland. Its subsection "Arrangement for Interchange of Scholars and Students" within the "Cultural" section explains the work toward promoting educational

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<sup>650</sup> "Letter from Aaron Copland to Carlos Chávez," November 28, 1940, CCLC, folder 29, box 249.

<sup>651</sup> "Letter from Carleton Sprague Smith to Aaron Copland," December 13, 1940, CCLC, folder 9, box 355.



exchange.<sup>652</sup> The document announced the following steps forward in relation to the undertaken actions and explains about the developments “concerning the interchange of scholars and students between U.S. and Latin America. 1) The education committee is investigating the availability of men in American universities and colleges for the exchange program of graduate students and professors with Latin America.”<sup>653</sup>

This step, voiced with sexist language, would allow some of the future fellows at the Berkshire Music Center either to attend graduate programs in music composition in the United States or simply visit its musical institutions, as well as to initiate a program of well-established Latin American composers, educators, and art administrators to visit the United States in order to observe its musical life. Reciprocity became part of the cultural diplomacy agenda whose purpose was, likewise, to project the U.S.-American way of life, capitalism and democracy. The next step elucidates that “The Coordinator’s office has increased grants for hospitality to Latin American students in the United States and U.S. students in Latin America from \$14,000 to \$20,000.”<sup>654</sup>

Copland used this platform to suggest an exchange program that would accomplish the principle of reciprocity without interfering with the protectionist policies from the American Federation of Musicians (AFM), and at the same time, put himself in a significant position of power within U.S. cultural diplomacy and American art music.<sup>655</sup> From this

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<sup>652</sup> “Weekly Progress Report, Part II,” December 16, 1940, CCLC, folder 9, box 355.

<sup>653</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>654</sup> These monetary amounts in 2019 dollars ranged from \$257,346 to \$367,637. Ibid.

<sup>655</sup> Despite the committee’s intentions to foster reciprocity as part of Good Neighbor cultural diplomacy, the protectionism from the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) made it impossible for the Music Committee to bring Latin American performers into the United States. Therefore, the committee began thinking about different projects that would become viable for the budget. This is the inflection point at which Copland thought about bringing fellows into the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood during the summer of 1941. Regarding the reciprocity principle, Jennifer Campbell, for example, mentions that the Music Committee discussed two

perspective, on December 16, 1940, Copland sent a letter to Koussevitzky explaining his plans for the fellowships:

I hope Mrs. [Margaret] Grant spoke to you about the plan I had to have the U.S. government bring a number of the best students from South American countries to the School this summer. I am a member of the Music Committee established by the State Department under Nelson Rockefeller for cultural relations with South America. This idea would be similar to that of Mrs. Bok and the Curtis Institute, except that the government would take the place of Mrs. Bok, and we would have all South America to choose from. I have spoken with the Music Committee, and they are very enthusiastic about the plan. If you have any further ideas along this line[,] I wish you would let me know, so that I can present it to the Committee.<sup>656</sup>

Therefore, Copland proposed that Koussevitzky invite Latin American composers to Tanglewood with State Department and some U.S. American foundations' sponsorship. As Emily Ansari contends, the U.S.-American composer had the conviction that internationalism should be the ideal and "From the outset Copland used the inter-American exchange program to help nurture hemispheric understanding through cultural exposure."<sup>657</sup> Hence, he envisioned the Berkshire Music Center as a place to continue making a contribution to a cause that aligned with the philosophy of multilateral internationalism, as noted by Emily A. Ansari, in addition to becoming a platform to position him a knowledge provider to the Latin American composers on a "superstructural" level.<sup>658</sup> Nevertheless, Emily A. Ansari's

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projects related to fostering reciprocity and exchange: The first consisted of commissioning orchestral works from Latin American composers by U.S.-American orchestras for a fee of \$500 (currently \$8,541). The second project consisted of commissioning two operas by a Latin American composer with a U.S.-American librettist and one with the roles reversed. However, neither project happened due to the presumed lack of funding, but it seems that it was more the lack of willingness to materialize them. See also Campbell, "Shaping Solidarity," 94-96.

<sup>656</sup> Mrs. Margaret Grant was Koussevitzky's administrative assistant for the BMC. See "Letter from Aaron Copland to Serge Koussevitzky," December 16, 1940, CCLC, folder 27, box 257.

<sup>657</sup> Emily Abrams Ansari, "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Cultural Diplomacy," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5/3 (2011): 340.

<sup>658</sup> Ansari cites the concept of internationalism from Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 9-10. Historian Akira Iriye defines it as: "the idea that nations and peoples should cooperate instead of preoccupying themselves with their respective national interests or pursuing uncoordinated approaches to promote them." See Ansari, "Aaron Copland and the Politics of Cultural Diplomacy," 336-340.

significant examination omits the fact that Copland's involvement with the ideal of internationalism also embedded the composer's conviction of utilizing music and culture in general to promote the United States and its values globally. Due to the European implosion, the United States viewed this historical moment as an opportunity to consolidate its geopolitical role, and culture was a field they could use to support it. Three days later, on December 19, 1940, Carleton Sprague Smith received a letter from the Berkshire Music Center Executive Secretary in which the next communication is asserted:

Mr. Copland has called our attention to the plans of the Committee of which you are Chairman, set up under the Department of State to develop cultural relations with South American countries. We understand that the Committee intends to make it possible for a number of students from these countries to study in various institutions in the United States. Mr. Copland felt that an appropriate undertaking for your Committee might be the provision of scholarships for South American students at the Berkshire Music Center, and has suggested that we write to you to signify our hearty interest in such a proposal. We should be very glad indeed to provide the Committee with any information regarding the Center which they may need for the consideration of this plan. In the meantime, I am enclosing a copy of our first catalogue, the report on the first season, a summary to the replies of a questionnaire distributed to our students, and a preliminary announcement for 1941. These, we feel, indicate the special place which the Berkshire Music Center occupies in the field of music education in this country and the advantages it would offer to a group of South American students. Please let me know what further steps we may take to assist in carrying out Mr. Copland's suggestion. Let me take this opportunity to say how Dr. Koussevitzky, Mr. Judd and all of the us associated with the Center [sic] are that you will be able to be one of our lectures next summer.<sup>659</sup>

This letter opened institutional communication between the Music Committee and the Berkshire Music Center and demonstrated Copland's vision for the Good Neighbor Policy. The Music Committee met again on January 8, 1941, and its minutes include the following paragraph:

Mr. Copland brought up the question of student musical scholarships at the Berkshire School during the coming season which had been discussed at previous meeting. After a brief discussion, it was unanimously voted that on the assumption that the Berkshire Music School

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<sup>659</sup> The letter is coming from Mrs. Margaret Grant and mentioned George E. Judd (1887-1977), who was the manager for the Boston Symphony Orchestra. See "Letter from the Berkshire Music Center Executive Secretary to Carleton Sprague Smith," December 19, 1940, CCLC, folder 9, box 355.

would provide four scholarships, the committee agrees to pay travel and living expenses totaling approximately four thousand dollars (\$4,000) to four students to attend the school next summer. The individuals [are] to be nominated by the conservatoires in Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Santiago and Bogotá [sic].<sup>660</sup>

While the Music Committee began working late in 1940, a subsequent document entitled “Music Committee: Objectives, Methods and Projects Needing Funds,” from January 23, 1941, delineated the committee’s mission statement and organization.<sup>661</sup> In section I, “General Objectives,” it explains that its basic goal is “To increase solidarity and understanding between the peoples of the United States and of Latin American countries through the medium of music.”<sup>662</sup> In section II, “Methods,” it encourages interchange between the United States and Latin America, and section III, “Media,” promotes radio, newspapers, motion pictures, magazines and performances, among others, to convey the Good Neighbor message.<sup>663</sup> Section IV, “Projects,” contains the subsection “Voted by Music Committee but not yet approved by Executive Committee.” The scholarship plans include information concerning a “Grant of \$4,000 to pay living and travel expenses of four scholarship students from South America.”<sup>664</sup> In other words, during two later meetings, on January 23 and 25, 1941, the U.S.-American composer outlined his “goodwill” trip objectives, and “he expressed the wish to concentrate his efforts to a considerable extend on making South American audiences aware

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<sup>660</sup> The text similarly added as a reciprocity example, that “Mr. Copland urged that the Committee consider commissioning Latin American composers to write for American orchestras and vice versa.” See “Minutes of the Meeting of the Music Committee Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Between the American Republics,” January 8, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>661</sup> “Music Committee: Objectives, Methods and Projects Needing Funds,” January 23, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>662</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>663</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>664</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

of contemporary [U.S.] American composition.”<sup>665</sup> Therefore, the composer voiced the following strategy of “conducting some of his compositions where that might be arranged, lecturing in Spanish on the subject of North American composition, in short proceeding as a special envoy in the interest of contemporary North American composition of a serious nature.”<sup>666</sup>

The Music Committee met once more, on February 6, 1941, and documented the resulting proceedings in its minutes: “A general discussion followed on the subject of the candidates for scholarships at the Berkshire Music Center, who should be composed of at least one composer as well as instrumentalists.”<sup>667</sup> At that point, and regarding the composer selection, the document explains that “The names of [sic] Itibere and Amengual were brought up, but the consensus of opinion was that Sr. Ginastera, of Argentina, would perhaps be the ideal composer to whom to offer such a scholarship.”<sup>668</sup> The Music Committee requested advice from established Latin American musicians to support its decisions and clarified that:

It was also agreed that the following be consulted: Dr. Doming Santa Cruz, of Chile, and Miss Lucía Vásquez, of Colombia, as heads of music schools in these countries, along with Hugo Balzo, the Uruguayan pianist, and Egydio Castro, the Brazilian pianist. Mr. Copland volunteered to talk with Balzo on the subject of schools in Argentina and more specifically on Ginastera.<sup>669</sup>

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<sup>665</sup> “Minutes of the Meeting of the Music Committee Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Between the American Republics Held at 11 West 54<sup>th</sup> Street, New York City,” January 23 and 25, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>666</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>667</sup> Composer René Amengual Astaburuaga (Chile, 1911-1954). See “Minutes of the Music Committee,” February 6, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>668</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>669</sup> *Ibid.*

The Berkshire Music Center appears again in the document “Agenda Music Committee Meeting April 3, 1941” as the third point to address (3. Berkshire Scholarships) with the following information: Brazilian violinist “Althea Alimonda has accepted.” Additionally, the music professor’s contact in Latin America, with the aim of receiving recommendations about potential composers for the fellowships, explains that “Letters have been written to Santa Cruz, Balzo, [and] Lucia Vasquez inquiring as to possible candidates in their countries” and the committee shared the news about Ginastera, who “has not yet answered Mr. Copland’s letter [sic].”<sup>670</sup> In other words, the Committee on Music was reaching out to established professors of music in order to receive endorsements of potential candidates in Chile, Uruguay and Colombia. Simultaneously, Alberto Ginastera’s reputation allowed him to begin projecting his music abroad and, accordingly, he was contacted as the first candidate for a fellowship to the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood. However, the internal Argentinean political situation, whose government “neutrality” symbolized a preferred political inclination toward the fascist regimes of Germany, Italy and Spain, delayed Ginastera’s participation in the festival until 1946.

During the same day, the Committee discussed the aforementioned agenda where the U.S. private foundations’ involvement is documented, and the document voices that “Dr. Smith brought up the matter of the Berkshire scholarships, stating that Alimonda has accepted, and that he had written to the others. He also read a letter to Dr. Henry Allen Moe, of the John Simon Guggenheim, and the answer to that letter.”<sup>671</sup> The Music Committee gathered

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<sup>670</sup> “Agenda Music Committee Meeting,” April 3, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>671</sup> “Minutes of the Music Committee of the Coordinator’s Office,” April 3, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

one more time, on April 25, 1941, and the text below elucidates the discussed topic related to the Berkshire Music Center:

Lucia Vasquez recommends for one of the Berkshires fellowships Alexandro Zagarra, violinist, aged 22, member for two years of the National Symphony Orchestra of Bogota. He has studied law, composition, theory and chamber music and is spoken of as having a high character. As second choice he [sic] recommends Rafael de Castro, member of the orchestra, with similar qualifications. We appear to have agreed upon Althea Alimonda from Brazil. We await word from Domingo Santa Cruz on his recommendation and also expect word from Uruguay and the Argentine about others. The question of transportation for these scholarship students to the United States now arises. Mr. Moe's committee will have to be persuaded to bring them up but he is unwilling to do so until he secures a rather extended life history of each student. Mr. Barbour will have to undertake securing these accounts of the individuals' qualifications.<sup>672</sup>

Later, the document "Agenda Music Committee Meeting May 8, 1941" pointed out "6. Berkshires Scholarships (Conference with Dr. Moe)," who represented the Guggenheim Foundation, and about the communication with Alberto Ginastera, the document explained that "No reply as yet from Ginastera, wrote to him again by airmail last Thursday."<sup>673</sup> At that moment, the following suggestion was made in order to fill the position: "Should Chavez' [sic] candidate be approached tentatively?"<sup>674</sup> Carlos Chávez's candidate was Blas Galindo. During the Committee meeting "Mr. Copland then mentioned the Berkshire Music Center scholarships and Dr. Smith suggested that he cable Ginastera to find out whether he can come to this country in case such a scholarship were [sic] made available to him."<sup>675</sup> Thus, "Mr. Copland will work further on the choice of candidates for the other four scholarships."<sup>676</sup>

In the "Agenda for Music Committee Meeting May 15, 1941," the "1. Report of Chairman on Executive Committee Meeting May 14 in Washington" included the following

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<sup>672</sup> "Minutes of the Music Committee of the Coordinator's Office," April 25, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>673</sup> "Agenda Music Committee Meeting," May 8, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>674</sup> Ibid.

<sup>675</sup> "Minutes of the Coordinator's Music Committee," May 8, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>676</sup> Ibid.

information as a third discussion point: “c) Scholarships in connection with Moe Committee. . . In order to expedite matters-it is doubtful if Ginastera can accept scholarship-should the same form be sent to Blas Galindo in Mexico, with no assurance, of course, that scholarship will materialize?”<sup>677</sup> As a result, the “Minutes of the Coordinator Music’s Committee,” in relation to Tanglewood, registered that:

Specifically, the project to invite five Latin Americans to the Berkshire Music Center was brought up. . . . In brief, it was recommended that the proposed \$30,000 for Dr. Moe’s committee be used for travel expenses, management fees, lectures and other incidental expenses involved in broad interchange of musicians between the United States and Latin America.<sup>678</sup>

Another document from the same day is available, on “Project Authorization” letterhead, related to the project “Exchange of performers not otherwise eligible for usual scholarships, travel grants, or other assistance toward study and performance” from Dr. Moe’s “Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations” (Cultural Relations – Music). This document informs us that:

During the past several years both Italy and Germany have successfully encouraged the interchange of music performance between their countries and many of the other American republics. Musicians of both sexes have been guests of the countries in question, on the basis that these “guests” would return to their homelands imbued with a sincere respect for the musical attainment of the totalitarian powers. Recent investigation has shown the high desirability of similar invitations on the part of the United States . . . . At present neither the Pan American Union nor Dr. Moe’s Committee (Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations) is in a position to supply funds to promote exchanges of performing musicians who are not strictly “students” or who need assistance in the general form of travel money, living expenses, purchasing of books, scores, and the like, or partial financing of concerts or recitals. The Music Committee, basing its judgement on the success of the totalitarian exchange principles, and on the repeated recommendation of outstanding Latin American musicians and pedagogues, therefore feels that a fund of \$30,000 should be set aside to provide for emergency expenditures in connection with performers expending during the year June 1, 1941 to May 31, 1942. Typical of the assistance to be granted under this classification would be the financing of a trip to the United States by five performing artists

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<sup>677</sup> “Agenda for Music Committee Meeting,” May 15, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>678</sup> Currently \$551,455. See “Minutes of the Coordinator’s Music Committee,” May 15, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.



under scholarships to be granted by the Berkshire Music Center. This Music Center, inspired largely by Serge Koussevitzky, Conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, presents a rare opportunity for Latin American musicians to attend a music festival similar to those of the Europe of two or more years ago. On the basis proposed by the Music Committee, these five Latin American instrumentalists would have an opportunity to perform as well as to listen. By this token, the United States would be offering the same type of exchange fellowships as provided in pre-war days by the totalitarian powers. Five Latin American musicians of talent are under consideration, pending the approval of this project [sic].”<sup>679</sup>

A “Memorandum” on May 19, 1941 expresses that:

2. Grant for scholarship in connection with the Moe committee. . . 30,000.00  
(No performing artist can be brought up from South America under the present arrangement.)  
Since musicians should make tours of the United States and vice versa, this grant is extremely important. For instance, five South American students have the opportunity of studying at the Berkshire Music school if travel money can be provided.<sup>680</sup>

The “Agenda for Music Committee Meeting May 22, 1941” included in its fourth point “‘Berkshire Scholarships’ (Ginastera unable to come) Mr. Copland has written to Blas Galindo.”<sup>681</sup> In the next “Minutes” it documented that:

In regard [to] the Berkshire Music Center scholarships, it was again pointed out that it would be necessary to get action on the proposed \$30,000 contract with Dr. Moe as soon as possible, in order to make it feasible for the five Latin American proposed for the scholarships offered by the Berkshire to come up in time for the summer school.”<sup>682</sup>

In a meeting on May 29, 1941, its “Minutes” registered that:

Dr. Smith brought up the matter of the Berkshire scholarships. These are included in the project authorization for a \$30,000 contract with Dr. Moe’s committee. As soon as this project is approved by the Executive Committee, Dr. Smith and the Secretary will take steps to obtain the necessary funds for bringing the five scholars to the Berkshire Music Center, as mentioned in previous meetings.

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<sup>679</sup> “Project Authorization” May 15, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>680</sup> “Memorandum,” May 19, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>681</sup> “Agenda for Music Committee Meeting,” May 22, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>682</sup> “Minutes of the Music Committee of the Coordinator’s Office,” May 22, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

The members of the Advisory Committee on Music to the Department of State met on June 13, 1941, in the Washington, D.C., Winder Building for a full day of sessions. From the “Minutes” two important pieces of information appear related to the current exchange project. Dr. Smith presented a list of projects from the Music Committee of the Coordinator’s Office (1941-42) and under the title of “Berkshire Music Festival Project,” the document explains that “Dr. Berrien stated that the project to bring up music students to participate in the Berkshire Festival is a pressing one. He had found on his recent trip that the persons selected are expecting news.”<sup>683</sup> Ergo, “It would be extremely difficult for them to have to wait until the very last moment before knowing. After all they must make plans and should have at least three weeks’ notice. Dr. Berrien urged immediate action on this project.”<sup>684</sup> In the same document, in the section “Fundamental policy as regards Music Interchange,” Dr. Berrien advocated “that the music program stress the aspect of music which will ‘sell’ the United States to Latin Americans,” and “It is up to this Committee to present the culture of the United States to Latin American in the best light” with the goal of creating among them “a sympathetic understanding of American culture,” which “Dr. Smith explained that this has been the philosophy of his Music Committee.”<sup>685</sup>

The document “Project Authorization” includes a “Project name,” which contains the following information: “Scholarship for four Latin American players and one Latin American

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<sup>683</sup> “Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Music to the Department of State,” June 13, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 355.

<sup>684</sup> Ibid.

<sup>685</sup> Ibid., 9.

composer at the Berkshire Music Center, Tanglewood, Lennox, Massachusetts.”<sup>686</sup> Its description explains:

The opportunity for young Latin American musicians to obtain orchestral training in the United States is rare. The offer of 5 scholarships to 5 students below the Rio Grande by the Berkshire Music Center is an unusually friendly gesture in the furtherance of Inter-American cultural relations. We feel that a group of student-performers studying in the United States would greatly strengthen musical ties between the two continents. The Music Committee of the Coordinator’s Office has heartily approved the idea. The United States Government does not wish to sponsor officially the visits of Latin American musicians to the United States, preferring to work through private agencies. If the Berkshire Music Center can sponsor the trip of the five Latin Americans to this country, it is suggested that a contract might be entered into between the Government and the Tanglewood authorities. Mr. Dudley T. Easby, attorney for the Coordinator’s Office, can work out details with the lawyers of the Berkshire Music Center.<sup>687</sup>

This document demonstrates the great emphasis that U.S. cultural diplomacy placed on the individual, even though the state was part of the design and coordination. This practice reinforces the concept of the United States as a country where individual interest is believed to be the generator of collective well-being. Concurrently, individual enterprise is a symbolic sign of liberalism, where the state is relegated to a peripheral position and the individual becomes the center of the manufacturing and modernization process. In addition, the U.S. government did not want to be associated with its cultural diplomacy, because it had intended to avoid any appearance of propaganda in Latin America. The “Project Authorization” similarly includes the composer’s official biography for Tanglewood together with the performer’s biographies as follows:

Blas Galindo, of the younger generation of musicians in Mexico, was born in San Gabriel, Jalisco, on February 3, 1911. He already has more than five important works to his credit and in 1940 his “Sones Mariachis” was recorded by the Columbia Recording Corporation. Mr. Galindo will finish his studies at the Conservatory of Music this year, where he is an honorary

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<sup>686</sup> “Committee for Inter-American Relations,” June 20, 1941, CCLC, folder 11, box 355.

<sup>687</sup> Ibid.

professor of Music Analysis. He has served as a professor of music in the Department of Education and the Music Section of the Mexican Government. He writes: "I would like to attend the Berkshire Music Center in order to perfect my studies in composition under Mr. Aaron Copland and write an orchestral work of Mexican character."<sup>688</sup>

In its subsection "Objective," the document emphasizes that the scholarships' goal is "to acquaint Latin American music students with the artistic life in the United States and to supply them with a broader knowledge of our orchestral activities."<sup>689</sup> In "Memorandum on the Scholarships for Latin-American Students," the official logistic explains that Carleton Sprague Smith, acting as the Chairman of the Music Committee of the Coordinator's Office of the Committee of the Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics "telephoned Tuesday, June 17th, to say that the government and the state department have approved the project for bringing Latin-American students to the Berkshire Music Center."<sup>690</sup> The same document states, toward the end, that Copland "has urged the serious consideration of this project since the plan has already been discussed in the Latin American countries and the students selected," otherwise, "and if the project were to be abandoned the effect might be the opposite of the good relations which we had hoped to establish [sic]."<sup>691</sup>

Three official "Minutes of the Music Committee of the Coordinator's Office" track the scholarships' bureaucratic process between the different institutions involved in this cultural diplomacy project. The process of consolidating the scholarships was a test for Koussevitzky, who showed his conviction and commitment to it and the Good Neighbor

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<sup>688</sup> Ibid.

<sup>689</sup> Ibid.

<sup>690</sup> Ibid.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid.

Policy. The conductor received a telegram from Carleton Sprague Smith on June 21, 1941, in which the musicologist wrote:

Project of your committee to bring students from Mexico and South America to Berkshire Music Center greatly appreciated[.] Unfortunately time element for those farthest away insurmountable without disproportionated use of funds for air transportation[.] Therefore propose invitation to those who can arrange to arrive by train or boat Tanglewood not later July sixth[.] Judge this may be possible for two at average cost of about five hundred dollars[.] Understand one student has already sailed from Brazil[.] If this has your approval please send contract to fifteen.<sup>692</sup>

Afterwards, Koussevitzky sent a telegram to George E. Judd of the Boston Symphony Orchestra the same day, claiming:

I feel strongly we should proceed with plan for Latin American students. Project has been considered and approved by Government which asks our cooperation in developing friendly relations. Interest of this country and tremendous interest of Tanglewood requires U.S. to do everything possible to realize plan in full. Its failure would create disappointment and criticism. Your objection involves only few hundred dollars, difference between boat and air travel in one direction for three students. All will return by boat. Even that expense is not ours, since all expenditures will be repaid by Government.<sup>693</sup>

Koussevitzky similarly sent an undated and unnamed telegram, presumably to Smith, in which explained that “Hundred dollars to G. E. Judd Symphony Hall Boston[.] No contract is necessary to cover award of scholarships in addition to cash for transportation and living.”<sup>694</sup>

On June 26, 1941, the meeting minutes state that “Koussevitzky [is] acting as sponsor. Only thing now pending is signing of contract between Koussevitzky and Mr. Dudley Easby, Attorney for the Coordinator’s Office.”<sup>695</sup> The attorney Dudley T. Easby contacted

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<sup>692</sup> Serge Koussevitzky Archive at the Library of Congress, “Telegram from Carleton Sprague Smith to Serge Koussevitzky,” June 21, 1941 (henceforth SKALC) folder 16, box 172.

<sup>693</sup> “Telegram from Serge Koussevitzky to George E. Judd,” June 21, 1941, SKALC, folder 16, box 172.

<sup>694</sup> “Telegram undated and unnamed,” SKALC, folder 16, box 172.

<sup>695</sup> “Minutes of the Music Committee of the Coordinator’s Office,” June 26, 1941, CCLC, folder 11, box 355.

Koussevitzky on June 28, 1941, with a letter that established the conductors commitment “not represent this Office or the United States of America or any department or agency of the Government as sponsoring or being in anyway connected with or responsible for the bringing of these musicians to the Berkshire Music Center.”<sup>696</sup> The conductor responded with a letter to Dudley T. Easby, whose office was at the Council of National Defense on June 30, 1941, expressing, “I am very glad to assure you that I understand the position of the Government,” and concluded it by articulating, “Let me make this opportunity, however, to say that I am happy that the Berkshire Music Center can participate in this good-will undertaking and we hope these young people will have a happy and memorable summer.”<sup>697</sup> Later, on July 2, 1941, he specified that “the contract had been signed by Serge Koussevitzky and was on its way to Washington for the Coordinator’s signature.”<sup>698</sup>

### **Charles Seeger, the Pan American Music Union and the Branding of Latin American Music**

William Berrien, chairman of the Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music Committee, wrote in its “Report” that the lack of experts and funds was affecting the development of Inter-American Relations’ development, and from the discussions, the participants agreed on selecting the Pan American Union as an institution to establish a Music Division to coordinate and function as a center for inter-American musical activities.<sup>699</sup> For instance, one of the reasons the Committee members cited was that the Pan America Union already “has the mechanism for circulating information to individuals and institutions on

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<sup>696</sup> “Letter from Dudley T. Easby to Serge Koussevitzky,” June 28, 1941, SKALC, folder 16, box 172.

<sup>697</sup> “Letter from Serge Koussevitzky to Dudley T. Easby,” June 30, 1941, SKALC, folder 16, box 172.

<sup>698</sup> “Minutes of the Music Committee of the Coordinator’s Office,” July 2, 1941, CCLC, folder 11, box 355.

<sup>699</sup> William Berrien, “Chairman’s Summary,” in *Report of the Committee of the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music* (Washington: September 3, 1940).

different levels.”<sup>700</sup> Berrien concisely described the Music Division’s principal role as “the establishment of a reliable service of information and orientation for those interested in the music and music activities of both Americas and the stimulation of further study and performance of that music.”<sup>701</sup> The Music Committee decided to appoint one of its members, Charles Seeger, for this institutional leading position.<sup>702</sup>

Pablo Palomino explains that during World War II, the term “‘Latin American music’ was a tool of the cultural diplomacy of the United States.”<sup>703</sup> He believes that the Pan-American Union appropriated the transnational project of *Americanismo Musical* promoted by the German émigré Francisco Curt Lange (1903-1997) in his *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*, with the objective of utilizing “this musicological idea, and the emerging network of Latin Americanists it created, into a quasi-imperial tool for the United States’ foreign policy.”<sup>704</sup> In reality, Curt Lange and the Pan American Union appropriated *Americanism’s* idea, whose origin came from politics, as expressed earlier by Simón Bolívar (1783-1830) and later by José Martí (1853-1895), and created the musical brand. Pablo Palomino calls this institution and historical event an “imperial musical project” and argues that the “Music Division promoted the

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<sup>700</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>701</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>702</sup> Musicologist Gilbert Chase wrote: “A recommendation of the Committee which has borne tangible and far-reaching results is the project for the creation of a Music Division in the Pan American Union, to serve also as an Inter-American Music Center. The establishment of the Music Division was approved by a resolution of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union on June 29, 1940. The project was implemented with the cooperation of the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, who allotted a special grant for this purpose on January 29, 1941. Mr. Charles L. Seeger was designated as director of the Music Division and the Inter-American Music Center. Since the actual operations of the Music Division did not begin until February 10, 1941, a detailed account of its activities must be reserved for the next issue of the *Handbook*. Suffice it to say that it has already inaugurated a series of important musical publications, which will be cited in due course. See Gilbert Chase, “Music: General Statement,” in *Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1940, no. 6*, ed. Miron Burgin for the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), 439.

<sup>703</sup> Palomino, “‘Nationalist, Hemispheric, and Global,” 2.

<sup>704</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

circulation and knowledge of ‘Latin American music,’ and “provided legitimacy to Latin American musicology, an emerging new field of knowledge.”<sup>705</sup> However, Latin America had already produced musical historiography in most of its countries—as demonstrated by Juliana Pérez González with her book *Las historias de la música en Hispanoamérica (1876-2000)*—but it lacked the distribution mechanisms in the Western hemisphere.<sup>706</sup> Therefore, the absence of U.S.-American peers’ knowledge about the music in Latin America generated Gilbert Chase’s (1906-1992) term *terra ignota*.<sup>707</sup> Chase, who studied mainly the music from United States, Spain, and Latin America, published, for example, his book *A Guide to the Music of Latin America* in 1945, during his years working for the Library of Congress as one of its experts on Latin American music.<sup>708</sup> Although the book contains essential information, its introduction engages already with some either disputable or controversial ideas. In the first sentence, for instance, Chase justified his book to “show the way through unfamiliar territory.”<sup>709</sup> Chase’s words recreate a sort of association with an old Eurocentric trope about Latin America as a land to be discovered, and incapable of producing knowledge. In other words, his guide would show and open the path for this musical “exploration and discovery.”

Chase, furthermore, continued by affirming, “Not only are general histories of the subject lacking, but also, with one or two exceptions, individual histories of music in particular countries.”<sup>710</sup> At the same time, Chase voiced, “While there exist a few valuable monographs,

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<sup>705</sup> Ibid.

<sup>706</sup> Juliana Pérez González, “Anexo: Textos generales de la historia musical hispanoamericana en orden cronológico de publicación” en *Las historias de la música en Hispanoamérica (1876-2000)* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 2010), 143-148.

<sup>707</sup> See Gilbert Chase, *A Guide to the Music of Latin America* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1945), 1.

<sup>708</sup> Ibid.

<sup>709</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>710</sup> Nevertheless, some months later, after Chase’s publication, Cuban Alejo Carpentier (1904-1980), for instance, published his monumental book *La música en Cuba*, which added new work to the previously existent Cuban



especially those treating of musical instruments, the monographic literature is by no means sufficient to form a solid musicological foundation for general studies.”<sup>711</sup> Chase, in his introduction, made claims about cultural analysis on the American continent and stated, “The study of American music is essentially a study of musical acculturation.”<sup>712</sup> With this declaration, Chase denied the Latin American composers agency, as well as the process of transculturation that generated, for example, new musical genres on the continent.<sup>713</sup> Put another way, Chase’s affirmation reproduced the Eurocentric and Ethnocentric narrative that promotes acculturation as a way to justify the global expansion of its culture as “universal.” Nonetheless, the reality demonstrates that the Latin American composers’ agency appropriated and transformed art music according to their history and cultures.

Even though the Pan American Music Union helped Lange to publish his *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*—dedicated to the music and musicians of the United States—with Charles Seeger as associate editor, Lange was regarded as an unwelcome visitor in the cultural front, as a German conducting a transnational project. In other words, the fact that a German émigré was championing Latin American music internationally projected a negative image toward the United States, because it could represent a lack of interest in its southern neighbors. In addition, Curt Lange was a representative of musicology’s Germanic

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historiography production. See Alejo Carpentier, *La música en Cuba* (México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946). See Chase, *A Guide to the Music of Latin America*, 13.

<sup>711</sup> For a long list of Latin American publications about music, see the Hispano-American historiography book by Pérez González, *Las historias de la música en Hispanoamérica (1876-2000)* See Chase, *A Guide to the Music of Latin America*, 13.

<sup>712</sup> Gilbert Chase is taking the definition from Charles Seeger’s article. In the text Seeger is also quoting the acculturation concept as defined by the Social Science Research Council, and Seeger cited it during his presentation at the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music in 1939. Basically, Seeger based the concept from the following article by Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville J. Herskovits, “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation,” *American Anthropologist* 38/1 (1936): 149-152. Ibid., 14.

<sup>713</sup> Ibid.

origins, and that gave legitimacy to his project, which also portrayed the United States as a country only interested in trade and business and not culture at all. Otherwise said, Curt Lange was a competitor on the cultural front. Pablo Palomino emphasizes that creation of the Music Division “was an open dismissal of Lange’s Inter-American Institute of Musicology.”<sup>714</sup> In relation to this musicological episode, Corinne A. Pernet similarly agrees, “when it came to establishing the Inter-American Music Center,” wrote the scholar, “the power of the U.S. and its desire to be at the center of cultural initiatives was palpable in the decision to completely ignore Lange’s Inter-American Institute of Musicology in Montevideo and establish the center in Washington, DC.”<sup>715</sup>

Nelson A. Rockefeller sent a letter to Charles Seeger on February 8, 1941, in which he wrote, “It is a pleasure to confirm your appointment as Director of the Inter-American Music Center at an annual salary of \$4,600. Your headquarters will be located at the Pan American Union Building.”<sup>716</sup> The document also stated, “In addition to your official duties, it is my understanding that you will cooperate with the Director of the Pan American Union, and serve without additional compensation as the Chief of the Music Division of the Pan American Union.”<sup>717</sup> The organization’s genesis came from the Conference on Inter-American Relations

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<sup>714</sup> Palomino, “Nationalist, Hemispheric, and Global,” 4.

<sup>715</sup> Corinne A. Pernet, “For the Genuine Culture of the Americas’: Musical Folklore and the Cultural Politics of Pan Americanism, 1933–50,” in *Decentering America*, ed. Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), 148. Nonetheless, Pernet approach this period from a different perspective, and “takes Latin Americans—their motivations and actions—seriously as actors in their relations with the United States.” She claims that the disenchantment with the United States and European policies and conflicts led Latin America “to challenge the notion of European or North American cultural superiority” and created an opportunity for them to reflect and embrace their multiethnic constitution and identity. See *Ibid.*, 134-142.

<sup>716</sup> Currently \$80,486.86. The Seeger Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., “Letter from Nelson A. Rockefeller to Charles Seeger,” February 8, 1941 (hereafter SLC), folder Correspondence R, box 14.

<sup>717</sup> *Ibid.*, and for a first-hand account of Charles Seeger’s experience at the Pan-American Union Music Division, see Charles Seeger, Adelaide G. Tusler, and Ann B. Schuursma, “Tape Number: VI, Side I (December 1, 1966)”

in the Field of Music in 1939, sponsored by the State Department Division of Cultural Relations, and the funding was provided by the “American Council of Learned Societies, the Library of Congress, the Council of National Defense, and the Carnegie Corporation.”<sup>718</sup> Its basic function, according to Leila Fern, was “to act as a clearing house for inter-American music exchange.”<sup>719</sup> Nonetheless, the fact of Latin America’s absence in the Music Division’s founding as well as the funding sources, all of them coming from the United States, made it clear that its creation served mostly U.S. foreign-policy interests.

Charles Seeger was a multifaceted musician who began his career as an avant-garde composer and theorist, then aligned himself with the ultra-modernist music movement in the United States.<sup>720</sup> Seeger’s wide range of intellectual interests engaged him in multiple disciplines, beyond music composition, with other humanities and social sciences and professional positions.<sup>721</sup> Taylor Atkin Greer explains that as the Great Depression impacted U.S. society, Seeger and his composer colleague/wife Ruth Crawford (1901-1953) turned toward expressing social consciousness and a socialist aesthetic in their musical and non-

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in *Reminiscences of an American musicologist oral history transcript: Charles Seeger* (Los Angeles: University of California Oral History Program, 1972), 294-323.

<sup>718</sup> Charles Seeger, “Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music,” *Music Educators Journal* 27/5 (1941): 17.

<sup>719</sup> Fern breaks down more in detail this institution’s main objective: “Four major divisions of this all-inclusive function were contemplated: first, the Center was to serve as the Music Division of the Pan American Union and to have charge of music activities there; second, it was to organize and maintain a music collection and to develop a system of loans; third, it was to serve as a center of information on all matters pertaining to Latin American music; and fourth, it was to compile and publish book lists, handbooks, descriptive biographies, and other materials useful in study and research. In addition to these originally outlined functions, the Center was asked to assume administration of a series of projects originating in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, by means of which music cooperation between the Americas was to be advanced.” See Leila Fern, “Origin and Functions of the Inter-American Music Center,” *Notes* 1/1 (1943): 14.

<sup>720</sup> Taylor Atkin Greer, *A Question of Balance: Charles Seeger’s Philosophy of Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 1. See also a Seeger’s biography in Malik Sharif, “Charles Seeger’s Biography,” in *Speech about Music: Charles Seeger’s Meta-Musicology* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2019), 33-54.

<sup>721</sup> *Ibid.*

musical works.<sup>722</sup> Besides embracing folk music, joining the Composers' Collective and founding the New York Musicological Society, among other professional activities, Seeger "became immersed in the idealism of Roosevelt's New Deal."<sup>723</sup> This political position led him to work in institutions associated with the New Deal's musical activism, such as Roosevelt's Resettlement Administration (RA) from 1935 to 1937.<sup>724</sup> Ann M. Pescatello explains that "The music program intended to encourage social integration, to act as a corrective to the disruptions suffered by people uprooted from their homes and thrown together in new communities by using familiar music idioms, particularly folk song."<sup>725</sup>

During this period, Seeger realized that music could be used as a social change tool to empower communities. At the same time, the field recordings, their study, and their publication helped construct a collective musical folk memory with the people's music. In other words, the historical milieu for Seeger and his colleague/wife Ruth Crawford represented an artistic and life-turning point at which "one had to look beyond 'art' music and work with the music people valued."<sup>726</sup> Later, in 1935 the Roosevelt administration created the Federal Music Program (FMP) of the Work Projects Administration (WAP).<sup>727</sup> Accordingly, the Federal Music Program aimed to support unemployed artists financially with federal commissions, such that "new forms of educational and cultural activity have taken root and

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<sup>722</sup> Greer., 14.

<sup>723</sup> Greer., 14. To gain a firsthand account about Seeger's immersion in the United States' folk music, see the interview William R. Ferris and Charles Seeger, "Touching the Music: Charles Seeger," *Southern Cultures* 16/3, *Roots Music* (2010): 54-72.

<sup>724</sup> See Ann M. Pescatello, "The New Deal and Music, 1935-1941," in *Charles Seeger: A Life in American Music* (Pittsburg and London: University of Pittsburgh, 1992), 136-172.

<sup>725</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>726</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>727</sup> Charles Seeger, "Music and Government," *papers read by members of the American Musicological Society at the Annual Meeting* (September 11th to 16th, 1939): 12.

found a place in our community life.”<sup>728</sup> The FMP program was under the umbrella of the Federal Four Arts Program and conductor/violinist Dr. Nikolai Sokoloff (1886-1965), who outlined its objectives with the previous principal goal of improving the musicians’ living standards.<sup>729</sup>

In the cultural history of the United States, government involvement in the arts during the New Deal era represented a unique case in which the state became involved in art sponsorship and “constituted the most ambitious, innovative, and intensive effort that the federal government had undertaken to foster artistic and cultural activity.”<sup>730</sup> Andrea Franzius noticed that during the 1930s and 1940s, U.S. society became conscious of the importance of music as a powerful and transnational communicative channel of ideas and values, because:

Music, with its singular status as a cultural lingua franca and its combination of universal humanist and culturally and ethnically particularistic elements, seemed especially well suited to provide a cultural bond both nationally and internationally: for the recreation of American national identity during the Great Depression, and for the creation of a defensive hemispheric and later global community in the fight.<sup>731</sup>

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<sup>728</sup> Ashley Pettis, “The WPA and the American Composer,” *The Musical Quarterly* 26/1 (1940): 103.

<sup>729</sup> Paul J. Weaver listed them as: “(1) The need for giving physical relief to professional musicians registered on relief rolls; (2) the establishing and maintaining of professional standards on a high level, by reclassification of those musicians and establishing the minimum technical requirements; (3) the stimulating of community interest in social and recreational music; (4) the creation of a large, intelligent musical public by establishing high standards of taste and musical knowledge, thereby creating a demand for professional employment; and (5) the demonstration to the public at large that a constructive educational work is being carried out along with direct relief. In describing the practical application of the plan Dr. Sokoloff has emphasized three points: (a) That local audition boards will be established in every city where a Federal music project is under way, to make sure that those who are assigned to various parts of the work are well qualified to do their tasks; (b) that those accepted for the music project shall, so far as possible, serve in the communities where they live; and (c) that the music project shall be so organized as not to interfere with the work through which other musicians in the given community are earning their livings.” See Paul J. Weaver, “Music and the Government,” *Music Educators Journal* 22/3 (1935): 13.

<sup>730</sup> Roy Rosenzweig and Barbara Melosh, “Government and the Arts: Voices from the New Deal Era,” *The Journal of American History* 77/2 (1990): 597. The authors also clarify: “The largest and best-known of those projects were the four sponsored by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) as part of its relief efforts in the second half of the 1930s: the Federal Art Project (FAP), the Federal Music Project (FMP), the Federal Writers’ Project (FWP), and the Federal Theatre Project.” Ibid.

<sup>731</sup> Andrea Franzius, “Forging Music into Ideology: Charles Seeger and the Politics of Cultural Pluralism in American Domestic and Foreign Policy,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 56/3 (2011): 348.

Traditionally, unlike Europe or Latin America, the United States' liberal culture left arts cultivation to private foundations and individual patronage. Seeger, who understood the positive and balanced symbiosis between arts and government, believed that "Both government and music are functions of a culture. Most of the time each performs its function separately from the other. When they function together," then, "we may look at the situation either as (1) government enters into the field of music, or (2) music enters into the field of government."<sup>732</sup> Additionally, Seeger thought that musicologists could mediate by being activists and social agents to design cultural public policies that would enhance democracy and its values.<sup>733</sup> Simultaneously, Seeger believed in the arts and people's agency to develop transnational and meta-government international relations among artists to foster communication and exchange.<sup>734</sup> Thus, for him, arts was part of politics, and vice versa.

The *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* announced the Music Division's creation and its principal purpose: to "function as a clearing house for information concerning the music of the Americas."<sup>735</sup> The article embraced the Pan American Union's efforts to promote Latin American music in the United States and, as Seeger mentioned, "make the division serve as an instrument of genuine cultural cooperation and friendship among the 21 American republics."<sup>736</sup> The musician similarly explained about the musical exchange that "we hope to accelerate the ever-increasing interest of individuals and organizations everywhere throughout

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<sup>732</sup> Seeger, "Music and Government," 15.

<sup>733</sup> See, for example, Charles Seeger, "Music as a Factor in Cultural Strategy in America," *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society* 3 (1939), 17-18.

<sup>734</sup> Charles Seeger, "The Arts in International Relations," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 2/1 (1949): 36-43.

<sup>735</sup> "Pan American News: Music Division established at the Pan American Union," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 75/4 (1941), 251.

<sup>736</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

the United States in the music, both classical and popular, of our neighbors to the south, and likewise the interest of the Latin Americans in ours.”<sup>737</sup>

The same year, from his Pan American Music Union position, Seeger launched the *Inter-American Music Week* and Music-in-Education initiative *Music for Uniting the Americas*, which “With a more basic understanding of our already existent cultural ties with the South American Republics and with increased emphasis on the importance of cementing further our music cultural relations with our friends in the south,” he contended, “we shall be contributing in a major way to hemispheric solidarity and unity.”<sup>738</sup> The enterprise consisted in sponsoring goodwill tours to South America involving Music Educators National Conference representatives, and it received institutional support from U.S. government agencies such as the Coordinator’s Office.<sup>739</sup>

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<sup>737</sup> Ibid.

<sup>738</sup> See Charles Seeger, “Inter-American Music Week,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 75/7 (1941), 411-412 and Ibid., “Music for Uniting the Americas,” *Music Educators Journal* 27/6 (1941): 12.

<sup>739</sup> For example, music educators John W. Beattie (Dean of the School of Music of Northwestern University) and Louis Woodson Curtis (Supervisor of Music in the Los Angeles Public Schools) visited Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. Their objectives were: “(1) To survey the present state of music in the schools, music schools and universities of the countries visited. (2) To lecture upon music education in the United States on invitation, the lectures to be supplemented by materials, moving pictures, etc., which will adequately illustrate music education as a vital part of education in the United States. (3) To bring back to the United States music and other materials for Music Educators National Conference, which will be useful to music education in the United States. In this connection the Music Division of the Pan-American Union will cooperate closely. (4) To establish personal contact with the leaders of music education in Latin America upon the basis of which correspondence and cooperative activities concerned with future relationships both with individuals and organizations can flourish to the best advantages.” See Seeger, “Music for Uniting the Americas.” Moreover, Gilbert Chase wrote that: “In cooperation with the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, it sponsored a survey of music in the public schools of certain South American countries by Dean John W. Beattie of the School of Music of Northwestern University and Louis Woodson Curtis, Supervisor of Music in the schools of Los Angeles, California. Messrs. Beattie and Curtis published several articles about their trip in the *Music Educators Journal*. The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs sponsored the tour through South America of the Yale Glee Club under the direction of Marshall Bartholomew, who at the same time undertook a survey of choral materials in the Americas that might be suitable for use in furthering inter-American musical exchange. The same office also sponsored South American tours by the American Ballet Caravan and by a Wind Quintet made up of five composer-players from the United States. In August, five musicians from Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Brazil and Uruguay were enabled to attend the summer courses of the Berkshire Music Center at Lenox, Massachusetts.” See Gilbert Chase, “Music: General Statement,” in *Handbook of Latin American*

Regarding European music, Seeger opined that European music was hegemonic on the American continent due to its “status of domination over two other cultures of continental magnitude which have flourished in the hemisphere.”<sup>740</sup> Seeger called its stateside cultivation within a post-independence phase as Neo-Europeanism, which he seized “as a negative acculturative factor [that] still holds sway in the fine art of music among very substantial segments of population throughout the hemisphere.”<sup>741</sup> In the field of art music, Seeger pointed to contexts in Latin America and the United States regarding composers and modern compositional styles, which he called “one world.”<sup>742</sup> Therefore, the musicologist firstly advocated for “Folk and popular idioms [that] represent more a break-away from European tutelage,” and secondly emphasized that the same—folk and popular idioms—could promote a better understanding and unified transmission path when taught at the public school system in the United States and Latin America.<sup>743</sup> Seeger approached his new role with intersectionality and his main objective was “first and foremost to persuade Latin American ruling classes . . . to help make the Good Neighbor policy of Franklin Roosevelt a reality.”<sup>744</sup> Hence, he launched a diverse scope of music project initiatives such as publications, radio programs, recordings, exchanges among educators, scholars and musicians, and a library to contribute to U.S. cultural diplomacy.<sup>745</sup>

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*Studies: 1940, no. 6*, ed. Miron Burgin for the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), 439.

<sup>740</sup> Charles Seeger, “The Cultivation of Various European Traditions of Music in the New World,” in *Studies in Musicology 1935-1975* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 195.

<sup>741</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>742</sup> Charles Seeger, “Music and Musicology in the New World,” in *Studies in Musicology 1935-1975* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 215

<sup>743</sup> *Ibid.*, 215. See also Seeger, “Music for Uniting the Americas.”

<sup>744</sup> Pescatello, “The Pan American Years, 1941-1953,” 174.

<sup>745</sup> *Ibid.*



As an advocate for education, Seeger aimed to promote mutual understanding among the American republics, and these were in fact ventures to include “folk music and Latin American music in the curricula of U.S. public schools.”<sup>746</sup> Within the organization, Seeger surrounded himself with important collaborators from different fields including musicology, music education, performance and arts administration.<sup>747</sup> Regarding education, Seeger likewise initiated a campaign from the organization with the objective to enforce royalty payments from U.S. media outlets, such as radio stations and music publishers, to Latin American popular and classical composers. Within the United States a significant number of Latin American musical products circulated without compensating the authors’ intellectual property.

As Pablo Palomino explains, “The amazing expansion of Latin American music styles and artists in the U.S. during the war through Hollywood and Tin Pan Alley could hardly be matched by the efforts of cultural diplomats.”<sup>748</sup> Hence, a group of representatives from Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela met in Havana, Cuba on November 22, 1941, during the Second American Conference of National Committees of Intellectual Cooperation, and together they founded the Inter-American Federation of Societies of Authors and Composers.<sup>749</sup> The constitution of this organization led Seeger to understand that the United States was behind in comparison to the rest of the Inter-American system.

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<sup>746</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>747</sup> For example: Vanett Lawlor (1903-1972), Music-in-Education; Blanche Walton (1871-1963), patron for the arts; Margaret Valiant (1901-1982), ethnographer; Sidney Robertson Cowell (1903–1995), ethnographer; Constance Seeger (1886-1975), performer and music educator; Ruth Seeger (1901-1953), composer; Gustavo Durán (1906–1969), composer; Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo (1905-1992), musicologist; Henry Cowell (1897-1965), composer; Pedro San Juan (1887-1976), composer, and later Guillermo Espinosa (1905-1990), conductor. Ibid., 175-180.

<sup>748</sup> Palomino, “Nationalist, Hemispheric, and Global,” 11.

<sup>749</sup> “Inter-American Federation of Societies of Authors and Composers,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 76/3 (1942), 176. See also, for example, the article about phonograph records on the American continent in Charles Seeger, “Notes on Music in the Americas,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 78/11 (1944), 627-631.

Therefore, regarding the connection between copyrights, reciprocity and U.S. cultural diplomacy, Seeger claimed, “No single factor does more to impeded development of music exchange among the American Republics than the confused state of affairs respecting property rights in musical works.”<sup>750</sup> The Music Division Chief observed that:

Hundreds of Latin America works, from scores of symphonies and chamber music to *rumbas* and *cuecas* have been published here. ...It is to the interest of Latin American composers, therefore, to know something of the copyright protection available in the United States as well as something of the hazards they may encounter in this country.<sup>751</sup>

Due to World War II, the scarcity of resources impacted the production and circulation of the music publishing industry on the American continent. The publication *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (1945) explained that “Publication of both music and books about music reflected, during the year, the ultimate hardships of war conditions. Even more to be deplored was the lag in shipment to the United States of what actually appeared in print.”<sup>752</sup> However, the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (1945) also gives a prolific list of periodicals Latin America.<sup>753</sup>

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<sup>750</sup> Charles Seeger, “Notes on Music in the Americas,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 79/3 (1945), 149.

<sup>751</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>752</sup> Charles Seeger, “Music,” in *Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1945, no 11*, ed. Miron Burgin for the Library of Congress (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), 343.

<sup>753</sup> See for example: *Armonía* (Panama), *Boletín de la Academia de Música Alcedo* (Perú), *Conservatorio* (Cuba), *Música Sacra* (Brazil), *Orientación Musical* (México), *Polifonía* (Argentina), *Noticario Ricordi* (Argentina), *Resenha Musical* (Brazil), *SADAIC* (Argentina), *Schola Cantorum* (Mexico) and the new founded periodicals *Audem: Asociación uruguaya de músicos* (Uruguay), *Boletín de la Asociación de Profesores de Música* (Perú), *Boletín Musical* (formerly *Boletín Musical de Novedades*) (Cuba), *Brasil Musical* (Brazil), *Carnet Musical* (Domenican Republic), *Contrapunto: Revista de cultura y crítica musical* (México), *Mundo Musical* (Argentina), *Música: Revista de la Asociación Musical Juvenil* (Guatemala), *La Música de la Escuela* (Argentina), *Revista Musical* (Domenican Republic), *Revista Musical Chilena* (Chile), *Revista Musical Peruana* (Perú 1939-1945) and *Vida Musical: Revista de arte para todos los chilenos* (Chile). *Ibid.*, 345-346.

The Music Division at the Pan American Union played a significant role in U.S. cultural diplomacy. Although it promoted U.S.-American national interests, the music and musicians from Latin America obtained better benefits with the institutional publications, radio programs and events. Simultaneously, the United States' music and composers did not obtain the same projection in Latin America. Seeger thought that while the United States became an epicenter for Latin American cultural products, "On the other hand, publication of North American music lags on the rest of the continent."<sup>754</sup> The Music Division enhanced the role and scope of music in the system of international during the postwar years, when UNESCO was founded. Pablo Palomino explains that the Pan American Music Union's "institutional and ideological energies were re-articulated on a fully global scale after the war," and "from the perspective of the history of the globalization of culture, the Music Division provided legitimacy, in the space of just a few years, to specific strands—folklore, art music compositions, musical pedagogy—of a vaster musical democratization produced by artists, repertoires, airwaves, experts, and musical associations, increasingly connecting with each other across the world."<sup>755</sup>

### **Tanglewood (1941)**

The Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood opened its second season on July 6, 1941.<sup>756</sup> After Randall Thompson's *Alleluia* was performed in the new Theater-Concert Hall, Mr. Penrose Hallowell introduced Dr. Serge Koussevitzky, who expressed his gratitude to a

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<sup>754</sup> Charles Seeger, "Notes on Music in the Americas," 151.

<sup>755</sup> Palomino, "Nationalist, Hemispheric, and Global," 15.

<sup>756</sup> "The Berkshire Music Center Opening Exercises and Dr. Koussevitzky's Address," July 6, 1941, SKALC, folder 7, box 173. See also Ross Parmenter, "A Dream Fulfilled: Dr. Koussevitzky Attains His Ideal in The Berkshire Music Center," *New York Times*, July 6, 1941, X5. See all the works by Latin American composer in APPENDIX C and APPENDIX D.

group of music patrons for their contribution toward the new Berkshire Music Center buildings' construction before giving his address.<sup>757</sup> Next the conductor mentioned Marie Louise Bok (1876-1970) as "one who has contributed so largely to the development of the musical life in America," and thanked "Mr. Lucien Wulsin and Mr. Wyman of the Baldwin Piano Company, who have, in addition, sent a generous supply of pianos for the Center."<sup>758</sup> Koussevitzky, among other public personalities, acknowledged the architects Mr. Eliel Saarinen (1873-1950) and Eero Saarinen (1910-1951), "without whom these beautiful and highly original buildings would never have been realized."<sup>759</sup>

In his address, Koussevitzky shared with the audience that "new questions confront us also."<sup>760</sup> Following this, the conductor inquired, "First of all, how [do we] listen to serious music not as an idle pastime, but so that the music will penetrate into the living consciousness of the people?" and "How and on what basis to bring about a fertile and creative contact between youth and their elders in the field of professional musical activity?"<sup>761</sup> Koussevitzky expressed his concern about the people's access to music and music-making. He voiced that "The aim of general musical development is to bring the masses to music and thereby introduce music into life . . . but in a cultural way."<sup>762</sup> In order to achieve it, the conductor advocated for "breaking down the artificial barriers between the 'initiated' and the 'non-initiated.'"<sup>763</sup> It would expose people to making music together by participating and making music part of people's life, because Koussevitzky hoped for the people to reach "the truly

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<sup>757</sup> "The Berkshire Music Center Opening Exercises and Dr. Koussevitzky's Address," 1.

<sup>758</sup> Ibid.

<sup>759</sup> Ibid.

<sup>760</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>761</sup> Ibid.

<sup>762</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>763</sup> Ibid.

spiritual essence of music, which stands high above the level of vulgar amusement and musical diversions.”<sup>764</sup> Then he pointed to European culture as an example, where “art was detached from the people,” and called for the musicians’ agency to use Music-in-Education programs to eliminate this problem.<sup>765</sup> This is the reason why Koussevitzky created the Academy at Tanglewood.

Koussevitzky continued his address and engaged with the second principal topic, the “Professional sphere,” and indicated that at the Berkshire Music Center “The courses here outlined in general terms covers all spheres of musical culture in the fields of education, execution and creative work.”<sup>766</sup> Perhaps due to being in the middle of World War II, Koussevitzky stated that the musicians/artists “in the field of arts must stand vigilantly at [her]his post, ‘on guard,’” and show discipline by “defending it from inner decline and outer disruption,” and always “be ‘armed’ with knowledge and skill.”<sup>767</sup> His conclusive statement enthusiastically demanded musicians to work “afame with sacred love for that which we serve and those whom we serve – that is to say, for living art and living men.”<sup>768</sup> In his speech, Koussevitzky appealed to the Tanglewood participants with his metaphorical language to strive for unity.

The press reviewed the participation of the first Latin American group. In an article published at the *Times* from Hartford, Connecticut, the newspaper wrote that “Five distinguished young musicians, chosen representatives of five Latin-American republics, have

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<sup>764</sup> Ibid.

