ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: PIANO AND POLITICS: WALTER GIESEKING'S CAREER DURING THE THIRD REICH AND POSTWAR PERIOD

Frank Raymond Latino Jr., Doctor of Philosophy, 2013

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During the Third Reich, Walter Gieseking (1895–1956) enjoyed an illustrious, international career as its preeminent "indispensable" and, later, "God-gifted" concert pianist. He was increasingly used by Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry as a propaganda tool, and throughout World War II, the Ministry ordered him to tour annexed, occupied, and neutral countries such as Finland, France, Romania, and Poland, where he appeared before public audiences as well as German and foreign officials and troops. Hitler named him "Professor" in 1937, decorating him with the War Merit Cross, 2nd Class without Swords, in 1944. By that September, Gieseking was among the highest paid of seventeen pianists allowed by the Propaganda Ministry to continue their profession.

Conversely, Gieseking met with Nazi officials in 1936 to protest the ban on the music of his friend, composer Paul Hindemith, and he fought to keep his Jewish manager, Arthur Bernstein, in the 1930s, before helping him escape with his wife to the U.S. in 1939.

Gieseking's story is that of an elite German artist who controversially remained a Reich citizen, despite his conflicted feelings toward the regime and the career struggles he faced as the conditions for him became progressively more dangerous and difficult. After WWII, he met with fierce public opposition as he resumed his career abroad, particularly in the U.S., where the government involved itself, but also in South American nations, Australia, the Territory of Hawaii, and Canada. He became the single most protested German musician of his time.

Based largely on copious unpublished and previously unstudied archival documents, including those from his privately maintained *Nachlass*, my dissertation illuminates almost entirely unexamined phases of Gieseking's life. I show how the Nazi regime influenced, and ultimately controlled, his career. I explore the political challenges that he encountered within Germany and abroad, before, during, and after the war, providing new perspectives on the uneasy relationship between this prominent German musician and a ruthless dictatorship, as well as on the postwar Allied-led denazification procedures and intense anti-Nazi opposition he endured. Integrated are relevant aspects of his activity as a composer, essayist, recording artist, and teacher.

PIANO AND POLITICS:

WALTER GIESEKING'S CAREER DURING THE THIRD REICH AND POSTWAR PERIOD

by

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To Jeannette and Alma

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were the highlight of my research and I was received with great respect and hospitality. Since our initial meeting in 2007, further trips to Wiesbaden were not only allowed but encouraged, and the correspondence and phone conversations likewise happily continued. By amiably sharing their treasured memories of their father, Frau Colassis and Frau Hajmássy have taught me much about his life and career.

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the Eberhard Karls Universität in Tübingen; and, in Wiesbaden, the Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hessische Landesbibliothek, and Museum Wiesbaden. *In the U.S.:* the American Jewish Historical Society Center for Jewish History in Boston; Harvard University's Houghton Library in Cambridge; the International Piano Archives and Michelle Smith Performing Arts Library and its Special Collections in College Park, MD; the National Archives in College Park and Washington D.C.; Wayne State University's Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit; Duke University's Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library in Durham, NC; the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University in Princeton NJ; the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul; and, in Washington D.C., the Federal Bureau of Investigation and U.S. Justice Department and Immigration Services; the Gelman Library of George Washington University; the Library of Congress; and the Martin Luther King Library.

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Abbreviations

ABC	Associação Brasileira de Concertos (in Chapter 12); Australian Broadcasting Commission (in Chapter 13)
AVC	American Veterans Committee
BAOR	British Army of the Rhine
DMfA	Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer
DTZ	*Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung: Fachblatt für Musiker und Musikerzieher* (German Musicians' Gazette: Trade Journal for Musicians and Music Educators)
ICD	Information Control Division (U.S. Army, occupied Germany)
ICU	Information Control Unit
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
ISB	Information Services Branch
ISC	Information Services Control
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GSI	(British) General Staff Intelligence
KfdK	Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat League for German Culture)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party, also referred to as the Nazi Party)
NSFO	Nationalsozialistische Führungsoffiziere (National Socialist Leadership Officers)
NSO	National Symphony Orchestra (of Washington D.C.)
OAP	Office of Alien Property (U.S. Department of Justice, Washington D.C.)
OMGUS	Office of Military Government for Germany, United States
PR/ISC	(British) Public Relations/Information Services Control
RAF	(British) Royal Air Force
RDTM	Reichsverband Deutscher Tonkünstler und Musiklehrer (Reich Association of German Musicians and Music Teachers)
RM	Reichsmarks
RMfVP	Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin (Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda)
USFET	United States Forces, European Theater

Source Abbreviations

The following abbreviations for archival sources are used in footnotes:

AAA	Altes Amt, Antwerpen
AAB	Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin
AdKA	Akademie der Künste Archiv (Berlin)
BA	Bundesarchiv (Germany)
BDC	Berlin Document Center (now part of the German Bundesarchiv)
DBP	Deutsche Botschaft Paris
DEC	Dean Elder Collection (in the author's possession since 2011)
GFA	Gieseking Family Archive (Wiesbaden, Germany)
GL	Gelman Library (George Washington University, Washington D.C.)
HfMuT	Hochschule für Musik und Theater "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy" (Bibliothek/Archiv, Leipzig, Germany)
HHW	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden
HL	Houghton Library (Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.)
HLW	Hessische Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Munich)
IPAM	International Piano Archives at Maryland (located at the University of Maryland, College Park)
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration (Washington D.C. and College Park, MD)
NLHH	Niedersächsische Landesarchiv-Haupstaatsarchiv Hannover
PA/AAB	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Berlin
RKK	Reichskulturkammer
SGMML	Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library (Princeton University, Princeton, NJ)
Stadt.H.	Stadtarchiv Hannover

Introduction

One of the most celebrated performers of his time, the German pianist Walter Wilhelm Gieseking (1895–1956) is a figure through whom many aspects of the mainstream of musical development in the first half of the twentieth century can be explored. He was acquainted with many distinguished and influential artists; he was a military musician during World War I; he was at the forefront of musical life from the Weimar era until his death; he avidly promoted contemporary music—achieving his greatest fame as the world's foremost interpreter of the French impressionist keyboard works of Debussy and, for many, Ravel—while simultaneously earning praise for his performances of the German classics; he became a best-selling classical recording artist; he wrote essays on a range of musical topics; and he had a remarkable, if largely unknown, talent for composition.

The focus of this study is Gieseking's career during the Third Reich and the postwar era, and it is divided into three parts: the Prewar Years (1933–39), the War Years (1939–45), and the Postwar Years (1945–56). These combined periods proved not only the most eventful and successful for Gieseking, but also the most controversial. For while his objective, as he later argued, may have been to provide first-rate music-making, *l'art pour l'art*, at a time when it was perhaps more needed than ever before, he inevitably found himself caught up in political agendas—first of the Hitler regime, then, rather ironically, of the Allied forces, as part of their postwar efforts to reeducate and re-democratize Germany. (To make amends for having played for Reich officials, he had already begun to play for the occupying Military Governments and troops during his fifteen-month blacklisting from October 1945 to January 1947, requests he then

continued to fulfill after his clearance.) Because of his questioned past as the Third Reich's leading pianist, Gieseking then became the subject of widespread, bitter attacks in several nations across the globe for much of the decade that followed the war—above all in the U.S., where the government involved itself and instigated further dissent. The outcry was led by Jewish, anti-Nazi, and Veteran organizations, with the help of certain influential figures—the popular newscaster Walter Winchell and *New York Times* correspondent Delbert Clark in particular. Such extra-musical, political circumstances regarding Gieseking's performance activities would, in the end, persist for over twenty years, more than half of his professional career. In all, his engagements brought him to over thirty countries in five continents, and most receive attention here, some necessarily more extensively than others.

Overview

It is well known that the National Socialists maintained a strong interest in music and the arts, with their racist ideology always in mind. Unsurprisingly, after their rise to power in January 1933, Gieseking was among those outstanding artists whom they began to favor and whose services they began to request. Throughout the NS-era, the renowned pianist chose to remain a resident of Germany, continuing his career with increasing success in both Europe and, until the outbreak of World War II in 1939, in North America. Although with less frequency during the earlier, pre-war years, Nazi officials began to engage him for various functions and affairs including the *Winterhilfe* (Winter Relief Campaign), "Tag der deutschen Hausmusik" (Day of German Home Music Making), *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength Through Joy) events, and even a reception for Mussolini's 1937 visit to Berlin. He also performed at music festivals, perhaps most

notoriously at the *Reichsmusiktage*—the German national music festival held in Düsseldorf in May 1938, which featured the infamous exhibition of "Degenerate Music" ("Entartete Musik"). While Gieseking succeeded in maintaining his career largely independently of the regime before the outbreak of the war, this liberty began to vanish once the fighting commenced.

During World War II, only the best Reich artists were allowed to remain active professionally. Gieseking was among those deemed "indispensable" ("unabkömmlich") by the Nazis at the start of the conflict and was thus freed from any military duties so that he could continue concertizing and, in doing so, further represent the Reich—regardless of his own intent. In return, he began to give performances and, on occasion, even tours under the auspices of the all-powerful Propaganda Ministry, notoriously run by Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Throughout the hostilities, the pianist repeatedly performed within Germany as before, as well as in a notably increased number of European countries such as neutral Switzerland and Turkey, annexed Czechoslovakia and Poland, and occupied France, Denmark and Norway—eighteen nations in all, some of which, Finland, Romania, and Turkey for instance, he had hitherto shown little to no interest in. Even at the height of the war, he gave as many as sixty-two concerts in a single year in European nations alone—not counting the numerous performances within Germany.[1] As a result, he was recognized for his abilities and engagement more than once. The Nazi government named him "Professor" in 1937, and with Hitler's required permission, he received the title "Officier de l'Ordre de Léopold" from Belgium's King Leopold III in 1938. In 1944,

[1] Severin Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 21 Sept. 1945, file: Walter Gieseking, Reichskulturkammer (hereafter RKK), Berlin Document Center (hereafter BDC), Bundesarchiv (hereafter BA), Berlin, p. 3–4.

the Führer decorated him with the War Merit Cross, 2nd Class without Swords (Kriegsverdienstkreuz, II. Klasse ohne Schwerter).

In the early autumn of 1944, when the Hitler regime was closer to defeat, it included Gieseking on its God-gifted list ("Gottbegnadeten-Liste"), placing him among the highest-paid artists chosen to fulfill engagements for the new and extremely selective Artists' War Service Office (Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle); the pianist thereby received further exemption from military obligations.[2] Yet by that point, those elite artists still allowed to be professionally active full-time were, in effect, completely controlled by Reich authorities, serving almost entirely as tools of propaganda. Any trace of artistic freedom they may have previously enjoyed no longer existed.

Gieseking continued to perform until the Allies' arrival in western Germany in the spring of 1945 finally ended his wartime career. There followed a period of *public* inactivity temporarily forced upon him and most Reich artists after VE-day, as they found themselves placed on the blacklists created during the Allied-led denazification and re-democratization of Germany—even though the same musicians kept on fulfilling *private* engagements, often for the Allied occupiers themselves. When Gieseking was finally permitted to reemerge on the international scene in early 1947, he became more successful than ever and began to carry out his first, months-long world tours.

The pianist's record during the Third Reich did not stay undisclosed, however, and he simultaneously became the subject of heated public debate, especially in the United States, but also in Australia and South American nations. As a result, many citizens and organizations in those countries began to accuse him, as they did a small

[2] Hans Hinkel to Reichsminister [Joseph Goebbels], 11 Sept. 1944, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich (hereafter IfZ), RG 260, Office of Military Government, United States (hereafter OMGUS), Signatur: 1948/139/2/AG (microfiche).

number of his better-known colleagues, Wilhelm Furtwängler and Kirsten Flagstad among them, of sympathizing and collaborating with the Nazi regime. Already by 1934, these allegations had, in fact, caused some objection to Gieseking's U.S. appearances, including the first Jewish boycott of them. Following the United States' entry into the war, Erika Mann called for Americans to eschew the records and airplay of "enemy" musicians, bringing their attention to Gieseking in particular. Several years after Germany's defeat, the public dissent reached a climax when the pianist's plans to give a return tour in America in 1949 caused a storm of outcry and demonstrations, which led to the U.S. Government's involvement. This sparked further discussion, for the "Gieseking Affair," by now receiving heavy media coverage worldwide, had created a conflict in U.S. policy: the Justice Department essentially sided with the pianist's opponents and took action against him, while the U.S. Military Government and State Department supported his entry. More clamor followed in the U.S. in 1953, when the musician, still contentious, made a renewed attempt to appear at New York's Carnegie Hall. Indeed, few artists of the former Reich were singled out so vehemently, in the other nations as well, making Gieseking arguably the most protested German musician of the entire postwar era.

Yet the adversaries were always the minority. And all the controversy notwithstanding, Gieseking remained one of the most popular and active performers for a significant part of the twentieth century, usually making well over one hundred appearances each season. His story is fascinating, that of an artist whose career was severely affected and ultimately controlled by a ruthless dictatorship, then hindered by

the Allied liberators and international anti-Nazi opposition. Its investigation has been long overdue.

Gieseking: Current State of Research

While frequently mentioned by scholars, popular writers, and critics alike, Gieseking's activities during the Third Reich have never been thoroughly investigated. Owing to his fame, countless newspapers, magazines, and journals around the world covered his career during his lifetime. Today numerous studies as well as more popular writings on twentieth-century classical music and performers continue to comment on his pianism and provide some information pertaining to his life, but there has been no extensive biography published in any language. Bernhard Gavoty's "biography," part of a popular series titled "Great Concert Artists" and published near the end of Gieseking's life, contained a mere twenty-nine pages and was largely filled with photographs taken by Roger Hauert.[3] According to former Gieseking pupil, Dean Elder, his mentor was pleased with the photography, but found the text to be "terrible" ("furchtbar").[4]

Two scholarly works on Gieseking-related topics have been completed, yet neither investigates his career in any great detail. Moreover, both authors were unable to examine Gieseking's *Nachlass* maintained privately by his children, the richest source of information on the pianist, limiting the depth of their research substantially. The most recent of these studies is Ricarda Braumandl's monograph (originally a Ph.D. dissertation), which focuses on the teachings of Karl Leimer and Gieseking: *Karl Leimer*

[3] Bernard Gavoty, Roger Hauert, *Walter Gieseking*, Great Concert Artists (Geneva: R. Kister, 1955). The series also appeared in French under the title Les Grands Interprètes.

[4] Dean Elder, personal note to author, July 2011.

und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen.[5] It must be noted, however, that despite having studied under Leimer, Gieseking more or less simply endorsed his mentor's pedagogical approach to piano playing. Braumandl provides a brief biographical chapter on both musicians, and without offering an in-depth examination, she defends Gieseking from the postwar charges of Nazi collaboration, arguing, too, that he was never anti-Semitic.[6] She bases the latter argument largely on three pieces of evidence: 1) Gieseking continued to play Ravel's music so long it was not prohibited; 2) he gave his Jewish manager Arthur Bernstein a sum of money prior to the latter's emigration; and 3) he set his *21 Kinderlieder* to poems by the "Jewish couple" Paula and Richard Dehmel (only Paula, née Oppenheimer was, in fact, Jewish) and had the cycle printed privately because of Reich publishers' unwillingness to do so. Braumandl goes into no further detail, but these points will be discussed at length in this dissertation.[7] Her bibliography serves as a useful, if limited, list of important, primarily German sources related to both Gieseking's and Leimer's careers.

The second of these writings is Karen Haid's D.M.A. dissertation, "Walter Gieseking and His Published Chamber Music."[8] While Haid's observations offer insight into seven of Gieseking's chamber works in their final, published form, she was unable to study the surviving manuscripts, including both the sketches and fair copies found in the

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[5] Ricarda Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musikpädagogik, ed. Eckard Nolte, Band 15 (New York: Peter Lang, 2003). See pages 47–55 in particular.

[6] Ibid., see especially pages 47–55.

[7] Braumandl gives no sources for her arguments regarding Ravel's music and the sum of money Gieseking gave Bernstein. As for the *Kinderlieder*, she cites as her source a letter from Jutta Hajmássy she received personally on 17 February 2001. Ibid., 53.

[8] Karen Haid, "Walter Gieseking and His Published Chamber Music" (D.M.A. diss., Florida State University).

Nachlass. Her thirty-page biographical account of Gieseking's career is largely a summary of his autobiographical sketch from *So wurde ich Pianist*. She briefly examines the postwar strife that surrounded his career, but without consulting any of the vast amount of archival documentation available on the topic, including the U.S. Government records; aside from *So wurde ich Pianist*, she cites as her sources American newspapers and magazines almost exclusively.[9]

The amount of research on musicians during the Third Reich and post-WWII period is increasing. Among the many outstanding scholars currently specializing in this area of music history are three that deserve mention here: Michael Kater, David Monod, and Toby Thacker. Kater, who has largely led the way in the field of music in the Third Reich, has only briefly commented on Gieseking's career, but states clearly his conviction that Gieseking, who had "committed several questionable political acts," was—as opposed to the "fanatical Nazi believer" Elly Ney—"more of an opportunist."[10] In his monograph *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, & the Americans, 1945–1953*, Monod, similar to Kater, concludes that Gieseking was "a collaborator and opportunist . . . [who] was impressed by Hitler and believed in the values of the National Socialist state."[11] Using primary sources such as the Berlin Document Center file on Gieseking (now maintained by the Bundesarchiv in Germany and the National Archives and Records Administration in the U.S.) and others found in the Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, he comments on the pianist's career during the Third Reich and,

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[9] Haid, "Walter Gieseking and His Published Chamber Music," 19–30.

[10] Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 170, 276–77. See also Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 70.

[11] David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, & the Americans, 1945–1953* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 159.

drawing from the U.S. Military Government records, provides an approximately three-page summary of the postwar denazification process.[12] Monod's study of the denazification proceedings of musicians in postwar Germany's American zone is the most useful publication on the subject in general. Thacker, too, briefly evaluates Gieseking's case several times in his comprehensive account of the musical culture in postwar Germany, *Music after Hitler, 1945–1955*, which examines the involvement of each of the occupying Allied forces and numerous connected topics.[13] No scholar has until now written anything substantial in scope on Gieseking's career specifically.

Gieseking's autobiographical sketch appeared in *So wurde ich Pianist* (How I became a Pianist), first published posthumously by F. A. Brockhaus in 1963.[14] Largely the project of his daughter Jutta Hajmássy, the concise book (148 pages in total) also included ten essays on music (mostly reprints) written by Gieseking, lists of selected compositions and arrangements, and a partial discography of both his commercial discs and broadcast recordings.[15] Brockhaus's final, fourth edition appeared in 1975. Since then, the book has been brought out in at least six languages (in some cases incompletely)—German, French, Swedish, Japanese, Russian, and Romanian—but never in English. As an M.A. thesis project, I completed an annotated English translation of the

[12] Monod, *Settling Scores*, 156–59.

[13] Toby Thacker, *Music after Hitler* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), see, for example, pages 54 and 119–20.

[14] Walter Gieseking. *So wurde ich Pianist* (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1963).

[15] The discography was prepared by Jutta Hajmássy's husband, Imre Hajmássy, who had studied with Gieseking after WWII.

autobiographical component, excerpts of which subsequently appeared in the form of two articles in the London-based magazine *International Piano* in 2006.[16]

Gieseking's memoir offers much insight into his life, yet many events are left uncovered, and there is a constant lack of detail: the autobiographical section (excluding Hajmássy's circa four pages of commentary) comprises just over sixty-eight pages. He began writing the sketch in the winter of 1951–52, while recovering from an injurious automobile accident.[17] His unexpected death less than five years later, at age sixty, prevented him from completing the memoir and, according his daughter, "he probably also no longer found the pleasure in it that the story of his youth and the unusual development of his career had given him, once all that was left to recount were the programs and achievements of a world-renowned pianist."[18]

Whereas Gieseking chose to include fairly little of the contentious aspects of his career, he felt compelled to explain certain points, his decision to remain in Germany after 1933 for instance, and he briefly discussed the postwar controversy he faced in the U.S. starting in the late 1940s. Still, the pages he devotes to the period from 1933 through 1939 amount to only five, with *no* description of the war years.[19] Hajmássy adds one and a half pages of commentary before her father resumes with his own concise retelling of his protested, and consequently failed, attempt to give a North American return tour in

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[16] Walter W. Gieseking, "How I Became a Pianist," translated and annotated by Frank R. Latino, includes an introduction, biographical sketches, and index. Gieseking, "How I became a Pianist," Part I, translated with commentary by Frank R. Latino, *International Piano*, Jan./Feb. 2006, 60–63; Gieseking, "How I became a Pianist" Part II, translated with commentary by Frank R. Latino, *International Piano*, Mar./Apr. 2006, 44–49.

[17] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 31 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[18] "Auch ging ihm wohl die Freude, die ihm die Schilderung seiner Jugend und seines gewiß nicht alltäglichen Werdeganges gemacht hatte, etwas verloren, als nur noch von Programmen und Erfolgen des von der Welt anerkannten Pianisten zu berichten war." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 70.

[19] See ibid., 65–70.

1949.[20] She then brings the autobiographical sketch to a close with just over two pages of concluding remarks.[21]

The Purpose and Significance of this Study

This dissertation provides a comprehensive, chiefly chronological account of Gieseking's often mentioned yet unstudied activities during the Third Reich and postwar years, illustrating the extent to which his career was increasingly affected by the policies of the National Socialist regime, the worsening conditions created by World War II, the Allies' postwar agenda, and the numerous protests carried out against him in various nations after the war.

To place Gieseking's engagements in context, the recurrent, varying political circumstances are described in depth, often concentrating on their contested aspects. Given the pre-eminent status he maintained throughout the fighting and the special treatment accorded to him by Nazi officialdom, such information is crucial to a solid and scholarly assessment of his career during these years. Yet Gieseking fulfilled a high number of engagements during the Third Reich, up to the last months of the war. The reader must therefore keep in mind that the majority of the events considered throughout this dissertation have been singled out because of their political conditions. We should also remember that those concerts of Gieseking's requested by and performed before

[20] Under the title "Warum ich nicht spielte" (Why I did not Play), this closing account of the difficulties Gieseking experienced upon his arrival in postwar America in January 1949 first appeared in an abbreviated form in the *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, shortly after he returned to Germany. See Walter Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht spielte," *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 3 Feb. 1949.

[21] Hajmássy's concluding remarks are found on pages 70–71 and 79–81 of Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*.

Nazi officials, as well as his other known dealings with the regime, were less common before the war, when Reich artists were still themselves largely in control of their careers.

Another aim of this study is to provide abundant new details and analyses of numerous sub-topics within the wide-ranging subject of music in the Third Reich and postwar era. Additionally, each chapter and excursus presents a generous amount of previously unknown biography, which reveals the many facets of Gieseking's intriguing life as one of the twentieth century's pre-eminent pianists.

Many imperative questions must be kept in mind as these chapters are read. How, for example, did Gieseking's decision to remain a German citizen both further and hinder his career? He later claimed that he and his managers privately arranged nearly all of his engagements and often rejected offers to play for the Reich government. But to what extent was it possible for him to continue his profession independent of the regime, and how did this change over time?[22] Like many of his colleagues, Gieseking argued that he had merely wished to offer *all* of his audiences—regardless of their nationality and political situation—a couple of hours of peaceful, apolitical music making, art for the sake of art. Yet was it possible for a musician of his stature to do so while, willingly or not, representing a ruthless dictatorship? Finally, to what degree did his concerts actually function as Nazi propaganda, and, irrespective of his own intentions, how effectively did he promote Nazi art?

Sources Consulted and Cited

This study is based on primary and secondary source materials I consulted pertaining to Gieseking's career from over thirty archives, libraries, and other institutions

[22] Walter Gieseking, "Eidesstattliche Erklärung," 4 Jan. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

across both the U.S. and Germany, encompassing several thousand hitherto untapped primary documents. Moreover, I was able to conduct interviews, correspond with, and receive relevant materials from Gieseking's two daughters, Jutta Hajmássy (b. 1927) and Freya Colassis (b. 1931), as well as his former pupils Dean Elder and Stewart Gordon among others.

In addition to the Gieseking family's own vast, privately maintained archives in Wiesbaden and Dean Elder's Gieseking papers (passed on to the author in 2011; see below), materials collected include (1) official Nazi government records and declassified U.S. and British Military Government documents now kept in Berlin, Koblenz, Munich, Washington, and Wiesbaden; (2) U.S. State and Justice Department papers, including those from the National Archives in both College Park, MD and Washington D.C., as well as those obtained from the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act; and (3) numerous files on or related to Gieseking from organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union and American Veterans Committee, which were involved in the controversy that surrounded his prevented postwar American tour in 1949 and successful return in 1953.

Certain records were particularly important for the chapters on the World War II years. Aside from Gieseking's unpublished correspondence, these include, above all, Severin Kaven's crucial interrogation transcript and report carried out and prepared for the U.S. Military Government.[23] During the war, Kaven (born Kavenoki, 1899–1972) had worked for the Anglo-American Psychological Warfare Division of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), which evolved into the Information

[23] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking"; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking, Pianist," 25 Sept. 1945, file: Walter Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

Control Division following Germany's surrender.[24] Also significant were records from the Auswärtiges Amt's Political Archive in Berlin and Gieseking's European manager, Dr. Rudolf Goette's six-page postwar testimony, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933" ("Overview of Gieseking's Activities since 1933"). Goette submitted this testimony to the British Information Control Unit (No. 8) at Hamburg in early 1946, along with a one-page supplement, with the aim of defending his by then blacklisted client.[25] More information concerning these documents is given in the separate introduction to the World War II chapters.

In all, the U.S. institutions from which materials were retrieved include the American Jewish Historical Society Center for Jewish History (Boston); Florida State University Library System (Tallahassee), Harvard University's Houghton Library (Cambridge); International Piano Archives at Maryland (University of Maryland, College Park); Michelle Smith Performing Arts Library and its Special Collections (University of Maryland, College Park); National Archives I and II (College Park and Washington D.C.); Wayne State University's Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs (Detroit); Duke University's Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library (Durham); Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University (Princeton); Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul); Federal Bureau of Investigation/U.S. Justice Department and Immigration Services (Washington D.C.); George Washington University's Gelman

[24] An overview of the two divisions can be found in Dr. Cora Sol Goldstein, "A Strategic Failure: American Information Control Policy in Occupied Iraq," *Military Review* (Mar.–Apr. 2008): 59, accessed 17 Feb. 2013, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/goldstein_mar08.pdf.

[25] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," Hamburg, 11 Jan. 1946, to [British] No. 8 Information Control Unit, G.P.O., Hamburg, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA. The supplement was likwise prepared in Hamburg that same day; see Goette, "Ergänzung zum Bericht über Walter Gieseking," Hamburg, 11 Jan. 1946, to [British] No. 8 Information Control Unit, G.P.O., Hamburg, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

Library (Washington D.C.); Library of Congress (Washington D.C.); and Martin Luther King Library, *Washington Star* morgue (Washington D.C.).

The most important German records were collected from the Bundesarchiv in Berlin and Koblenz, including the main subject file on Gieseking's career during the Third Reich and postwar period. Other related materials from German institutions were obtained from the Akademie der Künste Archiv in Berlin, Freie Universität and Humboldt Universität library systems in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek–Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Musikabteilung) in Berlin, Landesbibliothek in Coburg, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt, Zentrum für Theaterforschung in Hamburg, Landeshauptstadt Stadtbibliothek in Hanover, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv–Hauptstaatsarchiv in Hanover, Stadtarchiv in Hanover, Hochschule für Musik und Theater "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy" Bibliothek/Archiv in Leipzig, Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach am Neckar, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich, Landeshauptstadt Stadtarchiv in Munich, Landesarchiv des Saarlandes in Saarbrücken-Scheidt, Universitätsbibliothek in Tübingen, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv in Wiesbaden, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek in Wiesbaden, and the Museum Wiesbaden.

In 2007, Hajmássy and Colassis kindly granted me sole access to their family archives, placing me in the unique position of being able to carry out my research related to their father. This project would have not been possible without their help and support. Gieseking's *Nachlass*, which had never been made completely accessible for study, includes an immense number of items: clippings, correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, programs, scrapbooks, and much other memorabilia. I was graciously permitted to make digital copies of the collection items, resulting in over six thousand

images.[26] Using my reproductions, I took extensive notes and created spreadsheets that served as finding aids. This enabled me to examine the materials methodically, with quick and easy access to each item. (A fuller description of the Gieseking archives is found in the Bibliography.)

In addition to making several visits to Hajmássy's home in Wiesbaden, I had the good fortune to conduct the first interviews with her and Colassis on the subject of their father. I have also corresponded and telephoned with both daughters regularly.[27] Furthermore, I have been able to email and have telephone conversations with Dean Elder and Stewart Gordon, who both studied with Gieseking in Saarbrücken during the postwar years. Much could be learned from all of these communications, and I was able to contact each person on numerous occasions, Hajmássy and Elder repeatedly, as new questions arose. Their input was sincere and invaluable.

In 2011, Dean Elder kindly bequeathed his Gieseking papers to me (referred to in footnotes as the Dean Elder Collection, or DEC). Among other items, this comprises valuable correspondence between Gieseking and several acquaintances: most importantly his American piano tuner and confidant, Richard Pohlman, his two American managers, Charles Wagner and Edward Snowdon, and Elder himself. Further relevant letters, mostly replies to Elder, are from Gieseking's daughter Jutta, as well as former colleagues and acquaintances of Gieseking's, including his longtime physician, Dr. Hans Kirchner; his record producer at EMI, Walter Legge; conductors Sir John Barbirolli and Bruno Walter;

[26] Jutta Hajmássy, who maintains the materials at her home, granted me written permission to use the collection for the proposed dissertation (see the signed agreement in Appendix 1).

[27] While the interviews and conversations were conducted in German, I have provided English translations for all quoted matter. With regard to the visits, correspondence, and interviews, the University of Maryland's Institutional Review Board (IRB) determined on 24 July 2007 that I did not need IRB approval for my dissertation project.

consul of the Netherlands, Willem Verhaaf de Vries; and others. Additional documents found in the collection are original photographs of Gieseking, some with his pupils at Saarbrücken, as well as concert programs and various notes written by Elder. What is more, the Elder collection contains the typescripts of two incomplete, unpublished Gieseking biographies, one of which was written by Elder, the other by another Gieseking pupil, the late Ronald Booth.[28] While fascinating, noteworthy, and important—above all because of their first-hand accounts of certain events—these last items are nonetheless not genuine "academic" texts and draw from a relatively limited number of sources predating the 1990s. Admittedly, many materials related to Gieseking that can now be gathered rather easily, the amount of which continues to grow at an overwhelming rate, were still difficult to impossible to obtain when Elder and Booth were writing.

Since Gieseking's postwar career received extensive, worldwide media coverage, a multitude of newspaper and magazine articles from across Europe, North America, South America, Australia, as well as the Southeast Asian nation of Singapore also proved vital for my research. A significant number of those cited were gathered from several archives in the U.S. and Germany, with others now digitized retrieved online. I was also able to make use of many of those preserved in Gieseking's personal collection of clippings maintained in his *Nachlass* in Wiesbaden. Two scrapbooks survive, in which the pianist kept well over a thousand newspaper clippings and other articles related to his career. The individual items almost always indicate the source and were, more or less, meticulously pasted in chronological order. A smaller-sized scrapbook (33 x 28 cm)

[28] Ronald Booth, n.d., "Gieseking," unpublished manuscript (photocopy), DEC (in the author's possession); Dean Elder, n.d., untitled, unpublished manuscript, DEC (original typescript in the author's possession).

covers Nov. 1917–Aug. 1919 (with loose articles that continue until July 1920); a larger scrapbook (ca. 47 x 31.5 cm) labeled "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art," or "Scrapbook for all types of Newspaper Clippings," covers Oct. 1920–Apr. 1926. Other scrapbooks covering later years may have been misplaced or lost, though several envelopes containing hundreds of loose articles and clippings also survive. Gieseking paid press clipping agencies—Argus de la Presse in Paris and the Presse und Ausschnittdienst v. Beust in Stuttgart, for example—to collect these reviews and articles for him, and they were gathered from European, Australian, and North and South American sources. Likewise, he received from his American manager Charles L. Wagner many U.S. clippings collected by the Burrelle's bureau in New York. In the *Nachlass* are three smaller envelopes (c. 19 x 11 cm) bearing Wagner's name, which are filled with such clippings from 1939. Incidentally, Gieseking addressed the topic of music criticism in a published essay from 1929, which he wrote for the journal *Melos*, and he cites and comments on certain reviews throughout his memoirs.[29]

Other important clipping collections devoted to Gieseking's career are found in the Harry Anderson Collection at the International Piano Archives at Maryland (College Park); the *Washington Star* morgue, housed at the Martin Luther King Library in Washington D.C.; and the Institute für Zeitgeschichte in Munich; and the Dean Elder Collection, which contains those kept by Gieseking's American managers, Charles Wagner and Edward Snowdon. (These, too, are now in the author's possession.)

Finally, a word about the frequent translations that appear throughout this dissertation is necessary. Many texts cited and quoted are in German. Unless indicated

[29] See Gieseking, "Glossen zur Musikkritik" *Melos*, Mar. 1929, 124–25 and the autobiographical component of Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 9–81.

otherwise, I have provided my own translation for all quotations, in virtually all instances including the original passage as well. This seemed necessary since many of the primary sources quoted are scarce and still difficult to impossible to access—the best example of this being the invaluable materials from Gieseking's papers in Wiesbaden. When the original extract involves merely a single word or short phrase (i.e., not a full sentence), I have given it in the main text. In all other cases, it appears in a footnote. The same rule applies to all translations from other languages, which draw from Dutch, French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swedish sources. In some instances, large parts of, or even entire, letters are quoted, with the original layout reproduced as much as possible in the main text; in such cases, the original text is likewise given in a footnote, though without adhering to the layout.

Further Research

This dissertation covers Gieseking's career during the Third Reich and postwar period in considerable depth. Yet, as no study is ever complete, many topics would benefit from still further investigation. More research into Gieseking's concert activities in a number of the foreign nations during the NS era could be carried out, ideally in archives and libraries in each of the respective countries. The German Foreign Office's Political Archive (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts) in Berlin, too, undoubtedly contains additional, relevant documentation that remains to be uncovered. It was not until a later stage of writing, that the author came upon certain files from this archive that pertain directly to Gieseking's wartime engagements in the countries of Belgium, Denmark, France, Switzerland, and Sweden; while much of it was incorporated into the dissertation, its full inclusion was, regrettably, hindered by the deadline. These records

clarify more fully the political circumstances of the arrangements of Gieseking's appearances abroad and provide key information—as reported on by the respective German Embassies to the Foreign Office in instances—related to his receptions in the various nations. The further inclusion of such materials will form a significant extension of the present work. While Gieseking's early life and rise to fame through World War I also warrant thorough assessment, his career during the Weimar era would likewise form a logical continuation of this dissertation and round off his biography. The author has completed a substantial part of the necessary research and much of the writing. Given that it lay beyond the scope of this already lengthier-than-anticipated study, this, too, is work for the future.

Part I: The Prewar Years

Chapter 1:

The Rise of the Third Reich, 1933

In this chapter, Gieseking's career during the National Socialists' rise to power is examined through several case studies. As throughout this dissertation, ample, hitherto unknown biographical information is simultaneously provided. We explore Gieseking's decision to remain in Germany, his initial dealings with Nazi officials, the difficulties he encountered owing to his manager being Jewish, and selected concert tours at this time. Much of our information was taken from Gieseking's unpublished correspondence and his posthumously published, autobiographical sketch, in addition to a myriad of other primary and secondary sources. Relevant background information is given that pertains to a number of historical events just before and during the first phase of the Third Reich. Although this chapter begins a few years before the Nazis' rule, most of it concerns significant events of 1933. Before we commence, however, an overview of our subject's early years must be given.

Gieseking's Upbringing and Early Career

Born to German parents in Lyon on 5 November 1895, Gieseking was raised in southern France and, to a lesser extent, Italy. He had begun to play piano at age four-and-a-half and compose at seven, though largely by autodidactic means. While he quickly proved to be a phenomenal musical prodigy, he was spared the burden of giving public concerts as a child. Nor did he attend school. Instead, he spent much of his time assisting

his father, Wilhelm (1869–1945), by collecting and selling butterflies and moths, primarily in the Alpine regions of France and Italy.[1]

After studying medicine, Wilhelm had begun to earn a humble living as a lepidopterist.[2] Before long, he chose to specialize in the fauna of the Riviera and Maritime Alps, where Walter, in 1910, proudly caught the first specimen of a variety subsequently known as *Giesekingiana*.[3] Two hawkmoth hybrids that Wilhelm crossed for the important collector and researcher Conte Emilio Turati (1858–1938) of Milan had already been named after the father-son team: the *Walteri* and the *Giesekingi*. Since Turati had financed the fieldwork, which the Giesekings carried out in Sardinia and the Mediterranean side of the Western Ligurian mountains in 1907, bringing back the necessary live caterpillars, he gave the names, courteously choosing to do so in his two colleagues' honor.[4] In explaining the tribute afterward, Turati referred to "the extremely clever and young Walter, a gifted musician for whom a brilliant career will open, which is nonetheless not preventing him from learning about and dedicating himself to

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[1] Gieseking's recollections of his childhood, including information pertaining to the entomological work, can be read in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 9–21, 24; see also Walter Niemann, "Walter Gieseking," *Die Musik*, Feb. 1924, 325–26.

[2] Wilhelm (Karl Dietrich Wilhelm Gieseking, b. Lahde, 19 Feb. 1869, d. Wiesbaden, 4 Feb. 1945) was originally from the northwest German village Lahde in Westphalia's Minden district. Like Walter, he lived in Wiesbaden later in life. Gieseking recounts memories of his father in the early part of his autobiographical sketch. See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, see pages 9–32, 37, and 52; Heiratsurkunde Nr. 370, Wilhelm Gieseking and Martha Bethke, Standesamt Hanover, 31 Mar. 1925, GFA.

[3] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 18. Adalbert Seitz, who included illustrations of the *Giesekingiana* butterfly in his two-volume work on the insects, added, "This *[Neopryeria-] Zygaenid*, which is most unusual for the Maritime Alps, was discovered by Dr. Gieseking and son in 1910." Adalbert Seitz, ed. *Die Gross-Schmetterlinge der Erde: eine systematische Bearbeitung der bis jetzt bekannten Gross-Schmetterlinge*, Band 2 Supplement (Stuttgart: Alfred Kernen Verlag, 1933), 9–10.

[4] Emilio Turati, *Nuove forme di Lepidotteri e Note critiche, III*, Il Naturalista siciliano 21 (Palermo: Virzì, 1909): 75–81, plates 1–7. See also Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 21. The author would like to thank Dr. Charles Mitter of the University of Maryland's Department of Entomology and Dr. Alberto Zilli, Curator of Entomology at the Museum of Zoology in Rome, for their generous assistance regarding Turati and the Giesekings. Note: in his memoirs, Gieseking later described Turati as having actually done the crossbreeding, which seems to be incorrect.

lepidopterology and coleopterology (the study of beetles)."[5] This is the earliest known description of Gieseking's musical, and entomological, aptitudes. Unsurprisingly, Walter acquired a lifelong passion for lepidoptery. His later private correspondence, as we will see, is filled with descriptions of the field trips he so fervently made wherever he toured. After his death, his own amassment of butterflies and moths, one of the world's largest private collections,[6] was bequeathed by his children to the Natural History Collection of the Museum Wiesbaden, where it can still be viewed by appointment today.[7]

Wilhelm was also a competent amateur musician, however, and he strongly influenced and fostered his son's musical interests. Walter later had few recollections of his father's musical abilities, maintaining that Wilhelm had played primarily in his youth and taught him little.[8] But according to Wilhelm's brother-in-law, the school teacher Hans Hendrich, the former was, in fact, unusually gifted—even more so than son Walter. While that seems far-fetched, Wilhelm could in any case, as Hendrich recalled, play the clarinet, flute, piano, and violin, each one well. When Hendrich himself sometimes played piano, Wilhelm, who possessed so-called absolute pitch, would purportedly point out every wrong note, as he could allegedly also do while listening to a full orchestra.[9]

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[5] Turati, *Nuove forme di Lepidotteri*, 75.

[6] The immense size of the collection was occasionally mentioned by the press, though inconsistently. Regarding the number of specimens it allegedly contained, Pierre Auclert, for example, gave the impressive figure of 20,000. See Auclert, "Chronique Musicale: Walter Gieseking," in *Allemagne d'aujourd'hui: revue française d'information* 5, no. 1 (1957): 32.

[7] The author would like to thank Dr. Fritz Geller-Grimm, curator of the Museum Wiesbaden's Natural History State Collection, for giving him a private tour of the Gieseking collection in October 2007, at which time Gieseking's daughter, Jutta Hajmássy, and granddaughter, Susanne Hajmássy, happily took part. Gieseking's collection is listed on the museum website. See "Zoology: Lepidoptera," Museum Wiesbaden Natural History State Collection, accessed 2 Feb. 2013, http://www.geller-grimm.de/museum/coll032.html.

[8] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 14.

[9] "Weil er so gern Choräle spielte: Hans Hendrich (†) aus Lahde über die Vorfahren des Pianisten [Gieseking] – die große Bescheidenheit des Künstlers," *Mindener Tageblatt*, 7 Sept. 1968.

The Gieseking family's genealogy papers likewise describe Wilhelm as "highly inclined musically and otherwise richly gifted" ("musikalisch hoch veranlagt und auch sonst reich begabt").[10]

In 1911, Wilhelm and his companion from Berlin, Martha Bethke (1870–1925), who took care of the household (she was not a musician[11]), returned to northwest Germany so that their only child, Walter, by this time aged 16, could finally begin formal music studies.[12] Until then, the boy had merely received sporadic lessons from an unidentified piano teacher in Naples at the turn of the century, someone in Nervi (near Genoa), and the Italian-born musician and pedagogue Eugène Gandolfo in Nice.[13] Wilhelm thought it disadvantageous to play but a single instrument.[14] Thus, Walter had

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[10] Ahnentafel der Fam. Karl Gieseking, Lahde 49," GFA.

[11] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 14.

[12] Wilhelm was a freethinker who opposed all forms of bureaucracy and therefore did not marry Martha (Martha Augusta Emilie Bethke, b. Berlin, 27 Mar. 1870, d. Hanover, 4 July 1925) until 30 March 1925, the day before their son's own small, informal wedding. Martha would die only months later, on 4 July. The reason for Gieseking's parents' marriage at this curious date must have been so that Annie (née Haake), Walter's bride, as well as their future children, could take on the name Gieseking. Until 1925, Walter's surname formally remained Bethke in Germany, though he never went by his mother's maiden name. He is listed as Walter Bethke on his parents' marriage certificate, and his Prussian *Einbürgerungsurkunde* (Certificate of Naturalization) from 1924, to give another example, verifies that the "Pianist Walter Wilhelm Bethke" had officially become a Prussian citizen. Just prior to Walter's birth, his parents had, in fact, hurriedly returned to France from Switzerland, where the baby, born in Lyon, would be able to have his father's last name on paper; France allowed this unlike Germany. Milton and Virginia Katims learned of the story through the pianist Béla Siki: "Bela said it was generally believed that Gieseking was born in Lyon, France, because his father was the German consul there. The truth, however, is far more interesting. Gieseking's parents were not married. To make certain that their expected child would not be considered a bastard, they moved to Lyon, where, if the father had been present at birth and acknowledged being the father, the newborn would be registered in his name, even though the parents were unable to produce a marriage certificate." The family's stay in Lyon was, incidentally, brief, from which they moved to Nice. Sources: Heiratsurkunde [Marriage Certificate] Nr. 370, Wilhelm Gieseking and Martha Bethke, Standesamt Hanover, 31 Mar. 1925, GFA; Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 33n111; Einbürgerungsurkunde: Der Pianist Walter Wilhelm Bethke, Preußischer Regierungspräsident, Hanover, GFA; Milton Katims and Virginia P. Katims, *The Pleasure was Ours: Personal Encounters with the Greats, the Near-Greats and the Ingrates* (Mill Valley, CA: Vision Books, 2004), 150; Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 9–10; Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, Germany, 19 Mar. 2008; Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 10 Sept. 2008.

[13] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 11, 18; Niemann, "Walter Gieseking," 326.

[14] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 14.

also been given some violin instruction, which he continued with Gandolfo: "Once again, however, these were mostly violin lessons because playing the piano was easy for me," he confided, "while all of Signor Gandolfo's attempts to teach me proper bowing technique were not very successful."[15] He would also learn to play the organ well enough to function as substitute organist at a church in Lahde during his studies, even giving a solo performance once in Minden.[16]

By November, Walter was enrolled at Hanover's State Conservatory (Städtisches Conservatorium für Musik), where his mentor became Karl Leimer (1858–1944), the institution's co-founder and co-director.[17] His gifts were immediately apparent, and Leimer soon began to give him four lessons a week, often for hours at a time.[18] In a letter from 15 October 1912, used to secure his prize pupil a state scholarship, Leimer predicted that the youth would soon become a "very important artist (conductor, composer, and virtuoso)."[19] "Among the thousands of students that the undersigned has met at the conservatories in Königsberg and, later, in Hanover," Leimer added, "there has not been one who was nearly as talented as Gieseking."[20] Leimer had directed and taught at the newly founded Conservatory in Königsberg from 1882 to 1896 before continuing his

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[15] "Jedoch wiederum meist Violinstunden, weil mir das Klavier ja keine Schwierigkeiten machte, während alle Bemühungen Signor Gandolfos, mir einen ordentlichen Bogenstrich beizubringen, nur wenig Erfolg hatten." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 14, 18.

[16] Ibid., 22–23, 28.

[17] Leimer's career is discussed further in Excursus I: Karl Leimer and the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer Courses, 1935–1944.

