Leopold Stokowski, "Latin" Music, and Pan Americanism

Carol A. Hess

CONDUCTOR LEOPOLD Stokowski (1882–1977), whose career bridged the circumspect world of classical music with Hollywood glitz, encountered in varying degrees both of these realms in an often overlooked aspect of his career: promoting the music of Latin American and Spanish composers, primarily those of the twentieth century. In the U.S., Stokowski's adopted country, this repertory was often conveniently labeled "Latin," due as much to lack of subtlety on the part of marketers as the less-than-nuanced perspective of the public, which has often resisted differentiating the Spanish-speaking countries.[1] In addition to concert repertory, "Latin" music might include Spanish-language popular songs, English-language songs on Spanish or Latin American topics, or practically any work that incorporated claves, güiro, or Phrygian melodic turns. Consequently, Manuel de Falla, Mozart Camargo Guarnieri, Harl McDonald, and Carlos Gardel could all pass for "Latin." So fluid were these boundaries that a respected critic of concert music even referred to "the rum and coca-cola school of Latin American composers," neatly conflating the 1944 Andrews Sisters song with "serious" Latin American composition.[2]

Such elasticity fit Stokowski to a tee. On the one hand, with his genius for bringing the classics to the mass public, Stokowski was used to serving up "light classics," as can be seen in his movies, which include Walt Disney's *Fantasia* of 1940 and *One Hundred Men and a Girl* of 1937. On the other hand, the superbly trained artist in Stokowski was both an experimenter and a promoter of new music. A self-described "egocentric"—he later declared, "I always want to be first"—Stokowski was always on the lookout for novelty.[3] This might involve transcribing Bach for an orchestra undreamt of in the eighteenth century or premiering works as varied as *Pierrot lunaire*, *El amor brujo* or Robert M. Stevenson's *Preludios Peruanos* in the U.S.[4]

[1] John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States*, 2d. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). As for the failure to distinguish Latin American cultures, see President Ronald Reagan's infamous explanation ("they're all individual countries"), which he allegedly uttered upon returning from his 1982 trip to Latin America. Lou Cannon, "Latin Trip an Eye-Opener for Reagan," *Washington Post*, 7 December 1982, A1. Spaniards visiting the U.S. are often surprised when, upon identifying themselves as Spanish, the response is "From Spain?"

[2] Irving Lowens, "Current Chronicle," *Musical Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (1958), 378. The composer of the song "Rum and Coca-Cola" was actually the Trinidadian calypso singer Lord Belasco. Morey Amsterdam copyrighted it and the Andrews Sisters recorded it, prompting years of litigation.

[3] Telecast, 13 September 1977, cited in Abram Chasins, *Leopold Stokowski: A Profile* (New York: Hawthorn, 1979), ix.

[4] Stokowski performed *El amor brujo* with the Philadelphia Orchestra on 14–15 April 1922. See Preben Opperby, *Leopold Stokowski* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1982), 275. Performances of *El amor brujo* are given in Antonio Gallego, *Manuel de Falla: El amor brujo* (Madrid: Alianza Musical, 1990), 287–94. The Stevenson performance took place on 28 July 1962, information for which I thank Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta.