<sup>765</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>766</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>767</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>768</sup> Ibid.

arrived at Tanglewood in the Berkshire Hills for a special purpose.”<sup>769</sup> The article mentioned that the fellows were greeted during a reception by Serge Koussevitzky, Aaron Copland, Carleton Sprague Smith and Puerto Rican pianist Jesús María Sanromá (1902-1984).<sup>770</sup> Among all the fellows, the Mexican Blas Galindo was the only composer, and the article finished with the statement that “They all have come through scholarships offered by the Berkshire Music Center.”<sup>771</sup> An article by the *Berkshire Evening Eagle* echoed this information; nevertheless, it added some additional perspectives. Within a rhetorical construction articulated and synchronized according to the utopian ideal of the Good Neighbor Policy, the article begins by pointing out that the objective of the scholarships is to exercise the principle of exchange; hence, it states, “The scholarships will further, it is believed, a mutually beneficial reciprocity between the two Americas.”<sup>772</sup> However, this sentence contradicts itself because in the American continent is divided into two parts, the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon. The article continues by enumerating which country occupies the superstructure position in “music development” and which are the base by affirming that, “it will bring to our closer attention the remarkable music talent, which is fast developing among our southern neighbors.”<sup>773</sup> It concludes by reaffirming who is going to benefit “while enabling its representatives to profit by the unprecedented interpretative opportunities of the Boston Symphony Orchestra’s

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<sup>769</sup> “Latin Americans Study at Tanglewood,” *Times*, July 18, 1941.

<sup>770</sup> Jesús M. Sanromá was the Boston Symphony Orchestra pianist and a champion of new music works. For a complete biography about this outstanding musician, see Alberto Hernández, *Jesús María Sanromá: An American Twentieth-Century Pianist* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2008). “Latin Americans Study at Tanglewood,” *Times*, July 18, 1941.

<sup>771</sup> The rest of the fellows were: Marcelo Montecino (Chile), Alfredo Ianelli (Argentina), Alejandro Zagarra (Colombia), and Althea Alimonda (Brazil). See *Ibid.*

<sup>772</sup> “Musicians of Latin America Given Dinner,” *Berkshire Evening Eagle*, July 19, 1941.

<sup>773</sup> *Ibid.*

summer school.”<sup>774</sup> The composition faculty in 1941 were again Aaron Copland and Paul Hindemith. This season was the last for the German composer, because he wished to dedicate his time to composition during the summer after being appointed as a Professor of Music at Yale University.<sup>775</sup>

### **Heitor Villa-Lobos’ *Chôros no. 10***

The Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos is an iconic figure of twentieth-century music in Brazil, Latin America, and the Western classical tradition. Following his artistic experience as a modern composer in Brazil and Europe, Villa-Lobos began a new phase in his career as a conductor, which brought him into the United States of America and enabled him to promote his music.<sup>776</sup> The international context that redirected Villa-Lobos’s career toward North America was World War II (1939-1945) and the Good Neighbor policy between Brazil and the United States. Villa-Lobos’s music was part of the New York World’s Fair in 1939 and the concerts at the Museum of Modern Art in 1940, organized by Nelson A. Rockefeller.<sup>777</sup>

Loque Arcanjo Júnior reasons that Villa-Lobos’s music in the United States, especially during the Good Neighbor period, provided an opportunity for the composer “to think about the diffusion of Brazilian culture outside the country.”<sup>778</sup> Regarding the interplay and dialogue of Villa-Lobos’s compositions with the international art-music scene, Arcanjo Júnior states

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<sup>774</sup> Ibid.

<sup>775</sup> Noss, *Paul Hindemith in the United States*, 76.

<sup>776</sup> David Appleby, “The United States,” in *Heitor Villa-Lobos: A Life (1887-1959)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 135-154.

<sup>777</sup> Ibid., 135-136.

<sup>778</sup> Loque Arcanjo, “Um músico brasileiro em Nova York: o Pan-Americanismo na obra de Heitor Villa-Lobos (1939-1945),” *Revista Estudos Políticos* 6/2 (2016): 479-480.

that it “must be thought of as an exercise to analyze the place of Brazil in the international scenario of the 20th century . . . for the construction of what we call ‘nation.’”<sup>779</sup>

Since his previous time in Paris, Villa-Lobos had known conductor Serge Koussevitzky, who showed appreciation toward the Brazilian composer’s music by performing and, later, commissioning it.<sup>780</sup> Therefore, Koussevitzky selected and performed *Chôros no. 10* “Rasga o Coração” (1926) with the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Berkshire Musical Association choir at the center’s opening. A work already known in the United States, it fulfilled the function of introducing Latin American art music to Tanglewood audiences as well as of opening the path for the incoming performances of Latin American works at orchestra and chamber-music concerts, which aligned with Good Neighbor cultural diplomacy.<sup>781</sup> The Brazilian composer was also a friend of choral conductor Hugh Ross—the choral director at the Schola Cantorum of New York—who was appointed in 1941 as the head of the choral department at the Berkshire Music Center.

According to Lisa M. Peppercorn, the U.S. premiere performance of *Chôros no. 10*, in a concert at Carnegie Hall on January 15, 1930, established Ross’s reputation as a first-rate choral conductor in New York.<sup>782</sup> Hence, the Tanglewood Music Festival heard *Chôros no. 10* on August 1, 1941, sharing the program with Claude Debussy’s (1862-1918) *Prélude à l’après-*

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<sup>779</sup> Ibid.

<sup>780</sup> Koussevitzky commissioned from Villa-Lobos *Madona, Poema sinfonica* in 1945. The work is dedicated to the memory of Natalie Koussevitzky and was commissioned by the conductor with the Natalie Koussevitzky Music Foundation. Villa-Lobos had conducted the world premiere in Rio de Janeiro on October 8, 1946. See Lisa M. Peppercorn, *The Villa-Lobos Letters*, translated and edited by Lisa M. Peppercorn (London: Toccata Press, 1994), 83-85.

<sup>781</sup> This piece was known in Boston because of an interpretation by Koussevitzky, the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Bostonian chorus The Cecilia Society in February 1941. See L. A. Sloper. “Novelties at the Symphony Concerts: Harris Folk-Songs Symphony, Villa-Lobos Work are Heard,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, February 24, 1941.

<sup>782</sup> Lisa M. Peppercorn, *The World of Villa-Lobos in Pictures and Documents* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), 142-143.



*midi d'un faune*, Ludwig van Beethoven's (1770-1827) *Symphony No. 5*, op. 67, and Joseph Haydn's (1732-1809) *Symphony No. 88* in G Major ("Paris"). It was the first Latin American work heard at the Berkshire Music Center, and according to Villa-Lobos:

This work represents the state of a civilized human being face to face with nature. He beholds the valleys of the Amazon, and the vast interior of Goyaz, Mato Grosso and Pará. He is awed by the vastness and the majesty of the universe. The sky, the waters, the woods and the kingdom of birds overwhelm him. He feels as one with the life of the people. Even though they are savages, their songs express longing and love. He responds to the eternal rhythms of nature and humanity. The Brazilian song "Rasga o Coração" is heard and with it the Brazilian heart palpates in unison with the Brazilian earth.<sup>783</sup>

Related to the philosophy of positivism, which impacted Latin America, modernism embodies the notions of "progress" or "civilization," which is represented by technological development. This philosophy establishes contrasting binary elements. In modernism, the dialectical process of contrasting civilization versus "primitivism" is a common creative and discursive trope, and *Chôros* no. 10 exposes this trend as a programmatic piece of music.

The work utilizes the poem *Rasga o Coração* by Catulo da Paixão Cearense (1863-1946) and quotes a polka melody by Anacleto Medeiros (1866-1907).<sup>784</sup> Like many Latin American artists from that time, Heitor Villa-Lobos became an agent in the construction of modernism in Latin America. In 1922, the city of São Paulo became the stage to celebrate the "Week of Modern Art," a significant event organized by artists such as painter Anita Malfatti (1889-1964), musicologist Mario de Andrade (1893-1945), painter Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973), and poet Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954), among others, who sought to depart from the institutionalized romanticism and academicism and to reexamine the role of European and U.S.-American culture in Brazil. Villa-Lobos participated in this event, together with other

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<sup>783</sup> Appleby, *Heitor Villa-Lobos*, 88.

<sup>784</sup> *Ibid.* 87.

Brazilian modern artists, to create a cosmopolitan Brazilian culture whose main philosophical orientation crystalized, after different cultural manifestos, the “Manifesto Antropófago” (1928) by Oswald de Andrade.<sup>785</sup> The metaphor of “cannibalism” consists of an image meant to “devour” the foreign, then digest it, and produce a national cultural product. As Rogério Budasz clarifies, cultural “cannibalism” in Brazil was not about “emulating so-called ‘primitive art’” but about the idea that “they should devour what was useful in the civilization while maintaining their natural, ‘primitive’ state.”<sup>786</sup> In other words, it functions as symbolic act of renovating and revitalizing their own culture.<sup>787</sup>

The *Chôros no. 10* (Rasga o Coração), for chorus and orchestra is a work divided into two main sections, A and B. Section A is completely instrumental, which works as a kind of prelude to section B, featuring the chorus. It begins with the tempo marking *Animé*, and the composer creates an urban atmosphere with “noises,” which suggest a train station—a traditional signifier for civilization in modernity—with the orchestration, octatonic scales and harmony. This soundscape incorporates a *chôro* rhythmic motivic cell, and a trombone introduces a syncopated jazzy theme, which also symbolizes modernity. The section progresses with an ostinato and the *chôro* motivic cell alternating across all the orchestra sections. Next, the composer creates a jungle-like atmosphere with onomatopoeic sounds of

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<sup>785</sup> Brazilian artists published different cultural manifestos; for example, “Arte moderno” (1922) by Menotti del Picchia (1892-1988); “Klaxon” (1922) and “Manifesto da poesia pau-brasil” (1924) by Oswald de Andrade; “A Arte Moderna” (1924) by Joaquín Inojosa (1901-?) and “Manifesto Antropófago” (1925) by Oswald de Andrade. See Margara Russoto, “Manifestos del modernism brasileño: 1922-1928,” *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana* 8/15, Las Vanguardias en América Latina (1982): 151-170. See also Leslie Bary, “Oswald De Andrade’s ‘Cannibalist Manifesto,’” *Latin American Literary Review* 19/38 (1991): 35-37, and a translation into English in Oswald De Andrade and Leslie Bary, “Cannibalist Manifesto,” *Latin American Literary Review* 19/38 (1991): 38-47.

<sup>786</sup> Rogério Budasz, “Of Cannibals and the Recycling of Otherness,” *Music & Letters* 187/1 (2005): 2

<sup>787</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-14.

birds (flute and clarinet) and insects (violin tremolo), which interplays with a descending octatonic motive or its segments, performed either by brass or woodwinds. Nonetheless, this pure, vast natural soundscape is abruptly interrupted by an ascending chromatic scale that leads toward an interlude, which ends on a tutti (*ffff*), one of the work's climaxes. This gesture prepares the forthcoming, intense B section.

The B section (*Très peu animé et bien rythmé*) begins with an ostinato that circulates across the orchestra sections. The choir (SATB) begins its exposition's theme with a polyphonic texture that juxtaposes signifiers of "primitivism" (the onomatopoeic language of the "Brazilian indigenous") together with the urban and "civilized" melody of the song *Rasga o Coração*. The composer also supports the sound atmosphere and identity of this section with Brazilian percussion instruments such as the *tambourin de provence*, *caisse claire*, *tambour*, *caxambu*, *pulta*, *caisse en bois* (big/small), *recoreco* (big/small), *xucalho* (wood/metal), *grande caisse*, and *tam-tam* (big).<sup>788</sup> The alto saxophone (Eb), an instrument rarely used in symphony orchestras—perhaps because of its racial connotations with jazz music—is included, and it represents modernity. In addition, the polyrhythms, polymeters and polytonality also contribute to the modern "primitive" music atmosphere and musical discourse.

In *Chôros no. 10*, Júlia Zanlorenzi Tygel finds two contrasting logical, rhetorical and cultural elements, development and repetition, that represent the work's cultural hybridity between the indigenous and European culture.<sup>789</sup> Tygel mentions the composer's use of development in the first section as a signifier for European values, such as a linear

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<sup>788</sup> Heitor Villa-Lobos, *Chôros no. 10 "Rasga o Coração"* (Paris: Eschig, 1928).

<sup>789</sup> Júlia Zanlorenzi Tygel, "Villa-Lobos: *Chôro* no. 10 – um outro nacionalismo?," in *XXII Congresso da Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Música – João Pessoa* – (2012): 2285.

conceptualization of time.<sup>790</sup> The indigenous part is represented with the repetition in connection to philosophical notions of circular time, a widespread belief in indigenous communities.<sup>791</sup> In this eclectic work, Villa-Lobos translates the cultural “cannibalism” into the sound’s sphere, and it devours the first section’s European aesthetic and discourse to produce Brazilian musical text. Therefore, Villa-Lobos formally established order by presenting the European material first, which was culturally devoured in the second section and transformed into a Brazilian modern music.

Regarding the work’s reception, Heitor Villa-Lobos was already a well-established composer and the performances of his music received critical attention and space in the press.

Oscar Thompson from the *New York Sun* wrote that:

. . . it remains a strange and absorbing composition that is little known. The use of various curious pulsatile instruments, including a glass bottle filled with gravel and called a *caxambu*, results in a succession of unusual effects in the long instrumental introduction that leads into the choral section. With the entry of the voices, the work becomes a rhythmic orgy. Last night’s performance was genuinely a stirring one, if not faultless in its coordination.<sup>792</sup>

The *New York Sun* critic mentioned that the unconventional percussion instruments added to the orchestral setting, which represents the composer’s Brazilian identity as well as the work’s semantics. The music critic for the *Springfield Evening Union*, Willard M. Clark, pointed out that:

According to the composer, it represents a new form in musical composition in which synthesized the different modalities of Brazilian Indian and popular music, having for principal elements rhythm and any typical melody of popular character. Percussion instruments, new and strange to North American orchestras are used effectively and the music at times becomes downright brutal, yet it has contrasting passages of simply melodies . . . It is difficult music to sing and the chorus came through nobly.<sup>793</sup>

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<sup>790</sup> Ibid.

<sup>791</sup> Ibid.

<sup>792</sup> Oscar Thompson, “Debut of Chorus at Stockbridge: Koussevitzky Conducts a Villa-Lobos Novelty,” *New York Sun*, August 1, 1941. Italics mine.

<sup>793</sup> Willard M. Clark, “Biggest Crowd at the Opening of Concert Series: Boston Symphony Delights Thousands by Program at Tanglewood,” *The Springfield Evening Union*, August 1, 1941.

For the U.S.-American critics, to grasp Villa-Lobos' music was not an easy task due to their theoretical and aesthetic frame, in which hybrid music works did not correspond with the traditional Eurocentric music and cultural theories. Namely, any signifiers as instruments and semantics that generated the association with “pre-modern” civilizations immediately triggered the exoticism discourse. During the Good Neighbor era, however, criticism encoded this narrative with the goal of exercising the fictional ethnic-diplomacy principle of sameness between the North and the Southern republics.

### **Blas Galindo**

Blas Galindo was born on February 3, 1910, in San Gabriel, Jalisco state.<sup>794</sup> He grew up in a village where popular music was a significant part of their community culture and life.<sup>795</sup> Galindo started his musical life as a choir singer, and he took solfège and piano lessons with Antonio Velasco.<sup>796</sup> From 1929 to 1931, Galindo worked as an organist, choir master and band director, positions that his former teacher Velasco left, until the future composer moved to Mexico City to study law.<sup>797</sup> However, life had different plans for the musician, because upon his arrival in the city, Juan Santana, a member of *Orquesta Sinfónica de México*, invited Galindo to hear the orchestra's rehearsal with a full program dedicated to Mexican composers, conducted by Carlos Chávez and Silvestre Revueltas (1899-1940).<sup>798</sup>

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<sup>794</sup> Xochiquétzal Ruiz Ortiz, “Blas Galindo: Una vida dedicada a la música,” in *Blas Galindo: biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (México D.F.: CENIDIM, 1994): 17.

<sup>795</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>796</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>797</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>798</sup> *Ibid.*

Galindo enrolled at the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música* in Mexico City to study composition with José Rolón (1876–1945), Candelario Huízar (1882–1970), and Carlos Chávez, among other musicians.<sup>799</sup> Chávez had a composition class with anti-academic and scholastic methods named *Taller de creación musical*.<sup>800</sup> As a request from Chávez in 1940, who was organizing the cultural event *Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art* at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Galindo composed a work that gave him international exposure. *Sones de mariachis*. Chávez praised it by saying that it was “a highly developed, true sonata movement,” showing that he considered it a hybrid of *mestizo* and modern music.<sup>801</sup>

In Tanglewood, Galindo composed and heard the performance of his wind sextet’s work *Sexteto de alientos*. A mostly diatonic one-movement work, whose frequent tempo marking and extend time signature changes (irregular time) generates a sort of pastoral energy and atmosphere. Although the work contains multiple sections, generally speaking from a macro-level perspective, it implies a ternary form. The work is based on a popular music melody, exposed after a brief introduction, whose motives are developed (inversion, fragmentation, expansion, augmentation, and diminution) along it, with some ostinatos and rising and falling melodic sequences. Its rhythmic simplicity and delineated form align it with neoclassicism. Unfortunately, this work performance was not reviewed by the music critics.

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<sup>799</sup> Ibid.

<sup>800</sup> Ibid., 20

<sup>801</sup> Carlos Chávez, “Introduction,” in *Mexican Music*, translated by Herbert Weinstock (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, May 1940), 11.



**EXAMPLE 3.1.** Blas Galindo, *Sexteto de alientos* (unpublished score). Archive of Ediciones Mexicanas de Música, A.C.

Once back in Mexico, Galindo wrote to Serge Koussevitzky on October 20, 1941, to express his gratitude to the conductor for “sending me a collection of books, records and scores representatives of the best works of [U.S.] America . . . because we all have very special interest in knowing deeply the work of North-America.”<sup>802</sup> Then the Mexican composer reaffirmed to his senior colleague that “I am taking great advantage of what I learned there during the past summer.”<sup>803</sup> The Berkshire Music Center sent these kinds of materials to the fellows to promote the United States’ art music on the American continent.

<sup>802</sup> “Letter from Blas Galindo to Serge Koussevitzky,” October 20, 1941, SKALC, folder 16, box 172.

<sup>803</sup> *Ibid.*

## Conclusion

The present chapter has shown how World War II increased the Good Neighbor Policy's speed and range within Latin America. It is unsurprising to find that not only the traditional areas of geopolitics and economics, but also culture, became part of the United States' national-security objectives to ensure the promotion of U.S.-American democracy and capitalism as a counterpoise to fascism in the Western hemisphere. In other words, culture was transformed into a front, too, and it received governmental priority and funds. Therefore, one of the more significant findings to emerge from this chapter is that the Berkshire Music Center, after its first event in 1940, was considered on the surface a cultural-diplomatic venue to promote exchange between the United States and Latin American high culture. However, a deeper analysis shows that the U.S. foreign-policy objective was related to a shift within the World War II context and the final consolidation of the United States as *the* global power in the twentieth century. Accordingly, this chapter demonstrates the centrality of private foundational support (Guggenheim and Rockefeller), which is confirmed by the current findings and shows how the United States government worked in conjunction with them to promote the U.S.'s new geopolitical agenda in Latin America with the objective of protecting its national interest, markets and access to resources. By relying on private foundations, the U.S. government utilized them as a facade to cover U.S. propaganda, and, at the same time, to displace cultural ties to Europe.

Thus, the current chapter's findings, with the support of official documents, add substantially to our understanding about how Aaron Copland, as a member of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs Music Committee members, engaged Nelson A.



Rockefeller, the Music Committee and Serge Koussevitzky to design the Latin America scholarship program at Tanglewood. All these actors, in addition to the newly integrated institution, that is the Music Division at the Pan American Union, articulated U.S. cultural diplomacy toward Latin America and established the United States as the center of musical activities on the American continent.

**CHAPTER IV**  
**The Difficult Years of Transition (1942-1946)**

**Introduction**

The current chapter examines Koussevitzky's vigorous role in keeping the Berkshire Music Center operative in 1942. It also aims to investigate Aaron Copland's trip to Latin America in 1941, as the Cultural Attaché with a grant from the Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations, to study their political and aesthetic agenda in harmony with the United States Good Neighbor Policy objectives. To frame this historical discussion, this chapter examines different documents related to these travels. With respect to the Latin American composers' participation, this chapter demonstrates all the Good Neighbor Policy institutional efforts to incorporate Latin American music and composers (fellows) within the Berkshire Music Center and engages with the participation of Mexicans Blas Galindo (1910-1993) and José Pablo Moncayo (1912-1958) and Cuban Harold Gramatges (1918-2008).

**Historical Context**

The European liberation began with the Allies' D-Day operation on June 6, 1944; meanwhile, the Russians pushed back the Nazi troops from the Eastern Front, and the Pacific war ended with the Japanese capitulation after the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On the other hand, during War World II, most of the Latin American countries came together to design and enforce national and hemispheric policies and actions against Axis attacks, such as protecting the Caribbean and the Panama Canal from German aggression, repressing fascist parties and organizations, participating in multilateral security agreements, and making favorable trade deals that ensured a regular supply of primary products needed for the U.S.

wartime industry.<sup>804</sup> However, not only politics and economics but also culture became a war front, and the United States displayed a cultural diplomacy to reach out to different social classes in Latin America to make U.S.-American culture and values more appealing than the fascist alternative.<sup>805</sup>

### **The Transition to the Next Season in 1942**

Similarly, the report written by Mrs. Margaret Grant, who was the festival administrator, reproduces the institutional reinforcement and commitment to the Good Neighbor Policy narrative:

Furthermore, in our second season we have already become an international institution and are proud and happy to welcome to our midst students from Scotland, Canada, and five Latin-American Republics, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Brazil. ...A group of special interest was the 5 students from Latin-American Republics. These students were presented by virtue of tuition scholarships offered by the Berkshire Music Center in cooperation with the program of the coordinator of Inter-American Affairs to develop intellectual and cultural relations with our neighboring republics [sic].<sup>806</sup>

On August 20, 1941, the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics Travel Section Director, Walter C. Rundle, sent a letter to Margaret Grant to let the music festival know about the fellow's experience. He communicated that "Blas Galindo, Marcelo Montecino, and Alejandro Zagarra came in to see me this morning and told

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<sup>804</sup> See Clayton, Conniff and. Gauss, "Latin America in World War II," in *A New History of Modern Latin America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2017), 386. The different inter-American conferences were the multilateral mechanism to do implement these hemispherical actions. See Boersner, *Relaciones Internacionales de América Latina: Breve Historia*, 180.

<sup>805</sup> Records of the Inter-American Affairs: Inventory of Records Group 229," compiled by Edwin D. Anthony (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Services. General Service Administration, 1973), 1.

<sup>806</sup> Margaret Grant, *Series 16 Annual Reports & Scrapbooks*, (Boston: Tanglewood Music Center, box 1, 1940-1945).

of the value to them of their visit to the Berkshire Music Center and of the courtesies and kindnesses extended to them by you and others at the Music Center.”<sup>807</sup>

Meanwhile, a Department of State letter from September 12, 1941 (no. 448) titled “Music Advisory Committee Appointed by President” shows that several significant U.S.-American personalities in the music field were selected by Franklin D. Roosevelt to lead the Good Neighbor Policy’s musical activities.<sup>808</sup> The text established that:

On September 2, 1941 President Roosevelt approved the appointment of the Advisory Committee on Music to advise the Department of State through the Division of Cultural Relations regarding the stimulation of musical interchange among the American republics and the coordination of activities in this country which concern inter-American music. This action was taken under the authority of section 2 of the Act of August 9, 1939 “An Act to Authorize the President to Render Closer and More Effective the Relationship Between the American Republics.” The Personnel of the Committee, which is to serve jointly during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942 for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and for the Department of States.<sup>809</sup>

The OIAA Music Committee included: Marshall Bartholomew (1885-1978), Yale University Professor of Voice and Glee Club Director; William Berrien (1902-66), Adviser on Latin American Studies for the American Council of Learned Societies; Evans Clark (1888-1970), Twentieth Century Fund; Carleton Sprague Smith (1905-94), New York Public Library's Music Division Chief; Warren D. Allen (1877-1960), Stanford University Professor of Music; John W. Beattie (1885-1962), Northwestern University School of Music Dean; Earl V. Moore (1890-1960), University of Michigan School of Music Director; Russell V. Morgan (1893-1952), Western Reserve University Professor of Music; Davidson Taylor (1907-1979),

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<sup>807</sup> “Letter from Walter C. Rundle to Margaret Grant,” August 20, 1941, SKALC, folder 16, box 172.

<sup>808</sup> See Aaron Copland Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter CCLC), “Correspondence, United States Government,” folder 12, box 355.

<sup>809</sup> “Music Advisory Committee Appointed by President” September 2, 1941 CCLC, folder 12, box 355. Annegret Fauser made a list with its member from 1941 to 1944. Copland did not appear in the fiscal year of 1943 to 1944. See Table 2.3 “Membership of the Advisory Committee for Music, Department of State, 1941-44” in Fauser, *Sounds of War*, 99.

Columbia Broadcasting Service Vice-President Assistant; and Aaron Copland, American Composers Alliance President.<sup>810</sup> This committee's makeup is an example of what David Barton Castle pointed out due to the combination of U.S. foreign policy and the need for experts.<sup>811</sup>

Institutional support after the 1941 experience engaged the Music Center with other organizations to ensure the participation of Latin American musicians once again the next year. On December 6, 1941, the Executive Secretary (Margaret Grant) sent a letter to Dr. William Berrien from the American Council of Learned Societies, copied to Dr. Smith, and specified that:

As you know, we were very happy to have five students from as many Latin-American republics at the Center during the 1941 season. These students were given scholarships by the Center and their traveling and living expenses were taken care of through the committee of which Dr. Smith was then chairman. We would like to know if there is any possibility that a similar plan might be repeated for the 1942 season.<sup>812</sup>

Another unsigned and undated letter, probably from Serge Koussevitzky, arrived at John M. Clark's office, who was the Director for the Cultural Relations Division at the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs Office, and explained, "I am enclosing my check for \$1,164.08, payable to the Treasury of the United States, and representing the refund of the remaining balance on hand after payment of the expenses of the Latin American students at the Berkshire Music Center last summer."<sup>813</sup> The document continues with "I wish to express again my

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<sup>810</sup> Ibid. See also Campbell, "Shaping Solidarity," 54-64 and Hess, "Copland in Argentina," 199.

<sup>811</sup> David Barton Castle, "The Intellectual Foundations of U.S. Latin American Policy in the Early Twentieth Century" (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 1991), 10-20.

<sup>812</sup> "Letter from Executive Secretary to Dr. William Berrien," December 6, 1941, SKALC, folder 16, box 172.

<sup>813</sup> Currently \$20,234.45. See "Letter from unnamed to John M. Clark," undated, SKALC, folder 16, box 172.

appreciation of the cooperation which we received through the office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs,” detailed the letter, “in bringing these gifted and interesting young Latin-American students to the Berkshire Music Center for the 1941 session. They contributed a great deal to the life of the Center, and we hope very much,” continued the conductor “that we in turn have added something in the understanding of the United States and our musical life.”<sup>814</sup> The letter enclosed a final paragraph that indicated:

The Berkshire Music Center will be happy indeed to collaborate with your office again this year in a similar enterprise, and to that effect, we now offer five tuition scholarships for the 1942 season. If your office wishes to accept and distribute these scholarships, and to assist in bringing the recipients to the Center, please let us know as soon as possible.<sup>815</sup>

### **Aaron Copland visits Latin America as Cultural Attaché for the Committee of Inter-American Affairs (1941)**

Starting in 1492, Europe introduced its art music to its baptized American continent as a colonization tool to support the internalization and spread of Christian doctrine, through which the colonizers aimed to convert the local populations to the Catholic faith. However, this cultural process was not one-dimensional on the American continent. While Europe and its culture also changed due to this historical encounter, the American continent’s composers appropriated and transformed this style of music. Since then, their agency has led them to produce innovative and hybrid art music works. Thus, when Copland arrived for the first time in the continent’s southern region, this musical tradition embraced more than 400 years of musical production.<sup>816</sup>

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<sup>814</sup> Ibid.

<sup>815</sup> Ibid.

<sup>816</sup> See, for example, Gerard Béhague, *Latin American Music: An Introduction* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1979). Moreover, even though Béhague became the first musicologist to write down a whole narrative, with compelling musical analyses, about the history of art music in Latin America from the colonial times until the 1970s avant-

Aaron Copland traveled for four months across the American continent. His previous experiences in Mexico, as well as his attraction to Latin American music and culture combined with his communicative and interpersonal skills, made him an ideal representative for “Good Neighbor” cultural diplomacy. The composer’s travels aimed to promote U.S.-American values and find Latin American composers who would receive institutional support to come to the United States. For instance, the composer mentioned that Henry Allen Moe (1894-1975), who was a Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations member and the President for the Guggenheim Foundation, instructed Copland, “I want you, please, to come back with a list of composers and music scholars who in your judgement based on your knowledge are first-rate and ought to be given funds to come to the United States for sound music purposes.”<sup>817</sup> Moe also organized a grant for the tour (\$3,100).

The Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations wanted to fulfill the commitment in cultural diplomacy with the principle of reciprocity in order to achieve more engagement and success in Latin America, as well as to improve the involvement of private/public U.S.-American institutions. In his “Report of South American Trip,” Copland wrote that his travel grant was “to study contemporary Latin American music, to lecture on [U.S.] American music and to conduct concerts of [U.S.] American music in several Latin American countries.”<sup>818</sup>

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garde, his book does not dedicate any chapters to musical Americanism, Pan-Americanism or Inter-Americanism and only mentions them in passing.

<sup>817</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 323-24. The amount of \$3,100 is equivalent to \$51,691.97 in 2019. Meanwhile, in September 1941, the State Department’s Division of Cultural Relations absorbed the Music Committee’s (OIAA) functions of planning the U.S.-American art music cultural diplomacy and began this task under the name “Committee on Music.” See Rowland, *History of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs*, 280-284.

<sup>818</sup> “Report of South American Trip by Aaron Copland,” August 19-December 13, 1941, CCLC, folder 28, Box 358, 2.

## Mexico

Copland began his Latin American sojourn in Mexico (August 20-28), a country that supported him with performances of his works when he still was an emerging composer and one that he already knew well. According to Copland, “Mexico is one of the few Latin American countries that possesses a distinctive musical school of creative musicians.”<sup>819</sup> For him, the only other such country was Brazil.<sup>820</sup> There, he met with members of *El grupo de los cuatro*, a post-revolutionary group of musicians, whom he described as “limited in their use of form . . . and in types of melodic material which tend always toward the Mexican popular tune,” but strong in “orchestration.”<sup>821</sup> Copland wrote his comments about every member of the group and about other Mexican composers, such as Manuel M. Ponce (1882-1948) and Salvador Moreno (1916-1999), just to name a few. However, this section only engages with those who attended the Berkshire Music Center.

About Blas Galindo, who was his first fellow at Tanglewood, Copland said “[he] seems to be the most gifted” and “the most advanced of ‘The Four.’”<sup>822</sup> Nevertheless, for Copland, Galindo’s music “it is almost too Mexican, or rather, too Mexican of a certain kind.”<sup>823</sup> About José Pablo Moncayo, Copland opined, “He depends less than the other members of the group on folk-like materials,” and “More than any of his confrères he can profit by further study and expert advice. One is left with confident expectations regarding his future.”<sup>824</sup>

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<sup>819</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 9.

<sup>820</sup> Ibid.

<sup>821</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 324.

<sup>822</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 10.

<sup>823</sup> Ibid.

<sup>824</sup> Ibid., 11.



## Guatemala, Colombia and Ecuador

The subsequent countries Copland visited were Guatemala, Colombia and Ecuador (August 29 to September 7). After a brief transit in Guatemala, “In Colombia I first became aware of the pessimistic attitude in regard to the native creative musician,” and he mentioned that “The principal difficulty seems to be a lack of any rigorous training for composers,” as well as “the lack of what they call ambiente—a stimulating musical atmosphere.”<sup>825</sup> In Ecuador, Copland heard the same request from Bogotá about the United States’ goodwill to “send us composers who can teach harmony, counterpoint and composition in Spanish.”<sup>826</sup> Furthermore, the local request was similarly to “send us more records! . . . composers.”<sup>827</sup>

## Peru

In Peru (September 7-15) Copland conducted *Billy the Kid* on September 10 with the *Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional* and the American Ballet in Lima. In his report the U.S.-American composer claimed that “Serious musical composition is still in its infancy in Peru. This must be largely due to the lack of ambiente for Peru, like Mexico, has a rich store of Indian folk material. . . . Some day,” wrote the composer, “some Peruvian composer will be able to recreate this music in symphonic terms [sic]. No one, to my knowledge, has done it as yet.”<sup>828</sup> Afterwards Copland voiced, “The so-called Inca music that several of the composers indulge in is definitely European in quality.”<sup>829</sup> Nevertheless, what Copland called Inca music did not exist, because it is impossible to reproduce the music from pre-Columbian cultures exactly.

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<sup>825</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 13.

<sup>826</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>827</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 324.

<sup>828</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 15.

<sup>829</sup> *Ibid.*

This comment also shows Copland's notion about music in Latin America: he regarded it as a static or fixed culture that had not changed or been hybridized.

### **Chile**

In Chile (first visit, September 15-25) Copland wrote that “composers makes [sic] an unusually integrated picture,” and “As far as organization goes, Chile is more fortunate than any other Latin American country.”<sup>830</sup> Because of the University of Chile Faculty of Fine Arts led by Domingo Santa Cruz (1899-1987), whom Copland described as “a highly energetic and competent musician, Chile is on the road to developing a most active and healthy musical life.”<sup>831</sup> Copland argued that the small group of Chilean composers' isolation and closeness they faced “gives the music a somewhat provincial atmosphere.”<sup>832</sup> This characteristic, according to Copland, generated a sense of being “behind the times with the romantic and chromatic . . . more complex than necessary . . . a rather derivative air.”<sup>833</sup> Among the younger Chilean composers he met, Copland praised Carlos Isamitt's (1885-1974) “Araucanian-inspired works,” and Juan Orrego-Salas (1919-2019), whom he recommended to study in the United States.<sup>834</sup>

### **Argentina**

In Argentina (first visit September 26 to October 7), the composer exclaimed, “Musical life in Buenos Aires is big.”<sup>835</sup> According to him, while the centralized Argentinean elite cultural life was cosmopolitan, the composers were divided into two groups: the “arch-

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<sup>830</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>831</sup> Ibid.

<sup>832</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>833</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 325.

<sup>834</sup> See Copland, “Report, 1941,” 21 and Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 325.

<sup>835</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 24.

conservative group,” tied to the government sponsorship, and “the good composers . . . with no official support.”<sup>836</sup> Copland was trying to find an Argentinean school of composition with an “indigenous profile . . . but there are nonetheless several excellent composers.”<sup>837</sup> Carol A. Hess explains, “The discursive overlap between modernist ambition and cosmopolitan universalism was a particularly sensitive matter in this context. Mindful of the stigma of subaltern status, Argentine composers were disinclined to retreat into folklore.”<sup>838</sup>

Copland praised the works by José María Castro (1892-1964), whose “fresh style and personality added to an excellent technique,” and Alberto Ginastera (1916-1983), whom he described with the controversial racial term “white hope” and about whom he claimed, “he seems destined to play an important role in the future of music in the Argentine.”<sup>839</sup> Copland suggested that he be given an invitation to visit the United States.<sup>840</sup> Copland also met with composers Juan Carlos Paz (1887-1982), “who is using the twelve tone system” and “who seems more like the typical figure of a composer in our modern music movement-serious, learned, literary, and somewhat heroic.”<sup>841</sup> The U.S.-American composer wrote about Paz, “[he has a] broader acquaintance with modern music than any other composer I met in South America,” and he found in Paz’s works “remarkable music,” but his “no real lyricism and only a very dry brand of humor” makes his music “tiring in the end.”<sup>842</sup> Although both composers knew some of their works and held opposing aesthetic positions, Paz offered the platform of his contemporary music organization *La nueva música* for Copland’s conferences. In Carol A.

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<sup>836</sup> Ibid.

<sup>837</sup> Ibid.

<sup>838</sup> Hess, “Copland in Argentina,” 205.

<sup>839</sup> Copland and Perlis, 325-326 and Copland, “Report, 1941,” 28-29.

<sup>840</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 29.

<sup>841</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 325.

<sup>842</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 27.

Hess's words, during Copland's "goodwill" trip in 1941, "Paz kept a discreet silence on Copland the populist to support Copland the modernist."<sup>843</sup>

## Uruguay

Copland traveled to Uruguay (October 8-12). In Montevideo, he acknowledged SODRE's central role, with its orchestra and radio station, in the country's cultural life, and he met composer Héctor Tosar and musicologist Francisco Curt Lange.<sup>844</sup> About Tosar, Copland said that "He writes a music that is enormously facile and brilliant, full of dash and élan. ...Considering his age, Tosar's talent," he wrote, "is one of the most impressive I found in South America. It will be fine if he could complete his studies in the United States."<sup>845</sup> Regarding Francisco Curt Lange, Copland shared the precarious situation that musicology faced in moving his enterprise forward and advocated on behalf of the musicologist for supporting his project. Copland exclaimed, "It is impossible not to be touched by the effort and devotion [of] his fifteen years of work in the cause of inter-hemisphere musical knowledge [he] represents. There are few people who know the field as well as he does."<sup>846</sup> Moreover, Copland argued "He needs assistance badly . . . He could best be given by granting him a sum of money without strings attached. ...Lange has [sic] drive and enthusiasm and intimate knowledge of South American musical affairs," and the composer concluded that, "I think he deserves to be encouraged in what has so far been a very up-hill job."<sup>847</sup>

Likewise, the U.S.- American composer offered two talks in Spanish about U.S.- American popular music, "The Influence of Jazz" and "Music for Films," at the *Instituto*

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<sup>843</sup> Hess, "Copland in Argentina," 207.

<sup>844</sup> Copland, "Report, 1941," 31.

<sup>845</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-32.

<sup>846</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>847</sup> *Ibid.*

*Interamericano de Musicología*. He also performed chamber music with Uruguayan musicians, like the *Trio* for Violin, Cello and Piano (1934) by Roy Harris (1898-1979) and two *Chorale Preludes* (1924–26) by Roger Sessions (1896-1985), in addition to some of his works.<sup>848</sup> During this visit, Copland's trip also coincided with Manuel M. Ponce's (1882-1948), who traveled to South America (Uruguay, Argentina and Chile) to promote some of his works.<sup>849</sup>

### **Back to Argentina**

Copland went back to Buenos Aires (second visit October 13-24) to hear his work *An Outdoor Overture* with *La Orquesta Estable del Teatro Colón*, led by Juan José Castro (1895-1968). This performance met with the composer's satisfaction, and Copland wrote, "Well received by a small public. ... Press very favorable the next day—exception being made for the Nazi-controlled newspaper."<sup>850</sup> The organization of *La nueva música*, on October 21, again became the stage for a chamber-music recital dedicated to U.S.-American composers, in which Copland performed works by Henry Cowell (1897-1965), Roy Harris, Gerald Strang (1908-93), Roger Sessions with Argentinean musicians and the premiere of his *Piano Sonata*. Copland wrote in his diary, "I premiered my *piano sonata*, and was pleased by the impression it made."<sup>851</sup> Copland similarly became involved with the activities and members of *Grupo Renovación*.<sup>852</sup>

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<sup>848</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 326.

<sup>849</sup> Copland mentioned the meeting with his Mexican colleague on October 11. See "South American Journal 1921-1953," CCLC, folder 15-16, box 243, 41. Jorge Barrón Corvera explains that Ponce also coincided with Copland, Oscar Lorenzo Fernández, Guillermo Espinosa and Carlos Chávez in Santiago de Chile, because they were guest composers/conductors at the Pan-American Festival in 1941. See Jorge Barrón Corvera, "Manuel M. Ponce en Sudamérica (1941)," *Revista Musical Chilena* 66/218 (2012): 72. In addition, Ponce's repertoire for this tour included *Estampas nocturnas* (ca. 1910), *Concierto para piano* (1911), *Chapultepec* (1922, revised 1934), *Pequeña suite en estilo antiguo* (orchestra version 1935), *Poema elegíaco* (1919, revised in 1934 and 1937), *Ferial* (1940) and *Concierto para guitarra* (1940). See Barrón Corvera, 66.

<sup>850</sup> Copland, "Report, 1941," 31 and "South American Journal 1921-1953," CCLC, folder 15-16, box 243, 45.

<sup>851</sup> Italics mine. "South American Journal 1921-1953," CCLC, folder 15-16, box 243, 52.

<sup>852</sup> "South American Journal 1921-1953," CCLC, folder 15-16, box 243.

## Back to Chile

Copland returned to Chile (second visit October 24 to November 4) where he conducted some of his orchestral works. The *Orquesta Sinfónica de Chile* performed an all-Copland program concert with the composer as soloist in his *Piano Concerto* (1926), together with *Quiet City* (1939), *El Salón México* (1933-36) and *An Outdoor Overture* (1938).<sup>853</sup> Copland's experience with the *Orquesta Sinfónica de Chile* was positive and he declared, "On the whole, the orchestra compares favorably with the Colón Orchestra of Buenos Aires and the SODRE of Montevideo, being considerably better than the orchestra in Lima."<sup>854</sup> Copland also served as jury in the national music composition competition *Concurso Iberoamericano de Composición Musical del IV Centenario de la Fundación de Santiago*, and he voiced that "The sum total impression was not inspiring ... musical composition in Chile is far in advance of Colombia, Ecuador and Peru."<sup>855</sup> In his extensive biography, *Mi vida en la música: contribución al estudio de la vida musical chilena durante el siglo XX*, Domingo Santa Cruz related his experiences as composer, art administrator and music educator during the Good Neighbor era as a participant and a host of some of the U.S.-American musicians who visited Chile.<sup>856</sup> About Copland's concert in Santiago in 1941, Santa Cruz expressed that:

Copland convinced us to be in front of a musician of great stature, whose language was clear, direct, expressed through an incisive and brilliant orchestra. His great fondness for bronzes and the contrast of instrumental groups was expressed with just a melody, rhythms and assimilated U.S.-American folklore's gestures that distinguished his clear intention to create a language proper to the environment in which he lived.<sup>857</sup>

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<sup>853</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 326.

<sup>854</sup> Copland, "Report, 1941," 23.

<sup>855</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>856</sup> Domingo Santa Cruz W., *Mi vida en la música: contribución al estudio de la vida musical chilena durante el siglo XX*, edición y revisión musicológica por Raquel Bustos Valderrama (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2008).

<sup>857</sup> The text in Spanish: "Copland nos convenció de estar ante un músico de gran talla, cuyo lenguaje era claro, directo, expresando a través de una orquesta incisiva y brillante. Su gran afición por los bronzes y el contraste de

Regarding Copland's participation as a judge during the event, Santa Cruz voiced his disappointment at Copland's lack of interest in the Chilean modern musical works submitted to the composition contest because of their absence of native signifiers such as those founded in Cuban, Brazilian, or even U.S.-American music.<sup>858</sup> Thus Santa Cruz claimed that musical tourism seemed to be a difficult task in Santiago.<sup>859</sup>

### **Back to Brazil**

Copland expressed that "Brazil, like Mexico, has an active school of composers who are writing music easily distinguishable from the European model."<sup>860</sup> Nevertheless, Copland attributed it to its "folklore vein," mentioning its hybrid ethnic background of "Negro, Indian, Spanish and Portuguese," but essentialized Brazilian art music by connecting it with non-rational, emotional and pre-modern features such as "highly romantic, abundant, uncritical, [and] inhibited."<sup>861</sup> In the same text, Copland exoticized Brazilian music when he made the association between folklore and pre-modern and primitive senses, which suggested a ritual, denoting it as "languorously sentimental and wildly orgiastic" and whose romanticism generated "an old-fashioned aroma."<sup>862</sup> Copland, preaching a cultural evolutionist point of view, criticized the Brazilian composers' preference for the "smaller forms," as well as their production of "a few ballets and operas," but "very few orchestral works."<sup>863</sup> On November

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grupos instrumentales se expresaba con poca melodía, ritmos y giros asimilados del folklore norteamericano que distinguían su claro propósito de crear un lenguaje propio del medio en que vivía. Ibid., 643-644.

<sup>858</sup> The text in Spanish: "Lo que sorprendió a los colegas, influidos especialmente por Copland, es no hallar el color local a flor de piel como en Brazil, Cuba o los Estados Unidos, que él procuraba sintetizar en su estilo. El turismo musical era difícil en Santiago, sin indígenas a la vista o negros que alborotaran danzas violentas. ... El caso creativo chileno le resbaló un poco por encima." Ibid., 640, 644.

<sup>859</sup> Ibid.

<sup>860</sup> Copland, "Report, 1941," 33.

<sup>861</sup> Ibid.

<sup>862</sup> Ibid.

<sup>863</sup> Ibid.

20, Copland was honored in a *Concérto de música moderna Brasileira* with works by Villa-Lobos, Guarnieri, Fernández, Mignone, Gnattali and Vianna.<sup>864</sup>

In Brazil, Copland met with Villa-Lobos in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>865</sup> Villa-Lobos, besides being the most prominent Latin American composer during that time, was a well-connected Vargas administration cultural icon who was managing his own Music-in-Education program in Brazil.<sup>866</sup> These features made him a highly desirable candidate for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Pan American Music Union to visit the United States within a “goodwill” context. Copland knew Villa-Lobos, whom he called “South America’s greatest composer,” from his days in Paris, but he had likewise mixed opinions about his music.<sup>867</sup> Copland mentioned that Dr. Moe, from the Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations, “had asked me to sound Villa-Lobos out on the possibility of his coming to the United States,” which the Brazilian composer did not reject.<sup>868</sup> Villa-Lobos requested “any governmental sponsorship . . . and would refuse all testimonials,” because he wanted to “come purely in his capacity as an artist, to be accepted or rejected on artistic grounds alone.”<sup>869</sup> Therefore, the Brazilian composer, a good self-promoter and negotiator who knew his value for the “goodwill,” rationalized his benefits and “agreed to come to the United States if he were guaranteed a minimum of ten orchestral concerts with at least three major organizations, and the recording of one of his principal works by a

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<sup>864</sup> “Programs – Latin America 8/19-12/13, 1941,” CCLC, folder 27, box 358. Italics mine.

<sup>865</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 34.

<sup>866</sup> See, for example, Gabriel Ferraz, “Heitor Villa-Lobos e Getúlio Vargas: Doutrinando crianças por meio da educação musical,” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 34/2 (2013): 162-195.

<sup>867</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 34 and Copland and Perlis, 326-28.

<sup>868</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 34.

<sup>869</sup> *Ibid.*



commercial company.”<sup>870</sup> Despite Copland’s opinions about Villa-Lobos and his music, he wrote that the Brazilian composer “is one of the most absorbing figures of contemporary music.”<sup>871</sup> Copland praised other Brazilian composers for the “goodwill” goal. Copland voiced that Camargo Guarnieri “is a real composer . . . is first choice for an invitation to the United States,” because “his music will go over here.”<sup>872</sup> In his Music Committee official report, Copland, also included, among other Brazilian composers, Radamés Gnattali (1906-1988) and Claudio Santoro (1919-1989) as potential candidates for exchange, and he declared Hans-Joachim Koellreutter (1915-2005) as a “German-refuge composer...active in propagating modern music in Brazil, through his magazine, *Música Viva*, also working in conjunction with F.C. Lange. . . . A *jolie* talent rather than an important one.”<sup>873</sup>

## **Cuba**

Then Copland flew to his last tour stop in Cuba (December 2-12). There he conducted the *Orquesta de Cámara de la Habana*, performing a *Concierto de Obras Contemporáneas Norteamericanas y Cubanas* on December 11, and held lectures about modern U.S.-American composers at the Lyceum.<sup>874</sup> Copland acknowledged the vacuum left by the deaths of Alejandro García Caturla (1906-1940) and Amadeo Roldán (1900-1939). He pointed out that Spanish/Cuban composer José Ardévol (1911-1981) assumed a teaching position in Havana as Roldán’s substitute and “He is an intelligent musician, quite aware of the contemporary movement in all its phases.”<sup>875</sup>

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<sup>870</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>871</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>872</sup> Ibid., 36-37.

<sup>873</sup> Ibid., 38-39.

<sup>874</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 328-29.

<sup>875</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 40.

Once back in the United States, Copland wrote his report for the Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations, giving the following recommendations: “supply more records for radio stations, and more published music for music centers; establish a distribution center in both North and South America; assist the publication of South American works; publish a magazine in both languages.”<sup>876</sup> Regarding his recommendations, the first two seem to support the diffusion of U.S.-American art music in the region—following the United States’ policy of cultural diplomacy, more than to promote the principle of reciprocity—and the last two address the problem of music publication, which had been one of the main obstacles to promoting Latin American art music internationally. In other words, the absence of the written text (musical score) in a modern art music context denies it the opportunity for performance, analysis and commodification.

To be more precise, in the report section “Interchange of Composer and Artists,” Copland claimed that “The need for the continuous exchange of composers, music students, musicologists and performing artists between our country and the Latin American republics is self-evident,” and suggested that they bring the “younger talented men” instead of “the older generation.”<sup>877</sup> To the United States, this idea aimed to establish longer and “closer ties for the future.”<sup>878</sup> As a result, Copland supplied his list of composers and composition students (in order of preference) to be considered for the exchange programs.<sup>879</sup> Then, in the section

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<sup>876</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 328-29.

<sup>877</sup> Copland, “Report, 1941,” 41.

<sup>878</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>879</sup> The list (in order of preference) is the following for the composers: Camargo Guarnieri (Brazil), José María Castro, Alberto Ginastera (Argentina), Andrés Sas (Peru), Carlos Isamitt (Chile), José Ardévol (Cuba), Radamés Gnattali (Brazil), and Guillermo Uribe-Holguín (Colombia). Regarding the student composers (in order of preference), Copland selected: Héctor Tosar (Uruguay), René Amengual (Chile), Claudio Santoro (Brazil), Pablo Moncayo (Mexico), Vieira Brandão (Brazil), Salvador Moreno (Mexico), Juan Orrego (Chile) and Sergio de Castro (Argentina). *Ibid.*, 42.

“Recommendations for Furtherance of Musical Exchange with Latin America,” Copland exhorted, “In my opinion the most immediate need in inter-American musical exchange is to make available in all Latin American countries actual musical materials, and similarly to provide centers of distribution of South American music in the United States.”<sup>880</sup> The suggested materials were phonographs recordings, books and scores for massive distribution and diffusion all over the American continent.<sup>881</sup>

Simultaneously, Copland wrote a section entitled “Publication of Latin American Composers,” where he advocates, “No better means for creating good-will can found than through publications of their works.”<sup>882</sup> Because among Latin American composers “practically none of them have ever seen their orchestral or longer chamber music scores in print,” Copland recommended that the government establish a fund in the United States “for the printing and distribution of Latin American composers’ works.”<sup>883</sup> To conclude his report, Copland similarly endorsed the creation of a tri-lingual and bi-monthly “musical magazine” to maintain constant “intercontinental musical communication.”<sup>884</sup>

In his position as Cultural Attaché for the Committee for Inter-American Artistic and Intellectual Relations, Copland traveled from a position of power and privilege because of institutional support. Moreover, he was welcome in Latin America and enjoyed the support of local musicians and institutions to organize concerts with some of his works, conferences, and media interviews. The composer’s travels in the southern part of the American continent seem to be a kind of “field work” in which he constructed his evaluation within a narrow scope to

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<sup>880</sup> Ibid.

<sup>881</sup> Ibid.

<sup>882</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>883</sup> Ibid.

<sup>884</sup> Ibid.

track the “musical progress” of the region. Carol A. Hess argues that Copland went to Latin America to teach and critique as well as to promote a double position regarding the U.S. agency’s foreign-policy objectives.<sup>885</sup> Therefore, Hess claims that for the Nelson A. Rockefeller OIAA, Copland “championed regional rather than universal culture by glorifying liberation from Europe and branding himself a populist,” and for the State Department Division of Cultural Relations, the composer “channeled his infinitely protean musical personality into the norms of universal culture via the sonata, assuming a modernist stance in the process.”<sup>886</sup>

Copland’s reflections about the sojourn were ambivalent. For instance, he defined it with a neo-imperialist sentence of “discovering a new continent;” nonetheless, this experience caused an impact in the composer music and persona. He wrote that “I realized that such an experience enlarges one’s field visions.”<sup>887</sup> He praised the entrepreneurial spirit in modern music displayed by Domingo Santa Cruz (1899-1987) in Chile, Heitor Villa-Lobos in Brazil, and Juan Carlos Paz in Argentina—beyond what Carlos Chávez was already doing in Mexico—but criticized the “Mexican popular tune” or “use of folk material” regarding Brazilian music, which “carries with it certain dangers” or a “folklore bias.”<sup>888</sup> However, this disapproval is self-contradictory considering that Copland used U.S.-American folk music material in his well-known ballets composed either before or immediately after his 1941 trip, such as *Billy the Kid* (1938), *Rodeo* (1942) and *Appalachian Spring* (1944). Nonetheless, this exogenous experience made him ponder his endogenous experience in the United States,

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<sup>885</sup> See Hess, “Copland in Argentina.”

<sup>886</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>887</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 329.

<sup>888</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 324. See also “The Composers of South America,” CCLC, folder 15, box 198. Copland published this text in the journal *Modern Music*. See Aaron Copland, “Composers of South-America,” *Modern Music* 19/2 (1942): 75-82 and *Ibid.*, *Copland on Music*, 203-217.

about which he said, “It made me feel concern for the provincialism that seemed to be typical of the music scene in New York,” wrote the composer, “where there was a small circle of composers encouraging to each other. The tendency to lean back and depend upon that small-circle encouragement seemed to me a lessening rather than an enlarging of one’s capacities.”<sup>889</sup>

Copland went to Latin America with an agenda and ideology of cultural evolution, with which he asserted the trope of musical developmentalism in a positivistic and quantitative manner, instead of qualitative. Due to the vacuum left by Europe in the cultural area, the United States filled it as a world superpower, and Copland, among other artists, visited Latin America to promote what Néstor García Canclini (1939) named the “ideology of modern high culture.”<sup>890</sup> That being the case, Copland mapped out modernism and modern art music in the geographical and ethnic register from Latin America, because syncretic cultures fall out of the Eurocentric categories and theoretical frames. Composer Ricardo Lorenz argues that Eurocentric, and by extension Euro-American categories of representation (Occidentalism) have fetishized Latin America as a territorialized geographical area. As a consequence, it has not been historicized like European art music, connected to the Western, whose musical compositions have a different semantic due to a process of transculturation in a different geographical location.<sup>891</sup>

Due to considering Latin American cultural capital as homogeneous and not heterogenous, those researching it resort to stereotypes, exoticism and essentialism. Copland

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<sup>889</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, 329.

<sup>890</sup> Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, translated by Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. Lopez, foreword by Renato Rosaldo (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 37.

<sup>891</sup> Ricardo Lorenz, “Voices in Limbo: Identity, Representation, and Realities of Latin American Composers” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2000), 39-55.

and his trip's role positioned him as the Self and the Latin American composers as the Others by asserting modernism as an ideology in which Latin America had been denied the production of intellectual musical texts. From this perspective, Copland ends his report with a Pan-American rhetorical ideal, "Today one may wonder why we have been so little conscious of the music of South America. But from now on, whatever other result the world crisis may bring, it is a safe bet that musical relations with our southern neighbors will be different."<sup>892</sup>

### **Tanglewood (1942)**

The Berkshire Music Center opened its third season during a time that was difficult both for the U.S. and the rest of the world. Immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941, the United States declared war against the Axis and became a vital power in the fight simultaneously on two fronts. Meanwhile, the Berkshire Music Center was working on the next season, and Koussevitzky had in mind his compatriot Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971). On November 23, 1941, the Russian composer communicated with Koussevitzky regarding his participation as a Tanglewood faculty member in 1942:

Dear Sergei Aleksandrovich,

As promised, I am sending you my reply without delay. Even though in our time it is frightening to look ahead a whole year, I still dare to give you my consent. I am prompted in particular by your personal selflessness and the sacrifice that you, as usual, offer to the common cause. We will be in contact about details of the conditions, but in order to avoid misunderstandings I will put down in writing the main points as you have offered them over the telephone today: 1) Tanglewood Committee invites me to give classes (not lectures but specifically classes) with beginner composers during a six-week period (from 5 July to 16 August 1942). These classes include my critique (judging) of their work and advice to these composers while we go over their work. Teaching (or, rather, a course in) harmony, counterpoint, orchestration, or other musical disciplines is not included in my duties. 2) The number and distribution of the above mentioned classes will be determined in a timely manner. 3) The number of students you suggested is eight. 4) The fee offered me for the six weeks is

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<sup>892</sup> Copland, "The Composers of South America." 82.