[18] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 26.

[19] Leimer, Hanover, to the Regierungspräsident, [Hanover], 15 Oct. 1912, GFA.

[20] "Unter einigen tausend Schülern, die der Unterzeichnete in den Conservatorien von Königsberg und später in Hannover hat kennen gelernt, war nicht ein einziger, der annähernd so befähigt gewesen wäre, wie Gieseking." Leimer, Hanover, to the Regierungspräsident, [Hanover], 15 Oct. 1912, GFA.

career in Hanover a year later.[21] The mentor and pupil maintained a lifelong friendship and, as discussed later, even became brothers-in-law.

Leimer wasted no time in preparing Gieseking for a career as a concert pianist. Walter soon began to make public appearances with relative frequency during his studies, giving both solo recitals as well as performances with the student orchestra. He was also one of the ensemble's violinists.[22] Endowed with a natural technique, an unusually sharp photographic memory, the ability to sight-read the most difficult scores, and, like his father, perfect pitch, learning repertoire was seemingly an effortless endeavor for him. His conservatory piano performances testify to this, as do numerous published accounts by those he knew and heard him.[23]

A few of these earliest programs were devoted to a single composer, such as the all-Chopin evening on 2 February 1913, which included the twelve Etudes of op. 10, Piano Concerto No. 1 in E minor (with orchestra), Fantasie in F minor, and Polonaise in A-flat major. Less than three months later followed an all-Schumann recital on 28 April 1913, comprising the Toccata, *Symphonic Etudes*, Andante and Variations in B flat for two pianos, op. 46 (with the second part played by Leimer), Fantasy in C major, and *Carnaval*.[24] In September, he gave two all-Beethoven performances; the first one included the ever-popular Piano Sonatas op. 13 ("Pathétique"), op. 27 no. 2 ("Moonlight"), op. 53 ("Waldstein"), and op. 57 ("Appassionata"), as well as op. 111—a

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[21] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 21–22.

[22] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 23.

[23] Leimer, for one, describes Gieseking's natural aptitudes in Leimer, Hanover, to the Regierungspräsident, [Hanover], 15 Oct. 1912, GFA. Dean Elder likewise described his mentor's abilities in Elder, "Study with Gieseking," *Pianists at Play: Interviews, Master Lessons, and Technical Regimes* (Evanston, Ill.: The Instrumentalist Company, 1982), 8.

[24] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 27; Program: "Schumann-Abend: ausgeführt von Walter Gieseking," Städt. Conservatorium für Musik, Hanover, 28 Apr. 1913, DEC.

full program indeed! The second concert, given just four days later and presumably with the school's orchestra, featured the magnificent Sonata op. 106 ("Hammerklavier") and the Piano Concerto in E-flat major ("Emperor"), op. 73.[25] Still other conservatory concerts featured Liszt's Concerto No. 1 in E-flat major, Debussy's "Reflets dans l'eau," and Grieg's Ballade in G minor, op. 24, plus a Chopin-Liszt program that included Chopin's complete Preludes, op. 28, and, from Liszt, the B-minor Sonata, *Réminiscences de Don Juan*, and selected transcriptions of Schubert songs. Regrettably, Gieseking dropped much of this virtuoso repertoire in later years, so that a considerable portion of it was never recorded.[26]

To cap off his studies, Walter did something even more extraordinary by performing the "complete" piano sonatas of Beethoven—from memory, of course—in a series of six recitals given in late 1915, on 24 and 30 November, and early 1916, on 8 and 18 January and 2 and 22 February. This was Leimer's bold plan. Of the thirty-two works, only the two "easy ones" that form op. 49 were omitted from the cycle, which he carried out in chronological order according to opus number.[27] "The most difficult part was memorizing the sonatas," Gieseking once confessed, "and that wasn't too difficult."[28] It is reasonable to believe that he became the first *pupil* (albeit by then aged twenty) to achieve this rather superhuman feat, though he never made such a claim. The conservatory faculty and students must have been as awestruck by his phenomenal

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[25] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 27.

[26] Ibid., 28–29.

[27] Ibid., 31–32. In the GFA, Gieseking's handwritten draft copy of the programs survive as well as the printed versions, which give the exact recital dates.

[28] "Le plus grand effort était d'apprendre les sonates par cœur : c'est dire qu'il n'était pas considerable." Bernard Gavoty, Roger Hauert, *Walter Gieseking*, Les Grands Interprètes (Geneva: René Kister, 1954), 12; translation based on Harold C. Schonberg's in Schonberg, *The Great Pianists: From Mozart to the Present* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 448.

keyboard facility as were his later audiences, critics, and own pupils. Indeed, history has probably witnessed few classical artists of such prodigious talent.

Meanwhile the First World War had broken out, and within a few months the 1895 age group was required to register with the military. After initially being rejected—Gieseking possessed no papers to prove he was German—and further delay, he was conscripted as a Prussian citizen.[29] Leimer had tried to prevent this by appealing to officials in March, asking that his pupil, who "already ranked among the foremost piano virtuosos," be allowed to continue studying.[30] His plea proved useless, and Walter commenced his duties in August 1916.[31] Because of the uncertainties caused by the conflict, Leimer had already had to cancel the arrangements he had made through a Berlin agency to introduce Gieseking to the capital's public and press during the 1914/15 concert season.[32] The proud mentor, as well as the striving young pianist, must have been terribly disappointed by these unforeseen consequences of the hostilities.

Walter was first stationed in his hometown of Hanover, before being transferred the following year to the North Sea island of Borkum. There he carried out his duties until his honorable discharge on 1 December 1918.[33] As a regiment bandsman, he stayed musically active for the remainder of the war by appearing throughout northwest Germany as violinist, violist, percussionist, and pianist, while simultaneously working as an entertainment pianist (*Unterhaltungspianist*) in cafes, hotels, and silent movie

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[29] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 31.

[30] "Er zählt jetzt bereits zu den allerersten Klaviervirtuosen. . . ." Karl Leimer, Hanover, (no addressee given), letter of appeal, 5 Mar. 1916, GFA; Gieseking mentions Leimer's effort in *So wurde ich Pianist*, 31.

[31] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 31–32.

[32] Ibid., 28, 30–31.

[33] Ibid., 32–43.

theaters.[34] He was frequently granted leave and therefore already making paid public appearances as a civilian, too.[35] Thus, despite the wartime circumstances, he continued to establish himself as a performing artist, if more or less only locally. Describing some of the unexpectedly ample opportunities for music making at the time, he wrote:

> In Borkum there were also guest performances by theater groups, ballet companies, and soloists, and there was almost always some kind of musical work for me. From the song recital by the baritone Max Krauss, which was a perfect Schubert-Schumann-Loewe program, to *Bunte Abende* [variety shows] featuring primitive farce, I had to supply the piano accompaniment to everything.
>
> Together with some of my most competent colleagues from the orchestra—there were musicians from first-class orchestras among us who were true artists—I often played popular music [*Unterhaltungsmusik*] at the naval air station in the evenings.[36]

Walter, in fact, continued to play chamber music and accompany singers, instrumentalists, and ensembles—something he had begun to do as a pupil—well into the Weimar era and, at times, even later. He genuinely enjoyed collaborative performance, which on occasion inspired him to compose certain works, some of which he then played with his muses or other fellow musicians.[37]

During one of the regional tours with the Borkum Regiment Band, he participated in a benefit concert given in Emden on 26 April 1918. The program began with Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony and Robert Volkmann's (1815–83) Serenade, before the soldier-pianist stunned his audience with a reading of Liszt's E-flat Concerto, one of his

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[34] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 32–43.

[35] Ibid., 42.

[36] "Es gab auf Borkum auch Gastspiele von Theatergruppen, Balletgruppen und Solisten, wobei es fast stets für mich irgendeine musikalische Arbeit gab. Vom Liederabend des Baritons Max Krauss mit tadellosem Schubert-Schumann-Loewe-Programm bis zu Bunten Abenden mit primitiven Schwänken hatte ich alles mit Klavierbegleitung zu beliefern. Gemeinsam mit einigen der tüchtigsten Kollegen aus dem Orchester—es waren Musiker aus erstklassigen Orchestern bei uns, die absolut Künstler ihrer Instrumente waren—spielte ich abendliche Unterhaltungsmusik oft auf der Seeflieger-Station." Ibid. 41–42.

[37] Examples of Gieseking performing his own works will be given in subsequent chapters.

early warhorses. A review from the *Ostfriesische Zeitung* tells how the soloist, in fact, stole the show:

> And then came Herr Gieseking! . . . And once more we were intoxicated by his playing; this technique is unrivaled and unreachable. One marvels the entire time and is completely enraptured. Equally as much by his playing itself as by his sensitivity and the depth of his reading. Everything that we said about this artist on 12 April could be repeated and underlined. Herr Gieseking should always know that he has our warmest gratitude anytime he thrills us with his playing.[38]

The evening concluded with Wagner's "Waldweben" from *Siegfried* and the Overture from *Der Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, probably leaving much of the crowd longing for more of the young pianist's keyboard wizardry.

After a joint concert further away in Jena on 4 November, one that featured two singers (not accompanied by Gieseking), the *Jenaische Zeitung* praised Walter's interpretations of Beethoven's "Appassionata" Sonata, Grieg's Ballade in G minor, and Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody* no. 12:

> The surprise and the strongest impression of the evening came from Walter Gieseking (piano), who puts to shame all the great pianists who have played in Jena recently. . . . In addition to his solid technique, one is delighted by his highly developed sense of sound, the shades of color within his *piano* and *mezzoforte* [playing], his admirable purity of style, and—with all this combined—his highly individual, sensitive, and creative readings, which cause one to forget about the player almost entirely and focus fully on all of the greatness and beauty of the works being performed.[39]

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[38] "Und dann kam Herr Gieseking! . . . Und wieder berauschte uns sein Spiel, diese Technik ist unerreicht und unerreichbar. Man staunt nur immer und ist völlig hingerissen. Gleichermaßen durch das Spiel als solches, durch seine wunderbare Beseelung und durch die Tiefe der Auffassung. Alles, was wir am 12. April an dieser Stelle über den Künstler sagten, sei hier wiederholt und unterstrichen. Herr Gieseking darf stets unseres innigsten Dankes für jede Gabe seiner Kunst gewiß sein." "Wohltätigkeitskonzert des Borkumer Besatzungsorchesters," *Ostfriesische Zeitung*, 27 Apr. 1918.

[39] "Die Ueberraschung und den stärksten Eindruck des Abends bot Herr Walter Gieseking (Klavier), der alle Klaviergrößen der letzten Jenaer Konzerte glatt in die Tasche steckt. . . . Neben seiner silberklaren Technik erfreut sein fein ausgebildetes Klangempfinden, die Farbenabstufung seines piano und mezzoforte, seine bewundernswerte musikalische Stilreinheit und—alles in allem—sein so selbständig nachempfindendes und nachschaffendes Gestalten, das den Spieler fast vergessen und nur die wiedergegebenen Werke in ihrer ganzen Größe und Schönheit wirken ließ." Dr. R., "Zweites Akademisches Konzert," Musik, *Jenaische Zeitung*, 7 Nov. 1918.

His career as a performer was well underway.

A lifelong hobby composer, by 1917 Gieseking had also begun to busy himself with composition more frequently, with *Lieder* in particular at this time. The gems that survive, undoubtedly inspired by the numerous singers he accompanied, demonstrate a variety of novel concepts of the time—e.g. changing meter, parallel harmonies, and *Sprechstimme*, while the piano accompaniments exploited the modern instrument's wide range of sonic possibilities. Gieseking was already the colorist that helped him distinguish himself as an artist. With the exception of a Quintet for Clarinet, Oboe, Piano, Horn, and Bassoon, all of his WWI output has undeservedly remained in manuscript.[40]

Following his demobilization, Gieseking wasted no time in pursuing his professional career full time. Despite some initial, further hindrances caused by the German Revolution of 1918–19, his rise to fame during the Weimar era was relatively swift. Before long he was playing in prestigious halls, often with eminent conductors such as Fritz Busch, Wilhelm Furtwängler, and Bruno Walter. After quickly conquering Germany, as it were, his first foreign debut took place in Switzerland in 1921. In 1922 followed Austria, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark. In 1923, he carried out tours in Italy, Switzerland, Scandinavian countries again, and Spain, with further concerts arranged in England, Poland, and Hungary. "From 1922 to 1925, I gave approximately one hundred concerts a year," he later recalled, "which I compressed into 8–8 ½ months in order to

[40] Gieseking's output is listed in Appendix 4A and B. His manuscripts are presently maintained by his family in Germany. The author has begun to prepare a series of editions of the unpublished works, with the aim of having them published. He has also produced a commercial CD comprising the bulk of Gieseking's completed unpublished works. See *Walter Gieseking: The Rediscovered Compositions: Lieder, Piano Works, Chamber Music*, Centaur Records/CRC 3215, 2012. Gieseking's published output is discussed below in Excursus IV: Gieseking's Published Compositions during the Third Reich and Postwar Period.

keep my summer breaks as concert-free as possible."[41] In 1926, he completed his first North American tour, and in 1928 he performed in the capitals of Czechoslovakia and France for the first time.[42]

Reviews appeared in abundance and were overwhelmingly favorable. After the up-and-coming artist had returned to Switzerland for the second time, in January 1922, one critic wrote: "Walter Gieseking, the extraordinary pianist who is pampered and treated with utmost reverence in Zurich, achieved new triumphs on Wednesday in the Tonhalle. It has been years since we have seen its small hall so packed. Gieseking is now all the rage. He could play anything, in any manner; he would still be hailed."[43] Describing his Swedish debut on 2 October, the *Svenska Dagbladet* of Stockholm proclaimed, "to the rather large audience it was clear from the start that it was witnessing a pianist of the ultra class."[44]

Word was indeed spreading quickly about the young German virtuoso, so that even his first appearances were highly anticipated. The *Pall Mall Gazette* noted at the time of his London debut in Aeolian Hall in October 1923, which it called a "Great Triumph," how "for some time musical travelers to Germany and Austria have brought

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[41] "1922 bis 1925 hatte ich ungefähr hundert Konzerte im Jahr, die sich auf acht bis achteinhalb Monate konzertrierten, weil ich die Sommerpause möglichst konzertfrei ließ." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 57.

[42] For a more detailed description of Gieseking's Weimar-era activities, see Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 43ff.

[43] "Walter Gieseking, der außerordentliche, in unserem Zürich mit ganz exklusiver Reverenz behandelte und verhätschelte Pianist, hat sich am Mittwoch in der Tonhalle neue Triumphe geholt. Man hat es seit Jahren nicht mehr erlebt, daß der kleine Saal derart bevölkert war. Gieseking ist jetzt Modepianist, er könnte bringen, was und wie er es wollte, so wäre er der Gefeierte." Unidentified clipping from late January 1922, found in Gieseking's personal, large scrapbook (ca. 47 x 31.5 cm, labeled "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art," or "Scrapbook for all types of Newspaper Clippings"), which covers the period of October 1920 to April 1926.

[44] "Den rätt talrika publiken kom redan från början på det klara med att den här hade för sig en pianist av ultraklass." W. S., "Teater och musik," *Svenska Dagbladet*, 3 Oct. 1922, copy found, along with a German translation, in Gieseking's large scrapbook ("Sammelbuch") in the GFA.

back reports of the prowess of Walter Geiseking [*sic*].”[45] Reporting on the same performance, the *Star* (London) declared the exceptionally promising musician to be “the first German newcomer since the war to make a conquest of the London musical public.”[46]

In the U.S., too, Gieseking already enjoyed a “long and excellent repute in New York” prior to his American debut in New York’s Aeolian Hall on 10 January 1926, as Olin Downes of the *New York Times* observed.[47] Following the recital, which included works by works by J. S. Bach, Domenico Scarlatti, Robert Schumann, Ferruccio Busoni, and Claude Debussy, a critic for the *New York American* declared, “A new pianistic star in the artistic firmament is Walter Gieseking, who came here unsung by press agent and manager, and conquered his hearers. . . .”[48] Reviewing the visiting artist’s second Aeolian Hall appearance on 8 February that same season, Olga Samaroff, herself a distinguished keyboard virtuoso, teacher and critic, dubbed him “a giant among pianists.” “The playing he did . . . last night,” she confided to her readers, “was electrifying.”[49] While the write-ups were not without some criticism, for many who heard him, Gieseking could simply do no wrong.

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[45] E. E. “Pianist from Hanover: Great Triumph at First London Performance,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 Oct. 1923.

[46] “A German Pianist. Brilliant Playing by Mr. Walter Gieseking,” *The Star* (London), 16 Oct. 1923.

[47] Olin Downes, “Music: By Olin Downes,” *New York Times*, 11 Jan. 1926. The date of Gieseking’s New York debut is often wrongly given as 22 February 1926, and even Edward Snowdon, Gieseking’s associate manager, incorrectly indicated it as 10 February later. Edward W. Snowdon, “Some Notes on ‘The Gieseking Case’” (New York: privately printed, [1948]), [1].

[48] [Untitled], *New York American*, 17 Jan. 1926. For a second review see “Opera and Concert Events,” *New York Times*, 10 Jan. 1926.

[49] Samaroff, “Music: Gieseking Piano Recital,” Olga Samaroff’s Daily Column, *New York Evening Post*, 9 Feb. 1926.

By 1923, Gieseking had also begun to make his first records, producing his first piano rolls during the twenties as well.[50] This furthered his popularity immensely, as he became one of the most prolific and successful recording artists of his time. By the end of the Weimar era, and the rise of Hitler's Reich, he had clearly established himself as one of the world's greatest pianists.

The Decision to Remain in Germany

In the postwar autobiography, Gieseking wrote that his initial intention had been to leave Germany in the early 1930s, partly for economic reasons and partly to move to Switzerland. He had spent much time in his youth in Switzerland, and he later visited the nation frequently during concert tours and while vacationing, in particular to continue his entomological work. In the memoir, he gave several reasons for his decision to stay in Germany:

> [T]he depression was already rampant then. My long-cherished plan to migrate to Switzerland failed because my wife was opposed to it, and they imposed the *Reichsfluchtsteuer* [Reich Flight Tax] just as I wanted to find a house in Tecino [southern Switzerland]. Also since our second daughter [Freya, b. 14 May 1931] was still small, we limited our summer travels to shorter distances, and we became acquainted with the house in Wiesbaden that I later purchased [in 1934].[51] I mention this because these unforeseen details were the real reasons why I was stuck, so to speak, in Germany during the Third Reich, for which people so often reproached me later.[52]

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[50] Mike Gray and René Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie" in *Walter Gieseking: "de Beethoven à Ravel,"* pp. 5, 64, recorded 1949–1955, Tahra Records TAH 409–412, 2001, 4 CDs. The dates of piano rolls are often uncertain. For a list of Gieseking's rolls see Larry Sitsky ed., *The Classical Reproducing Piano Roll: A Catalogue-Index*, vol. 2, *Pianists*, Music Reference Collection, no. 23 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 834 and Marguerite Broadbent and Terry Broadbent, *Great Pianists of the Golden Age* (Wilmslow, Cheshire: The North West Player Piano Association, 1996), 314–25. For an online list of Gieseking's rolls see "Walter Gieseking," Reproducing Piano Roll Foundation, accessed 12 Dec. 2009, http://www.rprf.org/Rollography.html.

[51] Gieseking's first daughter, Jutta Maria, had been born in Hanover on 28 August 1927.

[52] "Im übrigen herrschte ja damals die Depression; ein langehegter Plan von mir, in die Schweiz überzusiedeln, scheidete, weil meine Frau abgeneigt war und die Reichsfluchtsteuer eingeführt wurde,

Because of its significance, the *Reichsfluchtsteuer* merits further description. An escape tax introduced in Germany already on 8 December 1931—without specifically targeting German Jews—it first served as a means of hindering capital flight during the Great Depression.[53] Those wishing to emigrate whose total wealth surpassed 200,000 reichsmarks (hereafter RM) or whose earnings from 1931 on amounted to 20,000 RM or more, would be required to pay the penalty tax; initially, 25 percent of one's holdings would be seized, although the provisions continued to be modified.[54] The Nazis began to use the tax in a criminal manner, however, extending the decree on 18 May 1934 to include emigrants whose fortune exceeded 50,000 RM; its purpose was now to exploit migration, chiefly the exodus of the Jewish population.[55] As Harry James Cargas has written, under the National Socialists the *Reichsfluchtsteuer* became "a euphemistic term for theft of liquid assets."[56] It made it difficult for Jews to remove their capital from the Reich, though it was collected from anyone who chose to migrate.

This tax must have made countless German residents—regardless of their racial description—hesitant to leave the country for fear of losing much of their fortunes. After Hitler's appointment, this would have been particularly true for those who had acquired a

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gerade, als ich ein Haus im Tessin auswählen wollte. Da auch die zweite Tochter noch klein war, beschränkten sich die Sommerreisen auf geringere Distanzen, und wir lernten das Haus in Wiesbaden kennen, das ich später erwarb. Dies erwähne ich, weil diese zufälligen Einzelheiten die eigentlichen Gründe dafür waren, daß ich während des Dritten Reiches in Deutschland sozusagen festsaß, was man mir später so oft zum Vorwurf gemacht hat." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 65.

[53] See *Vierte Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zur Sicherung von Wirkschaft und Finanzen und zum Schutze des inneren Friendens.* 8. Dez. 1931, *Reichsgesetzblatt* I, nr. 79, 1931, 699–745; Siegfried Grundmann, *The Einstein Dossiers: Science and Politics—Einstein's Berlin Period with an Appendix on Einstein's FBI file*, Ann M. Hentschel, trans. (New York: Gardners Books, 2010), 301; and Christopher Kobrak and Per H. Hansen, *European Business, Dictatorship, and Political Risk, 1920–1945* (New York: Berghan Books, 2004), 105.

[54] Grundmann, *The Einstein Dossiers*, 301.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Cargas, *Problems Unique to the Holocaust* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 45.

substantial amount of wealth, yet did not necessarily feel threatened by the regime, i.e. they were not a political opponent, left-winged most of all, and could claim "Aryan" blood. The composer Arnold Schoenberg and conductor Otto Klemperer, both Jewish, each contested the *Reichsfluchtsteuer* after departing from Berlin.[57]

Those inhabitants desiring to move abroad were not always permitted to do so, and the process was complex, involving ample red tape. The numerous forms required the listing of one's "property, total assets, relatives, status of their own and their family's emigration efforts," and anyone caught trying to smuggle property out of the country (an act referred to as *Devisenschiebung*) was tried in criminal court.[58]

Gieseking had been privileged to enjoy growing up in some of Europe's most beautiful locations, namely the French and Italian Rivieras and the Bay of Naples, yet it had been a humble upbringing.[59] The thought of losing a considerable portion (presumably 25 percent in his case) of his self-earned fortune because of the *Reichsfluchtsteuer* was a legitimate concern at the time—prior to the National Socialists' *Machtergreifung* in Gieseking's case—one that was surely on the mind of all those considering fleeing Germany. In retrospect, of course, the financial loss would have been a small price to pay for the preservation of one's safety and freedom.

There are some surviving postcards that document Gieseking's and his wife Annie's search for a summer home in Switzerland, which they had begun as early as 14

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[57] Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, American University Studies, Series IX: History, vol. 49 (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 26.

[58] Cargas, *Problems Unique to the Holocaust*, 45.

[59] Gieseking recounts his childhood in his autobiographical sketch published in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*. See pages 1–21.

May 1930.[60] From Spiez on 17 May 1930, Annie wrote to her mother Anna in Hanover about her and Walter's efforts:

> Today we again searched for a house for ten hours and found nothing, in Thun there was nothing, in Interlaken too expensive for W. [Walter] and terribly furnished. Ascoma was also impossible. Yesterday in Loca[r]no it was hot and dusty, tomorrow we will have a look at still another villa here [in Spiez]; the woman was not here today.[61]

Three days later, Gieseking had become interested in one of the homes they had visited. Annie reported to her mother, "The house situation is still not settled. W. [Walter] is for Spiez, more specifically for the parterre and first floor of Fräulein Kupferschmied's place. I will tell you more when I see you."[62] Nothing worked out, however, and the search for a home in Switzerland continued over the next year. In October 1931, Gieseking described to his wife his interest in and the financial advantages of finding a home in Tecino. Yet he makes it clear that it would be merely a summer home, which they would rent and not own—something he failed to clarify in his postwar memoirs. In the letter, we read:

> I hope we will soon be living here. I even heard (this information is perhaps not true, though; I will have to look into it more), that anyone living there and does not work is exempt from paying taxes for <u>3 years</u>. If this is true, according to my calculations that [our savings] would cover the costs of the <u>furniture</u> <u>and</u> almost all of the <u>rent</u> for the first year! And in three years we would save so much that the entire stay would cost us almost nothing. By the way, <u>nobody</u> has advised me

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[60] Annie first discussed their search for a place in Switzerland in a postcard sent to her mother, Anna, from Lugano on 14 May 1930. Annie, Lugano, to Anna Haake, Hanover, 14 May 1930, postcard, GFA.

[61] "Wir sind heute wieder 10 Stunden auf Wohnungssuche gewesen, nichts gefunden, in Thun gab es nichts, in Interaken W. unbezahlbar, und schlecht möbliert. Ascoma war auch unmöglich. Gestern in Loca[r]no was es heiß und staubig, morgen besichtigen wir hier [in Spiez] noch eine Villa, die Dame war heute abwesend." Annie Gieseking, Spiez, to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 17 May 1930, GFA.

[62] "Die Wohnungsfrage ist noch nicht geklärt. W. ist für Spiez und zwar Parterre und I. Etage bei Frl. Kupferschmied. Alles andere mündlich." Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 20 May 1930, GFA.

> not to live there, only (according to the Reiffs[63]) it is said to be boring after a while. Because we would just be there in the summers though, that won't be a problem. . . . The climate is praised by everyone and it is also supposed to be much cheaper than in northern Switzerland. If only I had the time now to get this taken care of, then I would surely sleep better! [emphasis in the original][64]

Gieseking and Annie never realized their plan to acquire a summer home in Switzerland. The letter quoted above suggests that even if they had purchased a house in Tecino, they would have continued to live in Germany for the rest of the year. The *Reichsfluchtsteuer*, which was introduced two months after this letter, presumably would have had no effect on the purchase of a Swiss house, despite Gieseking's claim to the contrary: he was still planning to remain a German citizen. And we can do no more than speculate whether he and Annie would have ever made Switzerland their permanent home at any subsequent point. For now, they would stay in Hanover, Annie's hometown and her husband's dwelling, too, since the early part of 1913.[65]

As we can see, Gieseking's decisions to attempt a move to Switzerland and then to keep residing in Germany were deeply considered, but they were ultimately shaped by

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[63] The Swiss silk industrialist Hermann Reiff (1856–1938) and his wife, the German-Swiss composer Lily Reiff-Sertorius (1866–1958). The Reiffs are discussed further in Chapter 3.

[64] "Hoffentlich können wir demnächst hier wohnen. Ich hörte sogar (es ist aber diese Nachricht vielleicht nicht zutreffend, werde ich erst genauer erkundigen müssen), dass man im Tessin 3 Jahre lang keine Steuern zu zahlen braucht, wenn man dort wohnt, ohne zu arbeiten. Wenn dies stimmte, hätten wir ja, wie ich schon ausgerechnet habe, Möbel und fast die ganze Miete im ersten Jahr bereits gratis! Und in 3 Jahren würden wir soviel sparen, dass der ganze Aufenthalt fast nichts kosten würde. Übrigens hat noch niemand abgeraten, dort zu wohnen, nur (sagen Reiff's) soll es langweilig sein auf die Dauer. Da wir ja aber nur im Sommer da sein würden, schadet dies ja nicht. . . . Das Klima wird allgemein gelobt und es soll auch noch viel billiger sein als in der Nordschweiz. Wenn ich nur jetzt schon Zeit hätte, diese Sache in Ordnung zu bringen, dann würde ich gewiss besser schlafen!" Gieseking, St. Gallen (Switzerland), to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 9 Oct. 1931, GFA.

[65] After living in the nearby village of Lahde since the fall of 1911, at which time he enrolled in the Hanover Conservatorium, Gieseking first moved to Hanover with his mother with the support of a state scholarship at the start of 1913. His teacher, Karl Leimer, had helped him procure the funding so that he would spend less time commuting and have more time for his studies. Gieseking's father, Wilhelm, had returned to France in the winter of 1911–12 to continue his entomological work. He would later be arrested in Nice during the early part of World War I and imprisoned on the Island of St. Marguerite near Cannes. After feigning an illness, he escaped from a French military hospital and crossed the Italian border. Shortly thereafter, he returned to his family in Hanover, penniless and impoverished. Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 22–26, 37.

practical possibilities. He had begun his search for a home in Switzerland a few years before the rise of the National Socialists, yet he would eventually settle on buying a house in Wiesbaden in 1934. By that point, he will have become aware of the direction his country was headed under Hitler's rule—violent acts driven by anti-Semitism were already widespread in Germany—yet he chose to stay. Obviously, neither Gieseking nor anyone else could have foreseen the full extent of the horror and destruction that awaited so much of Europe. And as a law-abiding German, who would be able to prove that he and his family were of pure "Aryan" lineage, he had no reason to be concerned for their personal safety. He also claimed, as we saw, that his wife was opposed to leaving the country. Because Walter's father and Annie's mother, as well as the rest of their family, were all living in Germany, this was certainly a valid excuse for them to remain in the Reich for now. And we must not forget that during the early stage of the Nazis' takeover, even Jews and others targeted by the Hitler regime did not necessarily want to leave their beloved homeland—Gieseking's manager among them, as we will soon see.[66] But the situation there would change rapidly, and Gieseking's first personal encounter with the Nazis' repression of Jewry would, in fact, already occur just before Hitler's *Machtergreifung*.

Early Racial Tensions, December 1932

At the close of the Weimar era, in December 1932, Gieseking witnessed for the first time, albeit unknowingly at first, the effects of the ever-increasing anti-Semitism

[66] As described below (in this chapter), other Jewish managers likewise tried to remain professionally active in the Reich at first, though with only temporary success. For another, recent example of German Jews not wanting to leave the Reich after Hitler's empowerment, see Tilmann Lahme, "Hedwig Pringsheim: Mein Nachrichtendienst: Dein niedliches Verstehstemich," *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 10 Apr. 2013.

within the Reich that would soon become a central agenda propagated by Hitler's regime. He was giving a performance in Hanover with an eminent Jewish Pole, violinist Bronisław Huberman (1882–1947), whom he had often heard as a child in southern France and greatly admired.[67] Although the concert concluded peacefully, security measures had been taken. Gieseking later recalled in his memoirs how he "was surprised to find out after the concert that a number of secret police had been in the hall to prevent demonstrations [i.e. acts of violence]."[68] The police had most likely been concerned that a group of the notoriously violent storm troopers might enter the hall and attack any "enemies," Jews above all, Huberman included. This incident was, of course, a mere hint of the rampant anti-Semitism during the dark and violent dozen years of National Socialist rule that was about to begin.

The Rise of Hitler and the National Socialists, early 1933

In January 1933, Gieseking set off on another busy tour of the U.S. and Canada. With the exception of 1931, he had traveled to North America for concerts each year

[67] Describing the part of his childhood he spent living in the French Mediterranean town of Ville-sur-Mer, Gieseking remembered Huberman's performances: "When there were interesting concerts in Nice or Monte Carlo, my parents and I attended them. We often heard Bronislaw Huberman because his Viennese secretary was also an entomologist and gave us free tickets, which anyone was happy to receive. Because he played so admirably, however, we probably would have paid to hear him in concert. One time my father even took me along to San Remo because Huberman was playing Beethoven's Violin Concerto there. Unfortunately, I did not quite yet understand the piece and could not completely share my father's enthusiasm. The orchestral accompaniment, though, was far from perfect." ("Gab es in Nizza oder Monte Carlo interessante Konzerte, besuchten sie meine Eltern mit mir. Bronislaw Hubermann hörten wir oft, weil dessen Wiener Sekretär auch Entomologe war und uns die so allgemein beliebten Freikarten verschaffte. Aber wir wären vermutlich auch als zahlende Zuhörer in seine Konzerte gegangen, denn er spielte hervorragend. Einmal fuhr mein Vater mit mir nach San Remo, weil Huberman dort das Beethoven-Violinkonzert spielte. Leider verstand ich das Werk noch nicht recht und konnte die Begeisterung meines Vaters nicht ganz teilen. Allerdings war auch die Orchesterbegleitung nicht fehlerlos.") Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 17.

[68] "Ich spielte im Dezember 1932 mit dem Geiger Bronislaw Hubermann in Hannover und war überrascht, nach dem Konzert zu erfahren, daß eine Menge Geheimpolizei im Saal gewesen war, um Demonstrationen zu verhüten." Ibid., 65.

since 1926. He was happy with the itinerary that Charles L. Wagner, his American manager (from 1926 to 1949), had arranged, so that already in June 1932, he had written to his piano technician and trusted travel companion there, Richard Pohlman:

> Mr. Wagner seems to make a good booking, do you know that I am going to play with the N.Y. Philharmonic in N.Y., Baltimore and Washington? Other cities I heard of [i.e. Wagner had mentioned as possibilities] are Montreal, Cincinnati, Davenport, probably also [the] Boston Orchestra (Gieseking's English).[69]

Pohlman worked for the Baldwin piano firm, which Gieseking endorsed as a leading, paid "Baldwin artist" during his North America engagements.[70] Surviving correspondence shows that the two men were indeed close friends and confidants, who enjoyed much of their free time together during the tours. Although of Bavarian descent, Pohlman's German was limited, so they communicated and corresponded in English.[71] They had begun to work together already in 1926 and would continue to do so until

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[69] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 2 June 1932, Dean Elder Collection (hereafter DEC).

[70] Gieseking was a Baldwin artist already during his first U.S. tour in 1926, at which point Baldwin's sponsorship is indicated on his American programs. He also began to be featured in countless Baldwin advertisements, an early example (probably ca. 1928) of which read in part: "Choose your Piano as the Artists Do: Gieseking Plays only Baldwin." Advertisement found in the "Gieseking" file of the Harry Anderson Collection, IPAM.

[71] In his memoirs, Gieseking explained that Pohlman "could speak some German" ("etwas Deutsch konnte"). Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 60. Because Gieseking's letters to Richard Pohlman are in English, they are not entirely idiomatic; he had first learned English as an adult. Copies of all of Gieseking's surviving letters and postcards to Pohlman are found in the Dean Elder Collection (in the author's possession). Elder had borrowed the originals from Pohlman's wife, Elsie, in the mid-1960s, who requested them back in the mid-70s. Based on the correspondence, Mrs. Pohlman then passed on to her daughter the letters and other memorabilia in a scrapbook devoted to her husband's years working with Gieseking. The exact whereabouts of the originals today are unknown. The letters Pohlman sent to Gieseking, on the other hand, are presumably lost. Elsie Pohlman, New York, to Dean Elder, New York, letter, 30 Mar. 1975, DEC; Elsie Pohlman, New York, to Dean Elder, New York, letter, 15 Aug. 1976, DEC.

Gieseking's death.[72] When later drafting his memoirs, the pianist was sure to remember Pohlman's "friendly help and care."[73]

Meanwhile, back in Germany the Nazis were already in the process of taking over. While Gieseking seldom discussed politics in private correspondence with his wife, he did comment on the events that had begun to take place as the National Socialists gained power. In a letter of 29 January, he mentioned to Annie that he had learned of Hitler's success through his manager in New York. "Wagner told me that Hitler is now Reich Chancellor," he wrote, "I hope it will remain peaceful there!"[74] In his memoirs, Gieseking recalled his initial reaction to Hitler's victory in further detail, expressing antipathy toward the regime in doing so:

> In January 1933, I traveled to America again, where I learned about Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor. At the same time the yellow press printed the headlines: 1,200 . . . 1,500 Jews killed—in New York they disagreed on the number. This news, which at that time was not true and was never confirmed, was the beginning of absurd, boundless, and malicious propaganda, which disgusted me to the point that I did not believe anything from then on—unfortunately, also when I should have believed something! Nationalistic frenzy and anti-Semitism always appeared heinous to me. Regrettably, the exponent of these methods had political success that his more respectable predecessors were denied. My attitude towards political quarrel and controversy seemed to be even more justified because of that, and I acted indifferently, particularly since I constantly read in the USA that the Hitler regime would crumble in no time. Had the world come together and taken some sort of practical measures against the dictators instead of uselessly complaining, how much harm mankind would have been spared.[75]

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[72] In a letter to Pohlman from 1953, Gieseking mentions that 1951 had marked "the 25th anniversary of 'our' first concert tour [together]." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, [New York], letter, 5 May 1953, DEC.

[73] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 60.

[74] "Wagner sagte mir, Hitler sei Reichskanzler geworden, hoffentlich bleibt es da friedlich!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 29 Jan. 1933, GFA.

[75] "Im Januar 1933 reiste ich wieder nach Amerika und erfuhr dort die Ernennung Hitlers zum Reichskanzler. Zugleich brachte die Sensationspresse Überschriften: 1200, 1500 Juden erschlagen—über die Zahl war man sich in New York nicht einig. Diese damals unwahren, nie bestätigten Nachrichten waren der Anfang einer sinn- und maßlosen Hetzpropaganda, die auf mich so widerlich wirkte, daß ich von da an

While Gieseking's views of the happenings of the time are honestly documented in his private correspondence, we must keep in mind that he had begun to write his autobiography during the postwar years, after he had already been harshly criticized for having continued his career under the regime and been accused of collaborating with the Nazis. By that time, he felt obliged to explain and justify certain decisions he had made during the NS-era. Naturally, as is the case for all prominent Germans who were in Gieseking's situation during this period, we may question whether he was now being completely sincere in his memoirs and elsewhere when describing his earlier feelings toward the regime. For obvious reasons, countless Germans felt obliged to express their asserted antipathy toward the National Socialists after WWII, regardless of how they had acted and felt prior to Germany's defeat. As a result, many were caught lying about their past. Soprano Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, to give but one example, denied her Nazi party membership in the process of proclaiming her innocence after peace had returned to her homeland.[76]

In his autobiographical sketch, Gieseking maintained that while he resented the Hitler regime's empowerment, he was largely uninterested in the changes and felt that the other nations' affairs of state were flawed as well: "I had never had much interest in politics, and I regretted Germany's complicated situation. Because it was not much better

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nichts mehr glaubte, leider auch da nicht, wo man hätte glauben sollen! Nationalistische Überspannheit und Antisemitismus waren mir stets abscheulich erschienen. Leider hatte ja der Exponent dieser Methoden die politischen Erfolge, die seinen anständigeren Vorgängern versagt geblieben waren. Meine Einstellung zum politischen Zank und Streit erschien mir dadurch noch mehr berechtigt, und ich verhielt mich gleichgültig, zumal ich in den USA dauernd las, das Hitler-Regime würde nach kürzester Zeit zusammenbrechen. Hätte die Welt, anstatt sinnlos zu schimpfen, sich in irgendwelchen praktischen Maßnahmen gegen die Diktatoren zusammengefunden, wieviel Unheil wäre der Menschheit erspart worden." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 65–66.

[76] Alan Jefferson, *Elisabeth Schwarzkopf* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 66–72.

in other countries, I found politics in general, as well as the awful shouting of the extreme parties, absolutely revolting, even if I did only seldom hear it."[77]

Yet in a private letter of 15 August 1933, which the pianist sent to Richard Pohlman, he more honestly expressed his initial appreciation of the regime's initial actions, especially with regard to music and unemployment:

> The Hitler government is doing much more for music (and other art) than any previous government. I suppose you have read in the papers that Hitler was in Bayreuth for several performances? Do you know also that Furtwängler was made a "Staatsrat," this is a sort of Senator. It is the first time that musicians are given such influential positions in a State and I think this will be very helpful to all musical organizations. The Nazi government is also immensely active in fighting unemployment and has already had very great success in giving labor to several millions of people. This gives everybody a little more optimism and I think after a number of years of hard work, this country will experience better times again. In [the] U.S.A. Roosevelt and his men are working along the same line [i.e. are doing things as before], as I see in the papers. Certainly, it is better to have a good dictator than a bad parl[i]ament doing nothing but talking[,] talking[,] taking. . . . (Gieseking's English)[78]

During his postwar interrogation, Gieseking similarly recalled having a more favorable initial opinion of Hitler and his administration: "I agreed with their ideas of mutual help and the socialist part of their program. Also the way they brought music to the masses."[79] While he did *not* vote for the Nazi party, Gieseking admitted that he had been impressed, and deceived, by some of what Hitler was doing at the start of his chancellorship: "He was a very gifted person, a clever politician and achieved many things for his country. He used to say he didn't want any war and we believed him."[80]

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[77] "Mein Interesse für Politik war stets sehr gering gewesen; ich bedauerte die schwierige Lage Deutschlands. Da es aber anderen Ländern nicht viel besser ging, fand ich die Politik im allgemeinen und das wüste Geschrei der extremen Parteien, wenn ich auch nur selten etwas davon hörte, höchst ekelhaft." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 65.

[78] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 Aug. 1933, DEC.

[79] Severin Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," [p. 1].

[80] We will return to the elections below. Ibid.

As incredible as it may seem today, many initially thought that Hitler did not want war and believed he was not responsible for the brutalities already taking place within Germany at the time. As Thomas Weber recently noted:

> Hitler was popular not because he was seen to plan for war but because he had undone the Versailles Treaty without war, thus being viewed as 'General Bloodless.' Moreover, many Germans . . . divorced the violence of the Third Reich from Hitler, assuming that it was rogue elements, particularly in the SA, rather than Hitler, who were behind the regime's terror.[81]

Gieseking's sympathy with the regime, along with feelings of anti-Semitism, appears to grow over the years during the pre-war period, as we will learn. While he will never express any interest in an active role in politics, he begins to perform for Nazi functions, Nazi-sponsored events, and pro-Nazi organizations, albeit only sporadically until the war, at which point the regime increasingly begins to involve itself in his professional activities. Moreover, he begins to meet frequently with members of the German diplomatic corps, for whom he will also give private recitals. How his feelings about the National Socialists might have changed once the fighting commenced is never made clear in the limited quantity of extant wartime private correspondence. After the Nazis' defeat, he will, nonetheless, vehemently deny having maintained any sincere belief in Hitler and express his disapproval of war of any kind.[82]

The German Embassy Performance, 24 January 1933

On 24 January, less than a week before Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor, Gieseking performed the Schumann Piano Concerto under Bruno Walter, who conducted

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[81] We will see below how Lion Feuchtwanger believed Hitler to be innocent of the SA violence. Thomas Weber, *Hitler's First War: Adolf Hitler, the Men of the List Regiment, and the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 315.

[82] See, for example, Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, New York, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC. We will return to Gieseking's defense in the postwar discussion.

the Philharmonic Society of New York in Washington D.C.'s Constitution Hall. Later that evening, Gieseking, Walter, and the famous Czech soprano Maria Müller were invited to the German Embassy by Ambassador Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron.[83] Von Prittwitz und Gaffron was against Hitler and his party and would consequently resign in April 1933.[84] After the dinner, Gieseking accompanied Müller for a special private performance for the Ambassador and guests.[85] They did not begin until 11 o'clock, continuing until 12:15 a.m., and the soiree lasted until around 3 a.m. Gieseking estimated that there had been just some twenty guests for the meal, but that at least sixty to eighty attended the recital. Among the important politicians present that evening were the Austrian minister, and the Ambassadors of Hungary, Turkey and Italy.[86] This private concert was not exceptional. Throughout his career Gieseking would often play for members of the German diplomatic corps, in essentially every country he visited, and most of these individuals were doubtless supportive of their Führer. Less-committed persons were, in fact, commonly relieved of their duties. Gieseking will even soon begin to give such concerts in exchange for some independence and favors

[83] Happenings of Interest in Washington Society, *The Washington Post*, 25 Jan. 1933; "Notes of Social Activities in New York and Elsewhere," *New York Times*, 25 Jan. 1933.

[84] Alfred M. Beck, *Hitler's Ambivalent Attaché: Lt. Gen. Friedrich von Boetticher in America, 1933–1941* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2005), 51; "German Ambassador Says Farewell to President," Happenings of Interest in Washington Society, *The Washington Post*, 14 Apr. 1933.

[85] Müller was presently with the Metropolitan Opera Company, but would enjoy an illustrious career under the regime. She appeared regularly in Bayreuth performances throughout the Nazi period, for example, and at the end of the war she was among the highest-paid artists on the Propaganda Ministry's "Gottbegnadeten-Liste" (God-gifted List). Thomas S. Grey, "Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* as National Opera (1868–1945)," in *Music and German National Identity*, eds. Celia Applegate and Pamela Maxine Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 96n29; "Betr: Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle," Hans Hinkel, Berlin, to Reichsminister [Joseph Goebbels], Berlin, 11 Sept. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich.

[86] Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 25 Jan. 1933, GFA.

regarding his foreign tours.[87] Incidentally, he and Müller will again perform together at the Germany Embassy in Washington on 19 November 1937.[88]

Some may include these engagements as evidence of collaboration. On the other hand, it was by Gieseking's time quite common for illustrious musicians to appear before members of their country's foreign service. While he seems to have been most willing to fulfill these requests, he more often than not expressed his reluctance to spend time with the German officials. When describing such events in his private correspondence, he writes little to nothing about politics and simply describes the occasions as social gatherings. Judging by these descriptions, one may conclude that Gieseking generally viewed these appearances largely, if not entirely, as musical affairs, without giving too much thought to their potential role in promoting German culture, particularly in a nationalistic or propagandistic manner. Yet even if this was the case, it can easily be argued that he was perhaps being somewhat naïve.

