

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Pan-American Sounds: Carleton Sprague Smith's Role in Camargo Guarnieri's Career and Music

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Resumo: Este artigo examina o papel de Carleton Sprague Smith em aspectos da carreira do compositor brasileiro Camargo Guarnieri no contexto do pan-americanismo dos anos 1940. A partir de materiais de arquivo, correspondência, jornais e relatórios oficiais, analisa-se a relação pessoal e profissional entre ambos, enfatizando o apoio de Smith na viabilização de oportunidades internacionais e no desenvolvimento artístico de Guarnieri. A análise situa Smith nas iniciativas de diplomacia cultural do Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) e da União Pan-Americana, ressaltando sua atuação como intermediário cultural. Atenção especial é dada ao diálogo musical entre os dois, refletido nas obras para flauta que Guarnieri lhe dedicou, revelando tanto engajamento artístico quanto reciprocidade pessoal. Os resultados indicam que, embora a influência de Smith tenha se limitado a aspectos específicos da trajetória de Guarnieri, sua colaboração contribuiu para ampliar sua presença internacional e aprofundar sua exploração da flauta em sua produção.

Palavras-chave: Camargo Guarnieri, Carleton Sprague Smith, pan-americanismo, flauta

Abstract: This article examines Carleton Sprague Smith's role in shaping aspects of Brazilian composer Camargo Guarnieri's career within the context of 1940s Pan-Americanism. Drawing on archival materials, correspondence, newspapers, and official reports, it explores their personal and professional relationship, emphasizing Smith's support in facilitating Guarnieri's international opportunities and artistic development. The analysis situates Smith within cultural diplomacy efforts of the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) and the Pan-American Union and highlights his role as a cultural intermediary. Particular attention is given to the musical dialogue between the two men, as reflected in the flute works Guarnieri dedicated to Smith, which reveal both artistic engagement and personal reciprocity. The findings suggest that while Smith's influence was limited to specific aspects of Guarnieri's career, his advocacy and collaboration contributed to expanding the composer's presence abroad and to deepening his exploration of the flute in his compositional output.

Keywords: Camargo Guarnieri, Carleton Sprague Smith, Pan-Americanism, flute

Brazilian composer Camargo Guarnieri (1907–1993) stands as one of the most important figures in twentieth-century Latin American music. Deeply influenced by the cultural ideals of Mário de Andrade—particularly his call for a critical nationalism that embraced Brazil's diverse culture—Guarnieri developed a musical language that merged modernist techniques with elements rooted on popular and folkloric traditions. At the same time, he relied on foreign networks of support to advance his career and expand the reach of his music beyond national borders. Among the many cultural ties that helped trigger his international career, his relationship with American cultural diplomat Carleton Sprague Smith (1905–1994) stands out as one of the most significant and enduring. From their first encounter in São Paulo in 1940, Smith became both an advocate and confidant to Guarnieri, supporting his work through sustained correspondence, professional networking, and public advocacy. Their connection extended beyond diplomacy. As a trained flutist, Smith engaged personally with Guarnieri's music, particularly his works for flute—*Improviso No. 2* (1942) and the *Sonatina for Flute and Piano* (1947), and two pieces for larger ensemble, *Louvação do Amor Êtê* (1944) and *Colóquio* (1959). Guarnieri dedicated all these works to him.

Literature on Camargo Guarnieri has addressed the cultural and institutional frameworks that shaped his international career, particularly in relation to U.S.–Brazil exchanges during the Good Neighbor era. In her pioneering dissertation *Panamericanismo, propaganda e música erudita: Estados Unidos e Brasil (1939–1948)* (1998), Maria de Fátima Granja Tacuchian explored the broader musical relations between Brazil and the United States under the Good Neighbor Policy as well as the relationship between Smith and Guarnieri in the context of U.S.-led cultural diplomacy. André Acastro Egg, in *Fazer-se compositor: Camargo Guarnieri 1923–1945* (2010), analyzes Guarnieri's inter-American experience through a close reading of correspondence with Smith and other American emissaries, illuminating the composer's evolving symphonic identity. More recently, Carol Hess's *Aaron Copland in Latin America: Music and Cultural Politics* (2023) revisits Copland's trips to Brazil and his encounter with Guarnieri, reinforcing the scholarly interest in U.S.–Brazil musical diplomacy, though without introducing new perspectives on the composer.

Drawing from extensive archival work in Brazil and the United States, this article addresses the interactions between Carleton Sprague Smith and composer Camargo Guarnieri, focusing on their

personal and professional relationship within the broader framework of Pan-Americanism and its role in cultural diplomacy during. While my work builds on mentioned past efforts, it proposes two new angles. First, it takes the discussion beyond the 1940s by elaborating on their correspondence up to 1968, aiming at a better understanding of the lasting outcomes of early twentieth century pan-Americanist diplomacy. Second, it complements previous accounts by focusing more closely on their "flutist-composer" dynamic. I examine the genesis, premieres, and reception of Guarnieri's flute works dedicated to him, highlighting how their collaboration shaped a specific and underexplored strand of his compositional output.

The article unfolds in three parts. The first, "Pan-Americanism in Practice: Smith's Musical Tour through South America," situates Smith within the broader framework of U.S. cultural diplomacy during the Good Neighbor era, examining the goals of his 1940 tour, his intellectual and musical formation, and his evaluations of Latin American cultural life, with particular attention to his identification of Guarnieri as a promising figure for inter-American exchange. The second, "Forging Connections: Smith and Guarnieri's Professional Relationship," traces the evolution of their professional and personal ties from their first encounters in 1940 through Guarnieri's two visits to the United States in the 1940s and their sustained correspondence in the following decades. This section will examine three key phases of their relationship: the dynamics of their first encounter in 1940; Smith's central role in promoting Guarnieri's work during his two visits to the U.S. in the mid-1940s; and, finally, their collaborative relationship during the 1950s and 1960s, when both had become established authorities in their respective spheres. The third, "Musical Dialogues: Flutist and Composer in Exchange," turns to the repertoire dedicated to Smith—beginning with *Improviso No. 2* (1942) and the *Sonatina for Flute and Piano* (1947) and extending to the lesser-known *Louvação do Amor Êtê* (1944) and *Colóquio* (1959)—and analyzes the musical, symbolic, and personal dimensions of these dedications, showing how they illuminate the "flutist-composer" dynamic at the heart of their collaboration.

1. Pan-Americanism in Practice: Smith's Musical Tour through South America

As the threat of fascism grew in Europe during the early twentieth century, the United States redirected its attention toward Latin America, reimagining Pan-Americanism as a strategy of cultural diplomacy intended to counter Axis influence in the Western Hemisphere. This strategic shift took institutional form with the establishment of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) in 1940. In partnership with the Pan American Union, the OIAA launched a series of programs—including film, visual arts, and music—intended to promote a shared hemispheric identity distinct from Europe. Within this broader agenda, the Music Committees of both institutions organized composition contests, radio broadcasts, educational initiatives, and concert exchanges to encourage artistic collaboration between the United States and Latin America (Hess, 2013; Palomino, 2020, p. 174).¹

One of the most significant steps towards this effort was the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music, organized by the U.S. Department of State's Division of Cultural Relations.² A key resolution from the conference was to send the vice-chair of the music committee, Carleton Sprague Smith, on a four-month tour of fourteen South American cities. Smith's mission was to survey the state of musical culture in the region by assessing archives, educational institutions, concert infrastructure, folk music traditions, and exploring opportunities for scholarly exchange). He was chosen not only for his distinguished reputation as a musicologist but also for his "persona simpatica," which the committee believed would facilitate strong relationships with Latin American musicians and institutions. His familiarity with a broad spectrum of American music—from folk and popular to art music—was also seen as an asset in fostering inter-American cultural understanding

¹ For foundational studies on U.S. musical Pan-Americanism and its institutional apparatuses, see Pablo Palomino, *The Invention of Latin American Music: A Transnational History* (Oxford University Press, 2020); Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (Oxford University Press, 2013); and Pablo Palomino, "Nationalist, Hemispheric, and Global: 'Latin American Music' and the Music Division of the Pan American Union, 1939–1947," *Nuevo mundo mundos nuevos* (2015). These works examine the ideological foundations and transnational implications of musical diplomacy across the Americas during and after World War II.