\$1,000.00. 5) Travel expenses of \$500.00 will be reimbursed (paid to me personally or to a person of my choice) a week before my arrival in Tanglewood. 6) Besides, I will be guaranteed one performance as part of your symphonic concerts (during those six weeks) where I will conduct one half of one program (made up of my works which we will select together) for a fee of \$1,000.00. I herewith give my consent to all these six points and I am sending you, my dear friend, unwavering feelings of my sincere, cordial friendship.<sup>893</sup>

Koussevitzky acknowledged the letter's reception on November 25: "Many thanks for letter. So happy your acceptance. Letter with details to follow. Warm greetings to you both."<sup>894</sup> Next, a longer answer came on December 6, 1941:

Dear Igor Fyodorovich,

I cannot put into words how glad I am that you are going to be at our Music Center for six weeks. From your letter I see that our telephone conversation was clear to you and that you emphasize the items accordingly. As regards all the details of the terms, the Music Center secretary, Mrs. Margaret Grant, will soon write you an official letter. I have one particular request. Would it be possible for you to give one lecture to the whole school, on the subject of your choice? As you may know, we have 400 students and half of them are the "elite" of America's musical youth; you will find that our student orchestra is no worse than any orchestra in America (except for two or three established orchestras such as those in Philadelphia or Boston). By the way, the orchestra will be at your disposal should you wish to conduct your works with them.<sup>895</sup>

Stravinsky contacted the conductor with dissatisfaction regarding the contract terms and conditions with a letter on December 25, 1941:

Dear Sergei Aleksandrovich,

I found your letter from [December] 6 and Mrs. Margaret Grant's letter of 5 December upon my return from a concert tour. Unfortunately, her letter did not satisfy me and here is why. Instead of officially accepting my terms, which I listed in six points in my letter to you (of 23 November), Mrs. Grant sent me catalogs for 1941 and 1942 with a letter where I read the following: "I am enclosing a copy of last year's catalog with the hope that you might find it useful in your preparation of a draft of paragraphs to be used to describe your work in the Composer Department next summer. I shall be glad to have this material as soon as you can

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<sup>893</sup> Victor Yuzefovich and Marina Kostalevsky, "Chronicle of a Non-Friendship: Letters of Stravinsky and Koussevitzky," *The Musical Quarterly* 86/4 (2002): 787-789.

<sup>894</sup> *Ibid.*, 789.

<sup>895</sup> *Ibid.*

find time to send it to me.” You will understand my difficulties. Really, what kind of information can I send her concerning my future classes with young composers when these very classes, as I wrote to you, will consist of “critique and advice given to these musicians while we are going over their work?” The very nature of these classes denies me a possibility to give her a satisfactory answer. I think she did not have time to look at my terms which, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I clearly formulated in my letter to you. I ask you, my dear, to explain it to her, after which I hope to receive from her a letter with the acceptance of my terms and without the insistence that I provide a draft of paragraphs to be used to describe my work etc.<sup>896</sup>

Koussevitzky’s reply came on January 2, 1942:

Dear Igor Fyodorovich,

Thank you for your letter of 25 December. As regards Mrs. Grant, do not be upset. I can easily answer this question. Since she knew about my letter and telegram to you, Mrs. Grant assumed that, as they were sent by the Music Center director, they represented an official acceptance of your terms. In asking you to formulate your terms in English she followed the usual protocol. A request for a class description for the annual catalog, which is sent to all American music institutions and schools, is sent to every faculty member. I will ask Mrs. Grant to formulate that text based on your letter to me and then to forward it to you for your approval. I must add here that in America every enterprise is connected with a series of external formalities; internally you have significant freedom of action.<sup>897</sup>

Mrs. Margaret Grant received a message on January 22, 1942 from the Russian composer:

Dear Madam:

I feel sorry I could not answer sooner your letter from 31 December [19141], as I was on a concert tour. I discussed the questions mentioned by you in the letter I wrote 23 November [19141] in Russian to Dr. Koussevitzky so here I shall translate this letter point by point. 1) The Tanglewood Committee has invited me for studies (not lectures) with young, advanced students in composition for a six weeks term (approximately from 5 July to 16 August [19]42). These studies will consist in my criticism and advices which I intend to give to these musicians while examining the compositions showed to me. Teaching or, rather giving courses in harmony, counterpoint, instrumentation or any other musical sciences will not be included into my duties. 2) The number and the schedule of the aforesaid studies will be fixed in due time. 3) The number of students who would work with me is limited to eight. 4) The fee offered to me for this period of six weeks is \$1,000. 5) Traveling expenses, \$500, will be paid to me or to the person I shall name not later than a week before my leaving for Tanglewood. 6) Besides I am given the guarantee of one appearance in a Symphony concert (during the same six weeks period in the Berkshire Music Center), when I shall conduct half a program of the said concert for a fee of \$1,000 (conducting my own compositions). As you see it is almost impossible for me on account of the special character of my work to give more particulars

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<sup>896</sup> Ibid., 790.

<sup>897</sup> Ibid., 791-792.



about the number of hours of my studies which must be both individual and in groups. All these questions will be decided by us in Tanglewood. In the question of eligibility of the applicants I entirely trust the decision of your committee. I expect you will kindly send me an official contract with the confirmation of all the above mentioned points, as it was suggested by Dr. Koussevitzky.<sup>898</sup>

The Berkshire Music Center Secretary responded on January 28:

Dear Mr. Stravinsky:

I wish to thank you very much for your letter of January 22. In regard to the business arrangements, I am referring your letter, with your statement of the terms agreed upon between you and Dr. Koussevitzky, to Mr. Judd, the manager of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Since you feel that a number of the questions regarding your work with the students will remain to be decided at Tanglewood, we shall not attempt to give in the catalogue a detailed description of your course, but will leave the statement in general terms, very much as suggested in the description of the Composition Department enclosed in my last letter to you. I am again enclosing a description which we propose to have printed. If you wish to suggest any changes in regard to your own class, please send them to me before February 15.<sup>899</sup>

Meanwhile, World War II intensified as the United States became involved after the Pearl Harbor attack in December 1941; as a result, the internal situation in the country deteriorated. There was a need for human and material resources, which impacted cultural enterprises such as Tanglewood. Koussevitzky sent a letter on May 30 to Stravinsky to inform the composer that the “Berkshire Festival cancelled but Music Center will continue under my personal sponsorship and responsibility—therefore conditions changed but hope we may still have you with us—detailed letter to follow.”<sup>900</sup> Later, the conductor reached out again on June 9 to share with Stravinsky:

This is why I assumed financial responsibilities for the continuation of the Center’s work when, after so many months of exhausting uncertainty, the President of the Boston Symphony told me that, for lack of funds, they were unable to continue with the Berkshire Festival and with the Music Center activities. I allotted some funds from Natalia Konstantinovna’s Memorial Foundation, which I established this winter, for that purpose. To be sure, we will

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<sup>898</sup> Ibid., 792-793.

<sup>899</sup> Ibid., 793-794.

<sup>900</sup> Ibid., 797-798.

have to cut back but I am glad to say that I have met with the most cordial response from all of my colleagues. Along with the activities at school we propose to organize weekly student concerts and even to bill them as the “Berkshire Music Center Festival.” This makes it possible for me to guarantee you a payment of \$2,000; \$1,500 of which are for teaching the class on composition and \$500 for conducting one of your works (of your choice) at one of these concerts. I hope, dear Igor Fyodorovich, that you will find it possible to participate in our work. Your visit is much needed.<sup>901</sup>

The composer responded on June 14, “Extremely sorry impossibility collaboration this season as circumstance completely changed also engaged most responsible capital musical production necessitating constant presence here many months. Hope collaboration future more favorable.”<sup>902</sup> This last communication discharged his faculty and conductor participation at Tanglewood. Next, Koussevitzky invited the Czech Bohuslav Martinů (1890-1959), who joined the composition faculty at the last minute instead of Igor Stravinsky.<sup>903</sup>

Aaron Copland received a letter from Gustavo Durán, who worked as Music Section Executive Assistant for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs on March 14, 1942. Durán communicated to Copland that “I have draw up a project authorization to bring three or four composers or players from the other American republics to the Berkshire Music Festival next summer.”<sup>904</sup> Then “It seems that there is a great possibility,” the letter states, “that Camargo Guarnieri [sic] may be given a scholarship in this country by the Guggenheim Foundation, and Mr. Seeger and I think that he should be one of the candidates selected to attend the

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<sup>901</sup> Ibid., 798-799.

<sup>902</sup> Ibid., 799.

<sup>903</sup> Even though Koussevitzky championed symphonic works by Bohuslav Martinů in the United States, beside commissioning the First and Third Symphonies, his symphonic music, as scholar Byron Adams shows, never settled in the regular US-American orchestras’ programs, due to the lack of the critics’ and audience’s understanding. See Byron Adams, “Martinů and the American Critics,” in *Martinů’s mysterious accident: essays in honor of Michael Henderson*, eds. Michael Brim Beckerman and Michael Henderson, Studies in Czech music, no. 4. (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2007), 81-94.

<sup>904</sup> “Letter from Gustavo Durán to Aaron Copland,” March 14, 1942, CCLC, folder 12, box 355.

festival.”<sup>905</sup> Nevertheless, toward the letter’s end, Durán disclosed the transportation difficulties on the continent due to the war and explained, “As the travel situation does not allow U.S. to bring candidates from South America, we shall have to restrict our area to Mexico, Central America and the Republics in the Caribbean Sea. Do you have,” inquired Durán “any eligible candidate in mind from these countries? I am also writing today for recommendations from Dr. William Berrien and José María Chacon y Calvo, *Director of the Dirección de Cultura, Secretaría de Educación of Cuba* [sic].”<sup>906</sup> The answer clarifies why composers Blas Galindo and José Pablo Moncayo from Mexico and Harold Gramatges (1918-2008) from Cuba were given preference in the selection process for the 1942 festival season. Later, Gustavo Durán communicated with Aaron Copland on April 16, 1942, sharing with the U.S.-American composer:

The project ‘Travel and Maintenance Grants to Enable Five Music Students from the Other American Republics to Attend the Berkshire Music Festival in August, 1942’ already has been presented and approved at the last pre-project meeting on April 13th. I hope that it will be presented to the Policy Committee on Thursday of next week . . . and passed.<sup>907</sup>

However, World War II and its high demand for human and material resources also impacted the festival negatively. The local newspaper, *The Berkshire Evening Eagle*, which covered the Tanglewood music activities regularly, published an “Editorial” on April 28, 1942, entitled “The Berkshire Festival,” which reflected the spirit of the time and criticized the continuation of the festival within the war context.<sup>908</sup> In other words, the conflict between arts and war

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<sup>905</sup> Ibid.

<sup>906</sup> Ibid. Italics mine.

<sup>907</sup> “Letter from Gustavo Durán to Aaron Copland,” April 16, 1942, CCLC, folder 12, box 355.

<sup>908</sup> Editorial, “The Berkshire Festival,” *The Berkshire Evening Eagle*, April 28, 1942, in “Addresses and Statements,” SKALC, folder 15, box 174.

generated a conflict of interest as well, and this initiated a debate between idealism and realism.

The text claimed:

This newspaper believes that the Berkshire Symphonic Festival, in the interest of a patriotic duty, should suspend operations for the duration of the war. This has been a difficult decision for the Eagle to reach. As a local business enterprise, no other single organization in Berkshire County, not directly concerned in selling recreation, has contributed more in this time, effort and money to building the recreational resources of this county. We have taken great pride in seeing the fame of this county grow and flourish. It has been a source of considerable pride to witness the Festival become a consummation of a dream that Berkshire County has vast spiritual assets for those who would come to share this bounty. We are not unmindful that the Festival has augmented the material resources of the county immeasurably. We have shared in that prosperity. We recognize, for all its appeal to the spirit, the Festival is also the concern of the butcher, the baker, and the candle-stick maker through the large multitudes which have annually congregated at the Tanglewood Shrine. The decision comes the harder therefore. But in arriving at this decision, we can not get out of our minds that this crisis, to too many of us, is still "the other fellow's war." As a people we are still too quick to rationalize our own selfish position. This war can not be won that way. It can only be won when the last of U.S. feels the pinch, the sacrifice, the downright grief and plain griping pain of fighting for survival. Music for morale? We don't get it. If we haven't the morale already, we are not going to get it no matter how many times the Beethoven Fifth is played. Nations and peoples are generally licked or victorious by virtue of what they go in with. We say we possess enough morale to win this war now. We are not going to win it by what we pick up along the way, granted it can be done. The spirit of Dunkirk was not born on the beaches of the English Channel. It was already there waiting for Dunkirk to expose it in all its glory. But it's a different thing when speaking of gasoline, rubber and cash. These must be conserved as our life blood. We shall be a poorer county and community without the Festival. Music will be the poorer for a suspension. But when it is all added up, we shall be a stronger nation. Unless this nation is strong, it won't be up to Festival trustees to ponder and debate its path and policy. The decision will be made by a national director of "Strength Through Joy." Nobody wants that, least of all those who are directing the destinies of this great musical enterprise whose particular success would only be possible in freedom's domain.<sup>909</sup>

Not only did the newspaper create a public debate on the topic within the public opinion, but a different document, entitled "Statement by Dr. Serge Koussevitzky," showed the conductor's position regarding the Boston Symphony Orchestra Trustees, where he voiced:

I have had no other communication from the Trustees except that they intended to discontinue the Berkshire Symphony Festival, giving as motive their patriotic concern to save gasoline. My answer to this is that the question of gasoline is the concern of the Government. The true and patriotic duty of the Trustees of the Boston Symphony Orchestra is to maintain

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<sup>909</sup> Ibid.

the activities of their institution, to preserve its artistic values, and to protect musical art. This is the true manifestation of patriotic duty and patriotism. No different word has reached me about the results of the Trustees' conference. A rumor is spreading here that the Boston Symphony Orchestra board has refused to carry on the Festival and the activities of the Boston Symphony Orchestra at Tanglewood. If this rumor is correct, I consider it an act of vandalism on the part of the new president of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. It bespeaks his profound misunderstanding of the fundamental duties and aims of a musical institution. In this case I could not collaborate with the Trustees of the Boston Symphony Orchestra any further and would immediately hand in my resignation, because I cannot participate in a premeditated destruction of cultural and artistic values or even remain as a passive witness of such an act.<sup>910</sup>

Koussevitzky answered the "Editorial" by sending a letter to the *Berkshire Evening Eagle's* editor on May 2, 1942. The conductor asked the editor to publish his letter, "which presents a different point of view," and advocated for:

It is the patriotic duty of the trustees of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the trustees of the Berkshire Symphony Festival to preserve the continuity—even if on a smaller scale—of the Festival and the Berkshire Music Center which stand high and unique in all the world. Only a false patriotism would claim that it is a patriotic duty to suspend these activities for the duration of the war. This attitude betrays ignorance of or indifference to the need for art and culture in our life – especially in the time of war. Certainly we must all willingly cooperate in the restrictions of gasoline and tires which the government finds right and necessary, and no one would ask for special favors in behalf of the Festival. But in spite of inconveniences, sacrifices and even hardships, people will find their way to Tanglewood, seeking there the spiritual strength and inspiration that they will need now more than ever. This is especially true of the several hundred students who are willing to do almost anything in order to study six weeks at the Berkshire Music Center; and it is also true of thousands who are looking forward with hope and longing to the Festival concerts.<sup>911</sup>

Koussevitzky called for a meeting with the Boston Symphony Orchestra's Trustees on June 4, 1942, and argued:

The reason I have called this meeting is that culture and art have never been more valuable than today, and have never had more weight and significance in life. Therefore, we cannot pass by unnoticed an event which is of consequence. The Berkshire Music Festival is cancelled: Thousands of music lovers will be deprived of the joy and inspiration of hearing great masterworks and the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Two boards of trustees could not agree on two points: 'Patriotism and high expenses.' It is not for me to judge who is or is not responsible

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<sup>910</sup> "Statement by Dr. Serge Koussevitzky," April 30, 1942, SKALC, folder 15, box 174.

<sup>911</sup> "Letter from Serge Koussevitzky to the Berkshire Evening Eagle Editor," May 2, 1942, SKALC, folder 15, box 174.

for this action. The Berkshire Music Center was threatened[:] because of the lack of funds. I decided to rescue it – not only because it is the vision of my life, but also because the past two years of its existence have shown how much the Center has meant to the young gifted American students, how deep and sincere was the appreciation of all those who have followed the work and activities of the school, and the extraordinary results the Center has given in this short time. For those reasons, with new courage and faith I assumed the responsibility for the continuance of the Berkshire Music Center. More than ever am I determined to carry on my work and my duties as its director, because I believe in the necessity to preserve our music and art treasures. Let me repeat here the words of a young friend, a Navy officer who came to see me, while on leave for 2 days. When I told him that the activities at ‘Tanglewood’ were about to be given up, he exclaimed: ‘How does can be done! We die to protect America, our people and our civilization: and we expect those who remain in the rear to protect the cultural values of our nation. We are willing to die to conquer peace for the future. But what will peace and the future be if our culture is not preserved? We do not need to keep mediocre, senseless, superfluous things, not even present mode of living, but we must all fight to save real values...’ This is also my comprehension and my ‘Credo.’ I believe that we are here, as soldiers at the front, and must be prepared at any moment for any sacrifice. Even so, we are privileged because we still able to live and enjoy the beauty and treasures of a cultural world which was bequeathed to us by our forefathers and by the historical past of many a nation; whereas the men at the front sacrifice the most precious possession—their lives—for the sake of the world we live in... America has great responsibility towards the agonized European world. America holds her traditions and culture from the old world and now has been given the flaming torch of all the suffering and suppressed peoples to carry, to keep burning until the time of peace. And then, America will be able to restore the cultural wealth which was entrusted to her, and which she alone can save from destruction. I know that my viewpoint is shared by many of this country. I know it through the letters which I receive from different states and people and from men in the service. But I know it especially through the enthusiasm with which my students attend their classes at “Tanglewood”, [sic] how eager they are to be guided, to learn and to carry the acquired knowledge further. My heart is with them. We shall resume our work uninterrupted, undisturbed, with a strong sense of duty and responsibility toward one another and the country which is giving U.S. this unique possibility.<sup>912</sup>

In this short speech, Koussevitzky expressed his belief in supporting the festival beyond any external threat, using current adversities as a reason to embrace this project ever more strongly, with the goal of transforming Tanglewood into a symbol of peace and empowerment. He situates the United States of America, primordially Euro-America, in world history as the recipient of West European culture to inspire the trustees not to abandon the festival because of the war. Ultimately, Koussevitzky showed his fortitude to celebrate the festival in 1942,

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<sup>912</sup> “Meeting with the BSO Trustees,” June 4, 1942, SKALC, folder 15, box 174.

with or without the trustees' consent. Meanwhile, six days later on June 10, Aaron Copland received a letter from the Festival Executive Secretary showing the list of composers who were going to be either with him or with Igor Stravinsky.<sup>913</sup> Among Copland's students were José Pablo Moncayo (Mexico), Harold Gramatges (Cuba) and Blas Galindo (Mexico); in other words, the U.S.-American composer kept all the South Americans for his class in order to sustain his Good Neighbor cultural-diplomatic initiative.<sup>914</sup>

Koussevitzky inaugurated Tanglewood's third season with his "Opening Address" on July 5, 1942.<sup>915</sup> Koussevitzky's rhetoric equated the armed conflict with the festival celebration's struggles and purpose. The conductor represented music and the arts as the war's antithesis, which was his strong and determined argument to carry out its third edition. In his speech's introduction, in which the conductor acknowledged the people and institutions that supported his cultural enterprise, Koussevitzky shared with the audience, "I am happy to announce the continuance of the Berkshire Music Center during the 1942 summer season. I am especially happy that this was [sic] possible through the Koussevitzky Music Foundation."<sup>916</sup> The speech began by recognizing in the festival "a sense of greater responsibility, of firmer determination and deeper consciousness," because "The tice of war has reached us."<sup>917</sup> Afterwards Koussevitzky epitomized Europe as a dystopian place where "The old world is shaken," and contrasted it with the utopian America where "Yet, in our new world there is hope, and if there ever was a time to speak of music it is now, in America."<sup>918</sup>

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<sup>913</sup> "Letter from the Executive Secretary to Aaron Copland," June 10, 1942, SKALC, folder 9, box 176.

<sup>914</sup> Ibid.

<sup>915</sup> "Opening Address of Dr. Serge Koussevitzky Berkshire Music Center," July 5, 1942, SKALC, folder 16, box 174.

<sup>916</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>917</sup> Ibid.

<sup>918</sup> Ibid.

Koussevitzky recalled the power of music by saying, “Like a symbol of freedom it breaks barriers between nations and [sic] carries its message to the world.”<sup>919</sup> The conductor similarly opened a space in his speech and showed empathy for his country of birth, Russia, being attacked and invaded by Nazi Germany, and expressed the view that “The blessed sign that music its recovering its spiritual and deeply humanitarian meaning comes to U.S. from the scorched plains of Russia.”<sup>920</sup> With the objective of reinforcing his rhetorical message, Koussevitzky, who quoted segments of three letters by servicemen who attended the previous festivals, shared with the audience, “The voice of these men is the voice of the nation. Their moral support makes our task light. We must keep on. We must not let the stream of arts and culture tarry. If once dried up it cannot be revived.”<sup>921</sup> The conductor concluded his oratorical piece by claiming, “The future of America is in your hands. We pass on to you our knowledge and our ideals. It is for you,” asserted the conductor “to carry them further, to persevere, to develop within yourselves the acquired atoms of a living art. I have faith in you, as I have faith in the future of mankind.”<sup>922</sup>

### **José Pablo Moncayo, Blas Galindo and Harold Gramatges at Tanglewood**

Composer, instrumentalist and conductor José Pablo Moncayo was one of the outstanding voices in twentieth-century Mexican music. Born on June 29, 1912, in Guadalajara, his family later moved, when he was six years old, to Mexico City where the future composer began taking piano lessons with Eduardo Hernández Moncada (1899-1995).<sup>923</sup> At

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<sup>919</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>920</sup> Ibid.

<sup>921</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>922</sup> Ibid.

<sup>923</sup> Armando R. Torres Chibrás, “José Pablo Moncayo, Mexican Composer and Conductor: A Survey of His Life with a Historical Perspective of His Time” (DMA diss., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2002), 265.



the age of 17 Moncayo was admitted to the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música* where he also became a disciple of Candelario Huízar (1883-1970) and Carlos Chávez.<sup>924</sup> With Chávez and his *Taller de Creación Musical*, Moncayo kept his composition training and similarly, in 1931, he participated with his works at the *Sociedad Musical Renovación*.<sup>925</sup> The *Orquesta Sinfónica de México* appointed Moncayo as its pianist and percussionist in 1932, and three years later Moncayo, became a cofounder composer member of *El Grupo de los Cuatro*.<sup>926</sup>

In some early chamber-music works like *Sonata para violín y piano* (1934), *Amatzinac* (1935) and *Trío para flauta, violín y piano* (1938), Moncayo exhibited a language using pentatonic and whole-tone scales, syncopations, modern tone colors, classical or free forms, pandiatonicism, polychords, polyrhythms and bitonality.<sup>927</sup> Ricardo Miranda-Pérez explains that twentieth-century Mexican composers use pandiatonicism, time-signature changes and repetition, because “each time a composer wished to give his work a distinctive Mexican character while using a modern musical language.”<sup>928</sup>

Later, Moncayo gained notoriety as a composer after the premiere of his *Huapango* for orchestra in 1941.<sup>929</sup> Unfortunately, the immense popularity of this work with concert audiences has obscured the rest of his musical production.<sup>930</sup> According to José Antonio Alcaráz, some of Moncayo’s works, even those not programmatic, engaged with the *Indigenismo*

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<sup>924</sup> Ibid. Italics mine.

<sup>925</sup> Ibid. Italics mine.

<sup>926</sup> Ibid., 266. Italics mine.

<sup>927</sup> José Antonio Alcaráz, *La obra de José Pablo Moncayo*. Cuadernos de Música Nueva Serie/2 (México: UNAM, Difusión Cultural, Departamento de Música, 1975), 8-11.

<sup>928</sup> Ricardo Miranda-Pérez, “‘Muros Verdes’ and the Creation of a New Musical Space,” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 11/2 (1990): 281.

<sup>929</sup> Ibid.

<sup>930</sup> See, for example, Juan Vicente Melo, “José Pablo Moncayo,” in *Notas sin música* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1990), 89-91. Robert M. Stevenson also expressed a similar idea in his book *Music of Mexico: A Historical Survey* (New York: Apollo Editions, 1952), 260.

movement, neoclassicism and with Mexican landscapes.<sup>931</sup> The information about what Moncayo's work during his residency at Tanglewood was vague. A letter from Copland to Chávez confirmed that:

I was very pleased with the work that Blas and Pablo did at the school. Everyone liked them very much and they did honor to Mexico I think....The purpose of this letter is mostly to ask you, if possible, to try out Moncayo's new piece at a rehearsal. Through a contretemps we were unable to do it at the school although a poor attempt was made with insufficient instrumentalists. I felt that he was not being treated fairly, and I told him I would write to you on the chance that you would be in a position to let him hear how his work sounds. I'm sure you will if you can.<sup>932</sup>

Diverse scholars, nonetheless, wrote about "Moncayo's new piece" at the Berkshire Music Center in 1942. According to music critic Francisco Agea (1900-1970), Moncayo was moved to complete his *Sinfonía's* last two movements at the Berkshire Music Center, because "finding himself abroad, and longing for his fatherland, felt the need to express himself in a Mexican language."<sup>933</sup> Nevertheless, Agea did not show proof of this assertion. On the other hand, in his book *Vida y obra de José Pablo Moncayo*, José Kamuel Zepeda Moreno claimed that Moncayo's work at Tanglewood was *Llano Grande [sic] para orquesta sinfónica* (1941).<sup>934</sup>

Conclusively, Eduardo Contreras Soto clarified that the work *Llano grande para orquesta sinfónica* does not exist and it has been a historiographical mistake since the publication by Jesús C. Romero.<sup>935</sup> Thus, Contreras Soto enlightens that the correct title of the work in Tanglewood

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<sup>931</sup> Alcaráz, *La obra de José Pablo Moncayo*, 12-17.

<sup>932</sup> "Letter from Aaron Copland to Carlos Chávez," September 1, 1942, CCLC, folder 29, box 249.

<sup>933</sup> Francisco Agea, "El concurso de composiciones mexicanas," in *Notas para el Programa de temporada* (Ciudad de México: Orquesta Sinfónica de México, 1944) quoted in Torres Chibrás, "José Pablo Moncayo," 141.

<sup>934</sup> José Kamuel Zepeda Moreno, *Vida y obra de José Pablo Moncayo* (Guadalajara, Jalisco: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaría de Cultura, 2005), 15; 90.

<sup>935</sup> Musicologist Contreras Soto addressed the following publication Jesús Carlos Romero, "Jose Pablo Moncayo," *Carnet Musical* 161 13/14 (July 1958): 300-302 as the source of the misunderstanding that has been reproduced in posterior publications about the Mexican composer. Eduardo Contreras Soto, email with the author, May 28, 2019. See also Eduardo Contreras Soto, "Las decepciones de la *Edición Moncayo*," *beterofonía* 146-147 (enero-diciembre 2012): 227-252.

is *Llano alegre* (1942).<sup>936</sup> Álvaro G. Díaz Rodríguez similarly points out, Chávez never performed this work in Mexico.<sup>937</sup> *Llano alegre* was inspired by the Mexican nature and countryside, which represented a social and political theme, not only offering a musical tribute to Mexico's nature, but also its people. The work is part of a group of symphonic pieces by Moncayo with a similar ideal, such as *Cumbres* (1940, 1953), *Tierra de temporal* (1949), *Bosques* (1954), and the ballet *Tierra* (1956).

*Llano alegre* is a one-movement musical work divided into three sections for a chamber orchestra, including a piano. The first section in *Allegro* with a time signature mostly in 5/8 exposes a pulsive movement supported on the eighth note, in which the rhythms frequently alternate between 3+2 and 2+3 or generate variations on the same rhythmical organization. It is based on the main theme exposed by the French Horn in C Lydian, which generates the section spirit and becomes a subject of development throughout the different orchestra instrumental sections. This first segment widely uses the pandiatonicism technique, and the rhythmic pulsation, as well as the progressive use of accents, building the intensity. Moncayo gradually incorporates dissonance, which constructs a powerful coda that leads towards a calmer second section.

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<sup>936</sup> Contreras Soto, "Las decepciones de la *Edición Moncayo*," 241-244.

<sup>937</sup> The score of *Llano alegre* remained unperformed and unedited for decades until Díaz Rodríguez performed its current edition within the concert program *Moncayo, más allá del Huapango*, with la Orquesta de Cámara de Ensenada on September 21, 2012 at the city's theater. In the same way, it is important to clarify that the present edition does not belong to the controversial *Edición Moncayo* published by the *Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes* in 2012. See an accurate Moncayo's work edition in Álvaro G. Díaz Rodríguez, "Llano Alegre," *heterofonía* 146-147 (enero-diciembre 2012): 183-223. See also Contreras Soto, "Las decepciones de la *Edición Moncayo*," 227-252.

*Llano Alegre.* J.P. Moncayo 1942 (1)

Allegro.

Flauta.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

Oboe.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

Clarinete.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$   
(si b)

Fagot.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

1  
Corno (Fa)  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

2  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

Trompeta (si b)  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

Trombon.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

Percusiones.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$  *Timpani*

Piano.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

Allegro.

Violin I  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

Violin 2  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

Viola.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$

Cello.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$  *Pizz.*

Bajo.  $\text{G}\sharp 5/8$  *Pizz. P*

**EXAMPLE 4.1.** José Pablo Moncayo, *Llano Alegre*, original score.

The second segment in *Andante* includes a time signature mostly of 3/4. The clarinets expose the main diatonic theme, which is re-exposed by the violins, and whose origin comes from the first section trumpets' first phrase.

Andante

Cl

*mf*

*p*

**EXAMPLE 4.2.** José Pablo Moncayo, *Llano Alegre*, second section's main theme exposed by the Clarinet.

Then appears a contrasting subsection, *Poco più*, shaped by motivic material previously exposed, which is juxtaposed. Then, an ascending melody by the double bass builds together with the rest of the orchestras a homorhythm crescendo that culminates in the section climax, followed by a polyphonic interlude that brings the second section towards its coda. The third section in *Allegro*, with a time signature in 2/4, alternates between a dynamic pointillistic call and response segments with energetic accented homorhythm passages. Unfortunately, Moncayo was not able to receive the performance of his work *Llano alegre para orquesta de cámara* (1942) due to World War II impacted Tanglewood as well, and wartime privations limited the festival's normal functions.

Blas Galindo repeated his participation at the Berkshire Music Center. Even though scholars mentioned the premiere performance of his work *Arroyos* on August 17, 1942, the documentation to prove this fact has not been found in the Boston Symphony Orchestra

Archives.<sup>938</sup> The festival ended on August 16 with a Gala Benefit for the Russian War Relief, which included a performance of Dmitri Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony as a symbolic musical gesture. Moreover, Galindo sent a letter to Copland on September 18, 1942, in which he shared the travel to Washington, D.C., with José Pablo Moncayo to meet Gustavo Durán (Music Division at the Pan American Union) in order to talk about funding for the *Asociación Panamericana de Jóvenes Compositores*.<sup>939</sup> The Mexican composer similarly promised Copland that he would send the work's score completed during his summer at Tanglewood, and during this residency, Galindo likewise gained a future commission from the Koussevitzky Music Foundation, which culminated in the *Sonata* for cello and piano (1948).<sup>940</sup>

The Cuban composer Harold Gramatges, whom Alejo Carpentier described as “one of the most solid and conscious musicians that has produced contemporary Cuban music.”<sup>941</sup> He received his musical training in his natal country at the *Consejtorio de la Habana*, and he became a member of the neoclassical *Grupo de Renovación musical*, funded and led by the émigré Spanish composer José Ardévol (1911-1981).<sup>942</sup> Harold Gramatges thought about himself as a composer whose generation believed in an “objective” musical position in which the form gave the musical work a universal order, integration and life in organizing the sound elements.<sup>943</sup> Thus, the composer argued that the musical work was the space where

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<sup>938</sup> See, for example, Stevenson, *Music of México*, 258 and Xochiquétzal Ruiz Ortiz, *Blas Galindo: biografía, antología de textos y catálogo* (México D.F.: CENIDIM, 1994).

<sup>939</sup> Letter from Blas Galindo to Aaron Copland,” September 18, 1942, CCLC, folder 8, box 255. Italics mine.

<sup>940</sup> Ibid.

<sup>941</sup> The text in Spanish: “uno de los músicos más sólidos y conscientes que haya producido la música cubana contemporánea. See Alejo Carpentier, *La música en Cuba* (México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946), 348.

<sup>942</sup> Leonardo Acosta, “Los móviles de Harold Gramatges,” in *Móviles y otras músicas* (La Habana: Ediciones UNIÓN, 2010), 5 and Cristobal Díaz Ayala, *Cuando salí de la Habana 1898-1997: Cien años de música cubana por el mundo* (Puerto Rico: Fundación musicales, 1999), 178.

<sup>943</sup> Harold Gramatges, “La música en defensa del hombre,” in *Presencia de la Revolución en la música cubana* (La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1997), 113.

“polytonality, polyharmony, polyrhythm and modality” were blended, according to the principles taught in the classroom by José Ardévol at the *Conservatorio Municipal de Música de La Habana*.<sup>944</sup> In other words, neoclassicism integrated into Cuban art music as an alternative to the Afrocubanism promoted by Alejandro García Caturla (1906-1940) and Amadeo Roldán (1900-1939).

“In 1942 Ardévol was commissioned to choose one of his students to receive a scholarship to study at the Berkshire Music Center in the United States,” as José Luis Fanjul explains “in order to attend two different courses: composition with Aaron Copland and orchestra conducting with [sic] Koussevitsky,” and Gramatges was among a group of participants including Virginia Fleites (1916-1966), Juan Antonio Cámara (1917-1994), Serafín Pro (1906-1997).<sup>945</sup> The jury awarded Harold Gramatges the opportunity to attend Tanglewood for his work *Sonata en sol sostenido menor* for harpsichord during a concert at Lyceum Lawn Tennis Hall on June 20, 1942, as reported by Clara Díaz.<sup>946</sup> There are no documents that show Gramatges’ musical activities at Tanglewood, but in a letter after Gramatges’ return to Cuba, the composer called his experience “a musical paradise called Tanglewood,” which denotes a positive experience at the festival.<sup>947</sup>

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<sup>944</sup> Ibid. Italics mine.

<sup>945</sup> The text in Spanish: “En 1942 Ardévol recibió el encargo de escoger uno de sus alumnos para que recibiera una beca de estudios en Berkshire Music Center en los Estados Unidos, a efectos de que asistiera a dos cursos diferentes: el de composición con Aaron Copland y el de dirección de orquesta con Koussevitsky.” See José Luis Fanjul, “Grupo de Renovación (1942-1948). Neoclasicismo musical en Cuba,” *Revista Argentina de Musicología* 14 (2013): 190. Fanjul also mentions as the jury members: María Muñoz de Quevedo, Joaquín Nin Castellanos, Cesar Pérez Centenat, Diego Bonilla y José Ardévol. Ibid., 190.

<sup>946</sup> Clara Díaz, “Introducción,” in *José Ardévol: Correspondencia cruzada* (La Habana: Editorial de Letras Cubanas, 2004), 23.

<sup>947</sup> “Letter from Harold Gramatges to Aaron Copland,” October 30, 1942, CCLC, folder 6, box 255.

## Musical Activities by Copland from the Festival Suspension to its Reopening

Secretary of State Cordell Hull (1871-1955) wrote to Aaron Copland—who, during that time was serving as the American Composer Alliance’s President—on November 24, 1942, to confirm his appointment to the Advisory Committee on Music. Hull wrote:

I have learned with great interest and satisfaction of your contribution during the past year to the work of the Advisory Committee on Music. The Department has considered itself fortunate that you consented to give this portion of your time and energy. I therefore wish to express to you on the behalf of the Department our gratitude for the valuable services which you have rendered.<sup>948</sup>

Hull continued:

I take pleasure in informing you that, in accordance with the provisions of section 2 of the Act of August 9, 1939, ‘An Act to Authorize the President to Render Closer and More Effective the Relationship Between the American Republics[,]’ the President has approved your designation as a member of the Advisory Committee on Music to assist the Department in its program of cultural relations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943. This committee will also serve the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.<sup>949</sup>

With the aim of keeping ties with the rest of the American continent’s musicians, Copland traveled to Mexico in 1944, where he sent letters to some of his friends and colleagues. Copland wrote to Leonard Bernstein (1918-1990) on August 11, 1944, from Tepoztlán, Morelos, where “The village itself is pure Aztec—a kind of museum piece.”<sup>950</sup> In the next letter to Bernstein on August 25, Copland mentioned that he heard the French conductor Vladimir Golshmann (1893-1972) leading the orchestra in Mexico City and shared, “The orchestra has changed—it plays more correctly and better in tune—but with a certain student-

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<sup>948</sup> “Letter from Cordell Hull to Aaron Copland,” November 24, 1942, CCLC, folder 12, box 355.

<sup>949</sup> Ibid.

<sup>950</sup> Aaron Copland, “During and After the War 1942-48,” in *The Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland*, eds. Elizabeth B. Crist and Wayne Shirley (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 161.



like carefulness that spoils half the fun. (Don't quote me.) In the old days (1932),” continued Copland “they made a mess—but it was a pretty mess.”<sup>951</sup> Regarding Copland’s judgmental opinions toward his colleagues from Mexico, whom he knew very well, the composer affirmed in a letter to Arthur Berger (1912-2003):

We are only two hours from Mexico City so I have heard the Sinf[ó]nica several times. Ch[á]vez played a piece by Revueltas’ called *Ventanas* (Windows). It’s very amusing to listen to—chuck full [sic] of orchestral color—but the form isn’t very good. I’m afraid. He was like a modern painter who throws marvellous daubs of color on canvas that practically takes your eyes out, but it doesn’t add up. Too bad—because he was a gifted guy. Also heard a *Symphony* No. 1 by young Pablo Moncayo, He adds a gentle note to what is generally the grim or boisterous Mexican palette, but the whole thing is still rather unformed, despite charming moments. I am disturb[ed to] note that there doesn’t seem to be any youngest generation of [Mex]ican composers-fellows in their twenties, I mean. Galindo and Moncayo are the third generation. I spoke to Ch[á]vez about it, but he doesn’t seem to have any explanation. It may be the lack of [an] outstanding composition teacher—nobody who teaches young really seems to know his stuff. Ch[á]vez and Revueltas went abroad and the young men stay at home. Something ought to be done about it.<sup>952</sup>

Some days later, Copland similarly sent a letter to Minna Lederman, the editor of *Modern Music*, on October 6, from Mexico. “About Latin America: I don't get the impression that very much has been happening in Mexico. Still if you want a round-up of events,” the U.S.-American composer wrote that “I'd suggest you ask Salvador Moreno. He's a young composer in the Chávez camp, a Mexican of Spanish antecedents.”<sup>953</sup> Then Copland, although he was in conversation with José Ardévol in order to create the Cuban American Music Group and taught Harold Gramatges in Tanglewood, wrote about Cuba, “I recently had news of a new ‘Grupo Renovaci[ó]n Musical’ that has been formed in Cuba. They gave two concerts of works

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<sup>951</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>952</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>953</sup> Ibid., 167.

by the new generation of composers,” while, “I doubt whether the works are very significant, but I think it’s worth reporting on. José Ardévol could write an article about it.”<sup>954</sup>

World War II limited people’s mobility, which affected Copland. The context allowed the composer’s neighbors from the United States to collaborate, and in 1945 the new music scene witnessed the creation of the Cuban-American Music Group. The group appointed Erminie Kahn as Executive Director and included Copland (Chairman), Henry Cowell, Ethel S. Cohen, Gilbert Chase, and Paul Bowles from the U.S., and composers José Ardévol and Pedro Sanjuan from “Cuba.”<sup>955</sup> The musicians joined forces to promote the Pan-American imaginary with their nation’s modern works in concerts and publications, and two concerts were organized with this purpose, one in New York at the Museum of Modern Art (1945) and the second one in La Habana.<sup>956</sup> Nevertheless, Bélen Pichaco Vega articulates that the essence of *Cubanity* was subject to negotiations and interests as a result of the agendas of the Spaniards Ardévol and Sanjuan, who emphasized the Hispanic musical tradition over the avant-garde Afro-Cuban one.<sup>957</sup> The U.S.-American musicians similarly identified more and preferred the Afro-Cuban aesthetic to the Hispanic. In other words, Pan-Hispanism not only had a central position, especially coming from the previous metropole, but also collided with Pan-Americanism. Therefore, two cultural hegemonic projects subtly confronted each through the mediation of art music.

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<sup>954</sup> Ibid. The Cuban American Music Group was founded in 1945 with Aaron Copland as Acting Chairman, José Ardévol, Paul Bowles, Gilbert Chase, Ethel S. Cohen, Henry Cowell, Pedro San Juan, and Erminie Khan as Executive Director.

<sup>955</sup> See Belén Vega Pichaco, “Performing Cubanity in Sounds and Images: Cuban Painting and Music Avant-garde through the Looking-glass of MoMA in the early 1940s,” in *Music and Figurative Arts in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Roberto Illiano (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2016), 387-409.

<sup>956</sup> Vega Pichaco, “Performing Cubanity in Sounds and Images,” 396-397.

<sup>957</sup> Ibid., 394-396.

From Argentina he reported, “Argentina's season is just over and I think we ought to have a report on the new works introduced,” and from Chile, Copland suggested that the “Domingo Santa Cruz’ new Piano Concerto. I spoke with Arrau here and he seemed very impressed by it. Santa Cruz,” illuminate Copland “writes the sort of music that analyses well. . . I think you could take a chance again on young Juan Orrego.”<sup>958</sup> Copland recommended Carleton Sprague Smith, who “ought to have a thousand words inside him about life on Sao Paulo [sic], where I understand he is cultural attach[é] to our consulate,” and from Uruguay the composer “also wish[ed] that we could have a note from Montevideo but I don't know who could write it.”<sup>959</sup> During these years Copland produced some of his most relevant works during the War, such as *Fanfare for the Common Man* (1942), *Lincoln Portrait* (1942), and *Appalachian Spring* (1944).

## Conclusion

The current chapter shows how World War II impacted Tanglewood as well, and wartime privations limited the festival’s normal musical functions. Despite the struggles the chapter also examined how the Tanglewood fellowship program enabled the U.S. government to exercise the principle of “reciprocity,” making it possible to bring not only instrumentalists but also composers Blas Galindo, José P. Moncayo and Harold Gramatges to show them musical life in the United States. In other words, U.S. cultural diplomacy began prioritizing composers over performers, which represents a positivistic characteristic of modernism in Western art music because of the preeminence of music compositions as cultural texts, and

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<sup>958</sup> Copland, “During and After the War 1942-48,” 167.

<sup>959</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

the role of composers as intellectuals in society. Accordingly, this chapter, with respect to the participation of Latin American composers, proves how the institutional efforts to incorporate Latin American music and composers (fellows) within the Berkshire Music Center was part of a strategy to further the goals of the United States' Good Neighbor Policy. Another major finding is the comprehensive account of Aaron Copland's agenda during his first trip to Latin America as a cultural attaché, through which we can better understand how the repertoire and his media appearances (radio and newspapers) reinforced the Good Neighbor Policy's geopolitical interests by displaying a nation ready to replace Europe as the dominant force in Western civilization, as the center of its geopolitical and geocultural system.

**CHAPTER V**  
**The Berkshire Music Center:**  
**The Transition from Pan-Americanism to Cold War (1946-1947)**

**Introduction**

The Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood halted its activities as a result of World War II. Still, the success of its first editions engaged the Boston Symphony Orchestra's patrons board, musicians, and audiences who supported its continuation after the armed conflict ended. This chapter examines the transition from Pan-Americanism to the Cold War (ca. 1947-1991) to understand how this postwar historical transition similarly impacted each sphere on the American continent. The conclusion of World War II caused agencies such as the Office for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, founded only contextually vis-à-vis the war, to be eliminated. Therefore, the question arose as to whether cultural diplomacy would continue or not. The chapter elaborates on the Berkshire Music Center's regular summer dynamics and their connections to the musical contributions provided by the new group of modern Latin American composers (1946-1947). Regarding the beginning of the Cold War and United States cultural diplomacy toward Latin America, it discusses Aaron Copland's visit to Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay in 1947 as a Visiting Professor of Music sponsored by the Department of State. This tour examination illustrates how the U.S.-American composer articulates the different postwar cultural diplomacy visions and values in accordance with the United States Cold War foreign policy.

## Historical Context

Near the end of World War II (1939-1945), the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain (represented by their political leaders) gathered at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Security Organization for Peace in the Post-War World (1944). Later, they met again at the Yalta Conference (1945) to continue their deliberations about the future international system's geopolitical scenario to enforce a postwar global security and cooperation order. Accordingly, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin (1878-1953) and Winston Churchill (1874-1965) were aware that the end of World War II would create fundamental changes in the international order. That being the case, these summits contributed to the attempt to negotiate and construct it.<sup>960</sup> In other words, this alliance was only tied to this historical event. However, the Allies' geopolitical agenda after the war's end, based on their national interests, would lead them into different paths, generating conflicts of interest. Strictly speaking, these world powers, with their various political and economic systems in combination with their ideologies, would soon collide in the postwar international order.

Later, the Potsdam Conference (1945) signified the official summit to formally conclude the Axis Powers' defeat, after their imperial geopolitical plans had created the most deadly war in human history.<sup>961</sup> On that account, building new and updated international institutions would potentially open communication channels to negotiate the upcoming challenges and keep a balance of power to regulate the international relations' complexity, preserve peace, and to avoid another humanitarian catastrophe of a world war, the new global

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<sup>960</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945; therefore, he did not see the end of World War II, but his leadership solidly helped to defeat the Axis.

<sup>961</sup> Japan capitulated after the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

order built novel institutions. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (1944), as well as reengineering the League of Nations (1920-1946) into the United Nations (1945), which promulgated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), were some of the new international organizations.

Within the post-war international context, Western hemispheric security continued to be a priority for the continental interest. The Truman administration projected and enforced the U.S. national interest, regionally and internationally, with the policy of containing communism, which signified the end of the Good Neighbor Policy. The procedure mentioned above represented the highest point of convergence between the United States and Latin America's Western hemispheric relations. However, with the focus on rebuilding Western Europe, the U.S. government decided to redefine its role in the region and displaced Latin America, so it became a less critical priority in U.S. foreign policy. Consequently, the U.S. policymakers conceived the concept of "national security" as a theoretical justification for the country's foreign-policy actions. Jeremy Suri observed that this "expanded upon previous conceptions of territorial defense and hemispheric hegemony."<sup>62</sup> The inter-American system became the way to conduct the hemisphere's international relations, including, for instance, the economic assistance that the Latin American countries requested. Roger R. Trask explains that "Latin Americans hoped that a strong regional organization would serve to promote both the economic development of Latin America and the 'containment' of the United States."<sup>63</sup> Darlene Rivas similarly notes that within this frame, the United States began exporting values

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<sup>62</sup> Jeremy Suri, "The Early Cold War," in *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*, ed. Robert Schulzinger (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003), 215.

<sup>63</sup> Roger R. Trask, "The Impact of the Cold War on U. S.-Latin American Relations, 1945-1949," in *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U. S.-Latin American Relations*, eds. Michael J. LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, third edition (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015), 130.

and systems such as democracy and liberal capitalism, which were associated with the notion of modernization, to Americanize the world and stop communism's global expansion.<sup>964</sup> This process not only discontinued the ethnic-diplomacy approach during the Good Neighbor Policy's enforcement, but it also renewed the old misconceptions about biological, cultural, historical, and geographical determinism, which Rivas summarized as "condescension and racism."<sup>965</sup>

The European powers, meanwhile, recovered quickly as a result of the U.S.-aided Marshall Plan (1947). Despite being themselves victims of the imperial fascist project, which killed more than sixty million people in Europe, countries such as Britain, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands displayed new colonial projects in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The Marshall Plan rebuilt the destroyed economies of Western Europe, including those of Germany and Italy. The objective of using capitalism and democracy as engines was to generate prosperity and, at the same time, use these countries as containment states against the spread of Soviet communism's global influence. Therefore, on March 12, 1947, U.S. President Harry Truman (1884-1972) gave a speech in front of the U.S. Congress, following the foreign-policy principle of "containment" against the Soviet Union's expansionist actions as designed by George F. Kennan (1904-2005). Truman presented his doctrine, stating that "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."<sup>966</sup> This doctrine aimed to position

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<sup>964</sup> Darlene Rivas, "United States–Latin American Relations, 1942–1960" in *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*, ed. Robert Schulzinger (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003), 230-254.

<sup>965</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>966</sup> See the Truman Doctrine in Harry Truman, "Address of the President to Congress, Recommending Assistance to Greece and Turkey, March 12, 1947," accessed September 29, 2019, <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/research-files/address-president-congress-recommending-assistance->



the United States and its allies against the expansion of communism anywhere on the globe. On that account, diverse institutional initiatives were likewise launched to help control hemispheric communism during the Cold War, such as the Brussels Pact (1948) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO, 1949).<sup>967</sup>

In Latin America, the Cold War impacted things immediately. One of its outcomes was that the U.S. foreign-policy experts collaborated with those of other American republics to sign and enforce collective treaties against Soviet-communist influence. In 1945, the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace in Mexico produced a document for hemispheric security cooperation named “Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance and Solidarity,” also known as the *Acta de Chapultepec*. In the “Inter-American Conference on the Problems of War and Peace” (Mexico, 1945) Latin American countries pressured the United States to create autonomous Inter-American institutions and the principle of collective defense established in its Part I:

3. That every attack of a State against the integrity or the inviolability of the territory, or against the sovereignty or political independence of an American State, shall, conformably to Part III hereof, be considered as an act of aggression against the other States which sign this Act. In any case, invasion by armed forces of one State into the territory of another trespassing boundaries established by treaty and demarcated in accordance therewith shall constitute an act of aggression.<sup>968</sup>

The “Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance and Solidarity” or “Act of Chapultepec” was approved on March 6, 1945 and became an institutional mechanism of hemispheric security.<sup>969</sup>

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greece-and-turkey. See also the article by X [George F. Kennan], “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs* 25/4 (1947): 566-82.

<sup>967</sup> The countries that signed the Brussels Pact were the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

<sup>968</sup> “Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance and Solidarity (Act of Chapultepec),” United States Treaties, accessed September 7, 2019, <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000003-1024.pdf>.

<sup>969</sup> “Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,” Department of International Law, OAS, Multilateral Treaties, accessed September 8, 2019, <http://www.oas.org/juridico/english/treaties/b-29.html>.

Later, during the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco (April/June 1945), the Latin American countries kept persevering and successfully introduced, then got approved the principle of regional (Inter-American) self-defense within the United Nations Charter articles. This continental foreign-policy objective became real once it was reflected in “Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression” (Art. 51) and “Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements” (Art. 52):

Art. 51. Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Art. 52. (1) Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. (2) The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council. (3) The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council. (4) This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.<sup>970</sup>

The Latin American countries’ hemisphere-wide foreign policy voiced their agreement to enforce continental autonomous institutions’ ability to protect themselves, not only from communism but also from the United States’ interventionist policy in the region. In other

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<sup>970</sup> “Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression” and “Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements,” Charter of the United Nations, accessed September 10, 2019, <https://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/>.

words, Latin American countries feared a revival of the Monroe Doctrine in the Western hemisphere. These two preceding conferences paved the path in 1947 not only for the upcoming Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance in Rio de Janeiro/Brazil—which institutionalized the Truman doctrine—but also, as Darlene Rivas points out, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) founding in 1949 in Europe.<sup>971</sup> That being the case, the hemispheric security’s original concept was envisioned in the Mexican conference, as Roger R. Trask also confirms when he mentions that “Not until 1945, however, when serious problems with the Soviet Union were apparent, did U. S. policymakers begin to accept the need for such agreements,” which refers to treaties for the Inter-American collective defense.<sup>972</sup>

### **Tanglewood (1946)**

The Berkshire Music Center reinitiated its activities one year after World War II ended. Serge Koussevitzky was able to manage it such that the conflict would not similarly annihilate Tanglewood, and it returned with more energy, participation, and resources.<sup>973</sup> Yet the festival’s reopening occurred, as previously mentioned, under a new Cold War era of international relations, and the preceding context of Pan-Americanism was replaced by a new

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<sup>971</sup> Rivas, “United States–Latin American Relations, 1942–1960,” 236.

<sup>972</sup> Trask, “The Impact of the Cold War,” 129. This period represented the time of Argentina’s reincorporation into the Inter-American system, not because it had been expelled in the past but because with its “neutrality” it had implicitly supported Nazi Germany during World War II, almost until the conflict’s end. Besides, it similarly represented a challenge for the United States’ foreign policy as a result of having elected Juan Perón in 1945, whose policies and ideology were always difficult to anticipate. Nevertheless, though Perón aligned Argentina with the United States against communism, he developed a different political narrative internally. The “Argentinean Question” was a highly disputed one through the conference, and on one occasion, Assistant Secretary of State Nelson Rockefeller’s mediation efforts were requested to protect the United States’ national interest with Argentina’s last-minute incorporation. See Glenn J. Dorn, “Perón’s Gambit: The United States and the Argentine Challenge to the Inter-American Order, 1946–1948,” *Diplomatic History* 26/1 (Winter 2002): 1-20 and Lars Schoultz, “To Improve or Not to Improve” in *In Their Own Best Interest: A History of the U. S. Effort to Improve Latin Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 167-169.

<sup>973</sup> See all the works by Latin American composers at Tanglewood in APPENDIX C and APPENDIX D.

agenda in foreign policy and institutions for Inter-Americanism. As a result of Koussevitzky's international life experience, the conductor understood how this new milieu would impact the world, and he intended to give it a different, proactive and positive connotation. In a letter dated June 18, 1946, to the U.S. senator Warren Austin (1877-1962), Koussevitzky wrote:

The Berkshire Festival concerts by the Boston Symphony Orchestra under my direction will be resumed this summer with the conclusion of the War. The opening programme [sic] will take place at Tanglewood Thursday, evening, July 25<sup>th</sup>, at which time there will be performed the American premiere of the latest work of Dimitri Shostakovich,—his new Symphony no. 9. It would be a great source of satisfaction if you would be our guest for this concert, to which I have also invited Mr. Gromyko. Music has been such a fruitful field for the enhancement of good relations among peoples that it has occurred to me it would be most significant if two such distinguished representatives of the United States as yourself and Mr. Gromyko could be present that evening. As soon as I may know your wishes it will be a pleasure to see that the tickets are forwarded to you with the Orchestra's compliments.<sup>974</sup>

The quoted letter symbolizes how Koussevitzky's awareness of music's power to foster effective cultural diplomacy could be used to impact politics and foreign policies alike. The fact of performing a new-music work from the U.S.S.R. in the United States sent a symbolic message about Koussevitzky's conviction and confidence in the music's positive trans-political results. In connection to the Russian presence at the festival in 1946, the document "Faculty Member of the Berkshire Music Center Summer 1946" included the name of composer Igor Stravinsky next to a question mark.<sup>975</sup> Conceivably, Koussevitzky pursued his objective of having the Russian composer there to reinforce his statement of cultural diplomacy. However, like in 1942, Stravinsky did not join the faculty, and the document "The Berkshire Music

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<sup>974</sup> See the Serge Koussevitzky Archive, 1880-1978, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., (henceforth SKALC), Correspondence, Business File, "Berkshire Music Center, 1945-1946," folder 11, box 183. Andrei Gromyko (1909-1989) was Soviet political diplomat during the Cold War.

<sup>975</sup> "Berkshire Music Center 1945-1946," SKALC, folder 13, box 183.