Political Developments of the Third Reich in 1933

Following Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor on 30 January, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, hereafter referred to either as the NSDAP or Nazi party) continued to gain power in the subsequent months. There was the famous Reichstag (German Parliament) building fire on February 27, which Hitler blamed on the communists, thereby helping to ensure the National Socialists' victory in the upcoming election.[89] The March election would

[87] Evidence of such performances is given in Chapter 2.

[88] Gieseking, New York, to Annie,Wiesbaden, letter, 24 Oct. 1937, GFA.

[89] The communists, in turn, blamed the arson attack on the Nazis, yet the responsibility for the fire is a topic still debated by scholars. While historians tend to agree that the building was set afire by Marinus

determine a parliamentary majority for the NSDAP. It received 43.9 percent of the vote and 288 Reichstag seats.[90] In the end, the party secured its parliamentary majority: 51.9 percent of the popular vote and 340 of the 647 seats. This was accomplished by sustaining the coalition with its nationalist ally, the German National People's Party (Deutschnationale Volkspartei), which acquired 8.0 percent of the votes and 52 seats.[91]

Like many, Gieseking had been concerned that there would be a great deal of uproar in Germany leading up to this far-from-free election, though he suspected that his hometown of Hanover would remain quiet.[92] He did not join the Nazi party (and never would), and while he was in the U.S. at the time of the German federal election of 5 March 1933, he expressed his opinion of it shortly before in a letter to his wife from 26 February.[93] In it we read: "Until election day everything will probably be relatively

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van der Lubbe, it is uncertain whether he acted alone or as part of a communist or Nazi conspiracy. See Hermann Beck, *The Fateful Alliance: German Conservatives and the Nazis in 1933: The* Machtergreifung *in a New Light* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008, 107–13 and Arthur Jay Klinghoffer and Judith Apter Klinghoffer, *International Citizens' Tribunals: Mobilizing Public Opinion to Advance Human Rights* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 36.

[90] Despite having been suppressed by the Nazis, the Communist Party of Germany (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands) received 12.3 percent of the votes, trailing only behind the SPD (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands), which received 18.3 percent of the votes. Ludger Grevelhörster, *Kleine Geschichte der Weimarer Republik[,] 1918–1933: Ein problemgeschichtlicher Überblick* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2000), 176; Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995; reprint London: Routledge, 2001), 174.

[91] Payne, *A History of Fascism*, 174; Beck, *The Fateful Alliance*, 124–25.

[92] Gieseking, Indianapolis, Annie, [Hanover], letter, 26–27 Feb. 1933, GFA.

[93] The U.S. Army Information Control Division's postwar interrogation of Gieseking, carried out by Severin Kaven, confirmed that Gieseking had not been a member of the NSDAP. Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," [p. 1]. Recent sources also verify this. See, for example, Ernst Klee's *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich: Wer war was vor und nach 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2009), s.v. "Gieseking, Walter." It seems to have always been accepted, even by Gieseking's postwar critics, that he was never a cardholder. Fred Prieberg noted that while one item from 1984 from the Berlin Document Center records (now preserved by the Bundesarchiv) referred to Gieseking as a Nazi party member—a claim inevitably also made by others—the central register of the NSDAP (Zentralkartei der NSDAP, maintained by the Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde) does not contain an entry on Gieseking. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker 1933–1945*, CD-Rom-Lexikon, Kiel 2004, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter," see p. 2216.

peaceful? You should all go vote and stay loyal to the old firm."[94] With "firm," Gieseking was referring to the party for whom they had always voted, not the NSDAP.[95] On 14 March, he read about the latest victory for the Nazis, though he did not comment on it.[96] Yet during these first months of the National Socialists' takeover, he continued to witness the rapid transformation of his country from America. This included the initiation of the *Gleichschaltung* (co-ordination) procedures, the nazification and self-nazification of Reich institutions and associations.[97]

On 23 March, the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act on 23 March by a vote of 444 to 94.[98] Officially, it was given the deceptive title "Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich," or "Law to Remedy the Distress of People and Reich." This was a crucial step in the regime's *Gleichschaltung* process, as it was at this point that Hitler's dictatorship became legally established.[99] As Reich Chancellor, he was now granted for a four-year period—though the Enabling Act was renewed in 1937 and 1941[100]—the power to write a new constitution and to enact laws by decree independently of both the

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[94] "Bis zum Wahltag [am 5. März 1933] ist allerdings wohl alles relativ friedlich? Geht nur ja alle wählen und bleibt bei der alten Firma." After writing those lines, Gieseking realized that the letter would not arrive in Germany before the election; nonetheless, it makes his political view clear. Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 26–27 Feb. 1933, GFA.

[95] Not having been a member of the Nazi party, of course, does not exonerate anyone, but it does demonstrate some disapproval. It therefore should not completely be ignored as at least some evidence of non-compliance with the regime.

[96] Gieseking, Phoenix, Annie, [Hanover], letter, 14 Mar. 1933, GFA.

[97] Tim Kirk, *Nazi Germany*, European History in Perspective (New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), 39.

[98] Roderick Stackelbert, *Hitler's Germany: Origins, Interpretations, Legacies* (London: Routledge, 1999), 103.

[99] Regarding Hitler's *Gleichschaltung*, Roderick Stackelbert has observed how "The avowed of *Gleichschaltung* was to produce a uniform, harmonious, and militant *Volksgemeinschaft*, a national community based on cultural and 'racial' kinship and pursuing the common goal of national reconstruction." Ibid., 105.

[100] Ibid., 103.

Reichstag and President Hindenburg.[101] (Only after Hindenburg's passing in August the following year did Hitler absorb the president's power as well.) "The first chapter of our movement is closed," Hitler shouted from a balcony after the victory, "now we begin the second!"[102] The cheering crowd of thousands below repeatedly and hysterically cried out: "Give us that enabling act or there will be fire!"[103] Hitler ambiguously promised his followers that the act would be employed with restraint, "insofar as is necessary for carrying out vital measures. The government's aim must be to draft a constitution which combines the will of the people with the authority of real leadership."[104]

At this time, Nazism quickly gained support from much of the German public, which fervently joined in the banning and closure of "non-Aryan" run institutions, organizations, and businesses.[105] Simultaneously, the foreign press had been reporting on the acts of violence against Jews and other "enemies" of the Nazis, which led Jews and other Nazi opponents outside of the Reich to begin issuing boycotts against the purchase of German goods. On 1 April, the NSDAP initiated its own boycott of all Jewish-run firms. The Nazis claimed to have done this "in defense against this criminal agitation [aimed at them]."[106] For economic reasons, as well as the international protests against its anti-Semitic actions, the Hitler regime had to postpone the boycott the next day,

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[101] "Hitler now has Power of Dictator," *The Hartford Courant*, 24 Mar. 1933.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Stackelbert, *Hitler's Germany*, 105.

[106] "Nazis Lay Boycott to 'Lies' of Jews," Special Cable to the *New York Times*, 1 Apr. 1933.

threatening that it would be reinitiated "with furor," however, should the "foreign atrocity campaign" continue.[107]

On 7 April, the "Law for the Reconstitution of the Professional Civil Service" (Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums) stipulated the forced retirement of all government workers who were of "non-Aryan" descent, deemed left-wing, or, as of June, married to a "non-Aryan."[108] Among the victims in the arts were those employed by public conservatories, opera houses, concert halls, and theaters.[109] Hindenburg objected to the terms of the bill and initiated an amendment that would exclude (1) those who had entered the civil service prior to 1 August 1914 (the early part of WWI), (2) war veterans who had fought at the front during WWI "for the German Reich or for its allies," and (3) those who had a father or son who had perished in the war.[110] But the exemptions often went unenforced and were withdrawn upon Hindenburg's death.[111] As Lily Hirsch has observed, "Conductors, singers, orchestral musicians, and even opera administrators of Jewish descent had no recourse and, with few exceptions, their employment was terminated solely on perceived racial incompatibility."[112] Of course, the Nazis' "aryanization" of the Third Reich would continue as more anti-Semitic legislation was

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[107] Edwin L. James, "The Nazis Begin to Dodge Anti-Semitic Boomerang," *New York Times*, 2 Apr. 1933; Stackelbert, *Hitler's Germany*, 105.

[108] "Non-Aryans" were at that time defined as persons having either a parent or grandparent considered Jewish. Lily E. Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Culture League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 3; *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 7. April 1933, Reichsgesetzblatt* I, nr. 34, 1933, p. 175, § 3, 1 and 2, accessed 3 Nov. 2013, http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/dokumente/berufsbeamten33/; Stackelbert, *Hitler's Germany*, 105.

[109] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany*, 3.

[110] *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums vom 7. April 1933, Reichsgesetzblatt* I, nr. 34, 1933, p. 175, § 3, 2.

[111] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany*, 3.

[112] Ibid.

enacted, when the Nuremberg Laws were introduced on 15 September 1935, for example, or when the "Decree for the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life, issued on 12 November 1938—just days after the *Reichskristallnacht* (Night of the Broken Glass) of 9–10 November—prohibited Jews from either owning or overseeing any type of businesses as of 1 January 1939.[113]

Gieseking's Jewish Manager, Arthur Bernstein, and Early Nazi Terror

Owing to his Jewish heritage, Gieseking's longtime European general manager, Arthur Bernstein, who ran the Konzert-Direktion Arthur Bernstein in Hanover (Boedekerstraße 26), would face many problems from the start of the Reich because of the National Socialists' racial policy and the severe anti-Semitic environment. In a letter sent from Indianapolis on 27 February 1933, Gieseking explained to Annie how he was waiting to hear from Bernstein with regard to some upcoming European engagements: "Bernstein has not written me anything about the concerts that are supposed to take place after the American tour. Is he so afraid of Hitler that he is neglecting his work?"[114] A few days later his manager contacted him: "Bernstein is optimistic despite Hitler; I am surprised that he has so much courage!"[115] The situation for German Jewry quickly worsened, though. On 21 March Gieseking commented to his wife on the unsettling

[113] Gerald D. Feldman, *Allianz and the German Insurance Business, 1933–1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 206; Diemut Majer, *"Non-Germans" under the Third Reich: The Nazi Judicial and Administrative System in Germany and Occupied Eastern Europe, with Special Regard to Occupied Poland, 1939–1945*, trans. Peter Thomas Hill, Edward Vance Humphrey, and Brian Levin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 141.

[114] "Von den Konzerten, die nach der Amerikatournee stattfinden sollten, schreibt Bernstein ja gar nichts. Hat er solche Angst vor Hitler, dass er sein Geschäft vernachlässigt?" Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 26–27 Feb. 1933, GFA.

[115] "Bernstein schreibt optimistisch, trotz Hitler, es wundert mich, dass Arthur so viel Mut hat!" Gieseking, Cincinnati, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 3 Mar. 1933, GFA.

reports, the details of which he, like many during the early phase of Nazi rule, found incredible: "By the way, here [in New York] there are all sorts of horror stories in the papers describing how so many Jews in Germany are being beaten. These [reports] must be exaggerated. (Arthur is probably afraid to go onto the streets?)"[116]

Indeed, shocking instances of the storm troopers' assaults carried out against Jews and others, which had been going on for years already, were now being widely discussed and reported on.[117] Gieseking had, in all likelihood, read German novelist Lion Feuchtwanger's article in the *New York Times*, which had made the front page that same day. Feuchtwanger himself noted how he had initially found the rumors of this violence to be "incomprehensible," but then he spoke with some German refugees in Paris.[118] "The stories they related were dreadful," he wrote, and many victims had already gone missing. He continued:

> However, they declared they had seen, with their own eyes, how attempts had been made to throw people out of underground trains in motion simply because they looked like Jews. They had seen people pulled from motor cars and beaten—women and young folk, too—because they were thought to be Jewish. . . .
>
> Day after day, these refugees insisted, bodies are discovered mutilated beyond identification. Every Jew in Germany, they said, must expect to be assaulted in the street or to be dragged out of bed and arrested, to have his goods

[116] "Hier sind übrigens allerhand Schauergeschichten in den Zeitungen, dass soviele Juden in Deutschland verprügelt werden, dies ist sicher übertrieben. (Arthur [Bernstein] wagt sich womöglich garnicht auf die Strasse?)" Gieseking, Pittsburgh and New York, to Annie, [Hanover], 19 and 21 Mar. 1933, GFA.

[117] There are many cases of SA violence from the end of WWI, throughout the rise of the NSDAP. In 1927, for example, Goebbels follower Reinhold Muchow documented how some 800 storm troopers and 1,000 other men marched through parts of Berlin and "insolent Jews were beaten up without further ado." As Toby Thacker writes, "This was the first display in Berlin of this kind of Nazi behaviour, which was to become commonplace all over Germany after 1933, and of course over much of Europe after 1939. . . ." Toby Thacker, *Joseph Goebbels: Life and Death* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 84.

[118] Lion Feuchtwanger, "Terror in Germany Amazes Novelist," *New York Times*, 21 Mar. 1933.

> and property destroyed, while complaints are met with a shrug from Minister Goering and the remark: "Where timber is planed, shavings must drop off."[119]

Yet at this early stage, Feuchtwanger, like many others, despite any mistrust they may have already had for the Nazi regime, believed that the storm troopers alone were accountable for the attacks, reasoning that Hitler and other Nazi leaders could not be connected with such horrific crimes. The brown shirts, as the storm troopers were known, "have taken the former wild speeches of Hitler too literally," Feuchtwanger reasoned.[120] He concluded by expressing his hope that the Nazi government would put a stop to the atrocities, and in doing so prevent a "civil war such as the world has never seen."[121] According to Toby Thacker, there were many difficulties between the Nazi Party and the SA throughout 1933, and the men of the latter organization indeed often acted independently of Hitler and the Party leaders' command. "Many SA men had participated in lawless violence in the early months of the Nazi 'revolution,'" writes Thacker, "but by early 1934, Hitler had made efforts to restrain this."[122]

Because of the rumors and reports, perhaps also as a response to Feuchtwanger's report, Hermann Goering, as Hitler's spokesman, denied all accounts of the violence two days later, on 23 March 1933. This happened to be the day the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act, establishing Hitler's dictatorship: "You can go anywhere in Germany and you won't find a store or warehouse that has been demolished. You can go to any

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[119] Lion Feuchtwanger, "Terror in Germany Amazes Novelist," *New York Times*, 21 Mar. 1933.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Thacker, *Joseph Goebbels*, 160.

synagogue or any Jewish cemetery and you won't find one that has been desecrated. Germany has never been more peaceful!"[123]

Before a group of representatives from the Anti-War Council the next day, the German Ambassador to London, Leopold von Hoesche, also denied the accounts of the violent incidents, claiming that no more than three bodies had been found dead and maintaining that "in about a couple of weeks everything will be quieted down." Von Hoesche argued that it was not the German Jews, but the "large number of Jews from other countries, especially Poland [that had] poured into Germany at the time of the currency collapse for purposes of speculation, amassing fortunes," that were "looked upon as aliens."[124] Regarding reports circulating that 1,400 persons had been murdered in Hamburg, he gave no answer, suggesting that the question be addressed to the Foreign Office.[125] The following day, Goering again refuted the allegations: "None of the stories is really true, although there have been occasional instances of maltreatment. . . . These were committed by storm troopers not under orders, who will be dealt with for breach of discipline."[126] "Law-abiding Jews have nothing to fear," he also proclaimed to the foreign press, "as long as they keep themselves within the proper limits."[127] Onlookers around the world were, of course, quickly becoming aware that the Nazi terror was real, regardless of who was directly responsible for the pogroms. Aside from the countless press reports of the violence, the large number of Jewish refugees at the time of Hitler's

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[123] "Hitler now has Power of Dictator," *The Hartford Courant*, 24 Mar. 1933.

[124] "Nazi Attacks Stir British Catholics," *New York Times*, 24 Mar. 1933.

[125] Ibid.

[126] "Goering Promises Justice for Jews," *The Washington Post*, 26 Mar. 1933.

[127] "Goering Says Jews will be Protected," *New York Times*, 26 Mar. 1933.

empowerment alone—an estimated 37,000 to 38,000—was all the evidence anyone needed.[128]

The Great Depression and the North American Tour of 1933

The rise of the National Socialists was alarming for much of the world, and their influence and policies had already affected Gieseking's European tours owing to Bernstein's Jewish heritage. His North American tour in 1933, arranged by his American manager Charles Wagner, was unaffected by the political turmoil, however. Conversely, the Great Depression had been producing devastating effects around the globe, and artists' careers were naturally hindered as well. In June 1932, Gieseking had first written to his American piano technician, Richard Pohlman, about the troubling financial situation's effects on his upcoming tours:

> My [European] tour starts the 3[r]d of October, I arranged to play several concerts in this part of Germany [around Wiesbaden] at the very beginning of the season. . . . Later I must be busy again and expect plenty of concerts, only the fees are coming down frightfully far, especially in Germany (Gieseking's English).[129]

Despite the economic situation, his season schedule was as filled with bookings as usual, the North American visit included, and his U.S. managers and the Baldwin firm were doing what they could to ensure his success. Already at the start of his U.S. trip, nonetheless, Gieseking described the nation's disquieting financial circumstances to Annie:

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[128] Most of these early Jewish refugees escaped to the Reich's neighboring countries of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, and Switzerland. Many of the same persons were captured by the Nazis as the latter began to conquer European countries. "German-Jewish Refugees, 1933-1939," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed 16 July 2011, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005468.

[129] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 22 June 1932, DEC.

> Only there is presently so much talk about inflation going on, [and] the value of the dollar is supposed to decline. This would be highly disconcerting, for then my earnings would surely become petty over time. And that would also be quite lamentable. As soon as I am back in New York, I will look into this properly.[130]

Several weeks afterward, in a letter of 3 March 1933, he commented on how the economic crisis had begun to affect his takings:

> The concert [in Dallas] seems to be a bit uncertain monetarily speaking. In general, the financial situation is indeed just like in Germany. In many places the banks only pay out 5% of the deposits, similar to how it was back home last summer. The depression is really global! I am curious to see what the results of the election will be.[131]

Just four days later, on 7 March, Walter further described the effects of the Depression to his wife:

> You will have read that there has been a great crash here. All banks are temporarily closed. This in itself is not very important, but it is affecting my profits tremendously, especially since these concerts were arranged on a percentage basis. The earnings yesterday evening were therefore not significant: 168 dollars. Today I was supposed to give a masterclass (demonstrate works and discuss them); [merely] two participants registered, so it has been cancelled. Since it also happens to be cold again here, and there are consequently no butterflies this year, I will travel to California one day sooner. Therefore, the journey is about to begin.[132]

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[130] "Nur wird jetzt hier so viel von Inflation geredet, der Dollarwert soll heruntergesetzt werden, dies wäre sehr störend, denn dann würden die Honorare sicher auf lange Zeit uninteressant werden. Und auch sonst wäre dies höchst unerfreulich. Sobald ich wieder in Newyork bin, werde ich mich mal eingehend nach diesen Sache erkundigen." Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 25 Jan. 1933, GFA.

[131] "Das Konzert dort [in Dallas] scheint geschäftlich etwas wackelig, überhaupt ist es hier ja in finanzieller Beziehung ganz wie bei uns, denn in vielen Gegenden zahlen die Banken nur 5% der Einlagen aus, ähnlich wie bei uns im Sommer vor einem Jahr. Die Pleite ist wirklich international! Ich bin gespannt, was bei den Wahlen herauskommt." Gieseking, Cincinnati, Annie, [Hanover], letter, 3 Mar. 1933, GFA.

[132] "Du wirst auch in den Zeitungen gelesen haben, dass hier eine ganz grosse Pleite herrscht, alle Banken sind vorübergehend geschlossen, was ja an sich nicht viel zu bedeuten hat, aber für mein Geschäft ziemlich störend ist, umsomehr diese Konzerte hier auf prozentualer Basis ausgemacht waren. Gestern abend war die Einnahme daher nicht bedeutend: 168 Dollar. Heute sollte ich hier eine Meisterklasse abhalten (vorspielen und erklären), dazu hatten sich 2 Teilnehmer gemeldet, da fällt die Sache aus. Da es ausserdem gerade wieder hier kalt ist und es daher dies Jahr noch keine Schmetterlinge gibt, fahre ich schon 1 Tag früher nach Californien und daher geht gleich die Reise los." Gieseking, Dallas, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 7 Mar. 1933, GFA

Within forty-eight hours of his inauguration, President Roosevelt had taken swift action to alleviate the grave financial crisis by ordering all banks to close briefly, starting on Monday, 6 March. The initial aim was for them to begin reopening four days later, with the purpose being to interrupt panicking Americans from withdrawing their assets and thereby causing bank closures.[133] In the meantime, F.D.R. would do his best to restore the nation's confidence in the banking system, over the radio during his first "Fireside Chat" on the evening of Sunday, 12 March, for example, when he announced that most institutions would be functioning as before by Wednesday, 15 March.[134] "You people must have faith," the president proclaimed. "You must not be stampeded by rumors or guesses. Let us unite in banishing fear."[135]

The cost of Gieseking's cancelled masterclass was, incidentally, fifteen dollars per person, an amount then considered much too high because of the economic conditions.[136] In addition to the repeated losses, the percentage of taxes Gieseking had to pay for this year's American tour was "erheblich höher" ("substantially higher"), having risen to 8 percent (the previous tax percentage is not given).[137]

The regretted situation notwithstanding, Gieseking continued the trip as planned. He had most recently given some successful concerts in Cincinnati, and described the next part of the itinerary to Annie on 6 March:[138]

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[133] "Roosevelt Closes All Banks; Congress Meets Thursday: War-time Measure Invoked to Protect Nation's Gold; . . ." *Los Angeles Times*, 6 Mar. 1933.

[134] "Roosevelt Urges Faith in Bank-Opening Plans: Program Explained in Radio Talk; Resumptions Will Start Today;. . .," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 Mar. 1933.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie [Hanover], letter, 26–27 Feb. 1933, GFA.

[137] Gieseking, New York, to Annie [Hanover], letter, 21 Mar. 1933, GFA.

[138] Gieseking, Dallas, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 7 Mar. 1933, GFA.

> Tomorrow afternoon [Tuesday, 7 March] I am traveling (5 hours) to Boston; I have a rehearsal there on Wednesday [8 March]. Then I have to spend another two nights in a sleeping car (Boston–Montreal and back). Thursday afternoon [9 March] I am playing in Montreal, Friday afternoon and Saturday night in Boston. Friday night I am invited to the German Consul's in Boston. Sunday I will come back here [New York City]. Then on Tuesday the 14th, I will play here in Brooklyn (is not on the list that I left at home), then on the 15th in Bridgeport, then on the 19th here, tickets for which are already selling quite well. . . . On the 19th, immediately after the concert, the tour continues, starting with a ca. 36-hour trip.[139]

He made an appearance the same month in Pittsburgh as well, before an audience of approximately 3,600. "I 'draw' in Pittsburgh," he happily reported to his wife.[140] Furthermore, he continued to give well-paid private concerts for a number of wealthy American families.[141]

On 21 March, Gieseking performed Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto with the Musicians Symphony Orchestra led by the Romanian composer and conductor Georges Enescu, as part of a benefit concert for unemployed musicians—members of the orchestra itself. "This will be an unpaid concert . . . but it is gainful for advertisement reasons, and all my most prominent colleagues have played there, too."[142] The *New York Times* printed a glowing review of the performance:

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[139] "Morgen nachmittag fahre ich (5 Stunden lang) nach Boston, Mittwoch ist dort Probe, dann gibt es wieder 2 Nächte im Schlafwagen (Boston–Montreal und zurück), Donnnerstag nachmittag [9. März] spiele ich in Montreal, Freitag nachmittag u. Sonnabend abend in Boston. Freitag abend bin ich beim deutschen Konsul in Boston eingeladen. Sonntag zurück nach hier [New York City]. Dienstag, den 14. spiele ich dann hier in Brooklyn (steht nicht auf der Liste, die ich zu Hause liess), am 15. dann in Bridgeport, am 19. dann hier, wofür schon ganz gut verkauft wird. . . . Am 19. gleich nach dem Konzert geht die Reise los, zunächst gleich ca. 36 Stunden in einer Tour." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 5–6 Mar. 1933, GFA.

[140] "Ich 'ziehe' in Pittsburgh." Gieseking, New York, to Annie [Hanover], letter, 21 Mar. 1933, GFA.

[141] Among these families were, for example, the Wulsins of Cincinatti and the Feslers of Indianapolis, who are discussed further in subsequent chapters. Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 25 Jan. 1933, GFA; Gieseking, Cincinnati, Annie, [Hanover], letter, 3 Mar. 1933, GFA.

[142] "Dies wird ein unbezahltes Konzert für die arbeitslosen Musiker, ist aber aus Reklamegründen wertvoll, auch haben alle prominentesten Kollegen dort gespielt." Gieseking, Cincinnati, Annie, [Hanover], letter, 3 Mar. 1933, GFA.

> Last night at the Metropolitan Opera House this public, which had assembled in large numbers, heard one of the most superlatively beautiful examples of concerto-playing which this listener can remember. Walter Gieseking . . . combines qualities which make his playing unique and place him high in the small company of the world's great pianists. From the breadth of the thundering solo fortissimi which opened the work to the whispered cadences which closed its second movement, his performance possessed virility, a noble breadth and power of tone and the exquisite variety of color for which he is justly famous.[143]

Gieseking was called out for three encores: his own transcription of Richard Strauss's "Ständchen," a Scarlatti Sonata, and a selection from one of Bach's English Suites.

Other leading pianists were going about business as usual as well, of course. Mentioning two of his greatest competitors, Gieseking relayed to Annie: "On the 14th [José] Iturbi is playing here, on the 18th [Ignacy Jan] Paderewski, on the 19th I am, so there are plenty of piano recitals!"[144] He and Iturbi (1895–1980) had met as early as 1930, and the two musicians (both born in November 1895) had since become friends and spent time together on numerous occasions.[145] In fact, in his autobiography, Charles Wagner later remembered how,

> in the quiet of his apartment [i.e. New York hotel room] he [Gieseking] loves to spend hours on end with his talented friend José Iturbi. On rare occasions these two enjoy happy evenings together improvising on the masters they so much

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[143] H.H. "Walter Gieseking's Rare Art a Feature of Musicians' Symphony Concert," *New York Times*, 22 Mar. 1933.

[144] "Am 14. spielt hier [José] Iturbi, am 18. Paderewski, am 19. ich, also genügend Klavierabende!," Gieseking, New York, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 5–6 Mar. 1933, GFA.

[145] Gieseking spent some time with Iturbi, joined by the eminent pianists Harold Bauer and Josef Lhevinne in October 1930, for example. In a letter of 14 February 1933, he wrote the following to Annie: "Before the concert I called Iturbi. . . . I will meet up with him again in the coming days; he is always amusing, [and] yesterday he immediately offered his car so that I could be driven me to Bridgeport today." ("Vor dem Konzert hatte ich Iturbi angerufen. . . . ich werde ihn wohl in den nächsten Tagen mal treffen, er ist ja immer amüsant, bot mir gestern gleich sein Auto an, um mich heute nach Bridgeport fahren zu lassen.") Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 14 Oct. 1930, GFA; Gieseking, New York, to Annie [Hanover], letter, 14 Feb. 1933, GFA.

> revere and composing [i.e. extemporizing] lengthy two-piano [four-hand?] sonatas from ridiculous jazz themes.[146]

Indeed, Gieseking had great respect his famous colleague, Iturbi—who would appear in seven Hollywood films in the 1940s—as an artist and person.[147] Reporting on a recent concert he had given in Bridgeport in February, Gieseking confided to Annie:

> I think I played better than usual because my esteemed competitor José (Iturbi) was actually there! Naturally, this was really very nice of him; he is indeed quite an amiable colleague, as far as I know him. The Brideporter concert-goers were, of course, tremendously impressed by this [Iturbi's attendance], especially the autograph hunters who had now caught two pianists at once.[148]

Gieseking's remarks concerning Paderewski (1860–1941) were less flattering. He had heard the second half of the legendary Polish pianist's sold-out, all-Chopin recital on 17 February and found it "unacceptable" ("indiskutabel")—"Such *Nachklappen* is unbelievable!"[149] He was referring Paderewski's use of agogic dislocation, his expressive habit of playing the accompaniment slightly before the melody in the right hand, also done through arpeggiation. Paderewski represented an older generation of pianists, and

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[146] Certainly, Gieseking never had two pianos when staying in hotels, which would have surely been uncommon for any artist. Charles L. Wagner, *Seeing Stars* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 357.

[147] Iturbi played himself in the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) films. He also performed the piano score (without making a visual appearance) for the Columbia Pictures movie "A Song to Remember," based on the life of Frederick Chopin. After seeing Iturbi in *Holiday in Mexico* (MGM, 1946), Gieseking was not impressed by the film and described it as "terribly kitschy" ("grauenhaft kitschig"). See the José Iturbi International Music Competition website, accessed 20 Mar. 2011, http://www.joseiturbifoundation.org/iturbibio.php; Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[148] "Ich glaube, ich spielte besser als üblich, denn mein teurer Konkurrent José (Iturbi) war tatsächlich erschienen! Dies ist ja eigentlich sehr nett von ihm, er ist ja überhaupt ein angenehmer Kollege, soweit ich ihn kenne. Dem Brideporter Publikum imponierte dies natürlich colossal, besonders den Autogrammjägern, die nun zwei Pianisten auf einmal erwischten." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 17 Feb. 1933, GFA.

[149] "Sonnabend hörte ich etwas von Paderewski's Spiel, es war indiskutabel. Sowas von Nachklappen ist unglaublich!" Gieseking, Chicago, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 24 Feb. 1933, GFA; Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie [Hanover], letter, 26 Feb. 1933, GFA.

this now endangered "Romantic" habit—also heard throughout his recordings—was no longer considered tasteful by his younger, more modern colleagues, Gieseking included.

The U.S.-Canadian visit proved an artistic achievement for Gieseking, if not as much of a financial one. It had furthered his reputation as one of the world's outstanding concert artists and doubtless boosted his record sales. Critiquing the recital he gave in Los Angeles on 13 March, Isabel Morse Jones wrote for the *Los Angeles Times*:

> Piano playing in the highest degree of perfection took place in the Philharmonic Auditorium yesterday afternoon when Walter Gieseking attracted many listeners to hear him play Bach, Beethoven, Schumann most of all, Chopin, Debussy, Ravel and, at last, a little Scarlatti sonata of impeccable beauty.
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> . . . [T]he program had depth of emotion as well as the phenomenal co-ordination of brain and hands which has made Gieseking's fame reach around the world from his home in Hanover.[150]

It was a praiseful review indeed, yet Morse Jones added something unclear and rather curious: "It took bravery to play that program and courage on the part of the audience to attend it after all the silly rumors were set afloat through the town Saturday."[151] Could it be that Gieseking was already, at this early date, being accused of sympathizing with the Nazis? Californian Jews, German émigrés, and probably other opponents of the Hitler regime would, in any case, protest his appearance in Los Angeles upon his return the next season.

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[150] Morse Jones, "Walter Gieseking Hailed: Splendid Playing of Noted Pianist at Philharmonic Auditorium Scores Decided Hit," *Los Angeles Times*, 14 Mar. 1933.

[151] Ibid.

The Founding of Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry, March 1933

Meanwhile, back in Germany, the Reich Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda) was founded in March, with Dr. Joseph Goebbels, now appointed Reich Minister, placed in charge.[152] Its purpose was the "spreading of enlightenment and propaganda within the policy of the Reich Government and the national reconstruction of the German Fatherland."[153] According to a decree issued by Hitler on 30 June 1933, the Ministry's mission was further defined as such:

> The Minister of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda is responsible for all duties having an intellectual influence on the nation; the publicity of the state, culture and economy; the disclosure of information about it made available to the domestic and foreign public; and the management of all institutions employed for these purposes.[154]

Yet under Goebbels's ambitious leadership, the purpose of the Ministry went far beyond these initial, defined aims, and he expanded the institution throughout its existence. It originally comprised a mere five departments: Propaganda, Broadcasting, the Press, Film, and Theater—the latter at first consisting of future, independent departments such as Music (separated in October 1934), Visual Arts, and Literature.[155] By 1939, there were seventeen departments.

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[152] As is commonly done, the institution will hereafter often simply be referred to as the Propaganda Ministry.

[153] Law of 13 March 1933, quoted in Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 16.

[154] "Der Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda ist zuständig für alle Aufgaben der geistigen Einwirkung auf die Nation, der Werbung für Staat, Kultur und Wirtschaft, der Unterrichtung der in- und ausländischen Öffentlichkeit über sie und der Verwaltung aller diesen Zwecken dienenden Einrichtungen." *Verordnung über die Aufgaben des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*, 30 June 1933, *Reichsgesetzblatt* I, 1933, p. 449, documentArchive.de, accessed 20 Mar. 2013, http://www.documentarchiv.de/ns/propaganda_vo.html.

[155] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet: Künstlereliten im Dritten Reich* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1991), 13.

Famously, Goebbels began to use approved music and musicians to propagate and support the regime's agenda, while purging the Third Reich of "undesirable" art and artists. Like all musicians employed within its borders, Gieseking would now have to report to the Ministry periodically, and he would begin to receive requests from Nazi officials whenever his services as a pianist were desired. Once the Second World War begins, however, the Ministry will start to keep ever-shortening lists of those artists granted exemption from military service and permitted to continue their careers.[156]

In spite of the political developments, the Great Depression, the lower profits and the higher taxes, Gieseking later recalled how he continued his career with great success during this period: "In my private life hardly anything changed at first. After my return from America, I played the Brahms Piano Concerto in Dresden on 20 April [1933]."[157] Of course, the National Socialists had now taken over Germany. Their presence was noticeable everywhere, and this concert took place on Hitler's birthday. Gieseking described the scene: "There I saw . . . the first brown uniforms, the "deutsche Gruß" (made in Italy)[158] and heard the Horst-Wessel-Lied[159] for the first time."[160] He was

[156] By late 1944, a new division of the Ministry, namely the *Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle*, or Artists' War Service Office, will become completely in charge of the careers of the Reich's artists (as discussed in Chapter 8).

[157] "In meiner Privatwelt änderte sich zunächst kaum etwas. Nach meiner Rückkehr von America spielte ich am 20. April in Dresden das Brahms-Konzert." Gieseking does not indicate which of Brahms's two piano concertos he performed, though he preferred the second one. After playing the second concerto in Stockholm a few years earlier, under the Czech conductor Václav Talich (1883–1961), Gieseking wrote to his wife: "This B-flat major Concerto is much more beautiful than the one in D minor." Satisfied with the concert, he added, "I played rather well, with the exception of a few places. I just noticed one review, which appears to be fabulous as far as I can gather with my [limited] Swedish." ("Dieses B-Dur ist viel schöner wie das d-moll. Ich habe ganz annehmbar gespielt, bis auf ein paar Stellen. Eine Kritik sah ich eben, die fabelhaft zu sein scheint, soweit ich schwedisch verstehe.") Walter Gieseking, Stockholm, to Annie Gieseking née Haake, [Hanover] 8 Oct. 1929, letter, GFA.

[158] The literal translation of "deutsche Gruß" is "German salute," but it is better known as the "Nazi salute" or the "Hitler salute," which was famously accompanied by the greeting "Heil Hitler!" or similar words of praise for Hitler. With "made in Italy," Gieseking is somewhat humorously referring to the fact that the Italian Fascist Party had begun to use the Nazi salute before Germany's National Socialists

excited about many of the changes taking place, hoping to see Germany benefit from the Nazis' rule, particularly with regard to the arts. At the same time, he continued to turn a blind eye to the mistreatment of non-Germans, including countless musicians. Some of his most eminent colleagues in the U.S., on the other hand, began to take action from afar.

Musicians Protest Hitler

In late March 1933, Ignacy Jan Paderewski spoke out against Hitler and the German government during an interview for the *New York Times*.[161] The immensely popular pianist happened to be a former statesman, one who had served as Poland's Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs from January to December 1919, signed the Treaty of Versailles while representing his country during the Paris Peace Conference, and fulfilled duties as Polish delegate to the Conference of Ambassadors from the summer of 1920 through that December.[162] Paderewski was, above all, currently concerned about the partition of his native land and warned Americans against the possibility of another war.[163]

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adopted it. Ian Dear and M. R. D. Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), s.v. "Heil Hitler!"

[159] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 65–6. Horst Wessel (1907–30) became a member of the Nazi party in 1926. His song known as the "Horst Wessel-Lied (Die Fahne hoch…) [The flag high…] became, next to the German national anthem, "Das Deutschlandlied," a second national anthem of Nazi Germany ("Horst Wessel," *dtv-Lexikon*, Bd. 20, 1975).

[160] "Dabei sah ich . . . die ersten braunen Uniformen, den 'deutschen Gruß' (made in Italy) und hörte das Horst-Wessel-Lied zum ersten Mal." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 65–66.

[161] "Paderewski Fears New Reich Menace," *New York Times*, 25 Mar. 1933.

[162] Jim Samson, "Paderewski, Ignacy Jan," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed.; Małgorzata Perkowska-Waszek, "Paderewski, Igancy Jan," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed.

[163] "Paderewski Fears New Reich Menace," *New York Times*, 25 Mar. 1933.

A week later, eleven prominent artists cabled a letter to Hitler on 1 April 1933, the same day the regime initiated the one-day public boycott of Jewish-run businesses. Opponents of Hitlerism, these musicians were infuriated by the Nazis' recent dismissal of their colleagues, including the eminent conductors Bruno Walter and Otto Klemperer, incidents that had received ample publicity.[164] At the top of the list stood the famed Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini (1867–1957), who had been the first non-German to conduct at the prestigious *Bayreuther Festspiele* in 1930 and 1931 and was now threatening to cancel his summer engagements there. Ultimately, though not until June and to the great dismay of the Wagner descendants and many fans planning to attend the festival, he not only annulled the agreement, but also chose never to return to Germany.[165] Winifred Wagner (1897–1980), the late composer's daughter-in-law, who acted as head of the Wagner family and had become a close friend of Hitler's, had even prompted the Chancellor himself write to Toscanini, asking him to reconsider.[166] Other musicians on the list included Walter and Frank Damrosch, Sergei Koussevitzky, Harold Bauer, Ossip Gabrilowitsch, and Fritz Reiner.[167] Hitler's ultimate response to the protest? Each of the musicians found their recordings and radio broadcasts subsequently banned in Germany.[168]

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[164] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 79–80.

[165] After conducting at the Salzburg Festspiele from 1934 to 1937, Toscanini would also no longer appear there after Austria's *Anschluss* in 1938. "Music: Bayreuth's Blight," *Time*, 19 June 1933, accessed 15 Mar. 2011, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,789365-1,00.html; David Cairns, "Toscanini, Arturo," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed.

[166] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 79–80.

[167] "Toscanini Heads Protest to Hitler," *New York Times*, 2 Apr. 1933.

[168] "Music: Bayreuth's Blight," *Time*, 19 June 1933, accessed 15 Mar. 2011, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,789365-1,00.html.

Later that same year, Gieseking's colleague, the Polish and Jewish violinist Bronisław Huberman, received an invitation from Furtwängler to return to Germany for some collaborative performances: Nazi officials had given the conductor their word that Huberman had nothing to fear.[169] The violinist wisely rejected the offer. Huberman would go on to give benefit concerts for German émigrés and even published an open letter condemning the Nazis in the *Manchester Guardian* in March 1936.[170] It is not known how Huberman, who lived until 1947, reacted to Gieseking's decision to remain in Germany, and whether they maintained their friendship.

When Gieseking was later criticized for continuing his career as a favored Reich citizen, it was pointed out that such eminent musicians—artists with whom he was in many cases personally acquainted—had not only fled Germany, but had also taken action by protesting against the Nazis' mistreatment of undesired artists. The argument was that Gieseking, too, could have done so, but instead acted as a coward by complying with the regime's policies—all too willingly in the opinion of some.[171] We have already examined his decision to remain in Germany. His own passiveness toward the oppression of so many of his colleagues suggests that he was rather unconcerned about the unfortunate situation forced upon them, including those still residing in the Reich. We must remember that, like many, he believed Germany had quickly begun to benefit tremendously from the Hitler regime. As he had expressed to Pohlman, he was impressed by the decrease in unemployment and especially by the interest the new government took

[169] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 80.

[170] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 80.

[171] This becomes clearest in the postwar chapters of this dissertation.

in the arts—despite all racial discrimination.[172] Because Gieseking was "Aryan" and arguably the Reich's greatest pianist, he knew he had nothing to fear so long as he played by the rules. Unsurprisingly, while the Nazis were cleansing the Reich of non-Aryan and other unwanted artists, they began to strengthen their ties with the eminent virtuoso. In the meantime, much of his competition there was quickly being eliminated, although there is no evidence of him ever approving of this.

The Gieseking-Hinkel Correspondence and an Invitation to Hitler

From May, October, and November of 1933, there survives some correspondence between Gieseking and the Prussian State Commissioner, Hans Hinkel (1901–60).[173] By this time, Hinkel already had a long history as a devoted National Socialist. He had become a member of the NSDAP in 1921 and a *Schutzstaffel* (S.S.) officer in 1931. In January 1933, he was appointed State Commissioner of the Prussian Ministry of Science, Arts, and Public Education (Preussisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung[174]), with one of his special tasks being the *Entjudung*, or de-Jewification, of the Third Reich's cultural life. In April 1933, he was named president of the National

[172] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 Aug. 1933, DEC.

[173] The correspondence between Hinkel and Gieseking is found in the "Walter Gieseking" subject file formerly maintained by the Berlin Document Center, now preserved by the Bundesarchiv: File: Walter Gieseking, [b. 1895], Occupation: Pianist. There are four letters from Hinkel to Gieseking in 1933: from 9 May, 20 October, 7 and 17 November. Letters from Gieseking to Hinkel exist from 3 and 13 November 1933. On 14 November, Gieseking's Berlin concert agency, Konzert-Direktion Hans Adler, sent Hinkel a letter with complimentary concert tickets to Gieseking's Berlin recital on 16 November 1933. A letter of 15 November 1933 from the Staatsekretär [Hans Heinrich Lammers] of the Reichskanzlei to Hinkel concerns Gieseking. Another relevant letter from this time (discussed below) from Hinkel regarding Gieseking is found elsewhere, see Hans Hinkel to Hans Heinrich Lammers of the Reich Chancellery, 13 Nov. 1933, Bundesarchiv, R 43 II/1238, Blatt 58, quoted in Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter," see 2216. In March 1944, Hinkel would again write Gieseking to inform him that he had been decorated with the *Kriegsverdienstkreuz II. Klasse ohne Schwerter*; see Hans Hinkel to Walter Gieseking, Wiesbaden, 22 Mar. 1944, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[174] The Ministry was more commonly known as the Kultusministerium, or Ministry of Culture.

Socialist Society for German Culture (Nationalsozialistische Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kultur), and in May he took on the position of Reich Organization Leader (Reichsorganizationsleiter) of the Combat League for German Culture (Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, hereafter "KfdK").[175] In 1935, Hinkel became secretary-general of the Reich Culture Chamber (Reichskulturkammer), and he would continue to hold a range of important positions through 1945.[176]

In his correspondence with Hinkel, Gieseking, having made an unspecified financial contribution, asks whether he has become a member of the KfdK. Founded in 1929 by Alfred Rosenberg, this pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic organization, short-lived as it was, grew at a tremendous pace after Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor in 1933. Having 6,000 members at the start of 1933, the number rose to 10,000 by April and had reached 38,000 by October.[177] With Hinkel in charge as the organization's "administrative mastermind," as Michael Kater has written, "the Kampfbund embarked on a vicious campaign against all things Jewish, demanding instead increased creative activity by truly Nordic artists who would shun decrepit modernism."[178] KfdK membership was therefore significant, and after the war it would be used against musicians as evidence of Nazi collaboration. In a postwar review of the eminent

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[175] In June 1934, the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur would merge with the Reichsverband für Deutsche Bühne (Reich Association for German Theater) to become part of the larger National-sozialistische Kulturgemeinde (National Socialist Cultural Community). In 1937, the *Kulturgemeinde* would be joined with the Nationalsozialistischen Gemeinschaft Kraft durch Freude (National Socialist Strength-Through-Joy Organization, part of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, or German Labor Front). Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Hinkel, Hans." Information about the specific organizations named can be found in the "Begriffslexikon" found in Klee's *Kulturlexikon*, 707–15; see also Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 36.

[176] See Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Hinkel, Hans."

[177] Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 9, 15–16.

[178] Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1992), 24.

conductor Karl Böhm's record, for example, the U.S. Forces in Austria concluded that he had been a member of the KfdK since 1933 and that "his correspondence with Hinkel showed him to be a devoted Nazi."[179]

Despite the ambiguous evidence that suggested Gieseking had become a KfdK member—which, we will see, he later denied—after the war he, too, would be criticized by various anti-Nazi protest groups in the U.S. repeatedly for his affiliation with the Reich organization and for having exchanged letters with Hinkel. The Gieseking-Hinkel correspondence was, in fact, reprinted in English translation in a *New York Times* article by Delbert Clark of 1949 titled "Gieseking Letters: They Reveal his Efforts to Join Nazi Group," as part of the successful campaign to stop the pianist's postwar American return almost immediately thereafter.[180] The widely popular American gossip columnist, Walter Winchell, likewise published one of the letters (from 3 November 1933, taken from Clark's article), in his column in the *Washington Post* in April 1953. Winchell declared the document to be "conclusive evidence" of Gieseking's Nazi taint.[181]

The earliest of the letters from Hinkel is a reply to one now lost that Gieseking had sent him on 7 May 1933. In the missive from 9 May (written by an assistant of Hinkel's), we read,

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[179] "Seine Korrespondenz mit Hinkel zeigt ihn als ergebenen Nazi." Unsigned letter from the U.S. Forces of Austria's Information Services Branch (Theater and Music Section), to Ministerialrat Egon Hilbert of the Bundestheaterverwaltung in Vienna, 21 Dec. 1945, file: NND 785006, 260 (USACA) Information Services Branch, Theater and Music Section, General Records, 1945–50, box 2, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[180] Clark, "Gieseking Letters: They Reveal his Efforts to Join Nazi Group," *New York Times*, 9 Jan. 1949. The translations used in the *New York Times* article are Clark's own, which vary slightly from those by the author included in the present examination. Clark's involvement in the protest against Gieseking's postwar appearances in the U.S. are discussed in Chapter 11.