Given this zeal for conquering fresh horizons, it's not surprising that Stokowski was drawn to "Latin" music, since this repertory, especially concert music, was just beginning to be explored in the U.S. during the first decades of the twentieth century. Stokowski's interest also coincided with what the Argentine historian Ricardo D. Salvatore has called "the height of Pan Americanism."[5] A series of economic and political policies, largely engineered by the U.S. to insure hemispheric unity, Pan Americanism peaked in the 1930s and 40s in response to the rise of fascism and Nazism in Europe.[6] A significant aspect of Pan Americanism was cultural exchange, intended to promote unity but often lapsing into stereotype. This is especially apparent in film and film music, which challenged whatever divisions may have been seen to separate the "serious" from the popular. For example, a rash of Good Neighbor-period Hollywood movies, such as the 1933 *Flying Down to Rio*, with Fred Astaire and Ginger Rodgers, or the 1940 *Down Argentine Way*, with Carmen Miranda, featured music perceived as " 'fun,' lightweight, and essentially trivial," which in John Storm Roberts's words, became "a crushing stereotype."[7] Other equally frothy movies, however, featured classically trained "Latin" artists, perhaps best exemplified by pianist José Iturbi, whose interpretations of Falla's "Ritual Fire Dance" in movie musicals—not always in accordance with the composer's intentions—showed how permeable the boundary between concert hall and jukebox could be.[8] At the same time, organizations for "serious" music were also established, such as the Pan American Association of Composers or the Music Division of the Pan American Union, headed by Charles Seeger.[9] As a result, in 1941 the U.S. State Department was just as willing to sponsor tours of Latin America for Walt Disney, to collect data for *Saludos amigos* and *The Three Caballeros*, as for Aaron Copland, to lecture and conduct his works at such venerable sites as the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires.[10]

How does Stokowski's career relate to the "height of Pan Americanism?" The 1930s were critical years for him. Having been associated with the Philadelphia Orchestra since 1912, he resigned in 1936 (continuing as co-conductor with Eugene Ormandy) to form new ensembles, including the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra (founded 1945), and to involve himself in what many criticized as publicity stunts, such as the movies mentioned above. In January 1932, still associated with Philadelphia, Stokowski traveled to Cuba where he conducted the Havana Philharmonic Orchestra in the Prelude to *Die Meistersinger*. Also featured was *Hispania*, a fantasy for piano and orchestra by Gaspar Cassadó. The latter performance marked the Cuban debut of George Copeland, who earlier had helped introduce the works of Granados in the U.S.[11] Enhancing the spirit of Pan Americanism was Pedro Sanjuan, the Spanish composer and conductor of the Havana Philharmonic, who offered Glinka's *Kamarinskaia* and two movements from his own *Liturgia negra*, "Inciación" and "Babaluayé." Stokowski spent a week in Cuba, where, in addition to

[5] Ricardo D. Salvatore, *Imágenes de un imperio: Estados Unidos y las formas de representación de América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2006), 11. Of the vast literature on the U.S. role in shaping Pan Americanism, see Eldon Kenworthy, *America/Américas: Myth in the Making of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); Don M. Coerver and Linda B. Hall, *Tangled Destinies: Latin America and the United States* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1999); and Juan José Arévalo, *The Shark and the Sardines*, translated by June Cobb and Raúl Osegueda (New York: L. Stuart, 1961).

[6] Another spike in Pan Americanism was the Cold War. See, for example, Stephen M. Streeter, "The Myth of Pan Americanism: U.S. Policy Toward Latin America During the Cold War, 1954–1963," in *Beyond the Ideal: Pan Americanism in Inter-American Affairs*, edited by David Sheinin (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000).

[7] Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, 84. See also Walter Aaron Clark, "Doing the Samba on Sunset Boulevard: Carmen Miranda and the Hollywoodization of Latin American Music," in Walter Aaron Clark, editor, *From Tejano to Texas* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 252–76; Frederick B. Pike, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 258–96.

[8] Iturbi and his sister Amparo played two-piano arrangements of the work in *Two Girls and a Sailor* (1944) and *Three Daring Daughters* (1948). Carol A. Hess, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 265–67, 293–96.

[9] Deane L. Root, "The Pan American Association of Composers (1928–1934)," *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research* 8 (1972): 49–70.

[10] Elizabeth Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland During the Depression and War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 43–69; Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1999), 216–233.

[11] *Musical America* (25 February 1932), 30. On Copeland, see Carol A. Hess, *Enrique Granados: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York, Westport, CT, London: Greenwood Press, 1991), 29. On 26 January 1932, Copeland gave a solo recital at Havana's National Hotel, at which he performed works by Albéniz, Baltasar Samper, Joaquín Nin, Gustavo Pittaluga, and Manuel de Falla.

performing, he visited the southern seaport of Cienfuegos and listened to "typical Cuban music," in which he was "greatly interested."[12] Then he was off to Mexico.