Center: Faculty 1946” mentioned that for the second time, Bohuslav Martinů had been appointed.<sup>976</sup>

A document entitled “Announce [sic] the Fourth Season July 1-August 10, 1946 of the Berkshire Music Center,” which mentions Aaron Copland as the festival’s Assistant Director, stated that “The Trustees of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Serge Koussevitzky, Director, announced that the Berkshire Music Center suspended for three seasons, because of the War, will be resumed during the summer of 1946.”<sup>977</sup> Koussevitzky also expressed that “What we want to give our students is constructive advice and practical method[s] which will stimulate their gifts, round out their abilities gained during their years of study, and broaden their acquaintance with music.”<sup>978</sup>

The Department of State, in collaboration with the Guggenheim Foundation and Aaron Copland, ensured that the Berkshire Music Center’s reinitiating would keep its unwritten mission statement of hosting Latin American composers. Herschel Brickell (1889-1952), who was the Department of State Division of Cultural Cooperation Assistant Chief, sent a letter to Copland on November 28, 1945, in which he expressed that “Our mutual friend Dr. Henry Allen Moe has referred to me your inquiry regarding the possibility of having four or five students from the other American republics at the Berkshire Music Center during the 1946 summer term.”<sup>979</sup> The correspondence continues with, “I see no reason why qualified students should not be given maintenance grants to attend the Berkshire Music Center, provided the Center grants tuition. The Institute of International Education,” asserts the letter,

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<sup>976</sup> Ibid.

<sup>977</sup> Ibid.

<sup>978</sup> Ibid.

<sup>979</sup> Aaron Copland Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., “Letter from Herschel Brickell to Aaron Copland,” November 28, 1945, (hereafter CCLC), folder 13, box 355.

“now administers most of the funds allotted to the Department for maintenance for students from the other American republics and is in charge of the placement of such students.”<sup>980</sup> Brickell suggests that Copland contact this institution to obtain support for the project.<sup>981</sup>

In 1946, the festival witnessed meaningful and more substantial participation by modern composers and works from Latin America. The Chilean composer Juan Orrego-Salas (1919-2019), who attended the festival as a fellow in 1946, wrote about his experience in Tanglewood, “Not only did I share my composition classes at Tanglewood with Julian Orbón from Cuba and Héctor Tosar from Uruguay, but also with Alberto Ginastera from Argentina, Roque Cordero from Panama, Blas Galindo from Mexico, and Antonio Estévez from Venezuela.”<sup>982</sup> He concluded that “It was a group of composers whom, then, extolled the twentieth century in Latin America with works of internationally recognized uniqueness and class.”<sup>983</sup>

The article “Festival at Tanglewood,” by Ralph Hawkes (1898-1950), Boosey & Hawkes’ senior director, reviewed the postwar 1946 festival reopening.<sup>984</sup> Curiously, he revealed, “The music of Latin-America was well represented at the festival, with works by Roque Cordero (Panama), Juan Orrego (Chile), Hector Tosar (Uruguay), Alberto Ginastera (Argentina), Claudio Spies (Chile), Julian Orbón (Cuba) and Eleazar de Carvalho (Brazil).”<sup>985</sup> Nonetheless, Hawkes was surprised to notice, “There was evidence of flourishing musical culture here, and two of the composers, Tosar and Carvalho, were presented at

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<sup>980</sup> Ibid.

<sup>981</sup> Ibid.

<sup>982</sup> Juan Orrego-Salas, e-mail to the author, November 2, 2011. Blas Galindo attended the festival in 1941 and 1942.

<sup>983</sup> Ibid.

<sup>984</sup> Ralph Hawkes, “Festival at Tanglewood,” *Tempo* 2 (1946): 16.

<sup>985</sup> Ibid.

Tanglewood.”<sup>986</sup> In reality, the 1946 festival witnessed a larger group of composers from Latin America, and Hawkes repeated a commonly heard trope about modern music in Latin America.

Consequently, one of the Berkshire Music Center’s unplanned roles was to become a Pan-Latin American (South/South) simultaneously as an Inter-American (North/South) encounter’s space for dialogues, exchanges of ideas and aesthetics. For this first time in this history, the United States and not Europe—a thesis similarly exposed by Roque Cordero—became the magnet for a young generation of Latin American composers, who sought not only to keep improving their knowledge and craftsmanship but, likewise, to penetrate a wealthier modern-music market with opportunities for commissions, scholarships and professorships.<sup>987</sup> In addition to the interpretations of Latin American, U.S. and European composers’ work in various concerts, the Berkshire Music Center celebrated a special event entitled: “A Concert of Latin American Chamber Music.” The event on August 4, 1946, at the Chamber Music Hall, was dedicated exclusively to chamber music by Latin American young composers who participated as Fellows during that year, along with one orchestral work conducted by Koussevitzky’s new protégé, Brazilian conductor Eleazar de Carvalho (1912-1996).<sup>988</sup> The musical event “A Concert of Latin American Chamber Music” represents a Pan-

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<sup>986</sup> Ibid.

<sup>987</sup> Roque Cordero, “Vigencia del músico culto,” in *América Latina en su música*, ed. Isabel Aretz (México D.F.: Siglo XXI editores, 1974), 162.

<sup>988</sup> Villa-Lobos was responsible for introducing Brazilian conductor Eleazar del Carvalho (1912-1996) to Koussevitzky in 1946. Carvalho became Koussevitzky’s assistant and his successor as the head of the conducting class, teaching successive fellows in conducting at the Tanglewood Music Festival, such as Claudio Abbado (1933-2014), Seiji Ozawa (1935), and Zubin Mehta (1936), among other conductors, who became world renowned as well. The festival also opened a path for Carvalho, who deployed a brilliant international conducting career and held teaching positions at the Juilliard School of Music and Yale School of Music. Part of the correspondence between both conductors is available at “Carvalho, Eleazar de, 1944-1975, undated,” SKALC, folders 14-17, box 10.

Latin American example, as well as an event that allowed audiences to converse about and compare diverse modern art music aesthetics during that time on the American continent.



**FIGURE 5.1.** Left to right, first row: conductor Eleazar de Carvalho (Brazil), pianist Mercedes Silva Telles (Brazil), pianist Raul Spivak (Argentina), composer Juan Orrego (Chile). Second row: Mr. Adolf Berle (U.S.), Mrs. Ginastera (Argentina), Mrs. Estévez (Venezuela), Mrs. Spivak (Argentina), Mrs. Orrego (Chile), Oscar y Buenaventura (Colombia). Standing: diplomat Dr. Alberto Carneiro (Brazil), composer Antonio José Estévez (Venezuela), Mrs. Berle (U.S.), composer Aaron Copland (U.S.), composer Alberto Ginastera (Argentina), composer Héctor Tosar (Uruguay) and composer Claudio Spies (Chile). Photo by Howard S. Babbitt Jr.<sup>989</sup>

<sup>989</sup> “Aaron Copland poses with a group of Latin American students at the home of former U.S. Ambassador Adolf Berle and his wife in Great Barrington, MA,” *Albany Sunday Times-Union Pictorial Review*, July 28, 1946, BSO Archives, accessed, April 3, 2020), <http://collections.bso.org/digital/collection/images/id/888/rec/18>.



BERKSHIRE MUSIC CENTER  
 SERGE KOUSSEVITZKY - Director  
 Tanglewood - Lenox, Massachusetts

A Concert of Latin-American Chamber Music  
 Sunday, August 4, 1946, 8:15 p.m.  
 Chamber Music Hall

I

<p>ROQUE COFREDO (Panama)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">I Presto          II Adagietto          III Allegro deciso</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Pianist: Hector Tosar</p>	<p>SONATINA RITMICA</p>												
<p>JUAN OFREGO (Chile)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">I Allegro          II Grave          III Allegro</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Kenneth Gordon: violin          Lukas Foss: piano</p>	<p>SONATA FOR VIOLIN AND PIANO</p>												
<p>HECTOR TOSAR (Uruguay)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">II Lento          IV Allegro ma non troppo</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Harold Schuster and Sonya Monosoff, violins;          Arthur Bauch, viola; Morris Kirshbaum, cello.</p>	<p>STRING QUARTET (2 movements)</p>												
<p>ALBERTO GINASTIPA (Argentina)</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">1. Sadness</td> <td style="width: 33%;">5. In the First Pentatonic Minor Mode</td> <td style="width: 33%;">9. Tribute to Aaron Copland</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Accents</td> <td>6. Tribute to R. Garcia Morillo</td> <td>10. Pastorale</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Creole Dance</td> <td>7. Octaves</td> <td>11. Tribute to H. Villa-Lobos</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. Vidala</td> <td>8. Tribute to Juan Jose Castro</td> <td>12. In the First Pentatonic Major Mode</td> </tr> </table> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Pianist: Raul Spivak</p>	1. Sadness	5. In the First Pentatonic Minor Mode	9. Tribute to Aaron Copland	2. Accents	6. Tribute to R. Garcia Morillo	10. Pastorale	3. Creole Dance	7. Octaves	11. Tribute to H. Villa-Lobos	4. Vidala	8. Tribute to Juan Jose Castro	12. In the First Pentatonic Major Mode	<p>TWELVE AMERICAN PRELUDES</p>
1. Sadness	5. In the First Pentatonic Minor Mode	9. Tribute to Aaron Copland											
2. Accents	6. Tribute to R. Garcia Morillo	10. Pastorale											
3. Creole Dance	7. Octaves	11. Tribute to H. Villa-Lobos											
4. Vidala	8. Tribute to Juan Jose Castro	12. In the First Pentatonic Major Mode											
<p>JULIAN OREON (Cuba)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">I Allegro          II Adagio          III Final-danza (Vivace)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Arthur Ephross, flute; Paul Kramer, oboe; Lawrence Alter, clarinet; Whitney Tustin, English horn; Bernard Garfield, bassoon; Arthur Bauch, E. Eleftherakis, Betty Shoop, Garcia Skeist, violas; Morris Kirshbaum and Muffie Vaughan, cellists; R. Benjamin Bowman, doublebass.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Conductor: Eleazar de Carvalho</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Baldwin Piano</p>	<p>CAPRICHO CONCEPTANTE for Chamber Orchestra</p>												

FIGURE 5.2. Program "A Concert of Latin American Chamber Music" August 4, 1946.

### **Roque Cordero: *Sonatina rítmica***

Panamanian composer Roque Cordero (1917–2008) was born in Panama City and had the chance to learn to play violin and clarinet at school and was self-taught in solfège, harmony, and instrumentation.<sup>990</sup> After composing some band works for the Firemen’s Band, in 1939 he wrote his orchestral piece *Capricho interiorano*, for which Marie Labonville clarifies that it “derived its distinctly national flavor from references to the rhythm and melody of well-known folk dance of the *mejorana* genre.”<sup>991</sup> Concerning his musical studies in his country, and despite the scarcity of resources, the composer was introduced to modern musical works. “In Panama, after learning music by myself and doing some composing (popular dances first, something serious later) I studied with Pedro Rebolledo (a pupil of Julian Carrillo),” Cordero explained “then studied for 6 months with Herbert de Castro (a pupil of Albert Roussel), who introduced me to the music of Richard Strauss, Stravinsky and Debussy...”<sup>992</sup> Next Cordero voiced, “I started my studies of violin, viola, and clarinet at the *Escuela de Artes y Oficios*, where I started composing when I was 13 years old.”<sup>993</sup>

Between 1939 and 1943, Cordero ceased composing and began making a living as a secondary-school music teacher and violist for the newly founded Symphony Orchestra of Panama, in addition to conducting research about Panamanian folk music.<sup>994</sup> His enrollment in a music- appreciation class taught by the U.S. composer Myron Schaeffer (1908-1965) at

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<sup>990</sup> Marie Labonville, “Roque Cordero (1917-2008) in the United States,” paper presented at the Latin American Music Center’s Fiftieth Anniversary Conference “Cultural Counterpoints: Examining the Musical Interactions between the U. S. and Latin America,” Indiana University, Bloomington, 2011, accessed April 29, 2019, <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/dspace/handle/2022/15513>.

<sup>991</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>992</sup> John E. Brawand, “Correspondence from Roque Cordero, May 1984 to January 1985,” in “The Violin Works of Roque Cordero” (DMA diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1985), 99.

<sup>993</sup> Ibid. Italics mine.

<sup>994</sup> Labonville, “Roque Cordero,” 4.

the *Universidad de Panamá* brought a new opportunity for the young composer and inspired the lecturer to help his student to find a scholarship to study music education in the United States (Minnesota).<sup>995</sup> There, the *Minneapolis Star* music critic John Sherman heard Cordero's music and introduced him to the famous Greek conductor of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, Dimitri Mitropoulos (1896-1960), who also introduced Cordero to composer Ernest Krenek (1900-1991), with whom Cordero graduated as a composition major at Hamline University in St. Paul, Minnesota.<sup>996</sup>

According to Labonville, Krenek felt uncertain about teaching Cordero the twelve-tone method because he "believed that a Central European technique was unsuited to the sensibility or aesthetic of a Latin American."<sup>997</sup> This statement can raise different questions; however, Cordero's own aesthetic negotiation abilities and independent mind allowed him to find his "way to use the twelve-tone method while still maintaining his identity as a Latin American composer."<sup>998</sup> The composer similarly responded to this question when he affirmed that "Regarding serialism, I never went into total serialization as I felt that it would not give me the freedom to create. I studied the twelve-tone technique with Ernst Krenek, and then," wrote the Panamanian musician, "developed my personal way of handling the row to make

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<sup>995</sup> Myron Schaeffer was in Panama during that time, serving as the director of the Instituto de Investigaciones Folkloricas. See Helena Simonett and Michael Marcuzzi, "One Hundred Years of Latin American Scholarship: An Overview," in *Views from the South: A Latin American Music Reader*, eds. Javier F. León and Helena Simonett (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 1-68. The composer created his Myron B. Schaeffer Collection of Music from Panama by donating recordings to the Archive of Folk Culture at the Library of Congress. See Labonville, "Roque Cordero," 4-5.

<sup>996</sup> *Ibid.*, 5. Cordero explained how he met Mitropoulos: "Without doubt, the most important event in my career was the meeting with Dimitri Mitropoulos, on October 11, 1943, in Minneapolis ... After Mitropoulos saw the score of the *Capricho interiorano*, of 1939, he praised the orchestration, but pointed out the lack of counterpoint, which I had not studied. Then and there he offered a full scholarship for me to study with Ernst Krenek, at Hamline University, in Saint Paul, Minnesota, and he paid for my studies and living expenses for four years, until my graduation, magna cum laude, in 1947. See Brawand, "Cordero," 98.

<sup>997</sup> Labonville, "Roque Cordero," 5.

<sup>998</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

the technique a servant to my artistic needs as a Latin American composer.”<sup>999</sup> Cordero elucidated that during his fellowship at Tanglewood in 1946, conversations with his Latin American colleagues logically involved the technical resources needed in order to create modern works within the Latin American cultural and historical context and he alleged that, “Ginastera, Orrego-Salas, Tosar, Orb[ó]n and Est[é]vez insisted that I could not use the twelve-tone technique and remain a Latin American composer! (As you realize, they changed positions later; but that is another chapter.)”<sup>1000</sup> For this reason, the Panamanian composer is an example of the many compromises—esthetic and political—that Latin American composers made due to their peripheral relationship within the canon of Western art music.<sup>1001</sup> At the same time, it demonstrates the Latin American composers’ agency with which they decided, conferring to their identity, history, and culture, how to adapt or develop modern compositional techniques. Yet for them it has been difficult, as a result of their aforementioned peripheral historiographic position within Western art music, to deal with the theoretical categorizations coming from European and U.S. centers. Cordero, unfortunately, did not complete all the required time at Tanglewood and left earlier because of his mother’s illness.<sup>1002</sup>

*Sonatina rítmica* (1943) for piano is a work in three movements that explores metric modulations combined with rhythmic grouping and pitch-class sets. The first movement begins with a toccata spirit consisting of the interplay between two contrasting themes, which

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<sup>999</sup> Brawand, “Cordero,” 94.

<sup>1000</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>1001</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>1002</sup> Cordero sent a letter to Aaron Copland during the 1950s (no date is provided) asking to support the performance of his “Quintet for Flute, B-flat Clarinet, Violin, Cello and Piano” at Tanglewood. However, there are no records of this performance at the festival. See “Letter from Roque Cordero to Aaron Copland,” CCLC, folder 1, box 253.

could suggest a sonata form; nonetheless, the composer does not follow this form strictly and gives the movement his own shape. The first theme is based on a chromatic trichord in the bass from the beginning with a tempo mark of *Presto con furia*. The first theme section interchanges simple and compound triple meters frequently (3/16, 6/16 and 9/16), establishing sixteenth notes as the fundamental rhythmic unit and cultivating a disjunctive and polyphonic texture with a linear drive in the voice leading.



**EXAMPLE 5.1.** Roque Cordero, *Sonatina rítmica*, first movement.

The second theme starts with a tempo marking of *meno mosso* and exhibits a pitch centricity over the note B. And there is a metric modulation to 3/8, which also establishes the new metric unit in eighth notes. The new meter of 3/8, as a contrasting element, remains during the whole section. The second theme section combines the homophonic texture in the upper voices, which utilize the rhythm of the Panamanian dance *mejorana*, with a contrapuntal accompaniment in the lower voices. A fundamental feature of this section is the melody's forward displacement (soprano). A development section begins with a *Presto* tempo marking and includes an interplay between the two themes within polymeter. The composer presents the second section with the same tempo of *meno mosso* but with its pitch centricity over the note D. Then, a second development section appears, which shares the same features of

compound polymeter and theme contraposition, along with the tempo mark *Presto*. This section works as a transition toward the first theme' recapitulation. The composer presents for the third time the second theme with a pitch centricity over the note E, and this continues it with the last exposition of the development part, which works as a coda. In this sectional work, the constant change of dynamics, register modulations, hemiolas and tempo marks support the flow of the musical ideas.

The second movement, cast in an *Adagietto* tempo marking, is defined by the inversion of the registers across the movement, and the form is ABA'. Cordero positions the bass with an ostinato rhythm of quarter notes, which oscillates between simple duple 4/4, additive duple 5/4, and compound duple 6/4 in treble clef. The quarter note ostinato has a pitch centricity over the note G, and different chromatic notes interplay around it until the last measure of the movement, in which the quarter note is augmented into two half notes. The declamatory melody is positioned in the bass voice within the bass clef, and its contour is balanced.



**EXAMPLE 5.2.** Roque Cordero, *Sonatina rítmica*, second movement.

The third movement, *Allegro deciso*, also has a *toccata* spirit that insinuates an improvisation. Besides it also condenses the musical ideas from the two previous movements inside of a constant pulsation, and it is based on a cluster motive, it suggests a rondo form with its appearance in the movement. Cordero, who said, “Regarding structures, usually I manipulate

traditional forms to the point of creating a complex one,” adapted not only serialism to his artistic and identity needs, but also the forms; for example, he writes a double sonata form or uses material from the previous movements for the third movement Rondos.<sup>1003</sup> The movement, in general, includes the alternation of hemiolas, arpeggios, metric modulation, and two-voice contrapuntal textures.

EXAMPLE 5.3. Roque Cordero, *Sonatina rítmica*, third movement.

### Juan Orrego-Salas: *Sonata para violín y piano*, op. 9

Chilean composer Juan Orrego-Salas (1919-2019) was born into a family, whose mother, Filomena Salas González, was a dilettante singer/pianist and a cultural agent affiliated with the institutions *Sociedad Bach* (1924-1930) and *Sociedad Amigos del Arte* (1929), as well as cultural magazines such as *Marsyas* (1927), *Aulos* (1932-1934), *Revista de Arte* (1934-1940) and *Revista Musical Chilena* (1945).<sup>1004</sup> About his introduction to music, Orrego-Salas explained that:

<sup>1003</sup> Ibid., 94-95.

<sup>1004</sup> Luis Merino Montero, “Visión del compositor Juan Orrego-Salas,” *Revista Musical Chilena* 32/142 (1978): 5. Merino also explains that with the premiere of this *Sonata* for violin and piano op. 9 in 1945, Orrego-Salas was admitted as a member to the International Society for Contemporary Music.

. . . when I grew up in Chile—I started studying at six—I began to listen to a very limited group of musicians. Neither of my parents were professional musicians, but they liked music, and they introduced me in music in a very broad way. I remember in those years being as concerned with Bach as I was with Stravinsky, and that helped me very much.<sup>1005</sup>

With the establishment of the *Facultad de Bellas Artes de la Universidad de Chile* in 1929, led mainly by composer and art administrator Domingo Santa Cruz (1889-1987), musical life in Chile incorporated a dynamic institution that sponsored the *Asociación Nacional de Conciertos Sinfónicos*, which organized 234 concerts (1931-1938) featuring Chilean and European works.<sup>1006</sup> While attending these concerts frequently, Orrego-Salas, whom Luis Merino positions in the third generation of modern Chilean composers, continued his musical training by studying music theory with Julio Guerra (1876-1932), piano with Alberto Spikin Howard (1898-1972), and composition with Pedro Humberto Allende (1885-1954) and Domingo Santa Cruz at the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música* from 1936 to 1943.<sup>1007</sup>

As part of the Good Neighbor Policy of cultural diplomacy, scholarships from the Rockefeller and Guggenheim Foundations allowed him to study musicology at Columbia University and composition with Randall Thompson (1899-1984) at Virginia and Princeton Universities, as well as with Aaron Copland at Tanglewood between 1944 and 1947.<sup>1008</sup> In New

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<sup>1005</sup> Bruce Duffie, “Composer Juan Orrego-Salas: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie,” accessed April 13, 2019, <http://www.bruceduffie.com/orregosalas.html>.

<sup>1006</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1007</sup> Merino, “Juan Orrego-Salas,” 15.

<sup>1008</sup> Juan Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros, visiones y repasos: Capítulos en el camino de mi música y mi vida* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2005), 57.

Orrego-Salas took his first trip to the United States in 1941 as a college student in Chile. He said about his trip that “My first experience in the United States was back in 1941. That was my first trip to the United States, and was a very short trip. At that time I was at the university, and I profited from an opportunity to get a student reduced-rate to travel during our summer there. So, I visited New York. It was in the heart of the concert season, and I was amazed at the extensive repertory of the New York Philharmonic, and even of the Metropolitan Opera House, who today I would judge [as] very conservative.” See Duffie, “Composer Juan Orrego-Salas.” In addition, Orrego-Salas traveled to the United States as a Fellow of the Guggenheim Foundation (1954-55).



York, Orrego-Salas enjoyed and profited from the city's cultural life, and he briefly met (and exchanged ideas that impacted his music) with composers Béla Bartók (1881-1945) and Paul Hindemith (1895-1963).<sup>1009</sup> Regarding Copland, the U.S. composer played an essential role in bringing Orrego-Salas to the United States. "I came to the U.S.A. because of Copland. Copland had been to Chile [1941] and, "as the Chilean composer expressed it, "he had seen little things that I had written. So, he said, you should come to the United States. And he was my mentor in the United States."<sup>1010</sup> Nevertheless, Orrego-Salas was emphatic while claiming that it was Randall Thompson who ". . . helped me more than Aaron Copland. Copland showed me very useful things along his path of thought in music. But Randall Thompson," explained the Chilean composer, "gave me more freedom in conveying to me to do what you feel, what you think, what you want."<sup>1011</sup>

The Chilean composer wrote a letter to Copland on May 30, 1946, concerning his fellowship to Tanglewood, communicating, "I have just received from Dr. Moe, as well as from the Berkshire Music Center, about the scholarship that the Guggenheim Foundation and the Berkshire Music school has granted me. I know," continued the Chilean composer, "of your work and interest, in order to make possible this, so I want to thank you very sincerely for what you have done."<sup>1012</sup> Orrego-Salas added that "I am sure that my work in composition as a member of your class would be highly profitable and stimulating."<sup>1013</sup> In Tanglewood, Orrego-Salas expressed about Copland's pedagogical abilities that "Copland classes were

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<sup>1009</sup> Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 102-103.

<sup>1010</sup> Frank J. Oteri, "Juan Orrego-Salas: I've Written All I Have to Write," accessed April 13, 2019, <https://nmbx.newmusicusa.org/juan-orrego-salas/>.

<sup>1011</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1012</sup> "Letter from Juan Orrego-Salas to Aaron Copland," May 30, 1946, CCLC, folder 11, box 260.

<sup>1013</sup> *Ibid.*

always very engaging with precise and imaginative comments and suggestions.”<sup>1014</sup> Orrego-Salas expanded more about Copland’s pedagogical method in Tanglewood and wrote, “The weeks in Tanglewood gravitated around my classes with Copland, from what I observed in the works I submitted to his consideration, in which he corrected me with precision or deliberately stopped pointing so that I could discover my weaknesses.”<sup>1015</sup> Orrego-Salas pointed out that:

Copland never persuaded me of a solution, but formulated the simplest and most direct questions. One of them: Why is this attractive brushstroke anticipating it in a passage where it is not necessary? The lesson that emerged from the answer was that the elevation and richness of the orchestral palette depended, among other things, on reserving certain colors for certain moments that would enhance our gestures and expressions. Sometimes he told me: “This passage is not yours, you must skip it, only in the next bars did you connect with yourself again.”<sup>1016</sup>

The *Sonata op. 9 for Violin and Piano* (1944 and revised in 1965) is a neo-classical work and was performed on August 4, 1946, with violinist Kenneth Gordon (1930) and pianist Lukas Foss (1922-2009) at the Berkshire Music Center.<sup>1017</sup> According to Orrego-Salas's own stylistic aesthetic, Luis Merino positions this work in the composer’s second creative phase, referred to as his “neoclassical focus” (1942-1961).<sup>1018</sup> Besides, the composer expressed the following about this work: “My *Sonata op. 9 for violin and piano* was written in New York and premiered there in one of the ‘Forum Concerts’ of the ‘Contemporary Music International Society’ (ISCM) in 1945. Months later,” point out the composer, “the violinist Ed Gordon and Lukas

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<sup>1014</sup> Juan Orrego-Salas, e-mail message to the author, November 2, 2011.

<sup>1015</sup> Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 59.

<sup>1016</sup> Orrego-Salas, *Encuentros*, 61-62.

<sup>1017</sup> *Annual Reports & Scrapbooks*, “Programs 1946-1949,” Tanglewood Music Center, box 1.

<sup>1018</sup> The other two creative phases are the first “early works” (1936-1938) and the third (1961 up to today). See Merino, “Juan Orrego-Salas,” 17.

Foss presented it at Tanglewood. It is a work that I would consider youth in its style, in a neo-classical language that has been characteristic of my work since then.”<sup>1019</sup>

The first movement begins with an introduction in the piano with a *Tranquillo* tempo marking and with a time signature of 6/8 in *p*. Next there are two modulations: the tempo marking changes to *Allegro* and the dynamics to *f* to prepare the exposition’s first theme, played by the violin. The composer’s harmonic language emphasizes the arpeggiated quartal and quintal chords, in which the piano part has a three-voice contrapuntal accompaniment whose alto voice works as a counter-melody. In general, the pattern of six eighth notes is permuted across the movement to add flow and cohesion. The violin exposes the first theme (at rehearsal A), and the melodic material design contains mostly conjunct movement with chromaticism and some intervallic skips. The section ends with cadential trills (violin).

**EXAMPLE 5.4.** Juan Orrego-Salas, *Sonata for Violin and Piano op. 9*, first movement.

The second theme is represented with the second motive, which leads to its section codetta. In the development section, the composer utilizes both motives with an imitative polyphonic texture and constructs an interplay of call and response between both instruments. Besides,

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<sup>1019</sup> Juan Orrego-Salas, e-mail message to the author, November 2, 2011.

two cadences, one in the piano and one in the violin, appear the development. It leads to a coda with a *Tempo giusto* marking, without recapitulation. Even though this movement is in sonata form, its form is not strict, and the composer relies on the motives to construct his musical discourse.

The second movement begins with a tempo marking of *Grave; tempo di chaconne* and with a time signature of 3/4. It is based on the idea of a chromatic tetrachord-bass lament, which appears in all the different voices across the movement and is combined with the widespread *p* dynamic to construct a somber atmosphere for the movement. Next, the movement's tempo marking changes to *poco più mosso*, and the rhythm is shortened from eighth to sixteenth notes. Next the *poco meno mosso* works as a transition toward the *Tempo primo*, and the rhythm expands again to eighth notes. The tempo markings work as a section sign. The form is ABA', and the movement's harmony oscillates among triads, quartal and quintal chords.



**EXAMPLE 5.5.** Juan Orrego-Salas, *Sonata for Violin and Piano op. 9*, second movement.

The third movement, which is in sonata form instead of the traditional rondo form, also begins with the piano, cast in a *Vivo e ritmico* tempo and a 3/8 time signature. Before the first theme

exposition, the piano introduction is suspended while a two-measure quote from the second movement appears—*Grave (Tempo dell precedente)*—to reintegrate itself into the *Vivo e ritmico*. The violin introduces the first theme and the piano plays a solo transition toward the second theme. From now on, begins the development section in which the motives are treated until the thematic recapitulation until the coda.



**EXAMPLE 5.6.** Juan Orrego-Salas, *Sonata for Violin and Piano op. 9*, third movement.

After his return to Chile, Orrego-Salas became a critical agent in the cultural life of his country. The *Sonata op. 9 for Violin and Piano* obtained in 1948 a second prize in the newly founded modern music series *Festivales de Música Chilena*, where between its first edition (1948) until the eleventh edition (1969), Chilean audiences heard 215 premieres of symphonic and chamber-music works by contemporary Chilean composers.<sup>1020</sup>

### **Alberto Ginastera: *Doce preludios americanos***

The Argentinean composer began his musical training in 1928 at the *Conservatorio Williams* in Buenos Aires, where his composition teacher was José Gil (1886-1947), and he graduated as a composer in 1935.<sup>1021</sup> In 1936 Ginastera started writing one of his iconic ballets,

<sup>1020</sup> Luis Merino, “Los Festivales de Música Chilena: génesis, propósitos y trascendencia,” *Revista Musical Chilena* 34/149-1 (1980): 80-105.

<sup>1021</sup> Pola Suárez Urtubey, *Alberto Ginastera* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1967), 82.

*Panambí* op. 1, and was admitted as a composition student at the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música* to study harmony with Athos Palma (1881-1951), counterpoint and fugue with José Gil and composition with José André (1881-1944).<sup>1022</sup> His music had already impacted Argentina's modern-music scene with performances, teaching positions, and prizes.<sup>1023</sup> Therefore, Ginastera's combination of excellent professional credentials and his political beliefs about Americanism made him a good candidate to participate in the cultural diplomacy displayed by the Good Neighbor Policy. In 1941 Lincoln Kirstein (1907-1996) commissioned him to compose a work for the Ballet Caravan, and as a result of this commission, Ginastera wrote the ballet *Estancia*, op. 8.<sup>1024</sup>

In 1941, Ginastera was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship to travel to the United States, which he was not able to do. As the correspondence shows, because of Ginastera's professional duties as a music educator in his country, together with the international context of World War II. Ginastera wrote a letter to Copland on May 9, 1941, to respond to the U.S. composer about his invitation to attend the Berkshire Music Center.<sup>1025</sup> Ginastera wrote that "I regret to have to inform you that it will not be possible for me to accept the invitation that you have kindly sent me to attend the Berkshire Music Center festival," after which he explained that together with his teaching position at *Liceo Militar*, he was just appointed as Professor at *Conservatorio Nacional de Música y Arte Escénico*, and there would not be enough time to request permission for an absence.<sup>1026</sup> Nonetheless, Ginastera hoped to receive a new

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<sup>1022</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>1023</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>1024</sup> Deborah Schwartz-Kates, *Alberto Ginastera: A Research and Information Guide* (New York and London: Routledge Music Bibliographies, 2010), 5

<sup>1025</sup> "Letter from Alberto Ginastera to Aaron Copland," May 9, 1941, CCLC, folder 10, box 255.

<sup>1026</sup> Ibid.

invitation the next year to meet Copland.<sup>1027</sup> Similarly, he shared with the U.S. composer that during a recent meeting with Uruguayan pianist Hugo Balzo (1912-1982), they read through Copland's *Piano Concerto*, which Ginastera praised as "muy nuevo y muy interesante" ("very new and very interesting"), and he sent to Copland his *Tres piezas* just published by *Ricordi Americana*.<sup>1028</sup>

After Copland's first trip in 1941 to Latin America as Cultural Attaché for the Committee of Inter-American Affairs, where both composers met, Ginastera wrote, on November 20, 1942, another letter to Copland—this time in English, translated by Mercedes Ginastera—in which the Argentinean composer stated, "I am writing to tell you that I have been granted with a Latin American Fellowship by the Guggenheim Foundation," and explain that "As a know by Mr. Juan José Castro that you gave good references which helped me very much with the members of the Committee of Selection, I want to thank you very much."<sup>1029</sup> Ginastera similarly showed his gratitude toward Copland by writing, "Many thanks also for the kind words about me in your article 'The Music in South America' published by 'Modern Music.'"<sup>1030</sup>

The next year, on February 2, 1943, Ginastera wrote to Copland, "I am waiting with anxiety the day of my travel to the United States," and requested for a potential performance opportunity "your piece for two pianos based on Cuban themes, because I am working to found a Concert Society of contemporary music, something similar to the League of Composers."<sup>1031</sup> One year later, in a new letter dated February 26, 1944, Ginastera—besides

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<sup>1027</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1028</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1029</sup> "Letter from Alberto Ginastera to Aaron Copland," November 20, 1942, CCLC, folder 10, box 255.

<sup>1030</sup> Ibid., and see likewise Alberto E. Ginastera, "Eight from the Argentine" *Modern Music* 23/3 (1946): 266-272.

<sup>1031</sup> "Letter from Alberto Ginastera to Aaron Copland," February 2, 1943, CCLC, folder 10, box 255.

updating Copland about his new compositions such as *Obertura para el Fausto Criollo*, and *Cinco canciones populares argentinas*, as well as to let the U.S. composer know that his *Sonata* for piano “was very well performed by Crestes Castronuovo during the last season”—wrote that “I am waiting the end of war to go to your country using the Fellowship of the Guggenheim Foundation, and then I shall have personal contact with you.”<sup>1032</sup>

Ginastera sent a letter to Copland on September 2, 1944, in which he shared that “I have been working hard and my last composition is a series of *Preludios Americanos* for pianoforte among which there is one dedicated to you.”<sup>1033</sup> Further, he continued, “They are brief sketches each one referring to something special as you can see by the program I send you. I hope,” expressed Ginastera, “you will forgive me for this little homage, which represents only a minimum of all the respect and admiration I feel toward you.”<sup>1034</sup> In this letter, among the shared information about new own works and performances, Ginastera mentioned that “In October I shall give a lecture in the *Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano* called *Panorama de la Música Moderna en América*. I am already preparing it, but there is little information here about North American Music and Musicians.”<sup>1035</sup> Ginastera mentioned the sources he used for the United States modern-music part, and he added that “Apart from the dictionary *Grove* that I have here and *Modern Music* which I have only from Volume 19,” declared the composer, “the only source of information about you and other composers is the book ‘Story-Lives of American Composers’ by Katherine Little Bakeless which does not speak very much about

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<sup>1032</sup> “Letter from Alberto Ginastera to Aaron Copland,” February 26, 1944, CCLC, folder 10, box 255.

<sup>1033</sup> “Letter from Alberto Ginastera to Aaron Copland,” September 2, 1944, CCLC, folder 10, box 255. Italics mine.

<sup>1034</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1035</sup> Ibid. Italics mine.



the works of modern composers.”<sup>1036</sup> This sentence shows that, despite the institutional efforts to promote the music—for example, the Copland trip in 1941—the war was impacting the distribution of numerous music publications, and simultaneously, it correspondingly displays Ginastera’s conviction and humble contribution to the Pan-American zeitgeist. The letter ends with Ginastera saying that “I think that I shall be able to take soon advantage of my fellowship of the Guggenheim Foundation now that the war is nearly over. I think that in 1945, we shall meet again in New York if you are not coming before to Buenos Aires,” a city, “where you have so many friends who always remember you with sympathy.”<sup>1037</sup>

With the same spirit, Ginastera wrote two last letters to Copland before finally arriving in the United States to fulfill the Guggenheim residency. The first letter, on February 26, 1945, updated Copland regarding his lecture *Panorama de la Música Moderna en América*, and requested that Copland support pianist Raúl Spivak, who was already in New York. Ginastera further explained that “He carried a lot of music from the modern Argentine composers and I think it would be interesting to play it at the League of Composers. If you can help him in this, we shall be much obliged to you.”<sup>1038</sup> This message illustrates the political meaning that Ginastera understood and gave to words such as *América* and modern, which were projected in his work *Preludios Americanos*. In other words, Ginastera’s *América* relates to one continent, and not two, three or more (Americas), and he was calling the contemporary music by him and his colleagues from Argentina by its real name: modern music. In the second letter, on November 30, 1945, he announced his projected arrival in New York on December 22, as well as his

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<sup>1036</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1037</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1038</sup> “Letter from Alberto Ginastera to Aaron Copland,” February 26, 1945, CCLC, folder 10, box 255.

eagerness to get deeply involved with the United States' art-music composers and institutions.<sup>1039</sup>

Once in New York City, Ginastera and his family established contact with Copland, and the composer began his planned Good Neighbor Policy activities, which included visiting university music departments and schools of music in the U.S.; representing Argentina in 1946 as a member of *Asociación Latinoamericana de Educadores en Música* (ALADEM) at the Music Educators Conference in Cleveland; publishing an article about Argentine modern music composers in the journal *Modern Music*, meeting U.S. composers and attending concerts.<sup>1040</sup> Afterwards, Ginastera wrote a letter to Copland on March 21, 1946, in which, among diverse topics, the composer expressed that “Of course I would be very interested in attending the Berkshire Festival . . . I would like to attend the courses and concerts and observe the organization of the Festival now, since I could not do it in 1941 when you invited me. However,” continued Ginastera, “I must accommodate the monthly payment of the Guggenheim, which does not allow me extraordinary things in terms of travel and visits.”<sup>1041</sup>

It seems that Copland suggested that Ginastera contact Mr. Moe from the Guggenheim Foundation, because Ginastera replied with a letter in English, on May 1, 1946, to the U.S. composer communicating that “I feel rather uncomfortable to ask Mr. Moe a half fellowship for the Berkshires, so as you were so kind, and offered me to ask for it yourself I

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<sup>1039</sup> “Letter from Alberto Ginastera to Aaron Copland,” November 30, 1945, CCLC, folder 10, box 255.

<sup>1040</sup> Brunilda Cartes, “Latin American Association of Music Educators,” *Music Educators Journal* 32/6 (Jun. 1946): 30-38 and Pola Suárez Urtubey, *Alberto Ginastera* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, 1967), 83.

<sup>1041</sup> The letter is written in Spanish and it states: “Desde luego estaría muy interesado en asistir al Berkshire Festival. . . Quisiera asistir a los cursos y conciertos y observar la organización del Festival ahora, ya que no lo pude hacer en 1941 cuando Ud. me invitó. Sin embargo, debo acomodarme a la mensualidad de la Guggenheim, que no me permita cosas extraordinarias en cuanto a viajes y visitas. “Letter from Alberto Ginastera to Aaron Copland,” March 21, 1946, CCLC, folder 10, box 255.

should be much obliged if you could do that.”<sup>1042</sup> A document to Serge Koussevitzky sent on May 14, 1946 confirms, “These are students for whom Mr. Copland have requested one/half scholarship each. (Mr. Ginastera is an Argentine composer).”<sup>1043</sup>

During the summer at the Berkshire Music Center, Ginastera heard the U.S. premiere of his work *Doce preludios americanos* op. 12 (1944) by his countryman Raúl Spivak; conductor Erik Kleiber (1890-1956), who was very active with orchestras on the American continent, performed the *Panambi Suite* with the NBC Radio Orchestra, and his new composition *Dúo* for flute and oboe, op. 13, was commissioned and performed by Carleton Sprague Smith.<sup>1044</sup> Ginastera similarly heard his works at *Unión Panamericana* and the League of Composers before returning to Argentina in 1947.<sup>1045</sup>

The work *Doce preludios americanos* were premiered and dedicated to the Argentinean pianist Raúl Spivak on August 7, 1944, at *Asociación Wagneriana* in Buenos Aires.<sup>1046</sup> In the work’s title, as well as in some of his movements based on Argentinean dances and genres (*Vidala, Triste, Danza criolla*) or his dedications to American colleagues like Aaron Copland (1900-1990), Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959), Roberto García Morillo (1911-2003) or Juan José Castro (1895-1968), the composer manifests a national and continental political statement in support of musical Americanism. As explained by José María Neves, while the composers were “. . . living in regions different geographical areas, they still retained innumerable common elements in their ways of life, in their culture and their art.”<sup>1047</sup>

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<sup>1042</sup> “Letter from Alberto Ginastera to Aaron Copland,” May 1, 1946, CCLC, folder 10, box 255.

<sup>1043</sup> “Berkshire Music Center, 1945-1946,” SKALC, folder 11, box 183. 3.

<sup>1044</sup> Schwartz-Kate, *Alberto Ginastera*, 6.

<sup>1045</sup> Suárez Uturbey, *Alberto Ginastera*, 83.

<sup>1046</sup> See also the program in “Recital de piano por Raúl Spivak,” CCLC, folder 12, box 359.

<sup>1047</sup> José María Neves, “Estudio comparativo dentro de la producción musical latinoamericana,” in *América Latina en su Música* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1974), 201.

Regarding the music, in the prelude *Para los acentos* (no. 1), Ginastera writes a polytonal and metrical piece of music in which the accents are constantly displaced by the rhythm, generating some hemiolas. In the prelude *Triste* (no. 2), the composer writes a polyphonic texture (two voices) on a C minor melodic scale and finished it with a Picardy third. In the prelude *Danza criolla* (no. 3), the composer recreates, within a rondo form, the masculine dance of the gauchos *malambo*, whose articulation, use of cluster chords, quartal harmonies, and rhythms suggest the rustic *zapateado*. In the prelude *Vidala*, (no. 4), cast in a binary form (aa'bb'), the composer interplays the triads with quartal harmonies as well as modality. Likewise, *En el 1er modo pentáfono menor* (no. 5), the composer seeks to evoke a pre-Columbian atmosphere by monophonically exposing a melody using a pentatonic scale in G Mixolydian pentatonic scale, and a second voice initiates a strict canon.

In the prelude (no. 6) *Homenaje a Roberto García Morillo*, Ginastera pays tribute to his composer colleague with a binary work that is constructed on a mechanical ostinato on sixteenth notes, and the coda finishes with a climax that increases the sound mass by adding more voices into the chords and ending with *fff* dynamics. In the prelude (no. 7) *Para la octavas*, the composer utilizes extensive chromaticism and some motivic cells. In the prelude (no. 8) *Tributo a Juan José Castro*, Ginastera uses as a tempo marking with the expression *Tempo di Tango* and honors his esteemed colleague, who was a composer and conductor and whose *Tangos for piano* (1942) became well known in the Argentinean modern music scene. This prelude is in binary form (aa'bb'), and it has a polyphonic texture. The melody in the first section works as an ostinato, while the middle voice is a chromatic basso lamento, and the bass contains the traditional tango-rhythm figure. In section b, the composer quotes the first segment of the

melody and in b' repeats an ornamented version of it. The coda is an ascending arpeggio on a hexatonic scale (C, C#).

In the prelude (no. 9) *Homenaje a Aaron Copland*, Ginastera creates a musical phrase with jazzy grace notes, which functions as an introduction and coda. The section is also built on a mechanical pattern of sixteenth notes with some hemiolas. Then the reappearance of the jazzy grace notes works as a transition into section b, whose jazzy phrase reminds listeners more of *Rhapsody in Blue* (1924) or *An American in Paris* (1928) by George Gershwin (1898-1937). The ascending symmetrical arpeggio outline a major ninth chord leads to section A' and the coda.

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into two sections. The first section, in 3/4 time, features a series of chords in the right hand and a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the left hand. The second section, in 2/4 time, is marked 'cresc. molto' and features a more complex rhythmic pattern with grace notes in the right hand and a similar eighth-note pattern in the left hand. The piece concludes with a final chord in the right hand.

**EXAMPLE 5.7.** Alberto Ginastera, *Doce preludios americanos*, “Homenaje a Aaron Copland”

In the prelude (no. 10) *Pastoral*, an ostinato rhythm in the tenor voice is constructed as a variation of the habanera rhythm, which is a relative of *tango* and *milonga*. It connects the whole work from the beginning to the end, while the soprano interchanges melodic phrases that are segments of the tango rhythm. The *Pastoral* atmosphere is created using soft dynamics (*p* and *pp*) and the descending alto and bass voices.

In the prelude (no. 11) *Homenaje a Heitor Villa-Lobos*, after the brief introduction, the composer creates a disjunct melodic design based on a mechanical sixteenth-note pattern that transitions into an arpeggiated ostinato juxtaposed with an augmented Brazilian *chôro* rhythm

cell (chords). In the prelude (no. 12) *En el 1er modo pentáfono mayor*, Ginastera recreates an intertextual evocation of the pre-Columbian civilizations. The work is based on the interplay between the pedal notes C1 and C2 and the (open) harmonies built on the superior voices. Ginastera constructs the climax with sound mass (voices and dynamics) and between measures 16 and 22, the composer increases the tension by introducing minor-ninth intervals. The prelude ends consonantly and in *ffff*.

These *Doce preludios americanos* take shape by combining and manipulating musical elements appropriated from diverse cultural sources, such as indigenous, West African, and Hispanic, that merged into Latin American modernism, besides reaching an extensive register of musical personalities on the American continent. Hence, this political statement is what scholar Ana María Locatelli de Pégamo defines as “Americanist.”<sup>1048</sup> After returning from the United States to Argentina, as Esteban Buch notes, Alberto Ginastera had begun his international career as a composer.<sup>1049</sup>

### **Tanglewood (1947)**

The festival began, as mentioned on “Report on the Fifth Season 29 June to 10 August 1947,” with the ceremony marking the Berkshire Music Center Fifth Season Opening

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<sup>1048</sup> Ana María Locatelli de Pégamo, “Raíces musicales,” in *América Latina en su Música* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1974), 41. Locatelli de Pégamo explained the two previous categories in which not only some Latin American composers, but similarly some European and U.S. composers could be positioned. She explained that the first category features “compositions that conserve all the elements of the popular folk song—melody, form, tonal plan and rhythm, enriching only the harmonic aspect, according to the musical orientation of the composer,” and the second category contains “compositions that conserve two or three elements of a folkloric species and the rest elaborated freely by the musician, in which they usually alternate meters and carry a more refined and elaborate accompaniment.” She defined her third category as “compositions that gather cadences, vocalizations, rhythmic-melodic designs of different species, freely elaborated by the composer.” *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>1049</sup> Esteban Buch, *The Bormazo Affair: Ópera, perversion y dictadura* (Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo editora S.A., 2003), 57.

Exercises on June 29, 1947, in the Theater Concert Hall at Tanglewood.<sup>1050</sup> The rite included speeches by Serge Koussevitzky, who introduced the faculty members that, besides Aaron Copland, included composers Samuel Barber (1910-1981) and Arthur Honegger (1892-1955), as well as by Mr. Francis Hatch (Trustees of the Boston Symphony Orchestra), Dr. Stanley Chapple (Dean of the Berkshire Music Center), Dr. Perry (National Chairman of the Friends of the Berkshire Music Center) and a performance of Randall Thompson's "Alleluia" by a student choir led by Dr. Hugh Ross.<sup>1051</sup>

In the cultural entrepreneur/conductor's inauguration oratorio piece, on June 29, 1947, entitled "Address at the Opening Exercises of the Berkshire Music Center by Dr. Serge Koussevitzky, Director," the artist engages with several sociological and historical topics vis-à-vis music and musicians in the twentieth century. In "Report on the Fifth Season 29 June to 10 August 1947," he points out that the Berkshire Music Center's significance is about "its contribution to the musical life of this country" and enumerates them as the following:

its stimulus to young American talent, the release of new forces in the field of composition, opera, chamber music ensembles, choral singing, conducting and orchestral playing, by enlarging and enriching the musical experience of the music lover, and raising the standard of the listener.<sup>1052</sup>

The conductor highlighted the fact that while the war was destroying other continents, "in Tanglewood a new creative cultural venture was born," and at that moment, he engaged with the topic of the artist's role in society by saying that "an artist is also a leader in society: [s]he can not withdraw from the open strife in to the safety and seclusion of [her] his ivory tower

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<sup>1050</sup> "Berkshire Music Center 1947-1948," SKALC, folder 1, box 186.

<sup>1051</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1052</sup> Ibid.

of words, sounds and aesthetic dreams. For art is a creative process. Arts,” deduce the conductor, “is the result of the creative act of man.”<sup>1053</sup>

As a man of his time, Koussevitzky was aware of the new mass-media technologies and their role in the democratization of art; therefore, regarding their impact on the audience, he claimed that “the basic force of universal culture lies in the active participation of the masses,” and warned about mass-media technology and its faster circulation rate by saying that, “This spreading of music in the masses, at too rapid a pace, resulted in a profound misconception of what music as a means of ‘entertainment’ and ‘enjoyment’ to be passively consumed by the listener.”<sup>1054</sup> Hence, he claimed that “Music must be listened to creatively,” and he pointed out that it is the role of the “artist musician” to exercise and deliver agency to fight this “inertia of the passive consumer” and bring to the listeners “the true meaning of music, as an art of eternal value.”<sup>1055</sup>

Koussevitzky requested in his address a metaphysical effort for music in which “it ask[s] for an all-consuming love, renunciation of self, and will for sacrifice” to avoid “the danger of mechanization and commercialization” in music.<sup>1056</sup> The last main idea of his speech is about the protagonist of art and culture in democracy and as an antidote to prevent war, and he reminds the audience that his voice “will be heard again and again until action is taken and the support of the arts becomes a part of the duty of the state.”<sup>1057</sup> Koussevitzky claims that “Art and culture are the guardians of peace” and at that moment asked the audience to

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<sup>1053</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1054</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1055</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1056</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1057</sup> Ibid.



“serve humanity.”<sup>1058</sup> The conclusion shares assertively, “Let our ascending love and passion for art descend in love and compassion for mankind!”<sup>1059</sup>

This year, likewise, witnessed an important event in the festival related to the mass-media communication technology and its connection to bringing art music to wider audiences. Therefore, on July 29, Koussevitzky presided over an event called “Music for All,” whose concert “New Horizons in Music” aimed to show “the most recent achievement in musical reproduction.”<sup>1060</sup> He conducted the Boston Symphony Orchestra in the Music Shed, a “special concert” that was a “[n]ationwide broadcast under studio conditions,” transmitted by the American Broadcasting Company with the goal of filming “The Story of Tanglewood,” and “The March of Musical Fidelity” with collaborations between Gene Hamilton (narrator) and the Berkshire Music Center members.<sup>1061</sup> Regarding this iconic event, Koussevitzky knew that the more the music festival became projected and valued in the United States, the more private and institutional support he would receive to ensure its permanent functioning, in particular, after facing the threat of disappearing and being closed for three years as a result of the war.

This event transformed the Shed into a radio studio and a motion-picture studio, and, at the same time, associated the Berkshire Music Center and Koussevitzky with the new RCA Victor radio phonograph, which included the latest technology in mass-media communication (Radio, Television, Motion Pictures, Phonograph, FM).<sup>1062</sup> Hence, the cultural entrepreneur

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<sup>1058</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1059</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1060</sup> “Berkshire Music Center 1947,” SKALC, folder 7, box 185.

<sup>1061</sup> Part of the mentioned motion picture is available online. See “The Story of Tanglewood,” United States Information Services, accessed August 2, 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yPv\\_VFRJGoA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yPv_VFRJGoA). See also “Berkshire Music Center 1947,” SKALC, folder 7, box 185.

<sup>1062</sup> Ibid.

wrote, “For nearly half a century the phonograph has been giving music to millions of people. More recently the radio has also brought music to an even widening public,” and he continued praising the Boston Symphony Orchestra’s leading role as:

the first full-sized symphonic organization to make records ... the first to record a symphonic work in its entirety and since that time it has been the first to be heard in two of the most important advances in the art of recording. On the air has the longest broadcasting season of any orchestra not organized expressly for radio.<sup>1063</sup>

Koussevitzky explains that “RCA Victor has named its first custom-made radio-phonograph ‘The Berkshire’ after the festival at Tanglewood,” and he added that acquiring it “will make possible a full scholarship for some deserving music student.”<sup>1064</sup> Thus, Koussevitzky’s abilities were not limited to music, but he had a larger vision of how to engage others with his projects.

Concerning the student composer life at Tanglewood and according to the “Report on the Fifth Season 29 June to 10 August 1947,” the Department of Composition met for six weeks with a busy agenda of activities, which consisted of the weekly Composer’s Concert, where the sixteen student works were performed, and Copland worked as a facilitator in the discussions about the works.<sup>1065</sup> The students had one individual lesson and two class lessons of an hour and a half every week, besides having daily access to a studio with a piano for two hours.<sup>1066</sup> In addition to their composition classes, the students received lessons in solfege, analysis, conducting and American music.<sup>1067</sup> The reports clarified that Samuel Barber was

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<sup>1063</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1064</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1065</sup> “Berkshire Music Center 1947-1948,” SKALC, folder 1, box 186.

<sup>1066</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1067</sup> Ibid.

invited by Dr. Koussevitzky to teach at the last minute, “Due to Honegger’s illness in the latter part of the session.”<sup>1068</sup>

### **Héctor Tosar: *Sonata para violín y piano***

Uruguayan composer Héctor Tosar was born in Montevideo on July 18, 1923, and for eight years (1936-1944), he studied composition with Lamberto Baldi (1895-1979) and piano with Wilhelm (Guillermo) Kolisher (1890-1970).<sup>1069</sup> Before arriving at Tanglewood (1939-1945), Tosar gained recognition in his country by premiering some of his early works for solo instruments, chamber music and orchestra, such as *Preludio* (1936), *Toccata* (1940), *Concertino para piano y orquesta* (1941) and *Danzas criollas* (1943), among others, in addition to receiving the Reichold Prize for his *Sinfonía no. 1*.<sup>1070</sup> From a young age, Tosar captured the attention of the music critic Washington Roldán (1921-2001) and the musicologist Lauro Ayestarán, who reviewed Tosar’s work *Toccata*, performed by *Orquesta Sinfónica del Sodre* conducted by Lamberto Baldi, who praised it by saying, “A masterfully gifted composer is born, with fragrant sense and sound concept. ...Although its writing can be located within authentic modernity,” then Ayestarán claimed that, “the work does not bring flagrant reminders. It is curious, without offering a profile of something never heard, his *Toccata*, however, does not reminisce any maestro specifically.”<sup>1071</sup>

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<sup>1068</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1069</sup> Corián Aharonián, *Héctor Tosar: Compositor Uruguayo* (Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 1991), 15-16 and Jimena Buxedas Cerviño, *Tosar por la crítica, Tosar por Tosar: Dos miradas desde las fuentes periodísticas* (Montevideo: Escuela Universitaria de Música, 2010), 197. During an interview regarding his musical training Tosar declared that when he worked with Copland, Honegger and Milhaud abroad, he was already, as result of his studies with Lamberto Baldi, a solidly trained composer, and he considered Baldi as his most important music educator. See Gloria de León, “Reportaje a Héctor Tosar: La música y las metas,” *El País*, May 19, 1985 as quoted in Buxedas Cerviño, *Tosar*, 172-177.

<sup>1070</sup> Ibid., 198-199.

<sup>1071</sup> Lauro Ayestarán, “El advenimiento de un compositor uruguayo,” *El País*, Montevideo July 22, 1940, quoted from Buxedas Cerviño, *Tosar*, 115.

As a Fellow at the Berkshire Music Center during three consecutive summers (1946, 1947, and 1948), Tosar worked in composition with Aaron Copland, Arthur Honegger (1892-1955), and Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) and studied conducting with Serge Koussevitzky with the support of two Guggenheim fellowships.<sup>1072</sup> Regarding his residency in 1947, Héctor Tosar received a “letter from Mr. Perry telling that it seems that no vacancy is going to occur for Mr. Honegger’s class at Tanglewood this year.”<sup>1073</sup> Therefore, the Uruguayan composer asked Copland:

But today, I thought: No! I must get into Mr. Honegger’s class; to be in the United States at the same time on which he is coming here, and to be in the same place in which he is teaching, and not to become a pupil of him, is really an injustice. ...Could you do something to help me once more?<sup>1074</sup>

At that point, the Uruguayan composer was supported by Copland and became part of Honegger’s class. This first meeting continued when Tosar went to pursue his musical studies some years later in France. The Uruguayan composer remembered that, although his early style was impacted by Claude Debussy (1862-1918) and Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), the early style of Igor Stravinsky engaged him, and he realized that “I entered[,] without noticing[,]

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<sup>1072</sup> There is a letter from Tosar to Copland whose second paragraph explains: “I arrived on July the 2<sup>nd</sup> at Washington, with a scholarship of the Department of State (recommended by the Institute of International Education), to attend first to an orientation course in this city, and 2<sup>nd</sup> to a course of composition and probably another one of orchestral conducting, at the Berkshire Music Center in Lenox, Mass. (where Mr. Seeger told me you are going to be). But the other day, in N. York, Mr. Moe, the Secretary of the J. S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation said to me that I have received a scholarship from this Institution, and I accepted it from the period September 1<sup>st</sup> 1.946-47. I’ll talk to you in the Berkshire, regarding to what is most convenient to do for me, using this scholarship, because I know you are the person more indicated for this.” See “Letter from Héctor Tosar to Aaron Copland,” June 19, 1946, CCLC, folder “T” Miscellaneous, box 264. See also Coriún Aharonián, “Héctor Tosar (1923-2002) Muerte de un gran compositor,” *Revista Musical Chilena* 56/197 (2002): 81. Héctor Tosar also received an invitation to attend in 1946 the Composer’s Forum in Middlebury, Vermont. See Aharonián, *Héctor Tosar*, 22. Aharonián likewise wrote that Tosar did a tour in the United States in 1958, sponsored by the Department of State, in order to visit musical centers. *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>1073</sup> “Letter from Héctor Tosar to Aaron Copland,” June 11, 1947, CCLC, folder “T” Miscellaneous, box 264.