[181] Winchell, Walter Winchell . . . of New York: Memos to the Editors, *Washington Post*, 24 Apr. 1949.

> On behalf of Herr State Commissioner Hinkel, I am acknowledging the receipt of your letter from 7 May. Herr State Commissioner thanks you very much for your lines and was quite pleased by what you wrote. Should you by chance be in Berlin, Herr Hinkel asks that you inquire into membership with the Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur, mentioning his name, by visiting the KfDK office at 29 Link Street.[182]

What is not made clear in the letter is whether Hinkel had first written Gieseking prior to this, which seems likely although no such documentation survives, and whether he had urged Gieseking to join the KfdK. From the start, the regime was interested in enlisting the support of its most illustrious, approved musicians—largely to help meet its propaganda needs—though at this early stage the more successful artists were able to decline any such offers without yet having to worry unduly about possible, detrimental consequences. Of course, this "freedom" would continue to vanish as the Third Reich increasingly became a vigilantly controlled police state, and it would be eradicated completely by the final war years.

Although not until October that year, Gieseking did finally make an effort to see Hinkel, but the State Commissioner was unavailable. He wrote back to the pianist on 20 October:

> I heard that you were recently here at my office and regret very much that we were not able to speak on this occasion. Naturally, I would—in the interest of the Kampfbund itself—be most pleased if you were to join it, and I would be happy to assist you by taking care of whatever steps may be necessary."[183]

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[182] "Im Auftrag von Herrn Staatskommissar Hinkel bestätige ich Ihnen den Eingang Ihres Schreibens vom 7. Mai. Herr Staatskommissar dankt Ihnen bestens für Ihre Zeilen und hat sich über Ihre Ausführungen sehr gefreut. Sollten Sie gelegentlich einmal in Berlin sein, so bittet Herr Hinkel Sie, sich zwecks Aufnahme im Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur unter Bezugnahme auf ihn an die Geschäftsstelle des KfdK in der Linkstr. 29 zu wenden." Hans Hinkel, Berlin, to Gieseking, Hanover, 9 May 1933, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[183] "Ich hörte von Ihrem kürzlichen Besuch hier in meinem Büro und bedaure sehr, dass wir uns bei dieser Gelegenheit nicht sprechen konnten. Selbstverständlich würde ich es—im Interesse des Kampfbundes selbst—sehr begrüssen, wenn Sie diesem beitreten würden, und bin gern bereit, gegebenfalls das Erforderliche in die Wege zu leiten." Hinkel, Berlin, to Gieseking, Hanover, letter, 20 Oct. 1933, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

Two weeks later, upon returning from an extensive concert tour in England, France, and Belgium, Gieseking responded to Hinkel's latest letter. After properly expressing his regret for not having been able to meet with the Commissioner in October, the pianist mentioned an upcoming benefit performance and returned to the subject of the KfdK:

> Perhaps you will be able to attend my piano recital on 16 November (Bach-Saal, Lützow Straße), which I am giving for the *Winterhilfe* [Winter Relief[184]]? I shall have to leave at once for Königsberg that night, however.
>
> I received a reminder from the Kampfbund regarding the payment for owed dues. May I consider this confirmation of my membership? Since the money is, in any case, put to good use, I shall go ahead and make a payment anyhow. I would be interested in knowing, nonetheless, whether I am now a member or not . . .
>
> With the hope that we may soon meet in person, I remain, with Hitler Heil,
>
> Most faithfully yours,
> Walter Gieseking[185]

Gieseking's mention of "owed dues" certainly suggests that he had become a member, yet as he indicated, his status with the organization had never been verified.

The letter also documents one of the few known instances in which he signed his name with "Heil Hitler," or in this case, "Hitler Heil." From the start of the National Socialists' *Machtergreifung*, closing all government correspondence with "Heil Hitler"

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[184] The *Winterhilfe* campaign was the chief Nazi charity. Citizens of the Third Reich were expected to contribute, which most did voluntarily. Those who failed to donate a respectable amount faced various consequences, including the loss of their jobs. More information on the campaign and Gieseking's financial contributions is found in Chapter 2. William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 264.

[185] "Vielleicht ist es Ihnen aber möglich, in meinen Klavierabend am 16. November, den ich für die Winterhilfe stifte, zu kommen? (Bach-Saal, Lützowstr.) Ich muss allerdings sofort in der Nacht nach Königsberg weiterfahren. Vom Kampfbund bekam ich eine Mahnung zur Zahlung rückständigen Beiträger, kann ich dies als Bestätigung meiner Mitgliedschaft auffassen? Da das Geld ja in jedem Fall gut angewandt ist, zahle ich zunächst einmal. Es würde mich aber interessieren, zu erfahren, ob ich nun Mitglied bin oder nicht . . . In der Hoffnung, dass wir uns bald persönlich begegnen werden, verbleibe ich mit Hitler Heil[,] Ihr ganz ergebener Walter Gieseking[.]" Gieseking, Hanover, to Hans Hinkel, letter, 3 Nov. 1933, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

was standard procedure, however, and was not necessarily a pledge of allegiance to the Führer.[186] As Gieseking later put it, it was the "done thing."[187] Choosing not to conclude in that manner was, in fact, considered an intentional act of resistance and became punishable.[188] During WWII, the political writers Walter R. Sharp and Grayson Kirk observed the regimes' coercion of the expression:

> With typical German thoroughness the Nazi régime has made "Heil Hitler" the compulsory greeting for all Germans. Official communications must close with "Heil Hitler," while good Nazis never fail to use it in their private correspondence and even at the close of a telephone conversation.[189]

In the hundreds of pages of Gieseking's surviving personal correspondence with friends, family, familiar colleagues and even some lower-ranking Nazi officials, it should be noted, there is not a single instance in which he closed with the Nazi expression.

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[186] Tilman Allert, *The Hitler Salute: On the Meaning of a Gesture*, trans. Jefferson Chase (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2008), 32

[187] "Pianist told to 'Go home Nazi," *The Courier Mail* (Brisbane, Qld), 4 Mar. 1952.

[188] In his recollections of the U.S.'s German occupation, Arthur D. Kahn (former Chief Editor of the Intelligence Office of the Director of the U.S. Military Government's Information Control Office) remembers an official in the Sandez Chemical Works firm, one Herr Hellers, describing the ways in which he felt he had resisted the Nazis: "I, too, opposed the Nazis. Never did I sign my letters with the required 'Heil Hitler!' and that was dangerous." While this may not have been much of a resistance on Heller's part, it nevertheless does further demonstrate the importance Nazi officials placed on obeying the two-word valediction. Kahn, *Betrayal: Our Occupation of Germany* (Warsaw: Ksiazkai-Wiedza, 1950), 148–49. Before WWII began, Erika Mann described with mockery the everyday use of the Hitler salute (Hitlergruss) during the Hitler era: "Every child says "Heil Hitler!" from 50 to 150 times a day. . . . The formula is required by law; if you meet a friend on the way to school, you say it; study periods are opened and closed with "Heil Hitler!"; "Heil Hitler!" says the postman, the street-car conductor, the girl who sells you notebooks at the stationary store; and if your parents' first words when you come home to lunch are not "Heil Hitler!" they have been guilty of a punishable offense, and can be denounced. . . . Your evening prayers must close with "Heil Hitler!" if you take your devotions seriously." Mann, *School for Barbarians: Education under the Nazis*, trans. Muriel Rukeyser (New York: Modern Age Books, 1938), 21. Passed on 24 March 1933, the so-called Enabling Act, the "Law to Remove the Distress of People and State," obliged all Germans to use the greeting and the swastika was made the official symbol of the Nazi Reich. Once the National Socialists had suppressed all the other German political parties, the Hitler salute became known as the German salute, the *deutsche Gruß*. C. G. Sweeting, *Hitler's Personal Plot: The Life and Times of Hans Baur* (London: Brassey's, 2001), 39–40; I. L. Kandel, *The Making of Nazis* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1935), 80.

[189] Sharp and Kirk, *Contemporary International Politics* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1940), 132.

On 7 November, another communication from Hinkel's office confirmed that Hinkel would indeed be present at Gieseking's Berlin benefit performance for the *Winterhilfe*; two seats were requested for the occasion.[190] On 13 November, the pianist acknowledged the letter as follows:

> To the very honorable Herr Hinkel,
>
> Presently concertizing in Hanover, I have received the message that you wish to give me the pleasure of attending my Berlin recital. I look forward to meeting you there and am having two tickets delivered to you.
>
> With German greetings[191]
> Most faithfully yours,
> Walter Gieseking[192]

The tickets were sent to Hinkel by Gieseking's Berlin concert agency, Hans Adler, the next day.[193]

Also on 13 November 1933, Hinkel wrote to State Secretary and Chief of the Reich Chancellery (Reichskanzlei) Hans Heinrich Lammers, passing on Gieseking's message:

> Enclosed is a letter I am handing over to you written to me by the famous pianist Walter Gieseking; he is giving a benefit piano recital for the Winter Relief on the 16th of this month in the Bach Hall in Lützowstraße. The artist would be very

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[190] Hinkel, Berlin, to Gieseking, Hanover, letter, 7 Nov. 1933, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[191] An alternative closing expression to "Heil Hitler" during the NS-era, "mit deutschem Gruß ("With German greetings") had become commonly used in business correspondence in the early 1920s when, as Tilman Allert has explained, "it expressed Germans' longing for a homogenous national culture in the aftermath of Germany's defeat in World War I." Allert, *The Hitler Salute*, 32.

[192] Gieseking, Hanover, to Hans Hinkel, letter, 13 Nov. 1933, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA. "Sehr verehrter Herr Hinkel, auf meiner Konzertreise Hannover berührend, finde ich die Mitteilung, dass Sie mir das Vergnügen machen wollen, meinem Berliner Klavierabend beizuwohnen. Ich freue mich sehr, Sie dort begrüssen zu können und lasse Ihnen 2 Karten zuschicken. Mit deutschem Gruss[,] Ihr ergebenster Walter Gieseking."

[193] Konzert-Direktion Hans Adler, Berlin, to Hans Hinkel, Berlin, letter, 14 Nov. 1933, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA. The Hans Adler agency was founded in 1918 and still exists. Among its early clients were Richard Strauss, Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer, Alfred Cortot, Igor Strawinsky, and, after WWII, Vladimir Horowitz. More recently, it has worked with such distinguished artists as Daniel Barenboim, Claudio Abbado, Zubin Mehta, Seiji Ozawa, and Anne Sophie Mutter. Konzert-Direktion Hans Adler, "Wir über uns," accessed 2 Mar. 2011, http://www.musikadler.de/konzert-direktion/wir-ueber-uns.html.

pleased if the Führer could attend the concert, and I would be grateful if you could make the necessary arrangements.[194]

Hinkel's message is curious, for Gieseking expressed no such wish in his above correspondence to have Hitler present at the event. Yet Hinkel's above communiqué and reply (below), sent through his secretary to the pianist, are evidence enough that the latter had, in fact, expressed such a desire. We must therefore assume that Gieseking had written at least one more letter, maybe the one that was handed over to Lammers, that is now lost. It is also possible that he had made a phone call to Hinkel.

Answering for Hitler, State Secretary (Staatssekretär) and Chief of the Reich Chancellery Hans Heinrich Lammers wrote back to Hinkel, explaining that the Führer could not be present at Gieseking's performance.[195] Hinkel then had a follow-up letter sent to the pianist, in which he quoted the Chancellery's official reply. Hinkel's message (again, written by a secretary) read as follows:

Dear Mr. Gieseking!

On behalf of State Commissioner Herr Hinkel, I would like to inform you that we have complied with your request and have tried to inform the Führer of your concert on the 16th of this month. Unfortunately, we received the following official reply to our request from the Reich Chancellery:

> "The Herr Reich Chancellor [Hitler] has asked me to thank you heartily for the kind invitation to attend the piano recital by the pianist Walter Gieseking to be held in the Bach-Saal on the 16th of this month [November]. Due to the extremely heavy burden of urgent, official duties the Herr Reich Chancellor is, to his regret, unable to accept the invitation.
>
> signed: Lammers
> Secretary of State"

On behalf of Herr Hinkel, I send you his best wishes.

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[194] "Beiliegend überreiche ich Ihnen ein an mich gerichtetes Schreiben des bekannten Pianisten Walter Gieseking, der am 16. d. Mts. zugunsten der Winterhilfe im Bach-Saal in der Lützowstraße einen Klavierabend gibt. Dem Künstler würde es eine grosse Freude sein, wenn der Führer das Konzert besuchen könnte, und wäre ich Ihnen dankbar, wenn Sie evtl. das Weitere veranlaßten." Hans Hinkel to Hans Heinrich Lammers of the Reich Chancellery, 13 Nov. 1933, Bundesarchiv, R 43 II/1238, Blatt 58, quoted in Fred K. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter," see p. 2216.

[195] Lammers, Berlin, to Hinkel, Berlin, letter, 15 Nov. 1933, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

Heil Hitler!
p.p. [unidentified secretary]
Hans Hinkel, Member of the Reichstag
State Commissioner[196]

Because of a bureaucratic delay, Lammer's reply (dated 15 November) had not been sent out until 17 November, the day after the recital.[197] Thus Hinkel, as well as Gieseking, may have been uncertain whether Hitler might actually attend the performance until the time of the event.

Because the exchange of letters between Gieseking and Hinkel was discovered after the war, the former would later be publicly accused of having "specifically requested that Chancellor Hitler attend a concert on the 16th." So wrote Delbert Clark on 9 January 1949, referring to the pianist's recital of November 1933 in his *New York Times* piece on the German musician's extant communication with Hinkel.[198] The invitation was interpreted by Clark, and certainly many who read his article, as evidence of Gieseking's approval of the Führer. Of course, at that early phase of the Reich, the pianist was indeed supportive of much of what the National Socialist government had begun to do for his nation, as we have already seen. The point of such an invitation, nonetheless, may have also been to serve as a tactic to stay in the regime's good graces. It

[196] "Sehr geehrter Herr Gieseking! Im Auftrag von Heern Staatskommissar Hinkel möchte ich Ihnen mitteilen, dass wir Ihrem Wunsche nachgekommen sind und versucht haben, den Führer auf Ihr Konzert am 16. ds.Mts. aufmerksam zu machen. Leider bekamen wir auf unsere Bitte folgende offizielle Antwort seitens der Reichkanzlei: 'Der Herr Reichskanzler hat mich beauftragt, Ihnen für die freundliche Einladung zu dem von dem Pianisten Walter Gieseking am 16. d.Mts. im Bach-Saal veranstalteten Klavierabend verbindlichst zu danken. Infolge der überaus starken Belastung mit vordringlichen Amtsgeschäften ist der Herr Reichskanzler zu seinem Bedauern nicht in der Lage, der Einladung zu folgen.' gez. Lammers[,] Staatssekretär[.] Im Namen von Heern Hinkel übermittle ich Ihnen seine besten Grüsse. Heil Hitler! i.A. [Hans Hinkel M. d. R. Staatskommisar]" Hans Hinkel i. A., Berlin, to Gieseking, Hanover, letter, 17 Nov. 1933, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[197] An office stamp on the letter dated 17 November 1933 verifies the delayed mailing. Lammers, Berlin, to Hinkel, Berlin, letter, 15 Nov. 1933, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[198] Clark, "Gieseking Letters." Clark, too, drew his conclusion based solely on Hinkel's reference to Gieseking's invitation, for the reporter was unable to quote the pianist directly in this instance in an article that otherwise reprinted the Gieseking-Hinkel correspondence in its entirety.

is unknown whether Gieseking subsequently ever extended any further invitations to Hitler, through Hinkel or any other Nazi officials, but after the war he would claim to have played before him on but a single occasion, during a shared benefit recital in Berlin in 1935, to which we will return.

To return to the topic of the Kampfbund, after Gieseking was likewise criticized in the U.S. press, starting with Clark's postwar reporting, for cooperating with Hinkel and possibly joining the KfdK, he addressed the matter in a letter that he submitted to an unidentified American. Written the day before his failed Carnegie Hall return on 24 January 1949—as part of a desperate, last-minute attempt to defend his reputation—this document (in Gieseking's English) sheds much light on his dealings with the Nazi organization:

> Dear Sir,
>
> Last night I saw in an article by Mr. Irving Kolodin the mention of a letter which I seems to have written in 1933 [to Hinkel] to the "Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur."[199] At the first moment, I couldn't remember much about this – rather unimportant – incident (after sixteen years! Or should I say: after a thousand and three years?), but I feel to-day that certain details came back to my mind. If I am right, there was, when I came back to Germany (Hannover [*sic*]) in April 1933 (from the U.S.), a sort of membership drive of the Kampfbund, and practically all artists in Hannover [*sic*] had applied for membership while I was in the States. It is even probabl[e] that my manager, Mr. Arthur Bernstein, who managed my European concerts until the Nazis forbade him to do so, advised me to do the same as everybody. . [. .] I remember that the "Kampfbund" accepted by contribution of 6 marks (about 1,50$ [i.e. $1.50] at that time) for [the] inscription fee, etc. – but they did not accept me as a member, probably because I played too much Hindemith, Schönberg, Strawinsky and other "entartete" Music at that time and because – my manager was still Mr. Bernstein. . . .
>
> Another detail I remember: the "Kampfbund," in 1933, wanted to become the official organization of all German artists. The at-that-time president of the Kampfbund is now, if I am well [i.e. correctly] informed, director of some conservatory of music school in the Russian zone.[200] It also must not be forgotten

[199] Kolodin (1908–88) was a music critic who wrote for the *New York Sun* (1932–50) and the *Saturday Review*.

[200] The person referred to could not have been Hinkel, who, after the war, was imprisoned in 1945 before being sent to Poland for the theft of Polish cultural goods. He returned to West Germany in 1951

> that in 1933 there was a widespread opinion in Germany that non-Nazis should try to gain access to Nazi organizations, so that they could, as members of these organizations, influence their decisions to keep them from the worst. This didn't prove successful, but I suppose that it was at the suggestion of some friends[,] including my manager[,] that I agreed to become a member of the Kampfbund. I never became a member and was not enough interested by this whole matter even to remember it, especially now after 16 years, but it may be that I wasn't accepted because of my playing international modern music and having a Jewish manager.[201]

A few details of the letter deserve some comment. First, by 1933 Gieseking rarely, if ever, programmed works specifically by Schönberg and Stravinsky, and, indeed, only infrequently other music that would increasingly come to be called "entartet" or degenerate by the Nazis. While he certainly continued to perform international music regularly—particularly the French works of Debussy and Ravel—and play Hindemith's music on occasion, none of his foreign repertoire, nor Hindemith's output, had yet fallen under Nazi censorship. It is therefore more plausible that, *if* the Kampfbund organization—that is, Hinkel—was opposed to Gieseking becoming a member, it more likely had to do with the pianist's relationship with Arthur Bernstein. The rest of what Gieseking described in the letter may very well have been just as he explained it. Yet it is peculiar how, after first claiming to have forgotten much about the contact with Hinkel concerning the KfdK, he proceeded to describe the incident with ample detail.

In sum, there is indeed no evidence to show that Gieseking ever became a member of the Combat League for German Culture, and it is impossible to determine whether this is something that he genuinely desired. While he did make the small contribution, he made no reference either to the Kampfbund or to Hinkel anywhere in his

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and was denazified, being classified as merely a "Mitläufer," or "Follower." He died in Göttingen on 8 February 1960. Ernst Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Hinkel, Hans."

[201] Gieseking, New York, to an unidentified "Sir," letter, 23 Jan. 1949, DEC.

surviving private correspondence during the Nazi era. To be fair, the membership probably meant little to the famous pianist, as he later argued, who was busy with his highly successful career and needed none of the benefits that might have been offered by such organizations. He may have simply been trying to stay out of trouble with the authorities in order to continue his career as independently as possible at this initial phase of the Third Reich. In his explanatory postwar letter quoted above, he suggests that he had applied to the Kampfbund on his own initiative, probably taking the advice of Bernstein and others, but it is conceivable that Hinkel had also pressured him to join the organization.[202] The regime, we must remember, desired to have its most illustrious musicians as involved as possible in its organizations, above all to fulfill its propaganda aims, and of all the active German pianists, none enjoyed the global fame Gieseking had acquired. In any case, it seems that he viewed the KfdK matter as completely insignificant, or "rather unimportant" as he put it, and he must have been surprised to find it brought up against him after the WWII. He did not include the organization upon filling out the postwar questionnaire known as the *Meldebogen* (literally: registration form), where he was required to list the memberships he had held with Nazi-affiliated organizations. These, he noted, included simply his mandatory Reich Music Chamber membership and *possibly*, as he also indicated with a question mark, membership with the National Socialists People's Welfare Organization (Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt) because of his monthly contribution of three reichsmarks.[203] Michael

[202] The author wishes to thank Dr. Toby Thacker for his most helpful insight regarding the context of the Hinkel-Gieseking correspondence.

[203] Gieseking, "Meldebogen," 24 Apr. 1946. Abt.: 520 W, Nr. NB: Walter Gieseking, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW. Gieseking's *Meldebogen* is discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

Kater has written that Gieseking may have already given a performance for the Kampfbund sometime during 1933. There is no record of this, and it seems unlikely based on the documentation related to the pianist and the organization.[204]

As far as can be determined, the Gieseking–Hinkel correspondence ended until late in the war, namely in 1944, when the pianist received word from Hinkel that he was to be decorated in Hitler's name.[205]

Gieseking's European Concert Schedule, Fall 1933

In August of 1933, Gieseking wrote to Richard Pohlman about his engagements for the upcoming 1933/34 season:

> [Charles] Wagner did not give me a list of the next [North American] tour, he is writing optimistic letters, as usual, but seems to have done a fairly good booking. I shall be very busy [in Europe] from the end of September, the only trouble is that nobody will pay a big fee in these times. I had requests for concerts from nearly all larger German cities for next winter, but could not accept all those dates because I have not found out yet how to play in more than one place at a time (Gieseking's English).[206]

As usual, Gieseking's concert itinerary proved busy, and he was soon touring several European countries, namely England, Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. During an interview from 19 November 1933 published in the *Hannoverscher Anzeiger*, he proudly described his current schedule, probably to show the reporter and the paper's readership how successful he had now become:

> I just returned from London, where I gave four evening concerts, Liverpool, Brussels, and Paris. Tomorrow I will concertize in Erfurt, then Frankfurt an der Oder, Dresden, and then I will play for the *Winterhilfe* here in Hanover. At that point . . . I will go to Braunschweig, Berlin, Königsberg, Berlin again, Munich,

[204] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 70.

[205] The wartime letters are discussed in Chapter 8.

[206] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 Aug. 1933, DEC.

> then Zurich, Freiburg, Neuchâtel, Bern, then back to Bochum and again to Geneva, Freiburg, and Lausanne. After that, I will give five concerts in Italy and then it's Christmas, after which I will go to America. There the tempo is even madder, more hectic.[207]

Reich Music Chamber Registration

In November 1933, all professional musicians who wished to continue their career in Germany—regardless of their political party affiliation—learned that they were now required to join the newly inaugurated Reich Music Chamber (Reichsmusikkammer).[208] Failure to do so resulted in a *Berufsverbot*, or employment ban.[209] Headed by Joseph Goebbels, the Reich Music Chamber was a division of the Reich Cultural Chamber, an organization established on 22 September 1933, which also comprised the Reich Writers' Chamber (Reichsschrifttumskammer), Reich Theater Chamber (Reichstheaterkammer), Reich Film Chamber (Reichsfilmkammer), Reich Chamber of the Visual Arts (Reichskammer der bildenden Künste), Reich Press Chamber (Reichspressekammer), and Reich Broadcasting Chamber (Reichsrundfunkkammer).[210]

One of the Reich Music Chamber's main objectives was, of course, the "Aryanization" of the field of music in the Third Reich, but other "undesirables"—essentially anyone who did not please Goebbels or live up to his expectations—would be

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[207] "Ich komme jetzt eben von London, wo ich vier Abende gespielt habe, von Liverpool, Brüssel und Paris. Morgen geht es nach Erfurt, dann Frankfurt a. O., Dresden, dann werde ich hier in Hannover für die Winterhilfe spielen, daran anschließend geht es—interessiert Sie so eine Tournee überhaupt?—nach Braunschweig, Berlin, Königsberg, wieder Berlin, München, weiter nach Zürich, Freiburg, Neuchatel, Bern, zurück nach Bochum und wieder nach Genf, Freiburg, Lausanne. Kommen noch fünf Konzerte in Italien, und dann ist Weihnachten, Zeit nach Amerika. Dort ist das Tempo noch toller, drängender." Quoted in "Eine Stunde bei Walter Gieseking," *Die Musik*, Feb. 1934, 392–93.

[208] Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 48.

[209] Ernst Klee, *Das Kulturlexikom zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Reichskulturkammer."

[210] The Reich Broadcasting Chamber was dissolved on 28 October 1939, at which point it became part of the *Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft* [Reich Broadcasting Corporation]). Ibid.

expelled from the organization.[211] Appointed by Goebbels, Richard Strauss became the first president of the Music Chamber until he was replaced by Peter Raabe in October 1935.[212] Wilhelm Furtwängler was named its initial vice president, though he served for an even shorter term than did Strauss; on 4 December 1934, the celebrated conductor resigned from most of his official posts—including his conducting position of the Berlin Philharmonic—after a well-publicized dispute with Nazi officials over Paul Hindemith's music.[213] In a postcard to Annie from 8 December 1933, Gieseking wrote: "I have heard that I probably have until the 15th [of December] to register with the Reich Music Chamber. . . ."[214] When he later noted his membership in his postwar *Meldebogen*, he indicated that he had held no title or office, and he was also careful to include that his joining had been "laut Gesetzesvorschrift," or "as required by law."[215] Reich Music Chamber membership is another example of how Germans who continued their careers in the Reich were forced to comply with the Nazi government's orders. And this was just

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[211] Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 100.

[212] Strauss was dismissed because he was in Goebbels's view not a committed Nazi. Although he was guilty of being anti-Semitic and loyal to the regime, Raabe himself resigned from the vice-president position on 15 May 1938, as an act of protest against the *Entartete Musik* exhibition at Düsseldorf that month. Goebbels would not accept it, however, and made sure it was never made public. Raabe therefore retained the position until his death on 12 April 1945. As President, he was responsible for the ousting of thousands of Jews from the *Reichsmusikkammer*. Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 34; Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 100; Richard A. Etlin, *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 60; Nina Okrassa, "Raabe, (Karl Ludwig Hermann) Peter," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed.

[213] Furtwängler was replaced by Paul Graener as vice president of the Reich Cultural Chamber. Furtwängler would reach an agreement with the Nazi authorities in February 1935 and resume conducting that April. We will return to the subject of Hindemith in Chapter 3. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Graener, Paul"; Fred K. Prieberg, *Trial of Strength: Wilhelm Furtwängler in the Third Reich*, trans. Christopher Dean (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994), 141–45, 155–56, 174–77; Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 355–57; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 181.

[214] "Im übrigen habe ich gehört, dass ich mich wahrscheinlich bis zum 15. [Dezember] bei der Reichsmusikkammer anmelden muss. . . ." Gieseking, Bochum, to Annie, Hanover, postcard, 8 Dec. 1933, GFA.

[215] Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

the beginning of the National Socialist era. It perhaps should have therefore served as a warning of what lay ahead for German artists who would increasingly have to abide by Nazi rules and censorship, so many of whom would no longer be able to practice their profession by the start of the war. Gieseking, however, must have suspected all along that, regardless of the developments concerning the arts during Hitler's dictatorship, he was personally going to receive special treatment. And he did, despite the ongoing trouble concerning his Jewish manager, Bernstein.

Further Trouble for Arthur Bernstein

Those artists' managers who were unable to prove "Aryan" lineage, particularly those who were Jewish, continued to come under pressure after Hitler became Reich Chancellor. "When the family trees were checked," Gieseking recollected after World War II, "poor Bernstein became the sole Jewish concert manager in Germany! All the others had proved their Aryan descent. A few had emigrated."[216] There were possibly still some important Jewish managers in Germany, of whom Gieseking and Bernstein were unaware, but they had surely all suffered the same cruel fate. Furthermore, upon Hitler's *Machtergreifung*, Gieseking explained, all of Arthur Bernstein's other German clients had annulled their contracts with the latter "at once."[217] Next, as the working conditions for Bernstein were further hindered, it became necessary for Gieseking himself to take over temporarily much of the business correspondence concerning his performances.[218]

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[216] "Als die Stammbäume nachgeprüft wurden, blieb der gute Bernstein der einzige jüdische Konzertverwalter in Deutschland! Alle anderen hatten ihre arische Abkunft nachgewiesen. Einige wenige waren ausgewandert. " Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 66–7.

[217] Ibid.

[218] Ibid.

Within months, many of those managers victimized, who initially tried to continue working in Germany, apparently demanded that their "Aryan" clients provide a written testimony of their adversity toward the regime, for in October 1933 the music journal *Die Musik*, the magazine of the National Socialist Cultural Community (NS-Kulturgemeinde), printed the following anti-Semitic announcement:[219]

> These Jewish agents are not ashamed to request German artists to submit a declaration, in which they are to "express their non-compliance with the current government." German artists will dismiss this unjustified demand immediately. A German artist is too proud for such political cynicism![220]

It is unknown if Bernstein was among those who had asked their clients for such a declaration.

In spite of the mounting obstacles, Gieseking was determined to keep working with Bernstein. In his memoirs, he recalled his rather audacious resolve:[221]

> Regardless of the political change, I saw no reason to leave my impresario, who had always done his job so well for me for over fifteen years. Although Bernstein's license was not revoked, many promoters did not answer his letters anymore, but wrote directly to me instead. Gradually it became necessary for me to write many letters myself in order to settle my engagements in Germany. This impediment notwithstanding, I kept to my contract, and Bernstein received his previous commission regularly.[222]

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[219] The NS-Kulturgemeinde was a party establishment with cultural interests, which was completely independent of the Reischskulturkammer and promoted Alfred Rosenberg's ideological views. Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 23.

[220] "Diese jüdischen Agenten schämen sich nicht von deutschen Künstlern einen Revers zu verlangen, in dem sie "ihrem Nichtübereinstimmen mit der gegenwärtigen Regierung Ausdruck verleihen" sollen. Deutsche Künstler werden dieses Ansinnen schroff zurückweisen. Ein deutscher Künstler ist zu stolz für solche Gesinnungslumperei!" Tageschronik, *Die Musik*, Oct. 1933, 77.

[221] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 66–67.

[222] "Ich sah keinen Grund in der politischen Umwälzung, mich von meinem Impresario, der in über fünfzehn Jahren immger gut für mich gearbeitet hatte, zu trennen. Aber obwohl Bernstein die Lizenz nicht entzogen war, antworteten viele Veranstalter nicht mehr auf seine Briefe, sondern schrieben mir direkt. Allmählich wurde es notwendig für mich, viele Briefe selbst zu schreiben, um meine Engagements in Deutschland abzuschließen. Trotz dieser Erschwerung hielt ich aber meinen Vertrag ein, und Bernstein bekam regelmäßig die bisherige Provision." Ibid., 67. Presuming that Gieseking was describing the situation as it was in 1933, Bernstein would have been his manager for over twelve years (since 1920), not fifteen as Gieseking wrote. The quotation also presents an inconsistency. In another later account, given by

Bernstein had indeed organized Gieseking's European performances since 1920, and the two had long since then established a close friendship.[223] Bernstein had even been a *Trauzeuge* (witness) at Gieseking's small, informal wedding in Hanover on 31 March 1925.[224] The pianist was therefore not going to abandon his trusted manager, who had, after all, helped him achieve international fame quickly and at a relatively early age.

In defiance of the racial policies already in effect and the increasingly hostile Nazi environment, Bernstein bravely continued his profession within the Third Reich, at least for as long as he could. In the meantime, he had been elected secretary-general of the newly formed Jüdischer Kulturbund (Jewish Cultural League), which for now helped him make ends meet.[225] This position and his continued, albeit indirect, representation of Gieseking were presumably the only means of employment Bernstein would be able to maintain for the remainder of his stay in the Reich. Ultimately, as it became too dangerous for him to continue living there, Gieseking would play a role in Bernstein's

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Gieseking's soon-to-be manager for Europe, Dr. Rudolf Goette (as discussed below), the latter claimed that Bernstein's license was indeed revoked. In any case, apparently by early 1934, Bernstein was no longer able to continue working freely as a concert manager in Nazi Germany. Ibid., 47; Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [1].

[223] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 66–7.

[224] Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, interview by author, digital recording, Wiesbaden, Germany, 13 Oct. 2007.

[225] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 67; Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [1]. The Jewish Cultural League was created in Berlin during the first half of 1933 and initiated that May, after being approved by Göring. In spite of the political situation at the time, the organization grew to include "three theater ensembles, an opera ensemble, two symphony orchestras, a chamber theater, numerous choral groups and chamber music groups, and also sponsored lectures, exhibits, film programs, cabaret, and dances." Owing to deportation and emigration, however, the league was strongly hindered and on occasion stopped by Nazi officials before it was finally disbanded by the Gestapo on 11 September 1941. Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 21–2; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 97–103. The Jewish Cultural League is the subject of the recent monograph, Lily E. Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany*, for information regarding the founding of the Jewish Cultural League see pages 12–13.

flight. This he did at the request of Bernstein's son, Hans, a subject to which we will return.

Chapter 2:

The Gathering Storm, 1934–1935

1934

The 1934 North American Tour Begins

In January 1934, Gieseking set off for another U.S.-Canadian tour. He crossed the Atlantic aboard the RMS *Olympic*, which reached New York on the 17th.[1] The arrival had been delayed, rendering it too late for him to give his first concert there that same afternoon. As a result, the outstanding Brazilian pianist Guiomar Novaes (1895–1979) filled in for him. Gieseking did manage to give a well-received recital that evening at Town Hall, however, in spite of the haste. That he had scarcely touched the piano on the ship mattered little, for only seldom did he feel practicing was truly necessary. And, as he admitted, this program was difficult, containing "among other things, the Schumann *Fantasie* [op. 17] and Liszt [Hungarian Rhapsody No. 9]!, which I rushed."[2] He also played works by Bach, Chopin, and Debussy. Regarding his reception, he noted, "Town Hall was very well attended, and I gave the usual 6 or 7 encores."[3] The well-known *New York Times* music critic Olin Downes, as was his habit, praised the pianist's readings: "Mr. Gieseking's performances are such a blend of style and feeling, intellectuality and emotion, that they have the effect of a fresh experience. His remarkable variety of nuance

[1] Gieseking, on board the RMS *Olympic* and in New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 16–19 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[2] " [U]m ½ 9 war der Klavierabend mit sehr schwerem Programm (u.a. Schumann Fantasie and Liszt!, den ich gerast habe." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 18 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[3] "Die Town Hall war sehr gut besucht, es gab die üblichen 6 oder 7 Zugaben." Ibid.

and color, within a modest scale of dynamics, gives this pianist a particular position of his own."[4]

Gieseking was excited about the possibilities of the tour: "In general, everything appears to be more promising than things were last year," he observed. "The prices seem to have hardly changed, which for me means that everything is 40% cheaper, unfortunately the fees are also that much lower!"[5] He was referring to the significant jump that had occurred in the currency exchange rate. In 1933, the U.S. dollar was valued at 4.2 RM; in 1934, it was worth only 2.61 RM.[6] In a letter of 15 August 1933, he had commented on the decline in the dollar's value: "I am not enjoying very much this change, because this means that my next [American] tour [in 1934] will bring me much less profit, anyway. But there is nothing to do to prevent this and I do not like it much to worry about money. ([S]o long as I have some!)" [Gieseking's English][7]

Doubtless to increase the earnings, Gieseking's American manager, Charles Wagner, made many last-minute adjustments to the initial tour itinerary. Gieseking explained this to his wife, Annie: "Today, for example, I am not playing in Erie, but rather here in New York [City] on the radio. For roughly 5 minutes, I am to play popular music, the Rigoletto Paraphrase [by Liszt], for instance, which you like so much. I am getting paid 540 dollars for that, not bad at all. Wulsin [Lucien Wulsin Jr. (1889–1964),

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[4] Downes, "Gieseking Greeted as Master Pianist," *New York Times*, 18 Jan. 1934.

[5] "[Ü]berhaupt scheint alles optimistischer zu sein als voriges Jahr. Die Preise scheinen kaum verändert zu sein, dadurch ist für mich alles 40% billiger, leider auch die Honorare entsprechend weniger!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 18 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[6] R. L. Bidwell, *Currency Conversion Tables: A Hundred Years of Change* (London: Rex Collings, 1970), 22–24. Karl Hardach explains the cause of the dollar's decline in value: "In April 1933 the United States suspended the gold standard and allowed the dollar to depreciate; a currency depreciation race followed. As the gold content of the Reichsmark remained unchanged, its value increased from about 24 U.S. cents to just over 40." Hardach, *The Political Economy of Germany in the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 71n35.

[7] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, 15 Aug. 1933, DEC.

CEO of the Baldwin Piano and Organ Company from 1926 to 1964[8]] said I should stick to that rate: $100–120 a minute!"[9] Gieseking was heard during the 8:00–9:00 slot, which featured a variety of musicians, including the Rudy Vallee Orchestra, actors, and other entertainers. His own performance came between the acts of two pairs of comedians.[10]

The final tour schedule would have Gieseking journeying busily across the U.S. The day before leaving from New York, he described the revised arrangements to Annie:

> The tour will begin at noon tomorrow [19 January] and I won't return to New York until 17 February! I am playing in Swarthmore near Philadelphia tomorrow, on the 21st in Baltimore with an orchestra, 23rd Richmond, 24th Washington, then I'll travel from 4 o'clock in the afternoon until 6:35 the next evening. There will be a concert directly after that in Ames (Iowa). From there I will depart on the evening of the 26th, arriving in Portland (Oregon) on the evening of the 28th. The subsequent concerts are just as I wrote them down [for you], only Oakland on 7 February is canceled. Also [the concert] on 13 February in Abilene (Texas), but Atlanta (Georgia) on the 15th has been added. As part of this stretch, I will make my way to New Orleans, where it might already be warm. The further concerts are as originally scheduled, only Daytona Beach (Florida) has been added on 21 March, to which I have no objections.[11]

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[8] James Howard Richards, "Baldwin Piano and Organ Company," in *Encyclopedia of Keyboard Instruments*, ed. Robert Palmieri, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 37.

[9] "Heute z. B. spiele ich nicht in Erie, sondern hier in Newyork im Radio, ca. 5 Minute soll ich populäre Musik, z. B. die von Dir so geschätzte Rigoletto-Fantasie, spielen. Dafür gibt es 540 Dollar, immerhin annehmbar. Wulsin meinte, ich sollte man den Tarif: die Minute 100–120 Dollar, festhalten!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 18 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[10] "Today on the Radio," *New York Times*, 18 Jan. 1934.

[11] Morgen mittag geht . . . die Tour los und ich komme erst am 17. Februar nach Newyork zurück! Ich spiele morgen in Swarthmore bei Philadelphia, am 21. in Baltimore mit Orchester, 23. Richmond, 24. Washington, dann Reise von 4 Uhr nachmittags bis 6 Uhr 35 nachmittags am nächsten Tag, direct danach Konzert in Ames (Iowa). Von dort weg am 26ten abends, Ankunft 28ten abends in Portland (Oregon), die nächsten Konzerte sind, wie ich sie notierte, nur Oakland am 7. 2. fällt aus. Ebenso am 13.2. Abilene (Texas), dafür ist am 15. Atlanta (Georgia), auf diese Weise komme ich nach New Orleans, wo es eventuell schön warm ist. Die weiteren Konzerte sind so geblieben, nur ist Daytona Beach (Florida) am 21. März dazugekommen, wogegen ich nichts einzuwenden habe. Gieseking, on board the R.M.S. "Olympic" and New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 16–19 Jan. 1934, GFA.

The Atlanta appearance added was a joint-recital with the Moravian soprano Maria Jeritza (1887–1982); Gieseking was a last-minute replacement for the Polish violinist Paul Kochanski, who had died just days before in New York City on 12 January.[12]

In addition, Gieseking participated in four lecture-recitals in New York during the tour, the proceeds of which went to the Town Hall Endowment Fund.[13] These were part of a series entitled "From Bach to Debussy," which was led by none other than the aforementioned *New York Times* critic Olin Downes (1886–1955).[14] Downes was a great admirer of the pianist and wrote many glowing reviews of his New York performances over the years. Gieseking was equally impressed by Downes's ability to give such talks. After their first joint-presentation on Saturday, 10 March, he wrote to his wife: "He [Downes] spoke, as usual, really well, not completely without error, but with great insight, and he kept it interesting for the public here. I played Bach, Scarlatti, Mozart (2 short pieces), 2 Beethoven Sonatas."[15] Reviewing this first lecture-recital, another *New York Times Critic*, identified as H.H., commented on Gieseking's contribution: "His playing is always distinguished, but last night's Scarlatti, to pick one example from many, was sheer magic. . . . At their [the Scarlatti Sonatas] close the audience refused to stop applauding until he had played another, and even then were reluctant to permit

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[12] "Fritz Kreisler, Master Violinist, Will Play Here Tuesday Evening," *Atlanta Constitution*, 21 Jan. 1934.

[13] H. H., "Gieseking's Series of Recitals Opens," *New York Times*, 11 Mar. 1934; Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 18 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[14] H. H., "Gieseking's Series of Recitals Opens," *New York Times*, 11 Mar. 1934.

[15] "Dieser [Downes] sprach, wie immer, recht gut, nicht so ganz von Irrtümern, aber doch ganz verständnisvoll und für das hiesige Publikum interessant. Ich spielte Bach, Scarlatti, Mozart (2 kurze Sachen), 2 Beethoven-Sonaten." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 11 Mar. 1934, GFA. The program, more specifically, included the following compositions: Bach's Partita No. 2 in C minor and selections from the Well-Tempered Clavier, five Domenico Scarlatti Sonatas, Mozart's first movement (Andante grazioso—a theme and variations) from his Keyboard Sonata in A major (K.331) and his Fantasy in C minor, and Beethoven's Piano Sonatas op. 2, no. 1 and op. 27 no. 2 (the "Moonlight" Sonata). H. H., "Gieseking's Series of Recitals Opens," *New York Times*, 11 Mar. 1934.

lecturer and pianist to continue."[16] Bragging about the wealth of literature Gieseking had at his disposal, Wagner touted it as "probably the biggest repertoire in pianistic history," claiming at a later date that it included "more than two hundred Scarlatti pieces which he has ready at any time."[17] While this may seem blown up, Gieseking could, by all accounts, play from memory an uncommonly large amount of music. Each of the subsequent lecture-recitals with Downes would be devoted to a specific period, covering the Classic, Romantic, and Modern eras.[18]

The tour had started out well, but not everything will turn out to be as promising as Gieseking was hoping. He will soon experience protest against his appearances for the first time, demonstrations led by Californian Jewish groups. Simultaneously, and doubtless as a direct result, he begins to make increasingly frequent anti-Semitic remarks in his correspondence with Annie. The anti-Jewish propaganda of the Nazis was surely partly responsible for Gieseking's change of behavior, one that will progressively grow stronger during the years of National Socialism.

Bernstein and Goette form a Partnership

Because of the increasingly difficult situation caused by the Nazi regime's anti-Semitic policies and the reluctance of nationalist Germans to work with Jews, Gieseking's German manager Arthur Bernstein, still residing in Hanover, was forced to

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[16] H. H., "Gieseking's Series of Recitals Opens," *New York Times*, 11 Mar. 1934.

[17] Charles L. Wagner, *Seeing Stars* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 357.

[18] "Gieseking Gives Second Recital," *New York Times*, 20 Mar. 1934. Downes gave further talks that season with other musicians. On 8 April, for example, he led a lecture-concert entitled "Music for Contemporaneous Composers for Small Orchestra," in which twenty-six members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, led by the prominent conductor Serge Koussevitsky, participated. On 15 April followed the lecture-recital "Early Italian Opera and French Ballet," and students and a professor from Smith College's Music Department took part. "Programs of the Week," *New York Times*, 8 Apr. 1934; "Programs of the Week," *New York Times*, 15 Apr. 1934.

form a partnership by January 1934 with Dr. Rudolf Goette. Goette ran a successful concert-management agency, the Konzert-Direktion Dr. Rudolf Goette, out of Hamburg.[19] Bernstein and Goette had worked together since the latter began his profession in 1926, and while Bernstein surely had no real desire to make such an agreement, it allowed him to continue receiving a share of Gieseking's takings.[20] Gieseking himself must have been pleased to be relieved of the business correspondence he had needed to take on for Bernstein since Hitler's empowerment, for Goette would now become the contact person for his European concerts.[21] Goette later recalled how Bernstein had rather desperately first approached him about the idea, perhaps before speaking to Gieseking:

> Herr Bernstein decided on his own to come to me for help. Because he was Jewish, his license had been revoked, and he could no longer work for Herr Gieseking.[22] I met with Herr Bernstein in Uelzen and agreed that I would take on

[19] Goette could no longer remember when the partnership with Bernstein began and later had no records to confirm the exact year. Gieseking had moved from Hanover to Wiesbaden by May 1934, however, as confirmed by his police registration form (Großer Meldeschein) from 12 May. Because Goette remembered working out the details of the partnership with Bernstein and Gieseking at Gieseking's Hanover home, this should have been prior to Gieseking's move. Another letter from Annie of 4 February 1934 substantiates that Bernstein and Goette were already working together by this time; in this instance Bernstein and Annie had to have Goette contact a musical society in Kiel in order to accept an engagement for Gieseking and to request that the date be moved forward. Because Gieseking had departed in early January 1934 for his American tour, the meeting between Bernstein, Goette, and Gieseking would have had to have occurred prior to that date—thus, the partnership must have been formed by early January 1934, quite possibly weeks or even months sooner. Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [1]; Polizei Anmeldung (Großer Meldeschein), Wiesbaden, 12 May 1934, GFA; Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 67; Annie, Hanover, to Gieseking, New York, letter, 4 Feb. 1934, GFA.