² To promote "the fullest possible nationwide cooperation," the Division organized two-day conferences focused on publications and libraries, education, art, and music. The music conference—held at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., on October 18–19, 1939—was the first inter-American music conference sponsored by the U.S. State Department. (Campbell, 2010)

(Report of the Committee, 1940, p. 8–9). The findings from his journey were later published in the *Musical Tour Through South America*. Smith's appointment to this prominent role reflected not only his longstanding commitment to musical and intellectual pursuits, but also the strength of his professional affiliations, which positioned him as an ideal representative of U.S. cultural diplomacy.

Carleton Sprague Smith's engagement with Latin America—and Brazil in particular—began well before his official diplomatic role. As a student at Harvard University, he studied Spanish and Portuguese and developed a deep interest in Iberian and Latin American history and literature (Kuss, 1991, p. xiii). According to Smith, his fascination with Brazil was sparked when he learned, during a class on Dutch colonialism, that the Dutch had been defeated in Pernambuco during the seventeenth-century Pernambucana Insurrection—a historical episode that piqued his curiosity about Brazil's colonial past (Lacerda, 1962, p. 37). Encouraged by his advisor Charles Homer Haskins, Smith further pursued this interest at the University of Vienna in 1928, focusing his research on Spain and the Casa de Áustria (Kuss, 1991, p. xiv). These early academic experiences laid the foundation for his leadership roles at the Brazilian Institute at New York University (1959-1961) and the Spanish Institute of New York (1967-1970), institutions devoted to foster international cultural exchange. His writings, beginning with *Musical Tour through South America* (1940), reflect both firsthand observation and a sustained scholarly engagement with Latin American literature, music, and history (Kuss, 1991, p. xiv).

This longstanding orientation toward Latin America made Smith an ideal candidate for the cultural diplomacy initiatives launched under the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA). His intellectual and cultural credibility was bolstered by a cosmopolitan upbringing in Manhattan and Washington, a rural town in Connecticut, where he developed a genuine interest for literature, music, and languages (Kuss, 1991, p. xiii). A trained flutist, Smith studied with prominent figures such as Louis Fleury and Georges Laurent, and continued his musical training alongside academic pursuits in Paris and at Harvard (Kuss, 1991, p. xiii). He went on to co-found the Music Library Association and the American Musicological Society, serving as president of each organization from 1937 to 1940 and from 1939 to 1940, respectively (Shepard, 2006, p. 622), and was also active in the Federal Music Project—the musical branch of Roosevelt's New Deal (Palomino, 2015). These combined scholarly, musical, and institutional experiences positioned Smith as a

uniquely qualified cultural intermediary within the inter-American context.

When the OIAA committee issued its report in September 1940, Carleton Sprague Smith had already visited the first seven cities on his itinerary accompanied by also musician Elizabeth Sprague Smith (Report of the Committee, 1940, p. 9).³ In each city Smith delivered illustrated lectures on U.S. music fluently in either Spanish or Portuguese. In Caracas, Rio de Janeiro, and Buenos Aires, he also participated of artistic exchanges by organizing U.S. chamber music performances alongside local musicians (Report of the Committee, 1940, p. 9).

Upon his return to New York on October 5, 1940, Smith compiled his observations into a 355-page mimeographed report titled *Musical Tour Through South America*.⁴ He organized his observations of each city he visited in a similar way. He began with a summary of his travels and key events followed by an assessment of local musical conditions and organizations, concluding with pertinent comments or anecdotes. His reviews of musical conditions were structured around ten key areas: 1) radio broadcasting; 2) concert life (including operas, orchestras, and theaters); 3) musical and cultural societies; 4) school music (K-12 education) and conservatories; 5) choral and band music; 6) published music; 7) libraries and archives; 8) artist and scholarship exchanges; 9) typical or folk music; and 10) inter-American key figures, including composers, conductors, managers, and critics (Smith, 1940a, p. ii). In line with the political goals behind his journey, Smith's report repeatedly highlights with suspicion the pervasive German and Italian cultural influence in South America, contrasting it with what he perceived as American inaction (Smith, 1940a). Smith observed that German and Italian cultural ministries, along with publishing houses like Breitkopf & Härtel, Simrock, and Ricordi, actively distributed their latest orchestral works to conductors across Latin America, a practice he believed the U.S. should emulate (Fauser, 2013, p. 95).

As part of his mission to strengthen inter-American cultural exchange, Carleton Sprague Smith identified a network of individuals and institutions throughout South America whom he believed could serve as strategic partners for the United States. These were not only musicians, but also

³ Elizabeth Sprague Smith, Carleton's wife, was described in the *Report of the Committee on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music* as "a musician and critic in her own right" who was "cooperating in Dr. Smith's survey" (Report of the Committee, 1940, p. 9).

⁴ This comprehensive overview of musical culture in the nine countries he visited is preserved in at least six U.S. libraries, as well as on microfilm at the New York Public Library, where Smith served as head of the Music Division (Shepard, 2006, p. 640).

scholars, administrators, and cultural leaders who, in Smith's view, combined national rootedness with a cosmopolitan disposition aligned with Pan-American ideals. Crucially, he sought out figures who were receptive to the United States' increasing interest in cultural diplomacy — a disposition that was by no means universal. In the politically charged context of the 1940s, some Latin American intellectuals expressed deep skepticism toward the Pan-American project, perceiving it as an imposition of U.S. cultural hegemony. In a 1941 speech, Mário de Andrade criticized the lack of true dialogue at the Inter-American Conference on Music in Washington, noting that “South American countries were not heard,” and denouncing what he called a “solitary pan-Americanism” in U.S. initiatives (Andrade, 1941, p. 22). A few years later, he warned of the “dangerous and racist Pan-Americanism” that accompanied American cultural exports, calling instead for discernment and a critical embrace of only the most meaningful aspects of U.S. culture (Toni; Carozze, 2013, p. 195). For Smith, then, the ideal partner was not only influential, but also politically palatable — someone able to amplify the Pan-American message without echoing these critical views of U.S. dominance.

In Brazil, Smith's recommendations ranged from composers to institutional leaders. He singled out Heitor Villa-Lobos as a particularly important figure, describing him as “one of the most extraordinary personalities in North or South America,” though warning that he was “not an easy customer” (Smith, 1940a, p. 64).⁵ The composer's infamously difficult personality posed challenges to inter-American collaboration.⁶ This concern was shared by Aaron Copland, who also traveled to

⁵ Later, in 1950, Villa-Lobos would compose, in New York, *Assobio a Jato* (*The Jet Whistle*) for flute and cello, dedicating it to Carleton Sprague Smith and his wife, cellist Elizabeth Sprague Smith. The piece was premiered on March 13, 1950, in Rio de Janeiro by Ary Ferreira (flute) and Iberê Gomes Grosso (cello), and published in 1953 by Peermusic Classical in New York.

⁶ Villa-Lobos's resistance to Pan-American overtures went beyond mere temperament. As Pedro Rodrigues notes, he was wary of being perceived as overly dependent on the Brazilian state — a perception he aimed to avoid when negotiating with U.S. institutions. He also held an idealized and somewhat inaccurate view of the U.S. musical landscape as governed purely by market forces, overlooking the strong role of government institutions during the New Deal. These factors, combined with his autonomous artistic posture and nationalistic convictions, made his participation in U.S.-led cultural diplomacy more complicated than that of other Brazilian composers (Rodrigues, 2019, p. 220). Adding to this picture is Villa-Lobos's time in Paris during the 1920s, where he engaged with Latin American intellectuals who held critical views of U.S.-aligned Pan-Americanism. Among them was the young Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier, whose work in France contributed to the formation of a Latin American musical identity that challenged both European cultural hegemony and U.S. symbolic expansionism. According to Rodrigues, this exchange may have influenced Villa-Lobos's “conversion” to a proud discourse on the musical potential of the Americas, although it is difficult to assert a direct influence (Rodrigues, 2019, p. 148). In this sense, Rodrigues's dissertation offers not only a detailed analysis of Villa-Lobos's diplomatic trajectory, but also a mapping of his ideological ambiguities regarding the Pan-American project.