<sup>1074</sup> *Ibid.*

neoclassicism.”<sup>1075</sup> However, Tosar admitted that time brought him aesthetic “problems” that led him to arrive at chromaticism, which somehow denied the “previous trend” even though Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951) was not a reference for him.<sup>1076</sup> About his *Sonata para violín y piano* the composer mentioned an inflection *momentum* that symbolized his transition from Neoclassicism to a more chromatic style; therefore, the composer articulated:

In 1947, when I was writing the Sonata for violin and piano, at a time when I was walking down. ...I had left an impasse of a violin melody that I didn't know where it was going to stop, and suddenly I realized that I had to stay on a note, and stay on a note, on a note, and I told myself this is the solution! ...I remember that moment, that I was excited about melodicism and with the phrase that continued and that was a kind of reaction against. ... Well, against neoclassicism, perhaps. I thought that was a way for me, that it was my way.<sup>1077</sup>

Tosar clarifies this aesthetic change by voicing that he had the artistic need to “express himself” with a “sort of melodicism or lyricism different from romanticism,” which is also a structural component in the “the Sonata for Violin and Piano’s trend (1947/1948).”<sup>1078</sup> The first movement starts with an introduction in a *Recitativo (quasi adagio)* tempo, after which the violin part of the thematic material is developed across the piece. The “exposition” begins with a time signature of 2/2, which interchanges with 3/4, 3/2, and the tempo marking of *Allegro ma non troppo, con spirito*. The melodic design of the leading voice is chromatic (sharps) and conjunct. The “development” section eliminates the chromaticism (sharps) and creates a contrast by invoking pandiatonicism with three flats (Bb, Eb, and Ab) before transitioning

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<sup>1075</sup> The text is Spanish: “Entré sin darme cuenta en el neoclasicismo.” See Aharonián, *Héctor Tosar*, 18.

<sup>1076</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>1077</sup> The text in Spanish: “En el 1947, cuando estaba escribiendo la *Sonata para violín and piano*, en un momento en que yo estaba caminando por una avenida cerca de la Casa Blanca,...Había salido de una impase de una melodía del violín que no sabía dónde iba a parar, y de repente me di cuenta de que tenía que quedarse en una nota, y quedarse en una nota, en una nota, y me dije ¡ésta es la solución!. . . Me acuerdo de ese momento, de que me entusiasmaba con el melodismo y con la frase que continuaba y eso era una especie de reacción contra...Bueno, contra el neoclasicismo, quizás. Pensaba que eso era un camino para mí, que era mi camino.” Aharonián, *Héctor Tosar*, 23. Italics mine.

<sup>1078</sup> Aharonián, *Héctor Tosar*, 25.

toward the “recapitulation” in which the chromaticism (sharps) reappears. The piano accompaniment is based on arpeggiated dyads (roots doubled at the octave) combined with open triad inversions, and this part either alternates with the violin’s main melody or plays a countermelody.

The image shows a musical score for a violin and piano. The violin part is on the top staff, starting with a *pp* dynamic and featuring a melody with triplets and a dynamic shift to *mf* at the end. The piano part is on the bottom staff, starting with a *mf* dynamic and featuring arpeggiated dyads and a dynamic shift to *pp* at the end.

**EXAMPLE 5.8.** Héctor Tosar, *Sonata para violín y piano*, first movement.

The second movement, marked *Molto più tranquillo e cantabile*, begins to generate progressive rhythmic intensity with the composer’s use of rhythmic diminution. Its melody has a conjunct design, and the piano accompaniment is based on implicit polyphony. The movement, which contains chromatic oscillation between sharps and flats, is divided into four sections, not in the Romantic tradition but in their sound mass saturation. The first section introduces eighth-note triplets, sixteenths, and dotted eighth notes, and the second saturates them more. The third section recapitulates a different version of the first section’s theme and creates a slow and oppressive atmosphere with the support of heterometric and polytempo techniques. Suddenly, an open arpeggiated pattern that skips through its register marks the beginning of the last section, breaking the calm and the work’s mood. However, this last section combines the contrasting changes of tempo and the opposition of elements, and a *più mosso* and then a

*più allegro* tempo mark lead the work toward a climax. The piece ends with a passage based on accented homorhythmic tetrachords.

The musical score for Example 5.9 consists of two staves. The upper staff is for the violin, featuring a melodic line with several trills marked with a '3' and an accent. The lower staff is for the piano, showing a complex accompaniment with many accented chords and a dynamic marking of *ff*. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is not explicitly shown but appears to be 3/4.

EXAMPLE 5.9. Héctor Tosar, *Sonata para violín y piano*, second movement.

The third movement, *Allegro giusto ben ritmico*, starts with a pointillistic motive that the composer utilizes across the movement, mixing it into simple and compound-triple meter. Both instruments explore chromaticism within high and low registers, and from the tempo mark *Precipitato*, the movement’s intensity begins decelerating with rhythmic augmentation. Simultaneously, the chromaticism starts vanishing so that the movement finishes with a pandiatonic coda.

The musical score for Example 5.10 consists of two staves. The upper staff is for the violin, showing a pointillistic motive of eighth notes with rests, ending with a *pizz.* (pizzicato) marking. The lower staff is for the piano, featuring a similar pointillistic accompaniment with many accented chords. Dynamic markings include *fff* and *poco a poco dim*. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. An 8va... marking is present at the bottom right.

EXAMPLE 5.10. Héctor Tosar, *Sonata para violín y piano*, third movement.

### **Aaron Copland visits Latin America as Visiting Professor of Music Sponsored by the State Department (1947)**

Aaron Copland went on tour to Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay in 1947 as Visiting Professor of Music, supported by a grant-in-aid sponsored by the State Department. He arrived in Rio de Janeiro on August 19, after leaving the Berkshire Music Center.<sup>1079</sup> Francis J. Colligan (1909-1974), who worked at that time as Division of International Exchange of Persons Assistant Chief for the Department of State, wrote to Copland on October 28, 1946, about the plan to “send four or five qualified persons during the ensuing calendar year to serve as visiting lectures at several of the cultural centers which the Department assists in maintaining in the other American republics.”<sup>1080</sup> The letter clarifies the lecture content, which “would be the United States music, given from the viewpoint of providing an interpretation of United States culture to interested Latin American audiences.”<sup>1081</sup> Intending to reach out different audiences, the Department of State planned to “lecture also in cities outside of the capital” and to “make contacts with leaders in their field of study in the various countries and make known as widely as possible the United States developments in that field during their stay.”<sup>1082</sup>

The same cultural diplomacy structure that was refined and deployed during the Good Neighbor Policy era remained for this trip. On February 10, 1947, Colligan communicated with Copland to “confirm the arrangement discussed by you with various officer[s] of the Department during your recent visit to Washington,” besides “concerning your forthcoming

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<sup>1079</sup> See “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1080</sup> “Letter from Francis J. Colligan to Aaron Copland,” October 28, 1946, CCLC, folder 13, box 355.

<sup>1081</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1082</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.



trip to various of the other American republics to lecture at cultural centers there under the Department's travel grant program."<sup>1083</sup> The letter, which includes varied information, highlights that "You would be expected to deliver a short series of lectures on American music at the cultural centers" as well as "to lecture over the radio, serve as guest conductor at the invitation of local music groups, and otherwise effectively carry out your program of activities within the general cultural purposes of this project."<sup>1084</sup>

Regarding his cultural diplomacy assignment, the composer wrote similar things later in the "Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947," whose "General Outline" specified that "I was invited by the Department of State to accept a grant-in-aid as visiting Professor in Latin America as part of its work in connection with the cultural missions. The grant-in-aid," stated the document, "was to enable me to give lectures on [U.S.] American music, meet with local musicians, and arrange concerts whenever possible."<sup>1085</sup> Copland visited eight cities where he gave twenty-eight lectures in Spanish or English, did nineteen radio talks in Portuguese or Spanish, participated as conductor or pianist in five concerts (two orchestral and three chamber music), and met local composers (forty-one), musicologists and music critics (seven), as well as many folk musicians, journalists, and citizens.<sup>1086</sup>

In his article "Aaron Copland writes from South America," for the *Tanglewood Alumni Bulletin*, the composer announced that he was the United States Group for Latin American Music's chairman and worked together with musicologists Gilbert Chase (1906-1992) and

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<sup>1083</sup> "Letter from Francis J. Colligan to Aaron Copland," February 10, 1947, CCLC, folder 13, box 355.

<sup>1084</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1085</sup> "Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947," CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1086</sup> Ibid.

Carleton Sprague Smith, and composers Paul Bowles (1910-1999) and Henry Cowell, whom he described as “Latin American experts.”<sup>1087</sup> He continued by writing that:

The Group is concentrating its activities for the '47-'48 in three countries: Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. Three scholarships are being offered. ...It's interesting to note that the Group's work is financed by a manufacturer of tractors. Let's hope that this mixing of arts and industrialism starts a trend.<sup>1088</sup>

The artist manager Erminie Kahn, who collaborated with the group, released the document “Young Latin Americans to Compete for Music Scholarships Offered by United States Company” in which Khan revealed “A competition to select young composer[s] from Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay for scholarships at the Berkshire Music Center in Massachusetts, U.S.A., July-August 1948 is announced by the Empire Tractor Corporation of New York and Philadelphia.”<sup>1089</sup> The text follows by clarifying that “A United States committee headed by the internationally-known composer, Aaron Copland, will invite leading South American composers to join in determining awards.”<sup>1090</sup> It predicts a commercial relationship to specify even more about the composers' sponsorship extension by stating that:

In addition to the scholarships, the Empire Corporation's good will project for cultural relations between the United States and the three South American countries in which it is now active, will include a New York concert, in the spring, of chamber orchestra and other works from Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.<sup>1091</sup>

In the section “General Impressions,” the U.S. composer wrote that “I should like to begin this report by stating that in my opinion the Department of State's visiting professor program

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<sup>1087</sup> Aaron Copland, “Aaron Copland writes from South America,” *Tanglewood Alumni Bulletin* 1/1 (1947), 3.

<sup>1088</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1089</sup> “Young Latin Americans to Compete for Music Scholarships Offered by United States Company,” CCLC, folder 11, box 359.

<sup>1090</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1091</sup> The scholarship included covering the following fees: airfare, full tuition and living costs, and the festival orchestra concerts. In addition, the judges required two scores from the applicants: one for orchestra and another for chamber music. Ibid.

cannot be measured as to value by a simple listing of activities engaged upon.”<sup>1092</sup> Therefore, Copland wrote that, “The mere presence of an [U.S.] American scholar or artist in the midst of the cultural life of a Latin American city is in itself important.”<sup>1093</sup> The composer continued regarding his discipline by saying that “In the field of music, my own visit seemed a separate and special phenomenon to the local musician. It would be wise if a way could be found to arrange for the sending of other composers and performers on a long-term basis.”<sup>1094</sup>

The composer engaged with the impact of his visit and his perception in urban and rural areas when he stated, “I visited both large and small cities during my three-and-a-half month stay. Because of the present stage of development in Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, it is propagandizing in the large city which produces the most rewarding results.”<sup>1095</sup> Copland emphasized that “Lectures or concerts of serious [U.S.] American music presuppose a level of cultural appreciation which, thus far, is to be found only in the bigger Latin-American centers [sic].”<sup>1096</sup> Therefore, “I don’t think the smaller towns are quite ready as yet, but at the same time that is no reason to completely by-pass them.”<sup>1097</sup> This travel also coincided with Harry Truman’s official state visit to Brazil (Rio de Janeiro) from September 1 to 7 to attend the Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security with the objective of promoting his doctrine’s ideals and converting them into a continental treaty.

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<sup>1092</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359, 7.

<sup>1093</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1094</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1095</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1096</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1097</sup> Ibid, 7-8.

## **Brazil**

The composer residencies in Rio de Janeiro were from August 19 to October 1 and later on November 16-18.<sup>1098</sup> Copland gave “twelve lectures on [U.S.] American music in Rio de Janeiro from its beginnings to the present day” in addition to two “extra” entitled “The Role of Culture in the U.S.A.” and “Music in the Films.”<sup>1099</sup> Concerning these conferences, Copland mentioned in his report that language barriers (English and Spanish) and “using recordings for illustrations” played a role in the attendance and ability to understand the subject, and he suggested that it would be helpful “to make them more compact and to combine them with the actual performance of these musical examples.”<sup>1100</sup>

In contrast, the composer’s eight radio talks in three different radio stations “seemed to be more broadly effective” and he pointed out that the brief texts he read in Portuguese in combination with the broadcast technology were more successful: “Via the radio, compositions of Foote, Barber, Blitzstein, Thomson, Bernstein, Piston, and works of my own were heard, many of them for the first time in Brazil.”<sup>1101</sup> In addition to his activities on the radio and the concerts in which the composer participated, Copland similarly held an agenda about meeting with local composers. He already met with them on his previous trip in 1941 as well as with the younger generations. Therefore, Copland met again with Claudio Santoro (1919-1989) during a solo cello recital on August 27, where he heard Santoro’s latest composition.<sup>1102</sup>

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<sup>1098</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1099</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1102</sup> “South American Journal 1921-1953,” CCLC, folder 7, box 243.

In his “South American Journal” he described his aural experience with the following words, “His style is now more tonal than it used to be. The work is clearly conceived which is a pleasure. He is on his way to something. Considering his age (28)” Copland concluded, “he is certainly the most gifted young composer around (What a shame about that Guggenheim fiasco!).”<sup>1103</sup> Santoro was a member of the composer group *Música Viva*, which was founded by the émigré German composer Hans-Joachim Koellreuter (1915-2005) and about whom Copland wrote, “He seems to have all the young pupils. Told me about a composer of 32 called Peixe – enthusiastic about him. One doesn’t know whether to trust his judgement or not.”<sup>1104</sup>

For Copland it was notable that in Brazil a new generation of Brazilian composers was working and producing music with the aims of creating new spaces for new music, which is a phenomenon that Carlos Kater defined as “the second phase in Brazil’s musical modernity,” which consisted of “introducing dodecaphonism and atonalism in the country.”<sup>1105</sup> At the same time, *Música Viva* represented a break with the previous movement of modern Brazilian composers led by Villa-Lobos, Camargo Guarnieri, Fernández, Mignone and others, which generated debates and a reaction, in particular, since the group *Música Viva* modified its *Manifesto* from 1944 and promulgated a new one—“Manifesto 1946, Declaração de Princípios” on November 1, 1946—that reflected the new Cold War era spirit of the times.<sup>1106</sup> Among the ideas in the *Manifesto*, it proposed the idea of music as a type of social realism, as well as its

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<sup>1103</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>1104</sup> Copland did not mention the Group *Música Viva* in his text from 1941 entitled “The Composers of South America.” Ibid., 5.

<sup>1105</sup> Carlos Kater, “H. J. Koellreuter's *Música Viva*,” *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas*, 39/2 (2006): 290.

<sup>1106</sup> *Boletim do Grupo Música Viva*, no. 12, Jan (1947) in Carlos Kater, *Música Viva e H. J. Koellreuter. Movimentos em direção à modernidade* (São Paulo: Musa Música—Atravez, 2001).

conception arising from a collective social activity, and rejected the idea of *l'art pour l'art* because the document claimed that the real musical art must represent its society and time in addition to supporting new and revolutionary musical works.<sup>1107</sup>

Keeping this line of thought, the text rejected the practical use of music and its transformation as a capitalist commodity for consumption, and it claimed a connection between music and Marxist ideology.<sup>1108</sup> Likewise, the manuscript demanded a different pedagogical and aesthetic approach that rejected the Brazilian academic musical system as well as a fake nationalism because, according to the *Manifesto*, it promoted capitalist behaviors such as alienation and individualism, simultaneously, by promoting a chauvinist consciousness.<sup>1109</sup> *Música Viva*, placed inside the Brazilian modern-music community, likewise generated tension—as already voiced—with the previous generation of modern composers, who approached the construction of modern music works by including their regional and national music signifiers. Thus, the reaction against *Música Viva* transformed into a public aesthetic debate, in this case, led by Camargo Guarnieri.

Some days later, on September 1, Copland received Brazilian composers Guerra Peixe (1914-1993) and Edino Krieger (1928) in his hotel room to show him some of their works, and Copland voiced that “My impression is that Koellreuter has managed to cover the market in young composers. Only around him do they seem to get stimulating. Like Ardévol in Cuba, he is the leader of the new generation.”<sup>1110</sup> At that moment, Copland articulated that “It will be interesting to look closely at their music. According to Peixe only 3 are 12 toners: Santoro,

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<sup>1107</sup> See the “Manifesto 1946, Declaração de Princípios.” See APPENDIX E

<sup>1108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1110</sup> “South American Journal 1921-1953,” CCLC, folder 7, box 243.

himself and [K]atunda. They publish *Música Viva*, have radio programs, have discussions, reunions, etc. A curious situation,” for the U.S. American composer, “in which Brazilians are being brought up by a typical German.”<sup>1111</sup> Copland disliked Koellreuter as a group-leading figure because, during the U.S. composer pre-Cold War-era, “German music [dodecaphonic] was the thing we were trying to get out from under.”<sup>1112</sup> Nevertheless, the upcoming period of the new ideological path inside and outside the United States would impact the arts, and especially art music. One day later, Copland met Francisco Mignone, who also showed him one of his new composition drafts, which Copland described as “pretty good.”<sup>1113</sup>

During his interview for *Radio Nacional* on September 12, Copland talked about U.S. and modern music in general, but the interview began with questions regarding the motivations for his trip and the Berkshire Music Center.<sup>1114</sup> The composer spoke to the Brazilian audiences with an opening statement that reminded everyone of the Pan-American reciprocity ideal in World War II, and he said that, “This is second visit to Brazil, I came here six years ago on a cultural mission to further the interchange of knowledge and ideas about

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<sup>1111</sup> Italics are mine. Ibid., 8.

<sup>1112</sup> Copland shared in an interview with Edward T. Cone his personal story with serialism: “When I look back now, it seems to me that the Piano Variations was the start of my interest in serial . . . I'd like to explain here one thing about Schoenberg in relation to myself: in the early years, in my own mind, he and Berg and Webern under something of a cloud for the reason that they were still writing German music . . . I didn't need the method at the time, for I was busy exploring for myself. It was only later, at the end of the Second World War, the younger fellows, Boulez and such, made it clear that you could keep the method while throwing away the esthetic. This came as a brand-new idea to us. Why we didn't think of it for our-selves, I'll never understand. By 1950, I was involved. The attraction of the method for me was that I began to hear chords that I wouldn't have heard otherwise. Heretofore I had been thinking tonally, but this was a new way of moving tones about. It freshened up one's technique and one's approach. To this very day that remains its main attraction for me. See Edward T. Cone and Aaron Copland, “Conversation with Aaron Copland,” *Perspectives of New Music* 6/2 (1968): 65-66. See also Aaron Copland, “Schoenberg Expressionism (1941,1967),” in *Aaron Copland: A Reader Selected Writings 1923-1972*, ed. Richard Kostelanetz and Steve Silverstein (New York: Routledge, 2004), 158-161 and see also Emily A. Ansari, “The Principal Brand Strategist: Aaron Copland,” in *The Sound of a Superpower: Musical Americanism and the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 128-161.

<sup>1113</sup> “South American Journal 1921-1953,” CCLC, folder 7, box 243., 8.

<sup>1114</sup> “Radio Nacional – Questionnaire 12 Sept. 1947 (English, Portuguese),” CCLC, folder 15, box 216.

our respective musical activities,” nonetheless, “This time I came to Brazil at the invitation of the *Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos* to give a series of 12 talks on the subject of [U.S.] American music and,” explained that “of course to continue the work of cultural interchange that I [began] in my first trip.”<sup>1115</sup>

These ideas of equity, however, differ from others Copland’s texts, regarding Latin America. For example, a paragraph from his article for *The New York Times*, “Composer’s Report on Music in South America,” states that “In all these places our government cooperates with local persons to maintain cultural centers for the teaching of English and the spreading of comprehensive ideas about our civilization.”<sup>1116</sup> The composer explains that “The cultural centers lend books, phonograph recordings, printed music, organize lectures and concerts, and in general help to give the local citizen a truer picture of the United States than can be obtained from a Hollywood movie.”<sup>1117</sup> For Copland, Hollywood represented not only a platform to spread his political ideals to the masses to fulfill modern music’s functionalist role of “meaningful social formation,” as discussed by Sally Bick, but also to diffuse a U.S.-American musical language.<sup>1118</sup> Nevertheless, Hollywood challenged this ideal because its film music, composed mainly by Europeans émigré composers, was “written in the late nineteenth century symphonic style,” as Copland states, which became a representational conflict at the

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<sup>1115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1116</sup> Aaron Copland, “Composer’s Report on Music in South America,” *New York Times*, December 21, 1947. See also a similar text in Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland Since 1943* (New York: St. Martins/Marek, 1989), 78.

<sup>1117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1118</sup> Sally Bick, “‘Of Mice and Men’: Copland, Hollywood, and American Musical Modernism,” *American Music* 23/4 (2005): 426.



moment of promoting U.S. “serious” culture abroad.<sup>1119</sup> At that radio interview moment, the composer told the interviewer:

I have had an excellent impression of the *ambiente* musical here. ...In fact it reminds me of musical life in New York . . . It seems to me that musical life in Rio will soon be reaching such a point. At any rate I can tell you that I have an impression of a considerably increased musical activity since I was here six years ago.<sup>1120</sup>

Regarding Tanglewood’s festival and the composition fellowship, Copland responded that, “I have spoken with several of the Brazilian composers who have mentioned names of gifted young composers who may be among the candidates,” thus “What we need is a postgraduate type of student, thirty or less, who is ready to take advantage of an intensive course in composition and who can profit by the many courses and lectures that take place in Tanglewood.”<sup>1121</sup>

On a different radio interview two days later, on September 14, at the *Rádio Ministério da Educação* with Sheila Ivert, Copland repeated his positivistic developmentalism tropes (which did not have a solid theoretical foundation) about Brazilian music, noting that “of all the South American countries, Brazil has been the first to develop a music of its own” and mentioning that Brazil’s musical future “is save in the hands of these men whom, I may add, I am happy to count among my friends.”<sup>1122</sup> However, he wrote that “I was hard put to make recommendations of Brazilian and Uruguayan artists for Tanglewood, but Argentina was developing more rapidly.”<sup>1123</sup>

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<sup>1119</sup> Aaron Copland, “Second Thoughts on Hollywood (1940),” *Modern Music* 17 (1940): 142.

<sup>1120</sup> “Radio Nacional – Questionnaire September 12, 1947 (English, Portuguese),” CCLC, folder 15, box 216.

<sup>1121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1122</sup> The composer meant: Heitor Villa-Lobos, Camargo Guarnieri, Francisco Mignone, Oscar Lorenzo Fernández, and in the youngest generation, Claudio Santoro and César Guerra-Peixe. “Radio Nacional – Questionnaire September 14, 1947 (English, Portuguese),” CCLC, folder 15, box 216.

<sup>1123</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland Since 1943*, 84.

In Rio de Janeiro, Copland heard and participated as a performer in concerts whose repertoire reflected the bilateral and inter-American cooperation between Brazil and the United States. Reporting about the concert on September 13, completely dedicated to U.S. composers given by the *Orquestra Sinfônica Brasileira*, led by the Tanglewood conducting fellow Eleazar de Carvalho, he wrote that “This was a fine gesture, even though the orchestra was not always adequate.”<sup>1124</sup> In his book *Copland Since 1943* with Vivian Perlis, Copland commented, “This was a brave gesture, since the public had heard comparatively little contemporary music of any kind,” and added that “Opera was the big social event in Rio ... I was somewhat disappointed in the Orchestra.”<sup>1125</sup>

Concerning the chamber music, Copland mentioned that “The Academia de Musica Brasileira [sic] (of which Maestro Villa-Lobos is President, and moving spirit) put on a concert of chamber music on October 15, by Brazilian composers, in my honor.”<sup>1126</sup> The following Brazilian works were performed to honor the U.S. composer: Radamés Gnattali (1906-1988), *Andante* from *String Quartet no. 1*; Fructuoso Vianna (1896-1976), *Variations on a popular theme, Toada no. 6* and *Corta-jaca*; Heitor Villa-Lobos, two movements of *Final da fantasia* for violin and piano; and to conclude, Oscar Lorenzo Fernández, two movements of *String Quartet no. 2*.<sup>1127</sup>

In this recital, Copland gave a brief speech and stated, “Although I say ‘in my honor’, [sic] I really take it to be a gesture of friendliness on the part of my Brazilian composers-friends

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<sup>1124</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1125</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland Since 1943*, 79.

<sup>1126</sup> “Sociedade Brasileira de Música de Câmara,” CCLC, folder 12, box 359.

<sup>1127</sup> Ibid.

toward their North American colleagues.”<sup>1128</sup> Copland continued by acknowledging that as a result of “Europe and European art [having] absorbed us too exclusively for too long a period,” the “rapprochement between the composers of our two countries is long overdue.”<sup>1129</sup> Next, he reminded the audience about the fact of his introduction to Latin American music via Carlos Chávez, who is “an example for all of us” as well as his trip in 1941 (Good Neighbor Policy), during which Copland “liked what [he] was the first time.”<sup>1130</sup>

Regarding Brazil and its music, Copland shared his statement that “Of all the South American countries Brazil has been the first to develop a music of its own” and despite praising Brazil’s “rich folklore to draw upon for your compositions,” the U.S. composer warned his colleagues and the audience that “. . . a rich source material brings with its problems of treatment. Sooner or later it must be incorporated into an unselfconscious national musical language of universal significance. Any other solution merely produces a music of local color.”<sup>1131</sup> Afterwards he follows by saying that “It is the solution of that problem that makes it interesting to consider what the future of Brazilian music is to be, and how it is related to similar problems in the United States.”<sup>1132</sup> The composer ended his brief speech by thanking “both in my own name and in the name of the United States for their warm and friendly manifestation.”<sup>1133</sup>

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<sup>1128</sup> “Speech to Academia Brasileira de Música,” CCLC, folder 30, box 214.

<sup>1129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1130</sup> Copland met Heitor Villa-Lobos in Paris, but Latin America came to the composer’s life after meeting Carlos Chávez during the Mexican composer’s second residency toward the end of the 1920s in New York City. Further, Mexico’s cultural role in the United States during the Great Depression years with the Mexican Vogue, which fascinated U.S. artists, collectors and tourists (who expressed their disappointment with modernity), combined with their geographical proximity, similarly contributed to the fact that Mexico, and not Brazil, became Copland’s starting point. *Ibid.*

<sup>1131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1133</sup> *Ibid.*

In this speech, the word “universal,” which contains a Eurocentric connotation in the history of Western art music, was equated with development, progress, and classic serialism, and at the same time, it symbolized the antagonism and departure concerning the disastrous nationalism. The “problem” Copland addressed in the speech was how to insert the American continent’s modern art music within the new political vicissitudes, which changed the interest from the regional to the universal.<sup>1134</sup> This change would reflect the projection of the United States’ cultural diplomacy, whose programs became implemented on other continents as a result of the tangible benefits observed in Latin America during the Good Neighbor Policy. The second chamber music concert in Rio de Janeiro at *Sociedade Brasileira de Música de Câmara* on September 26, included Copland as a pianist, and the U.S.-Brazilian repertoire consisted of works in the following order: Claudio Santoro’s *Sonatina for oboe and piano*, Guerra-Peixe’s *Duo for flute and violin*, Aaron Copland’s *Sonata for violin and piano*, *Vitebsk* for piano trio, and *Two Pieces for String Quartet*, and Walter Piston’s *Trio*.<sup>1135</sup>

In Sao Paulo (October 16-20), Copland gave his lecture “Music in the Films” (Spanish) for “an audience of about four hundred people” and held a radio program (Radio Gazeta) in Portuguese with works by “Barber, Bernstein and myself.”<sup>1136</sup> With the Minister of Culture of Sao Paulo’s sponsorship, Brazilian composer and conductor Camargo Guarnieri organized a binational concert where Copland performed some of his chamber music during the first half

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<sup>1134</sup> Carol A. Hess pointed out that during the 1941 South American tour, “Copland fulfilled the agendas of both the OIAA and the Division of Cultural Relations. For the former, he championed regional rather than universal culture by glorifying liberation from Europe and branding himself a populist. For the latter, he channeled his infinitely protean musical personality into the norms of universal culture via the sonata, assuming a modernist stance in the process.” See Carol A. Hess, “Copland in Argentina: Pan Americanist Politics, Folklore, and the Crisis in Modern Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66/1 (2013): 212.

<sup>1135</sup> See the program in “Sociedade Brasileira de Música de Câmara,” CCLC, folder 12, box 359.

<sup>1136</sup> “South American Journal 1921-1953,” CCLC, folder 7, box 243.

and, in the second half, Camargo “read a paper before the concert and had his Second String Quartet performed in my honor.”<sup>1137</sup> Copland described Camargo’s work with the words “. . . struck me as a good playable work, if nothing surprising. The middle movement has definite Gershwin touches, which Guarneri assured me were ‘pure Brazilian.’”<sup>1138</sup>

About the chamber work, the U.S. composer wrote in his *Journal* on October 19, that “It’s the Negro influence on both our musics; of course.”<sup>1139</sup> Later, at Guarneri’s house lunch, “He played me his *Intro & Fugue* for orch[estra]. He has a fine technique. The tunes sometimes have disappointing phrases – as if he weren’t critic – a aware of every instant – a rather Brazilian trait.”<sup>1140</sup> The U.S. composer added that doing an official visit to the local conservatory “was like walking in the middle of the nineteenth century.”<sup>1141</sup> Later, in Porto Alegre on October 20-22, Copland presented “nothing more than a lecture on [U.S.] American music.”<sup>1142</sup>

## **Argentina**

Copland flew to Buenos Aires in transit to Uruguay to do the first of two planned visits to Argentina on October 22-26. Among the newspapers that reviewed the guests’ arrival, *La Nación* announced the composer’s visit as well as his coming concerts, conferences and the fellowship to Tanglewood sponsored by the Empire Tractor Corporation.<sup>1143</sup> One day after Copland’s arrival, his colleagues and former fellows at Tanglewood, Alberto Ginastera and

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<sup>1137</sup> In this city, Copland performed his *Piano Variations* for a full opera house morning concert. Ibid.

<sup>1138</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland Since 1943*, 81.

<sup>1139</sup> “South American Journal 1921-1953,” CCLC, folder 7, box 243.

<sup>1140</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>1141</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>1142</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1143</sup> “Aaron Copland llegó ayer a esta capital: Serán adjudicadas becas,” *La Nación*, October 23, 1947, in CCLC, folder 9, box 359.

Raúl Spivak, offered a conference entitled “Las actuales tendencias musicales en los Estados Unidos” at Sala Ricordi.<sup>1144</sup> The composer provided a press conference on October 24, in which he shared his thoughts with the journalists. The column “La música y los públicos de hoy” reviewed that Copland expressed the thought that “. . . the U.S. and Argentinean composers face similar folklore problems” and ensured that unlike Brazil, Argentina “does not have a musical trend” but “it will arrive with time.”<sup>1145</sup>

The newspaper *The Herald* revealed in the article “American Composer Visiting Argentina” that, regarding an inquiry about national and international music, Copland answered that “. . . for each composer it should be indigenous in expression but have a universal significance, citing such a composer as Debussy, whose music was definitively French but had a universal appeal.”<sup>1146</sup> Regarding the question about Latin American music, the composer alleged that “Brazilian music remained close to the earth, to natural resources and folk-song, while the sources of Argentine music showed more diverse influences” and “He said it was quite wrong to regard Gershwin as the only North American composer.”<sup>1147</sup>

## Uruguay

From October 27 to November 1, in the Uruguayan capital city Montevideo, Copland offered “a lecture, two radio talks and a concert with the SODRE Orchestra conducted in part by myself,” and the composer highlighted the fact that “Both lecture and the concert were

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<sup>1144</sup> “Las actuales tendencias musicales en los Estados Unidos,” *El Mundo*, October 23, 1947, in CCLC, folder 9, box 359.

<sup>1145</sup> The text in Spanish: “... los problemas folklóricos de los compositores estadounidenses y argentinos se aproximan ... no puede asegurarse que exista en la Argentina una tendencia musical, como sí ocurre en el Brasil, pero que dicha tendencia llegará con el tiempo.” See “Habla el Maestro A. Copland que Dirigirá en el T. Colón,” *Noticias Gráficas*, October 24, 1947, in CCLC, folder 9, box 359.

<sup>1146</sup> “American Composer Visiting Argentina,” *The Herald*, October 25, 1947, in CCLC, folder 9, box 359.

<sup>1147</sup> *Ibid.*

broadcast by the Government radio. (The importance of radio in the diffusion of [U.S.] American music is self-evident).”<sup>1148</sup>

One of Copland’s radio interviews was with the journalist Joaquín Helmut Freund (1919-2004), who introduced Copland by highlighting the synchronicity with the old ideal of *Americanism* promoted by his colleague Curt Lange, stating “Americanism: This is the common denominator of so many of its vast and multiple activities: A generous Americanism that, of course, does not exclude a broad view of the universal music landscape” in relation to the music and cultural diplomacy by the U.S. composer.<sup>1149</sup> Thereafter, Helmut Freund asked a question about the musical similarities that U.S. and South American composers, which the journalist demarcated as “a genuine music, then, from this continent,” shared in common, and Copland answered positively by saying that effectively there are features that indicate the American creation of music from the “Western hemisphere.”<sup>1150</sup> Firstly, the composer pointed out the rhythm, because “we have divided the eight eighth notes of the ordinary compass into unequal parts,” on the American continent, “for example: Three and three and two or two and two and three, instead of the usual 2 and 2 and 2 and 2, as we find them in European classical music.”<sup>1151</sup> Secondly, “the African-American music.”<sup>1152</sup> Copland explains that another difference between the “North and South American composers from the Europeans”

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<sup>1148</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1149</sup> The text in Spanish: *Americanismo*: Este es el denominador común de tantas de sus actividades vastas y múltiples: Un americanismo generoso que, desde luego, no excluye una amplia visión del panorama de la música universal. See, “Interview with Maestro Aaron Copland,” *Radio Ariel*—Montevideo, 1947, in CCLC, folder 15, box 217.

<sup>1150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1151</sup> The text in Spanish: “Una genuina música, pues, de este continente.” Copland answered in Spanish: “... hemos dividido las ocho corcheas del compás ordinario en partes desiguales, por ejemplo: Tres y tres y dos o dos, dos, y tres en lugar de los acostumbrados 2 y 2 y 2 y 2, como las encontramos en la música clásica europea.” *Ibid.*

<sup>1152</sup> The text in Spanish: “... la música de los negros.” *Ibid.*

consists of the fact that Europeans had “. . . their severe musical tradition. Europeans know too well what they are going to do; we, on the contrary, are freer and feel more the need to find new ways to solve old problems.”<sup>1153</sup>

The SODRE concert on November 1, 1947 was also a bi-national musical event, with the first half dedicated to Uruguayan modern composers Guido Santórsola (1904-1994) and the former Tanglewood fellow Héctor Tosar and “a second half of my own compositions, conducted by myself” that included his works *Outdoor Overture*, *Appalachian Spring*, and *Lincoln Portrait*.<sup>1154</sup> Copland inscribed in his *Journal* about Tosar’s early *Concertino para piano y orquesta* (1941) “. . . is very Ravel, but a brilliant piece for a young of 22.”<sup>1155</sup> The Uruguayan newspaper *El País* wrote that “Both Uruguayan works performed by their creators were an excellent prelude to introduce the distinguished guest. Both dispossessed of any folk or nationalist character,” and concerning Copland, the U.S. composer “deployed his technique with great conviction and multiple resources to serve ideas of skillful simplicity.”<sup>1156</sup> Copland clarified in the report that he was “not a conductor, but a composer-conductor” and promised to improve his conducting skills to interpret “the works of other composers”; additionally, he described the Uruguayan audience as “remarkably friendly and enthusiastic.”<sup>1157</sup>

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<sup>1153</sup> The text in Spanish: Es que no tenemos la severa tradición musical de ellos. Los europeos saben demasiado bien lo que van a hacer; nosotros, al contrario, somos más libres y sentimos más la necesidad de encontrar caminos nuevos para solucionar problemas viejos.” Ibid.

<sup>1154</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1155</sup> “South American Journal 1921-1953,” CCLC, folder 7, box 243: 36.

<sup>1156</sup> The text in Spanish: “Dos obras uruguayas ejecutadas por sus autores sirvieron de excelente prelude a la presentación del distinguido huésped. Ambas despojadas de todo carácter folklórico o nacionalista . . . pone una técnica de gran firmeza y múltiples recursos, al servicio de ideas de gran sencillez.” See “Joven y Vigorosa Música de América Tuvimos en el Buen Concierto de Ayer,” *El País*, November 2, 1947, in CCLC, folder 9, box 359.

<sup>1157</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.



## Return to Argentina

In Buenos Aires, Copland's second trip began on November 2-16, during which the composer "gave seven public lectures, six radio talks, played as a pianist in a chamber music concert of the *Liga de Compositores* and conducted the Col[ó]n orchestra in a program with my works."<sup>1158</sup> The U.S. composer likewise mentioned that "four of the talks on the subject of [U.S.] American music took place at the ICANA," but he noticed that his "impression was that the collection of records, books and music now available at ICANA does not match similar collections in other cities such as Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro, and certainly is not adequate for the demands being made upon it."<sup>1159</sup>

Regarding his radio talks, Copland did his first appearance on November 4 at *Radio del Estado*, where he spoke about some of his works, among others, such as *Appalachian Spring*, *The Cat and the Mouse*, *El Salón México*, *Short Symphony* and his *Third Symphony*, which he described by saying that "I must point out that it does not contain popular or folk elements. Around the year thirty," acknowledge the composer, "it became almost traditional to classify myself as a symphonic jazz composer, more recently I have been listed as folklorist and explorer of national themes."<sup>1160</sup> Thereafter the composer elucidated that he has "... never been one thing or another deliberately and I confess that if someone found elements of jazz or folklore in the *Third Symphony*, their appearance has been completely unconscious of me."<sup>1161</sup>

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<sup>1158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1159</sup> Ibid. Italics are mine and ICANA stands for the *Instituto Cultural Argentino Norteamericano*.

<sup>1160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1161</sup> The text in Spanish: "Debo señalar, eso sí, que no contiene elementos populares ni folklóricos. Hacia el año treinta se hizo casi tradicional clasificarme como compositor de jazz sinfónico, más recientemente he sido catalogado como folklorista y explorador de temas nacionales. Pero yo no he sido nunca una cosa ni otra deliberadamente y confieso que[,] si alguien encontrase en la Tercera Sinfonía elementos de jazz o de folklore, su aparición ha sido por completo inconsciente de mi parte." Italics mine. See "Radio del Estado," in CCLC, folder 2, box 216.

On November 6 and 12, Copland was interviewed by *Radio Splendid*, and during the first session, the program moderator inquired about the North-South musical exchange, to which the U.S. composer answered that “. . . a new chapter is being written in the creative development of musical history,” in other words, “It began to be written on the day that the First World War ended, because from that time on, it was evident to everyone that the history of artistic creation had to be written on both sides of the Atlantic.”<sup>1162</sup> The composer mentioned the canonical difficulty in the United States (which extends to the rest of the continent) surrounding the “Masterpiece complex” and even though he pointed out that the most important fact regarding the music composed on the American continent is “It is the fundamental relationship of a living people with the creative music of their own time,” he voiced that “The real problem of music in our countries is knowing how to create a truly own music, which has to have universal meaning.”<sup>1163</sup> Thereafter the moderator asked the following question: “And how do you get to that music in a universal sense?”<sup>1164</sup> Copland gave an answer divided into three ideas:

It seems to me that to achieve this, three conditions must be present: first, the composer must be part of a nation that has its own profile; second, it must have some form of musical tradition to sustain it, if possible, a folk-art base; and third, there must be a superstructure of organized musical activities that the native composer can count on.<sup>1165</sup>

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<sup>1162</sup> The text in Spanish: “. . . se está escribiendo un nuevo capítulo en el desenvolvimiento creador de la historia musical, el capítulo del hemisferio occidental. Empezó a escribirse el día que concluyó la primera Guerra Mundial, pues a partir de esa época, fue evidente para todos que la historia de la creación artística tenía en adelante que ser escrita en ambos lados del atlántico.” See “Radio del Estado,” CCLC, folder 5, box 216.

<sup>1163</sup> The text in Spanish: “Se trata de la relación fundamental de un pueblo vivo con la música creadora de su propia época . . . El verdadero problema de la música en nuestros países es saber crear una música verdaderamente propia, que así ha de tener significado universal.” Ibid.

<sup>1164</sup> The text in Spanish: “¿Y cómo se ha de llegar a esa música de sentido universal?” Ibid.

<sup>1165</sup> The text in Spanish: “Me parece que para alcanzarlo deben estar presentes tres condiciones: primero, el compositor debe ser parte de una nación que posea su perfil propio; segundo, debe tener alguna forma de tradición musical para sostenerle, de ser posible, una base de arte folklórico; y tercero, debe haber una superestructura de actividades musicales organizadas con que pueda contar el compositor nativo.” Ibid.

The *Liga de compositores de la Argentina* organized a concert to honor the guest composer on November 7 at the *Instituto Francés de Estudios Superiores* concert hall, and the event included an introduction by Alberto Ginastera entitled “Aaron Copland.”<sup>1166</sup> The recital comprised the first performance of only chamber music and solo works by Copland: *Two Pieces for String Quartet* performed by the *Cuarteto Americano*, *Variations* for piano with the composer as performer, *Sonata for violin and piano* with Ljerko Spiller (1908-2008) on the violin and Copland on the piano, and *Danzón Cubano* for two pianos with Raúl Spivak and Copland as pianists.<sup>1167</sup>

On November 8 and 9, Copland visited his composer colleagues Luis Gianneo (1897-1968) and Sergio de Castro (1922-2012) at their homes, and the composer offered positive remarks about their music. Gianneo played for his colleague “a *Piano Sonata*, a *Symphony a la Haydn*, and a ballet *Snow White and the 7 Dwarfs*. He is not appreciated as he should be. I told him,” Copland deduced, “that I had the impression he was afraid of his own force. Perhaps, he should be invited to the States.”<sup>1168</sup> Composer de Castro “played me his works: piano pieces and one piano sketch for an orchestral ‘mystery’ ... shows a clear logical mind. At times real inspiration ... I think ‘we’ should take a chance on him.”<sup>1169</sup>

The group of Argentinean composers named *Seminario de Jóvenes Músicos Argentinos*—*Buenos Aires* likewise organized a chamber music recital *Audición en honor del compositor Aaron Copland* on November 11, with the works given in the following order: the wind quintet *Juguetes* by Pedro Saenz (1915-1995), *Sonata para piano* by Rodolfo Arizaga (1926-1985), *Canciones cordobesas* for voice and piano by Juan José Castro (1895-1968), the wind trio *Divertimento* by

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<sup>1166</sup> See the program in “Seminario de Jóvenes Músicos Argentinos – Buenos Aires,” in CCLC, folder 12, box 359.

<sup>1167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1169</sup> “South American Journal 1921-1953,” CCLC, folder 7, box 243: 39-41. Italics mine.

Luis Gianneo (1897-1968), *Preludios para piano* nos. 3 y 4 by Pia Sebastiani (1925-2015) and *Cuarteto* by Roberto García Morillo (1911-2003).<sup>1170</sup> Moreover, Copland wrote in his *Journal* on November 12, that the *Liga de Compositores* named him as its “first honorary member.”<sup>1171</sup>

In Buenos Aires, Copland similarly had the opportunity to conduct an “All Copland” concert on November 15, sharing that “the Col[ó]n concert was the first time an American composer had ever conducted an entire program of his own works in Buenos Aires” and the event’s audience reception inside the concert hall “would seem to indicate a very real interest on the part of the Argentine public in what we are doing in music in the U. S. A.”<sup>1172</sup> Amongst the several reviews, for instance, the newspaper *El Mundo* wrote that “Generally composers are not usually ideal directors. However, Copland proved to be an exception to the rule, and under his clear and imperious baton the Colón ensemble expressed the meaning and text of his works faithfully,” and the newspaper *La Época* wrote in its review that “The orchestra, under the direction of Aaron Copland, responded to all its demands, achieving high-quality versions, which deserved the enthusiastic applause of the audience.”<sup>1173</sup>

### **Back to Brazil**

Copland returned to Brazil and went to the historical state of Bahia on November 18-21 where Copland “gave a lecture at the Music school and a talk on the *Radio Sociedade de Bahia*”

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<sup>1170</sup> See the program in “Liga de compositores de la Argentina en honor de Aaron Copland,” CCLC, folder 12, box 359.

<sup>1171</sup> “South American Journal 1921-1953,” CCLC, folder 7, box 243.

<sup>1172</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1173</sup> The text in Spanish: “Generalmente los compositores no suelen ser directores ideales. Sin embargo, Copland probó ser excepción a la regla, y bajo su batuta clara e imperiosa el conjunto del Colón expresó fielmente el sentido y el texto de sus obras.” See “Páginas de A. Copland en el Colón,” *El Mundo*, 16 de noviembre de 1947. The text in Spanish: “La orquesta, bajo la dirección de Aaron Copland, respondió a todas sus exigencias, logrando versiones de elevada justeza, que merecieron el aplauso entusiasta del auditorio.” See “Brillante concierto en el Teatro Colón,” *La Época*, November 16, 1947 in CCLC, folder 9, box 359.

and then “The radio talk was followed by an *Homenaje* of interesting popular music broadcast in my honor.”<sup>1174</sup> Copland landed in the organology field when he mentioned his encounter in Bahia with the instrument *berimbau* and wrote, “No one seemed able to tell me its origins, though the theory was advanced that Moorish influence was paramount.”<sup>1175</sup> As a result of the Arab cultural legacy in the Iberian Peninsula, which has had a deep impact on Western culture, the fact of being in the chordophone family represents part of the heritage from Europe embodied in the *berimbau*; nonetheless, it is a hybrid instrument in which the other parts such as the *caxixi*, *dobrão*, *cabaça*, *baqueta* and *verga* have African origins. It is widely used in the Afro-Brazilian martial art *capoeira*, and Copland seems to dismiss the local historical knowledge that their Brazilian performers might have shared with him regarding its roots as a musical instrument related to the Atlantic slave trade and the history of slavery in Brazil.

A flight stopover brought Copland in for one unplanned and very active day on November 21, in the city of Recife (state of Pernambuco). The U.S. composer was received at the airport by an *Instituto* delegation and “taken immediately to a broadcasting station for a radio talk. Later in the evening I lectured on [U.S.] American music. This was followed by a three[-]hour festival of popular music and dancing such as I had not seen previously in Brazil.”<sup>1176</sup> The last trip stop was Fortaleza (state of Ceará) on November 22-24, where Copland gave a lecture “at the local *instituto*,” which “could only have been partly effective” because “[U.S.] American music is a completely unknown factor in Fortaleza.”<sup>1177</sup>

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<sup>1174</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1175</sup> Aaron Copland, “Composer’s Report on Music in South America,” *New York Times*, December 21, 1947.

<sup>1176</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1177</sup> *Ibid.* Italics mine.

As Visiting Professor of Music, Copland wrote a section in his report entitled “Recommendations” to the Department of State. The composer began his first advice by saying that he hoped that his visit “ought not remain an isolated phenomenon,” by which he meant to establish a “regular program” in order to provide the same support to other U.S. “composers and performers ... (especially performers who are expert presenting [U.S.] American music).”<sup>1178</sup> Concerning the second suggestion, Copland based it on the principle of reciprocity and wrote that “Since cultural interchange should be a two-way street, I would consider it essential that aid to be extended to South American composers, conductors, musicologists, etc. for extended visits to the U. S. A.”<sup>1179</sup> Nonetheless, in his newspaper article, he asserted that the Department of State sent him there within a “program of exchanging professors,” but in reality, it seems a program only for Americans. There is no declaration about who came as a professor into the United States to fulfill the exchange process, and the musicians who came from Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay were fellows at Tanglewood.<sup>1180</sup> The third endorsement addressed the record collections in the different U.S. cultural institutions, which “contained very little serious [U.S.] American music;” therefore, the composer suggested “New funds available for purchasing recordings ought to be applied to filling the gaps particularly since new recordings are continually being issued and older ones have become increasingly available.”<sup>1181</sup> Jennifer Campbell illustrates that after the Good Neighbor era,

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<sup>1178</sup> Copland mentioned the names of composers Roy Harris, Samuel Barber, William Schuman, Walter Piston and Leonard Bernstein, as well as the performers John Kirkpatrick, James Sykes and Leo Smit. Ibid.

<sup>1179</sup> Copland mentioned the names of composers Luis Gianneo and José M. Castro (Argentina) and Oscar Lorenzo Fernández (Brazil); musicologist Leopoldo Hurtado (Argentina) and pianist Fanny Ingold (Uruguay). Ibid.

<sup>1180</sup> Copland, “Composer’s Report on Music in South America.”

<sup>1181</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

music as a cultural-diplomatic tool continued because “the desire to demonstrate that the U.S. was a musically sophisticated country remained one of the driving forces behind the continuation of cultural exchanges.”<sup>1182</sup>

These recommendations seem to contrast with his article for the *New York Times*, in which he claimed that “The situation as regards our music seemed somewhat better than it was six years ago, when I first visited Latin America. People in the know are familiar, at least with the names, if not the music, of our composers.”<sup>1183</sup> Thereafter, he stated in the newspaper article that “The ‘big’ public gets its contact with [U.S.] American music solely through recordings ... the radio stations seem to have them and perform them.”<sup>1184</sup> Even though there was a real investment from the U.S. government to promote U.S. art music on the continent, Copland’s words can be read as sensationalist. As the fourth advice, Copland proposed to dedicate “more attention” to the radio because “An expert of any field suitable for radio presentation would reach a far greater audience.”<sup>1185</sup> In the fifth and last recommendation, the composer advised designing a better plan about how to “make greater use of the large amount of serious [U.S.] American music already available in the collection the State Department recordings” for the public.<sup>1186</sup> When Copland returned to the United States “a State Department employee escorted me to Washington to report on the trip.”<sup>1187</sup>

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<sup>1182</sup> Campbell, “Shaping Solidarity,” 230.

<sup>1183</sup> Copland, “Composer’s Report on Music in South America.”

<sup>1184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1185</sup> “Report on South American Trip by Aaron Copland, August 14-November 29, 1947,” CCLC, folder 14, box 359.

<sup>1186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1187</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland Since 1943*, 84.

The newspaper article is mostly dedicated to popular music from Latin America, which was not the exclusive plan for the trip to South America. In other words, one of Copland's travel goals, besides promoting the U.S. art music culture in the region, was to experience the modern art music scene in South America to recruit some composers for Tanglewood. However, as the author's article shows, Copland played a mediator role between the U.S. audiences and Latin American music, and his narrative constructs Latin American music as antimodernist by drawing an emphasis about the folklore and popular music of the region in the article's narrative.<sup>1188</sup> By so doing, and despite Copland ending the newspaper article with a brief conclusion praising some of the composers from Argentina and Brazil, the U.S. composer constructs stereotypes and reproduces an image with a narrow scope from music history in the southern hemispheric part of the American continent.

Since 1947 Copland—who, two years later, wrote the “Effect of the Cold War on the Artist in the U. S. (1949)” with the aims of expressing his position vis-à-vis the Cold War and its impact on art and artists—already felt how the political change would affect the (art) music works aesthetically.<sup>1189</sup> This event, as Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett illustrates, was sponsored by

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<sup>1188</sup> See, for example, Hess, “Copland in Argentina.” For instance, two modern music composers, Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) and Béla Bartók (1881-1945), used folkloric melodies or melodic cells as compositional material in some of their most iconic works: *The Rite of Spring* (1913) and the *Concerto for Orchestra* (1944), respectively. See, for example, Richard Taruskin, “Russian Folk Melodies in ‘The Rite of Spring,’” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33/3 (1980): 501-43, and Benjamin Suchoff, “Background and Sources of Bartók's Concerto for Orchestra,” *International Journal of Musicology* 9 (2000): 339-361.

<sup>1189</sup> This text was read during the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City (1949), where Copland and other U.S. artists-intellectuals defended the right of arts to remain independent from international political positions between governments as a human rights achievement. He likewise was representing the American-Soviet Music Society, as well as the protesting the boycott to cultural diplomacy and artist exchange programs by the Soviet Union and the United States, for ideological reasons. Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett, “Copland in the Fifties: Music and Ideology in the McCarthy Era” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1997) and *Ibid.*, “Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone Composition in the Early Cold War United States,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 27/1 (2008): 31-62. See also Aaron Copland, “Effect of the Cold War on the Artist in the U. S. (1949)” in *Aaron Copland*, 128-131.



the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, and included the participation of U.S. progressive and liberal citizens whose media exposure generated the perception of “what many Americans deemed Communism’s ideological infiltration of the United States.”<sup>1190</sup> Anti-communist socio-political organizations who protested the conference, such as The American Legion groups, claimed that it was “engineered by the Soviets to win the support of artists and intellectuals in Western countries.”<sup>1191</sup> Copland was among the group of citizens associated with Un-American affiliations and values, which led the U. S. House of Representatives’ Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) to investigate his activities. In other words, liberals became a target for conservative Republicans, and Copland “knew that anti-Communists in government and the private sector could discredit reputations, destroy careers, and ruin the social relationships of those they deemed ‘Un-American.’”<sup>1192</sup> Ergo, the composer initiated his detachment from everything related to “communism,” including his music. Emily Ansari joins the group of scholars who claim that “Copland began to utilize [and promote] the serial method, gradually turning away from the [Popular Front progressive and folklorist] Americanist aesthetic” and DeLapp-Birkett “indicates that politics and Cold War rhetoric played a prominent role in Copland’s decision to use a twelve-tone method.”<sup>1193</sup>

Besides, the U.S. composer’s homosexual orientation turned out to be a target for conservatives, and the combination of Copland’s “past political connections” with his

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<sup>1190</sup> DeLapp-Birkett, “Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone,” 36.

<sup>1191</sup> Ibid., 35-36.

<sup>1192</sup> Ibid. 39.

<sup>1193</sup> Ansari based her examination on Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett’s publications, and Ansari explains that after Copland’s participation in the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City (1949), he became a target for anti-Communism governmental agencies and Senator Joseph McCarty (1908-1957) inquisitorial committee. See Ansari, *The Sound of a Superpower*, 129 and DeLapp-Birkett, “Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone,” 61.

“position as a gay Jewish [and liberal] man” within the anti-Communist rhetoric meant that the composer became boycotted.<sup>1194</sup> Nadine Hubbs adds to the conversation regarding Copland’s homosexual orientation, which associated musical [U.S.] Americanism, socialism, communism, and tonal music with the feminine and not the projected masculine postwar U.S. “superpower” image and agency.<sup>1195</sup> Hubbs suggests that the atonal serialism was favored over the tonal [U.S.] Americana during the Cold War, because of its virile connotation, especially during the most homophobic era in U.S. history.<sup>1196</sup> Simultaneously, once Nazi Germany was defeated and did not represent an enemy anymore, the German-conceived twelve-tone technique and serialism no longer represented fascist connotations or an obstacle to be appropriated, explored, and adapted by the American continent’s composers. However, the new enemy, not only in terms of geopolitics but also in the field of humanities and sciences, was the Soviet Union. Therefore, as Peter J. Schmelz acknowledges by quoting historian Odd Arne Westad, “The Cold War involved more than just geopolitics,” and he illustrates this notion with the declaration about “Nowhere were Cold War ideas and beliefs more common currency than in the arts, especially music.”<sup>1197</sup> The musicologist explains that the exclusive dialectical register between “U.S./Soviet,” although structural, “does not tell us everything”

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<sup>1194</sup> DeLapp-Birket explains that Copland appeared on a blacklist publication called “Red Channels” by the American Business Consultant (1950) because of communist suspicions. See DeLapp, “Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone,” 46.