[20] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [1].

[21] As discussed in Chapter 1, Germans were now reluctant to conduct any business with Bernstein owing to his Jewish heritage, making it necessary for Gieseking take on much correspondence regarding his engagements himself.

[22] We will recall that Gieseking had clearly stated in his memoir that Bernstein had *not* had his license taken away, but only that many concert promoters refused to do business with him starting in 1933; whether his license was revoked must for now remain uncertain. See Gieseking *So wurde ich Pianist*, 67.

> the work and merely charge half of my normal fees [for managing Gieseking's engagements] to cover my own expenses.[23]

Goette then went with Bernstein and Gieseking to work out the details at the latter's home in Hanover, where Gieseking made sure that Bernstein would not lose out on the deal. Again, Goette remembered the meeting: "Herr Gieseking explained to me that he would support Bernstein's decision on the condition that Herr Bernstein retain his rights [to the contract] and continue to receive at least an appreciable share of the earnings."[24]

Goette, who was considerably younger, must have been thrilled to add a star like Gieseking to his clientele.[25] Moreover, despite Goette's offer to charge only half his regular fees, his business would now undoubtedly benefit from the addition of the pianist and merging of Bernstein's Hanover agency. Gieseking himself later pointed this out: "For Dr. Goette this meant the advantage of having an established branch in Hanover. For Bernstein, however, it was—largely on account of my representation—exceptionally favorable, for this allowed him to receive a share of my profits in Europe until he emigrated."[26] This, of course, provides some evidence that Goette did, in fact, receive more than merely "enough to cover my own expenses." In any case, all three men were apparently satisfied with the new arrangements, and the merger allowed Gieseking to

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[23] "Herr Bernstein [trat] von sich aus an mich mit der Bitte heran, ihm zu helfen. Da er Jude war, wurde ihm die Konzession entzogen, und er konnte nicht länger für Herrn Gieseking arbeiten. Ich traf mich mit Herrn Bernstein in U[e]lzen und sagte ihm zu, dass ich die Arbeit weiterführen würde und lediglich zur Deckung meiner Unkosten die Hälfte der üblichen Provision anrechnen würde." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [1].

[24] "Herr Gieseking erklärte mir, dass er sich mit der Wahl Bernsteins erklären würde, wenn die Rechte Herrn Bernsteins gewahrt blieben und er mindestens mit einem nennenswerten Anteil im Geschäft bliebe." Ibid., [1].

[25] Ibid.

[26] "Diese hatte für Dr. Goette den Vorteil einer ständigen Filiale in Hannover, war aber—besonders was meine Vertretung betraf—außerordentlich günstig für Bernstein, denn er blieb dadurch bis zu seiner Auswanderung 1937 an meinen Honoraren in Europa beteiligt." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 67.

continue his career as before: “My tours were hardly affected at all! I played in North America in 1934 and 1935, each time for about three months, although the disapproval of the Third Reich had become immense.”[27] Yet it would be soon enough that the otherwise increasingly popular German pianist first encountered some opposition against his appearances.

The German Foreign Service

Throughout the National Socialist period, members of the German diplomatic corps and other politicians in both Europe and the U.S. maintained an interest in Gieseking, frequently either inviting him to give recitals on their premises or requesting tickets to his public concerts. On 17 January 1934, for example, Annie wrote to her husband: “The German Embassy in Paris wanted you to give a recital there. I contacted one Herr Emil Linser, who had written you about this, to cancel it.”[28] After arriving in San Francisco on 3 February, Gieseking visited the consul general there the next morning.[29] He does not name him, but that would have been Dr. Gustav Heuser. On 17 February, Gieseking mentioned to Annie that the acting German consul general at New York, Dr. Karl Werkmeister, called him, wishing to send thirteen persons to his Carnegie Hall recital on 18 February.[30] “Naturally, they all want complimentary tickets,”

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[27] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 67. The private correspondence with Annie shows that Gieseking toured the U.S., possibly with appearances in Canada, from January through March in 1934 and the U.S., Canada, and Mexico from March through May in 1935.

[28] “Du solltest in Paris auf der deutschen Botschaft spielen[;] ich sagte ab bei einem Herrn Emil Linser, der in dieser Angelegenheit schrieb.” Annie, Hanover, to Gieseking, New York, letter, 17 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[29] Gieseking, Carmel-by-the Sea, California, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 4 Feb. 1934, GFA.

[30] For a review of the recital, see H. T., “Gieseking Offers Varied Program,” *New York Times*, 19 Feb. 1934.

Gieseking remarked, adding, "but again shows that there is an 'official' interest [in my concerts.]"[31] He apparently complied. A moment later, Werkmeister (whose name Gieseking did not yet know) called back to arrange a meeting with him. Gieseking then learned that Werkmeister was from Minden in Westphalia. Gieseking's father's family originated from the village Lahde in the Minden district, and Walter, too, had lived in Lahde from 1911 to early 1913, during the early part of his music studies at the Hanover Conservatorium.[32] He and Werkmeister, it was discovered, also had a common acquaintance, Hans Regul, better known by their friends as "Spinne" ("Spider"), with whom Gieseking had served in the military during World War I.[33] The concert—with works by Bach, Scarlatti, Brahms, Schubert and five Debussy pieces as encores—went well, and afterward, Werkmeister joined Gieseking and some of the pianist's American friends: the Kaplicks and Caroline Fesler, as well as the latter's "non-Aryan neighbor" ("nichtarische Nachbarin").[34] One wonders whether the Jewish woman might have felt uncomfortable with the Germans present, but everyone apparently enjoyed the evening.

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[31] The quoted sentence in German reads in full: "Eben rief das deutsche Generalkonsulat an, es werden von dort 13 Personen in den Klavierabend kommen, alle auf Freikarten natürlich, aber es zeigt sich ja wiederum ein 'amtliches' Interesse." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 17 Feb. 1934, GFA.

[32] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 10, 21–26.

[33] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 17 Feb. 1934, GFA. Gieseking kept a photograph (maintained in the Gieseking family archive) of him with Regul as young proud soldiers in uniform. Another friend in the picture, Hans Wagner, is more fashionably dressed and holding a cane, although he may have been a soldier as well. While together in Minden on 15 July 1916, the three young men also sent a postcard that survives to Annie in Hanover (preserved in the GFA).

[34] Gieseking, Oberlin, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 21 Feb. 1934, GFA. Gieseking had by now conformed to Nazi language by using the words "arisch" (Aryan) and "nichtarisch" (non-Aryan). Although the word "nichtjüdisch" (non-Jewish) had been in use for centuries, the term "arisch" had become increasingly popular already during the nineteen century, and both Richard Wagner and Friedrich Nietzsche, to give but two examples, used it. See Hans Schulz et al., *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*, 2d ed. (New York: W. de Gruyter, 1996), s.v. "arisch"; Peter von Polenz and Norbert Richard Wolf, *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, 10th ed. (New York: W. de Gruyter, 2009), 161. For an early use of the term "nichtjüdisch" see Christian Bastholm, *Geschichte der Juden: Von der Schöpfung der Welt an bis auf jezige Zeiten*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Beer, 1786), 419.

As Gieseking told his wife afterward, there had been a great deal of joking around—"often privately, of course, just the men in a corner. . . ." ("oft natürlich privat, in einer Ecke, unter Männern. . . .")[35]

Gieseking continued to appear before high-ranking politicians in Washington D.C. as well. On 24 January 1934, for example, he shared a joint recital with soprano Grete Stueckgold at Mrs. Lawrence Towsend's seventy-third musical morning at the Mayflower hotel in Washington D.C. Stueckgold sang for New York's Metropolitan Opera Association at the time. Among the honorable guests were the German Ambassador to the U.S. Dr. Hans Luther,[36] Mrs. William Howard Taft, Mrs. Henry Morgenthau Jr., Mrs. Harold I. Ickes, Mrs. Patrick J. Hurley, former U.S. Ambassador to Uruguay Ulysses Grant-Smith, Swedish Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson, Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös, Mrs. Ed. G. Koerner, Paul Schell of the Hungarian Legation, and Dr. Rudolf Leitner, a diplomatic counselor for the Reich.[37]

Gieseking gave another after-dinner performance as "guest of honor" at the German Embassy in Washington on 8 March.[38] On this occasion, the event was hosted by Ambassador Luther. At the start, a select group of about twenty dinner guests arrived at 8:15 p.m. After the meal, some 150 additional persons arrived in order to attend Gieseking's recital and mingle during a subsequent buffet. Gieseking described the occasion to Annie:

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[35] Gieseking, Oberlin, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 21 Feb. 1934, GFA.

[36] Luther had replaced Ambassador Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron upon the latter's resignation in April 1933 and would remain in office until his removal in 1937. Alfred M. Beck, *Hitler's Ambivalent Attaché: Lt. Gen. Friedrich von Boetticher in America, 1933–1941* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2005), 51.

[37] "Washington Hails Singer and Pianist," *New York Times*, 25 Jan. 1934. See also "Met" Soprano to Sing Here on Wednesday," *Washington Post*, 21 Jan. 1934.

[38] "Notes on the Capital's Official and Resident Society," *Washington Post*, 7 Mar. 1934.

> Meanwhile, I had retreated into a quiet room with Counselor Leitner, who is very nice.[39] The concert began at 10:30 p.m., and lasted until about twelve. Then the buffet was besieged. I was introduced to the various dignitaries, and then, starting at 12:45, I played some smaller pieces for about twenty minutes. The guests then disappeared. The others wanted me to have another glass of Forster Kirchenstück Auslese, a German Riesling wine, during which time the gentlemen of the embassy were still having a very amusing conversation out in the hallway. Among the things said were "Ein schöner Rücken kann auch entzücken!" [literally: 'A beautiful back can also delight!'], to which the ambassador replied, "Ein schöner Bauch tut's auch!" [literally: 'A beautiful belly can too!']—a most extraordinary statement from diplomatic circles, I think. When I finally arrived at the hotel, it was about 3 a.m. It is good that such gatherings only seldom take place.[40]

The Germans broadcast news of the occurrence back home. Excited by this, Annie explained: "It was announced on the radio that the pianist W. G. [Walter Gieseking], with great success, played at the Embassy in Washington in the presence of the Minister of War [presumably Werner von Blomberg], etc. What a famous husband I have!"[41] The music magazine, *Die Musik* also reported on the event:

> At the invitation of the German Ambassador Luther, pianist Walther [*sic*] Gieseking gave a concert at the German Embassy, in the presence of the minister of war and other members of the American Cabinet, as well as the Italian and Japanese Ambassadors and further members of the diplomatic corps and

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[39] An Austrian, Leitner (1891–1947) served as counselor in Washington during much of the 1930s, before he became the Reich's envoy to Pretoria in the fall of 1937. After the war, he died during his detainment in a Soviet camp. Lucas Delattre, *A Spy at the Heart of the Third Reich: The Extraordinary Story of Fritz Kolbe, America's Most Important Spy in World War II*, trans. George A. Holoch, Jr. (New York: Grove Press, 2005), 244.

[40] "[I]ch hatte mich währenddem in ein stilles Zimmer mit dem Botschaftsrat Leitner, der auch sehr nett ist, zurückgezogen. Um ½ 11 begann das Konzert, dauerte bis gegen 12. Dann wurde das Büffet belagert, ich wurde den verschiedenen Honorationen präsentiert, dann spielte ich von ¾ 1 an noch etwa 20 Minuten lang einige kleinere Sachen. Dann verschwanden die Gäste, ich sollte noch ein Glas 'Forster Kirchenstück Auslese' haben, dabei war noch eine ganz vergnügte Unterhaltung im Gang, wobei um die Herren der Botschaft anwesend waren. Unter anderem wurde gesagt, 'ein schöner Rücken kann auch entzücken,' worauf der Botschafter fortfuhr: 'ein schöner Bauch tut's auch,' eine sehr bemerkenswerte Äusserung aus diplomatischen Kreisen, finde ich. —Als ich endlich im Hotel landete, war es ungefähr 3 Uhr. Gut, dass solche Sitzungen hier zu den Ausnahmen gehören." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 11 Mar. 1934, GFA.

[41] "Im Rundfunk wurde bekannt gegeben, daß der Pianist W.G. auf der Botschaft in Washington mit großem Erfolg gespielt hat in Anwesenheit des Kriegsministers etc. Was habe ich für einen berühmten Mann!" Annie, Hanover, to Gieseking, New York, letter, 13 Mar. 1934, GFA.

> Washington society. He won a sensational success. The audience's enthusiastic applause compelled him to play several encores.[42]

While it has long been common for eminent musicians to receive occasional invitations from their country's foreign service, wherever Gieseking toured, members of the German diplomatic corps seldom passed up the opportunity to engage him.[43] They could be sure that any guests were hearing arguably the best pianism Germany had to offer, and throughout the Nazi era, as musicians fled the Third Reich or, especially during World War II, were no longer allowed to continue their chosen careers, increasingly fewer pianists of international renown represented Germany. As the conflict approached, Gieseking consequently became one of the few top-ranking German artists worldwide. By the end of it, he was generally recognized as "the greatest living German pianist," as the U.S. Military Government would refer to him during the defeated nation's postwar occupation.[44]

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[42] "Auf Einladung des deutschen Botschafters *Luther* gab der Pianist *Walther* [*sic*] *Gieseking* in der Deutschen Botschaft in Anwesenheit des Kriegsministers und anderer Mitglieder des amerikanschen Kabinetts sowie des italienischen und japanischen Botschafters, weiterer Mitglieder des Diplomatischen Korps und der Washingtoner Gesellschaft ein Konzert. Er erspielte sich eine sensationellen Erfolg. Die Zuhörer zwangen ihn durch begeisterte Beifallskundgebungen zu mehreren Zugaben." "Konzerte: Washington," *Die Musik*, April 1934, 556.

[43] This is made clear throughout Gieseking's private correspondence.

[44] Severin Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," p. 2. Of the mere seventeen pianists (the so-called "Gottbegnadet," or "divinely gifted" artists) permitted to continue their careers during the end phase of the war, others of note included Eduard Erdmann, Elly Ney, Wilhelm Kempff, Conrad Hansen, Frida Kwast-Hodapp, Friedrich Wührer, and Walter Rummel. "Gottbegnadeten-Liste," file: Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich. The regime's selectivity regarding musicians is discussed further in the Chapters 5 and 8. While all of these pianists enjoyed highly successful careers, none of them at that time enjoyed the same level of international success as did Gieseking—as the U.S. Military Government recognized. While Kempff (1895–1991) was becoming a major pianist and recording artist, he did not make his London debut until 27 October 1951 and his U.S. debut until 13 October 1964. Elly Ney (1882–1968), too, despite a successful international solo career in the 1920s, began to concertize primarily within Europe, particularly in Germany and Austria from 1930 on, and often as a chamber musician. Above all, none of these artists enjoyed the high record sales worldwide as did Gieseking. John and Anna Gillespie, *Notable Twentieth-Century Pianists: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook* (Westport, C.T.: Greenwood Press, 1995), s.v. "Kempff, Wilhelm"; George Kehler, *The Piano in Concert* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1982), s.v. "Ney, Elly."

After the war, American Military Government officials would not fail to take note of the frequent performances Gieseking had given before members of the German Foreign Service. Yet as U.S. Officer Severin Kaven noted in his postwar interrogation report on the pianist, Reich artists had to secure permission from both Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry and the Foreign Office for any engagements abroad.[45] Furthermore, all fees earned from such concerts had to be transferred through the same officials.[46]

While Gieseking and Goette would apparently succeed in arranging the former's foreign engagements with some—if steadily waning—independence until the final stage of the war (until approximately 1944), this freedom was acquired partly through an informal agreement made with one Amtsrat Klaus, a counselor at the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin.[47] In exchange, Gieseking, on an unknown number of occasions, consented to perform at official Nazi functions both within the Third Reich and in foreign nations, a detail he made clear during his postwar interrogation.[48] "Amtsrat Klaus was always very nice to me and helped me with my concerts in foreign countries," Gieseking confessed. "He would say usually, 'Won't you please play on this occasion.' I obtained many favors from him in connection with my foreign tours."[49] As time proceeded, however, it was primarily the Foreign Office that would approve Gieseking's foreign appearances, and once the permission was given, he and Goette were able to work out the specific dates on their own.[50]

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[45] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2 and 3.

[50] Ibid., 3; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4.

Additionally, another decree—a special order given by Hitler himself—required that all German artists and lecturers report to the diplomatic representative and the plenipotentiary of the Nazi Party's Foreign Section upon arrival in nations abroad.[51] When later asked about this, Gieseking answered: "I usually met the men at the ambassador's or consul's reception. All the arrangements were made before my arrival."[52]

Without exception, Gieseking appears to have complied with the Nazi government's rules, admitting that he was never one to disobey regulations: "I always abide by the law. I never try to go against it. It's no use."[53] This was all enough to convince Kaven after the war that "every concert, which Gieseking gave abroad served a purpose which the Goebbels office considered as useful to the Nazi cause." "Gieseking was perfectly aware of that," he added, "and said so in his letter to Amtsrat Klaus on November 27, 1939."[54] From the interrogation transcript, we have Gieseking's response to this criticism:

> Q. [Kaven] As the greatest living German pianist you were a sort of representative of German art, especially abroad?
> A. [Gieseking] Yes.
> Q. You undoubtedly understand that in these times of propaganda a person of your caliber may be used for many propagandistic aims?
> A. I don't agree with that. Art is something more than propaganda.[55]

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[51] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4.

[52] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3.

[53] Ibid., 5.

[54] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4. The letter to which Kaven refers is not found among the Berlin Bundesarchiv's (formerly the Berlin Document Center) "Gieseking" file. Kaven noted in his Report (pages 4, 11) that a copy of the letter was maintained in the Intelligence Section Files, ICD, USFET.

[55] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

Shortly after the Americans blacklisted Gieseking, Goette would argue that the pianist was not to blame for the private appearances he had made before the German diplomatic corps, despite the potential propagandistic value of such events:

> The Americans have charged Herr Gieseking with having ostentatiously created propaganda for the Nazi government by playing at diplomatic receptions of the respective German embassies during his trips abroad. It should not be compatible with our laws and concepts of liberty that an artist be required to oppose his government, which was officially recognized by the other side [the Allied nations] and with which contracts were signed.[56]

Goette also maintained that, until the later phase of the war, he was able to organize Gieseking's foreign tours without the influence of the Propaganda Ministry or other Nazi officials.[57]

Receiving American-Jewish Composers

On 23 January, Gieseking took the time to answer some requests he had received from American-Jewish composers, who wished to play some of their pieces for him. He had always shown an interest in such arrangements and usually found time for them. He also answered an entomologist's invitation, as he was always most eager to incorporate as much entomological work as possible during his foreign tours. On this occasion, he wrote to Annie: "Today I wrote some letters (all of which go to American addresses) to non-Aryan composers, who wish to play for me, as well as to an entomologist, whom I once

[56] "Es wird amerikanischerseits Herrn Gieseking vorgeworfen, dass er auf seinen Auslandsreisen auf diplomatischen Empfängen der jeweiligen Botschaften Deutschlands spielte und damit ostentiv für die NS-Regierung Propaganda machte. Es dürfte mit unseren Rechts- und Freiheitsbegriffen nicht vereinbar sein, von einem Künstler zu verlangen, dass er sich gegen seine Regierung stellt, die von der anderen Seite offiziell anerkannt war und mit der Verträge abgeschlossen wurden." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 2.

[57] Ibid.

met in Florida and who has invited me to visit him in New York."[58] While uncertain, the meetings with the composers, even though they were Jewish, probably took place; otherwise, Gieseking might not have taken the time to answer them. By 1939, we will see that he becomes less obliging, however.

Gruber, Piano Tuner and Nazi Propagandist

In late January, Gieseking journeyed to the West Coast. After a long train ride from Ames, Iowa, to Portland—53 hours, from 26 to 28 January—there was a "grand welcome at the train station: 2 reporters; 1 photographer, who bombarded me with flash photos; the Baldwin representative; the manager of the [Oregon Symphony] orchestra and her husband; and a representative from the train company, who had to ask me if the trip had been pleasant."[59] By 31 January, Gieseking, then in Tacoma, Washington, noted that he had been in the U.S. merely fourteen days, yet had already given nine concerts and traveled thousands of kilometers by train.[60]

While he had not enjoyed the long trip to Portland, he did take pleasure in visiting places of the northern West Coast.[61] In fact, he described the region to Annie as "by far the most beautiful part of America" ("entschieden der schönste Teil der U.S.A.").[62] During his time there, one Herr Gruber, a piano tuner and critic of a German newspaper

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[58] "Heute schrieb ich einige Briefe (alle hier im Lande bleibend) an nichtarische Komponisten, die mir vorspielen wollen und an einen Entomologen, dem ich mal in Florida begegnet bin und der mich in Newyork eingeladen hat." Gieseking, Richmond, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 23 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[59] "In Portland war grosser Empfang an der Bahn: 2 Reporter, 1 Photograph, der mit Blitzlicht über mich herfiel, der Baldwinvertreter, die Managerin der Orchesters mit ihrem Mann, ein Vertreter der Eisenbahngesellschaft, der sich erkundigen musste, ob die Reise angenehm war." Gieseking, Tacoma, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 31 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

printed in Portland, drove him around for some of the sightseeing. Describing Gruber, who was originally from Munich, Gieseking wrote: "He has been in America for eight years, is a devoted Nazi and apparently a kind of propaganda chief for this region, or more precisely, he works and speaks out against the Jewish anti-Hitler propaganda. He drove me to the Columbia River Gorge, a most amazingly beautiful area!"[63] It is uncertain how much Gieseking knew about Gruber's Nazi affiliations beforehand, but he does not seem to have disapproved of his work. He wrote nothing further about this.

The First Protests against Gieseking's Appearances, Los Angeles, February 1934

The very first protests in the U.S. against Gieseking's appearances occurred shortly thereafter, in Los Angeles and San Francisco in February. This came as a great surprise to him. It was the first time in several seasons that he had traveled to the West Coast, and his appearance was therefore receiving ample attention in the press.[64] Writing for the *Los Angeles Times*, Isabel Morse Jones addressed the opposition against Gieseking's concerts, siding with the "politically oblivious artist," as she described him:

> There has been a lot of unnecessary talk in town about Gieseking's playing in Germany in this year of the exodus of most of the world's musicians from that country. . . . As a matter of fact, Gieseking was born in Lyons, France, the son of a German physician. . . . He has never at this or any other time bothered himself about political partisanship, but has been absorbed in his art. This year he has played in Germany, just as he always has, and in France, Austria and all over England, also just as usual. Why shouldn't he? . . .
> . . . He is so detached a person, so genial, so utterly unconcerned with any problem save the hazards of piano playing that I doubt if he knows half the time

[63] "[Er] ist 8 Jahre in Amerika, begeisterte Nazi und offenbar etwas Propagandachef für diese Gegend, oder vielmehr er arbeitet und spricht gegen die jüdische Antihitlerpropaganda. Er fuhr mich in die Columbia-Fluss-Schlucht, eine ganz erstaunlich schöne Gegend!" Gieseking, Tacoma, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 31 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[64] See for example "Gieseking En Route on Tour," *Los Angeles Times*, 14 Jan. 1934 and "Interest High in Gieseking," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 Jan. 1934.

> whether he is playing in Berlin or Timbuctoo. He has positively no illusions about saving the political world.
> . . . People of knowledge and taste will go to hear him as long as he plays and wherever he is. Only those who expect to profit by it are trying to detract from his supremacy as a musician by injecting political and race persecutions into his career.[65]

While one might easily suspect that Jones knew Gieseking personally and even quite well, there are no records to support this. He mentioned her but once with reference to the above article and even then not by name (see below). She therefore could have known little if anything about his political convictions, particularly apropos National Socialism. While Jones expressed none of her own feelings toward the Hitler regime, one suspects that she was merely trying to help a pianist, one whom she felt was unjustly being criticized for something over which he had no control. She was obviously a great admirer of Gieseking's, and after the successful concert in L.A., she wrote a raving review. "Walter Gieseking played at the Shrine Auditorium last night," it began, "and made one forget all the other pianists."[66] Gieseking's opponents must have gnashed their teeth when reading it. She made no mention of the outcry.

Gieseking was, of course, well aware of the condemnation of the Nazis that was becoming increasingly prevalent across the U.S. Yet based on his personal experiences, he later claimed to have drawn the following conclusion of the Americans' attitudes at the time:

> There was an enormous difference between the statements made [against the Reich] by the press and the personal opinions of countless Americans who admired the Hitler-regime's "efficiency," or even approved of anti-Semitism, which they wished to have for their own country. In addition to this, the "Führer"

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[65] I. M. J., "Gieseking Combines Science and Art in His Piano Playing: Super-Intelligent Preparation and Judicious Expenditure of Musical Effort Mark Politically Oblivious Artist," *Los Angeles Time*, 28 Jan. 1934.

[66] "Pianist Scores Hit at Shrine," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 Feb. 1934.

> was successful in foreign affairs, and because Americans like to say, "Nothing succeeds like success," their reaction was so confused and divided that it never dawned on me that it would be wiser for my family and me to leave Germany.[67]

While the California protests apparently did not yet receive much, if any, additional attention from the media (unlike the extensive postwar controversy that arose), they caused the pianist much distress and made him consider whether it might be better to drop Bernstein.[68] Shocked and frustrated by the uproar, while simultaneously being dissatisfied with his American manager Charles Wagner's arrangements, he complained to Annie from Dallas after the California visit:

> The last days were not pleasant, in particular since there are once again more business inconveniences. In Los Angeles the swine of a concert manager [Merle Armitage] does not want to pay me the full amount because the Jews (supposedly) boycotted my performance. In attendance were 4,500 people—that is, certainly enough to pay my fee. Then, because Wagner accepted such stupid terms for [the concert] here [in Dallas], I actually played here for [just] 250 dollars (625 reichsmarks)! Yesterday I wrote a most coarse letter to Wagner, for naturally I am not going to tolerate that! As far as the boycott is concerned, the Jews here are creating a terrible amount of commotion, so that I am actually now considering whether it might be better to break off all ties with [Arthur] Bernstein. In San Francisco, the concert manager did not risk advertising me as a German pianist, partly out of fear that the Jews would not attend the concert. I had a long talk about this with the German consul [presumably Consul General Gustav Heuser in San Francisco[69]], who incidentally had collected all the reviews, etc. (a job requirement). I will also write him again.[70]

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[67] "Es bestand aber ein enormer Unterschied zwischen den Äußerungen der Presse und den privaten Meinungen zahloser Amerikaner, die am Hitler-Regime die 'efficiency' bewunderten, wenn nicht gar den Antisemitismus billigten und auch für ihr Land herbeiwünschten. Hinzu kamen die außen-politischen Erfolge des 'Führers'—und da der Amerikaner gern sagt: 'nothing succeeds like success' (nichts ist so erfolgreich wie der Erfolg), war die Reaktion der Amerikaner so verworren und uneinheitlich, daß ich nie auf den Gedanken kam, daß es ratsamer sei, Deutschland mit meiner Familie zu verlassen." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 68.

[68] Thus far, the only published article addressing the protest that the author has been able to locate is the one cited above by Isabel Morse Jones in the *Los Angeles Times* of 5 February.

[69] The name of the consul is not given, but if it was not Consul General Gustav Heuser, then it was most likely Consul General Karl Werkmeister in New York, with whom he was newly acquainted. It was not the German consul in Los Angeles, Dr. Georg Gyssling.

[70] "Die letzten Tage waren nicht erfreulich, besonders geh[']n auch schon wieder die geschäftlichen Unannehmlichkeiten los. In Los Angeles will das Schwein von einem Manager nicht das volle Honorar zahlen, weil die Juden (angeblich) mein Konzert boykottiert hätten. Dabei waren 4500 Leute

While in Minneapolis later that month, Gieseking did write the consul, and like his letter to Annie, this one, too, is revealing. From it we read:

> They [those protesting] probably also announced each place I appeared at in Europe this winter. Since I performed in some 20 German cities, it means that I did not boycott Germany, and this, not my nationality, seems to be the reason why the Jews in Los Angeles are calling for the boycott of my appearances. On 28 January, the critic for the *L.A. Times* [Isabel Morse Jones] in a nice way expressed her disapproval of the protest, and my concert in Los Angeles was also well attended. Despite this, the local manager there, Mr. Merle Armitage, on the pretext that my concert was poorly attended because of the Jewish boycott, paid me only about 50% of the fees! . . .[71] In Los Angeles, I was billed as a "European pianist" after the first, correct description presumably incurred the displeasure of the non-Aryans. Elsewhere, the managers are not so anxious, e.g. in Dallas and Atlanta I was announced explicitly as a German pianist. In Portland, Oregon on the other hand, usually as a Franco-German; however, the interviews I gave were left unchanged with regard to my nationality. The information in Los Angeles was inaccurate in every respect. For example, it was stated that I had not played there in many years, but the entire concert-going public knows that I was in Los Angeles last year during the earthquake, and that I performed shortly thereafter. In Portland, similar falsehoods were printed, but that is always the case. It amazes me, by the way, that the boycott propaganda was so strong in California of all places. Nothing was said about it everywhere else I visited. Not even in New York. In Cincinnati they even printed how I said that the musical activity in the new Germany had not suffered at all, on the contrary! . . . I am sorry that I cannot report more favorably with regard to the propaganda for our own interests, but you are surely aware of the difficulties one must reckon with here. . . .[72]

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da, also jedenfalls genug, um das Honorar zu zahlen. Dann hatte Wagner für hier so blödsinnige Bedingungen angenommen, das ich gestern wirklich für 250 Dollar (625 Mk.) hier gespielt habe! Ich habe noch gestern einen äusserst groben Brief an Wagner geschrieben, denn ich lasse mir doch hier nichts gefallen! Was den Boykott anbelangt, so hetzen hier die Juden ganz fürchterlich, so dass ich nun wirklich schon überlege, ob ich nicht besser alle Beziehungen zu Bernstein abbreche. In San Francisco hatte der Manager es nicht riskiert, mich als deutschen Pianisten anzukündigen, auch aus Angst, dass die Juden nicht ins Konzert kommen würden. Mit dem deutschen Konsul, der übrigens alle Kritiken etc. sammelte (amtlich), hatte ich längere Unterhaltungen darüber, werde ihm auch nochmal schreiben." Gieseking, Dallas, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 12 Feb. 1934, GFA.

[71] Merle Armitage (1893–1975) became, among other things, an important impresario, whose clients included famous artists such as John McCormack, Ernestine Schumann-Heink, Will Rogers, and Igor Stravinsky. He had also co-founded and managed the Los Angeles Grand Opera Association starting in 1924 and also managed the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles. "Papers of Merle Armitage," Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, finding aid, accessed 9 Nov. 2012, http://www.lib.uiowa.edu/spec-coll/MSC/ToMsC600/MsC558/armitage.htm.

[72] "Ausserdem ist vermutlich bekanntgegeben, wo ich überall in Europa in diesem Winter gespielt habe. Da ich in ca. 20 deutschen Städten spielte, hatte ich also Deutschland nicht boykottiert und dies, nicht meine Staatsangehörigkeit, scheint die Juden in Los Angeles zu Boykottversuchen veranlasst zu haben. Hiergegen wandte sich die Kritikerin der L. A. Times in sehr netter Weise am 28. Januar und mein Konzert

As was common, the press must have received biographical information on Gieseking from his manager, Wagner, and each paper printed a modified description of the artist. In the announcement of Gieseking's concerto performance with the Baltimore Orchestra on 21 January, he was referred to as a "French-born pianist" and "a native of Lyons," who had made his American debut in New York City on "[George] Washington's birthday in 1926." Nothing was said of Germany other than that he had studied at the conservatory in Hanover.[73] In the *Los Angeles Times*, on the other hand, it was noted that he was "French by birth, but German by blood and training."[74] The same paper called him a "European pianist" in subsequent write-ups, however.[75] By the end of January, it also reported how Gieseking's scheduled appearance at the city's Shrine Auditorium had "created a high interest [in him] in Southern California."[76] Publicizing Gieseking's recital at Stanford University a couple weeks later, the *San Mateo Times*

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in Los Angeles war ja auch gut besucht. Trotzdem ist mir der dortige Manager, Mr. Merle Armitage, unter dem Vorwand, mein Konzert wäre infolge des jüdischen Boykotts schlecht besucht gewesen, ca. 50% des Honorars schuldig geblieben! . . . In Los Angeles war ich als 'European pianist' angekündigt, nachdem die ersten korrekten Notizen wohl den Unwillen der Nichtarier erregt hatten. In anderen Städten sind die Manager nicht so ängstlich, z.B. in Dallas und Atlanta war ich ausdrücklich als German pianist angekündigt. In Portland Ore. dagegen meist als Franco-German, allerdings waren die Interviews, die ich hatte, unverändert wiedergegeben, was meine Nationalität anbetrifft. Die Notizen in Los Angeles waren in jeder Beziehung ungenau, z. B. stand darin, dass ich mehrere Jahre nicht in Los Angeles gespielt hätte, dabei weiss das gesamte Konzertpublikum, dass ich voriges Jahr beim Erdbeben dort war und kurz danach spielte. In Portland wurde ähnlich geschwindelt, aber dies ist ja immer so. Es wundert mich übrigens, dass die Boykottpropaganda gerade in Californien so heftig war, in den anderen, von mir besuchten Orten, war nichts davon zu merken. Sogar in New York nicht. In Cincinnati wurde sogar gedruckt, dass ich gesagt hätte, das Musikleben im neuen Deutschland hätte durchaus nicht gelitten, im Gegenteil! . . . Es tut mir leid, dass ich nicht günstiger in Bezug auf Propaganda in unserem Sinne berichten kann, aber Sie werden ja genau wissen, mit welchen Schwierigkeiten man hier zu rechnen hat. . . ." Gieseking, Minneapolis, an den deutschen Generalkonsul, 28/II/34. Bundesarchiv R 55/ 1176. Blatt 28, 29, cited in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter."

[73] "Gieseking Will Play At Concert January 21," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 7 Jan. 1934.

[74] "Gieseking En Route on Tour," *Los Angeles Times*, 14 Jan. 1934.

[75] Gieseking was described as a "European pianist," for example, in "Pianist Starts Tour," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 Jan. 1934; "Contrast in Piano Performers Seen," *Los Angeles Times*, 21 Jan. 1934; and "Tacoma Hears Noted Pianist," *Los Angeles Times*, 31 Jan. 1934.

[76] "Interest High in Gieseking," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 Jan. 1934.

more emphatically wrote that the guest pianist was "born in Lyons, France" but "thoroughly German by blood, training, and temperament."[77] That part of Mozelle Horton's announcement in the *Atlanta Constitution* was nearly identical: Gieseking was "born in Lyons, France . . . of German parents, and his training and temperament are thoroughly German."[78] As it had done in January, *The Washington Post* unsurprisingly described him in March as a "German pianist," referring to his recital at the German Embassy.[79] Most other papers made no mention of Gieseking's birthplace or nationality.

The above letter to the German consul makes it quite clear that Gieseking was not as "politically oblivious" as Isabel Morse Jones had naively assumed. He was momentarily reacting emotionally to a situation he strongly resented, however. He must have found it completely unfair and incomprehensible as to why the Jewish protesters had singled him out, which they had apparently done—at this early point—simply because he was a prominent German musician. This is indeed an early, if not the earliest, instance, of American Jews opposing a particular German musician. Yet Gieseking was well aware of the reputation he had earned as one of Germany's leading solo artists on the international scene by this point, making him an obvious target. Since Jewish artists were no longer welcome in Germany, the demonstrators must have reasoned, then why should German artists be welcome in the U.S.? No record of how any of the German authorities responded has been found, but Fred Prieberg has commented that "this

[77] "Walter Gieseking Plays Tuesday On Concert Series," *San Mateo (Calif.) Times*, 30 Jan. 1934.

[78] Mozelle, "Atlanta Music Notes: To Give Concerts This Week," *Atlanta Constitution*, 4 Feb. 1934.

[79] "Artists to Be Guests of Mrs. Townsend," *Washington Post*, 21 Jan. 1934; "Notes of the Capital's Official and Resident Society," *Washington Post*, 7 Mar. 1934.

unsurprising reaction to the brown [i.e. Nazi] Anti-Semitism outraged Nazi officials in Berlin above all because it reduced the wished-for foreign exchange revenue."[80]

It is more difficult to understand why Gieseking partly blamed Bernstein for any of the hullabaloo. Despite his anger, he quickly came to his senses enough to continue working with his longtime manager. The two maintained their friendship, and there is no further mention in Gieseking's private correspondence of him considering breaking off their business relationship for now, although it would inevitably occur a few years later. From this point forward, however, Gieseking's feelings of anti-Semitism became more pronounced.

Eugene Ormandy

On 28 February 1934, Gieseking arrived in Minneapolis, where he rehearsed and performed Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto during the first week of March with the exceptionally talented, Hungarian-born conductor Eugene Ormandy (1899–1985).[81] Ormandy currently led the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, a position he held from 1930 until 1936, before beginning his more well-known tenure with the Philadelphia Orchestra.[82]

After a rehearsal with Ormandy on 1 March, followed by some sightseeing, a young pianist played for Gieseking. In a letter to Annie from 6 March, we read: "Later a non-Aryan father and daughter came to the hotel. The child (age 11) played for me,

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[80] "Dieses normale Echo auf den braunen Antisemitismus empörte in Berlin um so mehr, als dadurch nicht zuletzt die begehrten Deviseneinnahmen zurückgingen." Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter."

[81] Gieseking, Omaha, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 6 Mar. 1934, GFA.

[82] José A. Bowen, "Ormandy, Eugene," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 21 June 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20481.

seemed to be quite talented. The father's lessons have apparently been terribly insufficient, and so I became rather course when I noticed he didn't want to listen to me. Why do these people seek my criticism?"[83] Gieseking was quite conscious that he was doing a favor for two Jews, as his "non-Aryan" description makes clear, yet he did comply. In a letter written just one week later, he wrote to his wife about another Jewish piano pupil he had listened to and recommended to an acquaintance; his piano technician, Richard Pohlman from the Baldwin firm had been with him: "Pohlman and I both received a letter from Reni. She thanked me for referring a student to her, a child (non-Aryan) that played for me in Los Angeles. Her playing lacked control, but she showed talent. Because the father asked for my advice regarding private tuition, I recommended Reni, whom I hope is still giving very good lessons."[84]

After listening to the first of these two children play on 1 March, Gieseking spent that same evening at Ormandy's home. While he enjoyed working with and being in the company of his colleague considerably, he was less pleased to be around the conductor's Jewish wife, harpist Stephanie Goldner, and sister-in-law. Gieseking did not realize that Ormandy, too, came from a Jewish family:

> In the evening, I ate very well at Ormandy's (the conductor). His wife and sister-in-law, these two pronounced Jews ("Nichtarierinnen"), were there. Ormandy pulled out a violin and we played, among other things, a very difficult sonata by [Ottorino] Respighi [1879–1936]. All that was quite enjoyable. During the conversation, of course, we had to be careful as soon as the current European

[83] "Später kamen ein nichtarischer Vater u. Tochter ins Hotel, das Kind (11 Jahr) spielte mir vor, schien recht begabt, der Vater gab ihr aber miserablen Unterricht, wie es schien und ich wurde ziemlich grob, als er sich nichts sagen liess. Wozu wollen denn die Leute meine Kritik haben?" Gieseking, Omaha, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 6 Mar. 1934, GFA.

[84] "Pohlman und ich bekamen gemeinsam einen Brief von Reni, bei mir bedankt sie sich, dass ich ihr eine Schülerin verschafft habe, ein Kind (nichtarisch), das mir in Los Angeles vorspielte, ziemlich unordentlich aber anscheinend begabt. Da der Vater meinen Rat betr. Unterrricht haben wollte, empfahl ich Reni, die ja hoffentlich noch immer ganz ordentliche Stunden gibt." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 11 and 13 Mar. 1934, GFA.

> situation was brought up. Ormandy is very talented, but I fear he might become, or is, too silly. He apparently has so much respect for me (he's only 34) that he listens to my suggestions. The sister-in-law is, or was, a piano teacher in Vienna, is older and has a notable 'Nos[e].' . . .[85]

While Gieseking tactfully concealed his growing skepticism toward Jews during his visit to the Ormandy home, his comments provide further evidence of how, like all too many Germans, he had begun to be influenced by the Nazis' anti-Semitic propaganda rather quickly—feelings fueled significantly by the protest he faced in California. This was, of course, still the early phase of the Hitler regime, but he and Ormandy will, nonetheless, continue to perform together up to the end of his final, pre-war American tour in 1939. After the present concert, Gieseking wrote home about it with much enthusiasm: "The Rachmaninoff performance was excellent. Ormandy conducted with a tremendous amount of momentum. It was very enjoyable. The crowd applauded accordingly, and I played four encores. . . ."[86]

The Protests, Continued

Approximately one month later, on 11 March 1934, Gieseking again described to Annie the difficulties being created for him because of the protests on the Pacific Coast. He was presently staying at New York's Hotel Great Northern on West 57th Street,

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[85] "Abends ass ich recht gut bei Ormandy (dem Dirigenten), seine Frau u. Schwägerin, diese beiden ausgesprochene Nichtarierinnen[,] waren anwesend. Ormandy holte eine Violine heran, wir spielten u.a. vom Blatt eine sehr schwere Sonate von Respighi. Es war soweit ganz nett, in der Unterhaltung war natürlich Vorsicht geboten, sobald von dem heutigen Europa die Rede war. Ormandy ist ja sehr begabt, nur fürchte ich, dass er zu affig wird oder ist. Vor mir hat er offenbar soviel Respekt, er ist erst 34, dass er sich was sagen lässt. Die Schwägerin ist oder war in Wien Klavierlehrerin, ist schon älter und hat eine bemerkenswerte 'Nos[e]' . . . ." Gieseking, Omaha, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 6 Mar. 1934, GFA.

[86] "Die Aufführung von Rachmaninoff war vorzüglich, Orm.[andy] legte das Stück mit kolossalem Schwung hin, es war sehr erfreulich. Die Leute tobten entsprechend, ich spielte 4 Zugaben. . . ." Ibid.

which had become his lodging of choice in the metropolis, and he was now even angrier than before over the public dissent and disagreeable consequences:

> I have a lot of work to do tomorrow, starting with some unpleasant business with Wagner. The agent from Los Angeles wrote to explain that owing to the Jewish propaganda against my appearance (because Hitler permits me to play in Germany! That's literally what these swines said!), he lost so much money on my concert that he cannot pay me! So there will probably still be a lot of quarreling here![87]

This incident makes it rather clear that Gieseking, doubtless like many of his German colleagues, saw no wrong in continuing his career as a citizen of the Third Reich. That the Californian protesters had accused him of collaborating with the Hitler regime, something he could have never anticipated so early on, had outraged him. Yet the boycott and remonstration quickly subsided, and his American concerts continued to be as successful as ever. The audience at the aforementioned performance in San Francisco demanded eight encores. Disgruntled as he was, Gieseking carried on with his business as usual, finishing the tour as planned and returning to North America almost annually through 1939. His American tours, as we will see, would remain by far his most lucrative of all.

Anti-Semitism in the Third Reich

As we have seen, by this point Gieseking was among the many who had begun to buy into the Nazis' pervasive anti-Semitic propaganda campaign. His own increasingly intolerant outlook, however ingrained it may have become, is demonstrated by the

[87] "Morgen gibt es viel Arbeit, erst unangenehme Geschäftssachen mit Wagner, da der Agent aus Los Angeles geschrieben hat, infolge der jüdischen Propaganda gegen mein Konzert (weil Hitler mir erlaubt, in Deutschland zu spielen! So sagen diese Schweine wörtlich!) habe er so viel Geld an dem Konzert verloren, dass er nicht zahlen könnte! Also wird es hier wohl noch allerhand Krach geben!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 11 Mar. 1934, GFA.

occasional prejudiced remarks found in his personal correspondence. Without excusing such racial slurs and views—particularly those pertaining to this tragic period—we must briefly consider the German population's hatred of Jews in the context of its time.

A tremendous amount of scholarship exists on the subject of anti-Semitism during the Third Reich, of course, and the viewpoints of scholars continue to differ on countless topics within this area of study.[88] We know that various forms of discrimination toward the Jews had existed in Germany, as in other parts of the world, long before the rise of the National Socialists. Yet as Eva Reichmann concluded in her early study of National Socialist anti-Semitism:

> With the flood of Nazi propaganda, anti-Semitic feeling increased. It seized upon people primarily because of the psychological satisfaction which this anti-symbol offered to their regressive needs for aggression, self-glorification, irresponsibility, and authoritarianism.[89]

This hatred was aimed not at "living Jews," but rather at the "mythical Jew," Reichmann maintained, referring to the false image of the Jew that, above all, Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry had famously and relentlessly striven to create.[90]

Commenting further on the extent to which the Germans' twisted perception of the Jews came to infuse their everyday life, Daniel Goldhagen has observed:

> Putative Jewish evil permeated the air. It was discussed incessantly. It was said to be the source of every ill that had befallen Germany and of every continuing threat. The Jew, *der Jude*, was both a metaphysical and an existential threat, as

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[88] For a list of important literature offering analyses of German anti-Semitism and public opinion toward Jewry, see Daniel Johan Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 497–98, n. 24. Goldhagen's study itself is important, and the sources cited immediately below provide much insight into the topic.