Latin America under the auspices of the OIAA.⁷ In response, both men turned their attention to more cooperative and ideologically aligned figures. Smith praised Francisco Mignone as eager to conduct inter-American concerts (Smith, 1940a, p. 3) and recommended Camargo Guarnieri as a promising representative of Brazilian music. Copland, during his 1941 tour, similarly expressed enthusiasm for both composers. He described Mignone as his third choice for a visit to the U.S. and singled out Guarnieri as “first choice,” praising his maturity, sympathetic personality, and musical value for American audiences (Copland, 1941). In public writings, Copland emphasized Guarnieri’s emotional clarity, formal control, and Brazilian character, traits he contrasted with Villa-Lobos’s excesses (Copland, 1960, p. 211–212).

If Villa-Lobos came to symbolize the kind of artistic figure that complicated inter-American cultural diplomacy – charismatic yet unpredictable, nationalistic yet insular – then Guarnieri offered a compelling alternative. His openness to exchange, personal affability, and modern yet distinctly Brazilian musical language made him far more compatible with the goals of the OIAA. Where Villa-Lobos’s emphasis on folklore and personal authority could be seen as barriers to collaboration, Guarnieri’s music was viewed as both emotionally sincere and technically refined, and his temperament suited the demands of institutional partnership. For both Smith and Copland, Guarnieri embodied the kind of cultural ally who could bridge national traditions while participating in a shared Pan-American vision.

Taken together, these episodes illuminate the strategic function of Smith’s *Musical Tour through South America* within the broader framework of U.S. cultural diplomacy. His intellectual profile, musical training, and multilingual fluency made him an ideal emissary of Pan-American ideals, while his judgments about potential cultural partners reveal the ideological filters shaping inter-American exchange. In selecting figures like Guarnieri—perceived as modern, cooperative, and nationally grounded—Smith helped define the kind of artistic identity that would be elevated in hemispheric cultural relations during the 1940s.

⁷ Though Villa-Lobos had been recommended by Henry Allen Moe of the Guggenheim Foundation as a key contact – given his prestige and influence under the Estado Novo regime – Copland objected. He criticized Villa-Lobos’s musical style as overly folkloric and sentimental, and questioned his willingness to collaborate on official cultural exchanges (Copland, 1960, p. 210; Tacuchian, 1998, p. 129). See Carol A. Hess, *Aaron Copland in Latin America: Music and Cultural Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2023), for a detailed study of Copland’s diplomatic tours, his engagement with Latin American composers, and the cultural exchange that ensued.

2. Forging Connections: Smith and Guarnieri's Professional Relationship

The professional and personal relationship between Camargo Guarnieri and Carleton Sprague Smith likely spanned more than four decades, as evidenced by an extensive exchange of letters and telegrams between 1940 and at least 1979. From their first meeting in São Paulo during Smith's tour of Brazil, the composer and the American musicologist maintained regular contact, with Smith emerging as both an influential advocate for Guarnieri abroad and a trusted intermediary in transnational musical networks. For Guarnieri, whose professional situation was still precarious after his return from France, the relationship with Smith represented a valuable connection to international opportunities. Over the years, their correspondence reveals not only Smith's persistent efforts to promote Guarnieri's career in the United States but also Guarnieri's own attempts to leverage this friendship in support of his students and colleagues.

2.1. Early Encounters in Brazil (1940)

In December 1939, Camargo Guarnieri returned to Brazil from an eighteen-month stay in Europe. He had gone to further his musical studies, however his time was cut short due to a shortage of funds and the looming threat of World War II.⁸ Once back in Brazil, Guarnieri found himself in a precarious position: he had relinquished his stable roles as conductor of the *Coral Paulistano* and faculty member at the *Conservatório Dramático e Musical de São Paulo* to go to Europe, leaving him without employment or a clear professional path forward (Silva, 2001a). This period of uncertainty in Guarnieri's career coincided with Smith's arrival in Brazil in June 1940, setting the stage for their meeting and the professional collaboration that would follow.

On June 28, 1940, about six months after Guarnieri's return, Smith arrived in Rio de Janeiro

⁸ Guarnieri traveled to Europe in 1938 with a grant secured through the support of French pianist Alfred Cortot, who, after being impressed by Guarnieri's music, wrote a letter to the governor of São Paulo advocating for his sponsorship. The trip was delayed by Brazilian bureaucracy and lasted approximately eighteen months (1938–1939). In Paris, Guarnieri studied composition with Charles Koechlin and conducting with François Ruhlmann, also coming into contact with Nadia Boulanger and Darius Milhaud. Although financially and politically cut short, the experience enhanced his technical vocabulary without compromising what Mário de Andrade called his “intimate Brazilian musicality.” (For a detailed account of Guarnieri's time in Europe and the financial difficulties that forced him to return, see Silva, 2001b)

following a visit to Salvador.⁹ On July 17, he participated in a concert of Brazilian and North American music at the Escola Nacional de Música in Rio de Janeiro, where he performed works by Villa-Lobos, Quincy Porter, Aaron Copland, and Roy Harris. The program also featured compositions by other composers, including Guarnieri. The concert was met with enthusiasm by an audience of about a thousand people, as well as positive reviews from critics (Smith, 1940a, p. 46). One such review describes the concert as follows:

Rarely has a chamber music concert had the interest and originality of the one that took place the day before yesterday, at night, in the hall of the Escola Nacional de Música, in honor of Mr. Carleton Sprague Smith and with the collaboration of the honoree. This proves that the distinguished musician, in addition to having unusual culture and erudition, is also an artist (Concerto da Escola Nacional de Música em Homenagem ao Sr. Carleton Spraghe (sic) Smith, 1940).

The review continues to praise Smith for his “full and velvety sound,” which served the music’s beautiful phrasing. It also lists the pieces featured in the program, noting that Smith performed in four of them. According to the critic, “all the American works revealed modernist tendencies without, however, exaggerating with a threatening and aggressive futurism” (Concerto da Escola Nacional de Música em Homenagem ao Sr. Carleton Spraghe (sic) Smith, 1940). The program also included works by Brazilian composers, such as Guarnieri’s *Azulão and Tristeza* for voice and piano, as well as *Flor de Tremembé* for fifteen instruments. Guarnieri accompanied soprano Cristina Maristany on the piano for the voice and piano pieces, while *Flor de Tremembé* was performed by an ensemble conducted by Guarnieri (Azevedo, 1940). Although the piece features a flute part, Smith did not perform it, likely because the same ensemble had presented the work in the same venue less than two months earlier. This detail was noted by Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, who attended both concerts and published a favorable review in September of that year (Azevedo, 1940).

In contrast to Luiz Heitor’s glowing review, an article in the New York Times brought news of the Brazilian-American concert to a U.S. audience. The author highlighted the growing Brazilian

⁹ Aside from the notes on the *Musical Tour*, his activities were partially documented in local newspapers. One of them, e.g., reads: “Another tribute to Mr. Carleton Spraghe Smith - The Gymnasio Arte e Instrução, which operates in Cascadura, offered to Mr. Carleton Spraghe Smith, director of the Music Division of the New York Public Library, with the collaboration of the choir and orchestra of said school, under the direction of maestro Domingos Raymundo, an interesting festival, of which the following program made part.” (Mais uma homenagem ao Sr. Carleton Sprague Smith, 1940)

interest in the United States—a shift from the earlier focus on French culture—and commends Smith for strengthening cultural ties between the two nations. Regarding Guarnieri's *Flor de Tremembé*, the author—Lisa M. Peppercorn, who would later become one of Villa-Lobos' biographers—wrote: “In spite of some good ideas which are, however, following Villa-Lobos' language, the composer has not taken full advantage of the varied instrumental body either for a more clever working out of the subjects or for richer color combinations” (Peppercorn, 1940). The comparison to Villa-Lobos may have stemmed from Guarnieri's classification of *Flor de Tremembé* as a *choro*, the same genre of Villa-Lobos' *Choros*. The comparison to Villa-Lobos—made by Peppercorn and, in distinct ways, by both Smith and Copland—highlights the critical framework Guarnieri was often placed within during this period. As Villa-Lobos had become the emblematic figure of Brazilian music abroad, Guarnieri's work was frequently assessed in relation to his predecessor's legacy. This tendency reflects not only Villa-Lobos's symbolic dominance in representations of Brazilian musical modernism but also the pressures Guarnieri faced to define his voice within and against that framework.