During the 1930s, Mexico was especially attractive to the U.S. public.[13] The left, bent on attacking the capitalist forces they held responsible for the Great Depression, admired Mexico's post-revolutionary spirit and its support for Republican Spain.[14] Others were drawn to Mexican art, the "primitive" heritage of which appealed to those seeking to solidify an American artistic identity, such as Copland and his colleagues.[15] This attraction to Mexico can be seen in the critical acclaim for the New York premiere in 1936 of Carlos Chávez's *Sinfonía India*, a work that seeks to unite primitivist musical language and traditional symphonic form.[16] There was also the 1940 exhibit "Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art" at New York's Metropolitan Museum, which included two concerts of Mexican music dating from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries.[17] More oriented to the mass public was the splashy pageant of May 1929 at Madison Square Garden, "Aztec Gold," which featured the Denishawn dance company, Florenz Ziegfeld (playing a Hopi Indian chief), Miguel Covarrubias, Orozco, and roughly a thousand others.[18]

In Mexico, in 1931, Stokowski visited Chávez in Lomas de Chapultepec and conducted his Orquesta Sinfónica de México. They also discussed one of Chávez's works-in-progress, the ballet *H.P.* (Horse Power), also known as *Caballos de vapor*. Although Chávez had begun conceiving the machine-oriented composition around 1922 (anticipating by a few years the premieres of Prokofiev's *Pas d'acier* and Mosolov's *Iron Foundry*), he had completed only the last movement, the "Dance of Men and Machines," which premiered in New York in November 1926.[19] Due in part to Stokowski's interest, Chávez determined to finish *H.P.* and on 31 March 1932, Stokowski conducted the premiere in Philadelphia.[20] An enormous advance-publicity campaign heralded the event, which one journalist attributed to the then-current fashion for "things Mexican."[21] As might be expected, Stokowski himself helped promote the work. Indeed, he seems to have been the first to describe to the U.S. press *H.P.*'s scenario, one that echoed many preconceptions about Latin America and whose stereotypes, like many of the Good Neighbor movies churned out by Hollywood, seem to defy rather than encourage the goal of hemispheric unity. In late January, Stokowski told *Musical America* that the ballet concerned "passengers on a steamship leaving New York for southern waters" who forget the "steel-edged, jagged life of the North as they approach the tropics," a state of amnesia highlighted by the music's "turn[ing] from the abstract, and grow[ing] completely languorous and sensuous."[22] This North-South contrast would be much remarked—albeit without any particular sensitivity—by critics at *H.P.*'s less than brilliant premiere.[23]

[12] *Musical America*, 25 February 1932, 30.

[13] Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of All Things Mexican: Cultural Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1920–1935* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1992).

[14] See, for example, Stuart Chase, *Mexico: A Study of Two Americas* (New York: Macmillan, 1937).

[15] Vivian Perlis and Aaron Copland, *Copland, 1900–1942* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 216. On primitivism's potential for music, see Henry Cowell "Toward Neo-Primitivism," *Modern Music* 10, no. 3 (1932–33), 149–53.

[16] On the *Sinfonía India* and sonata form, see Leonora Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others: Historiography, Ideology, and the Politics of Modern Mexican Music," Ph.D. diss. (University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 304, 312–16; see also Robert L. Parker, *Carlos Chávez: Mexico's Modern-Day Orpheus* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983). On critical reaction to the work, see Robert M. Stevenson, "Carlos Chávez's United States Press Coverage," *Inter-American Music Review* 3, no. 2 (1981), 127.

[17] Saavedra, "Of Selves and Others," 317–29. The recording of selections from these concerts (Columbia Masterworks M-414) is discussed in Howard Taubman, "Stokowski and All-American Ensemble Play Dvorak-Mexican Program," *New York Times*, 15 September 1940, 138.

[18] Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of all Things Mexican*, vii–viii.

[19] Roberto García Morillo, *Carlos Chávez: vida y obra* (Mexico-Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1960), 46–56. On the 1926 premiere, see Olin Downes, "Music: More of the Ultra-Modern," *New York Times*, 29 November 1926, 6; R.C.B.B. "Modernists Evoke Laughter and Applause," *Musical America* (4 December 1926), 7.