[89] Eva G. Reichmann, *Hostages of Civilisation: The Social Sources of National Socialist Anti-Semitism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970), 234–35. Reichmann's monograph was first published in ca. 1950.

[90] Ibid., 235.

> real to Germans as that of a powerful enemy army poised on Germany's borders for the attack.[91]

Ian Kershaw has more recently gone so far as to say that "To be anti-Semitic in Hitler's Germany was so commonplace as to go practically unnoticed."[92] Elsewhere, Kershaw has elaborated on this point:

> In the climate of the Third Reich itself . . . the barrage of Nazi propaganda could not be without effect in extending and deepening already prevalent anti-Semitic attitudes. Many, probably the great majority of the population, were convinced by 1939 if not before that the Jews had been a harmful influence in German society, and that it would be better if those still remaining left (or were forced to leave) as soon as possible.[93]

Scholars such as Reichmann have generally agreed that those Germans who succumbed to the German predicament and propaganda, and became anti-Semites neither wished for nor anticipated the extreme measures that the Nazi government carried out against European Jewry. "They approved of a limitation of Jewish influence," Reichmann argued, "but thought neither of the expulsion, nor the deportation, nor the destruction of the Jews."[94] Kershaw has newly drawn a similar conclusion:

> Very many, probably most, Germans were opposed to the Jews during the Third Reich, welcomed their exclusion from economy and society, saw them as natural outsiders to the Germany 'National Community', a dangerous minority against whom it was legitimate to discriminate. Most would have drawn the line at physical maltreatment.[95]

Kershaw has concluded that the anti-Semitism of the German people was not akin to the Hitler regime's "anti-Jewish paranoia." It was "for the most part of no more than

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[91] Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, 88.

[92] Many will no doubt disagree with Kershaw, arguing that the number of pro-Jewish Germans was significant enough to dispute this "generalization." Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 370.

[93] Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth': Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press), 229–30.

[94] Reichmann, *Hostages of Civilisation*, 234–35.

[95] Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich*, 371.

secondary importance as a factor shaping popular opinion in the Third Reich."[96] This was particularly true during the war years, he argues, owing to the German public's preoccupation with other concerns such as air-raids, family members at the Fronts, shortages of food and other commodities.[97] In addition, by that time the Jewish population had been cut off from German society, reduced to population of merely some 15,000 within the Reich's borders. By the end of the war, German Jews would become nearly extinct, a people about whom most German youth had only heard and read.[98]

Nazi Racial Theories and Vocabulary

Gieseking's correspondence with Annie shows that he had also begun to use the word "Aryan" by 1934, if not sooner. Numerous remarks demonstrate that he similarly used the term "non-Aryan" to refer to Jews, usually pejoratively. This racial vocabulary was famously in widespread use in the Third Reich, and Gieseking's use of it provides some evidence of his acceptance of the Nazis' propagated racial theories.

Among a number of books that Gieseking would read in the early months of 1935 was the infamous Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg's (1893–1946) voluminous (712 pages) Der Mythus des zwangzigsten Jahrhunderts: eine Wertung der seelischgeistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit (The Myth of the Twentieth Century: An Evaluation of the Spiritual-Intellectual Confrontations of our Age).[99] Rosenberg's "myth" was, as one

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[96] Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth,'* 230. As Kershaw points out, this opinion is now commonly accepted by scholars. (Also see Kershaw's footnote 1, page 230, in which he also lists several further references.)

[97] Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich*, 360.

[98] Ibid., 370.

[99] Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des zwangzigsten Jahrhunderts: eine Wertung der seelischgeistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit* (Munich: Hoheneichen-verlag, 1935). Gieseking had brought a collection of books ("eine ganze Reihe von Büchern") to read while traveling aboard the SS *Hamburg* to New York for

could read on the cover, "the myth of blood, which under the sign of the swastika unchains the racial world-revolution." "It is the awakening of the race soul, which after long sleep victoriously ends the race chaos."[100] Describing the work, John Rawls has written: "The Aryan race soul [according to Rosenberg] . . . is superior to all others. It has been the creator of all culture. Recently, it has fallen to sleep and has allowed itself to be overcome by Jews, democracy, capitalism, communism and so forth, all of which equal the same thing for the Germans."[101] Gieseking had become curious to learn more about Rosenberg's popular and influential work and had therefore decided to read the book "in order to receive a 'modern' education" (um "zeitgemäss" unterrichtet zu sein.), as he explained to Annie.[102] He gave no further comments about the publication in his correspondence, but during his postwar interrogation, he would explain his conviction with regard to racial characteristics: "I also believed and still believe that there are differences among races. An Englishman is not like a Frenchman. I, for instance, am a German, but that doesn't mean that my race is superior."[103] Yet many Germans did believe the Nazi racial propaganda, Rosenberg's theories included, and consequently perceived the Aryans to be a "master race"—a distorted view that Gieseking may have genuinely accepted as truth, despite his later denial of it.

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his 1935 North American tour. The only other one he mentioned was French fiction. He mentioned that movies were being shown unusually seldom on the ship and that there were only two options, "one of which was almost entirely a propaganda film for the Rhineland, which I had actually already seen." Gieseking, aboard the SS *Hamburg*, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 14 Feb. 1935, GFA.

[100] Quoted in John Rawls, *A Brief Inquiry into the Meaning of Sin and Faith: with 'On my Religion,'* ed. Thomas Nagel, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 198–99.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Gieseking, aboard the SS *Hamburg*, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 14 Feb. 1935, GFA.

[103] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking, [1].

Toronto and the Final American Concerts, mid-late March

Upon arriving in Toronto in the morning of 15 March, Gieseking gave more interviews, during which time the discussion inevitably turned to politics. On this occasion, however, he was surprised and relieved to find that the reporters were all Aryan and therefore not necessarily anti-Hitler. Apparently, he was already by the time—particularly since the California protests—worried that other journalists might be out to get him, as it were:

> I had hardly finished shaving and eaten breakfast, when the reporters came, three of them, one after the other. That turned into about 1½ hours of interviews. It occurred to me rather late that the Canadian reporters, like the English, are much more "dangerous" than the Americans are—much more interested in sensationalism. I was therefore soon embroiled in political discussions. But it turned out well, for the reporters were Aryan and did not wish to stir up hatred against Hitler.[104]

The next day in Toronto, Gieseking encountered someone whose strong Nazi sympathies surprised him:

> Towards the evening, Herr Koken from Hanover, a painter and son of the painter K. [Koken]—do you know the family? This compatriot talked quite a lot, but was otherwise quite interesting, as he is a very radical, avid old Nazi, who some years ago partook in all sorts of "battles" with Hitler and so on. These fellow countrymen always want to have personal accounts, so to speak, of how things are looking for us [in Germany]. This man was not at all interested in music.[105]

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[104] "Kaum war das Rasieren und Frühstück erledigt, kamen die Reporter, 3 Stück nacheinander, dies bedeutete ca. 1 ½ Stunden Interview. Es fiel mir reichlich spät ein, dass die canadischer Reporter, ähnlich den englischen, viel "gefährlicher" sind als die amerikanischen—viel mehr auf Sensation aus, und dadurch war ich bald in politische Gespräche verwickelt. Doch die Sache ist gut geworden, weil die Reporter arisch waren und nicht gegen Hitler hetzen wollen." Gieseking, Pittsburgh, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 17–20 Mar. 1934, GFA.

[105] "Gegen Abend besuchte mich Herr Koken aus Hannover, Maler und Sohn des Malers K.[oken]—kennst Du die Familie? Dieser Landsmann redete recht viel, war aber sonst ganz interessant, indem er ein ganz radikaler eifriger alter Nazi ist, der vor Jahren mit Hitler u.s.w. allerhand "Schlachten" mitgemacht hat. Diese Landsleute wollen immer sozusagen persönliche Berichte haben, wie es bei uns aussieht, für Musik interessierte sich dieser Mann z.B. gar nicht." Ibid.

The unnamed person Gieseking to whom Gieseking referred must have been the son of Paul Koken (1853–1920). The Koken family had produced a number of important landscape painters, including Paul's father, Edmund Koken (1814–72)—as Gieseking mentioned—and Edmund's nephew, Gustav Koken (1850–1910). All of these figures had been born in Hanover.[106] Of course, who knows whether this younger Koken's stories about his experiences with Hitler were true.

On Friday, 16 March, Gieseking and Pohlman traveled further by train to Pittsburgh. After an "official" lunch there the next day was a photo session, in which Gieseking was also asked to read through a work by the American "salon" composer Ethelbert Nevin (1862–1901). He apparently complied, perhaps more willingly since the instrument was a sixty-year-old grand piano that had allegedly belonged to the composer during his Pittsburgh years.[107] Afterward, he and Pohlman joined the Glicks for a walk. In his subsequent report home to Annie, Gieseking wrote: "Mrs. Glick, née Kagan, pure non-Aryan, is sort of a pianist. Pohlman heard her play in New York once. Incidentally, among the circle were very few Aryans. There is apparently no boycott [against me] here."[108]

During the Pittsburgh visit, Gieseking performed Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto with the Italian-American conductor Antonio Modarelli. Modarelli led the

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[106] Charles Callahan Perkins, *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings*, vol. 2 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1886), s.vv. "Koken, Edmund," "Koken, Gustav," "Koken, Paul."

[107] Gieseking, Pittsburgh, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 17–20 Mar. 1934, GFA.

[108] "Mrs. Glick, geb. Kagan, rein nichtarisch, ist sozusagen Pianistin, Pohlman hat sie mal in Newyork spielen hören. Übrigens war die Gesellschaft sehr wenig arisch, hier scheint kein Boykott zu herrschen." Ibid.

Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra from 1927 to 1937, before Fritz Reiner took over.[109] After the Sunday concert on 18 March, Gieseking wrote home: "Yesterday evening Rachmaninoff and four encores were a lot of work, but there were 2,950 paying guests at the concert. In Pittsburgh I am very popular."[110]

The following day, Gieseking and Olin Downes gave their next lecture-recital together, and once again the pianist was most impressed with the popular critic's delivery of the lecture component and its effect on the audience: "Downes spoke very well. It is easy to notice that when the public listens better when they are told how beautiful the music is that they are about to hear. However, the program was respectable, and I pulled off the two Beethoven Sonatas quite well. . . . Because of that, the evening was most taxing, though, so that I was rather exhausted afterward."[111] Gieseking had played Beethoven's op. 57, the "Appassionata," and final piano sonata, op. 111—two large and demanding works indeed—and other selections on the program were by Schubert, namely the large-scale Sonata in B flat, as well as three of the *Moments musicaux.* While many would classify this as Romantic literature, the topic of the event piano music of the Classical era.[112] Among those to whom Gieseking had given complimentary tickets were members of the German Consulate in New York.[113]

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[109] Ida Reed and Robert Croan, "Pittsburgh," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 25 June 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21869.

[110] "Gestern abend Rachmaninoff und 4 Zugaben war auch eine Sauarbeit, es waren aber 2950 zahlende Leute im Konzert, in Pittsbrugh bin ich sehr popular." Gieseking, Pittsburgh, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 17–20 Mar. 1934, GFA.

[111] "Downes sprach sehr gut, es ist direkt zu merken, dass die Leute, wenn ihnen erzählt wird, wie schön die Musik ist, die sie jetzt hören werden, besser zuhören. Allerdings war das Programm ja auch anständig und ich habe die beiden Beethoven Sonaten ganz ordentlich hingelegt. . . . Dadurch war der Abend aber sehr anstrengend, sodass ich hinterher recht erledigt war." Ibid.

[112] "Gieseking gives Second Recital," *New York Times*, 20 Mar. 1934.

[113] Gieseking, Pittsburgh, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 17–20 Mar. 1934, GFA.

Gieseking then traveled to Florida, where he stayed from 21 to 24 March before returning to New York to give his final three concerts, including the last two lecture-recitals with Downes.

The Wiesbaden Home, May 1934

Gieseking, Annie, and now the two daughters, Jutta and Freya, had until now resided at Alexander Straße 2^{II} in Hanover.[114] After first renting a modern but used summer house in Wiesbaden at Wilhelminen Straße 24 since 1932, Gieseking purchased it in 1934, and he and the family moved in on 10 May that year.[115] We will recall Gieseking's explanation, that after Freya's birth in 1931, he had begun to limit the distance of the family's summer vacations and that they had therefore begun to stay in Wiesbaden.[116] His father, Wilhelm, had been living there at least since the beginning of the Weimar era as well, however, which may have also influenced Gieseking and Annie's decision to choose the small city.[117] The house, though not new, was luxurious and the

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[114] Their Hanover address is found on the many envelopes from the surviving correspondence of this period in the GFA, and is given on the police registration form. Polizei Anmeldung (Großer Meldeschein), Wiesbaden, 12 May 1934.

[115] Gieseking and Annie had begun to search for a summer house in Wiesbaden on 6 May 1932. His daughter Jutta remembers them first renting a neighboring house at Wilhelminen Straße 27, though there is no known surviving documentation of this. The *Dallas Morning News* included a picture of Gieseking with his two daughters that was taken at the Wiesbaden "summer home" during the summer of 1932. While on the Police registration form (Polizei Anmeldung) Gieseking gave the date 10 May 1934 as the day he moved into the home, on his postwar *Meldebogen* (questionnaire) he indicated that he had begun to reside in Wiesbaden on 4 May that year. Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 5 May 1932, GFA; Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 8 May 1932, GFA; Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview with author, 23 May 2011; "The Concert: Walter Gieseking Plays at Little Theater," *Dallas Morning News*, 7 Mar. 1933; Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 68; Polizei Anmeldung (Großer Meldeschein), Wiesbaden, 12 May 1934, GFA; Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[116] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 65,

[117] In his memoirs, Gieseking indicates that his father was living in Wiesbaden at the time of the 1921/22 concert season, although it is uncertain whether the latter ever left Wiesbaden for any period prior to the 1930s. Correspondence sent by Wilhelm from Wiesbaden shows that he continued to live there, however. He sent Gieseking and his family a Christmas card from Wiesbaden on 22 December 1931, for

location beautiful. Built largely of concrete and glass and with a modern, flat roof, the unique dwelling had some fifteen rooms in all.[118] After being let down when his offer to buy a smaller, new home there was declined, he grew excited about the older house upon renting it. He explained this to his American piano technician, Richard Pohlman:

> At first, I was somewhat disappointed, but in these hard times [still affected by the Depression] when nobody knows what is going to happen, it may be just as good not to buy property. After much searching around, we found a house which we rented. It is a modern house, absolutely first class, has a marvelous, big garden [in the backyard] with [a] private swimming pool and has only one fault: it is quite expensive! But as everybody is happy in this place, I do not worry about this money (Gieseking's English).[119]

The home overlooked part of Wiesbaden's scenic Nerotal Park, as well as the Russian Orthodox Church of St. Elisabeth, with its five golden onion domes, located on the neighboring Neroberg mountain.[120] Wiesbaden was still an especially "green" place at the time, with numerous, large gardens. One enjoyed a beautiful, pastoral view of blossoming fruit trees each spring from several rooms of Gieseking's home, including his beloved "Schmetterlingskabuff," or "butterfly coop," as the family liked to call the room where he kept his extensive collection of his favorite insects. One of the few regrets he expressed about the location—about residing in Germany, in general—in fact, concerned butterflies, something he had explained to Pohlman in the summer of 1932: "As this country is not extraordinarily good for butterflies (I have nearly all the species flying here

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example. Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 52; Wilhelm Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Walter Gieseking, Hanover, postcard, 22 Dec. 1931, GFA.

[118] Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, interview by author, digital recording, Wiesbaden, 13 Oct. 2009.

[119] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 22 June 1932, DEC.

[120] Since its completion, the church has been commonly referred to as the "Griechische Kapelle" (Greek Chapel) by both the locals and in print. Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview, 18 Jan. 2011. For an early example of the church being referred to as a Greek chapel, see F. Bouffier, *Die Griechische Kapelle bei Wiesbaden* (Wiesbaden: [unidentified publisher], 1856).

in my collection) I [have] spent much time working in the garden, which is also a healthy occupation [i.e. activity]" (Gieseking's English).[121] Another lament, particularly of Annie's, was that her family was in Hanover, and she and Gieseking both missed having close friends around at first.[122] "But as a whole," Gieseking wrote to Pohlman in December 1934, "living here is much more agreeable than staying in Hanover. And the children enjoy the garden immensely! (Gieseking's English)."[123] Gieseking likewise continued to find much pleasure outside in his large yard, as he told Pohlman: "My first summer as a 'landlord' [i.e. owner of his house—he did not rent out rooms] was very satisfactory, I worked just enough in the garden to get the right appetite three times a day—and got to [*sic*] fat! Now the concerts and my nervous stomach are correcting my 'figger,' at least I hope so (Gieseking's English)."[124]

The house would remain the home of Gieseking and his wife for the rest of their lives. Residing in Wiesbaden, Gieseking later claimed, ended up having its political advantages as well, as it made it easier for him to continue his career more independently of the regime:[125]

> I continued to keep out of politics as much as possible. This was easy to do in Wiesbaden . . . because the *Ortsgruppenleiter* apparently had no interest in

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[121] Gieseking's letters to Pohlman, all in English, often contain awkward word choices, as he first learned English as an adult. Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 22 June 1932, DEC.

[122] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 26 Dec. 1934, DEC.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid.

[125] After Annie's passing in December 1955, Gieseking would once more become determined to move to Switzerland. His own death during the following October would come too soon for this plan to be realized, however. After Gieseking's passing, his daughters maintained the house until they sold it in 1969. It was torn down by January 1970, and the land redeveloped; only the stone wall that once surrounded the home remains. Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview, 18 Jan. 2011; Hajmássy, interview, digital recording, Wiesbaden, 13 Oct. 2007, 19 Mar. 2008; Friedrich Michael, "Giesekings Haus: In memoriam," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 Jan. 1970.

music and therefore never met me. I also never met the *Gauleiter* of Frankfurt.[126] Normally, he would have been "in charge" of me, which could have led to unforeseeable difficulties![127]

European Concert Tour, Fall 1934

In November 1934, Gieseking gave concerts in Paris, Brussels, numerous cities in the Netherlands—Amsterdam, The Hague, Hilversum, Utrecht, Eindhoven—Naples, Trieste, Milan, and other European cities.[128] In late December, he wrote to Pohlman about the concluded fall season: "My concert tour those last months was . . . pretty hard work. I had just 40 concerts this fall. This month I rushed through Italy, having just the [i.e. enough] time between concerts to eat enough Spaghetti to keep up my strength. . . (Gieseking's English)."[129]

In Paris, Gieseking was told that fewer than normal concertgoers attended his concert on 8 November out of fear that there might be unrest on account of the change of ministers.[130] Pierre-Étienne Flandin, a conservative who led France's Democratic Republic Alliance (*Alliance républicaine démocratique*), had replaced Gaston Doumergue as Prime Minister of France that same day.[131] The concert was still a great

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[126] An *Ortsgruppenleiter* was head of a local political branch and was appointed by the *Gauleiter*. A *Gauleiter* was appointed by Hitler and oversaw a *Gau*, a Nazi administrative district that was the largest subdivision of a state. In between the *Ortsgruppenleiter* and *Gauleiter* was the *Kreisleiter* (not mentioned here), who was in charge of a *Kreis*, the largest subdivision of a Gau. A *Kreisleiter* was recommended by a *Gauleiter* and subsequently appointed by Hitler.

[127] "Von der Politik hielt ich mich weiterhin möglichst fern. In Wiesbaden . . . war dies leicht, weil der Ortsgruppenleiter offenbar kein Interesse für Musik hatte und mir daher nie begegnete. Den Frankfurter Gauleiter lernte ich ebensowenig kennen. Dieser wäre sonst für mich 'zuständig' gewesen, was zu ungeahnten Belastungen hätte führen können!" Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 68.

[128] Gieseking, The Hague, to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 13 Nov. 1934, GFA; Gieseking, Trieste, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 Nov. 1934, GFA; Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[129] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, letter, 26 Dec. 1934, DEC.

[130] Gieseking, Paris, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[131] Flandin's appointment as the French Prime Minister would last only until 1 June 1935.

success, and Gieseking was quite satisfied with the turnout: "Owing to the endless encores (6 or 7), it lasted until 11:30 p.m. (12:30 in Wiesbaden). It was awfully strenuous, but the hall was rather full and the audience listened incredibly well. The 12 Debussy [Preludes] were duly appreciated. Because it was so late, hardly anyone came backstage afterward."[132]

German Legation Concert, The Hague, 14 November 1934

After playing in Brussels, Gieseking then traveled to the Netherlands for a string of concerts. On 11 November, he reported to Annie that he would be performing there every evening that week, through Saturday the seventeenth.[133] At least one performance was broadcast.[134]

While in Amsterdam on 10 November, Gieseking attended an orchestral concert featuring the acclaimed conductor Bruno Walter. "Walter conducted a strange Mahler Symphony very well," he wrote home. "In the artists' room there was an almost terrifying number of non-Aryans."[135] After giving an interview in Amsterdam that same day, he was surprised when he read what was printed. The reporter, he did not fail to notice, was Jewish: "Today there is a lengthy bunch of nonsense in the *Telegraf* newspaper here, yesterday's interview. The non-Aryan reporter, in fact, sometimes wrote essentially the

[132] "Es dauerte infolge endloser Zugaben (6 oder 7) bis nach ½ 12 (1/2 1 in Wiesbaden) es war eine fürchterliche Arbeit, aber es war auch ziemlich voll und die Leute hörten vorzüglich zu. Besonders die 12 Debussy's [Preludes] wurden gebührend geschätzt. Da es so spät war, liess mich kaum jemand sehen am Schuss." Gieseking, Paris, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[133] Gieseking, Amsterdam, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[134] Gieseking, The Hague, to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 13 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[135] "[Bruno] Walter dirigierte eine komische Mahlersymphonie sehr gut, im Künstlerzimmer waren fast beängstigend viele Nichtarier." Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 Nov. 1934, GFA.

opposite of what I said. But that doesn't really matter."[136] Similarly, Gieseking had become irritated during the previous month, when an acquaintance, Fritz Lang, published an article about him.[137] This was presumably the Fritz Lang he knew from his years as a military musician on the Island of Borkum during WWI.[138] The two had spoken after a concert he had recently given in Karlsruhe, and Gieseking complained to Annie about both the reception that followed and Lang's article:

> Afterward it was not too nice. There was a number of dreadfully uninteresting people (mostly idiots from the Richard Wagner Society!) sitting around, Fritz Lang and his mama were also there. He is actually somewhat strange. Moreover, a newspaper printed a terribly stupid, in part completely distorted article he wrote, although I told him that such untruths could not be published. I only first read it on the train; otherwise I would have given "Fritzchen" a scolding over the phone.[139]

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[136] "Heute steht ein langer Quatsch in der Zeitung Telegraf hier, das gestrige Interview; der nichtarische Reporter hat allerdings manchmal das ungefähre Gegenteil geschrieben, von dem, was ich gesagt habe. Aber das stört kaum." Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[137] Gieseking was certainly *not* referring to Fritz Lang (1890–1976), the half-Jewish filmmaker. Lang had fled Nazi Germany for Paris already in 1933 when Goebbels, despite being aware of his Jewish blood, asked him to head the Reich's film industry. Jürgen Tobisch, "Film within Film–Self Reflexivity in European Auteur Cinema," originally a masters thesis (Norderstedt Germany: Grin Verlag, 2003), 23.

[138] In his memoir, Gieseking wrote about Lang: "Also later on, the concertmaster—the highly musical Ludwig Lauboeck, who taught at the Hanover Conservatory—and I often got astonished looks from superiors when we received invitations—after we had appeared as soloists—from none other than the generals themselves. It was mainly our protector, Leutnant [Second Lieutenant] Dr. Fritz Lang, a tenor and violinist by profession, who arranged this. Lang was just as musical as he was unsoldierly, or rather, even more unsoldierly, but he was an extremely cheerful fellow. Since he was virtually of no use as an officer, his duty was to create a rich artistic life for the garrison. As soon as some unpleasant work threatened us, he created new opportunities to make music. He organized chamber-music tea parties, at which officers' wives were sometimes allowed to sing, and scheduled chamber-music rehearsals and Rhein wine tastings." ("Auch später trafen den Konzertmeister—es war der hochmusikalische Ludwig Lauboeck, einer der Lehrer des hannoverschen Konservatoriums—und mich oft erstaunte Blicke von Vorgesetzten, wenn wir—nachdem wir Solisten gewesen waren—sogar in die Gesellschaft von Generälen eingeladen wurden. Hierfür sorgte besonders unser Beschützer Leutnant Dr. Fritz Lang, Tenor und Geiger von Beruf, ebenso musikalisch wie unmilitärisch, oder nein: Noch unmilitärischer, aber ein höchst fideles Haus. Da man ihn als Offizier wirklich wohl kaum begrauchen konnte, hatter er den Auftrag, das künstlerische Leben der Garnison reichhaltig zu gestalten. Er organisierte Kammermusik-Tees, bei denen auch manchmal Offiziers-Gattinnen singen durften, erfand immer neue Gelegenheiten zum Musizieren und setzte Proben von Kammermusik und Rheinweinen an, sobald uns ein unangenehmer Dienst drohte.") Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 40– 41.

[139] "Hinterher war es nicht gemütlich, eine Auswahl hervorragend uninteressanter Leute (meist Stupidieurite aus dem Richard-Wagner-Verein!) sass da herum, Fritz Lang mit seiner Mama war auch

Regrettably, the article has not been identified, and the "untruths" must therefore remain unknowable.

On 11 November, Gieseking journeyed to The Hague. The German Ambassador to the Netherlands, Count Julius von Zech-Burkersroda, had phoned Gieseking in Amsterdam the previous day, inviting him to stay at the German Legation (*Gesandschaft*) in The Hague.[140] Gieseking happily accepted the offer, and he was provided with a room in "very beautiful, cozy quarters" and was served meatless meals.[141] (Having a sensitive stomach since his childhood, the pianist remained a lifelong vegetarian.[142]) After giving a public recital in The Hague on 13 November, he gave a private recital at the Legation the next day.[143] He was glad that during his stay, however, the ambassador was usually not visible.[144] Gieseking concluded the tour by returning to the Low Countries for a concerto performance in Ghent on the seventeenth.[145] Because the engagement was added to the

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dabei, er ist doch etwas sonderbar. Ausserdem hat eine Zeitung einen furchtbar blöden, teilweise vollkommen geschwindelten Artikel von ihm gedruckt, obwohl ich gesagt hatte, solche Unwahrheiten dürften nicht gedruckt werden. Dies habe ich erst im Zug gelesen, sonst hätte ich nochmal telephonisch mit 'Fritzchen' geschimpft." Gieseking, Hamburg, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 14 Oct. 1934, GFA.

[140] Gieseking, Amsterdam, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Nov. 1934, GFA. Zech-Burkersroda served as German ambassador in The Hague from 1928 to 1940. According to Robert Graef, within hours of the German troops' surprise invasion of the Low Countries and France on 10 May 1940, Zech-Burkersroda tried to justify the aggressive and destructive action by giving the following excuse: "Germany is obliged to enter Holland because of an imminent attack on the Ruhr valley by Allied forces." Graef, *Bicycling to Amersfoort: A World War II Memoir: Jan Makkreel's Story* (Lincoln: iUniverse, 2005), 29.

[141] "Hier im Haag wohne ich in der Deutschen Gesandschaft, es ist ein sehr schönes, angenehmes Haus." Gieseking, The Hague, to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 13 Nov. 1934, GFA; Gieseking, Amsterdam, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[142] Gieseking descriptions of his diet and reactions to certain foods suggest that he was lactose intolerant. See, for example, Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 13. That he remained a strict vegetarian is made clear throughout his private correspondence, in which he frequently discussed food and the meals he received while touring.

[143] Gieseking, The Hague, to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 13 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[144] Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[145] Gieseking, The Hague, to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 13 Nov. 1934, GFA; Gieseking, Amsterdam, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Nov. 1934, GFA.

itinerary rather last minute and he had to travel there from Italy, he received twice the regular fee, the equivalent of nearly 700 RM in all.[146]

Owing to the timing of Gieseking's appearances in the Netherlands, they were later deemed controversial. As American Officer Severin Kaven would note in his postwar report on Gieseking, "It was held shortly after the blood-purge of [the summer of] 1934. . . ."[147] On 5 September, Hitler had announced that the Nazi revolution had ended, predicting the National Socialists' thousand-year-rule, in which Jewish culture would have no place. The revolution had, Hitler proclaimed, "filled all my hopes."[148] The Führer also received ardent applause when he warned that non-German and anti-Nazi artists would "find that we will pass over them just as though they had never existed."[149] "Opinions in Germany were, at that time, considerably divided concerning the Nazi regime," as Kaven would also report, "while prior to that, the most famous personalities in the American musical world had sent a protest to Hitler, expressing their indignation at the Nazi treatment of artists and art in general."[150] Kaven was doubtless referring to the letter headed by Toscanini that was cabled to Hitler on 1 April 1933 (refer to Chapter 1).

When Kaven asked Gieseking why he had played at the German Legation at this time, the latter seems to have stretched the truth some by answering: "The German

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[146] Gieseking, Amsterdam, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[147] Severin Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2. The Nazi "Blood Purge" occurred between 30 June and 1 July 1934 and is alternatively known as the "Night of the Long Knives," the "Röhm Putsch" and "Operation Kolibri" (also "Operation Hummingbird"). While most of the victims were members of the Sturmabteilung, or SA, including its head, Ernst Röhm, numerous other political enemies of Hitler were murdered as well. Robert Melvin Spector, *World Without Civilization: Mass Murder and the Holocaust, History and Analysis*, vol. 1 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2008), 236–38.

[148] "Hitler Visions 1,000 Years of Rule by Nazis," *Washington Post*, 6 Sept. 1934.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

minister [i.e. Ambassador Zech-Burkersroda] was a friend of mine."[151] In 1948, Gieseking would more specifically write to his American manager, Charles Wagner: "The recital at the German Embassy in the Hague . . . in 1934 was arranged because the German Minister to Holland was a good friend of mine for many years before 1933."[152] Gieseking's letters, as we have seen, suggest that he and the minister were, in fact, hardly well acquainted, and the minister had presumably therefore made little effort to spend time with the guest pianist—to the latter's relief. Gieseking would return to concert venues in The Hague for further appearances during the following seasons, in October 1935 and in January, October, and November 1936, for example, and he would continue to make appearances in Holland through 1944.

The Honor Cross for War Participants

On 28 November 1934, in honor of the twentieth anniversary of the start of the First World War, Gieseking received for his wartime military service the "Ehrenkreuz für Kriegsteilnehmer" (Honor Cross for War Participants). This commemorative medal had been instituted in July 1934 by Reich President Paul von Hindenburg and therefore also became known as the "Hindenburg Cross."[153] It was bestowed in Hitler's name, however, and this particular Honor Cross (one of three) was given to soldiers who, like Gieseking,

[151] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

[152] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, New York, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[153] *Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten über die Stiftung eines Ehrenkreuzes*, 13 July 1934, *Reichsgesetzblatt* I, nr. 81, 1934, pp. 619–20, documentArchive.de, accessed 3 Nov. 2013, http://www.documentarchiv.de/ns/1934/ekreuz_vo.html; Rudolf Kahl and Kurt Gerhard Klietmann, *Insignia, decorations and badges of the Third Reich and Occupied Countries* (Kidechem: Military Collectors Service, 1970), 35; John R. Angolia, *For Führer and Fatherland: Political & Civil Awards of the Third Reich* (San Jose: R. J. Bender, 1978), 12.

were stationed away from the front and had not engaged in combat.[154] As a young military musician during World War I, we will recall, he had been a regiment bandsman in Hanover and then, on the North Sea island of Borkum, played in a larger, touring military band that resembled a full orchestra.[155] The accompanying certificate, in Gieseking's case, was issued by the Wiesbaden Polizeipräsident (Police Chief) Adolf Freiherr von Gablenz and read: "In the Name of the Führer and Reich Chancellor, the pianist Walter Gieseking in Wiesbaden is, under the regulation of 13 July 1934 [and] in remembrance of the World War 1914/1918, issued the Honor Cross for War Participants, [which has been] instituted by Reich President General Field Marshal von Hindenburg."[156]

According to Sigrid Schultz, writing for the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, there was a political motive behind the issuing of the crosses. There had been some recent dispute between contending nationalist organizations in the Reich, namely the *Stahlhelm, Bund der Frontsoldaten* (Steel Helmet, League of Front Soldiers, an older war veterans organization comprising largely former front soldiers of WWI) and the *Sturmabteilung* (Storm Troopers or SA).[157] Since the rise of the Nazis, the *Stahlhelm* members were often in disagreement over the actions being taken by the largely younger and infamously

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[154] Those soldiers who had fought received the "Ehrenkreuz für Frontkämpfer," or "Honor Cross for Front Combatants." Additionally, there was the "Ehrenkreuz für Hinterbliebene" (Honor Cross for Relatives of Fallen Soldiers). *Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten über die Stiftung eines Ehrenkreuzes*, 13 July 1934, *Reichsgesetzblatt* I, nr. 81, 1934, pp. 619–20, documentArchive.de, accessed 3 Nov. 2013, http://www.documentarchiv.de/ns/1934/ekreuz_vo.html.

[155] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 32–43. Also see Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[156] "Im Namen des Führers und Reichskanzlers Dem Pianist Walter Gieseking in Wiesbaden ist auf Grund der Verordnung vom 13. Juli 1934 zur Erinnerung an den Weltkrieg 1914/1918 das von dem Reichspräsidenten Generalfeldmarschall von Hindenburg gestiftete Ehrenkreuz für Kriegsteilnehmer Verliehen worden." Certificate: "Ehrenkreuz für Kriegsteilnehmer," from Adolf Freiherr von Gablenz, Wiesbaden, to Walter Gieseking, Wiesbaden, 28 Nov. 1934, GFA.

[157] Schultz, "Hitler to Issue Crosses as Sop to War Veterans: Hopes to End Steel Helmet Opposition," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 16 May 1934.

aggressive Storm Troopers.[158] While the "battle-tested" *Stahlhelm* comrades were anti-Semitic warmongers, the association had "firmly decided to struggle for its goals only through the employment of just and legal means."[159] According to Schultz, Hitler was hoping the bestowal of the crosses would somehow "bridge the gap" between these groups.[160] In 1934, the *Stahlhelm* was absorbed into the "NS-Frontkämpferbund" (NS-Front Soldier League) as part of the *Sturmabteilung* and completely dissolved in 1935.[161] There is no record of Gieseking having been a member of any veteran organizations, and he certainly had neither the time nor any desire to partake in such activities.

1935

North America, 1935

Gieseking began the year 1935 with a short but busy European tour from 7 January to 18 February. During this time, he gave twenty-seven concerts in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and England.[162] Following his Berlin appearance in January, a critic for *Die Musik* wrote the following words of praise:

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[158] "Stahlhelm Loses Fight for Identity," *New York Times*, 15 Mar. 1934; "Stahlhelm Leader Arrested in Germany," *New York Times*, 17 May 1934; "Public Assembly Barred to Frankfurt Stahlhelm," *New York Times*, 20 May 1934.

[159] "Berlin Stahlheim Manifesto," originally published in *Stahlhelm und Staat*, 8 May 1927, quoted in Anton Kaes, Martín Jay, Edward Dimendbert, eds., *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 339–340.

[160] Sigrid Schultz, "Hitler to Issue Crosses as Sop to War Veterans: Hopes to End Steel Helmet Opposition," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 16 May 1934.

[161] "1918–1933[:] Der 'Stahlhelm, Bund der Frontsoldaten,'" Deutsches Historisches Museum, accessed 14 Mar. 2011, http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/weimar/gewalt/stahlhelm/.

[162] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 26 Dec. 1934, DEC.

> Pianists of the virtuoso class have been heard. Among them Gieseking, who was once a leading exponent of the modern expressionists and today has evolved into an archetype of vast maturity and pianistic perfection. The epithet for Gieseking is "ineffable delicacy" (his Scarlatti!), but also equally as much "masculine power."[163]

In March, Gieseking traveled to North America. This time he also toured Mexico for the first time, in addition to Canada and the United States. As late as 26 December 1934, however, he had been unsatisfied with his American manager, Charles Wagner's planning. He complained about this in a letter to his trusted piano technician, Richard Polhman:

> America will not see me before March 15th, the first concert is probably Montreal on the 20th. Wagner has not done a good job, he booked not much more than 50% of the guarantee he gave me—you may know that there was a talk of postponing this tour. I guess that I will really have to change management, it seems that there would be no difficulty to do this—the question is only: Who is doing a better job? Well, I am going to wait patiently (Gieseking's English).[164]

Gieseking would continue to work with Wagner until after World War II, despite his present—and recurring—discontent with his manager's work. Nonetheless, he will have a talk with Wagner the following year, insisting on a more satisfactory North American concert schedule, a "real tour" for 1936—one he ultimately cancels, however.[165]

The North American tour of 1935 began well and without any problems, but in early April, Gieseking noted that he had angered some U.S. citizens by a comment made during an interview. He explained the incident to Annie: "The Jews here [in Cincinnati?] are supposedly upset again because in my interview it was printed how I said that the

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[163] "Pianisten virtuoser Klasse sind zu Gehör gekommen. So Gieseking, der einstmals der vorgeschobene Posten der expressionistischen Moderne gewesen ist und heute sich in den Zustand einer unendlichen Gereiftheit und klavieristischen Vollendung hineinentwickelt hat. Das Epitheton für Gieseking ist: unsägliche Delikatesse (sein Scarlatti!), aber ebensosehr auch: männliche Kraft. " Alfred Burgartz, "Konzert," Das Musikleben der Gegenwart, *Die Musik*, Jan. 1935, 289.

[164] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 26 Dec. 1934, DEC.

[165] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 Dec. 1935, DEC.

season in Germany was good and we can thank Adolf [Hitler] for that. That was already going too far!"[166] Of course, it is completely understandable why such a comment would have outraged American Jewry in view of the mistreatment of their people and others already occurring in Germany. Some were surely immigrants who had fled from the Reich. Because the reviews of Gieseking's recent performance of Josef Marx's second Piano Concerto, the so-called "Castelli Romani" in E-flat major, were unfavorable, he felt that his Hitler remark, or at least his being German, may have been the reason for this: "The critics were not particularly charmed by the Marx. One female critic even made a snarling remark about my playing, perhaps for political reasons."[167] While this assumption may or may not have been true, the Marx work is not usually regarded as a masterpiece, and Gieseking's own sincere opinion of it was similar. After performing it, along with the Grieg Piano Concerto, in Cincinnati, he admitted as much to Annie: "At 2:30 p.m. was the first concert. It went well, though I cheated some in the Marx. But this kitsch pleased the people quite well."[168] One wonders why he bothered to play the work at all.

As always, Gieseking gave a mix of concerto performances and both public and private recitals during the tour, and the private engagements were often the most lucrative. There were a number of wealthy, prominent families who hired the pianist to play at their homes each time he traveled to the U.S., continuing the nineteenth-century

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[166] "Die Juden hier sollen sich schon wieder aufgeregt haben, weil in meinem Interview gestanden hat, dass die Saison in Deutschland gut war und wir Adolf dafür verantwortlich machen. Das war schon zuviel!" Gieseking, Cincinnati, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6–8 April 1935, GFA.

[167] "Die Kritiker waren nicht besonders entzückt vom Marx, eine Kritikerin hat sogar etwas an meinem Spiel herumgeknurrt, vielleicht aus politischen Gründen." Gieseking does not indicate which concerto he had played. Ibid.

[168] "[U]m 2.30 war das erste Konzert, es klappte ganz gut, ich mogelte etwas im Marx, aber den Leuten gefiel dieser Kitsch ganz gut." Ibid.

salon tradition. Among these hosts, the most important were the Feslers, whom Gieseking once described as "the famous patrons from Indianapolis."[169]

James W. Fesler and Caroline Marmon Fesler resided at 4035 North Pennsylvania Street, doubtless in a luxurious mansion, where Gieseking had first performed as early as 1933.[170] James Fesler (1864–1949) was an attorney[171] and Caroline (1878–1960) was born into wealth. Since 1866, her father, Daniel W. Marmon, had been a co-owner of Nordyke & Marmon Co.[172] The successful company manufactured mill equipment and starting in 1902, a few years after Mormon's sons Walter and Howard joined the firm, automobiles; in 1926, the company became the Marmon Motor Company, which built luxury cars until 1933.[173] It was Caroline in particular who took a strong interest in Gieseking. A devoted cultural philanthropist, she was a great lover of both paintings and music. She once wrote to her family in 1904 while staying in Paris, "I'd like to have two lives and work one out with painting and one with music, but that I can't have for the asking."[174] After serving as a board member of the Art Association of Indianapolis for

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[169] Gieseking wrote in February 1934: "After the concert 'at home,' Mr. and Mrs. Fesler (the famous patrons from Indianapolis) came back to the Wulsins' with us." ("Nach dem Konzert 'nach Hause', es wurden Mr. und Mrs. Fesler (die berühmten Gönner aus Indianapolis), die zum Konzert gekommen waren . . . mit zu Wulsin's genommen.") Gieseking, [Cincinnati (letterhead indicates Grand Rapids, MI), to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26–27 Feb. 1934, GFA.

[170] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 June 1952, GFA; Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 26 Feb. 1933, GFA.

[171] Indiana History Bulletin, vol. 27, (Indianapolis: Indiana History Bureau, 1950), 11; Indiana University Alumni Quarterly, vol. 4, (Indiana: Alumni Association of Indiana, 1917) 457.

[172] David J. Bodenhamer and Robert Graham Barrows, *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1994), 1056.

[173] Ibid.; George Philip Hanley and Stacey Pankiw Hanley, *The Marmon Heritage: More than 125 years of American Production of World Renowned Products: Marmon, Marmon-Herrington, Marmon-Herrington All-Wheel-Drive Ford* (Rochester, MI: Doyle Hyk, 1985), 291.

[174] Caroline Marmon, quoted in *Caroline Marmon Fesler: A Collector's Exhibition* (video), Indianapolis Museum of Art, accessed 14 Jan. 2011, http://www.imamuseum.org/search/ima/fesler.

many years, she would become its president from 1941 to 1947, and her collection of paintings now belongs to the Indianapolis Museum of Art.[175]

Gieseking usually visited the Fesler residence over a period of a few days, as he did during this visit in late April 1935. On this occasion, his honorarium was $1,200, but naturally, the large sum was for more than merely a single, private recital.[176] Whenever hired, Gieseking dined with his hosts, joined them for car excursions, attended their parties as a guest of honor, and, of course, played requested repertoire. There was always lots of music-making and at least one formal recital.[177] The invited listeners, usually affluent themselves, and some of whom traveled from out of town to hear the famous pianist, could number in the dozens for the formal performance.[178] Gieseking sometimes stayed the night at the Fesler home, and the Feslers would then drive him to his next destination when possible in one of their "grandiose" cars upon his departure.[179]

In general, Gieseking enjoyed spending time with his rich and hospitable hosts in such instances because they were so cultured and treated him with great respect and cordiality. During the visit in April 1935, for example, he explained to Annie how, after an early outing, they were back at the Fesler home for lunch: "[A]fterward, I ended up

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[175] Bodenhamer and Barrows, *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 266; information, images, and videos related to Caroline Marmon Fesler are available on the Indianapolis Museum of Art's website, accessed 14 Jan. 2011: http://www.imamuseum.org/search/ima/fesler .

[176] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 21–22 Apr. 1935, GFA.

[177] This is made clear, for example, in Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. 1933, GFA. For another, later example of Gieseking describing his stay at the Fesler residence see Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[178] In February 1933, for example, Gieseking noted that approximately thirty-five people were expected to attend the private recital at the Fesler's place. Among those from out of town, were the Wulsins of Cincinnati, who were among the "high society" ("besten Gesellschaft") of their city. Gieseking would begin to visit and stay with them in February of the following year. In a letter of 26–27 February 1934, he criticizes such rich American families for socializing only with other wealthy friends. Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. 1933, GFA; Gieseking, [Cincinnati (the letterhead gives Grand Rapids, MI)], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26–27 Feb. 1934, GFA.

[179] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26–27 Feb. 1933, GFA.

playing some Mozart and Bruckner (for the $1,200 honorarium, one can do some work; furthermore the Feslers are really nice people). . . ."[180] That same evening he gave a private recital, his final concert in the U.S. that season, for the Feslers and their guests, an audience of approximately fifteen members. The program comprised the complete twenty-four Preludes of Debussy and, as an encore, one of Bach's Partitas. Gieseking was already famous as a Debussy interpreter, of course, and he felt that he had pulled off most of the Preludes "recht gut" ("really well").[181]

The First Mexican Visit, May 1935

From the U.S., Gieseking and his German-American piano technician and travel companion, Richard Pohlman, journeyed by train to Mexico in late April 1935 to give six concerts in May.[182] Already in a belatedly sent Christmas letter to Pohlman from 26 December 1934, Gieseking had discussed the trip with anticipation in an informal manner that says much about their friendship and their love of drinking together:

> I think you can start to brush up on your Spanish—do you remember: cerveza = beer, coñac = brandy, whisky = sounds the same in all languages. I feel sure that you have to come along to Mexico—ain't we going to have fun? At least, I hope so! I hope also for some high-class butterflies, too bad that I shall have to do some piano-playing too in Mexico! Anyway, I think we shall enjoy this trip (Gieseking's English).[183]

The concerts took place at Mexico City's National Theater, which seated some 2,000 people, and Gieseking's programs comprised a wide range of works by Bach,

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[180] "[D]anach kam es so, dass ich noch etwas Mozart und Bruckner spielte (für die 1200 Dollar Honorar kann man ja etwas tun, ausserdem sind Feslers wirklich nette Leute). . ." Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 21–22 Apr. 1935, GFA.