While Smith notes the concert's success in terms of public reception, he does not mention Guarnieri's presence or participation, despite evidence from reviews and other sources confirming that Guarnieri was not only present but also performed his own works at the event. It may suggest that, at the time, Smith had not yet fully recognized Guarnieri as a figure of strategic importance—or perhaps chose to reserve his assessment for the later section of his report dedicated to Brazilian composers. Guarnieri and Smith reconvened in Rio the day after the concert for a second tribute in honor of Smith on July 18, 1940.¹⁰ The luncheon gathered key figures of Brazilian musical life, including Mário de Andrade, Luiz Heitor, Lorenzo Fernandez, Brasília Itiberê, Villa-Lobos, João Itiberê da Cunha, and Guarnieri himself, alongside Smith. Smith was particularly impressed with this gathering, which he described as evidence of the “receptivity of Brazilians for an exchange” with Americans and their “desire to cooperate” (Smith, 1940a, p. 46).

Smith left Rio on July 19 to São Paulo. Shortly after his arrival he was invited by Carol Foster, the American Consul-General, to a reception at his home. There, Smith met with notable local

¹⁰ A photograph of the luncheon is on display at the Museu Villa-Lobos (1977.16A.036, 1940) and has been featured in Silva's publication (see figure 1. (Silva, 2001a, p. 355). However, the exact date and venue were not identified in either source. By scouring *Jornal do Brasil*'s society pages, it is possible to determine that the reception was held at the Rio de Janeiro Jockey Club on July 18, 1940. (Homenagens, 1940)

musicians, including Sousa Lima, Antonietta Rudge, Dinorá de Carvalho, and Guarnieri (Smith, 1940a, p. 81). A brief article in *Correio Paulistano* praised Smith's dedication to cultural exchange and commended the Consul-General for bringing together some of Brazil's leading musical figures (*Visita São Paulo conhecido musicista norte-americano*, 1940). This marked the third documented meeting between Guarnieri and Smith, both of which held in honor of Smith's prestigious visit.

Based on the limited publicly recorded interactions between Smith and Guarnieri, certain conclusions can be drawn. First, Guarnieri likely viewed Smith as a distinguished figure from the United States, worthy of the admiration reflected in the local and American press coverage of his activities and the events organized in his honor. As Smith documented in his report, many musicians shared this perception of him, seeing him as a potential gateway to opportunities for study in the United States. Second, some musicians successfully secured such opportunities, as evidenced by farewell notices in Brazilian newspapers.¹¹ Given Guarnieri's precarious employment situation upon his return from France just a few months earlier, it is reasonable to assume that he was eager to cultivate a relationship with someone of Smith's stature and influence.

Smith recorded his first impressions of Guarnieri in the *Musical Tour* as well as in their correspondence, particularly in a letter he wrote shortly after their first meetings. Written in Portuguese, Smith expressed his enthusiasm after their meetings in Rio and São Paulo (where he also heard his music), also urging the young composer to look him up if he ever visited New York. He emphasized that they had "great work ahead"—that of "fighting the stupid people who say they don't appreciate music." Elizabeth Sprague Smith added a brief handwritten note in French (Smith, 1940b). This multilingual gesture reveals Smith's diplomatic sensibility: he understood that speaking in Guarnieri's languages was a subtle but effective way to build rapport.

In the *Musical Tour*, Smith categorically named Guarnieri along with Francisco Mignone as São Paulo's leading composers (Smith, 1940a, p. 85–87). While he did not comment on Mignone's birthplace—he was from the capital, which may not have seemed particularly noteworthy—Smith did draw attention to Guarnieri's rural origins, noting that he came from "the interior town of Tietê."

¹¹ One such note, published in Rio less than a year after Smith's departure, highlighted Altea Alimonda, a pianist acclaimed in Rio and São Paulo, who traveled to the U.S. on a scholarship from the Music Division of the Department of Inter-American Cultural Relations. Her selection was credited to Smith's recommendation (*Altéia Alimonda partiu para os Estados Unidos*, 1941).

Smith additionally expressed concern over Guarnieri's possible Parisian influences, although later confirmed that he "had the good fortune to grow up with *caipira* folk music" and "has been influenced very little by foreign models." Not surprisingly, Smith was adhering to an essentialist view of Brazilianness, one that resisted—rather than interacted with—what was considered external to its values.

It is important to note that Guarnieri's alleged authenticity was precisely what had allured his modernist mentors, who were ever more concerned at the time with defining a national musical identity. In fact, in all likelihood Smith's assessment was influenced by Mário de Andrade, for Smith quotes him in an article where he states that "the young composer resisted the cosmopolitan invitation of the great international city:"

It is important to verify that the new works, composed in the dazzle of his Parisian stay, demonstrate that the Paulista composer resisted the cosmopolitan invitation of the great international city of Paris. His daily contact with French professors, who were very intelligently chosen, and the daily hearing of music of the world did not rob him of his very intimate Brazilian musicality nor of his great originality. Thus, the progress noted in these new works are not determined in the sense of any transformation, of any change. It was progress in verticality. The composer accentuated, refined his technical and psychological characters, especially his polyphony and the delicate lyricism that form Camargo Guarnieri's very particular contribution to our concert music. (Andrade, 1940, as cited in Verhaalen, 2001, 19–20)

Like Andrade, Smith repeatedly highlighted Guarnieri's potential as a leading national figure. For example, in the *Musical Tour* he wrote:

Carlos Gomes is still a world figure, and it is time for a new light to spring forth. Perhaps Camargo Guarnieri is the indicated person. His opera *Malazarte*, still awaiting a performance, is said to be an arresting work. (Smith, 1940a, p. 52)

He further emphasized Guarnieri's significance, stating:

There is no doubt that Guarnieri is one of the most profound and vital figures of the contemporary Brazilian scene, and if he continues to write works of this strength, he may become the leader of this country. (Smith, 1940a, p. 87)

Decades later, Smith's belief in Guarnieri's significance remained steadfast. In a 1984 review of Vasco Mariz's *História da Música no Brasil*, he echoed the idea that Guarnieri had become Brazil's most important composer. Smith highlighted Mariz's appreciation for Guarnieri's sensitivity to Brazilian folklore, which, in his view, was tastefully integrated rather than overused, as well as the nationalist foundation of his musical education. According to Smith's review, Guarnieri's music gained acceptance not only in Brazil but also in Europe and the United States, with its clarity and appeal making an immediate impression during his first trip to the U.S. (Smith, 1985, p. 272).

2.2. U.S. Invitations: Guarnieri's Visits in 1942 and 1946

Guarnieri visited the United States twice during the 1940s. This marked a turning point in his collaboration with Smith, who played a key role in securing his inclusion in prominent cultural spaces. Guarnieri's first trip to the United States in 1942–1943 was facilitated by Smith as well as other advocates of the Good-Neighbor Policy (Talone, 2023, 2024). Invited by the Pan-American Union, Guarnieri arrived in the U.S. during a period of professional uncertainty, considering that he was barely making a living in Brazil conducting sporadic government-sponsored concerts and teaching private lessons (Ouvindo o compositor Camargo Guarnieri, 1942). His visit aimed to strengthen cultural ties between the Americas and provided him with opportunities to showcase his music. It was during this time that Guarnieri composed *Improviso No. 2 for solo flute*, dedicated to Smith, and had some of his works featured in a concert series at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, organized by a music committee chaired by Smith.¹²

Some of the events advertised on the music sections of New York newspapers reveal that Guarnieri was also musically involved with Pan-American diplomatic soirées. The “Night of Americas,” for instance, was a program of Latin-American music sponsored by Ambassadors and Ministers from ten Latin American countries in cooperation with the Council for Pan-American Democracy. Under the motto “Linked by Nature and Welded together by a Common Will to

¹² The series, entitled *Serenades*, was “devoted to rare music from Mozart to Stravinsky,” as an article in *The New York Times* described it. It was presented on five alternate Tuesdays nights, starting March 2, 1943, and also featured compositions by Hindemith, Martinů, Arnell, Copland, Virgil Thomson, Theodore Chanler, Gustavo Pittaluga, and Marcelle de Manziarly (Concert and Opera, 1943).