<sup>1195</sup> Nadine Hubbs, “Homophobia in Twentieth-Century Music: The Crucible of America’s Sound,” *Daedalus* 142/4 (Fall 2013): 45-50. See also Ansari, *The Sound of a Superpower*, 133-134.

<sup>1196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1197</sup> Schmelz is quoting Odd Arne Westad, “Introduction: Reviewing the Cold War,” in *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretations, Theory*, ed. Odd Arne Westad (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 1. See Peter J. Schmelz, “Introduction: Music in the Cold War,” *Journal of Musicology*, 26/1 (2009): 4.

and ignores all the Cold War micro-stories and nuances that occurred globally and in geographical and time registers.<sup>1198</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The reinitiating of the musical activities at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood after World War II marked a new chapter in the festival's history during the Cold War. This context also affected the Western art music tradition's dynamics and aesthetics. For instance, on the American continent, Cold War rhetoric forced some composers to use a twelve-tone method, instead of the progressive and folklorist Americanist aesthetic associated with socialism and communism. Regarding the Latin American composers, through my evidence, I have shown how they have continued their participation since 1946, supported by the cultural diplomacy activities conducted by the State Department. As my examination of Copland's tour illustrates, these activities articulate the different visions and values of postwar cultural diplomacy, in accordance with the United States' new Cold War foreign policy. I also show how the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood correspondingly became a place for the exchange of ideas, not only North-South with the Inter-American context, but also South-South. Likewise, the selected musical analyses demonstrate how Latin American composers constructed their art music works with modern composition techniques and aesthetics, showing that musical modernism was a transnational phenomenon with its features depending on the geographical register.

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<sup>1198</sup> Schmelz, for example, contests one of Cold War music history's popularized tropes: "Indeed, the traditional assumption of "free" Western serialism versus Soviet tonal "control" has been revealed as a severe oversimplification, despite its powerful hold on the popular imagination at the time, a fact that should not be forgotten." *Ibid.*, 8-9.

**CHAPTER VI**  
**The Berkshire Music Center:**  
**The Cold War and Inter-Americanism (1948-1951)**

**Introduction**

The Berkshire Music Center continued its annual summer sessions, including the sessions from 1948 to 1950 in which Darius Milhaud (1892-1974), Olivier Messiaen (1908-1992), and Jacques Ibert (1890-1962) worked together with Aaron Copland and Irving Fine (1914-1962) teaching the composition classes. To frame this historical discussion, after establishing the Western hemisphere historical context within these years, this section discusses the Latin American modern composer fellows' contributions to the festival. By invoking this idea, it examines, for example, the Argentinian composer/pianist Pia Sebastiani's participation in 1948, since Sebastiani was the first Latin American woman composer to attend Tanglewood as a fellow. She symbolizes the strength and determination of Western art music's women composers to receive their earned recognition for their music within a male-dominated canonical tradition. Following this, the chapter elaborates on the vital participation of modern Brazilian art music, including a Koussevitzky Music Foundation commission in conjunction with Brazilian conductor Eleazar de Carvalho (1912-1996).

At that point, the chapter engages with Aaron Copland's conferences entitled "New Music Seminar" at Tanglewood, after his second trip to South America in 1947. In accordance, the section challenges the conferences' content from a theoretical perspective to demonstrate Copland's positionality within Occidentalism. In providing a different theoretical frame than the development theory, the chapter's objective is to argue that Copland's texts positioned culture in a narrow view related to economic production as well as to demonstrate the

composer's U.S. geopolitical agenda and values. Because the present study aims to investigate the trends of Latin American musical modernism, the chapter also explores works by the Brazilian Camargo Guarnieri, Chilean Carlos Riesco, and Puerto Rican Héctor Campos Parsi, from 1948 to 1950, to enhance our understanding of this movement. Serge Koussevitzky's last years at Tanglewood represent an important topic to study, not only because it marked the end of an era, but because Koussevitzky's leadership as an innovator and cultural broker between Western modern art music and society deserves a more significant and more in-depth study. Therefore, this chapter aims to investigate his role and speeches during his last years at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood to understand how his dream shaped a generation of musicians transnationally.

### **Historical Context**

In the postwar milieu, the most powerful nation states banded together to ensure raw materials, markets, and hegemonic influence, and this generated a different kind of conflict, named the Cold War (ca. 1947-1991). For that reason, this period witnessed how the international system constructed a delicate balance of power led by the United States and the Soviet Union, not only for nuclear forces, but as a model paradigm for humanity. Historical evidence also shows that this bipolar, international system generated rejection by a group of countries whose foreign policies and economic trade benefited from maintaining all kinds of relations with both sides. In other words, these countries within the Cold War phenomenon called for a multipolar system and was later named as the non-Aligned Movement. Their objective was to create a space to maneuver and exercise the principle of sovereignty. Hence, the new Cold War context, with the European continent in ruins, presented the opportunity

for previous Europeans colonies in Asia, the Middle East and Africa to construct a new geopolitical order. At that moment, by launching a new decolonization effort to fight their colonial masters, these countries achieved the political independence necessary to establish their nation-states.<sup>1199</sup> Thus, the Cold War ushered in a new era, with new institutions and actors in the international system.

On the American continent, meanwhile, the Good Neighbor era ended, and the Cold War's birth foreshadowed a return to old foreign-policy practices. Consequently, the new reality not only discontinued the ethnic diplomacy approach during the Good Neighbor Policy, but it also renewed the old misconceptions about biological, cultural, historical, and geographical determinism, which Rivas summarized as "condescension and racism."<sup>1200</sup> Following this idea, for example, on March 29, 1950, diplomat George Kennan, who was Head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff (1947-1950), submitted his report entitled "Memorandum by the Counselor of the Department to the Secretary of State."<sup>1201</sup> After visiting different countries in the region, he introduced them by saying that "Below are some views about Latin America as a problem in United States foreign policy. . ."<sup>1202</sup> Moreover, Kennan wrote that "It seems to me unlikely that there could be any other region of the earth in which nature and human behavior could have combined to produce a more unhappy and

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<sup>1199</sup> For instance, the independence of the Philippines (1946), India and Pakistan (1947).

<sup>1200</sup> Darlene Rivas, "United States–Latin American Relations, 1942–1960," in *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*, ed. Robert Schulzinger (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003), 231.

<sup>1201</sup> "Memorandum by the Counselor of the Department (Kennan) to the Secretary of State," Office of the Historian, accessed September 5, 2019, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950v02/d330>. See also George Kennan, "Latin America as a Problem in U.S. Foreign Policy" in *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.–Latin American Relations*, eds. Michael J. LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, third edition (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015), 145-156.

<sup>1202</sup> See "Memorandum."

hopeless background for the conduct of human life than in Latin America.”<sup>1203</sup> Kennan compared it with the United States by using the geographical determinism theory and affirmed that “North America is broad and ample in those temperate regions which are most suitable to human life;” but instead “South America, on the other hand, is wide and vast in those portions of it which are close to the equator and least suited to human habitation, and,” therefore, “it is the temperate zone into which the continent narrows at its southern extremity, pinching off with a fateful abruptness the possibilities for a vigorous and hopeful development of human society.”<sup>1204</sup> Later, Kennan concludes this section by emphasizing that “Against this unfavorable geographical background, which would have yielded only to the most progressive and happy of human approaches, humanity superimposed a series of events unfortunate and tragic almost beyond anything ever known in human history.”<sup>1205</sup>

At that moment, Kennan modulated from the geographical to the cultural/historical determinism and relied on the Black Legend to explain that “The Spaniards came to Latin America as the bearers of national and cultural development which was itself nearing its end ... little was left but religious fanaticism, a burning, frustrated energy, and an addiction to the most merciless cruelty,” and then expanded upon these, treating them as unchangeable fate, “The handicaps to progress are written in human blood and in the tracings of geography; and in neither case are they readily susceptible of obliteration.”<sup>1206</sup> Kennan continued his examination by supporting his thesis of supremacy along with the text until reaching its final section, “General Tone of our Approach to Latin America.”<sup>1207</sup>

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<sup>1203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1207</sup> Ibid.

Next he provided different recommendations, such as the following: “It is important for us to keep before ourselves and the Latin American peoples at all times the reality of the thesis that we are a great power; that we,” the United States, “are by and large much less in need of them than they are in need of us.”<sup>1208</sup> This memorandum signified the return to the Roosevelt Corollary and the Dollar Diplomacy era, which was marked by interventionism in Latin America. Besides, it meant the termination of the Good Neighbor Policy’s ethnic diplomacy, which—although fictional and fixed only in the World War II context—had positive results for all its participants. Nonetheless, the new cost-benefit relationship was expensive for United States foreign policy because it awoke once more the anti-U.S. feelings in the Western hemisphere.

Inside the hemispheric inter-American system, in 1947 in Brazil, the Pan-American Union members met and signed the *Tratado Interamericano de Asistencia Recíproca* (TIAR), whose third Article establishes:

1. The High Contracting Parties agree that an armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States and, consequently, each one of the said Contracting Parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>1209</sup>

From this perspective, after Rio de Janeiro, the Cold War was already showing its real impact in Latin America, and two years later, the Inter-American system met again at the Ninth International Conference of American States hosted in Bogotá, Colombia in 1948. There the Pan American Union redesigned itself and became the *Organización de Estados Americanos*,

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<sup>1208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1209</sup> See “Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance,” Department of International Law, OAS, Multilateral Treaties, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://www.oas.org/juridico/english/treaties/b-29.html>.



whose agenda promoted anti-communism policies in the region.<sup>1210</sup> As a result, the summit marked the institutional reconfiguration by founding the Organization of American States, providing and coordinating a continental response against communism in the Western hemisphere. During the conference, the continent witnessed a turning point in its history, which marked the Good Neighbor Policy era's end and the rebirth of anti-Americanism (here referring to the U.S. rather than the continent).

In Colombia, an event known as the *Bogotazo*, which displayed how Latin America became a space of conflict within the Cold War dialectic, witnessed the assassination of the Liberal Party leader and favorite presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán (1903-1948).<sup>1211</sup> This turning point in Colombian history generated a strong reaction, with riots in Bogotá's streets against the government led by the conservative president Luis Mariano Ospina Pérez (1891-1976), who repressed the crowds brutally, causing thousands of deaths. Although the conference was suspended for some days, its members decided to continue. However, "the disruption of the conference facilitated unanimous agreement on the anti-communist resolution favored by the United States."<sup>1212</sup>

Its conclusion announced the agreement named the "Final Act of Bogotá" with its "Resolution XXXII - The Preservation and Defense of Democracy in America," whose Declaration reaffirmed "That by its anti-democratic nature and its interventionist tendency,

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<sup>1210</sup> Josef L. Kunz, "The Bogota Charter of the Organization of American States," *The American Journal of International Law* 42/3 (1948): 568-589.

<sup>1211</sup> This political event in Colombian history is known by the title of *La Violencia* and its consequences remain today in Colombia with an internal armed conflict. See, for example, Hal Brands, "Convergent conflicts," in *Latin America's Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 15.

<sup>1212</sup> Roger R. Trask, "The Impact of the Cold War on U. S.–Latin American Relations, 1945–1949," in *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U. S.–Latin American Relations*, eds. Michael J. LaRosa and Frank O. Mora, third edition (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2015), 135.

the political activity of international communism or any totalitarian doctrine is incompatible with the concept of American freedom, which rests upon two undeniable postulates: the dignity of man as an individual and the sovereignty of the nation as a state.”<sup>1213</sup> The “Resolution Nr. 2” similarly specified “To condemn the methods of every system tending to suppress political and civil rights and liberties, and in particular the action of international communism or any totalitarian doctrine.”<sup>1214</sup> For that reason, the Organization of American States became a platform to articulate, mainly, U.S. policies in Latin America against the communist expansion in the region.<sup>1215</sup> Historian Hal Brands concluded that “The course of U.S.–Latin American relations in the 1950s had undone the equilibrium established by the Good Neighbor and tapped into the reservoir of anti- Americanism in the region.”<sup>1216</sup> That being the case, this hemispheric balance rupture brought back the sentiments against the United States in the region, which themselves resulted from the previous U.S. interventions, not necessarily always with troops on the ground but with one of the country’s newly founded Cold War institutions, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).<sup>1217</sup>

At the same time, the capability of producing atomic energy similarly played an essential role in redefining international relations. Although the international community tried to manage and control nuclear-energy production through the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission (UNAEC) during this period, the two leading world powers—the United States

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<sup>1213</sup> “The Secretary of State to Diplomatic Representatives in the American Republics,” Office of the Historian, accessed September 10, 2019, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1948v09/d161>.

<sup>1214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1215</sup> Later in 1962 the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, will lead the government of John F. Kennedy (197-1963) to seek support in the OAS to expel the new Cuban regime, led by Fidel Castro (1926-2016), from the Inter-American system.

<sup>1216</sup> Brands, “Convergent conflicts,” 24.

<sup>1217</sup> See the reference to the CIA in Jeremy Suri, “The Early Cold War,” in *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*, ed. Robert Schulzinger (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2003), 217.

and the Soviet Union—refused to eliminate their atomic programs. In 1949, for instance, the Soviet Union created its first nuclear bomb, and both powers engaged in an arms race that still threatens world peace.<sup>1218</sup> Likewise, intending to protect or expand their national interests, the United States and the Soviet Union projected their mutual rejection with their involvement in international conflicts such as the Korean War (1950-53), or by using proxy wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These conflicts, like the Korean War, “contributed to the militarization of U.S. foreign policy,” which also “helped” some Latin American dictatorial regimes to maintain “order” with the U.S. supply of weapons and military training at the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC), which was known in the mainstream media as *Escuela de las Americas*.<sup>1219</sup>

The Cold War era brought a reconfiguration of the world order and international relations management with new actors and international organizations, which impacted every sphere globally. The United States and the Soviet Union engaged in a power fight distributed across multiple scenarios, which led to distrust and anxious actions against each other. The United States conceptualized it as the “Security Dilemma,” and its response led to approving the National Security Act in 1947, articulated through the National Security Council (NSC) to design Cold War policies.<sup>1220</sup> Moreover, the military budget increased, and more U.S. nuclear weapons were made to deter atomic- and hydrogen-bomb development by the Soviets.<sup>1221</sup> The

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<sup>1218</sup> “Acheson-Lilienthal & Baruch Plans in 1946,” Office of the Historian, accessed September 10, 2019, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/baruch-plans>.

<sup>1219</sup> Rivas, “United States–Latin American Relations, 1942–1960,” 250-254.

<sup>1220</sup> Suri, “The Early Cold War.”

<sup>1221</sup> Ibid.

Cold War symbolized a new, threatening era in which the world, its actors, and its institutions were divided as a result of a constructed Manichaeism.

### **Tanglewood (1948)**

Serge Koussevitzky pronounced his “Address at the Opening Exercises of the Berkshire Music Center, July 4, 1948,” in which he shared with the audience that “It is always a deep joy to welcome every one of you – old timers as well as new comers – to Tanglewood,” and celebrated the fact that “It is also gratifying to realize that the Berkshire Music Center is steadily growing as an institution of permanent value.”<sup>1222</sup> Koussevitzky expressed his thankfulness to the National Federation of Music Clubs for the Hawthorne Cottage, the Friends of our Music Center, and the Berkshire Music Center Alumni Association, and he also remembered the late Mrs. Hepburn (maiden name Gorham Brooks) for her support of the festival.<sup>1223</sup>

In this oratorical piece, Koussevitzky acknowledged, “The fact that we live in an extraordinary age cannot be overlooked” and added that “The physicist calls it the atomic age; the mystic sees in it the approach of apocalyptic times; the world-view of the musician must encompass both, for the musician holds his head in the clouds, and his feet on the ground.”<sup>1224</sup> He then engaged with some recent changes in world history, such as the expansion of communism in Eastern Europe, the birth of the State of Israel, and the non-violent independence movement and assassination of Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948),

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<sup>1222</sup> See the Serge Koussevitzky Archive, 1880-1978, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., (henceforth SKALC), “Berkshire Music Center 1947-1948,” SKALC, folder 14, box 186. See all the works by Latin American composer in APPENDIX C and APPENDIX D.

<sup>1223</sup> “Berkshire Music Center 1947-1948,” SKALC, folder 14, box 186.

<sup>1224</sup> Ibid.

and advocated for the power of art and music to be proactive and create a more spiritual world.<sup>1225</sup> Holding to this idea, Koussevitzky criticized the European Recovery Program because “all is to go for the physical needs and none for the relief of the spiritual vacuum and cultural hunger of a sick [hu]mankind,” and he enhanced his point by saying that “America...was destined not only to become the custodian of cultural and artistic values, but also a leading country in the arts, and especially in music. In Europe, however, one is not aware of it.”<sup>1226</sup> The conductor expressed his opinion about how the “Marshall Plan” and its connotation to the U.S. dollar had created the “misconception” of the United States as solely a “country of ‘mass-production and material welfare’” and not as a country with a “plentitude of [U.S.] American[s] and her artistic achievements.”<sup>1227</sup>

Koussevitzky was a cosmopolitan man whose personal attitude about the world fit into a doctrine in international relations known as Internationalism. Accordingly, Koussevitzky believed in transnational cooperation, and for him, Tanglewood represented not only a place for music-making and composing, but a stage on which to share his philosophy as well. As an artist/musician, the conductor communicated his desire to awaken the consciousness of musicians and their role to empower their communities with art, and he advocated in favor of becoming one unity as artists and human beings (rejecting the Western worldview’s Cartesian division between mind and soul). In other words, Koussevitzky, with this philosophical register, was also promoting music activism to involve not only musicians but also patrons and audiences to enlarge their roles as responsible global citizens.

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<sup>1225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1227</sup> Ibid.

The faculty roster in composition included Darius Milhaud (1894-1974) and Aaron Copland.<sup>1228</sup> The students kept the same schedule from the past festival; however, from now on, recommendation letters were required, as well as some music scores divided into “one orchestral composition and one chamber work.”<sup>1229</sup> Regarding the connection between Tanglewood and Latin America, it was a coincidence that in 1948 a faculty member in composition, Darius Milhaud, lived in Brazil for a brief but intense and prolific period in his artistic life.<sup>1230</sup> He worked there as Secretary to poet Paul Claudel (1868-1955), who was France’s diplomatic representative in Rio de Janeiro at the French delegation.<sup>1231</sup> This experience transformed not only Milhaud’s life, but his music as well, as a result of being exposed to a different culture, which the composer’s artistic personality seemed to welcome and incorporate as a cultural borrowing into his compositional language. Even though all music is a transcultural product, Milhaud’s compositions are among the most genuine examples of how European art music—in particular, the modern type—appropriated external musical elements to construct itself. Further, the process of cultural appropriation was part of the French strategy to build the ideal of contemporary French music, and as a colonial empire, abrogate the “right” to exercise this practice as a way to demonstrate its cultural hegemony.

The French composer arrived in Rio on February 1, 1917, after experiencing World War I. Along with the novelties in food, landscapes, and the intertextual dialogue between the Brazilian culture and people’s colonial/monarchical past and the urban/modern present, the

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<sup>1228</sup> “Berkshire Music Center 1948,” SKALC, folder 6, box 187.

<sup>1229</sup> “Berkshire Music Center 1948,” SKALC, folder 8, box 187.

<sup>1230</sup> Darius Milhaud, *My Happy Life: An Autobiography*, translated by Donald Evans, George Hall and Christopher Palmer (London: Marion Boyars, 1995), 67-77.

<sup>1231</sup> *Ibid.*

composer had the opportunity to enjoy its famous Carnival.<sup>1232</sup> Experiencing the multilayered and hybrid Carnival soundscape and its ritual sophistication, Milhaud witnessed a different approach to music-making, and the composer confessed that he “was intrigued and fascinated by the rhythms of this popular music.”<sup>1233</sup> His contact with Brazilian popular music directed, gradually, his introduction to Brazilian art music as well, and his aural discernment of “an imperceptible pause in the syncopation, a careless catch in the breath, a slight hiatus which I found very difficult to grasp” led him to buy music scores of “maxixes and tangos.”<sup>1234</sup> The French composer began attending the movie theater at Avenida Rio Branco to hear the music by composer/pianist Ernesto Nazareth (1863-1934), whose creativity and musical innovation led him to shape transcultural music genres such as *maxixes*, Brazilian tangos, and *chôros*, which for Milhaud became a signifier of the “Brazilian soul.”<sup>1235</sup>

One day, in the company of the modern composer and younger colleague Luciano Gallet (1893-1931), Milhaud gained access to the manuscript of the *Trio IV* by Glauco Velásquez (1884-1914), which he “found to be complete,” then he “edited it, and had it played at one of my lectures at the *Lycée Français*.”<sup>1236</sup> The French composer already knew about him, and perhaps about other modern Brazilian composers, because his colleague André Messager (1853-1929), who visited Brazil in 1916 and attended a concert of Brazilian modern music with his composer friend Xavier Leroux (1863-1919), “had recommended me to get to know

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<sup>1232</sup> Ibid., 68-70.

<sup>1233</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>1234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1235</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>1236</sup> Ibid.

the music of Glauco Velásquez. When I had done so, I was struck by its resemblance.”<sup>1237</sup> Milhaud enjoyed cultural soirées at the house of composer Henrique Oswald (1852-1931) and the composer couple Oswaldo Guerra (1892-1980) and his wife Nininha Velloso-Guerra (1895-1921). The last two aforementioned musicians were modern-music entrepreneurs as well, who contributed works and performances to the *Concertos Íntimos* (1907-1917) of new music organized by Godofredo Leão Veloso (1859-1926) in diverse venues across the city and with a reliable press reception. The French composer likewise performed in recitals of modern chamber music that featured works by Brazilian and French composers.<sup>1238</sup> In other words, Rio and its society were in such synchronicity with their time that even Milhaud became more familiar with his French art music, which he confessed when he wrote that “They [Vellosos] introduced me to the music of Satie, which was imperfectly known by me at the time.”<sup>1239</sup>

Similarly, Brazil’s compositional environment signified a period of creation in which Milhaud wrote, for instance, his *Child Poems for Voice and Piano* based on poems by Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), *Sonata for Violin and Piano no. 2*, and *Le retour de l’enfant prodigue*, began the composition of *Les Euménides* (1917–22), conceived the idea and started composing his series *Petites Symphonies* whose *Le Printemps* premiere was given by Antônio

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<sup>1237</sup> Ibid., 71. Regarding the information about André Messager and Xavier Leroux, see Luiz Guilherme Duro Goldberg, “O Modernismo Musical Brasileiro,” in *Música Erudita Brasileira: Textos Do Brasil no. 12* (Brasília: Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2012), 65-66.

<sup>1238</sup> Ibid., 71. Nininha Velloso-Guerra, a composer and also a gifted pianist, was the daughter of Godofredo Leão Veloso, who was a Professor of Piano at the *Instituto Nacional de Música*. He exposed her to and encouraged her to explore modern music, and during her residence in France (1920-1921), she performed at “Premiere Concert donné par le Groupe des Six” and gave world premieres from the group composer members. The composers were: Alberto Nepomuceno, Eric Satie, Claude Debussy, Charles Koechlin, Oswaldo Guerra, Maurice Ravel, Nininha Velloso-Guerra, amongst many others. See Manoel Aranha Corrêa do Lago, “O Círculo Veloso-Guerra e Darius Milhaud no Brasil: Modernismo musical no Rio de Janeiro antes da Semana” (PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2005), 88-106.

<sup>1239</sup> Corrêa do Lago, “O Círculo Veloso-Guerra,” 96 and Milhaud, *An Autobiography*, 71.



Francisco Braga (1868-1945) “at one of his concerts;” composed his *String Quartet no. 4* (1918)—which, despite its difficulty, Nininha Velloso-Guerra managed to arrange for two pianos—and drafted together with Paul Claudel the plot for his ballet *L'Homme et son désir* (1917-1918).<sup>1240</sup> Illustrating the cultural cosmopolitanism during Milhaud’s sojourn, “Diaghilev’s *Ballets Russes* also gave a series of performances” under the leadership of Ernest Ansermet (1883-1963) and Vaslav Nijinsky (1889-1950), Enrico Caruso (1873-1921) “sang at the Opera,” Arthur Rubinstein’s (1887-1982) “recitals were a veritable triumph,” and he met Heitor Villa-Lobos.<sup>1241</sup> Brazil offered Milhaud a positive change in comparison to France, in particular during those immediate post-war years, vis-à-vis cultural and personal experiences and opportunities, and after returning to France with a feeling of longing, the composer concluded that “I have fallen deeply in love with Brazil.”<sup>1242</sup>

Thus, Brazil, its culture, and its people had a transformative effect on Darius Milhaud, whose musical style was never the same as before. After returning to France, Milhaud produced some of his most famous scores, such *Le Boeuf sur le toit* (1919), *Saudades do Brasil* (1921), *Carnaval d'Aix* (1926), *Scaramouche* (1937), *Danças de Jacaremirim* (1945), and *Le Globe Trotter* (1957), which mirrored his experience in the Latin American nation.<sup>1243</sup>

### **Pia Sebastiani: *Cuatro preludios para piano op. 1***

According to Romina Dezillio, in the first half of the twentieth century, Buenos Aires “echoed an intense, growing and varied musical activity on the one hand and many societies

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<sup>1240</sup> Corrêa do Lago, “O Círculo Velloso-Guerra,” 104 and Milhaud, *An Autobiography*, 71-75.

<sup>1241</sup> Milhaud, *An Autobiography*, 73.

<sup>1242</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>1243</sup> Manoel Aranha Corrêa do Lago, “Brazilian Sources in Milhaud’s ‘Le Boeuf sur le Toit’: A Discussion and a Musical Analysis,” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 23/1 (2002): 1.

and groups of women gathered by common interests around political, cultural and social activity, on the other.”<sup>1244</sup> In the fight to recognize gender rights, equity and inclusion, the Argentinian women’s agency and advocacy led them to found organizations to institutionalize and coordinate their cause. For this reason, some of the organizations formed included: *Consejo Nacional de Mujeres* (1901), *Club Argentino de Mujeres* (1926) and *Asociación Panamericana de Mujeres* (1946).<sup>1245</sup>

In the field of music, some organizations opened a space for the performances and promotion of works by women composers such as *Trío Argentino de Música de Cámara* (1929), *Asociación Coral Argentina* (1930), *Asociación Sinfónica Femenina* (1938) and *Círculo Femenino Musical Santa Cecilia* (1946).<sup>1246</sup> Another institution, the *Conservatorio Nacional de Música y Declamación* (1924), played a substantial role in training women as professional composers in Buenos Aires during the century’s third decade, according to Dezillio.<sup>1247</sup> Therefore, this educational institution became a place in which women composers would continue their fight to achieve equity and inclusion, receive the same opportunities, and advance their careers like their male colleagues. Since this involves educating and changing society’s mentality, it takes time. As a result, Argentinian professional women composers faced a strong systemic and cultural

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<sup>1244</sup> Romina Dezillio, “Entre la voluntad y el deseo: mujeres, creación musical y feminismo en Buenos Aires entre 1930 y 1955,” in *Octava Semana de la Música y la Musicología. Jornadas Interdisciplinarias de Investigación* “La Investigación Musical a partir de Carlos Vega,” 2, 3 y 4 de noviembre 2011. Instituto de Investigación Musicológica “Carlos Vega.” Universidad Católica Argentina), 71.

<sup>1245</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>1246</sup> The last-mentioned institution was led by Zulema Rosés Lacoigne, who published the book *Mujeres compositoras* in 1950, and the board included eminent colleagues Silvia Eisenstein (1917-1986), Isabel Aretz (1909-2005), María Luisa Anido (1907-1996), Pía Sebastiani (1925-2015), and Irma Williams, among others. Ibid., 71-73. See, similarly, Enzo Valenti Ferro, *100 años de música en Buenos Aires de 1890 a nuestros días* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de Arte Gaglianone, 1992), 176-177 and 263.

<sup>1247</sup> Romina Dezillio, “Las primeras compositoras profesionales de música académica en Argentina: logros, conquistas y desafíos de una profesión masculina,” in *Música y mujer en Iberoamérica haciendo música desde la condición de género*, ed. Juan Pablo Gonzáles (Santiago: Actas del III Coloquio de IberoMúsicas sobre investigación musical, 2017), 22.

resistance from their male colleagues—teachers, performers or music critics—who exercised their essentialist musical criticism about their female colleagues by representing their musical careers as “an ornament” and their artistic works as “emotional,” “naïve,” “spontaneous,” “superficial,” or “non-original.”<sup>1248</sup>

Argentinian women composers such as Celia Torrá (1884-1962), Ana Carrique (1886-1979), María Isabel Curubeto Godoy (1896-1959), Lita Spena (1904-1989), Elsa Calcagno (1905-1978), and Isabel Aretz (1909-2005), just to name a few, still, demonstrate how their well-crafted and compelling compositions displayed the same or higher intellectuality and agency than those of their male peers, and their works surpassed the gender censorship, receiving performances in symbolic and politized concert venues like the Teatro Colón as well as abroad.<sup>1249</sup> Above and beyond this, to complement their contribution to Argentinian national and modern music, they worked as music professors, critics and art administrators, which similarly became a holistic path to gain legitimization in a canonically male-dominated field, and, at the same time, broke with socio-cultural gender-role stereotypes and contributed to Argentinian modern music’s identity.<sup>1250</sup>

The previously referenced socio-historical milieu helps to illustrate Pia Sebastiani’s socio-musical environment. The Argentinian composer/pianist was born in Buenos Aires in

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<sup>1248</sup> The word in Spanish is “un adorno.” Ibid., 22.

<sup>1249</sup> See, for example, Silvina Luz Mancilla, “Maestros y discípulas: cuatro sonatas para piano producidas por compositoras argentinas entre 1931 y 1937,” in *Jornada de la Música y la Musicología. Jornadas Interdisciplinarias de Investigación: Investigación, creación, re-creación y performance*, X, 4-6 septiembre 2013. Universidad Católica Argentina. Facultad de Artes y Ciencias Musicales; Instituto de Investigación Musicológica “Carlos Vega,” Buenos Aires), 40-49.

<sup>1250</sup> Dezillio, “Las primeras compositoras,” 23-43. See also Silvia Luz Mansilla, “Mujeres, nacionalismo musical y educación. Bases heurísticas para una historia sociocultural de la música argentina: Elsa Calcagno y Ana Carrique,” *Revista del Instituto de Investigación Musicológica “Carlos Vega”* 19/19 (2005): 51-78; and Ibid., “‘A una mujer. . .’ de Elsa Calcagno: una contribución musical a la maquinaria propagandística del peronismo” *Revista Argentina de Musicología*, 2 (2001): 98-113.

1925 to a family whose father, Augusto Sebastiani, was the harpist for the *Orquesta Estable del Teatro Colón* and an esteemed music educator. Before arriving at Tanglewood, Pía Sebastiani studied with Argentinian composer Gilardo Gilardi (1889-1963) and had some of her works, such as *Concierto para piano y orquesta*, *Coral, fuga y final* and *Estampas*, performed by celebrated conductors Erich Kleiber (1890-1956), Juan José Castro (1895-1968) and Albert Wolff (1884-1970).<sup>1251</sup> The composer remembered her emotions in 1946 when she received a phone call: “‘This is Erich Kleiber. I saw the score of your composition *Estampas*,” said the conductor, “and would like to include it in one of the upcoming concerts.’ Then the twenty-one-year-old musician couldn’t believe it. A few weeks later, at the Teatro Colón, Erich Kleiber conducted ‘Night’ and ‘Carnival,’ from her suite *Estampas*,” which was also performed on August 13, 1948, at Tanglewood with the composer as soloist and Eleazar de Carvalho conducting the Orchestra of Department II.<sup>1252</sup>

A letter from the “The United States Group for Latin American Music” entitled “Report on Argentine Scholarship Winner: Berkshire Music Center Scholarship” on March 1, 1948, enlightens us that the Argentinian jury, consisting of composers Alberto Ginastera, Luis Gianneo, José M. Castro, Jacobo Ficher, and Juan Carlos Paz as advisor (without voting rights), “recommended unanimously, the following, in this order: No. 2 *Estampas*, for orchestra; *Coral Fuga y Final*, for orchestra[;] no. 3 *Sonata* for piano; *Obertura dram[á]tica* for orchestra[;] No. 5 *Sonata* for piano; *Music for strings*.”<sup>1253</sup> The report continued by clarifying who

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<sup>1251</sup> “Pía Sebastiani, toda una vida musical,” *La Nación*, October 24, 2004.

<sup>1252</sup> Charles Barber, *Corresponding with Carlos: A Biography of Carlos Kleiber* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2011), 98 and see also the newspaper article “La historia de Pía Sebastiani y el adolescente enamorado,” *La Nación*, April 29, 2010.

<sup>1253</sup> See Aaron Copland Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter CCLC), “Committee for Inter-American Relations,” March 1, 1948, CCLC, folder 11, box 355. Italics mine.

the participants were. “Number 2 is: Miss Pia Sebastiani, pianist-composer born [in] Buenos Aires [in] 1925-23 years old: studied composition, Lalewicz and Gilardi” and “Number 3 is: Astor Piazzola,[sic] 27, student of Ginastera.”<sup>1254</sup> The document closes with a “Note: Miss Sebastiani’s application request[s] consideration for Guggenheim fellowship.”<sup>1255</sup> About the United States’ members, for example, the judges valued the works’ aesthetic connection to the music from the American continent, which in turn shows a harmonization with political values more than technical expertise. In respect to, Cowell voiced, “In general he would be agreeable to accepting any of the three as all show talent and excellent qualifications.”<sup>1256</sup> Nonetheless, Cowell:

... finds it difficult to select between No. 2 and No. 3 [sic], but in general would select No. 2, especially because of the score for *Estampas*, which shows the inclination to develop native material” instead of “No. 3 [which] is considerably more influenced by European clichés . . . No. 3 stem[s] from known European styles . . . No. 3 shows a talent but [is] not sufficient of style to give him the first preference.”<sup>1257</sup>

Cowell’s judgment aligned with his philosophy of favoring “hybrid forms” to construct cultural pluralism and hemispheric community, as noted by Andrea Franzius.<sup>1258</sup> Meanwhile, Sebastiani and her music were already participating in the construction of musical modernism in Argentina. Besides her contribution as a composer/performer, Sebastiani was a founding member of two institutions dedicated to this project: *Seminario de Músicos Argentinos* (1946) and *Liga de Compositores de la Argentina* (1947).<sup>1259</sup> Sebastiani continued her studies in 1947 at the

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<sup>1254</sup> In the same committee, Copland and Cowell voted for Sebastiani too. Ibid.

<sup>1255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1256</sup> “Committee for Inter-American Relations,” February 19, 1948, CCLC, folder 11, box 355.

<sup>1257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1258</sup> Henry Cowell, “Shaping Music for Total War,” *Modern Music* 23/3 (1946): 227 and see also Andrea Franzius, “Forging Music into Ideology: Charles Seeger and the Politics of Cultural Pluralism in American Domestic and Foreign Policy,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 56/3 (2011): 365.

<sup>1259</sup> Valenti Ferro, *100 años de música en Buenos Aires de 1890 a nuestros días*, 234-235.

*Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse de Paris* in the classes of Darius Milhaud and Olivier Messiaen.<sup>1260</sup> The same year, Copland heard Sebastiani's music in Buenos Aires during his trip in 1947, during which he granted her the scholarship to attend the Berkshire Music Center, although the U.S. composer wrote that the Spanish émigré composer Sergio de Castro (1922-2012) was the only one who "deserved" the scholarship to Tanglewood.<sup>1261</sup> These facts also display how the women composer's scores circulated and impacted the new music scene in Buenos Aires, beyond gender representation misconceptions.

Sebastiani's *Cuatro preludios para piano*, op. 1, were composed in Buenos Aires in 1945 and are dedicated to four eminent Argentinian women colleagues. During that time of productive compositional output, Dezillio points out that many resulting pieces were "works for solo instruments dedicated to female instrumentalists outstanding at the time, especially pianists and singers."<sup>1262</sup> Pía Sebastiani dedicated her four *Preludes* to four pianist friends some of whom were from the Lalewicz's group: Florencia Raitzin, Haydée Loustaunau, Celia Gianneo, and Haydée Giordano."<sup>1263</sup>

*Preludio no. 1* is dedicated to Florencia Raitzin and begins with a tempo marking of *Con nostalgia*, 2/4 meter and a one-flat key signature.<sup>1264</sup> However, the melody uses only the D-minor pentatonic scale, and the accompaniment is based on an eighth-note ostinato pattern (Eb 3, Bb 3, Db 3, Ab 3) in the first period. At that moment the melody is transposed a minor

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<sup>1260</sup> Vicente Gesualdo, *Breve Historia de la Música en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Claridad, 1998), 389-390. Both French composers were faculty at the Berkshire Music Center.

<sup>1261</sup> Copland and Perlis, *Copland Since 1943*, (New York: St. Martins/Marek, 1989), 83.

<sup>1262</sup> Dezillio, "Creación musical y feminismo," 74.

<sup>1263</sup> The "Lalewicz's group" label come from the fact of their being students of the famous Polish/Argentinian piano pedagogue Jorge de Lalewicz (1875-1951). Ibid.

<sup>1264</sup> Romina Dezillio confirmed that even though Sebastiani told her during an interview that their colleagues never performed the dedicated preludes, a concert program indicates that Florencia Raitzin performed *Preludio no. 1* within a piano recital on July 13, 1948. See Dezillio, "Creación musical y feminismo," 74.

sixth higher, to A-flat pentatonic, based on a diatonic eighth-note ostinato pattern (A3, E4, G3, D4), and its second phrase is varied and connected to a sequence toward the tempo marking of *Tempo primo I*. In this section a motive of three notes is manipulated with leaps, inversion, and retrograde motion as part of its sequences. The same motivic idea remains permanently in this section as well, and it uses the sequential motion of this idea to reach a higher tessitura, which is abruptly broken six measures before the next tempo marking. In *Poco meno mosso* Sebastiani begins with an F7 chord without the third and keeps the motive circulating toward a high register. In *Poco accelerato* the ostinato idea reappears again, as well as a cell from the main melody. In *Tempo piú mosso*, the composer generates an interplay with the previously used motivic ideas and ornaments, and the *Poco piú lento spianato* functions as a sort of cadential section to reconnect with the *Tempo I. poco meno*, which recapitulates the prelude's main melody in F minor pentatonic with a dynamic mark of *pp* (*lejano*).

The image displays a musical score for Pia Sebastiani's Preludio no. 1. It consists of two systems of piano and treble clef staves. The first system is marked "Tempo piú mosso (♩ = 116)" and "mf". The second system includes markings for "cresc." and "f rit .....". The score features complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings.

EXAMPLE 6.1. Pia Sebastiani, *Preludio no. 1*

The tempo slows down progressively, and the prelude ends with a coda in *Piú lento* whose progression leads toward an open chord in fifths, marked *ff*. *Preludio no. 1* contains a contrapuntal texture, which is varied by the appearance or disappearance of other voices. Besides, the motive maintains the work's coherence, the ties keep the work's inner motion going forward, and at the same time, they displace the phrase accents and create groupings.

*Preludio no. 2* is dedicated to Haydée Loustaunau (1921-2012). The work, with a tempo marking of *Vivace*, begins by exposing the central theme, containing Argentinian folk music rhythms. Then the bass provides a real imitation of the theme transposed a fourth below and reaches a new section in the prelude, which uses a segment from the first theme's antecedent phrase to build a sequence that interchanges rhythmic segments and time signatures constantly (6/8 and 3/8).

EXAMPLE 6.2. Pía Sebastiani, *Preludio no. 2*



Suddenly the prelude's mood changes, and a melodic second theme appears with a steady time signature of 6/8. It began building intensity with more sound-mass, a higher register, and a louder dynamic, but unexpectedly, the composer moves to an *espressivo* that generates an anti-climax as well as a new sequential interlude of motivic call and response. This section also reintroduces the regular time signature alternation (6/8 and 3/8) and leads toward the first theme antecedent phrase's recapitulation after the *A tempo*. Next a chromatic ascending progression of non-functional chords leads to the prelude's coda. This prelude has a modern harmony and segment development technique, combined with Argentinian folk music rhythms.

*Preludio no. 3* is dedicated to Celia Gianneo (1923-2009) and is a melancholic work in which, at the score's beginning, the composer writes the word *sombrío* (somber). It includes a one-flat key signature, a tempo marking of *Lento*, and a compound-duple time signature in 6/8, which persist throughout the prelude. The work begins with an introductory phrase in the alto, which is strictly imitated by the bass an octave lower. The atmosphere is reinforced in *Tempo poco piú lento* and Sebastiani presents a first theme. The composer freely transposes this theme in different voices. Meanwhile, the bass ascends chromatically and in contrary motion.

The image displays a musical score for Pía Sebastiani's *Preludio no. 3*. The score is written for piano and consists of two systems of staves. The first system is labeled "Cadenzato (♩ = 80)" and includes markings for "rit. ----", "(lontano)", "pp", "1 C.", and "senza correre a piacere". The second system is labeled "Ritornando - - a - -" and includes markings for "espressivo" and "mf". The score features various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

EXAMPLE 6.3. Pía Sebastiani, *Preludio no. 3*

In *Molto espressivo*, a second theme, derived from the previous melodic material appears, accompanied by a three-eighth-note ostinato pattern. The next section, *A tempo I*, also elaborates on the material with some ornamentation and leads to the *Cadenzato*, which brings in ascending arpeggiated chords. In *Poco più lento* recapitulates the first theme in the alto voice in contrast to a syncopated octaviated soprano line, which develops into a brief coda on a B-flat first inversion, which functions likewise as a pedal chord.

*Preludio no. 4* is dedicated to Haydée Giordano. This animated prelude, with a tempo marking of *Festivo*, starts with an introduction in which the first theme antecedent in F Mixolydian invokes a folkloric dance, and the consequent remains wandering on an F major 7 chord with a different rhythmic design. This musical idea is reiterated and then begins a sequence based on the phrase's consequence segment until a *Cantando* theme arrives.

**EXAMPLE 6.4.** Pía Sebastiani, *Preludio no. 4*

In general, this movement (the largest) juxtaposes and utilizes portions of the theme and secondary musical ideas as well as fragments from the previous preludes, which generates a sense of unity and coherence.

Sebastiani's style involves motivic handling as a means to expand her modern musical discourse. The work phrasing design and the rhythms are connected with the gestures of Argentinian folk music, which provide a sense of identity and differentiation that modern Latin American composers have always pursued to create their musical modernism and differentiate themselves from their Euro-American counterparts. Thus, Sebastiani's harmonic language and specialized treatment do not provide any national connotations but pointed toward Western art music.

## **A Koussevitzky Music Foundation Commission in Tanglewood: Brazilian Modern Music and Eleazar de Carvalho**

The friendship and artistic admiration between Heitor Villa-Lobos and Serge Koussevitzky dates from the time in Paris during which both artists became acquainted with each other. As a result of the Good Neighbor Policy, as mentioned, Villa-Lobos's career reoriented toward the United States during World War II, and this country became a space for launching new artistic projects. Villa-Lobos's works were already known in U.S. art-music circles, not only because of performances in diverse venues and with various performers and ensembles, but because of its inclusion in Good Neighbor cultural events, such as New York's World Fair in 1939 and the Festival of Brazilian Music, hosted at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in 1940.<sup>1265</sup> Villa-Lobos contacted Serge Koussevitzky and wrote a letter on May 24, 1944, to the conductor informing him about his U.S. residency, offering the Boston Symphony Orchestra a program and asking him about the possibility of organizing a concert with his works with the Brazilian composer as conductor.<sup>1266</sup>

The composer's first visit to the United States occurred during fall 1944. After receiving an Honorary Degree from Occidental College and conducting the Janssen Symphony Orchestra of Los Angeles, Villa-Lobos headed to the East Coast to continue his artistic sojourn. Meanwhile, Villa-Lobos's manager, Henri Leiser from the William Morris Agency, addressed Koussevitzky in a letter on December 11, 1944, with a Good Neighbor cultural diplomacy overtone, in which he stated that "Heitor Villa-Lobos, the famous Brazilian

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<sup>1265</sup> Lisa M. Peppercorn, "Villa-Lobos in the 1930s" and "Villa-Lobos's debut in the United States 1944-1945," in *The World of Villa-Lobos in Pictures and Documents* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996).

<sup>1266</sup> The works included: *Bachianas Brasileiras* no. 7, the Third Suite of *Descubrimento do Brasil*, *Chôros* no. 6 and *Rudepôema*. See "Letter from Heitor Villa-Lobos to Dr. Serge Koussevitzky," May 24, 1944, SKALC, folder 19, box 62.

composer and conductor, will be in New York within the next few days. He is traveling in this country as a good-will ambassador, and his actual plans call for staying in this country until mid-February.”<sup>1267</sup> Leiser continued his message:

The co-ordinator [sic] of Inter-American affairs is very much interested to see that Villa-Lobos becomes a popular figure in the U.S.A. Therefore, I would like to get him some assignments as a guest conductor with famous American orchestras . . . I am sure that Villa-Lobos would consider it as a great gesture toward his art and Inter-American relations if he would have a chance to appear with your outstanding Boston Symphony Orchestra.<sup>1268</sup>

This last-minute request tested Koussevitzky’s commitment to U.S. foreign policy and its national interest again. The conductor sent a letter on December 15, 1944, to his colleague, the famous Boston Pops Orchestra conductor Arthur Fiedler (1894-1979), who was scheduled for February, notifying him that “The Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos is now in this country returning to Brazil late in February. The coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in Washington D.C., is,” nevertheless, “anxious to have him invited as Guest-Conductor with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. The only possible time for Villa-Lobos’ appearance in Boston is the week of February 19.”<sup>1269</sup> At that moment Koussevitzky asked, “Would you be willing to postpone your appearance to some other time, as the invitation to Villa-Lobos will be a ‘good neighbor’ gesture toward his art and Inter-American relations?” On December 27, Fiedler answered that “I am perfectly willing to accept your suggestion of postponing my appearance to some other time as I believe the appearance of Villa-Lobos is important for Boston, the Orchestra, and the ‘Good Neighbor’ Policy of the Americas.”<sup>1270</sup>

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<sup>1267</sup> “Letter from Henri Leiser to Dr. Serge Koussevitzky,” December 11, 1944, SKALC, folder 19, box 62.

<sup>1268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1269</sup> “Letter from Dr. Serge Koussevitzky to Arthur Fiedler,” December 15, 1944, SKALC, folder 19, box 62.

<sup>1270</sup> “Letter from Arthur Fiedler to Dr. Serge Koussevitzky,” December 27, 1944, SKALC, folder 19, box 62.

This proposal became a reality and Koussevitzky organized three concerts with Villa-Lobos's music. Villa-Lobos settled in New York City, where the music critic Olin Downes (1885-1955) interviewed him. In the article "Hector Villa-Lobos: Visiting Brazilian Composer Discusses Sources of Nationalism in Art," the writer included a sub-section entitled "Enlightened Nationalist" in which he wrote that Villa-Lobos "is a nationalist, but not a patrioteer," to which Villa-Lobos responded, "Patriotism in music and capitalizing upon it, is very dangerous. You cannot produce great music in that way. You will have instead propaganda."<sup>1271</sup> However, Villa-Lobos explained, "But nationalism-power of the earth, the geographic and ethnographic influences that a composer cannot escape; the musical idioms and sentiment of people and environment, these origins, in my opinion, are indispensable."<sup>1272</sup> The composer elucidated his philosophy by making clear that within modernism, there is a conceptual difference between the political ideology known as nationalism, which as a modern ideology caused bloody armed conflicts, and national, which is about the consciousness, belonging to a location with a particular culture, and the nation's history.

With the aim of illustrating the previous idea more thoroughly, Villa-Lobos engaged with part of his philosophy about how the art of musical composition is taught as "paper rules," but musicians are not "taught to hear"; therefore, he immediately claimed that "Only if you can trust your ear can you possibly become a real musician and composer."<sup>1273</sup> Villa-Lobos enhanced his anti-academic positionality by criticizing that in music classrooms, students were taught by "The professors who could not write harmony, much less create it,

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<sup>1271</sup> Oliver Downes, "Hector Villa-Lobos: Visiting Brazilian Composer Discusses Sources of Nationalism in Art," *New York Times*, December 17, 1944.

<sup>1272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1273</sup> Ibid.

but who passed on their dilettantism and their lack of genuine musical perception to their pupils.”<sup>1274</sup> Villa-Lobos continued sharing his thoughts with Downes and told him about his sojourns in Paris, where he voiced, “Did you think that I came here ... to absorb your ideas?” then added, “I came here to show others.”<sup>1275</sup>

In New York City on January 28, 1945, Villa-Lobos heard a concert by the League of Composers at the Museum of Modern Art. Some days later, two performance opportunities occurred: one with the Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York, conducted by Artur Rodziński (1892-1958) on February 8-9 at Carnegie Hall, and a second with the New York City Symphony Orchestra on February 12-13, conducted by his old friend Leopold Stokowski (1882-1977).<sup>1276</sup> The Symphony Hall and the Sanders Theater witnessed Villa-Lobos conducting his works on February 21, 23, and 24, 1945. Before Villa-Lobos returned to Brazil, on February 27, the University of Chicago dedicated its third Composer Concert Series led by Remi Gassmann (1908-1982), to the Brazilian maestro.<sup>1277</sup>

After Villa-Lobos came back to Brazil, in an undated cablegram, Serge Koussevitzky communicated the excellent news regarding the Koussevitzky Music Foundation’s decision about a commission.<sup>1278</sup> In the text, the conductor wrote:

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<sup>1274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1276</sup> Ibid., 176-181.

<sup>1277</sup> Peppercorn, *The World of Villa-Lobos in Pictures and Documents*, 184-187. See also Program and The Harvard Glee Club and The Radcliffe Choral Society, led by George Wallace Woodworth (1903-1969), offered a “University Reception for Heitor Villa-Lobos,” singing choral works by European and U.S. composers on February 22 at the Fogg Museum in “University Reception for Heitor Villa-Lobos,” February 22, 1945, SKALC, folder 19, box 62.

<sup>1278</sup> The year of 1945 brought to Villa-Lobos’s life important events, such as being founding member of *Academia Brasileira de Música* on July 14, and also receiving a commission from the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation at the Library of Congress, which resulted in his work *Trio for violin, viola and cello*. See Peppercorn, *The World of Villa-Lobos in Pictures and Documents*, 188-191.

Happy to inform you Koussevitzky Music Foundation has voted to ask you to accept a commission to write for the foundation a composition for symphony orchestra for which they offer you an award of one thousand dollars. The composer will retain all the rights to the composition. Will appreciate early reply. Detailed letter of confirmation.<sup>1279</sup>

The response by Villa-Lobos arrived soon, on May 2, 1945, with a message with letterhead from *M.E.S. – Conservatorio Nacional de Canto Orfeónico*:

My dear friend:

Thanking heartily your cable, with which I had the honour of being invited to write a symphonic work specially consecrated to the Musical Foundation which has your illustrious name, I have the great pleasure of communicating that I feel very happy in accepting it. - Therefore, and in perfect accordance with the conditions, I will make ready the works as soon as possible. Again with my best wishes for our personal and new meeting in next November, when probably my return to the U.S.A. will be possible, ant[i]cipates you a most affectionate embrace the friend who always desires you all happiness,  
very sincerely, Villa-Lobos

The score of *Madona (Poema sinfónico)* was completed, according to the information provided by Villa-Lobos in the manuscript, on December 29, 1945, and Lisa M. Peppercorn clarified that the performance premiere was given in Brazil for *Temporada Oficial de Concertos Sinfónicos* at the Teatro Municipal within the *Festival Villa-Lobos* on October 3, 1946—with the composer serving as conductor—and not in Boston in 1947 with conductor Eleazar de Carvalho, who conducted it on December 26-27, 1947, at Symphony Hall and later on August 8, 1948 at Tanglewood.<sup>1280</sup>

Although Eleazar de Carvalho's Tanglewood debut was two years earlier, the summer of 1948 became a new turning point in his musical career. His countryman, music colleague

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<sup>1279</sup> "Cablegram from Dr. Serge Koussevitzky to Heitor Villa-Lobos," undated, SKALC, folder 19, box 62.

<sup>1280</sup> See the Brazilian program in Lisa M. Peppercorn, *The Villa-Lobos Letters*, edited and translated by Lisa M. Peppercorn (London: Toccata Press, 1994), 86. See also John N. Burk, "Tenth Program," program notes for *Guarnieri Prologo e Fuga* and Villa-Lobos *Madona (Poema sinfónico)*, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Eleazar de Carvalho, Boston, MA: Symphony Hall, Friday, December 26, 1947/Saturday, December 27, 1947.



and friend since the *Orquestra Sinfônica Brasileira* days, the cellist Aldo Parisot (1918-2018), related the story about how the young Brazilian conductor earned the senior Russian conductor's respect.<sup>1281</sup> Parisot, who claimed that "Eleazar was his favorite student," explained that "Carvalho's talent had convinced Koussevitzky to take him on as an extra student . . . Koussevitzky first told him that there was no room. When Carvalho persisted, Koussevitzky," suddenly, "picked a score at random for him to conduct— it happened to be Rimsky Korsakov's *Russian Easter Overture*," then, "a stroke of good luck for Carvalho because he had conducted it many times before."<sup>1282</sup> The anecdote continues as "He looked over each page, as though he were memorizing it. Then he conducted it from memory. Koussevitzky couldn't believe it," Parisot evoked.<sup>1283</sup>

At the Berkshire Music Center, Villa-Lobos's work shares the Eleventh Season Eight Program with his countryman José Siqueira's (1907-1985) *Suite Nordestina*, Manuel de Falla's (1876-1946) Suite from *El Amor Brujo* and Hector Berlioz's (1803-1869) *Symphonie fantastique*.<sup>1284</sup> The program notes by John N. Burk (1891-1967) relied on Nicolas Slonimsky

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<sup>1281</sup> Aldo Parisot similarly accomplished an outstanding musical career and became one of the most important cellists in the world as a performer, and later as professor at Yale, Juilliard and other renowned schools of music. He was also a gifted modern art painter. According to the cellist, "one day at a party someone said to Koussevitzky that he must be very proud of his student Bernstein. Koussevitzky said, "Yes, but do you also know my other student, Eleazar de Carvalho?" See Susan Hawkshaw, "Establishing Himself in the United States Yale, Hindemith, and Winning the Koussevitzky Prize," in *Aldo Parisot, The Cellist: The Importance of the Circle* (Hillsdale: Boydell and Brewer, Pendragon Press, 2018), 23.

<sup>1282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1283</sup> Ibid., 23-24.

<sup>1284</sup> Eleazar de Carvalho collaborated with the text about José Siqueira's program notes: "Mr. Carvalho has furnished the following information: Siqueira is an ardent advocate of nationalism (we call it 'Brasilidade,' or 'Brazilianism') of his country. His two Nordestina suite[s] resulted from an expedition to the Northeast of Brazil, where folk music is rich and varied, and remains free of European influence. Siqueira has defined the folk forms, so that other composers wishing to write a 'Toada', 'Côcô', [sic] or the like, adhere to the specifications laid down by him. He had academic training under Francisco Braga, and I was a fellow pupil. The *Congo* is an Afro-Brazilian dance, notable for its syncopation. It is derived from a danza performed at pagan ceremonies of the Brazilian descendants of the African slaves who first arrived in 1532. Siqueira defined the form for this dance, as he did with every national dance. The *Congo* as define[d] by him is now in rondo instrumental form. Of course we have the rondo song form from a refrain and two or more strophes. But here every strophe has a different melody

(1894-1995) and Walter Burle Marx's (1902-1990) definition of Villa-Lobos.<sup>1285</sup> Slonimsky regarded Villa-Lobos as a “programmatic composer,” and similarly discussed his music from a performance- practice perspective, mentioning that “His music is more than individualistic; it is almost anarchistic in its disregard for the performer’s limitations. ...Yet Villa-Lobos’ music,” in other words, “is not unplayable; it is merely difficult in an untraditional way. To the technical complexity is added the complexity of rhythm and aural perception.”<sup>1286</sup> About Villa-Lobos’s sonic needs in his works, he also transgresses performance practice conventions and idiomatic limits inherent to the instruments. The program notes modulated the source and Burk quoted Brazilian composer Walter Burle Marx, who described Villa-Lobos as a pragmatic composer—“With him it is not a question of time, mood, feeling or inspiration, but rather of necessity”—and expressed the particular approach that Villa-Lobos had with formalism, his well-known productivity, and his artistic imprint on every one of his works due to combining his creativity and the racial hybridity of Brazil.<sup>1287</sup> Walter Burle Marx described him with the following phrase: “Whatever the sources, the music is Villa-Lobos.”<sup>1288</sup>

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with the same burden to give the form its distinctive character. But in the instrumental form the composer has not this obligation. Siqueira keeps the same melody for both themes. He makes the strophe with different ornamental variations and the burden with a different harmonization. Both themes are derived from the music of Northeastern Brazil, the home of our folk music. The *Toada* is a very charming Brazilian song form, like a berceuse. In slow 2/4 time, it is very melodious and romantic, beginning in a vein of improvisation. The *Côco* is a Brazilian instrumental dance in lively 2/4 time. Rhythmically, it is from Afro-Amerindian origin. The first music teacher of José Siqueira was his father, who was the conductor of a local military band. At twenty the son went to Rio de Janeiro to study composition with Francisco Braga, and conducting with Burle Marx. He became the administrative director of *Orquestra Sinfônica Brasileira* of Rio de Janeiro, when this orchestra was begun in July 1940, under the conductorship of Eugen Szenkar. He also organized the orchestra’s radio programs. He visited the United States in 1944. Mr. Siqueira has composed five orchestral works in the form of a *Dansa brasileira*, *Uma Festa Na Roça*, a ballet *Senzala*, a symphony and several overtures and symphonic poems and also music in the chamber forms.” See John N. Burk, “Eight Concert,” program notes for *Villa-Lobos Madonna (Poema sinfônico)*, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Eleazar de Carvalho, Lenox, MA: Koussevitzky Music Shed, Tanglewood, Sunday, August 8, 1948. Italics mine.