[181] Ibid.

[182] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 60; Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Apr. and 1 May 1935, GFA.

[183] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 26 Dec. 1934, DEC.

Beethoven, Brahms, Alfredo Casella, Chopin, Debussy, Liszt, Walter Niemann, Ravel, Scarlatti, Schubert, and Schumann.[184] Niemann (1876–1953), a German composer, and Casella (1883–1947), from Italy, were friends of Gieseking's, whose music he frequently promoted throughout much of his life.[185] As impressive as this series was, the local audiences had witnessed a substantially more imposing feat during the winter season of 1933/34 when the up-and-coming pianist Claudio Arrau (1903–91) gave an astounding fifteen solo recitals, in which merely two works were repeated, plus four concerto performances.[186] Although Chilean-born, Arrau had studied in Berlin, where he now lived. Gieseking must have heard about the Mexican recitals played by his younger colleague, whose new series to be given in the Reich capital during the 1935/36 season, on the occasion of J. S. Bach's 250th birthday, would be equally daunting: the Baroque composer's complete keyboard works in twelve evenings.[187]

Shortly beforehand his Mexican visit, Gieseking had been ready to call it off when the impresario Ernesto de Quesada (1886–1972),[188] through whom the pianist's American manager Charles Wagner arranged the engagements, tried to alter the

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[184] Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 5 May 1935, GFA; "6 Unicos Recitales[:] Walter Gieseking[:] Abono a 6 Recitales," Sociedad Musical Daniel, el Teatro del Palacio de Bellas Artes, concert program, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 11 May 1935, GFA.

[185] Niemann and Casella are frequently mentioned in Gieseking's correspondence to Annie. He also made a limited number of commercial and broadcast recordings of their works, as well as piano rolls of pieces by Niemann. See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 46, 57. For a list of the piano rolls see Sitsky ed., *The Classical Reproducing Piano Roll*, 834 and Broadbent and Broadbent, *Great Pianists of the Golden Age*, 314–25. For an online list of Gieseking's rolls see "Walter Gieseking," Reproducing Piano Roll Foundation, accessed 12 Dec. 2009, http://www.rprf.org/Rollography.html.

[186] Ingo Harden, *Claudio Arrau: Ein Interpreten-Portrait* (Frankfurt/M.: Ullstein, 1983), 29–30.

[187] Ibid., 31–35.

[188] Quesada was a Cuban-born impresario who had founded Conciertos Daniel, an important classical music management agency through which Gieseking's postwar South American tours (1948–50 and 1952) would also be planned. The agency today is known as Hispania Clásica. Ignacio Ramos Altamira, *El major ventrílocuo del Mundo: Paco Sanz en los teatros madrileños (1906–1935)* (San Vicente, Alicante: Editorial Club Universitario, ca. 2010), 234; *The 1959 Musical Courier Directory: A Standard Guidebook of the Musical Arts and Artists* 159, issue 2, 246.

schedule.[189] Originally, Quesada had hoped to have Gieseking give the six recitals on 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, and 14 May, but he now wished to add three more concerts, between 14 and 18 May.[190] Strongly opposed to the change for fear he would not be able to give all of the agreed-on six appearances (apparently because of his unavailability for later dates), Gieseking sent Quesada a fuming night telegram, and as a result, everything was quickly worked out to the pianist's satisfaction. Quesada moved the last four recitals forward, so that the series would conclude sooner, taking place within ten days: on 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 11 May.[191] Quesada and Gieseking agreed that, should the concerts prove sufficiently successful, the other three prospective concerts could still be added.[192]

Gieseking initially became more excited than expected about the Mexican visit, which included some sightseeing and much butterfly collecting.[193] Having naively imagined the country to be much less developed, he was surprised to find that it was "not at all primitive but rather much nicer than in the U.S.A. The hotel is absolutely first rate, the room (i.e. salon, bath, and bedroom) quite expensive, about 16 RM a day, the food *very* cheap."[194]

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[189] Gieseking, San Antonio, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 25 Apr. 1935, GFA; Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Anna Haake, Hanover, postcard, 5 May 1935, GFA.

[190] Gieseking, San Antonio, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 25 April 1935, GFA.

[191] Ibid.; Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Apr. and 1 May 1935, GFA.

[192] Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Apr. and 1 May 1935, GFA; Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 4 and 6 May 1935, GFA.

[193] As was often the case, his entomological excursions became a favorite topic when writing home. He discussed his tour in detail, the entomological excursions included, in several surviving letters and a postcard. These include letters to Annie of 29 April, 1 May, and 4 May sent from Mexico City; a letter to Annie written while at sea en route to Europe on 21 May; and a postcard to Annie's mother, Anna, from 5 May. All of this correspondence is found in the GFA.

[194] "Es [ist] durchaus nicht wild . . . sondern eigentlich viel angenehmer als in U.S.A. Dies Hotel ist absolut erstklassig, das Zimmer (d.h. Salon, Bad u. Schlafzimmer) ziemlich teuer, etwa 16 Mk. pro Tag, Essen *sehr* billig." Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Apr. and 1 May 1935, GFA.

He was also impressed by the Mexican concert reviewers: "The critics know what they are talking about. They are familiar with everything, even new music. They ask intelligent things—in other words this region makes a good impression musically."[195] After the first three concerts were given, the critic for *El Universal* asserted his opinion of the artist boldly:

> In my estimation, Walter Gieseking is the most eminent pianist we ever listened to in Mexico City, and anything that may be written about him will not suffice to make known his excellence in its true light. . . . He can boast to unite in his personality two factors which are essential to the greatest artists: deep aesthetic intuition and a privileged brain.[196]

Write-ups about Gieseking *el grande*, as Quesada billed him,[197] continued to appear in the press, so that on the day before the first concert he reported to Annie: "The newspapers have printed wonderful articles and have praised me so much in advance that I should actually practice! In any case, I already feel obliged to play well for the critics tomorrow. (I will try my best.)"[198] Indeed, Quesada had made certain a wave of hype surrounded the artist's visit and that numerous interviews were arranged, but the eager newspaper critics themselves, as Gieseking noted, were responsible for much of the advance advertising.[199] "When you see the papers," he observed, "it is easy to believe

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[195] "Die Kritiker wissen Bescheid, kennen alles mögliche, auch neue Musik, fragen vernünftige Sachen—also diese Gegend macht musikalisch einen guten Eindruck." Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Apr. and 1 May 1935, GFA.

[196] Quoted in Brochure: "Walter Gieseking," printed by Charles L. Wagner's New York agency, [1936?], DEC.

[197] "6 Unicos Recitales[:] Walter Gieseking[:] Abono a 6 Recitales," Sociedad Musical Daniel, el Teatro del Palacio de Bellas Artes, concert program, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 11 May 1935, GFA.

[198] "Die Zeitungen haben übrigens fabelhafte Artikel losgelassen und mich im Voraus so gelobt, dass ich wohl eigentlich üben müsste! Jedenfalls bin ich schon aus Höflichkeit den Kritiken gegenüber verpflichtet, morgen anständig zu spielen. (Ich werde mir Mühe geben.)" Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Apr. and 1 May 1935, GFA.

[199] Ibid.

that half the city is excited about the upcoming concerts!"[200] Gieseking's lax attitude toward practicing speaks volumes about his natural abilities as a pianist. Only after noticing all the publicity did he entertain the thought of running through the programs, despite having six unique solo recitals ahead of him.

Even with the abundant media coverage and enthusiastic receptions of Gieseking's Mexican recitals, they were not selling as well as anticipated.[201] After the first performance, Gieseking wrote home:

> There were not many people there, [and] only the cheapest seats were sold out. The audience listened incredibly well, though, and they even didn't clap between the movements of the Schumann *Fantasie*. During the 12 Debussy [Preludes, book I], they were as quiet as a mouse—[but] cheered enough at the end! Afterward there were many autograph hunters in the artists' room. Some young boys asked if they could have the honor of receiving a hug(!). In any case, there was much enthusiasm. The reviews were unusually good. For that reason, we can assume that the next concerts will be well attended.[202]

Two days later, however, after the next concert on 6 May, Gieseking informed Annie that "so far, Quesada has had great losses; the 2nd concert was 50% better [attended] than the first, yet that is still far from enough to cover his costs."[203] He was nonetheless hopeful that the evening's all-Beethoven recital would draw a larger crowd,

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[200] "Wenn man die Zeitungen sieht, kann man ja annehmen, die halbe Stadt sei in Aufregung wegen der bevorstehenden Konzerte!" Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Apr. and 1 May 1935, GFA.

[201] Ibid.; Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 4 and 6 May 1935, GFA.

[202] "Es waren nicht sehr viele Leute da, nur der billigste Platz war ausverkauft, die Leute hörten aber fabelhaft gut zu, klatschten sogar nicht zwischen den Sätzen der Schumann-Fantasie, waren auch bei den 12 Debussy [Preludes] mäuschenstill—tobten danach genügend! Hinterher war die Autogrammjagd im Künstlerzimmer sehr heftig, einige Jünglinge erbaten sich die Ehre einer Umarmung(!), jedenfalls herrschte ziemliche Begeisterung. Die Kritiken sind ganz aussergewöhnlich gut, daher ist anzunehmen, dass die nächsten Konzerte gut besucht werden." Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 4 and 6 May 1935, GFA.

[203] "[V]orläufig hat Quesada schwer zugesetzt, das 2te Konzert war 50% besser als das erste, doch ist er noch lange nicht auf die Kosten gekommen." Ibid.

and Quesada was still contemplating adding the other three performances.[204] "Yet if Quesada wants to arrange three further concerts," Gieseking told his wife, "then I will naturally have to give them. He deserves to be able to cover the costs or perhaps earn something. He has been an excellent manager here."[205]

While the details of the subsequent concerts remain to be uncovered, Quesada chose not to extend the series owing to the insufficient turnout in general, sticking to the six recitals as originally planned. Gieseking was content with this decision since he had quickly come to dread the visit: "It is no fun at all to have to play—such a tour is, in general, detrimental [to one's well-being]—but fortunately it will soon be over," he confided to Annie on 6 May.[206] Surely, he was referring to the North American concert trip as a whole. That the first Mexican engagements had poor ticket sales, however, must have lowered his spirits, and he was feeling homesick by this time.

There were also other unexpected nuisances.[207] Although Gieseking generally enjoyed traveling to unfamiliar places—despite the long journeys by ship, train, and later plane—he complained about the "dusty, dry air," which made him constantly thirsty and disturbed his sleep. Moreover, because of his sensitive stomach—he seems to have been lactose intolerant, had other food allergies, and suffered from frequent attacks of stomach

[204] Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Apr. and 1 May 1935, GFA; Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 4 and 6 May 1935, GFA.

[205] "Wenn Quesada aber 3 weitere Konzerte machen will, so muss ich die ja erledigen, es ist ihm ja auch zu gönnen, dass er auf die Kosten kommt, bzw. etwas verdient. Er ist bisher hier ein vorzüglicher Manager." Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 4 and 6 May 1935, GFA.

[206] "Es ist durchaus kein Vergnügen, spielen zu müssen—überhaupt ist solche Tournee schädlich—aber zum Glück ist es ja bald vorbei." Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 4 and 6 May 1935, GFA.

[207] Ibid.

ulcers, the gall bladder, and the pancreas[208]—he could only drink very little and nothing cold: "consequently, it is not at all pleasant!"[209] To top it off, he was afflicted with Montezuma's revenge, although some American medicine helped him recover relatively quickly.[210]

Later that month, while making his way back to Europe aboard the German SS *Europa*,[211] Gieseking again reflected on the Mexican trip and its shortcomings: "[T]he 6 concerts in Mexico were enough for the concert-goers; the breaks between the individual evenings [were] too short. Quesada lost money (presumably), but he paid [me]!"[212] The following December, he wrote to Pohlman from Germany, "When I came home from that great [i.e. large] country, I was really tired, it seems that Mexico was a bit too much of hard work, but after a few weeks at home, with much garden work, I began to feel better

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[208] Gieseking was a vegetarian since his early adulthood. In his memoir, he remembered having many food allergies as a child: "In general, I had some small gastronomic peculiarities. I apparently had an innate aversion to raw butter, which I have never overcome and thus have always avoided eating it or other fatty spreads on bread. Cream and, strangely enough, honey were other foods that in my youth instilled an insurmountable revulsion within me." ("Gastronomisch hatte ich überhaupt einige kleine Eigenarten. So hatte ich eine offenbar angeborene Aversion gegen rohe Butter, die ich mir nie abgewöhnt habe, so daß ich es stets vermieden habe, Butter oder anderes Fett als Brotaufstrich zu essen. Auch Sahne und merkwürdigerweise Honig waren Substanzen, die mir in meiner Jugend unüberwindlichen Widerwillen einflößten.") In post-WWII letters to his American pupil Dean Elder, Gieseking mentioned having stomach ulcer attacks on more than one occasion; he also suffered from pancreatitis, however, which was not diagnosed until later. His main doctor in Wiesbaden, Dr. Hans Kirchner, a specialist in internal medicine, referred to Gieseking's ulcers and gall bladder and pancreas trouble in a letter summarizing Gieseking's medical record to Elder from 1961. Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 13. Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Elder, n.p., letter, 7 June 1946, DEC; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean and Carolyn Elder, letter, 31 Dec. 1952, DEC; Kirchner, Wiesbaden, to Elder, New York, letter, 20 Sept. 1961, DEC.

[209] "[A]lso, es ist durchaus nicht schön!" Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 4 and 6 May 1935, GFA.

[210] Ibid. Note: The term "Montezuma's revenge" was not yet in use.

[211] The SS *Europa* would, incidentally, be seized by U.S. forces in 1945 and turned over to France as a war reparation in 1946, at which point it was renamed the SS *Liberté*. Robert McKenna, *The Dictionary of Nautical Literacy* (Camden, ME: International Marine/McGraw-Hill, 2001) s.v. "SS *Europa*."

[212] "[D]ie 6 Konzerte in Mexiko waren ausreichend für den Bedarf des Publikums, die Pausen zwischen den einzelnen Abenden zu kurz, Quesada hat Geld zugesetzt (wahrscheinlich), aber gezahlt!" Gieseking, aboard the SS *Europa*, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 May 1935, GFA.

all summer long, I must say, I had a very quiet and nice time at home (Gieseking's English)."[213] Many years later, however, he would briefly recall the trip in his memoirs quite differently: "In 1935 I played in Mexico, a country of which I have fond memories, particularly since it was there where I was first able to become familiar with a tropical butterfly fauna."[214] He wrote nothing more about the trip.

The publicity and laudatory reviews notwithstanding, Gieseking's Mexican concert series clearly did not succeed as he and his managers had hoped. Despite the financial setback, Quesada must have had no doubt that Gieseking was a major artist who could bring in huge profits. As evidence of this, Gieseking mentioned to Annie during another North American tour in 1939 that he had recently run into Quesada at the Hotel Great Northern in New York on 27 January. "Quesada wished for me to give more concerts in Mexico," he explained, "but April wouldn't work because of the Easter holidays there. He [Quesada] was aiming for May or June."[215]

Since Gieseking had already planned to give his final North American recital that season on 1 April and to return to Europe by the fourteenth, another Mexican visit could not be realized.[216] Because of WWII and the subsequent political consequences he would have to face, Gieseking would not return to Mexico until September 1954—nearly two decades after the first visit—at which time he performed not only solo, but also with an

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[213] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 Dec. 1935, DEC.

[214] "1935 spielte ich in Mexico, einem Land, das mir in sympathischer Erinnerung geblieben ist, zumal ich dort meine erste Bekanntschaft mit der tropischen Schmetterlingsfauna machen konnte." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 69.

[215] "Quesada wünschte auch Mexico-Konzerte, April passt aber nicht wegen der dortigen Osterferien, er wollte Mai oder Juni haben." Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[216] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 Mar. 1939, GFA.

orchestra led by the outstanding conductor George Solti.[217] Gieseking would continue to work with Quesada's agency much sooner, however. He would undertake a circa two-week tour of Spain and Portugal the following year, in April 1936, which would be arranged through Valentin Cortés, a representative from the agency's Madrid branch. In addition, Gieseking's postwar tours in South America, starting in 1948, would be organized through another representative of Quesada's, namely José Schraml.[218]

During the Mexican visit, Gieseking had received a dinner invitation for 9 May from the German legation in Mexico City, which also had a giant basket of flowers (gladioluses) delivered to the concert.[219] There was no further mention of anyone from the legation. Likewise, there had been no protest against his appearances there, nor in the U.S., as there had been in California the previous year. During the voyage back to Europe in May 1935, though, he was invited by the captain to listen to the latest Hitler speech on the evening of the twenty-first. Gieseking had planned to watch a documentary, but felt obligated to join the captain: "There is a nature film at the same time, which would no doubt be interesting—but as 'a patriot and famous contemporary' one naturally has to accept the official invitation! Adolf [Hitler] will probably deliver a good speech anyway."[220]

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[217] Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, letter, 21 Sept. 1954, GFA.

[218] Quesada's representative José Schraml (actually Joseph [Josef?] Schraml of Germany) would act as Gieseking's South American manager for the four postwar tours there. Information regarding Schraml's origins was obtained through Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking. Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 18 Jan. 2011.

[219] Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Apr. and 1 May 1935, GFA; Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 4 and 6 May 1935, GFA.

[220] "Es ist Kino zur selben Zeit mit einem Naturfilm, der gewiss interessant wäre—aber als 'Patriot und berühmter Zeitgenosse' muss man doch die offizielle Einladung annehmen! Adolf wird ja wohl auch eine gute Rede loslassen[.]" Gieseking, aboard the SS *Europa*, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 May 1935, GFA.

Gieseking's remark might puzzle some readers. On the one hand, it suggests a lack of enthusiasm for Hitler on Gieseking's part, who would have preferred to watch the film. On the other hand, he felt obliged to join the Nazi captain for a speech that he suspected would be "good." Would it have been unacceptable for Gieseking to decline the invitation? Probably not, but we must bear in mind that, during his postwar interrogation he would *not* deny being impressed by Hitler early on. We must also remember that millions of Germans and non-Germans alike were captivated by Hitler's overpowering speeches, which played such a crucial role in his success. In fact, Charles Sydnor goes so far as to claim that, despite his many political talents and many supporters, "Hitler's rise to power in Germany . . . would have come to nothing without his hypnotic oratory."[221] The significance of Hitler's speeches was, of course, augmented tremendously through the use of radio. Again, we turn to Sydnor:

> He had the capacity to connect with individual listeners with such passion and power that he could move huge, open air crowds of hundreds of thousands to frenzy, and mesmerize spellbound radio audiences of millions of listeners throughout Germany and beyond. Adolf Hitler was history's first media tyrant, sensing the advantages and exploiting the potential modern mass communications offered in amplifying his oratorical powers. . . . Like an organ virtuoso, Hitler played upon the hypnotic power in the timber and emotional range of his voice to break down the resistance of audiences and sweep them along with him to the frenzied oratorical climax that ended all his public speeches—leaving both Hitler and his audience spent and emotionally exhausted.[222]

Gieseking would also maintain that he was ignorant of the full extent of the Nazi violence and crime—the worst of which was yet to come—until late in the war, when

[221] Charles W. Sydnor Jr., forward to Adolf Hitler and Max Domarus, *The Essential Hitler: Speeches and Commentary* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2007), vii.

[222] Ibid., vi–vii.

giving a brief concert tour in Switzerland in February 1945.[223] Countless Germans later made the same claim, of course, which continues to be a controversial topic.[224] Regardless, considering the problems the regime caused for so many musicians, not to mention Gieseking's own manager, it might be difficult for today's readers to understand his passive attitude and occasional approval of Hitler. The same, of course, could be said for countless other Germans, but we must not forget the level of popularity Hitler had enjoyed.

Hitler's Popularity

In general, Hitler continued to be enormously well liked among ever-larger portions of the German people, reaching the zenith of his popularity during the successful blitzkrieg campaigns of 1940–1941.[225] Sebastian Haffner has asserted that nine out of ten Germans came to support and believe in Hitler, and Ian Kershaw maintains that "few, if any, twentieth-century political leaders have enjoyed greater popularity among their own people than Hitler in the decade or so following his assumption of power. . . ."[226] What the German people believed in was the skillfully constructed image of their leader, what Ian Kershaw calls the "Hitler myth," produced by the Nazi propaganda machine—

[223] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 6; Edward W. Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case'" (New York: privately printed, [1948]), 9.

[224] For a survey of the literature on "bystanders" and "what was known?" see Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (New York: Meridian, 1987), 156–183.

[225] See Chapter 6, "Blitzkrieg Triumph: High Peak of Popularity, 1940–1941," in Ian Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth,'* 151–68.

[226] Sebastian Haffner, *Anmerkungen zu Hitler* (Munich: Fischer, 1978), 46; Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth,'* 1.

essentially by Joseph Goebbels.[227] Goebbels, in fact, considered his creation of the Führer's omnipresent public image to be his greatest propagandistic feat.[228] According to Kershaw, after the *Machtübernahme* (takeover of power), Goebbels was nearly able to "deify" Hitler.[229]

The Führer himself made the German people well aware of his achievements. In a later speech given on 28 April 1939, for example, he included a summary of what he—and certainly his many ardent supporters—considered his greatest accomplishments:

> I have overcome the chaos in Germany, restored order, massively raised production in all areas of our national econonmy . . . I have succeeded in completely bringing back into useful production the seven million unemployed . . . in attaining the renewed flourishing of German trade, and in tremendously promoting transportation. I have not only politically united the German people, but also militarily rearmed them, and I have further attempted to tear up page for page that Treaty [of Versailles]. . . . I have given back to the Reich the provinces stolen from us in 1919. . . . I have recreated the thousand-year historic unity of the German living-space, and I have attempted to do all this without spilling blood and without inflicting on my people or on others the suffering of war.[230]

Indeed, the economic turnaround and much improved living conditions for the larger number of Germans it brought with it, Hitler's success in foreign policy, his increasing military progress, and Germany's territorial expansion were among the many accomplishments that persuaded so many Germans to support their leader while turning a blind eye to the ever-worsening harsh treatment endured by Nazi victims.[231] Perhaps most importantly, Hitler proclaimed that he longed for peace, and until 1939, his German

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[227] Kershaw explains that with "Hitler myth" he is referring to the "'heroic' image and popular conception of Hitler imputing to him characteristics and motives for the most part at crass variance with reality." Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth,'* 2.

[228] Ibid., 254.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Quoted ibid., 256.

[231] Stackelbert, *Hitler's Germany*, 143. For a longer summary of the reasons for Hitler's support, see Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth,'* 253–54.

adherents had little reason not to believe him. We will recall that Gieseking, too, would make this point during his postwar interrogation.[232] It was not until the heavy losses endured by the German forces throughout the Russian offensive, which began on 22 June 1941 and ended with their defeat at Stalingrad in late January 1943, that Hitler's popularity began to decline; this Russian victory is also generally considered the turning point of the war.[233] Unfortunately, we do not have more documentation of Gieseking's opinion of Hitler, particularly as the war progressed.

Back in Europe

Back in Europe for the summer, Gieseking first took time off from concertizing, although he participated in masterclasses led by his brother-in-law and earlier mentor, Karl Leimer, by demonstrating a colossal number of keyboard works from the Baroque era to the twentieth century. These were part of the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer, a nazified institution based in Berlin that was run by Georg Schünemann.[234]

The students came from a multitude of nations and were thrilled to witness Gieseking in action from up close, even if he offered no private instruction. In fact, they kept demanding more from the famed pianist until, in the end, he had played and commented on over one hundred pieces.[235] Despite the enjoyment that the less-formal performance situation yielded, Gieseking would only reluctantly agree to continue assisting Leimer for the annual summer classes, which they would do well into the war

[232] See Chapter 1.

[233] See Chapter 7, "The War turns Sour: The 'Hitler Myth' starts to crumble," in Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth,'* 169–99.

[234] The classes are discussed in more detail in Excursus I, "Karl Leimer and the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer Courses, 1935–1944."

[235] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 Dec. 1935, DEC.

and apparently each year. While he enjoyed giving masterclasses, Gieseking was initially opposed to the idea. He felt he needed time to relax and recuperate, which he usually did both at home and on vacation between concert seasons.

By the fall, Gieseking had returned to concert halls across Europe. Describing his many fall engagements to Richard Pohlman, he wrote:

> With the end of September came the beginning of the season, and since that time I have been busy, oh boy! In November alone I had 18 concerts, and in the first half of the season (with the last [i.e. final] concert on Dec. 11th in Rome, from where I just returned) 36 dates [in all]. The second half [in 1936] will be just as well filled up, I expect to play about 50 concerts till the beginning of May and I shall have to travel in a number of countries: Switzerland, England, Italy, Holland, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Austria, etc[.] The usual rush. But the season as a whole is better than the last few winters, especially in Germany, where it becomes more and more practical to play on a percentage [basis]. A sold-out house brings a very nice amount of the one stuff [i.e. thing] you can always use: the g. d. money – cash – dough – mazuma – what you may call it (Gieseking's English).[236]

In October 1935, Gieseking performed Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto at the Theater Aachen under the Austrian conductor Herbert von Karajan (1908–89). This was first time he worked with his young colleague, who would become a star under the Hitler regime and a main competitor of the considerably older and widely acclaimed Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886–1954); Furtwängler was generally regarded as Germany's foremost conductor. Describing Karajan's abilities, Gieseking wrote: "This morning was a rehearsal. The new conductor, Herr von Karajan, is temperamental, conducts everything from memory, even the piano concerto. But he seems to be able to pull this off."[237] Gieseking and Karajan would meet on many future occasions, most notably when they

[236] In the last sentence, Gieseking is, of course, trying to be humorous—as he rather constantly does in his letters to Pohlman—by using words that Americans often used to refer to money. Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, letter, 15 Dec. 1935, DEC.

[237] "[H]eute vormittag war Probe, der neue Dirigent, Herr von Karajan, ist temperamentvoll, dirigiert alles auswendig, auch das Klavierkonzert, scheint es aber zu können." Gieseking, Aachen, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 9 Oct. 1935, GFA.

made a series of recordings at EMI's Abbey Road Studios in London in 1951 and 1953.[238]

As usual, Gieseking would perform under a number of important conductors during the 1935–36 season, among them Fritz Lehmann, composer Hans Pfitzner, Willem Mengelberg, Carl Schuricht, Eugen Jochum, and Hermann Abendrot.[239] The repertoire could be daring to contemporary audiences on occasion, as in the case of the concert with Jochum on 4 November. The program began with Berlioz's Overture to *Benvenuto Cellini* and included Mozart's Piano Concerto in E-flat major (K. 271) after the intermission, but Gieseking also premiered Max Trapp's Piano Concerto, op. 26 (after the Berlioz composition), and the concert ended with Max Reger's orchestral work, the Variations and Fugue on a Theme of Mozart, op. 132.[240] The latter two newer works never became crowd-pleasers, and Gieseking was disgruntled by the local concertgoers when he learned that the ticket sales were low: "Solche Idioten!" ("Such idiots!")[241]

As part of his busy concert tour, mostly within Germany, Gieseking also made a few appearances before zealous Nazi audiences. On 15 November 1935, he gave a recital for the Richard-Wagner-Verband Deutscher Frauen (Richard Wagner Society of German Women) at Braunschweig.[242] The organization was pro-Hitler from the outset and had

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[238] See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 24, 34.

[239] See Appendix 2, "Gieseking's Concerts during the 1935–1936 Season."

[240] "3. (895.) Philharmonisches Konzert," Philharmonisches Staatsorchester Hamburg, Philharmonische Gesellschaft, Conventgarten (Hamburg), concert program, 4 Nov. 1935, GFA.

[241] Gieseking, Hamburg, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 2 Nov. 1935, GFA.

[242] "Klavierabend von Walter Gieseking," Richard-Wagner-Verband Deutscher Frauen, Ortsgruppe Braunschweig, Grotrian-Steinweg-Saal, concert program, 15 Nov. 1935, GFA. While the Richard-Wagner-Verband Deutscher Frauen was founded in 1909, the Allgemeiner Richard-Wagner-Verband had already been established on 14 May 1884, just three months after Wagner's death. Within three years, there were over 200 branches in Germany and abroad, but at the end of 1938 the Verband was dissolved and not reopened until 1947—now as one organization for all men and women. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Wagner Societies," accessed 30 Apr. 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/; Claudia

arranged a concert to celebrate the Führer's *Machtergreifung* (seizure of power) in 1933. That event had symbolically taken place at Munich's *Feldherrnhalle* (Field Marshals' Hall), which had been the scene of the infamous "Hitler Putsch," also known as the "Beer Hall Putsch," on 9 November 1923.[243] Unsurprisingly, Gieseking's program was traditional and comprised German masterworks exclusively: Bach's English Suite in D minor, no. 6; Mozart's Sonata in A major, K. 331; Beethoven's Piano Sonata in C minor, op. 111; and Brahms's Sonata in F minor, op. 5.[244] While he frequently played all-German recitals, something that has been common enough surely since the advent of keyboard instruments, it seems unlikely that this particular group of women would have been willing to listen to, say, a French or modern program.

The Bückeburg Concert before the N.S. Kulturgemeinde, 16 November 1935

Just one day after the Braunschweig performance, Gieseking gave a free recital before the National Socialist Cultural Community (N.S. Kulturgemeinde) in Bückeburg, inside the large hall of the *Rathaus* (city hall).[245] The following day, 17 November, he repeated the program for the Community's Chapter at Bad Oeynhausen.[246] An organization of the Nazi Party, the Cultural Community was formed by the merging of

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Friedel, *Komponierende Frauen im Dritten Reich: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion von Lebensrealität und herrschendem Frauenbild*, Frauenforschung interdisziplinär: Historische Zugänge zu Biographie und Lebenswelt (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), 140–41.

[243] Brigitte Hamann, *Winifried Wagner, oder, Hitlers Bayreuth* (Munich: Piper Verlage, 2002), 87.

[244] "Klavierabend von Walter Gieseking," Richard-Wagner-Verband Deutscher Frauen, Ortsgruppe Braunschweig, Grotrian-Steinweg-Saal, concert program, 15 Nov. 1935, GFA.

[245] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2. The program included Bach's Partita Nr. 2; three Scarlatti Sonatas; Beethoven's Piano Sonata in A major, op. 101; Schumann's Fantasy in C major, op. 17; three Intermezzi by Brahms (op. 117, nos. 2 and 1, op. 119 nr. 3), and Chopin's Barcarole, op. 60. "Klavier-Konzert[:] Walter Gieseking," N.S. Kulturgemeinde, Ortsverband Bückeburg, grosser Rathaussaal, concert program, 16 Nov. 1935, GFA.

[246] N.S. Kulturgemeinde, Ortsverband Bad Oeynhausen, Kurhaus, concert program, 17 Nov. 1935, GFA.

the Reich Association for German Theater (Reichsverband Deutsche Bühne) and the previously described Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur.[247] The role that such associations played in the execution of the Nazis' agenda is made clear by the latter's primary mission, which had been to rid "the last bits of Jewish rot out of our German house, quickly and thoroughly."[248]

The new Cultural Community that emerged, as Erik Levi has written, "acted mainly as a pressure group."[249] Its music division published the magazine *Die Musik* and aggressively supported the anti-Semitic ideological creeds of Alfred Rosenberg, who had founded the Kampfbund.[250] The Community was active in the Third Reich's musical life and coordinated music festivals, commissioned compositions, published writings, and even experimented with recording.[251] It would vigorously campaign against Hindemith until his music was banned in 1936—causing Gieseking to take action in the composer's defense—and it was outspoken against Strauss's Jewish librettists, Hugo von Hoffmannsthal and Stefan Zweig.[252] It had also probably been on the alert for Strauss and Gieseking's publisher, Otto Fürster of the Adolph Fürstner firm in Berlin, until the latter fled to England, wisely already in 1933.[253]

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[247] The KfdK was discussed in Chapter 1.

[248] Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, 711; Michael Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 15.

[249] Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 23.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Ibid., 24.

[252] Gieseking's efforts to support Hindemith are discussed in Chapter 3. Michael Kater has referred to the Cultural Community's actions against Hindemith as the organization's "only notable success." Regarding Strauss's librettists, Kater noted that "Hofmannsthal had been by Nazi standards half Jewish, and Stefan Zweig . . . fully Jewish." Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 188–89, 206.

[253] Ibid. Otto Fürstner and the Adolph Fürstner firm are discussed in Excursus IV, "Gieseking's Published Compositions during the Third Reich and Postwar Period."

Gieseking's occasional performances for the Cultural Community and its successor, the N.S. Strength-Through-Joy Organization, would be brought up as evidence of Nazi support during his postwar investigation and more recently by scholar Michael Kater.[254] After questioning Gieseking in September 1945, U.S. Officer Severin Kaven would note in his interrogation report: "Gieseking played without compensation under the auspices of an organization [the Cultural Community] dealing with Nazi cultural activities."[255] Such concerts were also listed in the *New York Times* article (by Delbert Clark, published in February 1948) that would largely initiate the opposition against Gieseking's appearances in postwar America.[256]

On the other hand, Edward S. Snowdon, Charles Wagner's associate, hired in June 1935, who began to serve as Gieseking's assistant manager, would later argue that the appearances at Bückeburg had been apolitical and thus harmless: "Now Bueckeburg is a small city of about 12,000 where Gieseking's father lived for many years; and the name of the organization had about as much political meaning as might The Culture Club of Keokuk or The Wednesday Club Civic Concerts of Harrisburg."[257] Snowdon was quoting a letter Gieseking had written to Charles Wagner on 19 February 1948. Gieseking's own words were slightly different. The sarcasm reveals the anger he felt after the war, caused by the many accusations against him:

> The free concert for the National [Socialist] Cultural Community in Buckeburg [*sic*] (a city of the tremendous size of 10 or 15,000 population!) was given because my father's family comes from a village 10 miles from this town.

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[254] See Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 73.

[255] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking, Pianist," 2.

[256] The postwar controversy surrounding Gieseking's career will be discussed at length in the postwar chapters of this dissertation. Delbert Clark, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934," *The New York Times*, 8 Feb. 1948.

[257] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6; Wagner, *Seeing Stars*, 361.

> Anyway, [the] National Cultural Community was only the new style of naming a Music Society. But I believe that piano-playing was terribly important political propaganda, perhaps Debussy and Ravel have been members of a Nazi underground party even before Hitler started?[258]

The last sentence was particularly scathing. Gieseking was, of course, ridiculing the notion that his concerts had served as Nazi propaganda. His final remark suggests that he programmed French works by Debussy and Ravel, which, he must have felt, would have therefore eliminated any chance of the concert's propagandistic purpose. Yet Gieseking seldom played programs without any German masterworks, or ones devoted entirely to the French masters, and it is unlikely that he had done so on this occasion. Furthermore, as we have seen, the Cultural Community was anything but merely a "Music Society." It is possible, nevertheless, that Gieseking was unaware of the extent of its devotion to the Nazi cause. In 1937, the Community was absorbed into the National Socialist Strength-Through-Joy Organization (Nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft Kraft durch Freude).[259]

The Benefit Concert before Hitler, 28 November 1935

On 28 November 1935, the Italian embassy in Berlin held a benefit concert, at which the Führer himself was present.[260] After the war, Gieseking contended repeatedly that this was the only occasion when he performed with Hitler in the audience.[261] The program was shared with the tenor Beniamino Gigli (1890–1957) and the latter's

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[258] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charles [Wagner], New York, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[259] The Kraft durch Freude organization was a subsidiary of the German Labor Front, its purpose being twofold: to provide Reich citizens with inexpensive recreational activities and to control these activities while convincing the *Volk* that the Hitler regime was earnestly interested in their contentment and well-being. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, 711; Joseph W. Bendersky, *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 132.

[260] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Gieseking seit 1933," 5.

[261] Gieseking repeated this statement on many occasions after the war. See, for example, his testimony printed in "Gieseking Signs For American Tour," *Musical America*, May 1953, 4.

accompanist, Luigi Ricci (1893–1981).[262] This was the same year in which the immensely popular Italian singer began to appear in German films, starring in eleven in all through 1943.[263] During a postwar interview for the sensational Chilean newspaper, *VEA*, Gieseking was asked about participating in this concert before the Führer, something that had recently been making the headlines of South American newspapers. He gave the following reply in his defense:

> It was purely coincidental. The Italian Embassy in Berlin happened to be giving a benefit concert and invited some of the most famous artists who were presently in the Reich capital to participate. The highest-ranking members of the diplomatic corps and officials from the Nazi government were at the concert. Of course, Adolf Hitler, then at his height, attended as the guest of honor. I, in fact, did play in that concert, as did the pianist Wilhelm Backhaus and singer Beniamino Gigli. I do not see what is so objectionable about it considering the circumstances.[264]

While the benefit concert's program shows that Gigli, along with his accompanist Luigi Ricci, performed, Backhaus is not listed. Gieseking's memory may have failed him (the interview had been conducted nearly fourteen years later), yet it could be that Backhaus, one of the most highly regarded pianists of his time, was added last minute and thus not listed on the program; this becomes more plausible when we consider the comparatively spontaneous planning of the concert, as Gieseking described it. It could also be that Gieseking was confusing this event with one of September 1937, when he

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[262] Concert program: "Wohltätigkeitskonzert: Benjamino Gigli, Walter Gieseking, Luigi Ricci," Berlin, 28 Nov. 1935, GFA.

[263] Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Gigli, Benjamino."

[264] "Un hecho puramente casual. Sucedió que la Embajada de Italia, en Berlín, ofreció un Concierto de Beneficencia, al cual invitó a participar a algunos de los artistas más conocidos que nos encontrábamos en la capital del Reich. Asistió a ese recital la más representativo del Cuerpo Diplomático y personalidades del Gobierno nazi. Desde luego, concurrió como invitado de honor Adolfo Hitler, que se hallaba por entonces en pleno apogeo. Yo toqué efectivamente en ese concierto. No veo qué tiene de censurable, en circunstancias que actuaron además el pianista Wilhelm Backhaus y el cantante Beniamino Gigli." "¡Nunca fui Nazi!," *VEA* (Santiago de Chile), 3 Aug. 1949, 2.

played for a reception held on the occasion of Mussolini's Berlin visit; Backhaus was one of many prominent musicians who performed at this later event.[265]

According to the program, Gigli appeared on stage three times, starting and ending the concert by singing arias by Friedrich von Flotow, Alberto Curci, Bizet, Vincenzo de Crescenzo, Ruggiero Leoncavallo, and a Schubert Lied. Gieseking played Beethoven's "Waldstein" Sonata, op. 53, during the first half, and in the second half two Scarlatti Sonatas (in D minor and G major), Chopin's *Berceuse*, his own transcription of Richard Strauss's "Ständchen," and Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody no. 8.[266] Describing the concert to Richard Pohlman the following month, Gieseking wrote: "In November I played for Hitler (in Berlin) [for] the first time, this was a big charity concert, Gigli was singing (marvelously!) and I played some real piano pieces, among these a Liszt [work] and your favorite Strauss-Waltzes!! Well, I couldn't complain about the applause after that. Fortunately, the theatre was solidly built! (Gieseking's English)."[267] Gieseking had obviously received a thunderous ovation, and one can therefore only imagine the

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[265] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 10. The September 1937 event is discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Born in Leipzig, Backhaus was an active supporter of the Nazi regime despite his being a Swiss resident as of 1931. In 1933, he served as *Präsidialbeirat* (presidential advisor) for the nazi organization *Kameradschaft der deutschen Künstler* (Fellowship of German Artists). In 1935, the NS *Kulturgemeinde* published a fifteen-page biographical sketch on Backhaus (see Friedrich Wilhelm Herzog and Wilhelm Backhaus, *Wilhelm Backhaus: der Pianist der Tonalität*, Musikalische Schriftenreihe der NS Kulturgemeinde [Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1935].) In 1936, Backhaus published an announcement in the music journal *Die Musik* that concerned the upcoming *Reichstagswahl* near the end of March; it read: "No one loves German art, and particularly German music, more fervently than Adolf Hitler . . . All German musicians must and will vote for Adolf Hitler on 29 March." ("Niemand liebt die deutsche Kunst und insbesondere die deutsche Musik glühender als Adolf Hitler . . . Alle deutschen Musiker müssen und werden am 29. März Adolf Hitler ihre Stimme geben.") Hitler bestowed an honorary professor title on Backhaus the following month. In 1938 Backhaus was also named *Reichskultursenator* (Reich Culture Senator). At the time of this writing, there has yet to be a thorough, modern biography of Backhaus published. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, 213; Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Backhaus, Wilhelm"; Ingo Harden, "Backhaus, Wilhelm," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed.

[266] No catalogue numbers for the Scarlatti Sonatas are given. Concert program: "Wohltätigkeitskonzert: Benjamino Gigli, Walter Gieseking, Luigi Ricci," Berlin, 28 Nov. 1935, GFA.

[267] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 Dec. 1935, DEC.

memorable impression he must have made on Hitler, Goebbels, and everyone else present at this historical event.

The Straus waltzes Gieseking mentions were not listed on the program and therefore must have been offered as an encore. To be more precise, Gieseking must have played Alfred Grünfeld's (1852–1924) *Johann Strauss II: Transcriptions & Paraphrases for Solo Piano – Die Fledermaus*, op. 56, a virtuosic work once popular.[268] Rudolf Goette later made a point of how both Gigli and Gieseking had dared to perform works by Jewish composers at the benefit event: "During the concert Gigli sang Meyerbeer and Gieseking played the Strauss Paraphrase by [Alfred] Grünfeld (also a Jew)."[269] No Meyerbeer work was listed on the program, but that, too, could have been sung by Gigli as an encore. Goette maintained that he had tried in vain to stop Gieseking from playing the Grünfeld piece, but the pianist's above description of the applause confirms that Hitler and his men—if they managed to catch on—raised no objections afterward.

Gieseking had probably never considered the possible consequences of playing for Nazi functions. Of course, this charity concert, with so many "bigwigs" present, would have been controversial even without Hitler's attendance. The proceeds of the event went to the German Winter Relief Campaign of the German People

[268] Regarding Strauss Waltzes, former Gieseking pupil John Corrigen remembered hearing his mentor once play his own, i.e. Gieseking's, adaptation of the Schultz-Evler paraphrase of Johann Strauss's "Blue Danube" Waltz. Corrigan, New York, to Dean Elder, New York, letter, 25 May 1983, DEC.

[269] "In diesem Konzert sang Gigli, Meyerbeer und Gieseking spielte von Heinrich [*sic*] Grünfeld (ebenfalls ein Jude) die Strauss-Paraphrase (ich selbst wollte Gieseking noch daran hindern)." Note that Goette incorrectly names Heinrich Grünfeld (1855–1931) as the composer, Alfred's brother who was likewise an Austrian pedagogue and composer, but who played cello. Alfred had been a successful pianist. Gotte, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Gieseking seit 1933," 5.

(Winterhilfswerk des deutschen Volkes).[270] The annual campaign had been initiated during the winter of 1933–34, and was organized by the National Socialist People's Welfare Organization (Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt). As Jean-Denis Lepage has written, it "was supported by the NSDAP, Hitler Jugend and DAF [Deutsche Arbeitsfront], as well as by prominent artists, functionaries, and athletes, with the aim of collecting money, food, shoes, blankets, warm clothing and other items for the poorest Germans. . . . The Jews and 'asocials' were excluded from the benefits. . . ." Also as part of the Winter Relief, all workers of Germany would be required to pay a winter tax (October through March) starting in 1937; this amounted to 10 to 15 percent of one's income.[271] Rudolf Goette would later wrongly recollect that Gieseking had performed for the campaign on merely a single occasion, in the latter's hometown of Wiesbaden on an unspecified date. "In Germany it was impossible to refuse to play for the Winter Relief since it was a charity organization. . . ," Goette further argued in his and his client's defense.[272] Yet Gieseking had played for the Winter Relief at other times: on 16 November 1933 in Berlin and now as part of this benefit concert, to give but two other known examples.[273]

After the benefit concert, Gieseking had to leave for Nuremberg right away for an orchestral rehearsal of Brahms's B-flat Piano Concerto that same evening. Oddly, he

[270] Concert program: "Wohltätigkeitskonzert: Benjamino Gigli, Walter Gieseking, Luigi Ricci," Berlin, 28 Nov. 1935, GFA. Rudolf Goette would later mistakenly indicate that the proceeds had gone to Berlin's Italian community. Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Gieseking seit 1933," 5.

[271] Lepage, *Hitler Youth, 1922–1945: an Illustrated History* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2009), 80.

[272] "In Deutschland die Winterhilfe als Wolhtätigkeits-Organisation abzulehnen, war nicht nicht möglich und wird meines Wissens auch heute nicht von den Allierten verlangt." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 5.

[273] It was the Winter Relief Campaign recital of 16 November 1933 that Gieseking mentioned in a letter to Hans Hinkel on 6 November, inquiring as to whether the latter was planning to attend the event (see Chapter 1). Gieseking, Hanover, to Hans Hinkel, letter, 3 Nov. 1933, BDC.

made no mention of the special event in a letter to Annie written the same day from Nuremberg.[274] He did not meet Hitler upon concluding the charity performance, although almost a year later he learned that the Reich Chancellor had, in fact, asked about him. "The Führer and Joseph [Goebbels] are said to have inquired about me in detail after the Gigli concert back then," he wrote to his wife. "[State Secretary Walter] Funk received this information through Jakob Tiedtke."[275] Tiedtke (1875–1960) was a successful German film actor of the time, who had roles in propaganda films including the infamous *Jud Süß* (Jew Süß) and was later placed on Goebbels's "Gottbegnadete-Liste" ("God-gifted list") of September 1944.[276]

Subsequent to the Second World War, Goette claimed in a report to the U.S. Military Government that Gieseking had been asked to play before Hitler at the Reich Chancellery "at least three times" ("dreimal mindestens"). "He is probably the only one among the most famous artists who never took up the invitation," he continued, adding, "It would have been easy to arrange such concerts!"[277]

The engagements from these beginning years of Hitler's rule were made more controversial because of their early dates. After the war, the U.S. Military Government would criticize Gieseking for having complied with the regime's wishes. At this time it was still possible, the military officials argued, for the more distinguished German artists

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[274] Gieseking, Nuremberg, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 28 Nov. 1935, GFA.