Victory,” the event stressed the progress of hemisphere unity. Guarnieri accompanied Brazilian soprano Elsie Houston on his own compositions for voice and piano in performances that took place in early February 1943, shortly before the singer's death on February 20 of that year. Brazilian soprano and guitarist Olga Coelho—whose first New York recital Guarnieri had accompanied a few days earlier, playing the piano parts of his own compositions (Coelho, Brazilian, in *Recital Debut*, 1943)—were also featured in the event (“Night of Americas” Voices Unity Theme, 1943). Thanks to Aaron Copland and Sergei Koussevitzky, Guarnieri also conducted his *Abertura Concertante* with the Boston Symphony Orchestra (Guarnieri, 1943). Although his symphonic works received mixed reviews in the U.S.,¹³ they were celebrated in Brazil, boosting his prestige at home.¹⁴

Despite these achievements, Guarnieri expressed frustration with his time in the U.S., particularly due to the language barrier and limited professional opportunities (Abreu, 2001, p. 49). Nevertheless, his trip exposed him to the vibrant musical life and innovative music education systems in the U.S., which he particularly experienced during his visit to the Eastman School of Music (Guarnieri, 1943). Opportunities like these in fact left a lasting impression on Guarnieri, inspiring his later efforts to improve institutionalized music education in Brazil (*Dezoito milhões de crianças estudam música nos Estados Unidos*, 1943; *Para que os músicos possam amar a música*, 1943). By the time he returned to Brazil in May 1943, Guarnieri had not only solidified his international reputation but also fulfilled one of the key objectives of U.S. cultural diplomacy: fostering a positive image of American society and promoting Pan-American unity.¹⁵

After Guarnieri's return to Brazil, his connection with Smith did not fade. On the contrary, Smith became a consistent correspondent and key advocate for Guarnieri's career in the United States. Their letters from the mid-1940s reveal the extent to which Smith positioned himself not only as a friend, but also as a strategic cultural intermediary. In August 1944, for instance, Smith was

¹³ Mr. Guarnieri, whose ‘Concerted Overture’ is diverting but not remarkable in a bouncy, staccato way, with slow, songful interludes, got a cordial hand” (C. W. D., 1943).

¹⁴ We do not want to delay the good news of yet another great success achieved in the United States by our illustrious patrician Camargo Guarnieri. His symphonic concert held the day before yesterday, in Boston, with the Symphony Orchestra of that city, achieved great success. The main work of the program consisted of the “Abertura Concertante”, of his authorship, which was very much appreciated. Guarnieri received enthusiastic applause, not only as a composer, but also as a conductor. The audience and the orchestra members stood up and applauded him warmly. (Camargo Guarnieri nos Estados Unidos, 1943)

¹⁵ For instance, in a letter Guarnieri sent to Seeger in 1943, he wrote: “I have had many interviews with several journalists and have made public my great enthusiasm to your country.” See (Tacuchian, 1998, p. 168)

involved with the Radio Corporation of America's Victor Division competition, which Guarnieri ultimately won with his *Second String Quartet*.¹⁶ A few months later, in January 1945, Smith wrote again to Guarnieri to express his disappointment at not being invited to the award ceremony in Rio: "After all, I consider myself the representative of American musical interests in Brazil, and I consider myself mortally offended" (Smith, 1945a). His frustration suggests not only personal attachment but a strong sense of investment in Guarnieri's international visibility and success.

That same year, Smith facilitated Guarnieri's inclusion in a biographical dictionary organized by the League of Composers. In April 1945 he wrote: "It is the League of Composers' plan to organize a bibliographic dictionary that gives as complete a list as possible of the most outstanding composers of this continent, among which your name is certainly one of them," (Smith, 1945c). Although the specific publication is not named, it was likely *American Composers Today: A Biographical and Critical Guide*, edited by David Ewen and published in 1949 (Ewen, 1949). According to Ewen, the book relied on self-submitted biographical materials for most of its entries, which supports the idea that Smith had an active hand in securing Guarnieri's inclusion.¹⁷

Later that year, Smith sent Guarnieri an application for a John Guggenheim Foundation fellowship. "In addition to concerts that you could conduct, in a true demonstration of good neighborliness, you would study more at length everything that you were not able to check more closely when you visited my country" (Smith, 1945d). Although it is unclear whether Guarnieri ever applied, the initiative reflects Smith's continued efforts to position him within influential North American musical circuits. By January 1947, other Latin American composers such as Alberto Ginastera (Argentina) and Hector Tosar Errecart (Uruguay) were in the U.S. as Guggenheim Fellows, while Guarnieri was there with support from the Brazilian government (*The World of Music: Worry in San Francisco, 1947*).¹⁸

Smith also sought to shape Guarnieri's reception within Brazil. In a letter to Rodolpho Josetti

¹⁶ He stated that he had received from the Washington Chamber Music Guild the confirmation of Guarnieri's submission. (Smith, 1944b)

¹⁷ Guarnieri's entry (Ewen, 1949, p. 113-114) however, erroneously states that the composer had held the chair of harmony, counterpoint, and fugue and composition at the National Conservatory of Panama at the invitation of the Panama government. As previously discussed, Guarnieri declined the invitation after being invited by the Pan-American Union to spend six months in the United States, in 1942-43.

¹⁸ While *The New York Times* indicate that Guarnieri traveled with support from the Brazilian government, I have not found documentation specifying the exact nature or origin of this funding.

– the Integralist president of Cultura Artística, whom Smith had met during his 1940 tour (Smith, 1940a, p. 55) – he recommended that the organization sponsor a tribute concert to Guarnieri in Rio, similar to one he claimed was being organized in São Paulo. “As is known, Koussevitzky, Stokowski and Toscanini have lately performed works by the composer from São Paulo,” Smith wrote, “and, in my opinion, there are few South Americans who promise so much as this young Brazilian maestro.” He offered to write the program notes himself and advised that the concert include commentary contextualizing Guarnieri’s stylistic duality: “Guarnieri’s music is sometimes traditional, other times more modern. It seems to me, therefore, that if carried out the homage, it should be accompanied by explanatory notes in the program, describing the compositions of the maestro and, possibly, preceded by an introductory word by a renowned critic” (Tacuchian, 1998, p. 237).

By the time of his second trip to the United States, between late 1946 and early 1947, the composer had already established a strong career, even within the broader Latin American context.¹⁹ For instance, by 1946, he had gained significant recognition among his Latin American peers and began planning to establish a society of American composers (Tacuchian, 1998, p. 169), reflecting his commitment to fostering regional musical collaboration. The most notable musical outcome of this second visit was the American premiere of his *First Symphony* (1944), conducted by Guarnieri himself with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. He had first sketched it during his first U.S. visit (Tacuchian, 2001, p. 452), therefore its premiere highlighted the lasting impact of his earlier experiences in North American soil. Additionally, Guarnieri participated in a chamber music concert sponsored by the League of Composers at the New York Public Library, where he shared the stage with Ginastera. This concert featured the premiere of his *Flute Sonatina*, dedicated to and performed by Smith, further cementing their professional and personal relationship.

Guarnieri’s second trip solidified his prominence in the Americas, supported by North American initiatives to promote his work. His subsequent achievements, such as participation in the Inter-American Music Festivals in Washington D.C. (1958, 1961, 1965) (Hess, 2013 online

¹⁹ When Smith learned that Guarnieri would travel a second time to the United States, he made himself available to help Guarnieri find accommodation in New York: We were very happy with the news of your arrival at the end of October. [...] don't be afraid: if it comes to that we can arrange a kennel in Central Park for you, if we can't find something else. But seriously (very difficult thing for me), there are rooms at the Great Northern Hotel starting at \$2.50 a day,” he wrote, exemplifying not only his willingness to help his friend but the convivial tone with which they corresponded (Smith, 1946).

companion) and Latin American Music Festivals in Caracas (1957, 1965) (Payne, 2006), as well as his conducting engagements across Argentina, Chile, Cuba, Uruguay, and Venezuela (Silva, 2001a, p. 634–635), underscored the continental scope of his influence. These accomplishments, along with decorations received from various Latin American countries (Silva, 2001a, p. 575–587), highlight the enduring impact of his interactions with the United States and his role as a key figure in Pan-American musical exchange.