[20] Other factors contributed to the premiere as well. See Robert L. Parker, "Carlos Chávez and the Ballet: A Study in Persistence," *Dance Chronicle* 8 (1985), 186.

[21] John Martin, "The Dance: A Handicap Event," *New York Times*, 10 April 1932, XII.

[22] *Musical America* (25 January 1932), 6.

[23] Martin, for example, attacked Catherine Littlefield's choreography as insignificant to the point that the ballet "was not a dance event at all but a musical event." Martin, "The Dance: A Handicap Event." Oscar Thompson and Marc Blitzstein found the score unpersuasive, and even Chávez's most loyal supporter, Paul Rosenfeld, expressed reservations about *H.P.* See Oscar Thompson, *Musical America* (10 April 1932), 7; Marc Blitzstein, "Forecast and Review: Music and Theatre—1932," *Modern Music* 9, no. 4 (May–June 1932): 164–66; Paul Rosenfeld,

Stokowski also insisted that his interest in Mexico was motivated by an attraction to primitive culture. On the eve of his first visit there, he told the press that he wished to visit remote Aztec communities to determine whether Aztec music was "worthwhile" and whether "Mexican Indian music [had] developed" from primitive roots.[24] In 1932, after another trip to Mexico, he told the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* that during that journey he had "visited no cities...only the remotest parts, ancient Mayan settlements, or far away villages in the Sierra...places where white men seldom go."[25] True to the spirit of Pan Americanism, Stokowski also waxed poetic over what he saw as an inevitable link between Mexico's primitive cultures and present-day U.S. identity. After commenting that the New York skyline "seems to have sprung from our soil," Stokowski opined that it could well have its "roots in Taos" or, as he speculated further, it could be "more Aztec than anything else."[26]

This fanciful remark, not untypical of the era, anticipates another of Stokowski's declarations to the press. On 21 July 1940, the *New York Times* ran a story on his latest project, quoting the conductor as follows:

> We all of us have our dreams, and some of them come true. Two of mine have been: to form an orchestra of highly talented young players that is completely American; and to see all of the Americas united in spirit. It is a thrilling experience for me to be able to form the All-American Youth Orchestra and to tour Latin American with it... We are going to South America on a musical mission of good-will and friendship to our sister republics. Although they speak Spanish and Portuguese in South America, they will all understand the universal language of music....the future of the Americas obviously lies in the hands of the younger generation.[27]

The orchestra to which Stokowski referred was the All-American Youth Orchestra, which he had recently founded with the aid of the National Youth Administration, one of Roosevelt's programs, and which he planned to take to Latin America to fulfill his dream of uniting in spirit "all of the Americas." According to the composer's biographer Oliver Daniel, an acquaintance of Stokowski's named Jean Dalrymple, who had traveled in Latin America as publicist for José Iturbi, informed Stokowski that Germany and Italy were directing cultural propaganda toward the region and had to be counteracted.[28] Stokowski himself wrote to Secretary of State Cordell Hull about starting a youth orchestra that would tour in Latin America. Hull responded favorably, noting the "special reason for strengthening [cultural values] in our hemisphere."[29] Immediately Stokowski's plan attracted notice in the press. Many doubted that an orchestra of young people from across the nation could be assembled in a reasonable way. Others in the arts community, such as critic Olin Downes of the *New York Times*, were just as supportive as Hull.[30] There was also the question of funding, as Congress was unwilling to commit public monies.[31] But the greatest consternation arose when it became known that Toscanini, of NBC Symphony fame, was also planning a Latin American tour. For one thing, it was unclear that funding could be secured for both trips, as the headline "Toscanini Tour Irks Stokowski Sponsors" makes clear.[32] Also, many doubted that Toscanini's Italian heritage would adequately represent U.S. culture, which after all, would be the whole point of such an undertaking. Mrs. Samuel Lyle Conner, chairwoman of the executive committee of the Leopold Stokowski All-American Youth Orchestra, sent the NBC board of directors a no-holds-barred telegram on this point, later published in the *New York Times*. In it, she protested that "Toscanini represents the money which NBC spends on publicity. He represents a single important musical activity in the United States. He represents Italian culture and his own reactions to German and French culture. He stands for no part of the culture of this country and in all his thirty-odd years here has played no more

"American Premieres," *The New Republic* (20 April 1932), 273–74.