<sup>1285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1288</sup> Ibid.

*Madona (Poema sinfónico)* is a programmatic work with religious and spiritual symbols and connotations. It was written in memory of the late Natalie Koussevitzky (1880-1942), whom the composer met in person during his sojourns in Paris, since the Koussevitzkys were residing in Paris at the same time. Therefore, Villa-Lobos, in this case, had a real reverence for the honored person. Aiming to revere her memory, Villa-Lobos called his work *Madona* to show what Natalie Koussevitzky meant to him as a human being. In this work, Villa-Lobos utilized the numerology associated with Christianity, in which ternary elements or multiples of three represent a spiritual and sacred connection to divine energy, as well as wholeness and perfection. This symphonic poem, whose genre was a preference for Villa-Lobos because it lacked conventional formal rules and gave him more freedom to develop his musical story, is divided into nine parts, which epitomizes the Holy Spirit's fabled fruits: love, kindness, joy, and loyalty, among others. It is likewise a modern syncretic work because it does not follow the conventions of Western art music in terms of sacred music; for example, the work does not include a choir but embraces Brazilian popular music genres (chôro) and semantic gestures. The work begins with a motivic idea consisting of a magical, arpeggiated D minor #11 chord played by the clarinet in B-flat. This motive functions like a leitmotif, which appears across the different sections as the composer permutes it.



**EXAMPLE 6.5.** Heitor Villa-Lobos, *Madona* (Poema sinfônico)

Meanwhile, a ternary idea asserts itself from the beginning with quarter-note triplets in the low-register instruments (tuba, tam-tam) and Serge Koussevitzky's own instrument: the double bass. It is a slow introduction with a tempo marking of *Assai moderato* and a time signature of 2/2. The rest of the instruments begin their participation with arpeggios in the woodwinds, and the mystic atmosphere is reinforced with the celesta's cluster chords and the counterpoint between the harps. In *Andante meno mosso* a new triplet motive appears. Suddenly the mood changes when Villa-Lobos introduces an *Allegro* tempo marking while changing the meter to 5/4, and the strings take the lead with the violin I, playing a permutation of the main motive as the rest of the string section plays a heterometric accompaniment with eighth notes in staccato.

The next section, *Allegro più mosso*, employs quartal and quintal dyads, generating a spiritual ambience, and an augmented main motive segment circulates across the different orchestra sections. It is juxtaposed with the triplet motive, which similarly leads to a conversation with duplet eighth-note dyads into the ascending triplet dyads. Abruptly, an entire orchestral cadential point (one measure) marked *Poco meno* releases the built-up climactic energy, leading to the *Allegro* again, which maintains the same combined musical ideas as it

proceeds toward the next section. In the *Moderato* section, the sound mass loses most of its body and becomes a thin and economical texture within a pointillistic style that exposes some of the motives. Then a heterophonic theme in the strings functions as a bridge to the following section. In the *Andantino* section, Villa-Lobos introduces a new musical motive, which is based on the A melodic minor scale. The section continues by juxtaposing different triplet values, which ascend and descend along with it within a polyphonic texture. Villa-Lobos also uses modal exchange between melodic minor, Aeolian and Ionian, and he manipulates the melodic design with disjunct and conjunct motion. The next section, *Largo*, exposes its syncretism, with the composer introducing the *chôro* rhythm performed by the celesta and the harps; meanwhile, the strings recapitulate and repeat the first main motive as a rhetorical tool to transition to the last section. The ensuing *Andante* reunites all the musical ideas from the piece.

The newspaper *Morning Union*, from Springfield, Massachusetts, reviewed *Madona* (*Poema sinfônico*) in its article by Willard Clark, “Carvalho Gives Exciting Reading of Berlioz Work: Young Brazilian Conductor Meets with Approval of Audience” as:

a solid impressive work. It has a profound effect upon the audience and with reason, for a while he often speaks in dissonant invective. Villa-Lob[o]s can and does write with clarity in spite of technical complexity of rhythms. There were many lovely moments in this symphonic poem. It comes as a welcome addition to the literature for orchestra.<sup>1289</sup>

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<sup>1289</sup> The article also included a review of Siqueira’s work in which the music critic wrote that: “The program concluded with three movements from the suite “Nordestina” by Jos[é] Siqueira. This Brazilian is an ardent nationalist and his compositions are based on the rich folk music lore of his country. The movements played were: ‘Congo,’ an Afro-Brazilian dance of intricate rhythms; ‘The Toada’ a song form not unlike a berceuse and the ‘Cico’ [sic] a Brazilian instrumental dance. It is music to hear again and again before it is fully absorbed, yet a first hearing can be, and today was, a provocative musical experience.” See Willard Clark, “Carvalho Gives Exciting Reading of Berlioz Work: Young Brazilian Conductor Meets with Approval of Audience,” *Morning Union*, August 9, 1948. There are other newspaper reviews about this concert that only covered the works by Berlioz and Falla, without engaging with the Brazilian pieces of music. Why?

On August 9, music critic Francis D. Perkins published his review in his text “At Tanglewood: Sixth Symphony of Vaughan Williams Has U.S. Debut” for the *Herald Tribune* and voiced that “In this afternoon’s concert under Eleazar de Carvalho’s conductorship, two Brazilian works were introduced to Tanglewood, *Madona*, a symphonic poem by Heitor Villa-Lobos, played for the time in public, and three sections—*congo*, *toada* and *coco*—from Jos[é] Siqueira’s *Nordestina’s suite*.”<sup>1290</sup>

As already demonstrated, the Symphony Hall was the first performance in the United States, and the review continues by asserting that “Villa-Lobos *Madona* was composed in 1945 for the Koussevitzky Foundation. The composer has not enlarged upon the purport of his title, but the character of the music suggests a Brazilian subject. Its twelve-minute course,” claimed the review, “is occupied by a brooding introduction, a lively dance of indigenous rhythms and a series of episodes of varying expressive color, scored in pronounced and effective orchestral hues.”<sup>1291</sup> The previous paragraph shows how the absence of a written program by the composer can unleash the music critics’ imagination regarding Latin American composers’ music. Francis D. Perkins sensed Villa-Lobos’s syncretism, defining and representing a *Madona* through Brazilian ontological and theological categories, and not European, in his score.

The work continues to experiment with tempo changes; however, when we examine the score previously mentioned in this chapter, we do not see any “lively dance[s] of

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<sup>1290</sup> Francis D. Perkins, “At Tanglewood: Sixth Symphony of Vaughan Williams Has U.S. Debut,” *Herald Tribune*, August 9, 1948. Italics mine.

<sup>1291</sup> *Ibid.* Italics mine.

indigenous rhythms.”<sup>1292</sup> In the concert review “Young Conductor Scores at Lenox: De Carvalho ‘Wows’ Throng at Tanglewood as He Leads His Mentor’s Orchestra” for the *New York Times*, music critic Olin Downes shared that the works by Manuel de Falla, Heitor Villa-Lobos and José Siqueira:

. . . are much simpler scores than the one by Berlioz. Their exotic coloring and immediate effectiveness were a further asset in the situation”<sup>1293</sup> before addressing Villa-Lobos’s work. Next he follows this by pointing out that “New to this writer was the tone poem of Villa-Lobos, *Madona*, written on commission of the Koussevitzky Music Foundation. What the poetic implications of this work may be remains unknown.”<sup>1294</sup>

Downes continues by expressing that:

Let it here suffice that *Madona* has an abundance of Villa-Lobos exoticism and flashing orchestral color. It mounts, based on a broad lyrical phrase that might be constructed as one of homage to the life and its inherent divinity, to a grand climax. It is rich if somewhat theatrical music, and it is an open book for the commanding reading of Mr. de Carvalho.<sup>1295</sup>

*Madona* by Heitor Villa-Lobos is a complex tone poem because it ontologically embodies spiritual Brazilianness. Therefore, its program was more challenging for the music critics to follow, and it was well received by the audiences at Tanglewood, who were able to aurally experience this new Brazilian work commissioned by Koussevitzky. Thus, Eleazar de Carvalho served both parties, Villa-Lobos and Koussevitzky, on the same stage.

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<sup>1292</sup> The review also included a brief mention about José Siqueira’s work and states that: “Jos[é] Siqueira’s *Nordestina Suite* is based on folk music from northeastern Brazil; the three dances offered were skillfully scored to project their essential folk quality.” *Ibid.*

<sup>1293</sup> Olin Downes, “Young Conductor Scores at Lenox: De Carvalho ‘Wows’ Throng at Tanglewood as He Leads His Mentor’s Orchestra,” *New York Times*, August 9, 1948. Italics mine.

<sup>1294</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1295</sup> *Ibid.*

### **New Music Seminar (1948)**

The Berkshire Music Center's holistic approach to music aimed to expose its students to music- history and music-analysis lectures with renowned guest presenters and the faculty. Copland also gave several talks in which he shared his general knowledge with the students. Copland used this platform to offer some lectures about his Latin American travels for the New Music Seminar at Tanglewood.<sup>1296</sup> As soon as Copland came back from his second sojourn in Latin America in 1947, he gave a conference in Boston, whose presented material and analysis were later used in Tanglewood.<sup>1297</sup> In 1948, Copland held three conferences entitled “Brazilian Music,” “Music of Argentina – Note on Uruguay” and “Mexican Music.”<sup>1298</sup> The primary purpose of this section is to examine Copland’s mediation and representation role between Latin American modern art music and U.S. audiences. In view of this, many questions arise regarding how he represents Latin American contemporary music with variables such as time, space, race, positivism, and modernism, among others. Therefore, this section engages with an interpretation of Copland’s notes that he utilized during his lectures about this topic. In other words, Copland’s role is similar to an ethnographer or chronicler, and the fact is that the chronicler frequently resorts to exoticism as a way of building the Other within a relationship between power and asymmetric culture that justifies his dominion and its submission. It is about the subtle, persuasive, and gloomy use of the assimilation and differentiation game to control by constructing the stereotype. The chronicler, who introduces

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<sup>1296</sup> On December 1947, Copland had just come back from his trip to South America (Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay) from August 14 to November 28 with a grant-in-aid from the Department of State. The U.S. composer gave a conference entitled “Latin American Music” in Boston, and basically, he repeated part of the content in 1948 at Tanglewood. The documents available are handwritten notes (sort of bullet points), which Copland utilized to develop his talks. See “Latin American music, 1947-1963,” CCLC, folder 19, box 212.

<sup>1297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1298</sup> Ibid.



the element of alterity, diminishes the Other and, at the same time, erects the dichotomy between material, intellectual, and racial progress against the “uncivilized” (the Other).

Cultural anthropologist Fernando Coronil argues that “the West is often identified with Europe, the United States, us, or with that enigmatic entity, the modern Self.”<sup>1299</sup> Nonetheless, due to the structural changes in the international system after the end of World War II, which generated “the consolidation of U.S. hegemony as a world power after 1945,” Coronil points out that “the ‘West’ shifted its center of gravity from Europe to ‘America,’ and the United States became the dominant referent for the ‘West.’”<sup>1300</sup> Therefore, the practice of representation and categorization also shifted to the United States, and this constructed a framework that “establishes a specific bond between knowledge and power in the West” and is “the expression of a constitutive relationship between Western representations of cultural difference and worldwide Western dominance.”<sup>1301</sup> Coronil defines it as “Occidentalism as ‘representational practices that participate in the production of conceptions of the world.’”<sup>1302</sup> In other words, this action consists of intervening by eliminating the (cultural-historical) connections between the units and placing them inside a hierarchical scheme based on the difference from their positions in the margins of asymmetric power relations.<sup>1303</sup>

In the first “Brazilian Music” conference, Copland wrote that “My plan [is] to give three talks on the music of three Latin American countries: Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico . . .

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<sup>1299</sup> Fernando Coronil, “Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories.” *Cultural Anthropology* 11/1 (1996): 52.

<sup>1300</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>1301</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>1302</sup> Coronil listed them as “(1) separate the world's components into bounded units; (2) disaggregate their relational histories; (3) turn difference into hierarchy; (4) naturalize these representations; and thus (5) intervene, however unwittingly, in the reproduction of existing asymmetrical power relations.” Ibid., 57.

<sup>1303</sup> Ibid.

Based on 1941, 1947 visits to these three countries (And Cuba and Uruguay Slonimsky's forte).<sup>1304</sup> Although Copland visited Latin America either as an independent artist or as a U.S. cultural diplomat, this did not necessarily make him an "authority" about Latin American music, culture, and history. It is true that his trips built significant artistic and personal ties with Latin American musicians and institutions, and the southern part of the American continent welcomed this relationship in which Copland also benefited tremendously vis-à-vis the performance and international projection of his music. Concerning his subsequent annotation about Nicolas Slonimsky, the conductor/conductor/pianist participated actively in the Pan-American Association of Composers, as disclosed by Stephanie N. Stallings and Deane L. Root and conducted works by Cuban composers Alejandro Caturla (1906-1940) and Amadeo Roldán (1900-1939) in different American and European venues, including Cuba.<sup>1305</sup>

Slonimsky, as previously mentioned, toured across Latin America in 1941 with the prominent music patron Edwin Adler Fleisher (1877-1959), who gave him financial sponsorship to buy music scores for the Edwin A. Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music and gather information for his book *Music of Latin America* (1945).<sup>1306</sup> In other words, due to

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<sup>1304</sup> See "Latin American music, 1947-1963," CCLC, folder 19, box 212.

<sup>1305</sup> Stallings, for example, lists the concerts that Slonimsky conducted in the Salon of the Ambassador Hotel, "Conciertos de Cámara dirigidos por Nicolas Slonimsky," Co-sponsored by I.S.C.M. Havana on 18 and 21 March 1931; Teatro Nacional, "Dos Conciertos de Música Nueva bajo la dirección de Nicolas Slonimsky" on 23 and 30 April 1933. For the complete list of the PAAC see Stephanie N. Stallings, "Collective Difference: The Pan-American Association of Composers and Pan American Ideology in Music, 1925-1945" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2009), 171-180. See also Deane L. Root, "The Pan American Association of Composers (1928-1934)," 49-70.

<sup>1306</sup> Nicolas Slonimsky *Music in Latin America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942). In the "Background" to the Edwin A. Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music: Latin American Orchestral Works compiled by Dr. Gary Galván, it states that: "Between 1934 and 1943, Fleisher co-sponsored a Works Progress Administration Music Copying Project dedicated to creating performance sets from unpublished manuscripts by Pan American composers and doubled the size of the collection. Fleisher personally sponsored Nicolas Slonimsky's sojourn to Latin America in 1941-42 with \$10,000 [Currently \$154,053.27 in 2019] to secure works from South and Central America. Slonimsky would produce his pioneering book, *Music of Latin America* (Thomas A. Crowell, 1945) due to the trip." In addition to the "Background," it states: "Philadelphia philanthropist Edwin Adler Fleisher (1877-1959) founded the first training orchestra in the United States in 1909 – over a half century

the “abrupt” interest from United States-based composers in Latin American art music, Slonimsky went to Latin America on a “fishing trip.”<sup>1307</sup> Ergo, he collected music scores by Latin American composers, “the fruit of my exotic journey,” to “donate” them to the Edwin A. Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music.<sup>1308</sup> Nevertheless, Slonimsky always positioned the Latin American compositions of his contemporaries within musical modernism. While Slonimsky already had a well-established reputation for conducting many works by Latin American composers during the years of the Pan American Association of Composers, he cannot similarly be considered an expert on Cuba and Uruguay.<sup>1309</sup>

Concerning “The relationship of [U.S. and] South American music,” Copland found that both had “faced abroad” but currently “faced each other,” as well as that in the past, there was an “interest exclusively interpretative,” and in the present (his time), there was an “interest in creative composers.”<sup>1310</sup> The U.S. composer recognized that, traditionally, the American continent’s art music held a peripheral position vis-à-vis Europe until the twentieth century,

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before José Antonio Abreu’s famed *El Sistema*. The Little Symphony Club, as it was first known, was open to both sexes and all races free of charge.” *El Sistema* has had an international impact in the Western art music world, at least at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and has never denied other efforts to foster Music-in-Education programs in diverse countries. See the whole Edwin A. Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music: Latin American Orchestral Works’ catalog, accessed May 15, 2019, <https://libwww.freelibrary.org/assets/pdf/fleisher/Latin-American-works.pdf>. See “Latin American music, 1947-1963,” CCLC, folder 19, box 212.

<sup>1307</sup> Although Slonimsky played a crucial role as conductor for the concerts organized by the PAAC, his book reception received mixed reviews in journals. However, musicologists Robert M. Stevenson and Emilio Ros-Fábregas had a different reading of Slonimsky’s contribution and praised the information that Slonimsky provided in his publication. See Robert M. Stevenson, “Nicolas Slonimsky: Centenarian, Lexicographer and Musicologist,” *Inter-American Music Review* 14/1 (1994): 149–155 and Emilio Ros-Fábregas, “Nicolas Slonimsky (1894-1995) y sus escritos sobre música en Latinoamérica: reivindicación de un ‘fishing trip,’” in *La música y el atlántico: Relaciones musicales entre España y Latinoamérica*, ed. María Gembero Ustároz and Emilio Ros-Fábregas (Granada: University of Granada Press, 2007),” 153-180.

<sup>1308</sup> See Nicolas Slonimsky, “Exotic Journeys,” in *Perfect Pitch: A Life Story* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 172.

<sup>1309</sup> See, for example, Ricardo Lorenz, “Voices in Limbo: Identity, Representation, and Realities of Latin American Composers” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2000), 53-55 and Ros-Fábregas, “Nicolas Slonimsky (1894-1995) y sus escritos sobre música en Latinoamérica: reivindicación de un ‘fishing trip,’” 173.

<sup>1310</sup> See “Latin American music, 1947-1963,” CCLC, folder 19, box 212.

in which the Europeans (“Self”) categorized scores by their colleagues from the American continent (“Other”) as byproducts from Europe. This process is what Uruguayan composer Coriún Aharonián (1940-2017) labels as European (metropolitan) arrogance: Europe represented itself as a producer of “universal” cultural models that embodied the myth of progress, then defined progress as the more metropolitan and the more evolved.<sup>1311</sup> Aharonián demonstrates that European culture (highly heterogeneous and mediated with Africa and Asia throughout the Muslim Maghreb) performs a homogeneous representational strategy reinforced by its institutions.<sup>1312</sup> They hardly accept the notion of the American continent as a producer of avant-garde and cultured products. He also affirms that this center-periphery discourse seeks to position the fringe as a source of cultural raw materials to reinvigorate the cultural center’s production.<sup>1313</sup> However, the United States’ national and international power position, combined with the historical context of World Wars I and II, generated a change in this relationship. Thus, Aharonián opined that it forced Europe to share its cultural and epistemological power, which the composer summarizes: “Since the Second World War, American centers of power will join this strategy to dispute world domination.”<sup>1314</sup>

The U.S. composer exposed some sociological aspects vis-à-vis the American continent’s art music and articulated them by saying, “Interest in something growing; The masterpiece complex; Music as a living and viral relationship by living people to a music [tradition].”<sup>1315</sup> Namely, Copland also recognized that despite the cultural, religious, racial, and

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<sup>1311</sup> Coriún Aharonián, “Factores de identidad musical latinoamericana tras cinco siglos de conquista, dominación y mestizaje,” *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 15/2 (1994): 189-225.

<sup>1312</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1313</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1314</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>1315</sup> See “Latin American music, 1947-1963,” CCLC, folder 19, box 212.

historical differences between Anglo-America and Latin America, in the field of Western art music, categories such as canon and colonialism have played a role in the Western hemisphere. Therefore, positioning the American continent's musical compositions as valuable cultural texts with their own cultural and historical contexts, which represent their composers' creative agency, has been a hard task to endure due to the Eurocentric mental legacy. In his notes, Copland applies a developmental, teleological and positivist taxonomy to the countries' music, although he does not explain what kind of data are considered. Copland's classification follows:

- 1) Countries with strong native music: Brazil, Mexico, Cuba
- 2) Countries with lesser [development]: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay
- 3) Only recently developed: Peru, Colombia, Venezuela
- 4) Still underdeveloped: Bolivia, Paraguay, Ecuador, Latin American countries.<sup>1316</sup>

What kind of documents or historiography is he using to prove his thesis? Is he considering folklore or popular music? Is Copland only quantitatively evaluating the number of composers, compositions or orchestras per year or per capita? Can a quantitative examination show a country's musical "development"? Is Copland using a hegemonic nomenclature to represent Latin American countries as pre-modern in terms of musical culture?

Copland wrote some notes about Brazil, which he later crossed out. However, he noted that the main racial and cultural elements that Brazilian music embraces are "Rich source materials – Negro – Portuguese – Spanish – Indian."<sup>1317</sup> The U.S. composer relates Brazilian music to a series of emotional and non-intellectual characteristics with the aims of "representing" his reception, and he mentions that he heard "Rich temperament – non critical

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<sup>1316</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1317</sup> Ibid.

– enthusiastic – formal romanticism – colorful, sentiment and rhythm”<sup>1318</sup> Hereafter, this Eurocentric approach became Cartesian, and it has had a tremendous impact on modern Western culture, because with its discursive dichotomy it has divided the dynamics of human history, since some recent centuries, into two metaphorically opposite parts: Europe (Self, mind and rational) and non-Europeans (Other, body and soul). Consequently, Cuban/U.S. intellectual Cuco Fusco deduces that there is a constructed narrative between those who represent the Self, which, for instance, endorses practicing “ethnography,” and those who serve the “exotic” Other and have to “accept” this asymmetrical imposition because of being “irrational” and contrary to the Western logos.<sup>1319</sup>

Copland continues his notes by enumerating some features that he called “The Basic Problems in L.A. Music: Creation of an indigenous music; The two schools of thought: A. Internationalist and B. Nationalist.”<sup>1320</sup> He then wrote that “We encourage—by our interest—the nationalist theory.”<sup>1321</sup> This last comment by Copland can have two readings; either the “nationalist” school represents the category’s disavowal of modernists for Latin American art music and composers, or this kind of encouragement for the “nationalist” school is about to reject the German dodecaphonic, regarded as a signifier for “internationalism.” Copland’s statement portrays the Latin American modern composers’ milieu of limbo, to borrow an expression by composer Ricardo Lorenz, because this narrative “denies composers from Latin America their well-deserved title as true modernists, like their contemporary European or U.S.-American counterparts, and, instead, claims that their greatest accomplishment,” continue

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<sup>1318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1319</sup> Cuco Fusco, “The Other History of Intercultural Performance,” *TDR* 38/1 (1994): 143-167.

<sup>1320</sup> See “Latin American music, 1947-1963,” CCLC, folder 19, box 212.

<sup>1321</sup> Ibid.

Lorenz, “was to serve as mediators between two seemingly opposite elements, European modernism and native folk music.”<sup>1322</sup>

Copland followed by counting a group of elements that he named “Essentials for an indigenous music” and proceeded to point out “1) A racial profile; 2) A musical superstructure, and 3) A folk tradition.”<sup>1323</sup> Copland continued with his examination and listed four stages entitled “Normal Stages of Development” to explain, according to him, changes in art music on the American continent.<sup>1324</sup> From there he describes them as follows:

- Stage 1. Copies of European music – Colonial feud
- Stage 2. Literal use of folk material in a European context
- Stage 3. Literal use of folk material or “a la manière de” in a characteristic setting
- Stage 4. Unconscious use of native characteristics<sup>1325</sup>

At that moment, Copland inscribed, “Applying this theory to Brazil: It would be a mistake to confine our interest only to obviously Brazilian music.”<sup>1326</sup> However, Copland’s theoretical approach is similar to those taxonomic museums’ practice of the late nineteenth century, in which in this case not pieces of art but musical works became objectivized with the curators aiming to collect, classify, display, and immortalize them. This premise implies inclusion/exclusion politics, within a hegemonic platform, and logically creates modern binary dichotomies.<sup>1327</sup>

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<sup>1322</sup> Ricardo Lorenz, “Voices in Limbo: Identity, Representation, and Realities of Latin American Composers” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2000), 4.

<sup>1323</sup> See “Latin American music, 1947-1963,” CCLC, folder 19, box 212.

<sup>1324</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1325</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1326</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1327</sup> For example: center vs. periphery, north vs. south, superstructure vs. base, innovators vs. imitators, and high vs. low, among others.

In his second talk, “Music of Argentina – Note on Uruguay,” Copland recapitulated some ideas from the previous lectures as an introduction, and he began the topic by sharing that, according to him, Argentina has “A more developed musical superstructure” and that the country has the “Best orchestras, opera, and publishing house.”<sup>1328</sup> Nevertheless, concerning his colleagues, the U.S. composer stated that Argentina did not have the “best composers – but higher general level than in other L.A. countries.” In the “Note on Uruguay,” the U.S. composer began by writing that the capital city of Montevideo was an “Appendix” of Buenos Aires. Additionally, Copland mentioned the orchestra SODRE and the musicologist Francisco Curt Lange, with his *Americanismo musical*, and only addressed two composers with some of their best-known works: Eduardo Fabini (1882-1950) and Héctor Tosar (1923-2002).<sup>1329</sup>

In his last lecture, “Mexican Music,” Copland wrote that “Mexico presents [a] problem of development of music in [a] small country. Analogy with Finland.”<sup>1330</sup> At that moment he penned that the music industry “is confined to the capital.”<sup>1331</sup> Next Copland examined the musical-racial component and expressed that “Unlike Brazil (Negro – Portuguese), Argentina (Spanish),” Mexico has a “largely Indian and Indian mestizo” population, and he mentioned that it is “not possible to understand Mexican music without taking into account [the] Indian character,” which he classifies as “stolid – persistent – childlike – seriousness + humor – sweetness of nature – [and] philosophy of acceptance [sic].”<sup>1332</sup> Moreover, Copland wrote that

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<sup>1328</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1329</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1332</sup> Ibid.



“The mestizo character adds Spanish traits: colorful – *mañana*” and continued by remarking on the notions about “Difficulty of getting things done” and “Effects on creation.”<sup>1333</sup>

With his conferences, Copland aimed to communicate to U.S. audiences about his examinations of Latin American music; however, these presentations elaborated on his personal views about music and culture as well as epitomized, simultaneously, a segment of his construction of new music outside the Euro-American sphere.

### **Tanglewood (1949)**

The Berkshire Music Center invited composer Olivier Messiaen (1908-1992) to join the composition department with Aaron Copland, and the French composer was assisted by Irving Fine (1914-1962) for the seventh festival season.<sup>1334</sup> Koussevitzky commissioned Messiaen to compose a work and indicated that the composer should “Choose as many instruments as you desire, write a work as long as you wish, and in the style you want.”<sup>1335</sup> The result was the *Turangalila-Symphonie* (1946/1948), which was not premiered in Tanglewood because it took three years to finish, in turn due to Messiaen being busy concluding other composition projects.<sup>1336</sup>

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<sup>1333</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1334</sup> The French composer said about Irving Fine, amongst all the U.S. composers, that he was “perhaps the most gifted of all.” See Olivier Messiaen and Claude Samuel, *Olivier Messiaen, Music and Color: Conversations with Claude Samuel*, translated by E. Thomas Glasow (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994), 158.

<sup>1335</sup> The premiere of this piece was not in Tanglewood, but during the Boston Symphony Orchestra’s regular concert season on December 2, 1949, and the conductor was not Koussevitzky, but Leonard Bernstein. Ibid., 156. Nigel Simeone wrote that “Messiaen taught at Tanglewood for two summers (1949 and 1975), and he had a number of American pupils in his class at the Paris Conservatoire, which included William Albright, William Bolcom, Philip Corner, Janice Giteck, Roland Jackson, Alvin King, Gerald Levinson, and others. See Nigel Simeone, “Messiaen, Koussevitzky and the USA,” *The Musical Times* 149/1905 (2008): 25. Regarding the work’s commission history see also Simeone.

<sup>1336</sup> Ibid.

In his “Address by Dr. Serge Koussevitzky at the Opening Exercises of the Berkshire Music Center, Tanglewood, July 3, 1949” the conductor articulated (with an exquisite sense of humor) that “. . . having completed 25 years with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, as its Conductor,” concluded the conductor, “I have reached the age of maturity. But as a Director of the Berkshire Music Center, I am in my first decade. Consequently, I should like to believe that I still belong to an age of youthful quest and aspiration [sic].”<sup>1337</sup> However, the direction of the speech quickly modulated to a different, severe area, and the conductor asked the question, “Will the Berkshire Music Center complete its promise, predestination and fulfillment?” before talking about “the problem of musical education.”<sup>1338</sup> Once more, Koussevitzky engaged with the philosophical topic concerning “two such powerful factors of modern life,” regarding the function of radio and television in modern society, with their substantial presence in the citizens’ daily life and their impact on music’s role, by saying “Music is used mostly as a medium for entertainment, while the art of music is virtually non-existent; classical music is treated as a step-child, overshadowed by the glitter and glamour of a trivial musical material.”<sup>1339</sup>

The tribune at Tanglewood once more became a platform for Koussevitzky to share his thoughts about music and its role in society, especially his ideas about the spiritual alienation that consumerism can generate in the public, as well as how music would be commodified faster and transformed into a mere good for entertainment, ultimately losing its capacity to engage spiritually and emotionally with the audiences. The conductor also shared

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<sup>1337</sup> “Berkshire Music Center 1949,” SKALC, folder 1, box 189.

<sup>1338</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1339</sup> Ibid.

his perception of classical music's displacement from daily people's lives as a way to develop humanity and citizenship. To embody a proactive approach toward this issue, Koussevitzky reviewed the musical education's subject and seeks to engage the audience by sharing this ideal: "It is for us, in Tanglewood, to develop a communal spirit in music and spread it in our communities, remembering that without the participation of the people we cannot carry out our mission."<sup>1340</sup>

The conductor continued by suggesting a new view about music-making and expressed that the goal should be to "educate the public to take an active part in music—playing, singing, even composing—not with a professional thought, but merely as a means of a better and deeper understanding of our art," in addition to "bring[ing] music into the life of every child, introducing it in the schools."<sup>1341</sup> With these statements, Koussevitzky claimed that music can be an agent for social change, but requires the people's participation, which also entails, in terms of Western art music, deconstructing the conservatoire style and redirecting it towards Music-in-Education programs at public schools.

### **Camargo Guarnieri's Music in Tanglewood: A Pan/Inter-American Musical Story**

World War II redirected composers' career trajectories from Europe to the United States, which represents, likewise, the case of Brazilian composer Camargo Guarnieri (1907-1993).<sup>1342</sup> The family moved from the town of Tietê, where they frequently experienced the "sounds of the folk music and dancing from around his home," to the city of São Paulo, which was in the middle of an industrialization process as well as a demographic shift, with migrations

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<sup>1340</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1341</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1342</sup> Panamanian composer Roque Cordero voiced this idea in a book chapter. See Roque Cordero "Vigencia del músico culto" in *América Latina en su música*, ed. Isabel Aretz (México: Siglo XXI editores, 1977), 161-162.

coming from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. Guarnieri, who was already an excellent pianist, began his career sight-reading music for customers at the music store Casa di Franco.<sup>1343</sup> The urban setting exposed Guarnieri to professional composers such as Ernani Braga (1888-1948), Antônio Leal de Sá Pereira (1888-1966), and Lamberto Baldi (1895-1979), from whom Guarnieri learned Western-art-music syntax and technique. Part of São Paulo's modernization included its cultural organizations, so then, Guarnieri became a faculty member at the São Paulo Conservatory of Drama and Music (1927), *Coral Paulistano* (1935) and Department of Culture (1938). His compositions were performed at music venues in his city and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>1344</sup> In 1936, Camargo Guarnieri was granted a scholarship by *Serviço de Fiscalização Artística do Brasil*, which enabled him to move to France to promote his music and continue his studies.<sup>1345</sup> In Paris, besides studies with Charles Koechlin (1867-1950), François Ruhlmann (1868-1948) and Charles Munch (1891-1968), Guarnieri met Nadia Boulanger and Darius Milhaud, among many other artists, and the most important milestone he achieved was securing performances of his works such as *Danças Brasileiras* and *Toada*.<sup>1346</sup>

Brazil was also a place for diverse intellectual debates, and Mário de Andrade (1893-1945) was one of the most significant Brazilian intellectuals, to whom Guarnieri voiced that he “owe[d] all my humanistic formation.”<sup>1347</sup> Accordingly, the personal and professional relationship impacted both artists' lives and outcomes while also contributing to the formation of modern art music in Brazil. Nonetheless, Flávio Silva points out that these significant artistic

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<sup>1343</sup> Márión Verhaalen, *Camargo Guarnieri, Brazilian Composer: A Study of His Creative Life and Works* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005), 2.

<sup>1344</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-20.

<sup>1345</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 and see also Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, *Brief History of Music in Brazil*, translated by Elizabeth M. Tylor and Mercedes de Moura Reis (Washington: Pan American Union, 1948), 82-83.

<sup>1346</sup> Verhaalen, *Camargo Guarnieri*, 18-19.

<sup>1347</sup> *Ibid.*, 10. Lamberto Baldi (1895-1979) similarly taught Uruguayan composer Héctor Tosar.

associations between Guarnieri and Andrade sometimes contained an internal dynamic of tension and disagreement, most frequently with the atonal-music topic.<sup>1348</sup> Andrade promoted the idea that music must be related to the people, the community, the culture, and the race, among other variables, and it should not be an abstract entity divorced from the local or national culture.<sup>1349</sup>

Sarah Tyrrell explains that the construction of modernism in Brazilian art music encompassed the hybridity between current techniques with natives elements and expands on the intentional alterity that modern artists and intellectuals in Latin America embedded in their art works to gain the region's aesthetic independence from Europe.<sup>1350</sup> She goes on to say that, for example, in Brazil "Andrade understood Brazilian modernism as distinct from concurrent European trends, and to emphasize the separation, he focused on 'o povo brasileiro,' seeking *brasilidade* in the nation's blended culture."<sup>1351</sup> In fact, in his book *Ensaio sobre a música brasileira*, Andrade began with this compelling statement: "Until recently, the art music of Brazil lived divorced from our racial entity."<sup>1352</sup>

Andrade engaged with an anti-colonial discourse in which he denounces the European mechanisms of power to categorize, in this case, Brazilian music as "fun exoticism."<sup>1353</sup> At the same time, Andrade rejected the notion of purity to compose authentic national music, which,

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<sup>1348</sup> Flávio Silva, "Camargo Guarnieri e Mário de Andrade," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 20/2 (1999): 184-212.

<sup>1349</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1350</sup> Sarah Tyrrell, "M. Camargo Guarnieri and the Influence of Mário de Andrade's Modernism," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 29/1 (2008): 43-44.

<sup>1351</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1352</sup> The text in Portuguese: "Até ha pouco a música artistica brasileira viveu divorciada da nossa entidade racial." See Mário da Andrade, *Ensaio sobre a música brasileira* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora S.A., 1972), 13.

<sup>1353</sup> The text is Portuguese: "Exotism divertido." Ibid. 15.

according to him, has been suggested by Europeans, and he defended the notion of transculturation when he claimed:

A national art is not made with [a] discretionary and dilating choice of elements: A national art is already made in the unconsciousness of the people . . . Brazil is a nation with social norms, racial elements and geographical boundaries. . . . The Amerindian does not participate in these things, and even standing in our land remains Amerindian and not Brazilian.”<sup>1354</sup>

In other words, Andrade is arguing about the modernity of Brazil as a nation-state, independently of its benefits or not, and deconstructs the European argument of projected and unchangeable pre-modernity as a real Brazilian root. Andrade, aiming to support his hypothesis, mentioned examples that show how culture circulates globally and in the modern era transnationally, besides how it is appropriated and transformed by the local identity. Ergo, he affirmed that “If it were national only what is Amerindian, also the Italians could not employ the organ that is Egyptian, the violin that is Arabic, the plainchant which is Greek-Hebrew, the polyphony that is Nordic, Flemish, Anglo-Saxon and the devil.”<sup>1355</sup> In the same paragraph, Andrade voiced a fulminant conclusion about his transculturation thesis by claiming that: “And since all the peoples of Europe are the product of prehistoric migrations, it is concluded that there is no European art,” which deconstructs Europe’s well-known auto-proclamation as the cultural Self, as well as its notions of “authenticity” and “universality.”<sup>1356</sup>

Thus, the Brazilian theorist supported the belief that Brazilian music must be social and not

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<sup>1354</sup> The text in Portuguese: “Uma arte nacional não se faz com escolha discricionaria e dilatante de elementos: una arte nacional já está feita na inconsciencia da povo . . . Brasil é una nação con normas sociais, elementos raciais e limites geográficos. . . O ameríndio não participa dessas coisas e mesmo parando em nossa terra continua ameríndio e não brasileiro.” Ibid., 16.

<sup>1355</sup> The text in Portuguese: “Se fosse nacional só o que é ameríndio, tambem os italianos não podiam empregar o orgão que é egipcio, o violino que arabe, o cantochão que é grecoebraico, a polifonia que é nordica, anglosaxonia flamenga e o diabo. Os franceses não podem usar a ópera que é italiana e muito menos a forma-de-sonata que é alemã. E como todos o povos da Europa são produto de migrações preistoricas se conclui que nao existe arte europea.” Ibid., 16.

<sup>1356</sup> Ibid., 16.

philosophical, and it must be related to the current Brazilian national manifestation and reality.”<sup>1357</sup>

Guarnieri was not precisely a composer who went to the countryside to find folklore or popular “authentic” music, unlike his colleague César Guerra-Peixe (1914-1993). But, Guarnieri’s music represented a modern compositional style, the popular Brazilian hybrid urban music.<sup>1358</sup> Another composer who surrounded Guarneri’s musical life was Hans Joachim Koellreuter of *Música Viva*, with whom the Paulista composer had a friendship, but whose aesthetic position in the Brazilian art-music scene generated artistic divergences with Mário de Andrade and Guarnieri.<sup>1359</sup> As a communist, Koellreuter agreed with and praised Andrade’s philosophy about “*arte funcional*” and Brazilian music’s role as a social and collective artistic medium for introducing values associated with Marxism into society.<sup>1360</sup> However, Andrade harshly criticized atonal music, and in general, all music from German origin as “*arianizante*” because it would degenerate the Brazilian modern national art.<sup>1361</sup>

On August 28, 1940, in the journal *Resenha Musical*, Guarnieri published a “Carta Aberta” addressed to Hans J. Koellreuter, in which he read Koellreuter’s work *Música de Câmara* for voice, viola, English horn, bass clarinet and military drum, afterwards praised the musical work, saying that “With seventeen measures you interest me far more than millions of measures from other composers.”<sup>1362</sup> However, he immediately shifted to the second section of the text, which addresses atonal music, with the sentence “How many people

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<sup>1357</sup> Ibid., 19-20.

<sup>1358</sup> Silva, “Camargo Guarnieri e Mário de Andrade.”

<sup>1359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1360</sup> Ibid., 191.

<sup>1361</sup> Andrade, *Ensaio sobre a música brasileira*.

<sup>1362</sup> See Silva, “Camargo Guarnieri e Mário de Andrade,” 189-190 and Carlos Kater, *Música Viva e H. J. Koellreuter: movimentos em direção à modernidade* (São Paulo: Musa Editora/Atravez, 2001), 282.

reading your *Música de Câmara* will hate it! You will be recriminated and named corruptor of musical taste!”<sup>1363</sup> Consequently, atonality signified a Eurocentric and metropolitan acculturation process, and, therefore, became an antithesis to the modernism constructed in Latin America, whose transcultural process was an essential structure. Regarding atonality, in the *Carta Aberta*, Guarnieri continues his argument by voicing that:

Now a confession: every time I read or hear an atonal piece, a problem arises, the beauty. I could never yet, despite my frank sympathy for atonalism, without, however, systematically practicing it, finding beauty in atonally written works. I have a feeling that these works are not quite beautiful, I find them deeply intellectual. I have the impression that the composer, as soon as he has outlined his formal plan, begins to write thinking exclusively of the intimate relationship of the twelve sounds and their attractive tendencies. In my opinion, the conduction of the lines has a more visual sense than, properly, auditory. Maybe that's why atonal music doesn't give me aesthetic pleasure, so it doesn't thrill me, it doesn't move me.<sup>1364</sup>

The outbreak of World War II, meanwhile, created a temporary limbo of limitation, but it simultaneously opened new spaces for Guarnieri's music in the Western hemisphere. The Pan-American rhetoric and its emphasis on promoting the American continent's arts supported the internationalization of Guarnieri's music. In 1940 this transnational movement opened a space for displaying it and began with the opportunity of a composition award with Serge Koussevitzky and Howard Hanson (1896-1981) as juror members, sponsored by the Pan American Union Music Division. The hemispheric institution granted the prize to Guarnieri's

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<sup>1363</sup> The text in Portuguese: “Com dezessete compassos você me interessa muito mais que milhões de compassos doutros compositores” and “Quanta gente ao ler a sua “Música de Câmara” vai odia-lo! Voce sera recriminado e alcunhado de corruptor do gosto musical!” *Ibid.* Italics mine.

<sup>1364</sup> The text in Portuguese: “Agora uma confissão: cada vez que leio ou ouco uma peça atonal, surge-me um problema, o do belo. Nunca pude ainda, apesar de minha franca simpatia pelo atonalismo, sem, entretanto, praticá-lo sistematicamente, encontrar beleza nas obras escritas atonalmente. Tenho a sensação de que essas obras não chegam a ser belas, acho-as profundamente intelectuais. Tenho a impressão de que o compositor, assim que traçou o seu plano formal, começa a escrever pensando exclusivamente na relação íntima dos doze sons e nas tendências atrativas deles. A meu ver, a condução das linhas possui um sentido mais visual que, propriamente, auditivo. Talvez seja esse o motivo porque a música atonal não me proporciona prazer estético, portanto, não me emociona, não me comove.” See *Ibid.*, 282 and Silva, “Camargo Guarnieri e Mário de Andrade,” 190. Italics mine.



*Concerto no. 1 for Violin and Orchestra*, and this event became an opportunity to penetrate the U.S. art-music market for the Brazilian composer.<sup>1365</sup> At the same time, this win helped the U.S. and Inter-American institutions to remain loyal to the Good Neighbor Policy principle of promoting music from Latin America—especially from Brazil, a country whose government did not finalize its alliance with the United States until 1942. The private philanthropy appears again in conjunction with the Department of State’s foreign policy toward Latin America because of Samuel S. Fels’s background as a corporate man who presumably backed the award financially, in addition to supporting his protégé, violinist Iso Briselli (1912-2005).<sup>1366</sup>

The U.S. composer Aaron Copland similarly became acquainted with and praised Guarneri’s music when he toured Latin America in 1941. In his chapter “The Composers of South America,” Copland claimed that “Guarneri is the most exciting “unknown” in South America.”<sup>1367</sup> The U.S. colleague expanded on Guarneri’s style, saying that “He has everything it takes – a personality of his own, a finished technic and a fecund imagination. ... The thing that attracts one more in Guarner[i]’s music. wrote Copland, “is its warmth and imagination which is touched by a sensibility which is profoundly Brazilian.”<sup>1368</sup>

Musicologist Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo (1905-1992) explained that “During the season of 1942-43 he [Guarneri] spent six months in the United States, and since then the great American orchestras, especially Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky have given space

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<sup>1365</sup> Verhaalen, *Camargo Guarneri*, 23.

<sup>1366</sup> Samuel S. Fels was the president of Fels & Company and the founder of the Samuel S. Fels Fund (ca. 1935). and commissioned Samuel Barber’s *Violin Concerto* op. 14 for Briselli. To read an updated history with documents about it, please visit: Barbara B., Heyman “Iso Briselli, Samuel Barber & the Violin Concerto, op. 14: Facts and Fiction,” accessed September 19, 2019, <http://www.isobriselli.com./index.php>.

<sup>1367</sup> “The Composers of South America,” CCLC, folder 15/16, box 198.

<sup>1368</sup> *Ibid.*

on their programs to the music of this young Brazilian master.”<sup>1369</sup> However, Marion Verhaalen clarified the financial support for Camargo’s residency in the United States by affirming that the funding did not come from the Pan American Union or a private foundation, such as Rockefeller or Guggenheim (according to the Good Neighbor cultural practices), but from the *São Paulo Sociedade de Cultura Artística*, which raised the money by commissioning from Guarnieri the work *Abertura Concertante*, “which was premiered by the orchestra of the Society on June 2, 1942.”<sup>1370</sup>

The first work performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra was *Abertura Concertante* (Overture) on March 26 and 27, 1943, at Symphony Hall, and it shows how Koussevitzky also became part of the cultural apparatus to support to the Good Neighbor Policy, an action about which Charles Seeger wrote in a letter dated March 15, 1943: “Hoping that the performance of the *Abertura* will prove the success we will expect it to be, and thanking you for your cooperation in the furthering of inter-American relations in the field of music.”<sup>1371</sup> A well-written concert program, which designates Brazilian art music and composers as “modern” and “contemporary,” contains plenty of vital information about the composer’s life and works.<sup>1372</sup> It similarly highlights the performance’s Pan-American connotation, for example, documenting that “In October 1942, almost immediately upon his arrival in Sao Paulo [sic], he was notified that his concerto for violin and orchestra had been awarded the first prize in an international competition sponsored by Mr. Samuel S. Fels of Philadelphia. Subsequently,”

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<sup>1369</sup> Corrêa de Azevedo, *Brief History of Music in Brazil*, 82.

<sup>1370</sup> Verhaalen, *Camargo Guarnieri*, 22.

<sup>1371</sup> Single quotation marks are mine. See “Letter from Charles Seeger to Dr. Serge Koussevitzky,” March 15, 1943, folder 8, box 25. Italics mine.

<sup>1372</sup> John N. Burk, “Twentieth Programe,”[sic] program notes for *Guarnieri Abertura Concertante*, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Mozart Camargo Guarnieri, Boston, MA: Symphony Hall, Friday, March 26, 1943/Saturday, March 27, 1943.

Guarnieri, “received an invitation from the Pan American Union to spend six months in the United States,” adding that “Several of the composer’s works have already been performed in the United States.”<sup>1373</sup>

This work’s performance became an emblematic gesture of Brazilian and U.S. musical relations during the Good Neighbor Policy because of its context. On March 5, 1943, Guarnieri wrote to Koussevitzky that “I have just received a letter from Mr. John N. Burk informing that my *Abertura Concertante* will be played by the Boston Symphony Orchestra on April 9 and 10.”<sup>1374</sup> Nonetheless, because of the conflict scenario, the “present emergency” as a result of the deadly German U-Boats’ attacks on Brazilian vessels and the Vargas regime’s hesitation to declare the war on Nazi Germany, the composer had to leave “for Brazil on March 31” since “I have to appear before the military authorities of my country, having been drafted in Brazil.”<sup>1375</sup> Consequently, as a sign of Pan-American commitment from Koussevitzky, the concert was rescheduled to March to allow Guarnieri to conduct his piece.<sup>1376</sup> The Brazilian Consulate in Boston reaffirmed this statement with a whole-hearted official letter by Consul Ildefonso Falcão to the conductor on March 29, 1943, in which the government representative expressed:

Still under the emotion of your extreme amiability toward Camargo Guarnieri and myself, I hasten to express my thanks, as Consul of Brazil, and admire of your artistic genius, for every homage rendered to the Brazilian composer ... Camargo Guarnieri, his Consul in this city and Brazilians, will not forget your good-will.<sup>1377</sup>

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<sup>1373</sup> The original score is located at the Fleischer Collection of the Philadelphia Free Library, accessed September 15, 2019, <https://libwww.freelibrary.org/assets/pdf/fleisher/Latin-American-works.pdf>. See Burk John N. Burk, “Twentieth Programe,” [sic] program notes for *Guarnieri Abertura Concertante*, and Verhaalen, *Camargo Guarnieri*, 21.

<sup>1374</sup> “Letter from Camargo Guarnieri to Dr. Serge Koussevitzky,” March 5, 1943, SKALC, folder 8, box 25. Italics mine.

<sup>1375</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1376</sup> The program announced: “First performance in Boston; conducted by the composer.”

<sup>1377</sup> “Letter from Ildefonso Falcão to Dr. Serge Koussevitzky,” March 29, 1943, SKALC, folder 8, box 25.

The sojourn (1942/43) in the United States similarly exposed Guarnieri's music to different venues, which contributed to solidifying the composer's reputation. The Columbia Broadcasting System transmitted two programs dedicated to modern Latin American art music and included his works *Suite Infantil* (1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> movements), *Encantamento*, *Cantigas*, and art songs. Additionally, his work was heard at a concert at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City sponsored by the American League of Composers, who presented solo and chamber music works such as *Toada Triste*, *First Cello Sonata*, *String Trio*, *Third Piano Sonatina* and *Toccata*.<sup>1378</sup>

Later, Camargo Guarnieri concluded his first *Sinfonia* in Brazil and sent a letter to Koussevitzky on July 30, 1944, in which he communicated that "This work of mine 'cher Maître' which obtained the first prize in a music contest here, I wrote especially for you."<sup>1379</sup> The conductor responded on October 19, 1944, that "I am now delighted that I can send you my hearty congratulations on the award you received for the "Sinfonia", [sic] and thank you for the dedication."<sup>1380</sup> Two years later, the Brazilian composer stood, for a second time, in front of the Boston Symphony Orchestra on November 29 and 30, 1946 to conduct his *Symphony no. 1*.<sup>1381</sup> Later, conductor Eleazar del Carvalho conducted the Boston Symphony Orchestra on December 26, 27 and 28, 1947, in which he also promoted Guarnieri's *Prologo e*

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<sup>1378</sup> Verhaalen, *Camargo Guarnieri*, 23.

<sup>1379</sup> "Letter from Camargo Guarnieri to Dr. Serge Koussevitzky," July 30, 1944, SKALC, folder 8, box 25.

<sup>1380</sup> "Letter from Dr. Serge Koussevitzky to Camargo Guarnieri," October 19, 1944, SKALC, folder 8, box 25. The work is dedicated to a small town from the State of São Paulo and it received the São Paulo Municipal Department of Culture composition award. It was premiered, presumably, in Rio de Janeiro on May 27, 1940. See Verhaalen, *Camargo Guarnieri*, 220-221.

<sup>1381</sup> John N. Burk, "Eighth Program," program notes for *Guarnieri Symphony no. 1*, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Mozart Camargo Guarnieri, Boston, MA: Symphony Hall, Friday, November 29, 1946/Saturday, November 30, 1946.

*Fuga* (dedicated to him) and Heitor Villa-Lobos's *Madona* commissioned by the Koussevitzky Music Foundation to honor his late wife, Natalie Koussevitzky (1880 -1942).<sup>1382</sup>

In Tanglewood, the work *Flôr de Tremembé* for 15 instruments and percussion was performed in the First Concert by the Chamber Orchestra of Department IV on July 14, 1949, conducted by Eleazar de Carvalho.<sup>1383</sup> The work has the subtitle of *Chôro*. It begins with the tempo marking of *Acomodado* and a subject presented by the bassoon, accompanied by the *xocalho* and *reco-reco*, Afro-Brazilian percussion instruments based on the typical *Chôro* rhythms. Then a countersubject, played by the flute in strict imitation, engages in the counterpoint, and a counter melody joins the texture, performed by the French horn. At that moment, the sound mass increases with more instruments such as the clarinet (B-flat), the baritone saxophone, and the harp playing motives from the fughetta in combination with the strings using a pointillistic texture.

The C trumpet appears, leading to a new section in which the composer modifies the tempo marking to *Um pouco mais depressa* and the *cavaquinho* and piano became part of the ensemble by playing the *Chôro's* syncopated rhythmic pattern and chord progression. Following it, the composer combines the dissonances and dynamically generates a climax that is abruptly released, when the bassoon recapitulates the fughetta subject. Next, the composer changes the tempo marking to *Selvagem*, and a modal melody appears and engages in a call and response with the brass section, supported by a woodwind-section tremolo. Camargo uses the previous material but with an augmented rhythmic motive, which creates an atmosphere of

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<sup>1382</sup> John N. Burk, "Tenth Program," program notes for *Guarnieri Prologo e Fuga* and Villa-Lobos *Madona (Poema sinfônico)*, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Eleazar de Carvalho, Boston, MA: Symphony Hall, Friday, December 26, 1947/Saturday, December 27, 1947.

<sup>1383</sup> "First Concert by the Chamber Orchestra of Department IV," conducted by Eleazar de Carvalho, Theater—Concert Hallon, Lenox, MA, July 14, 1949.

deceleration and fading out. Thereafter, the piano part takes the melody forward, with an implicit polyphony accompanying it. The work's ambience gets darker at rehearsal nine, when the string section begins playing harmonics and the bassoon plays sporadic, short motives. The mood starts changing with a new tempo marking of *Com alegria* and the call and response between the flute antecedent and the horn/saxophone consequent. The atmosphere begins animating with an ostinato played by the Afro-Brazilian percussion section (*xocalho*, *reco-reco*, *cuica* and *agogô*) to the end, where all the instruments arrive, combining motives and constructing together the final climax.

By choosing and performing this modern work at Tanglewood, Eleazar de Carvalho aimed to represent Brazilian contemporary music, whose national cultural identity is based on hybridization, and simultaneously, to bring to the audience a cultural product of Brazil and Brazilianness.<sup>1384</sup> Guarnieri continued to enjoy his international recognition as a modern Brazilian composer, and toward 1950 published a document that shaped the aesthetic/political debates in Brazilian art music during the twentieth-century “Carta Aberta aos Músicos e Críticos do Brasil.” In this “Open Letter to the Musicians and Critics of Brazil,” Guarnieri already a well-established composer warned the younger generation of Brazilian composers about the process of acculturation that dodecaphonism was bringing to Brazilian national music and culture, which refuted the root of transcultural Brazilian music and identity. He regarded this compositional technique and aesthetic as anti-national, anti-popular, anti-communicative, and the composers advocated for the opposite. In other words, Guarnieri wanted the music to be as much as possible communicative and to reach out the people's

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<sup>1384</sup> See the entire letter translated into English in Verhaalen, *Camargo Guarnieri*, 61-63.

emotions, which for him was a symbol of community, unlike dodecaphonism, which is considered a sign for individualism. Moreover, the composer with a postcolonial discourse rejected the teleological and positivist notion of dodecaphonism as a symbol of progress and cosmopolitanism. Guarnieri remained loyal to Andrade's principle outlining the composer's role in the nation-state project, which Guarnieri confirmed by saying that "a composer is a social being, conditioned by factors of time, race, and of environment."<sup>1385</sup>

**Carlos Riesco: *Canzona e rondo for violin and piano***

Chilean composer Carlos Riesco Grez's (1925-2007) first contact with music began during his childhood, and he remembered that "From an early age, at age six, I became fully aware that music exerted a powerful attraction in my being."<sup>1386</sup> Though the future composer suffered from health problems, they did not deter him from his path, and he received training and support from his principal music theory teacher, Luis Vilches. The young composer gained a solid base that enabled him to further his composition and theoretical studies with Pedro Humberto Allende (1885-1959) and Jorge Urrutia Blondel (1903-1981) at the *Facultad de Bellas Artes de la Universidad de Chile*.<sup>1387</sup> Domingo Santa Cruz, the founder of the dynamic *Instituto de Extensión Musical* (1940), who was explicitly elected to this position to "promote the national creation vigorously," supported the young composer's vocational path by convincing Riesco's parents to sponsor his graduate music studies in the United States."<sup>1388</sup>

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<sup>1385</sup> Verhaalen, "Depintmento" (Statement) in *Camargo Guarnieri*, 67.