2.3. Strengthening Ties in the 1950s and 1960s

As Guarnieri's career consolidated in Brazil, and Smith expanded his role as a cultural mediator through initiatives like the Brazilian Institute at New York University, their relationship became one of balanced reciprocity. By the late 1950s and 1960s, their correspondence reflects a mature partnership, with Guarnieri not only benefiting from Smith's network but also turning to him for support in fostering opportunities for his students and fellow musicians. Smith left his position as head of the New York Public Library's music division in 1959 to helm the Brazilian Institute at New York University, which he co-founded with Ernesto Da Cal as an academic hub to promote research on the language, literature, culture, economy, and history of Brazil. He served as the Brazilian Institute's director from 1959 to 1961 (Pace, 1994). In April of 1959, envisioning opportunities for his contacts in Brazil, Smith announced his new job to Guarnieri: "I am pleased to inform you that, on March 1st, I took over the Direction of the Brazilian Institute at New York University, where I am at my friends' disposal. I hope in the future to have the pleasure of counting on the valuable collaboration of distinguished friends, for the better development of the Brazilian Institute" (Smith, 1959a). In fact, months later, Smith would negotiate a job offer to Guarnieri at the same university:²⁰

I have not forgotten the idea of having you as a professor of composition at an American university and I believe there is a possibility of offering you 2,000 dollars for a course—three hours a week at the University of New York, starting in mid-September of the next year, extending until January, 1961. Does this offer interest you? Naturally, you would have time to devote to other activities in your career as a composer (Smith, 1959b).²¹

²⁰ Today, it is known from Guarnieri's biography that the negotiations fell through since he never held a teaching position outside of Brazil.

²¹ "Não esqueci a ideia de te-lo como professor de composição em uma universidade americana e creio que existe a

Guarnieri was well aware of Smith's prominent standing in the American music industry and made multiple attempts to leverage this connection. He reached out to Smith in writing on at least three occasions, seeking his assistance in securing opportunities in the United States for his acquaintances. This was the case of Israeli pianist Ilana Vered, who, according to Guarnieri, had performed his music well in Brazil:²² “It is an environment like New York that she needs [...] I am sure that you will enjoy listening to her” (Guarnieri, 1959b). In 1962, the composer wrote to Smith to introduce one of his students, Osvaldo Lacerda, who had recently won a one-year-long Guggenheim Scholarship: “He will remain in your wonderful country for a year, and I wish you to welcome him as a truly honest person in every way and a top-notch musician. Whatever you do for him, I will receive as if it were for me,” he wrote (Guarnieri, 1962b). Four years later, Guarnieri once more wrote to Smith on behalf of a friend, the pianist Eudóxia de Barros, describing that she had written to Guarnieri asking him to talk to Smith about her desire to hold a concert at the Brazilian Institute: “As I know that you have such high prestige there I come to the presence of such an illustrious figure, in order to ask you to rest your flute... always protected by this incredible mustache, and extend your little hand to this creature that needs your support” (Guarnieri, 1966).

3. Musical Dialogues: Flutist and Composer in Exchange

The correspondence between Smith and Guarnieri was not limited to professional opportunities; it also engaged with musical matters, revealing an important dimension of their friendship. In 1945, after attending the premiere of his First Symphony, Smith wrote to Guarnieri to express admiration: “Very few composers manage to interest us during an entire show, and yet last week’s concert held the audience’s attention the entire time.” He added, “Your ‘transparent’ way of composing presents a difficulty—it requires great instrumentalists and an ultra-trained orchestra. Despite that, you worked miracles with the group, considering the little time at your disposal and the bad habits of musicians of not showing up to rehearsals” (Smith, 1945b).

possibilidade de lhe oferecer 2.000 dolares por um curso – três horas por semana na U de New York, começando a meados de setembro do próximo ano, prolongando-se ate janeiro de 61. Este oferecimento lhe interessa? Naturalmente você disporia de tempo para se dedicar a outras atividades na carreira de compositor.”

²² Leading him to dedicate his *Ponteio No. 43* to her

This observation points to characteristics of Guarnieri's music that had also been noted by other critics. Caldeira Filho, who had attended the same concert, lauded the symphony for a certain "complexity" in his writing that still emphasized clarity and an "economy of expressiveness that always depends on tutti" (Filho, 1945). As noted earlier, Aaron Copland likewise highlighted Guarnieri's "emotional clarity" and "formal control," qualities he contrasted with Villa-Lobos's excesses (Copland, 1960, p. 211–212).

The "transparency" and "clarity" observed in Guarnieri's First Symphony are likely what Verhaalen later described as "the dialogical way in which fragments of themes are constantly shifted among the instruments" (Verhaalen, 2005, p. 225). Tacuchian made a similar observation, noting that in Guarnieri's symphonic works it is common to hear two voices dialoguing with each other in a balanced way, usually the high voice with the low one—a characteristic fluency that, for him, helps explain the "rhythmic force" of the composer's music (Tacuchian, 2001, p. 448).

Guarnieri himself also emphasized this quality, repeatedly describing his orchestration as "transparent." For him, transparency was related to the search for the right timbre: "My instrumentation is very close to Mozart's, and it is always very transparent." He added: "When I orchestrate, I listen to the orchestra and try to tailor it to each instrument. I'm interested in the timbre" (Tacuchian, 2001, p. 449).

Smith's attentiveness to Guarnieri's transparent orchestration appears again in a letter written after attending the 1962 premiere of the composer's work for cello and orchestra. Referring to it as a *Concerto para Violoncelo*, Smith reported: "The public liked it and some experts thought it could enter the repertoire. Perhaps a caveat of the work is about the orchestration of the last tempo. It's a little heavy and could be more transparent. Otherwise, there was no other commentary on the composition" (Smith, 1962).²³

Guarnieri's reply was both defensive and corrective. He not only rejected Smith's critique of the orchestration, blaming instead the conductor's lack of preparation, but also insisted on the correct title: *Choro para Violoncelo e Orquestra*. The distinction mattered to him. As Guarnieri

²³ "Tenho a honra de comunicar-lhe que o *Concerto para Violoncelo* de Camargo Guarnieri foi muito bem recebido em NY. O público gostou e alguns entendidos acharam que poderá entrar para o repertório. Uma reserva talvez da obra é sobre a orquestração do último tempo. Está um pouco pesado e poderia ser mais transparente. De outra forma não houve outro comentário da composição."

explained elsewhere, he preferred the term *Choro* for most of his works for solo instrument and orchestra because, in his view, “their message, or rather, their musical language is national, proper to the composer and with roots in his land” (Rodrigues, 2001, p. 479). In this light, correcting Smith’s terminology was more than pedantry—it underscored Guarnieri’s insistence on framing his orchestral works within a Brazilian nationalist idiom (Guarnieri, 1962a).

Flute remained a frequent topic in Smith and Guarnieri’s correspondence. Smith regularly asked about new repertoire, while Guarnieri—whose financial situation was often precarious—repeatedly offered to compose pieces for him. In 1968, Smith mentioned plans to perform *Desafio*, a piece Guarnieri had written in 1943 for voice, flute, and piano, dedicated to Elizabeth Sprague Smith and set to a poem by Manuel Bandeira. Although the score indicates São Paulo as its place of composition, a letter from Smith in 1950 suggests it may have been written during Guarnieri’s first U.S. visit.²⁴ To this list of family-oriented dedications we may also add the solo piano miniature *Ficarás Sozinha*, written for Smith’s infant daughter, Damaris.²⁵ Together, *Desafio* and *Ficarás Sozinha* reveal how Guarnieri’s dedications extended beyond Carleton to his family, adding an intimate dimension to the more public works he wrote for Smith himself, such as *Improviso No. 2* and the *Sonatina for Flute and Piano*.