[24] Unidentified clipping of 16 December 1930; cited in Oliver Daniel, *Stokowski: A Counterpoint of View* (New York: Dodd Mead & Company, 1982), 277.

[25] *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, 18 January 1932; cited in Daniel, *Stokowski*, 283.

[26] Unidentified clipping of 17 April 1930; cited in Daniel, *Stokowski*, 280.

[27] Leopold Stokowski, "With Accent on American Youth," *New York Times*, 21 July 1940, X5.

[28] Daniel, *Stokowski: A Counterpoint of View*, 392–93.

[29] Cited in Daniel, *Stokowski: A Counterpoint of View*, 395.

[30] Olin Downes, "Good-Will Tour," *New York Times*, 24 March 1940, 113.

[31] "Stokowski Financing to Come Up Today," *New York Times*, 28 March 1940, 28. Stokowski insisted that the young people be paid union wages, that is, between sixty and 115 dollars a week.

[32] *New York Times*, 20 April 1940, 12.

than three pieces of our symphonic music."[33] Yet as Donald C. Meyer has argued, Toscanini's ardent anti-fascism (he initially supported Mussolini but withdrew his support once the Italian leader's dictatorial aims became apparent) was in fact "a subtle form of anti-fascist propaganda," especially in Brazil and Argentina, with their substantial Italian populations.[34] In the end, both conductors were able to secure adequate funding from private sources and the two tours were each successful in their own way.

The All-American Orchestra numbered 100 players, eighty "boys" and twenty "girls." The average age was twenty-three, with two fourteen-year-olds and a senior member of twenty-seven.[35] They sailed from New York on 26 July 1940 and performed in Havana, Curaçao, Caracas, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Rosario (Argentina), Montevideo, Bahia, St. Thomas, San Juan, and Trujillo City. Headlines in the U.S. hailed "Good Neighbor Concerts" and public enthusiasm ("Youth Orchestra Cheered in Brazil").[36] In Rio de Janeiro, the first lady (wife of Gertulio Vargas) and other members of Presidential family attended the concert; later, Stokowski conversed with Vargas about the possibility of starting a Brazilian youth orchestra.[37] More discerning critics, such as the future Villa-lobos scholar Lisa M. Peppercorn, noted a few problems, such as the lack of rehearsal time for the performance of Villa-Lobos's *Momo pracoce*, featuring pianist Magda Tagliaferro, and overlapping of repertory with the earlier programs by Toscanini.[38] Curiously, as Peppercorn notes, neither conductor offered music by North American composers. "We were disappointed," she writes "not to have had the chance of hearing a symphony by Roy Harris, or some works by Gershwin, Copland or one from the older school. No one ever introduces this music to us," she added plaintively.[39]

Of course, back home in the U.S. the tour was seen as "a mission of art, and international understanding ... which cannot fail to strengthen international relations of a deeper and higher nature than those of politics."[40] In short, it was a triumph for Pan Americanism. Each of the players, who were met by Mrs. Roosevelt when they sailed back into New York in mid-September, was "a musical ambassador," as was Stokowski himself.[41] His manager Michael Myerberg even went so far as to comment that "he had been told by American diplomatic representatives in South America that the orchestra had helped greatly in promoting North and South American relations and in counteracting totalitarian influences."[42] Whatever Myerberg's hyperbole and whatever blunders and inconsistencies were committed in the name of Pan Americanism, the visit of Stokowski's All-Americans was surely one of the more positive steps taken under its auspices. The young players could only have been grateful to be part of a professional tour shepherded by an artist like Stokowski. That they had this experience in a part of the world often stereotyped by the mass media in their own country and which they might otherwise never have seen for themselves makes it all the more significant.