<sup>1386</sup> Santiago Vera Rivera, "Carlos Riesco Grez. Premio Nacional de Arte, mención Música 2000," *Revista Musical Chilena* 55/195 (2001): 14.

<sup>1387</sup> Luis Merino Montero, "Visión del compositor Juan Orrego-Salas. (Diseños musicales de Efrén Capdevila y Francisco Alvarez)," *Revista Musical Chilena* 32/142 (1978): 8 and Vera Rivera, "Carlos Riesco Grez," 14-15.

<sup>1388</sup> Vera Rivera, "Carlos Riesco Grez," 15.

In this country, Riesco, attended the Berkshire Music Center twice (1947 and 1949) to study with Aaron Copland and Olivier Messiaen, in addition to his formal education at New York University. Regarding Copland, Riesco mentioned that, “Copland suggested that I did not follow the Composition course at NYU,” wrote Riesco, “but only the Instrumentation and Orchestration courses with Phillip James and those of Musicology and Music History with renowned Professor Curt Sachs, who had managed to escape shortly before the war from Germany, to take refuge in the United States.”<sup>1389</sup> Copland used to advise those young composers from Latin America and the United States to go to France to study composition with Nadia Boulanger.<sup>1390</sup>

During 1948, Carlos Riesco participated in the first edition of *Festivales de Música Chilena* with his work *Obertura Chilena*.<sup>1391</sup> This festival was an initiative launched by Domingo Santa Cruz as director of the *Instituto de Extensión Musical* (Universidad de Chile), whose first editions offered a novel space for new music in Chile. Most of the works encompassed a wide range of musical languages and styles, from impressionism to neoclassicism and expressionism—meanwhile, the atonal and serial works were a minority.<sup>1392</sup> This event also became a place for

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<sup>1389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1390</sup> Ibid. Riesco is also an example of this, because he studied with Boulanger from 1952-1955. In addition, Puerto Rican composer Héctor Campos Parsi is another example of a Latin American composer who went to France to study with Maestra Boulanger.

<sup>1391</sup> This work was also performed in Tanglewood on August 1, 1949. The information about the same work performed in Chile in 1948 is available at Luis Merino Montero, “Los Festivales de Música Chilena: génesis, propósitos y trascendencia,” *Revista Musical Chilena* 34/149-1 (1980): 103.

<sup>1392</sup> Merino clarifies that this first phase (1948-1956) drastically changed during what he defined as the second phase (1958-1969), in which most of the works were constructed with serial and indeterminacy techniques. See Merino, “Los Festivales de Música Chilena,” 88.



interaction and exchange between the composers and enthusiastic audiences, as well as to support the awarded musical works with generous monetary prizes.<sup>1393</sup>

Regarding his experience in 1949 at Tanglewood, Riesco published an article entitled “Recordando a Olivier Messiaen: Gracias Maestro” in *Revista Musical Chilena*, remembering his lessons with Olivier Messiaen during this season. This brief document reveals some nuances in the composition fellows’ and faculty’s working relationship:

At the beginning of May 1949, I received an official communication in New York, in which I was announced that I had been accepted into the composition course taught by the French composer Olivier Messiaen at Tanglewood, a summer music school of great renown and prestige in the USA. For the past three years, I had been living for reasons of study in that country and had already been to this famous school (in 1947), when I had the opportunity to study with Aaron Copland. I must admit that in that year of 1949, the name of Olivier Messiaen was utterly unknown to me, as it was also for many of the musicians with whom I related. This was not surprising since the Second World War had affected the musical and cultural activities of the countries, both on the European continent and in the USA, very negatively.

There were seven students of composition who had been accepted to study with Messiaen: four Americans and three of other nationalities; however, I had the advantage of being the only one who spoke some French and could communicate directly with the Maestro, without the need for an interpreter. My first encounter with this famous French composer left me with a certain bitterness that left me without sleep for several days...I dreamt for several days; it was the talent and musical ability that the French composer showed in our first meeting. In fact, among the musical works I had to show him I had included a *Passacaglia and Fuga* composed for piano. I must admit that the composition was quite challenging to play on the piano, due to the contrapuntal language that did not easily fit into the keyboard instrument. I remember very well that Olivier Messiaen sat in an armchair to scrutinize my manuscript score, in all seriousness. This work lasted around 12 minutes, but he was examining it for more than half an hour. Then he closed the score and left it on one side on a table.

– “This work,” he told me, “is not meant for piano, but rather for an orchestral ensemble, and I advise you to write it again, this time for string orchestra.”

– “Maestro,” I replied, “the central variations of the *Passacaglia* are very arpeggiated and do not lend much to an orchestral language.”

– “Monsieur Risco - always the teacher pronounced my name in this way - you can present the arpeggios as chords subject to various and incisive rhythms that can be more eloquent for what you want to say.” Next, he got up from the chair and went to the piano, without a score, performing my work of memory; when he thought it necessary to suggest changes, he improvised them without difficulty, in the style of the work, while remaining

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<sup>1393</sup> The audiences were allowed to vote for the prizes as a way to make the experience more interactive and engage them better. See Editorial, Comité, “Reglamentos de Premios por Obra y de Festivales y Concursos de Música Chilena,” *Revista Musical Chilena* 3/24 (1947): 8-17 and *Ibid.*, “Los primeros festivales chilenos,” *Revista Musical Chilena* 4/32 (1948): 11-18.

rigorously faithful to the original when it seemed to him that he was well. Needless to say, how depressed I was before this extraordinary demonstration of talent and musical ability, and I just told him that it seemed to me that he had made a mistake on my way, and I had better dedicate myself to something else instead of music. Messiaen explained to me afterwards that in addition to composing, he was an organist and had been trained as an instrumentalist to improvise on any subject that was given him and also to memorize as a substantive part of his office.

Two weeks later, he handed me a Bach choral and asked me to memorize it, but without using the piano. When I returned to class, I thought I had fulfilled the task entrusted to me. However, the test I was subjected to prove to be much more difficult than I had imagined.

He indicated that I should sit down and play the bass voice on the piano, sing the contralto voice, and also mark the rhythm of the upper voice with a pencil that happened to me. I must admit that at first, I was put together a genuinely anguished mental entanglement, which I was able to solve with the help of the teacher, who told me how to concentrate and relax at the same time to succeed in this kind of practice. Thus, we spent the entire course of the class facing the most varied exercises: playing three voices on the piano while singing the fourth voice; Messiaen playing a part while making mistakes, to check if I realized, while I did the rest, etc. At the end of the two hours of class, I felt much more qualified to face this type of task, and I became fully aware of the path that had to be followed to achieve an adequate training in the field of music.

Olivier Messiaen used to get up very early in the morning to listen to the song of the birds, which he wrote down with precise accuracy in a notebook. At first, it seemed to us all, a somewhat extravagant attitude of the French musician. However, after a little walking, we realized that the composer had, in this respect, a truly finished knowledge. He knew how to distinguish with precision the small rhythmic and rhythmic variations that occurred in the song of birds of the same species, but that lived in dissimilar environments and far from each other, as could be the USA and Europe. ...The classes taught by Olivier Messiaen aroused great interest and came as special guests, some renowned composers such as Bohuslav Martinů, Leonard Bernstein, Samuel Barber, and others. The secret of this success was due to the analytical capacity of the French composer. I especially remember the analysis he made of *The Rite of Spring* by Igor Stravinsky and those of some of Debussy's works that caused us admiration due to the depth of his thoughts and the originality of his approaches, which caught the attention of the visiting composers. At the end of the course in Tanglewood, I remember with great emotion that he gave me the score of *Quartet for the End of Time*, which I keep with a feeling of gratitude for the composer.<sup>1394</sup>

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<sup>1394</sup> Carlos Riesco Grez, "Recordando a Olivier Messiaen: Gracias, Maestro," *Revista Musical Chilena* 46/178 (1992): 91-94.

This brief narrative captures a significant moment in the Latin American fellow’s daily experiences regarding his interaction and activities with the faculty and peers, which can be extended to any composer fellow who attended the Berkshire Music Center.

Riesco’s work at Tanglewood, *Canzona e rondo for violin and piano*, contains aesthetic characteristics that categorize it as neoclassical chamber music. The *Canzona* begins its section A with a lyrical melody in F major and an *Adagio* tempo marking. The main texture is homophonic; however, the piano accompaniment part contains implicit polyphony. An ascending scale arrives on a new heterometric section B, which interchanges several meters (5/8, 2/4 and 3/4) and is marked *Poco più mosso* in A-flat major. It contains a more rhythmic and intense violin part, though not highly contrasting, and it functions as a climax.

The image shows a musical score for Carlos Riesco's "Canzona e rondo" for violin and piano. The score is written in F major and consists of three systems of music. The first system shows the beginning of section A, with a violin melody starting on a whole note F4 and a piano accompaniment of chords. The second system shows the beginning of section B, marked "Poco più mosso", with a more rhythmic violin part and a piano accompaniment featuring triplets and a crescendo. The third system shows the end of section B, with a violin melody and piano accompaniment. The score includes various dynamic markings such as *pp*, *mf*, *f*, *mp*, and *cresc.*, and time signatures of 5/8, 2/4, and 3/4.

**EXAMPLE 6.6.** Carlos Riesco, “Canzona,” *Canzona e rondo*

The last section (C) appears with a modulation to G Phrygian, and it reverts to its simplicity and its *Tempo I*. The work ends with an open F-major 7 chord. In general, this movement develops by juxtaposing intervallic cells and an ambiguous tonality, which is challenged with some chromatic oscillations.

The *Rondo* character from this work is related to the late-medieval *Rondeau* and not to the classical rondo form. Its tempo marking is *Allegro molto*, and it recreates a kind of pastoral atmosphere with double-dotted rhythms and thirds. Even though it has the original key signature of B-flat, the movement modulates to different tonal centers. Likewise, the *Canzona*'s tonality is highly ambiguous to the ear because it is bitonal. The modern techniques that Riesco blends in this movement are, for example, pandiatonicism in the slow sections, in which the rhythm is augmented and whose function is to contrast with the more rhythmic, active, and mechanical A section, in addition to metrical changes, and opposite rhythmic patterns. Regarding the musical ideas' development, the piece relies on motivic interplay as well as motivic progressions.

Molto cantabile (come prima)

arco

pp p poco cresc.

Molto cantabile (come prima)

pp sost. pp p mf

**EXAMPLE 6.7.** Carlos Riesco, “Rondo,” *Canzona e rondo*

### Tanglewood (1950)

During the inauguration, in his “Opening Address of Serge Koussevitzky at the 8th Session of the Berkshire Music Center on July 2, 1950,” Dr. Koussevitzky shared that “The opening day of the eighth season of the Berkshire Music Center is also a day of rejoicing for

me.”<sup>1395</sup> The conductor communicated to the spectators about his experiences traveling across the globe to conduct orchestras and witness the musical life in different countries, and he expressed that he “marveled at the infinite variety and beauty of God’s universe: exotic Brazil, enchanting tropical Havana; the land of Israel with its mystic past and miraculous present; Rome and its Holy Year; Brussels, Paris and finally London.”<sup>1396</sup>

Concerning on his visits to Brazil and Cuba, the director communicated that “Speaking first of the South American and the tropical countries, I observe that the rich reserve of natural resources, talent, and the innate warm feeling and love for music were,” nevertheless, “inferior by a lack of organization, discipline, a general passivity, and, particularly, by the material insecurity of the musicians.”<sup>1397</sup> Thereafter Koussevitzky acclaimed the movement *Jeunesses Musicales*, which impressed him during his sojourn in Paris and Brussels and, simultaneously, he stated that “The future belongs to the young.”<sup>1398</sup> As a result of the Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) death bicentennial commemoration, Tanglewood planned performances with the German composer’s music, and Koussevitzky said that Bach “remains to this day a summit for the creative spirit of man.”<sup>1399</sup> Koussevitzky finished his speech by encouraging the audience to keep faith in art, unity, and youth as a way to achieve “a true spirit of universality.”<sup>1400</sup> The composer invited to join the composition’s department was Jacques Ibert (1890-1962). During this festival season, Puerto Rican composer Héctor Campos Parsi represented his Latin American fellow composers from the Western hemisphere.

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<sup>1395</sup> “Berkshire Music Center 1949-1950,” SKALC, folder 6, box 191.

<sup>1396</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1397</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1399</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1400</sup> Ibid.

### **Héctor Campos Parsi: *Cuarteto de cuerdas***

The Caribbean is the epicenter of Western modernity, because since 1492, with America, not only the first world-system was created, but the current discourse of Western modernity was born. The event on October 12, 1492, which was described by historian Arturo Uslar Pietri as “the biggest change in history,” occurred during the first Christopher Columbus-led expedition and signified the asymmetrical encounter, not only between two continents but between two cultural civilizations.<sup>1401</sup> In his book *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean*, Dominican Republic scholar Silvio Torres-Saillant voiced that Europeans seek exoticism as a way to build the Other within a relationship between power and asymmetric culture that justifies their dominance.<sup>1402</sup> It is about the subtle, dialectical use of assimilation and differentiation to control and construct a stereotype to maintain racial-theoretical support of the colonial system.<sup>1403</sup> This idea is likewise echoed by Puerto Rican Eduardo Lalo, who states that the Caribbean’s historical role powered modernity and modern projects in Europe.<sup>1404</sup> However, its constructed alterity has positioned the Caribbean as the periphery of the Western world, a place whose historical memory has been manipulated and misrepresented.<sup>1405</sup> Lalo defines this process as “Caribbean subalternity” and points out that the last word is a “term [that] presupposes a domestication: [one] that worked by its subaltern location in the conceptual maps of the West.”<sup>1406</sup> In other words, despite its cosmopolitan

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<sup>1401</sup> Text in Spanish: “el mayor cambio de toda la historia.” See Arturo Uslar Pietri, *La creación del Nuevo Mundo* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992), 25.

<sup>1402</sup> Silvio Torres-Saillant, *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

<sup>1403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1404</sup> Eduardo Lalo, “The Grey Caribbean – El Caribe Gris,” (conference, University of Texas at Austin, TX, October 25, 2016) and Ibid., “El Caribe gris: alegato por una escritura Caribe,” *80grados*, April 22, 2017, accessed March 3, 2018, <https://www.80grados.net/el-caribe-gris-alegato-por-una-escritura-caribe/>.

<sup>1405</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1406</sup> Ibid.

history that has generated thinkers and cultural products, it is not even recognized by Western cultural history to be an epicenter of modernity.

Puerto Rico, in a similar case to Cuba, has struggled to define and construct its path. Puerto Rico's geographical location and multi-racial constitution have also played a role in shaping a cultural product that has been permanently impacted, mixed or displaced by external ones. Therefore, the transformation of the Puerto Rican "Soul" form being an "Other" into becoming a "Self" is part of a long socio-historical course.<sup>1407</sup> This process is the result of being a former Spanish colony, which later became a territory of the United States after the Spanish-American War of 1898. Afterwards, Puerto Rico became a place or encounter between the Ibero-American and the Anglo-Saxon cultures, a place whose dynamic has generated not only political and economic negotiations but cultural ones as well. Donald Thompson explains the impact of the historical change on the island as having arisen because "1898 had cut Puerto Rico off from its roots in four centuries of Spanish rule and European culture, and the transition to U.S. concepts and patterns required decades of improvisation and adaptation."<sup>1408</sup> Later, Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal impacted Puerto Rico and its musicians, and due to "the new government's program of industrialization, economic growth and cultural renewal a number of new agencies came into being."<sup>1409</sup>

In the field of music, for instance, the twentieth century witnessed the foundation of new institutions that played a significant role in the island art music scene during its first half, such as Pro Arte Musical (1932), the Division of Community Education (1946), the WIPR

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<sup>1407</sup> Edgardo Díaz Díaz, "Puerto Rican Affirmation and Denial of Musical Nationalism: The Cases of Campos Parsi and Aponte Ledée," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 17/1 (1996): 1-20.

<sup>1408</sup> Donald Thompson, "Musical Puerto Rico: Microcosm in the Mainstream," *College Music Symposium* 39 (1999): 6.

<sup>1409</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

(Puerto Rico Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 1949), *El Instituto de Cultural Puertorriqueña* (1955), the Puerto Rican Symphony Orchestra (1958) and the *Conservatorio de Puerto Rico* (1959), which have supported national modern composers with their commissions and performances.<sup>1410</sup>

Héctor Campos Parsi was born into a family that cultivated music at family gatherings, where they sang and played popular music from Puerto Rico, Latin America, Spain, and the United States.<sup>1411</sup> This social music-making is known in Puerto Rico as *Jaranas*, and it became part of the local soundscape for Campos Parsi—in addition to listening to his father play a wide repertoire from *danzas puertorriqueñas* to European Romantic sonatas at the piano.<sup>1412</sup> About this process of modern cultural cannibalism, Campos Parsi said that “I see myself as a great swallower of things that in turn digests them, reforms them, returns them.”<sup>1413</sup>

The family noticed an early inclination toward music and enrolled the child in music lessons with Cecilia Muñoz de Negrón (1903-1968).<sup>1414</sup> Nonetheless, the person who made

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<sup>1410</sup> About the Puerto Rican institutions in relation to the historical milieu that supported the musical life, Thompson clarifies “New cultural institutions were created and old ones were gradually restructured or adapted, with inevitable musical implications. The University of Puerto Rico was created in 1903; the Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico (now Inter American University) in 1912; the venerable *Ateneo Puertorriqueño*, founded in San Juan in 1876, continued as an important center of culture.” *Ibid.*, 6-8. See also Donald Thompson, “La Música Contemporánea en Puerto Rico,” *Revista Musical Chilena* 38/162 (1984): 110-118.

<sup>1411</sup> From his paternal side, his aunt Mercedes was a first-rate classical pianist who studied with the Venezuelan Teresa Carreño (1853-1917), and the other members were proficient in musical instruments as well, including the grandmother (harp), the grandfather (flute), and the father (piano). In addition, his maternal uncle Julio Esteban Parsi was a violinist. See Gustavo Batista, “Entrevista a Héctor Campos Parsi,” September 12, 1984, accessed August 10, 2019, [http://www.gustavobatista.com/entrevista/hector\\_campos\\_parsi.pdf](http://www.gustavobatista.com/entrevista/hector_campos_parsi.pdf).

<sup>1412</sup> Edgardo Díaz Díaz explains that: “*Jaranas* [parties] celebrated during his childhood in his house with *jibaro* [peasant] performers hired by his prosperous father, also a piano performer who played music by Beethoven and Morel Campos, helped him in developing a stock of materials for his music. Many of the melodies he heard in the past are inserted in his works, ‘and they look like quotations,’ but he categorically refutes the notion of quotations. Instead, they are ‘reflections of things that I’ve had in my mind from the past, an unfolding of my vision of anguish, love, happiness, excitement.’” See Díaz Díaz, “Puerto Rican Affirmation,” 11.

<sup>1413</sup> Text in Spanish: “Yo me veo como un gran tragador de cosas que a su vez las digiere, las reforma, las devuelve.” See Fernando H. Caso, *Héctor Campos Parsi en la Historia de la Música Puertorriqueña del Siglo XX* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña), 87.

<sup>1414</sup> Batista, “Entrevista a Héctor Campos Parsi,” 5.



the young Héctor Campos Parsi conscious of being a composer was the musician Margarita van Rhyne. In her studio, Campos Parsi had access to more art music and art history in general, which impacted his education.<sup>1415</sup> As a result of Campos Parsi's privileged socio-economic position in Puerto Rico, the composer pursued different careers without success, and during his brief sojourn as a student of medicine at the Universidad Nacional de México, Carlos Chávez encouraged him to embrace music seriously.<sup>1416</sup>

After coming back to the island and later finishing training as an insurance salesman in Baltimore, Maryland, a scholarship from Puerto Rico enabled him to move to Boston, where Campos Parsi was accepted to study at the New England Conservatory of Music under the primary guidance of Francis Judd Cooke (1910-1995) and Ivan Waldbauer (1923-2012).<sup>1417</sup> Campos Parsi affirmed that his “real neoclassical period” was during this time (1947-1950), because Cooke introduced Mozart's music to him and not Stravinsky's. In contrast, he later defined his musical style as “national neoclassical.”<sup>1418</sup> Campos Parsi was encouraged to apply to the Berkshire Music Center due to the institutional relationship between the Berkshire Music Center and the New England Conservatory of Music, where many of the Boston Symphony Orchestra members were teaching. He was accepted with the support of “a grant of \$500 from the Comité de la Semana de la Música” from Puerto Rico to study with neoclassical composer Irving Fine (1914-1968), who was Olivier Messiaen's assistant (1949), and he clarified “that's where I came in contact with Copland, who's my friend since.”<sup>1419</sup>

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<sup>1415</sup> Ibid., 8-9.

<sup>1416</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>1417</sup> The text in Spanish: “verdadero período neoclásico ... neoclásica nacionalista.” Ibid., 12-15.

<sup>1418</sup> Ibid., 17-19.

<sup>1419</sup> The text in Spanish: “entonces ahí es que entro en contacto con Copland que desde entonces es mi amigo.” Ibid., 21. See also the program “Department Three Composition” in which Héctor Campos Parsi appears as Students Attached to the Composition Department in 1949, as well as the document “1949 Faculty,” where

In Tanglewood during 1950, which represented the second Campos Parsi residency at the festival, Copland advised him that “your problem is that you should not study in the conservatory, because you have to be competing with people who have a more complete preparation than yours, you need to work with a private teacher.”<sup>1420</sup> Perhaps Copland, knowing the younger composer’s personality, thought that a more directed and personalized musical training would help Campos Parsi to mature and reach a better command of compositional technique. Copland sent a letter to Mariano Villaronga (1906-1987), who was a government officer, and Campos Parsi received a scholarship to go to France to study with Nadia Boulanger.<sup>1421</sup> Meanwhile, Yale University accepted the Puerto Rican composer, where he became a student of Paul Hindemith. Still, after three weeks of lessons with the German composer, Campos Parsi decided to go to France.<sup>1422</sup>

Puerto Rican musicologist Fernando H. Caso mentions that Campos Parsi wrote his *Cuarteto de cuerdas* during his last year of studies at the New England Conservatory, which he defined as Campos Parsi’s first period (1947-1950).<sup>1423</sup> In other words, this was an early compositional period that needed more technical development, which would arrive in the following years after his studies in France with Nadia Boulanger. During this period as well, Caso points out that Campos Parsi began using some Puerto Rican melodies permuted inside

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Irving Fine appears as Assistant to Messiaen in “Berkshire Music Center 1949,” SKALC, folder 2, box 190. See also José A. Montalvo, “Hector Campos Parsi, his life and music: A biographical study with an analysis of four selected works” (PhD diss., New York University, 1992), 71.

<sup>1420</sup> The text in Spanish: “el problema suyo es que usted no debe estudiar en el conservatorio, porque tiene que estar compitiendo con gente que tiene una preparación más completa que la suya, usted necesita trabajar con un maestro particular.” See Batista, “Entrevista a Héctor Campos Parsi,” 21.

<sup>1421</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>1422</sup> *Ibid.*, 22. Montalvo likewise clarifies that Campos Parsi met the U.S. composer Quincy Porter (1897-1966), who was working at Yale University and who suggested that the younger Puerto Rican colleague go to study with Paul Hindemith. Montalvo, “Hector Campos Parsi, his life and music,” 76.

<sup>1423</sup> Caso, *Héctor Campos Parsi*, 95-101.

his works; for instance, this string quartet quotes and manipulates the Puerto Rican national anthem *La boricueña* in the first phrase's antecedent.<sup>1424</sup> *Cuarteto de cuerdas*, as a twentieth-century modern work, does follow a more distinctive form than its predecessor from the nineteenth century. Therefore, Campos Parsi experimented with its conventions, adapting them to his musical style. The first movement, *Moderato*, begins with an atonal theme whose melodic design is disjunct, sometimes polyphonic, and sometimes homophonic textures. A second modal theme is presented on an ostinato, and the movement leads toward a fragmented group of sections in which the composer adds an interplay between dissonant, homorhythm expressionist interludes and imitative modal motives until reaching the end, where the tremolo idea from the beginning reappears. The movement does not have a traditional sonata form, but instead an open form.

The second movement, *Allegro: scherzando ma misterioso*, develops its narrative based on two ostinato ideas that interchange with it. The first theme is supported by a tremolo motive in which a modal melody is exposed. Next an interlude exploring register and timbre leads to the second modal theme. The third movement, *Andante: pochissimo agitato*, starts with a theme that is imitated by the different voices. Then a polyphonic second theme is exposed, and an interlude leads to a fugue beginning in the movement's middle section, which develops by using motives from its subject exposition toward an abrupt end. The last movement, *Largo penseroso: allegro risoluto*, is based on the exchange between a contrapuntal section, with long melodic lines whose voice-crossing generates dissonances, and a contrasting, lively, rhythmic, and modal part.

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<sup>1424</sup> Ibid., 101.

### **Serge Koussevitzky's Death (1951)**

Serge Koussevitzky's legacy in modern Western art music continues because of the Natalie Koussevitzky Foundation, created in 1942. Later, in 1949, the conductor and its board re-established it as the Serge Koussevitzky Music Foundation in the Library of Congress as an expression of Dr. Koussevitzky's gratitude to the creators, "to whom we owe our musical heritage and who are providing our legacy to the future."<sup>1425</sup> Subsequently, Koussevitzky's institution's aim has been to commission new music by U.S. and international composers to continue the conductor's "broad international interest in contemporary music" and reflect the "special responsibility for American composers to whom he became friend, colleague, and advisor."<sup>1426</sup>

The conductor retired as the Boston Symphony Orchestra Conductor in 1946 and later as Music Director in 1949, with a final concert with the orchestra at Carnegie Hall.<sup>1427</sup> The newspaper mentioned that his contribution "was not limited to finished performances of the masters," but "He was a long and articulated champion of modern music and its creators."<sup>1428</sup> The Boston Symphony Orchestra said of Koussevitzky's tenure that it "became a truly world-class ensemble, known everywhere by its recordings and as celebrated for its sound as for a repertory that linked the classical with the best of contemporary European and American music."<sup>1429</sup> Concerning the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood, it "perpetuated

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<sup>1425</sup> Paul Hume, "Koussevitzky [sic] Gift Aims at New Works in Music: Koussevitzky Gift to Mean More Music," *Washington Post*, December 18, 1949: L1. See also the Serge Koussevitzky Music Foundation in the Library of Congress, accessed August 5, 2019, <https://www.koussevitzky.org/index.html>.

<sup>1426</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1427</sup> "Dr. Koussevitzky Retires," *New York Times*, April 18, 1949: 24.

<sup>1428</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1429</sup> Ibid.

and enhanced the legend of this temperamental, erratic, towering musical genius.”<sup>1430</sup> Leon Botstein praises his “uncanny sense of color and sound,” and affirms “When Koussevitzky retired, the Boston Symphony was second to none among American orchestras in terms of its sound, precision, and flexibility.”<sup>1431</sup>

The visionary Serge Koussevitzky died on June 4, 1951, leaving an enormous legacy as a conductor, publisher, and patron of modern music. Koussevitzky's guidance led the Tanglewood Music Center during World War II (1939-45) and the beginning of the Cold War (ca. 1946-1951). Because of Koussevitzky's leadership and vision, he was able to engage a community of musicians and patrons to institutionalize the Tanglewood Music Center, integrating it as a part of the Boston Symphony Orchestra's regular performance seasons as well as one of the leading U.S. art-music organizations.

## **Conclusion**

The reestablishment of the musical activities at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood after World War II marked a new chapter in the festival's history during the Cold War. Through this research, I have uncovered how this context affected the dynamics and aesthetics of modern music on the American continent. One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study concerns the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood's transformation into a place not only for the North-South exchange of ideas inside the Inter-American context, but also South-South. Thus, the Berkshire Music Center is a vital piece of music history because of its educational and cultural role in the Western hemisphere's art-

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<sup>1430</sup> See the BSO Music Directors, accessed August 28, 2019, <https://www.bso.org/brands/bso/about-us/historyarchives/bso-music-directors.aspx>.

<sup>1431</sup> Leon Botstein, “On Conductors, Composers, and Music Directors: Serge Koussevitzky in Retrospect,” *The Musical Quarterly* 86/4 (2002): 584-585.

music tradition. The novel Cold War world/system marked a turning point in humankind's history and the clash between capitalism and communism similarly created aesthetic/cultural debates related to politics inside every nation state as well as in the international system. Hence, composers' agency as cultural brokers negotiate with these modernity discourses and systems either from a position of colonial difference (e.g., Latin America) or from the location of the imperial difference (e.g., United States and Europe). Regarding the Latin American works during these years, hybridity (transculturation) continues to be a locus of creation that allows them to generate genuine music works according to their cultures and reality in dialogue with Euro-American music works.

## EPILOGUE

The present dissertation's purpose has exposed the work of Latin American composers at the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood from 1941 to 1951. Otherwise stated, one of the fundamental ideas is that Latin American composers' modern aesthetics undertook an unlimited number of political/musical/cultural negotiations vis-à-vis Western modernity and modernist art music to nurture their musical identity. For this reason, their active cultural and musical contribution to the festival was significant, together with many other aspects of the festival's history. At the same time, they contributed to the festival's diversity while Tanglewood gave preference to Euro-American music, for historical and canonic reasons, so the festival perceived the addition of Latin America as positive. Would the festival history have been different outside the contexts of World War II and Cold War? Yes, but we would never know exactly how, as history does not reveal its alternatives.

The dissertation examined the degree to which the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood became an epicenter for the realization of the United States' cultural diplomacy. Originally it was not intended to have this political connotation. Still, the historical circumstances of World War II, and later the Cold War, transformed the Center into an ideal place to receive Latin American composers as fellows. In this regard, Serge Koussevitzky and Aaron Copland, both engaged with the ideals of internationalism and music as a tool for political change, realized Tanglewood's potential to foster these. In doing so, it fulfilled the cultural-diplomatic objectives designed by the State Department's Division of Cultural Relations, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the Pan American Union Music Division to reach out to the elite sectors of Latin American society. In other

words, it was an excellent way to promote the United States' American way of life as a political, economic, and cultural model to follow, instead of German and Italian fascism or, later, Soviet communism. There is no doubt that democracy and capitalism, while imperfect, are preferable systems, and history shows us that humankind's creation of well-being has been a reality in places in which the population participates in and enjoys the real and free exercise of civil rights by all citizens without any sort of discrimination, and where power is limited by the rule of law.

For Aaron Copland, Tanglewood represented more than a summer school where he taught music composition. Beyond that essential pedagogical activity, which Copland highly valued, Tanglewood was also a vital platform for him because he was able to transmit his knowledge, contributions, and values about U.S.-American modern music to younger generations. Additionally, he benefited from the travels undertaken for cultural diplomacy, officially government sponsored or not, to build an international network of composers as well as to promote U.S.-American contemporary music and values abroad.

In the art-music field, Tanglewood was a positive platform for Latin American composers. They profited from the United States' postwar geopolitical status, whose cultural market's expansion became an active space for the Latin American composers. Ergo, the United States and its art-music institutions commissioned works from those who remained in their homelands and hired or offered graduate-school placement for others. Tanglewood served as a meeting place for the Latin American composers who attended, and within this environment, besides Pan- or Inter-Americanism, it likewise became a space for *Musical Americanism*, where this younger generation discussed their music, aesthetics, and philosophies.



An unfortunate aspect of the fellows' participation was the lack of reviews by music critics of their works' performances, which shows a dearth of attention regarding new music created by this younger generation of composers from Latin America.

On this subject, Tanglewood joined the group of festivals that aimed to display the American continent's art music and composers. While U.S cultural diplomacy obviously did not completely displace European music from circulating across Latin America, these actions opened a new consciousness and opportunities for Latin American composers to explore, and their careers remained strongly connected to the musical and cultural institutions of the United States. On the other hand, Latin American modern art music maintained a presence in diverse festivals and institution, such as the Festival of Latin American Music in Caracas (from 1954 to the present), the Inter-American Music Festivals (1958–1972), the Latin American Music Center at Indiana University (1961), and the Latin American Center for Advanced Musical Studies at the Torcuato di Tella Institute (1962–1971) in Argentina, just to name a few.

This dissertation's findings support the notion that the Berkshire Music Center has played an important role in the promotion of Latin American art music, especially considering the fact that the canonical discourses and historiographies of Western art music have erased more than 500 years of Latin American contributions and traditions. This dissertation summarizes the findings and contributions made by Latin American composers from 1941 to 1951, and future research will continue to reveal that this fascinating story has by no means yet ended.

**APPENDIX A**  
**PAN-AMERICAN CHAMBER MUSIC FESTIVAL PROGRAM**

<b>Concerts</b>	<b>Works</b>	<b>Composers</b>
Primer programa	<i>Cuarteto no. 1</i> <i>Cuarteto en mi menor</i> <i>Quinteto para piano y cuerdas</i> <i>El arte de la fuga</i>	Carlos Chávez (México) Roger Sessions (EE.UU) John Alden Carpenter (EE.UU) J. S. Bach (Alemania)
Segundo programa	<i>Suite al estilo antiguo</i> <i>Grotescas</i> <i>Impresiones camperas</i> <i>Cuarteto Op. 76, No. 1</i> <i>Piezas para piano de:</i>  <i>Settimino</i> <i>El venado</i> <i>U-Kayil Chaac</i> <i>Cantos y danzas de los indios de México</i>	Manuel M. Ponce (México) Domingo Santa Cruz (Chile) Héctor Gallac (Argentina) Joseph Haydn (Austria) Alfonso Leng (Chile) Carlos Isamitt (Chile) Samuel Negrette (Chile) Armando Carvajal (Chile) Heitor Villa-Lobos (Brasil) Luis Sandi (México) Daniel Ayala (México) Carlos Chávez (México)
Tercer programa	<i>Sonata para clarinete y fagot</i> <i>Trio en Mi</i> <i>Cuarteto en Sol menor</i> <i>Sexteto</i> <i>Cuarteto en Sol mayor</i>	Candelario Huízar (México) Walter Piston (EE.UU) Francisco Casabona (Brasil) Edward B. Hill (EE.UU) W. A. Mozart (Austria)
Cuarto programa	<i>Concerto Grosso</i> <i>Homenaje a García Lorca</i> <i>Concerto para cembalo</i> <i>Música para teatro</i> <i>Cuarteto Op. 59</i>	Juan José Castro (Argentina) Silvestre Revueltas (México) Manuel de Falla (España) Aaron Copland (EE.UU) L. van Beethoven (Alemania)
Quinto programa	<i>Trio</i> <i>Cuarteto</i> <i>Obras vocales de:</i>  <i>Cuarteto en Si bemol</i>	Roy Harris (EE.UU) Jacobo Ficher (Argentina) Héctor Gallac (Argentina) Raúl H. Espoile (Argentina) Jorge Urrutia Blondel (Chile) Heitor Villa-Lobos (Brasil) Luis Gianneo (Argentina) Johannes Brahms (Alemania)
Sexto programa	<i>Aires y danzas del Perú</i> <i>Cantos del Perú</i> <i>Concierto para cuatro cornos</i> <i>Tierra mojada</i> <i>Chóros No. 3</i> <i>Sonata para clarinete y fagot</i> <i>Cuarteto</i>	Andrés Sas (Perú) Marguerite B. d'Harcourt (Francia) Carlos Chávez (México)  Heitor Villa-Lobos (Brasil) Candelario Huízar (México) Claude Dedussy (Francia)

**APPENDIX B**  
**CONFERENCE ON INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS**  
**IN THE FIELD OF MUSIC**

<b>WEDNESDAY SESSION – OCTOBER 18 – MORNING SESSION</b>	
<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>	<b>ORGANIZATIONS</b>
Ben M. Cherrington (Chair)	Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations
Archibald McLeish	Librarian of the Library of Congress
Francisco Curt Lange	Editor of the <i>Boletín Latin-Americano de Música</i>
William Berrien	Northwestern University
Charles Seeger	Music Program, Work Projects Administration (WPA)
Alice Eversman	Music Editor of the Washington Star
Lazare Saminsky	Composer
George Herzog	Columbia University
John A. Paine	General Manager of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers
Willem van de Wall	University of Kentucky
Augustus Zanzing	Director of the National Recreation Association
Horace Johnson	Director of the New York City, WPA Music Project
Harold Spivacke	Chief of the Music Division at the Library of Congress

<b>WEDNESDAY SESSION – OCTOBER 18 – AFTERNOON SESSION</b>	
<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>	<b>ORGANIZATIONS</b>
Harold Spivacke (Chair)	Chief of the Music Division at the Library of Congress
Adolph Berle	Assistant Secretary of State
Earl Vincent Moore	Director of the Federal Music Project, WPA
Philip L. Harbour	National Broadcasting Company
Davidson Taylor	Columbia Broadcasting System
Dorothy Gordon	National Broadcasting Company
José Castañeda	Director of the Guatemala Symphony Orchestra
Robert W. Gordon	
Evans Clark	Executive Director of the Twentieth Century Fund
Charles O'Connell	RCA Manufacturing Company
William Berrien	University of Kentucky
Irma LaBastille	New Jersey State Teachers
Howard Hanson	Director of the Eastman School of Music
Lillian Evanti	African American International Opera Singer
Harold Spivacke (Chair)	Chief of the Music Division at the Library of Congress

<b>THURSDAY SESSION – OCTOBER 19 – MORNING SESSION</b>	
<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>	<b>ORGANIZATIONS</b>
Laurence Duggan (Chair)	Chief of the Division of American Republics for the Department of State
Leo S. Rowe	Director of the Pan American Union (PAU)
Charles F. Hoban Jr.	Director of the Motion Picture Project for the American Council on Education
Irene A. Wright	Division of Cultural Relations for the Department of State
John G. Bradley	Chief of the Division of Motion Pictures and Sound Recordings for the National Archives
Carleton Sprague Smith	Chief of the New York Public Library Music Division
Carl Engel	President of G. Schirmer, Inc.
Adam P. Lesinsky	President of the National School Orchestra Association
Marian Flagg	Horace Mann School
John J. Becker	Editor of "New Music"
Vincent Hilles Ober	President of the National Federation of Music Clubs
Henry Purmort Eames	Professor of Musicology at Scripps and Claremont Colleges
Concha Romero James	Chief of the Division of Intellectual Cooperation (PAU)
Howard Hanson	Director of the Eastman School of Music
Eric Clarke	Association of American Colleges
Richard Pattee	Division of Cultural Relations for the Department of State
Arnold Nathaniel Dett	African-American/Canadian Composer

<b>THURSDAY SESSION – OCTOBER 19 – AFTERNOON SESSION</b>	
<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>	<b>ORGANIZATIONS</b>
Charles A. Thomson (Chair)	Assistant Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations for the Department of State
Glen Dillard Gun	Music Editor of the Washington Times Herald
Alice Eversman	Music Editor of the Washington Star
Carl Engel	President of G. Schirmer, Inc.
Marshall Bartholomew	Intercollegiate Musical Council
George Hoyen	Orchestra Conductor
Helen Harrison Mills	National Federation of Music Clubs
Nicholas Slonimsky	Conductor/Composer/Musicologist
Roy Harris	Composer
Irene Lewisohn	President of the Museum of Costume Art
George Herzog	Ethnomusicologist/Anthropologist
Josephine Niggli	Mexican-American Writer
William L. Dawson	Director of Music at the Tuskegee Institute
Burle Marx	Musical Director for the Brazilian Representation at the New York World's Fair

**APPENDIX C**  
**LATIN AMERICAN COMPOSERS IN TANGLEWOOD (1941-1951)**

<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>YEAR</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>PROFESSOR</b>
Blas Galindo	1941, 1942	Mexico	Aaron Copland
José Pablo Moncayo	1942	Mexico	Aaron Copland
Harold Gramatges	1942	Cuba	Aaron Copland
Roque Cordero	1946	Panama	Serge Koussevitzky and Stanley Chapple
Juan Orrego-Salas	1946	Chile	Aaron Copland
Héctor Tosar	1946	Uruguay	Aaron Copland
Alberto Ginastera	1946	Argentina	Aaron Copland
Julián Orbón	1946	Cuba	Aaron Copland
Antonio Estévez	1946	Venezuela	Aaron Copland (Auditor)
Claudio Spies	1946	Chile	Aaron Copland (Auditor)
Carlos Riesco	1947	Chile	Aaron Copland
Héctor Tosar	1947	Uruguay	Arthur Honegger and Samuel Barber
Pía Sebastiani	1948	Argentina	Aaron Copland
Edino Krieger	1948	Brazil	Aaron Copland
Héctor Tosar	1948	Uruguay	Darius Milhaud
Carlos Riesco	1949	Chile	Olivier Messiaen
Héctor Campos Parsi	1949	Puerto Rico	Irving Fine
Héctor Campos Parsi	1950	Puerto Rico	Irving Fine
Henrique Gandelman	1950	Brazil	Aaron Copland

**APPENDIX D**  
**LATIN AMERICAN WORKS PERFORMED AT TANGLEWOOD (1941-1942)**

<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>
Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Chôros no. 10</i>	August 1, 1941	Brazil
Blas Galindo	<i>Sexteto para instrumentos de vientos</i>	August 15, 1941	México
José Pablo Moncayo	<i>Llano Alegre para orquesta de cámara</i>	Not officially performed in concert. Only read by the orchestra in 1942	México

**LATIN AMERICAN WORKS PERFORMED AT TANGLEWOOD (1946)**

<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>
Oscar Lorenzo Fernández	<i>Suite para instrumentos de vientos</i>	July 21, 1946	Brazil
Roque Cordero	<i>Sonatina Rítmica</i>	August 4, 1946	Panamá
Juan Orrego-Salas	<i>Sonata para violín</i>	August 4, 1946	Chile
Héctor Tosar	<i>Cuarteto de cuerdas</i>	August 4, 1946	Uruguay
Alberto Ginastera	<i>Doce preludios americanos</i>	August 4, 1946	Argentina
Julián Orbón	<i>Capricho Concertante</i>	August 4, 1946	Cuba

**LATIN AMERICAN WORKS PERFORMED AT TANGLEWOOD (1947)**

<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>
Carlos Riesco	<i>Semblanzas Chilenas</i>	July 3, 1947	Chile
Héctor Tosar	<i>Sonata para violín</i>	August 2, 1947	Uruguay

**LATIN AMERICAN WORKS PERFORMED AT TANGLEWOOD (1948)**

<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>
Pía Sebastiani	<i>Cuatro preludios</i>	July 18, 1948	Argentina
Edino Kriger	<i>“Música de cámara”</i>	July 1, 1948	Brazil
Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Suite for Voice and Violin</i>	July 21, 1948	Brazil
Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Bachianas Brasileiras no. 5</i>	July 21, 1948	Brazil
José M. Castro	<i>Cuarteto de cuerdas</i>	August 8, 1948	Argentina
Pía Sebastiani	<i>Tres preludios</i>	August 3, 1948	Argentina
Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Madona</i>	August 8, 1948	Brazil
José Siqueira	<i>Suite Nordestina</i>	August 8, 1948	Brazil
Pía Sebastiani	<i>Nocturno and Carnaval from “Tres Estampas Argentinas”</i>	August 13, 1948	Argentina
Héctor Tosar	<i>Solitude</i>	August 14, 1948	Uruguay

**LATIN AMERICAN WORKS PERFORMED AT TANGLEWOOD (1949)**

<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>
Héctor Campos Parsi	<i>Para tres violines</i>	July 10, 1949	Puerto Rico
Camargo Guarnieri	<i>Flor de Tremembe</i>	July 14, 1949	Brazil
Carlos Riesco	<i>Canzona e rondo</i>	July 17, 1949	Chile
Camargo Guarnieri	<i>Coco de Major</i>	July 25, 1949	Brazil
Carlos Chávez	<i>Arbolucu, te sequester</i>	July 25, 1949	Mexico
Camargo Guarnieri	<i>Come to Aloanda</i>	July 25, 1949	Brazil
Carlos Riesco	<i>Obertura sinfónica</i>	August 1, 1949	Chile
Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Chôros no. 2</i>	August 7, 1949	Brazil
Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Mandu-carara</i>	August 9, 1949	Brazil

Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Chôros no. 4</i>	August 9, 1949	Brazil
Carlos Riesco	<i>Passacaglia y fuga para piano</i>	August 13, 1949	Chile
Héctor Campos Parsi	<i>Three Movements from the Serenade for Violin, Viola and Cello</i>	August 13, 1949	Puerto Rico
Héctor Campos Parsi	<i>Siete Villancicos: "Alehya"</i>	August 13, 1949	Puerto Rico

**LATIN AMERICAN WORKS PERFORMED AT TANGLEWOOD (1950)**

<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>
Héctor Campos Parsi	<i>Cuarteto de cuerdas</i>	July 30, 1950	Puerto Rico
Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Xangô</i>	August 9, 1950	Brazil
Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Chôros no. 10</i>	August 12, 1950	Brazil

**LATIN AMERICAN WORKS PERFORMED AT TANGLEWOOD (1951)**

<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>WORK</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>
Heitor Villa-Lobos	<i>Noneto</i>	August 10, 1951	Brazil
Carlos Chávez	<i>Sinfonía India</i>	August 11, 1951	Mexico



## **APPENDIX E MANIFESTOS**

### **RENOVATION GROUP MANIFESTO (ARGENTINA, 1929)**

The Renovation Group was established on September 21, 1929, to pursue the following purposes:

- 1) Stimulate the artistic improvement of each one of its affiliates through the knowledge and critical examination of their works.
- 2) Tend to the diffusion and knowledge of the works through public audio.
- 3) Edit the works of your affiliates.
- 4) Extend to abroad the dissemination of the work carried out by the group.
- 5) Pay special attention to the overall production of the country, facilitating its knowledge by the means at its disposal.
- 6) Open public opinion on matters of an artistic nature, as long as it can mean a contribution to the development or consolidation of musical culture.

[Signatures] Juan Carlos Paz, Jacobo Ficher, Juan José Castro, Gilardo Gilardi, José María Castro.

### **GRUPO RENOVACIÓN MANIFESTO (ARGENTINA, 1929)**

El Grupo Renovación se constituyó el 21 de septiembre de 1929 para procurar los siguientes fines:

- 1) Estimular la superación artística de cada uno de sus afiliados por el conocimiento y examen crítico de sus obras.
- 2) Propender a la difusión y al conocimiento de las obras por medio de audiciones públicas.
- 3) Editar las obras de sus afiliados.
- 4) Extender al extranjero la difusión de la obra que realiza el grupo.
- 5) Prestar preferente atención a la producción general del país facilitando su conocimiento por los medios a su alcance.
- 6) Abrir opinión públicamente sobre asuntos de índole artística, siempre que ello pueda significar una contribución al Desarrollo o afianzamiento de la cultura musical.

[Firmas] Juan Carlos Paz, Jacobo Ficher, Juan José Castro, Gilardo Gilardi, José María Castro.

### **MÚSICA VIVA GROUP MANIFESTO (BRAZIL, 1944)**

Grupo Música Viva appears as a door that opens to contemporary music production, actively participating in the evolution of the spirit.

The musical work, as the highest organization of human thought and feeling, as the grandest incarnation of life, is at the forefront in the artistic work of Grupo Música Viva.

Grupo Música Viva disseminating, through concerts, broadcasts, conferences, and editions, the current musical creation of all trends, especially on the American continent, intends to show that in our time, there is also music as an expression of time, of a new state of intelligence.

The spiritual revolution that the world is currently going through will not fail to influence contemporary production. This radical transformation that is also noticed in the sound media is the cause of the momentary incomprehension in the face of new music.

Ideas, however, are more robust than prejudices!

Thus Grupo Música Viva will fight for the ideas of a new world, believing in the creative force of the human spirit and the art of the future.

May 1st, 1944.

Aldo Parisot, Cláudio Santoro, Guerra Peixe, Egídio de Castro e Silva, João Breitinger, Hans-Joachim Koellreutter, Mirella Vita and Oriano de Almeida.

### **GRUPO MÚSICA VIVA MANIFESTO (BRAZIL, 1944)**

O Grupo Música Viva surge como uma porta que se abre à produção musical contemporânea, participando ativamente da evolução do espírito.

A obra musical, como a mais elevada organização do pensamento e sentimentos humanos, como a mais grandiosa encarnação da vida, está em primeiro plano no trabalho artístico do Grupo Música Viva.

Música Viva, divulgando, por meio de concertos, irradiações, conferências e edições a criação musical hodierna de todas as tendências, em especial do continente americano, pretende mostrar que em nossa época também existe música como expressão do tempo, de um novo estado de inteligência.

A revolução espiritual, que o mundo atualmente atravessa, não deixará de influenciar a produção contemporânea. Essa transformação radical que se faz notar também nos meios sonoros, é a causa da incompreensão momentânea frente à música nova.

Idéias, porém, são mais fortes do que preconceitos!

Assim o Grupo Música Viva lutará pelas idéias de um mundo novo, crendo na força criadora do espírito humano e na arte do futuro.

1º de Maio de 1944.

Aldo Parisot, Cláudio Santoro, Guerra Peixe, Egídio de Castro e Silva, João Breitinger, Hans-Joachim Koellreutter, Mirella Vita e Oriano de Almeida.

### **GROUP MÚSICA VIVA MANIFEST 1946/DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES (BRAZIL, 1946)**

Music, translating ideas and feelings into the language of sounds, is a means of expression; therefore, the product of social life.

Musical art—like all other arts—appears as the superstructure of a regime whose structure is purely material.

Musical art is the reflection of the essential in reality.

Intellectual production, using the means of artistic expression, is a function of material production and is therefore subject, like this, to constant transformation, to the law of evolution.

Music is movement.

Music is life.

“MÚSICA VIVA,” understanding this fact, fights for the music that reveals the eternally new, that is: for a musical art that is the real expression of the time and society.

“MÚSICA VIVA” refutes the so-called academic art, denial of art itself.

“MÚSICA VIVA,” based on this fundamental principle, supports everything that favors the birth and growth of the new, choosing the revolution and repelling the reaction.

“MÚSICA VIVA,” understanding that the artist is a product of the medium and that art can flourish only when the productive forces have reached a certain level of development, will support any initiative for not only artistic but ideological education; there is no art without ideology.

“MÚSICA VIVA,” understanding that the technique of music and musical construction depend on the technique of material production, proposes the replacement of theoretical-musical teaching based on aesthetic prejudice, considered dogma, by scientific teaching based on studies and research of acoustic laws, and will support initiatives that favor the artistic use of radio-electric instruments.

“MÚSICA VIVA” will stimulate the creation of new musical forms that correspond to new ideas, expressed in a counter-harmonic musical language and based on diatonic chromatism.

“MÚSICA VIVA” repels, however, formalism; that is, the art in which form becomes autonomous; therefore, the form of the authentic work of art corresponds to the content represented therein.

“MÚSICA VIVA,” understanding that the tendency “art for art” (“l’art pour l’art”) arises in a terrain of insoluble disagreement with the social environment, is struck by the utilitarian conception of art; that is, the tendency to give artistic works the meaning that belongs to them, in relation to social development and its superstructure.

“MÚSICA VIVA,” adopting the principles of art-action, abandoned as its ideal the exclusive concern for beauty; for all the art of our time not organized directly on the principle of utility will be disconnected from the real.

“MÚSICA VIVA” believes in the power of music as a substantial language, as a stage in the artistic evolution of a people, on the other hand, [it] fights false nationalism in music; that is, one that exalts feelings of nationalist superiority in its essence and stimulates the egocentric and individualistic tendencies that separate men into disruptive forces.

“MÚSICA VIVA” believes in the socializing function of music, which is to unite men, humanizing them and universalizing them.

“MÚSICA VIVA,” understanding the social and artistic importance of popular music, will support any initiative to develop and stimulate the creation and dissemination of good popular music, combating the production of works that are detrimental to the people's artistic and social education.

“MÚSICA VIVA,” understanding that the development of the arts also depends on cooperation between artists and professional organizations, and understanding that art can flourish only when the collective artistic level has reached a certain level of evolution, will support all initiatives aimed at encourage artistic and professional collaboration and favor the state of sensitivity and the ability to coordinate the environment.

Conscious of the mission of contemporary art in the face of human society, the “MÚSICA VIVA” group accompanies the present on their path of discovery and conquest, striving for the new ideas of a new world, believing in the creative force of the human spirit and art from future.

November 1st, 1946.

Heitor Alimonda, Egídio de Castro e Silva, Guerra Peixe, Eunice Katunda, Hans-Joachim Koellreutter, Edino Krieger, Gení Marcondes, Santino Parpinelli, and Cláudio Santoro

## **GRUPO MÚSICA VIVA MANIFESTO 1946/DECLARAÇÃO DE PRINCÍPIOS (BRAZIL, 1946)**

A música, traduzindo idéias e sentimentos na linguagem dos sons, é um meio de expressão; portanto, produto da vida social.

A arte musical - como todas as outras artes - aparece como super-estrutura de um regime cuja estrutura é de natureza puramente material.

A arte musical é o reflexo do essencial na realidade.

A produção intelectual, servindo-se dos meios de expressão artística, é função da produção material e sujeita, portanto, como esta, a uma constante transformação, à lei da evolução.

Música é movimento.

Música é vida.

“MÚSICA VIVA”, compreendendo este fato combate pela música que revela o eternamente novo, isto é: por uma arte musical que seja a expressão real da época e da sociedade.

“MÚSICA VIVA” refuta a assim chamada arte acadêmica, negação da própria arte.

“MÚSICA VIVA”, baseada nesse princípio fundamental, apoia tudo o que favorece o nascimento e crescimento do novo, escolhendo a revolução e repelindo a reação.

“MÚSICA VIVA”, compreendendo que o artista é produto do meio e que a arte só pode florescer quando as forças produtivas tiverem atingido um certo nível de desenvolvimento, apoiará qualquer iniciativa em prol de uma educação não somente artística, como também ideológica; pois, não ha arte sem ideologia.

“MÚSICA VIVA”, compreendendo que a técnica da música e da construção musical depende da técnica da produção material, propõe a substituição do ensino teórico-musical baseado em preconceitos estéticos tidos como dogmas, por um ensino científico baseado em estudos e pesquisas das leis acústicas, e apoiará as iniciativas que favoreçam a utilização artística dos instrumentos rádio-eléctricos.

“MÚSICA VIVA” estimulará a criação de novas formas musicais que correspondam às idéias novas, expressas numa linguagem musical contrapontístico-harmônica e baseada num cromatismo diatônico.

“MÚSICA VIVA” repele, entretanto, o formalismo, isto é: a arte na qual a forma se converte em autônoma; pois, a forma da obra de arte autêntica corresponde ao conteúdo nela representado.

“MÚSICA VIVA”, compreendendo que a tendência "arte pela arte" surge num terreno de desacordo insolúvel com o meio social, bate-se pela concepção utilitária da arte, isto é, a

tendência de conceder às obras artísticas a significação que lhes compete em relação ao desenvolvimento social e a super-estrutura de la.

“MÚSICA VIVA”, adotando os princípios de arte-ação, abandona como ideal a preocupação exclusiva de beleza; pois, toda a arte de nossa época não organizada diretamente sobre o princípio da utilidade será desligada do real.

“MÚSICA VIVA” acredita no poder da música como linguagem substancial, como estágio na evolução artística de um povo, combate, por outro lado, o falso nacionalismo em música, isto é: aquele que exalta sentimentos de superioridade nacionalista na sua essência e estimula as tendências egocêntricas e individualistas que separam os homens, originando forças disruptivas.

“MÚSICA VIVA” acredita na função socializadora da música que é a de unir os homens, humanizando-os e universalizando-os.

“MÚSICA VIVA”, compreendendo a importância social e artística da música popular, apoiará qualquer iniciativa no sentido de desenvolver e estimular a criação e divulgação da boa música popular, combatendo a produção de obras prejudiciais à educação artístico-social do povo.

“MÚSICA VIVA”, compreendendo que o desenvolvimento das artes depende também da cooperação entre os artistas e das organizações profissionais, e compreendendo que a arte somente poderá florescer quando o nível artístico coletivo tiver atingido um determinado grau de evolução, apoiará todas as iniciativas tendentes a estimular a colaboração artístico-profissional e a favorecer o estado de sensibilidade e a capacidade de coordenação do meio.

Consciente da missão da arte contemporânea em face da sociedade humana, o grupo "MÚSICA VIVA", acompanha o presente no seu caminho de descoberta e de conquista, lutando pelas idéias novas de um mundo novo, crendo na força criadora do espírito humano e na arte do futur

1º de novembro de 1946.

Heitor Alimonda, Egídio de Castro e Silva, Guerra Peixe, Eunice Katunda, Hans-Joachim Koellreutter, Edino Krieger, Gení Marcondes, Santino Parpinelli, Cláudio Santoro.

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