3.1 Dedications for Flute: *Improviso No. 2* and the *Sonatina*

This exchange highlights the depth of their musical dialogue, which extended beyond diplomacy or opportunity to questions of artistic identity and aesthetics. It also sets the stage for understanding the more personal dimension of their collaboration, embodied in the works Guarnieri dedicated to Smith. Among these, *Improviso No. 2* (1942) and the *Sonatina for Flute and Piano*

²⁴ Smith wrote “Tell me if you have a copy of the score for “Desafio” for voice, flute and piano. The piece was written here – remember? Our music has been lost. By the way, what works do you have for soprano and orchestra?” (Smith, 1950)

²⁵ *Ficarás Sozinha* was published in 1942 by Music Press in New York, dedicated to Damaris Sprague Smith, daughter of Carleton Sprague Smith. The piece, structured in an ABA form, is the first in a series of miniatures characterized by lyrical simplicity and subtle evocations of Brazilian folk elements. (Verhaalen, 2001, p. 99) Writing shortly after its publication, Eurico Nogueira França remarked: “One begins, for instance, to navigate one of his pieces outside any geographic limits, and suddenly realizes that the composer has brought us back to Brazil... This is exactly what happens in *Ficarás Sozinha*, where the folk-like melody—handled, moreover, with irresistible charm—emerges unexpectedly in the central section.” (França, 1948)

(1947) stand out for their musical ambition and historical significance. Composed during Guarnieri's first and second visits to the United States, respectively, both works reflect not only the composer's engagement with the flute but also the deepening of his personal and professional ties to Smith. As we shall see, these better-known works form part of a broader constellation of dedications—including the lesser-studied *Louvação do Amor Êtê* (1944) and *Colóquio* (1959)—that together illuminate the “flutist–composer” dynamic at the heart of their collaboration.

Improviso No. 2 was written in 1942 while Guarnieri was still in the U.S., as confirmed in a letter to Mário de Andrade: “I wrote, on [December] the 31st, a second Improviso for solo flute. It is good. You will like it, I am sure” (Guarnieri, 1943). Although the dedication to Smith is well known, fewer details exist about the work's early performances—except that Smith himself premiered it, and that its likely Brazilian debut took place in 1944 during a Musica Viva radio concert featuring Hans-Joachim Koellreutter and Curt Lange (Gião, 1944; Silva, 2001a, p. 541). *Improviso No. 2* is part of a trio of solo flute pieces composed between 1941 and 1949, only published as a set in 1958 by Rongwen Music in New York. The series was likely inspired by Koellreutter's own *Improviso e Estudo para Flauta* (1938), which Guarnieri praised in an open letter for its artistic sincerity, despite his ambivalence toward atonalism (Guarnieri, 1941).

Compared to *Improviso No. 1*, originally dedicated to Koellreutter and later reassigned to Moacyr Liserra after their falling out²⁶, *Improviso No. 2* lacks overt nationalistic markers. While critics such as Caldeira Filho praised the first piece for anticipating a distinctly ‘Brazilian spirit’ in the solo repertoire, the second, I argue, projects a broader sense of Latinidad, as discussed in my previous work (Talone, 2024)

The *Sonatina for Flute and Piano*, by contrast, has achieved greater prominence in the flute repertoire and more visibility in the historical record. Composed in February 1947 during Guarnieri's second U.S. tour, it was premiered at the New York Public Library in a chamber music concert organized by the League of Composers and curated by Aaron Copland. The performance featured Guarnieri himself at the piano and Smith on flute, highlighting their collaborative rapport. Although

²⁶ The rupture between Guarnieri and Koellreutter was rooted in their opposing aesthetics. While Koellreutter's Música Viva group championed atonality and twelve-tone technique, Guarnieri denounced these “international trends” and defended a nationalist musical language. The dispute culminated in his *Carta aberta aos músicos e críticos do Brasil* (1950), which ignited heated public debates in the press. (Guarnieri, 2001)

the *Sonatina* was composed just days before the concert (Downes, 1947), it became a lasting contribution to Guarnieri's chamber music output. Structured in three contrasting movements (*Allegro*, *Melancólico*, and *Saltitante*), it explores the expressive range of the flute while drawing inspiration from Brazilian dance rhythms and lyrical gestures.

The Brazilian premiere, however, was less successful. Flutist Esteban Eitler—an accomplished musician trained at the Franz Liszt Academy in Budapest and solo piccolo of the Budapest Symphony Orchestra—performed the piece in São Paulo, but critics found his execution inadequate for the demands of the score (Quem foi Esteban Eitler, [s. d.]). Eurico Nogueira França (1947), who attended the recital, lamented that the audience could “almost guess” Guarnieri's musical intentions due to what he considered the mediocrity of Eitler's playing. França singled out the second movement, *Melancólico*, for its “altitude in melodic imagination,” but noted that in the concluding *Saltitante*—“a kind of transposition of a popular flute choro to the artistic plane”—many notes were inaudible, as Eitler's breath escaped through the instrument: “Where are you, Pixinguinha?” he asked, in a rhetorical lament.

Despite this harsh reception, Eitler continued to perform the *Sonatina*, including in Argentina (Portfólio, [s. d.]), and Chile (Boletín de Música y Artes Visuales, 1954, p. 12), thereby helping to disseminate Guarnieri's music across South America. By 1948, França himself revisited the work more positively, writing in praise of the United States' efforts to publish Brazilian music through Music Press. In this context, he recognized the *Sonatina* as “a work that will occupy a prominent position in the instrument's literature, demonstrating once again the mastery and freedom with which the author moves within the classical forms.” França emphasized both its structural logic and its idiomatic writing, noting how Guarnieri “bases himself on the relationships that the instrument has with our popular musicality” (França, 1948).

The work's reception at its New York premiere remained mixed. Both Olin Downes and Virgil Thomson attended the concert at the New York Public Library. Downes described the *Sonatina* as “calculatedly simple” but ultimately unconvincing, while Thomson largely dismissed the entire program—which also featured music by Ginastera—as overly folkloric (Downes, 1947). Even Smith, despite having premiered the piece and defended its value, acknowledged in a 1948 review that it “does not take itself very seriously”—though he praised its transparency and lightness (Smith, 1948).

As we now turn to the lesser-known *Louvação do Amor Êtê* and *Colóquio*—both also dedicated to Smith—a more complex picture emerges: one that includes artistic collaboration, institutional partnership, personal exchange, and moments of friction.

3.2. Beyond the Canon: *Louvação do Amor Êtê* and *Colóquio*

Smith's interaction with Guarnieri's music went far beyond the role of critic or advocate. In 1944, he actively contributed to the development of *Louvação do Amor Êtê*, a short cantata with text by Mário de Andrade, composed for and dedicated to Smith, his wife Elizabeth, and their daughter. Though little has been written about this unusual piece, Osvaldo Lacerda described it as “a curious little work” for solo voice, flute, and cello, framed by a choral introduction and conclusion, with a humorous text referring to “three North American friends of Guarnieri [...], amateur musicians” (Lacerda, 2001, p. 395).

The collaboration emerged while Smith was serving as Cultural Relations Officer at the U.S. Consulate in São Paulo, a period during which he performed frequently as a flutist in chamber music concerts and orchestral programs across Brazil.²⁷ Smith envisioned the premiere of *Louvação* as a collaborative event involving contributions from Andrade, Guarnieri, and himself, with an improvisatory spirit. In correspondence, he proposed a theatrical format featuring a narrator (Andrade), a character representing Time (singer Mario Gracho), and popular melodies inserted as musical interludes. To Andrade, he suggested the use of *sprechstimme* and unconventional vocal effects—“from whisper to roars and howls”—while imagining his own flute interpolations might include fragments of “Yankee Doodle” and “Ach, Du Lieber Augustin” (Smith, 1944a). These proposals, he insisted, would produce a “musical spree.”