Stokowski's promotion of Spanish music, considered here vis-à-vis Falla, reflects related issues. It is safe to say that in certain respects the reception of Falla's music in the U.S. was shaped by Pan Americanism. As noted, the "Ritual Fire Dance" was popularized through movies of José Iturbi, who on one occasion played that famous gypsy number against a sultry Caribbean backdrop of waving palms. Then, after the piece was arranged and performed by a variety of pop artists, including Liberace and Fred Waring and the Pennsylvanians, Falla achieved, for at least some critics, the status of a "high-class pops

[33] "Toscanini Tour Irks Stokowski Sponsors," *New York Times*, 20 April 1940, 12.

[34] Donald C. Meyer, "Toscanini and the Good Neighbor Policy: The NBC Symphony Orchestra's 1940 South American Tour," *American Music* 18, no. 3 (2000): 240.

[35] Downes, "Good-Will Tour." As Daniel notes (*Stokowski: A Counterpoint of View*, 399), one of the players was the future violinist and pedagogue Dorothy De Lay.

[36] *New York Times*, 4 August 1940, 107; 9 August 1940, 18.

[37] "Stokowski Home with Youth Band," *New York Times*, 18 September 1940, 21.

[38] In her overview of the season, Peppercorn notes that "four of the same pieces were played by both Toscanini and Stokowski: Symphony no. 1 by Brahms, Symphony no. 5 by Beethoven, *Invitation to the Dance*, by Weber, and *Il Guarany* by the Brazilian composer Carlos Gomes." Lisa M. Peppercorn, "Brazilian Reaction to Visitors," *New York Times*, 3 November 1940, 142.

[39] Peppercorn, "Brazilian Reaction to Visitors." Peppercorn also regretted that neither conductors had programed "large-scale Brazilian compositions." Toscanini, throughout his tour, programed Latin American works by Julián Aguirre, Alberto Williams, Oscar Lorenzo Fernández, Francisco Mignone, and, as noted, Gomes. Meyer, "Toscanini and the Good Neighbor Policy," 237.

[40] "Stokowski Heard With Youth Group," Olin Downes, *New York Times*, 26 July 1940, 12.

[41] Downes, Downes, "Good-Will Tour."

[42] Cited in "Stokowski Home with Youth Band."

composer."[43] Stokowski, with his appetite for all kind of music—and for its marketing—contributed to this image. Having given the U.S. premiere of *El amor brujo*, he later performed it with Nan Merriman in the Hollywood Bowl concerts, events some critics categorically dismissed as "sunkist" or "Hollywoodized."[44] His 1949 recording of *Noches en los jardines de España* with William Kapell as soloist, is incongruously paired with a children's concert rendition of Herman Hupfeld's "When Yuba Plays the Rhumba on the Tuba Down in Cuba," a selection made famous by Rudy Vallee and the Connecticut Yankees.[45]

Yet Stokowski was equally eager to promote Falla as a "serious" composer. When the New York premiere of *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* was being negotiated, Stokowski tried to talk Claire Reis, the executive director of the League of Composers into relinquishing the performance rights so that he could conduct the *Retablo* for a rival organization, the International Composers Guild. (Reis held her ground.) As it turned out, the *Retablo*, which heralded Falla's non-*andalucista* style, was applauded as a fine specimen of "serious" Spanish music. Downes, who criticized the folkloric Three Dances from *The Three-Cornered Hat* as "anything but convincing," found the *Retablo* "beautiful and inspired" while Irving Weill called it an antidote to the "Brahms-sodden" ambiance of New York concert life.[46] There was also *Atlántida*, around which rumors floated after Falla began working on it in 1926. On 10 April 1931, Stokowski wrote Falla a letter that shows yet again the conductor's gift for sniffing out new projects:

> I often think how wonderful could be a modern drama based on one of the Greek dramas of Sophocles or Euripides which would be brief and simple... having a chorus and orchestra back of the stage so that they would be invisible, and having on the visible part of the stage either pantomimists or very large sized marionettes about six meters high... The music produced by the invisible orchestra, chorus, and perhaps solo singers not to be continuous, but only to sound at the great moments of the drama. If it would appeal to you to write such a work, it would be a great artistic pleasure to me to produce it in America, and perhaps also in Europe.[47]

While Stokowski does not mention *Atlántida* by name, the fact that he isolates *Atlántida*'s essential qualities (mythology, the presence of chorus and orchestra, pantomime), suggests he had gotten wind of Falla's current project, despite his disclaimer ("if it would appeal to you to write such a work"). As Falla worked, in fits and starts, Stokowski again inquired about *Atlántida*'s progress, writing on New Year's Day 1932. This time, he made it clear that he knew *Atlántida* could become a reality. "I hope [*Atlántida*] will be completed soon," he wrote. "I should so much like to conduct it in the near future, if you are willing."[48] Falla immediately told Stokowski he would keep him up to date.[49] Indeed, the idea of a Philadelphia performance appealed to the composer, for he suggested to his collaborator Josep María Sert that he design the set with Philadelphia's Academy of Music in mind. How different *Atlántida*'s fate might have been had Falla been ready to accept Stokowski's invitation!

* * *

In the early-twentieth century, musical culture in the U.S. struggled to find its own voice. Sometimes this meant rejecting European tradition, a phenomenon we have seen in some of the reactions over Toscanini's capacity to represent "American" culture. Sometimes it meant taking a political approach to a musical project, as is evident in many aspects of Pan Americanism's cultural program. Sometimes it meant challenging the division between serious and popular music. As discussed above, Stokowski, with his omnivorous musical tastes, habitually met this challenge. But an artistic predisposition will often transfer to a broader philosophy. One statement of Stokowski's that makes explicit his distaste for false boundaries, in fact, is found in an interview he gave in Brazil during the 1940 tour with the All-Americans. In it, Stokowski declares that he preferred his young artists *not* play children's or young people's concerts, as this would only separate segments of the public

[43] Michael Steinberg, program booklet, New York Philharmonic (4 November 1995), 19; cited in Carol A. Hess, *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898–1936* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 2.

[44] William Ander Smith, *The Mystery of Leopold Stokowski* (London and Toronto et al.: Associated University Presses, 1990), 188.

[45] Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, 83.

[46] Downes's remarks on the Three Dances are cited in Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 154. Critics of the New York performances of the *Retablo*, which took place on 29 December 1925 and 25 March 1928, are cited on 148–49.

[47] Letter, Stokowski to Falla, 10 April 1931 (Archivo Manuel de Falla correspondence file 7664), cited in Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 172. I wish to thank Yvan Nommick and the staff of the Archivo Manuel de Falla for their ongoing assistance with my research.

[48] Letter, Stokowski to Falla, 1 January 1932 (Archivo Manuel de Falla correspondence file 7664), cited in Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 200.

[49] Ibid.

rather than encourage unity. (This view is at odds with Stokowski's practice of conducting children's concerts during his tenure with the Philadelphia Orchestra.) In the same interview, he urged bridging the "ruling principles in the world—separation and centricity, destruction and building up, love and hate." Thanks to this commitment to these ideals, Stokowski was able to claim that he felt "everywhere at home."[50]

[50] The interview, in an unidentified source, is cited in Lisa M. Peppercorn, "Stokowski and Orchestra in Brazil," *New York Times*, 1 September 1940, X6.

Certainly these sentiments could be said to play directly into the political rhetoric of the Good Neighbor period, with its often bombastic emphasis on cultural ambassadorship. Likewise, Stokowski could be accused of opportunism, of jumping on the Pan Americanist bandwagon by way of his All-Americans. Yet these caveats do not diminish his lifelong effort to live by these principles. Nor can they conceal the fact that we continue to grapple with many of the issues Stokowski risked exploring—in his blatantly public way—even today, whether we are evaluating works of art, distinguishing between mass and elite publics, or seeking to understand cultures other than our own.