Whether Guarnieri accepted these suggestions remains unclear. A review of the score shows no trace of improvisation, suggesting that any extemporaneous elements were meant to occur between

²⁷ According to music reviews from that period, during his tenure as the Cultural Relations Officer at the American Consulate in São Paulo, Carleton Sprague Smith continued to regularly perform as a flutist, much as he had done in New York. As documented in Brazilian newspapers of the time, these performances included not only chamber music recitals in São Paulo but also concerts in Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro, as well as solo appearances with orchestras in Santa Catarina (Bandeira, 1945; Concerto Lídia Alimonda Haller-Carleton Sprague Smith, 1945; Dia 16, à noite, o oitavo concêrto da nossa Orquestra Sinfônica, 1946, p. 16; França, 1945).

movements. Nor is there evidence that the work was performed as originally conceived. Nonetheless, Smith's letters reflect his deep investment in the project and his willingness to push Guarnieri toward experimentation—an impulse that contrasts with Andrade's known skepticism toward modernist technique, despite his earlier admiration for *Pierrot Lunaire* (1929 manuscript by Mario de Andrade in Wisnik, 1983, p. 165). The title of the piece, *Louvação do Amor Êtê*, is itself a poetic play. The lyrics celebrate Carleton and Elizabeth Smith while weaving together multiple layers of meaning: Guarnieri's hometown and the river Tietê, emblematic of São Paulo (“Seus amigos do Tietê”), Elizabeth's name (“Elisabeth-ê-tê”), and even the couple's daughter (“Que Damaris se chamou”). Musical imagery abounds as well, with references to flute, cello, and Brazilian dance idioms such as the *cateretê*. The recurring “ê-tê” syllable works as a pun, simultaneously evoking Tietê and, humorously, “ET”—a lighthearted nod to the family's foreignness. Read in this light, the piece represents not only a gesture of affection but also evidence that Andrade's earlier dismissals of Smith²⁸ had given way to genuine esteem, as suggested in their subsequent correspondence.

There is no evidence in the correspondence that Guarnieri received financial compensation for the pieces he dedicated to Carleton Sprague Smith. One such case is *Colóquio*, a cantata composed in 1959 as a personal favor. That July, Smith invited Guarnieri to contribute a work for a Portuguese-Brazilian colloquium in Salvador, Bahia, where Smith was scheduled to perform alongside a German flutist then teaching in the city.²⁹ He proposed a chamber piece for two flutes, piano, clarinet, cello, and voice, and enclosed verses by Galician writer Ernesto da Cal, with whom he had recently co-founded the Brazilian Institute at New York University (Smith, 1959b).

Guarnieri accepted the invitation and composed the work in “record time.”³⁰ Rather than follow Smith's original instrumentation, however, he expanded the scoring to include woodwind quintet, piano, percussion, voice, and an ad libitum choral part in the final section. Explaining the change, Guarnieri wrote: “I'm sure the choir's intervention at the end will make a very strong

²⁸ Mário de Andrade had initially dismissed Carleton Sprague Smith, describing one of his writings as “a study of egoistic incomprehension” and criticizing Smith's claim that “we Americans (...) feel more deeply than the South Americans” (Andrade, 1941, p. 22).

²⁹ Smith referred only to “a German flutist then teaching in Bahia,” without identifying him by name. Although it is possible that he meant Hans-Joachim Koellreutter, who was active in Salvador at the time, the correspondence itself does not make this explicit. (Smith, 1959b)

³⁰ At first, I thought I wouldn't get it done. Fortunately, my guardian angel helped me, and the work is finished. I hope you like it, because I dedicated it to you,” he wrote (Guarnieri, 1959c).

impression. You will see that the musical expression becomes nationalized toward the conclusion. I did this to situate the piece within the context of the Colloquium” (Smith, 1959b).

Despite this swift delivery, Guarnieri received no confirmation of the work's reception, prompting an unusually direct expression of frustration three months later. In a letter tinged with disappointment, he described the silence as “a real mystery,” lamenting the expenses, efforts, and emotional toll incurred without so much as a response— “not even a word from someone responsible for the event, saying: go to hell, your work sucks!” (Guarnieri, 1959d). He had asked Mozart de Araújo repeatedly about the fate of the score, but received no answer. His closing plea— “There must be someone in charge, don't you think?”—underscores how personally he took the lack of acknowledgment.

Smith replied promptly, expressing dismay at the situation. He blamed the delay on the Brazilian postal service and assured Guarnieri that the performance had been a success. Koellreutter, he reported, had led a female chorus with expressive sensitivity, achieving the climactic effect Guarnieri had hoped for. Smith praised the composition as “excellent,” affirming that it deserved publication and wider performance (Smith, 1959d). It is likely that the manuscript remained with Koellreutter, as a copy bearing handwritten instructions to the copyist is preserved in the Koellreutter Foundation archives (Guarnieri, 1959a).

Musically, *Colóquio* unfolds as a single-movement cantata in three distinct sections that mirror the theological arc of da Cal's text: creation, fall, and redemption. The work opens with a sparse, haunting instrumental texture that evokes the primordial void of Genesis, followed by waves of declamatory vocals suggesting the emergence of divine light. The second section plunges into the theme of human exile, driven by persistent rhythms that underscore humanity's restless pursuit of meaning and its descent into violence—represented by Cain's fratricide. As the music grows in agitation, it ultimately thins into a silence that mirrors divine withdrawal. The final section, marked *più mosso*, portrays humanity's collective yearning for truth through dialogue: a dense, dissonant choral texture evokes the chaos of languages akin to the Tower of Babel. Yet from this tumult emerges a unified voice that ascends toward transcendence, ending in harmony as God “smiles upon the embraced creatures” (Guarnieri, 1959a).

In 1968, Guarnieri once again returned to the idea of composing for Smith. “You ask me if I have other works for flute. I haven’t written one yet, but you might as well arrange a little commission, so I could earn a few dollars and have more peace of mind to work,” he wrote. His proposal was for a *Choro* for flute and orchestra, with Smith as soloist and himself as conductor. The work was eventually completed in 1972, but without a dedication, and it would only be premiered in 1981 by Antônio Carlos Carrasqueira, conducted by Alceu Bocchino (Verhaalen, 2005, p. 211). Placed at the end of their long exchange, this belated composition suggests both the durability of their musical dialogue and its limits: a project imagined for Smith, but realized too late for him to bring to life.

4. Postlude

The relationship between Carleton Sprague Smith and Camargo Guarnieri emerges as a revealing case study within the broader context of Pan-Americanism and the role of music as cultural diplomacy in the mid-20th century. Their encounters unfolded within initiatives led by the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) and the Pan-American Union, which sought to foster artistic ties between the United States and Latin America. Smith, a central figure in these efforts, first met Guarnieri during his tour of Brazil. His *Musical Tour* report singled out the composer as one of São Paulo’s leading figures, an early recognition that helped position Guarnieri within broader narratives of Latin American modernism.

Smith’s practical support—organizing Guarnieri’s U.S. tours in the 1940s, helping his acquaintances, and even attempting to secure him a university appointment—proved decisive in expanding the composer’s visibility abroad while also strengthening his reputation in Brazil. At the same time, their correspondence reveals an artistic dialogue that extended beyond professional opportunity to questions of compositional style and national identity.

Contrary to what has been published in Smith’s festschrift (Kuss, 1991, p. 438), Guarnieri dedicated more than *Improviso No. 2* and the *Sonatina* for flute and piano to him. Alongside these works, we must consider *Louvação do Amor Êtê*, *Colóquio*, and the chamber song *Desafio* (dedicated to Elizabeth Sprague Smith), as well as the piano miniature *Ficarás Sozinha*, written for Smith’s infant daughter, Damaris. Taken together, these dedications illustrate a reciprocal relationship in which

Guarnieri acknowledged Smith's support both through public artistic statements and more intimate gestures toward his family.

In sum, Smith's influence on Guarnieri was both practical and artistic. Their partnership underscores how professional networks and personal relationships could shape an artist's career, situating Guarnieri more prominently on the international stage while also enriching his compositional trajectory. Examining this connection sheds light not only on Guarnieri's career but also on the mechanisms through which cultural intermediaries like Smith contributed to the circulation and reception of Latin American music in the United States.

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RESEARCH DATA AVAILABILITY

- Use of data not reported; no research data generated or used.