[275] Gieseking's meeting with Funk is discussed in Chapter 3. "Der Führer und Joseph [Goebbels] sollen sich eingehend nach mir erkündigt haben nach dem Gigli-Konzert damals, [Staatssekretär Walter] Funk holte sich bei Jakob Tiedtke Auskunft für diesen Bericht." Gieseking, Hanover, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 24 Oct. 1936, GFA.

[276] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 178.

[277] "Er ist wohl der einzige unter den berühmtesten Künstlern, der dieser Einladung niemals Folge leistete. Es wäre ein Leichtes gewesen, solche Konzerte einzurichten!" Rudolf Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 3.

to refuse requests made by the Propaganda Ministry.[278] The legendary German conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler's famous dispute with Nazi officials over the value of Hindemith's music and the importance of artistic freedom was viewed as evidence of this.[279] While we will find that there is a lack of evidence showing any strong resistance to the Nazis on Gieseking's part, despite the later arguments made by him and his managers, he did not always comply with the Ministry's wishes. At least on occasion, he was able to use "unavailability" as an excuse to refuse its requests.[280] Yet such latitude will increasingly vanish, particularly during the approaching war.

Chopin is Banned in Italy, December 1935 (& December 1936)

Only ten days after the benefit concert organized by the Italian embassy, Gieseking had made his way from Munich to Trieste to give a solo recital at the Teatro Lirico Giuseppe Verdi opera house on 7 December. On the program were works by Bach, Domenico Scarlatti, Schumann, and, for the second half, Chopin, Busoni, Alfredo Casella, Debussy, and Ravel. While Gieseking had played Chopin's *Berceuse* for the Italian officials during the benefit concert, upon arriving in Italy he learned that he might have to remove the composer's works from his Trieste program.

Italy had just initiated a colonial conflict that became known as the Second Italo-Abyssinian War. On 3 October 1935, Italian forces had entered Abyssinia (the Ethiopian

[278] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2. We will return to this topic briefly in Chapter 9.

[279] Kaven refers to Furtwängler's example of criticism in Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2. The dispute involving Furtwängler is known as the "Der Fall Hindemith" or "The Hindemith Case," which was the title of the newspaper article published by Furtwängler that started the disagreement. "The Hindemith Case" has been examined by numerous authors; see, for example, Chapter 11 "The Hindemith Scandal" in Sam H. Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master: The Controversial Life and Career of Wilhelm Furtwängler* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 179–94. We will also return to it below in Chapter 3, as part of the discussion of the Nazis' Hindemith ban of 1936.

[280] Examples of this are found below and in Chapter 3.

Empire), causing the latter to declare war on the attacker. In November, the League of Nations denounced Italy's belligerence and imposed economic sanctions, which went into effect on 18 November.[281] France had reluctantly supported this decision, hence the Italian fascist government's new disapproval of the music of Chopin, who, while Polish-born, had spent his adulthood in France and thus, to many, represented the nation.[282]

Shortly before the concert, Gieseking was awaiting further information regarding the Chopin pieces and was contemplating the disrupted railway service. He wrote to his wife:

> From what I can gather, the long-distance express train is no longer running. Thus, the trip to Livorno tomorrow will probably be quite inconvenient and take a long time. (Even with the fastest train, it would take from 9:45 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.) Otherwise, there is hardly anything to notice from the "war" other than that there were many soldiers about yesterday. I may have to leave out Chopin(!) though; the manager thought this might be necessary and is probably going to confirm this any minute.[283]

The manager did come at that moment, and Gieseking reported the verdict: "Chopin is to be omitted because of the sanctions (not Debussy and Ravel!), so I'll play Brahms instead."[284]

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[281] Jeremy Matam Farrall, *United Nations Sanctions and the Rule of Law*, Cambridge Studies in International and Comparative Law (New York: Cambridge University Press: 2007), 54–56.

[282] Pierre Guillen, "Franco-Italian Relations in Flux, 1918–1940," in *French Foreign and Defence Policy 1918–1940: the Decline and Fall of a Great Power*, Robert Boyce, ed. (New York: Routledge, 1998), 156.

[283] "Wie es scheint, fährt der FD Zug nicht mehr, da wird die Reise nach Livorno wohl morgen recht umständlich sein und lange dauern. (Mit dem schnellsten Zug hätte es von 9.45 bis nach 18.00 gedauert.) Sonst ist hier kaum etwas vom "Krieg" zu merken, man sah nur gestern viel Soldaten unterwegs. Vielleicht muss ich aber Chopin(!) weglassen, dies hielt der Vorstand für möglich, wird es mir wohl gleich sagen." Gieseking, Trieste, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Dec. 1935, GFA. Shortly after the Italian visit, Gieseking wrote to Richard Pohlman: "Last week I played in Italy, you don't see much of the Ethiopian war there, except that most private motorcars are not used, in order to save gasoline." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 June 1935, DEC.

[284] "Chopin bleibt aus Sanktionsgründen weg (Debussy u. Ravel nicht!), dafür spiele ich Brahms." Gieseking, Trieste, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Dec. 1935, GFA.

It is indeed odd, as Gieseking noted, that the officials in Trieste approved the composers Debussy and Ravel—France's two most prominent composers of the twentieth century—while banning the music of Polish-born Chopin. Consequently, as Gieseking's personal copy of the concert program still shows, he crossed out the composer's *Barcarole*, op. 60, and *Berceuse*, op. 57, replacing them with Brahms's *Intermezzo* in E-flat major, op. 117, no. 1, and the *Intermezzo* in C major, op. 119, no. 3.[285] He also made the cause of the emendation clear on the same program: "Brahms wegen Sanktionen!" (Brahms because of sanctions!).[286] "The concert," Gieseking wrote to Annie afterward, "went as planned. The public, as usual, received the Casella with silence, but the 'right' encores caused the right cheering!"[287]

It should be noted that Gieseking had an unusual relationship with Chopin's music. Already prior to starting his studies at the Hanover Conservatorium in November 1911, he had learned "probably the complete [works by] Chopin" without any formal tuition.[288] He then continued to study much of the composer's music with his mentor Karl Leimer at the Conservatorium, performing many of these pieces during his student

[285] Concert program: "Concerto del Pianista Walter Gieseking," Trieste, 7 Dec. 1935, GFA.

[286] Ibid.

[287] "Das Konzert verlief nach Vorschrift, die Leute liessen, wie üblich, Casella still begraben, aber die ‚richtigen' Zugaben verursachten das richtige Getöse! Soeben habe ich die gute Kritik gelesen, nun kann die Reise losgehn." Gieseking, Venice, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 8 Dec. 1935, GFA.

[288] In his memoir, Gieseking reflects on how his parents had "almost exclusively" given him scores as birthday and Christmas gifts throughout his childhood, resulting in his learning a vast amount of repertoire, almost entirely without formal guidance: "At that time I knew and played most of Bach's works, probably the complete Beethoven, Schumann and Chopin, some Schubert, also some Mendelssohn, but, on the other hand, no Brahms, very little Liszt and . . . nothing modern! As for my contemporaries Debussy and Ravel, I had never even heard of them!" ("Ich kannte und spielte damals das meiste von Bach, wohl den ganzen Beethoven, Schumann und Chopin, einigen Schubert, auch Mendelssohn, dagegen gar keinen Brahms, sehr wenig Liszt und . . . nichts Modernes! Von den Zeitgenossen Debussy und Ravel lernte ich noch nicht einmal die Namen kennen!" Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 18.

recitals.[289] Soon after his studies, however, he tended to program a relatively limited amount of Chopin in comparison with many of his most illustrious colleagues—Alexander Brailowsky, Alfred Cortot, Vladimir Horowitz, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, and Artur Rubinstein to name but five. Similarly, he recorded little of Chopin's music, a mere eleven works in his entire career.[290] Among his compatriots, however, Gieseking was not unique in this respect. As music critic and author Harold C. Schonberg observed, "[I]t is hard to think of a German pianist who has ever been considered a great Chopinist. . . ."[291] In an early interview with Harriette Brower, Gieseking explained: "[I] have refrained from using it [Chopin's works] to any extent in my recitals, for it is overplayed."[292] According to a later anecdote, he had given a different explanation: "As long as Cortot is alive, I won't play Chopin."[293] While Gieseking, like many, respected the Chopin interpretations of his friend and colleague Cortot, this statement does not seem too credible. On the other hand, it is plausible that, considering the many acclaimed Chopin specialists then on the scene, Gieseking had believed it might be easier to distinguish himself by concentrating on less-competitive repertoire, in his case modern composers, the French school in particular, as well as the German classics.

On 8 December, the day after Gieseking's Trieste recital, France and England *secretly* signed the Hoare-Laval Pact with Italy, which granted Italy approximately two-

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[289] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 24–29.

[290] This number does not include surviving live or broadcast performances. See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 46–47.

[291] Schonberg, *The Great Pianists: From Mozart to the Present* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 446.

[292] Harriette Brower and Jeffrey Johnson, *Piano Mastery: The Harriette Brower Interviews 1915–1926* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003), 176.

[293] "Solange Cortot lebt, spiele ich keinen Chopin." Hildegard Weber, "Nestor der Pianisten: Klavierabend Alfred Cortot," *Frankurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 3 Apr. 1957.

thirds of the Abyssinian territory.[294] On 9 December the agreement was already made public, which was the cause of great dismay for Abyssinians, who understandably rejected it, and officials of other nations.[295] That same day, Gieseking explained to Annie that he had now received the message that "Rome wishes for Chopin and the French [composers] to be omitted from the program. I then had to send the changes to Rome via express mail."[296] This meant that Debussy and Ravel, whose music Gieseking famously championed, were now also unacceptable for public performance. The Romans responsible for this decision must have sent news of the de facto ban before word had been disclosed by the press of the secret agreement reached between France, England, and Italy. We will remember that Gieseking had grown up largely in France (and for a brief period in Naples) and did not live in Germany until around the time he turned age sixteen.[297] France and French music would play an important role throughout the remainder of his life.[298] Unfortunately, his reaction to this restriction is unknown, and it is uncertain whether it was lifted in time for his Roman recital.

It is not clear how soon France's cooperation caused Italy, at least temporarily, to allow French music to be heard in its concert venues once again.[299] In any case, the "ban"

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[294] Juliet Gardiner and Neil Wenborn, eds., *The Columbia Companion to British History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), s.v. "Hoare-Laval Pact."

[295] See Saheed A. Adejumobi, *The History of Ethiopia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2007), 72–74.

[296] "Ich bekam auch Nachricht, dass Rom das Programm ohne Chopin und ohne Franzosen wünscht, nun habe ich sofort Änderungen nach Rom per Eilbrief geschickt." Gieseking, Livorno, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Dec. 1935, GFA.

[297] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 9–22.

[298] Despite his upbringing in France, he was not introduced to Debussy's music until some two years into his studies in Hanover, when he performed the composer's *Reflets dan l'eau* during a recital on 4 February 1914. He does not mention playing any additional French works during his student years, however. Ibid., 28. We will return to the topic of Gieseking and the French in Chapters 9 and 10.

[299] Franco-Italian relations were already damaged again in the spring of 1936 because of the success of France's Popular Front. Guillen, "Franco-Italian Relations in Flux, 1918–1940," 156.

was lifted, if probably only pro tempore, as an amusing incident that occurred in Italy illustrates. Gieseking had just performed in an overcrowded hall in Rome on 7 December 1936, in which some Liszt and Schumann compositions were enthusiastically received but a piece by Alfredo Casella was hissed; a good friend and respected colleague of Gieseking's, Casella had been in the audience. Gieseking played a similar program in Naples the next day, and the reception was much the same:

> [T]he concert was at 5 o'clock, the giant theater was very full, the people listened really well, stomped after the Scarlatti, clapped a lot after the *Davidsbündlertänze*, were angry after the Casella! Almost only hissing in the hall! I played the piece well yesterday, as the grand piano here was indeed excellent. At the end, I irritated the audience as I announced the first encore: Menuett from the Sonatina by Casella (in Italian, of course)—that caused cries of protest: Chopin – Chopin! I played Casella. As I was about to play the second encore, they again screamed wildly: Chopin, Scarlatti, Debussy—and finally one last person loudly: "niente Casella" (No Casella!). I responded by shouting back: "Casella is a good musician—more shouts for Chopin, so then I played a Mazurka—in any case, it was all very lively.[300]

This recollection is evidence that French music, that of Chopin included, was not only permitted in Italy again, but was also still extremely popular among Italian audiences at the time, despite the current foreign politics. The animated crowd was yelling for Chopin and Debussy—the previously excluded composers—while protesting the music of their compatriot.

[300] "[U]m 5 war das Konzert, das Riesentheater war sehr voll, die Leute hörten recht gut zu, tobten nach Scarlatti, klatschten viel nach den Davidsbündler[tänzen], waren wütend nach Casella! Fast nur Zischen im Saal! Dabei gelang mir das Stück gestern gut, der Flügel hier war nämlich ausgezeichnet. Am Schluss ärgerte ich das Publikum, indem ich als erste Zugabe ansagte: Menuett aus der Sonatina von Casella (italienisch natürlich)—darauf gab es Protestschrei: Chopin – Chopin! Ich spielte Casella. Als ich die zweite Zugabe spielen wollte, schrieen sie wieder wild: Chopin, Scarlatti, Debussy—und einer zuletzt laut: niente Casella (nichts von Casella!) Darauf rief ich runter: Casella ist ein guter Musiker—wieder das Chopin-Geschrei, dann spielte ich eine Mazurka—jedenfalls ging es lebhaft zu." Gieseking, Naples, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Dec. 1936, GFA.

As for the war, it came to an end on 5 May. After quickly conquering many Ethiopian cities, including the capital, Addis Ababa, Italy had won the battle. It withdrew from the League of Nations and annexed the African state.[301]

The Italian incidents were not the first occasions on which Gieseking had to comply with nationalist tastes regarding his programs. We recall that he had served as a military musician during World War I in Hanover and on the island of Borkum.[302] While Gieseking played the violin, viola, and in Hanover even the cymbals, he made regular appearances as piano soloist during the large Borkum military band's regional tours in northwest Germany. Almost a decade later, an unidentified Manchester newspaper critic printed an anecdote concerning a dispute between Gieseking and some Germany military officials, said to have occurred during the First World War:

> [L]ike the exacting and conscientious artist he is, he [Gieseking] played compositions by British and French writers even at the height of the war-fever.
>
> In the end the German military authorities intervened to demand that all works by enemy composers should be excluded from Gieseking's programmes. He replied forcibly—as his strong, muscular physique suggests he would—that he was concerned only with musical fitness, not the military fitness of musical matters, and that he had not sufficient confidence in the judgment of the military people in music to allow them to dictate his programmes. And there, so far as I know, the matter ended.[303]

Alas, the above tale cannot be true, for Gieseking did *not* play "enemy" works during WWI. Yet it serves as a reminder of the less-known fact that, as in the Nazi era and WWII, music was likewise restricted, if less forcibly, during the Great War. Gieseking's personal scrapbook of clippings shows that, throughout the duration of

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[301] Italy's rule of the state was not recognized by the United Nations, however, until 1938. Maurice Bertrand, *The United Nations: Past, Present and Future* (Boston: Kluwer Law International, 1997), 27, box VI – ii.

[302] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 32–43.

[303] "An Artist and Militarism," *Manchester Daily Dispatch* (Withy Grove, Manchester), 1 Oct. 1925.

World War I, he was able to perform only a limited range of repertoire, mostly selections by Beethoven, Liszt, Schubert, Chopin (who the Germans, at least the northern Prussians, must have considered purely Polish), and on occasion he also accompanied singers and instrumentalists, for which the repertoire was also German—Lieder by Schubert, Wolf, and others.[304] During a benefit concert for the Volunteer War Help (*Freiwillige Kriegshilfe*) of Hanover and Linden on 2 December 1917, for example, he played pieces by Chopin and Liszt, in addition to Beethoven's "Appassionata" Sonata op. 57.[305] Without exception, Gieseking was *not* able to perform the music of any genuine French composers until after Germany's capitulation. Whether he his fellow military musicians were given specific orders not to program "enemy" repertoire is unknown, but the Prussian troops evidently knew that to do so would have been unacceptable.

Following the long and horrific Great War, Gieseking, after being demobilized on 1 December 1918, wasted no time in programming previously taboo compositions as he finally began his postponed professional career as a concert pianist.[306] During an early postwar recital on 6 February 1919, for instance, he played a selection of unidentified pieces by Debussy.[307] By April, he had begun to include works by the English composer Cyril Scott as well.[308] Indeed, during the early Weimar era he became recognized as a champion of modern music by a range of composers of various nationalities, taking on

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[304] This well-preserved, green scrapbook, labeled "Album," covers the years 1917–20 (13 x 11 in.) and is found in the GFA.

[305] "Ein Wohltätigkeitskonzert," [newspaper title unidentified—clipping found on page (1) of Gieseking's scrapbook "Album" covering the years 1917–20 (13 x 11 in.)], 2 Dec. 1917, GFA.

[306] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 43.

[307] The source of the clipping is unidentified, though Gieseking penciled in above it the note, "Klavierabend am 6. II. 19." The clipping is found in the GFA, scrapbook "Album" covering the years 1917–20 (13 x 11 in.), page [13].

[308] "Konzerte der Woche, *Hannoverscher Anzeiger*, 15 Apr. 1919. Clipping found in the GFA, scrapbook "Album" covering the years 1917–20 (13 x 11 in.), p. [20].

pieces by Albeniz, Busoni, Debussy, Korngold, Joseph Marx, Walter Niemann, Ravel, Schoenberg, and Scott.[309] Considering his liberal tastes with regard to his repertoire, Gieseking must have been strongly opposed to music censorship, yet as a soldier he had been in no position to break the apparently de facto rule by playing French numbers during the First World War.

Throughout the National Socialist era, numerous composers were more famously banned from public performance, leading to a level of musical censorship the modern Western world had never seen. Gieseking's reaction to this was initially passive. Undoubtedly, he felt there was nothing he could do but comply, at least for now, but he will soon take action against the ban placed on Hindemith's music.[310] Deliberately playing forbidden music would have been viewed by both the Italian Fascists and Nazi authorities as an act of defiance, and any opposition was, of course, punishable.[311]

Concerts Independently Organized

Gieseking continued to concertize extensively. Until World War II, however, the appearances he made at Nazi functions or before audiences that were largely, if not entirely, pro-Nazi appear to have been the rather rare exceptions. In response to

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[309] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 46–47.

[310] The Hindemith ban is examined in Chapter 3.

[311] This very idea was a source of inspiration for the propagandistic film noir, *Voice in the Wind* (United Artists, 1944), the plot of which revolves around a pianist who was imprisoned and tortured by Nazis for having performed a banned composition. The protagonist is now a refugee on the island of Guadalupe, where he struggles to recover from the traumatic experience that also caused him to lose his memory. The film's director and co-producer, Arthur Ripley (1897–1961), wrote the story, while the screenplay was written by the Austrian writer Frederick (Friedrich) Torberg (Friedrich Kantor, pseud., 1908–79). Caroline Joan (Kay) Picart, ed., *The Holocaust Film Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 520.

accusations that he had been a "tool" of the Propaganda Ministry, he later argued defensively:

> That my concerts were arranged by Goebbels' staff is another lie! My concerts in Germany and other countries were, with a few insignificant exceptions, all my own private business. Of course, regulations made it necessary to have permission from Berlin for every concert outside of Germany, but contrary to these regulations my manager booked the dates first and notified Berlin after having made all arrangements.[312]

To demonstrate this point further, between 16 August 1935 and 14 January 1936 his German itinerary included the numerous engagements found in Appendix 2, "Gieseking's Concerts during the 1935–1936 Season," only two of which, the aforementioned concerts at Bückeburg and possibly Braunschweig, are known to have occurred before specifically National Socialist audiences.

Gieseking's manager Goette, too, later spoke in Gieseking's defense with regard to the independence they were able to maintain from the regime:

> For several years Gieseking's normal performance career did not change at all. The N.S. Cultural Community and later Strength-Through-Joy Organization increasingly took over the activities of the old music societies—[though] often the directors remained in office. Herr Gieseking concertized principally only where an earlier contact of his continued to work, not for the Cultural Community or Strength-Through-Joy Organization. It is well known that the National Socialists viewed concert agencies as enemies, for allegedly being liberal establishments, and therefore suppressed them. During continued vehement disputes with the Propaganda Ministry, Herr Gieseking remained a defender of my profession. On this point, I would refer you to the correspondence of Gieseking's with Dr. Goebbels and his assistant Schliepe.[313]

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[312] Cited in Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 7. Because Snowdon's pamphlet was printed in August 1948, with the purpose of defending Gieseking shortly before his controversial U.S. return concert in January 1949, it is possible that any or all of the quotations of Gieseking's included may have been carefully prepared with the help of Gieseking's American managers, Snowdon and Charles Wagner, as well as his lawyer, Meyer Kurz.

[313] "Mehrere Jahre hindurch änderte sich an der normalen Konzerttätigkeit Giesekings nichts. Die NS-Kulturgemeinde und später KdF übernahmen immer mehr die Tätigkeit der alten Musikvereiene—vielfach blieben deren Leiter im Amt. Herr Gieseking konzertierte grundsätzlich dort, wo eine frühere Verbindung von ihm weiterarbeitete, nicht bei der NS-Kulturgemeinde oder KdF; es ist bekannt, dass die Konzertdirektionen als angeblich liberalistische Einrichtungen von den Nationalsozialisten angefeindet und

Regrettably, the Gieseking-Goebbels correspondence to which Goette refers has since been lost.[314] That Gieseking was engaged in "vehement disputes" with Goebbels seems unlikely, however, considering the professional tone in his few surviving letters regarding other matters that were addressed to Goebbels and Hinkel.

Conclusion

The first years of the Third Reich had proven successful and lucrative for Gieseking. He had continued to concertize in several European nations annually and given extensive tours in North America each year as well. These included his first appearances in Mexico, where he likewise played to great acclaim. Along with his fame, his income had climbed steadily over the last years. In 1932, it had been 41,000 RM, by 1934 he had earned 63,000 RM and, in 1935, 84,000 RM.[315] Gieseking's U.S. profits for 1935 (37,500 RM) overshadowed that for Germany (27,500 RM), leaving far behind his earnings from England (7,500 RM) and the other European countries (12,000 RM).[316] His North American tours, however, were long and exhausting, thus his decision not to travel there in 1936. (Note: each of these monetary figures presumably included Gieseking's

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zurückgedrängt wurden. Herr Gieseking blieb in heftigsten Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Propagandaministerium ein Verteidiger meines Berufsstandes; ich verweise hier auf den Briefwechsel Giesekings mit Dr. Goebbels und dessen Beauftragten Schliepe." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 2.

[314] This conclusion can be drawn largely because the letters were neither found in the "Gieseking" file maintained by the Bundesarchiv (formerly the Berlin Document Center) nor uncovered among the relevant documentation preserved at the National Archives—the institutions that hold the bulk of the U.S. Military Government's records on the pianist.

[315] Gieseking's total gross income for 1932 and 1934 is listed in Gieseking, "Meldebogen." For his 1935 gross income see Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8. We have no record of Gieseking's 1933 earnings.

[316] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

record royalties as well, which, according to Severin Kaven, added up to an average of 10% of the pianist's gross income.[317])

On the other hand, Gieseking had witnessed the first protest against his appearances in California, which was lead by Jewish groups speaking out against the Hitler regime and its inhumane treatment of Jewish artists. While there would be no known repeat of similar demonstrations until after the war (only alleged talks of boycotting his Town Hall appearance in 1939), Gieseking would be singled out again in early 1942, when Erika Mann, in an open letter printed in the *New York Times*, suggested that Americans eschew the recordings of "enemy music."[318] At present, however, the pianist's career as a recording artist had not taken off quite yet. In fact, between 1933 and 1935, he had made but two commercial recordings for Columbia records in the fall of 1934; the music selected comprised extracts from Bach's Partita No. 1 (BWV 825) and all of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5, the "Emperor," for which he played under Bruno Walter leading the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.[319] But his activity in the studio would increase significantly starting in 1936, perhaps partly because of the success of the

[317] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[318] Eeika Iann [*sic*], "Erika Mann Protests," *New York Times*, 15 Feb. 1942. Mann's protest is discussed in Chapter 6.

[319] Stephen E. Lundgren, "Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography," unpublished, Seattle, c. 1980, [no page numbers]; Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 7. Gray and Quonten *incorrectly* give the exact dates of the recordings as 10 and 11 August 1934, while Lundgrun accurately gives them as on 10 and 11 September that year. Gieseking's postcard to Annie sent from Vienna on 10 September proves that Lundgrun's dates are right: the first movement, along with the Partita selections, which were used to bring the total disc sides of the Concerto album to an even ten, were recorded on 10 September. The second and third movements of the Beethoven were documented the following day. In addition, there are non-commercial recordings of Gieseking's that survive from 1933 and 1935, which are also listed in the discographies. Gieseking, Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 10 Sept. 1934, GFA.

recording with Walter: within two years, it was said to have sold over seventy-five thousand copies—an extraordinary figure for that time.[320]

Back in Germany, Gieseking had permanently settled down with his family in Wiesbaden, purchasing the large modern house there that remained his home until his death. The Hitler regime's policies had begun to affect his career from essentially from the start. As required, he had become a member of the Reich Music Chamber and subsequently begun to give occasional concerts for Nazi organizations such as the Cultural Community and even the benefit performance at which Hitler was present. When abroad, Gieseking was at times already fulfilling certain engagements arranged by the German Foreign Service, thereby playing a role in the Nazis' propaganda—something for which he would be criticized harshly after World War II. Despite the regime's expanding control over Reich artists' activities, he and his two German managers nonetheless otherwise succeeded in staying in charge of his career with great independence in Europe for now.

Gieseking continued to experience much anti-Semitism, not only in Germany, but also in the United States. Perhaps in part as a consequence—fueled by the protest he faced in California—his own prejudice toward Jews developed. Yet he felt compelled to help his longtime Jewish manager, Arthur Bernstein, form the necessary partnership with Dr. Rudolf Goette in Hamburg as a desperate effort to remain employed in Germany. And on occasion he continued to assist other Jews, such as the aspiring piano pupils and, most likely, the composers who contacted him during his North American tour in 1934.

[320] Dean Elder, "Walter Gieseking (1895-1956)," liner notes to *Walter Gieseking: Broadcast Recitals, 1949-1951*, Music & Arts, CD-4743 (4), 1993.

Excursus I:
Karl Leimer and the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer Courses, 1935–1944

A figure who remained most important to Gieseking throughout much of his life, including most of the Third Reich years, was his earlier piano teacher at Hanover's Städtisches Conservatorium für Musik, Karl Leimer. Born on 22 June 1858 in Biebrich, a district of Wiesbaden since the Weimar era, Leimer had directed the Königsberg Conservatory in Prussia from 1882 to 1897.[1] He then co-founded and directed the state-funded Hanover Conservatorium until he was forced to step down in 1934.[2] Additionally, by 1935 he had published three pedagogical books, most recently *Modernes Klavierspiel nach Leimer-Gieseking* (1931) with Gieseking's support and input, and another would follow.[3] Yet Leimer, having never had an important career as a performer or made early recordings or piano rolls, would be recognized most, then and today, as the piano teacher of Walter Gieseking and remembered for the publications in his and Gieseking's name.

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[1] "Die Geschichte von Biebrich," Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden, accessed 10 July 2011, http://www.wiesbaden.de/leben-in-wiesbaden/stadtteile/biebrich/geschichte.php. Owing to the economic difficulties that followed the First World War, Biebrich was incorporated into Wiesbaden on 1 October 1926.

[2] For a study of Leimer's career as a pedagogue, including his founding of and dismissal from the conservatory, see Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 21–32.

[3] Leimer's earliest publication dates back to 1891: *Kurzer Leitfaden für den ersten Klavier-Unterricht für Klavier-Lehrer und -Lehrerinnen: besonders zum Gebrauche für die Schüler des Klavier-Lehrer und -Lehrerinnen-Seminars des Konservatoriums für Musik in Königsberg* (Leipzig: Merseburger, 1891; the title translates as *A Concise Handbook for the First Piano Lessons for Piano Teachers: Especially Written for the Piano Pupils of the Music Conservatory at Königsberg*). A second publication followed in 1918: *Handbuch für den Klavierunterricht in den Unter- und Mittelstufen: das theoretische und praktische Material für die ersten Semester und Anweisung für die Verwendung* (Hannover: Louis Oertel, 1918; this title translates as *Handbook for Piano Lessons at the Lower and Intermediate Levels: Theoretical and Practical Materials for the First Semester and Suggestions for the Application Thereof*). Neither of these treatises ever appeared outside of Germany. In 1931, the first edition of *Modernes Klavierspiel nach Leimer-Gieseking* was printed by B. Schott's Söhne (Mainz), for which Gieseking supplied a forward.

In addition to the close pupil-mentor relationship that Gieseking and Leimer enjoyed, Annie and Leimer's second wife, Else (née Haake, 1879–1952), were sisters. Thus, when Gieseking married Annie on 31 March 1925—having dated her since his years as Leimer's pupil in Hanover—he and Leimer had an even closer relationship as brothers-in-law. As a family member, Leimer, or as Gieseking liked to refer to him—"der Chef," meaning the Boss—became a frequent guest at the Gieseking home, even later after he and Else had separated and eventually divorced.[4] After Leimer moved from Hanover to Wiesbaden, probably sometime after 1936 and largely because of the masterclasses that he and Gieseking had begun to teach the previous summer, he usually visited the Gieseking residence every Sunday.[5] When Gieseking was not away on tour, Leimer would often ask him to play for him, and according to Gieseking's daughter Freya, the Boss never stopped offering criticisms and suggestions to his esteemed "pupil."[6]

Gieseking's Support for Leimer

The support Gieseking showed for his mentor was unwavoring. On 26 September 1929, for example, he promoted Leimer's teaching approach by participating in a lecture-recital entitled "Modern Piano Playing as Taught by Karl Leimer: Views and Methods of Earlier and Current Piano Pedagogues" ("Das moderne Klavierspiel nach K.[arl] Leimer: Ansichten und Methoden früherer und jetziger Klavierpädagogen"). Dr. Karl Rolan of the

[4] Freya Colassis née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 20 Dec. 2010. Gieseking often refers to Leimer as "Der Chef" in his correspondence with Annie. The date of Karl and Else Leimer's divorce is unknown, but they had been apart for many years by the time WWII had begun. Jutta Hajmásy née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 16 Feb. 2012.

[5] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 28–9. Correspondence shows that Leimer was still living in Hanover as late as 1936.

[6] Freya Colassis, telephone interview by author, 20 Dec. 2010.

Hanover Conservatorium lectured, while Gieseking demonstrated works by Bach, Hindemith, Schubert, Debussy, and Ravel, offering brief comments on each piece.[7]

More importantly, Gieseking allowed his name to be used for two of Leimer's treatises on piano playing. The first Leimer-Gieseking method book was brought out in 1931 with a title somewhat similar to the Rolan lecture: *Modernes Klavierspiel nach Leimer-Gieseking*, and Gieseking also supplied a forward, while Rolan wrote the introduction.[8] By July 1931, the seventh printing was already being sold.[9] The work was also quickly translated and appeared the following year in English as *The Shortest Way to Pianistic Perfection* and in French as *Le jeu moderne du piano d'après Leimer-Gieseking*.[10] In July 1938, it was reported that *Modernes Klavierspiel* had already been printed in seven (unspecified) languages, although this number seems unbelievably high.[11] A second such publication of Leimer's, his final book, followed in 1938: *Rhythmik, Dynamik, Pedal und andere Probleme des Klavierspiels nach Leimer-*

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[7] A sixteen-page typescript of Rolan's lecture is maintained by the Niedersächsiches Landesarchiv in Hanover. See Karl Rolan, "Das moderne Klavierspiel nach K.[arl] Leimer: Ansichten und Methoden früherer und jetziger Klavierpädagogen," file: 122A, Nr. 3390, NLHH.

[8] Karl Leimer, *Modernes Klavierspiel nach Leimer-Gieseking* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1931); Leimer, *The Shortest Way to Pianistic Perfection* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1932).

[9] This was indicated in advertisements; see *Melos: Zeitschrift für Musik*, July 1931, 257.

[10] Karl Leimer, *The Shortest Way to Pianistic Perfection* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1932); Karl Leimer, *Le jeu moderne du piano d'après Leimer-Gieseking* (Paris: M. Eschig, 1932).

[11] Friedrich Buttler, "Zum 80. Geburtstag von Karl Leimer," DTZ-Berichte, *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung*, July 1938, 240–41. It has been impossible to confirm that there were six translations by 1938. Schott later began to publish the two Leimer-Gieseking treatises as a single book with the new title *Modernes Klavierspiel: mit Ergänzung: Rhythmik, Dynamic, Pedal*. As of 1998, Schott Music had published its twenty-eighth edition of the merged books. The English translation of the compiled edition was first published in 1972 by Dover Publications (New York) under the shortened title *Piano Technique*. It has since then appeared in Chinese, Danish, French, Italian, Japanese, and Spanish and possibly other languages.

Gieseking.[12] This time, the English translation, *Rhythm, Dynamics, Pedaling and other Problems of Piano Playing*, was on the market the same year.[13]

Gieseking's name served as a strong and perhaps much-needed endorsement in each instance, and, in fact, the first contemporary advertisements included a picture of the famous pianist only—without Leimer.[14] But we can be confident that the methods helped Gieseking gain further recognition as well.[15] Gieseking seems to have contributed very little, if anything, to the actual writing of either publication, and the first volume, and probably the second as well, was copyrighted under Leimer's name only, on 5 January 1931.[16] In any case, the approach worked, for the volumes became some of the most successful of their kind and have remained in print to this day. Because Gieseking's primary aim was surely to help his mentor, and his earnings as a performer were already high, he probably insisted that Leimer receive the full proceeds from the methods' sales. If so, Leimer had to have been truly grateful.[17]

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[12] Karl Leimer, *Rhythmik, Dynamik, Pedal und andere Probleme des Klavierspiels nach Leimer-Gieseking* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1938).

[13] Karl Leimer, *Rhythmics, Dynamics, Pedal, and other Problems of Piano Playing* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1938).

[14] See, for example, those advertisements placed in the *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung*, 5 Jan. 1931, 28 and *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung*, 5 Feb. 1931, 44, as well as in *Melos: Zeitschrift für Musik*, Jan. 1931, 42.

[15] It is the author's experience that many younger pianists today recognize Gieseking above all because of the Leimer publications, something that the former might have found surprising, if not shocking, considering his sizable discography.

[16] In 1958, Leimer's daughter Ellen Grosse (née Leimer) renewed the copyrights for *Modernes Klavierspiel*, which was officially recorded on 19 December that year. United States Copyright Office, *The Catalog of Copyright Renewal Records (1958)* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2007), 1628.

[17] An in-depth examination of the Leimer-Gieseking method is found in Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 67–158.

After a long financial dispute with some colleagues of the Hanover Conservatorium and their heirs, Leimer was dismissed from the school in 1934.[18] Consequently, in 1935, Gieseking went a step further to support Leimer's career as a pedagogue and began to co-lead summer piano classes with him in Wiesbaden on the so-called Leimer-Gieseking piano method—by this time a widely known "product" owing to the 1931 treatise. Gieseking had likely helped Leimer secure this employment and agreed to take part to add to the course's appeal. A surviving "Denkschrift" ("Memorandum") from 1933, the Third Reich's birth year, is, in fact, an earlier, formal plea from Gieseking, requesting that Leimer be allowed to give such classes and offering to participate as much as possible himself. Presumably addressing officials of one of the Reich's music divisions, Gieseking wrote:

> It would be, in my opinion, most unfortunate if the valuable insights of this born pedagogue were not made accessible to the largest possible number of students and teachers. I would therefore respectfully like to suggest that Herr Leimer be permitted to present a series of special lectures on his method and his pedagogical principles at a prominent location, perhaps the best place being the Staatliche Hochscule für Musik in Berlin. . . . This would also help to ensure that more foreigners, who at present attend music schools outside of Germany in far too large a number, would come here for their studies and take back to their homelands an understanding of German music and culture. To the extent permitted by my schedule, I too would participate, in the interest of the idea itself and without compensation, because I am fully convinced by the uniqueness of the Leimer method.[19]

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[18] For more on the dispute and its outcome see Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 28–9.

[19] "Es wäre nun meines Erachtens höchst bedauerlich, wenn die wertvollen Erkenntisse dieses geborenen Pädagogen nicht noch einer möglichst großen Zahl von Studierenden und Lehrenden zugänglich gemacht würden und möchte ich daher ergebenst anregen, daß an prominenter Stelle, am besten vielleicht an der Staatlichen Hochschule für Musik, Berlin, eine Reihe von Sondervorträgen Herrn Leimer's über sein System und seine pädagogischen Prinzipien eingerichtet würde. . . Es würde dadurch auch mitgeholfen werden, daß die Ausländer, die sich in viel zu großer Zahl außerdeutschen Musikschulen zuwenden, mehr als bisher nach Deutschland zum Studium kämen und von hier das Verständnis für deutsche Musik und deutsches Wesen mit in ihre Heimatländer zurücknehmen würden. Soweit es meine Zeit erlaubt, würde ich auch ohne Vergütung, im Interesse der Sache, mitwirken, weil ich von der Einzigartigkeit des Leimer'schen Systems voll überzeugt bin." Gieseking, "Denkschrift," (Hanover, Aug. 1933), private

While presumably nothing came of this earlier proposal right away, the newly arranged Leimer-Gieseking classes of 1935 were held in conjunction with the *Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer*, or German Music Institute for Foreigners, hereafter DMfA, and Gieseking's memorandum may have been what stirred the institute's interest in the course with Leimer. The DMfA was an important, elite Reich institution, one in which Gieseking and Leimer remained involved far into the war. Yet it has received little attention and merits some discussion here.

The Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer

The DMfA was headed by the German musicologist and music educator Georg Schünemann (1884–1945) and functioned from 1929 to 1944.[20] Its summer courses already began to be held in its founding year. At that time, the late Weimar era, the institute was sponsored by the Prussian Minister of Education, with some funding from private donors.[21] It had been designed to compete with the summer programs for foreign music students offered in France and Italy, at Fontainebleau and the Villa d'Este in Tivoli (near Rome) respectively. Berlin was still trying to regain the prominence as a music capital that it had enjoyed before World War I, and the Prussian government allowed the institute to set up its headquarters in the seventeenth-century Schloss Charlottenburg, the city's largest and most imposing palace.[22] The DMfA faculty was already distinguished

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publication, [pp. 2–3], HR 19 Nr. 57, Stadt.H, pp. 408–11. For more on the "Denkschrift," see Excursus II "Gieseking as Essayist and "Editor" during the Third Reich and Postwar Years."

[20] Heike Elftmann, *Georg Schünemann (1884–1945): Musiker, Pädagoge, Wissenschaftler und Organisator: Eine Situationsbeschreibung des Berliner Musiklebens*, Berliner Musik Studien, Bd. 19 (Sinzig: Studio, 2001), 247.

[21] Hugo Leichtentritt, "Notes from Abroad: Berlin" *Musical Times*, 1 Sept. 1929, 845.

[22] Ibid.

from the start and included in its inaugural year the conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, who served as president, and the pianists Eugen d'Albert, Edwin Fischer and Gieseking (without Leimer), among others. Additionally, Johannes Wolf and Kurth (Curt) Sachs taught seminars in music history, and Willy Hess led violin classes. The conducting classes of another important conductor, Karl Schuricht, were canceled because of an unexplained accident.[23]

Shortly after the Nazi regime's rise to power, Schünemann was accused of being a Marxist and therefore dismissed without notice by Reich officials from his position as director of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik in 1933. Yet he was allowed to continue directing the DMfA and to take positions elsewhere.[24] The idea of such an institute pleased the Reich officials at Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry, for they could use the courses for their own purposes. Thus, already on 30 June 1933, Ministerial Counselor Dr. Richard Donnevert informed Schünemann that the DMfA was being placed under the Ministry's control.[25] Now "nazified," the mission of the institute was, as Schünemann elucidated, to take young artists "under the wing of our greatest German maestros" and to provide them with "new inspiration and an artistic introduction into the ways of German musical culture."[26] Sachs, a German Jew, was forced to step down from all of his

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[23] Leichtentritt, "Notes from Abroad: Berlin," 845–46.

[24] Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht and Pamela M. Potter, "Schünemann, Georg," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed. Schünemann also advised Nazi authorities with regard to the appropration of music collections in occupied France. For official records concerning Schünmann's dismissal, including a letter from Schünemann, see Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1966), 17–22.

[25] Elftmann, *Georg Schünemann*, 256–57. Karl Leimer also mentioned in 1938, without giving any further detail, that the DMfA was backed by the Ministry of Propaganda. See Karl Leimer, Wiesbaden, to Oberbürgermeister [Dr. Henricus Haltenhoff], Hanover, 2 June 1938, Stadt.H., HR 19 Nr. 57.

[26] "Schünemann sah es als Aufgabe an, jungen Künstlern 'unter der Anleitung unserer größten deutschen Meister neue Anregungen und künstlerischen Einblick in Art und Wesen der deutschen

academic posts in 1933, the DMfA position included, at which point he emigrated to Paris and then to New York in 1937.[27]

The DMfA classes took place every summer at various locations across the Reich: the Marble Palace at Potsdam; the St. Thomas Church in Leipzig, for organ and harpsichord courses; the City Palace (*Stadtschloss*) at Wiesbaden;[28] the Bach-Saal in Berlin, for conducting courses; and, during the final war years, at the Residenz at Salzburg as well as in Berlin's Dom, for organist courses, and the city's Reichshochschule für Musik.[29] Among the subjects taught were conducting (including choral conducting), piano, harpsichord, violin, cello, viola da gamba, chamber music, singing, opera directing and performance, and later, *Maskenkunde*, the study of masks.

Despite some other changes from year to year, the DMfA's faculty remained impressive throughout the NS-era, featuring the Reich's cream of the crop. The Propaganda Ministry, we can be sure, would have had it no other way. Among its instructors were Clemens Kraus (conductor) and later Richard Strauss (conductor), Georg Kulenkampff (violin), Ludwig Hoelscher (cello), Joseph Marx (composer), and the pianists Eduard Erdmann, Edwin Fischer, Wilhelm Kempff, Elly Ney, Winfried Wolf, as

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Musikkultur' zu geben." Schünemann, "Das deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer," *Die Musik-Woche*, 6 June 1936, 18, quoted in Elftmann, *Georg Schünemann*, 256.

[27] Howard Mayer Brown, "Sachs, Curt," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 27 June 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24256.

[28] Since 1946, the Stadtschloss has served as the seat of the Hessian Parliament.

[29] *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1936* (Berlin: H. S. Hermann-Buxenstein, 1936) [p. 1], note: a copy of the brochure is maintained by the Stadtarchiv Hannover, file: HR 19 Nr. 57; *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1944, Potsdam und Salzburg* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, KG, 1944); "Notizen: Inland," *Melos: Zeitschrift für Musik*, Mar. 1934, 112–15; "Musikinstitut für Ausländer," *Neues Musikblatt*, Mar. 1937, 9; "Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer," *Neues Musikblatt*, Aug./Sept. 1937, 2.

well as Leimer and Gieseking.[30] It is therefore no surprise that the institute's offerings were popular, even after war had broken out. In 1940, the participants, only some of whom received scholarships, came from Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the U.S.A., Russia, Italy, Hungary, Slovakia, as well as Germany and its new "protectorates."[31]

The classes were competitive and the partakers, both professional musicians and music students alike, were expected to be at an advanced level. According to the DMfA brochures, "Only musicians or music students who of a sufficient maturity, who will be able to deepen or supplement their studies under a distinguished master, may take part. . . . As the number of participants in the courses is limited, we ask that you apply early."[32] An announcement that appeared in *Musik im Kriege* noted how "master pupils from abroad, who have in part already made public appearances, will receive the final touches to their training from the great German masters."[33] To give an example of

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[30] "Musikinstitut für Ausländer," *Neues Musikblatt*, Mar. 1937, 9; "Musical Notes from Abroad," *Musical Times*, Mar. 1939, 226–27; "Musikerziehung," *Der Musikerzieher*, July 1940, 155. The Swiss-born pianist Edwin Fischer, had lived and taught in Berlin since 1931 and would not return to Switzerland until 1942. For a summary of his record during the Third Reich see Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Fischer, Edwin."

[31] "Musikerziehung," *Der Musikerzieher*, Oct. 1940, 10. *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1936*, [p. 1]. There were, of course, other notable masterclasses offered in the Reich, though apparently none quite on the level of those connected with the DMfA. Those held at the nazified Landesmusikschule in Breslau, which were sponsored by the Reich Propaganda Office in the Province of Lower Silesia, were one good example of this. In 1944, these classes took place in August and September and boasted prominent Reich artists such as pianist Frida Kwast-Hodapp, cellist Paul Grümmer, violinist Max Strub, and soprano Margaethe Siems. "Verschiedene Mitteiligungen," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1944, 117.

[32] "An den Kursen können nur Musiker oder Musikstudierende von genügender Reife teilnehmen, die in der Lage sind, ihre Studien bei einem angesehenen Meister zu vertiefen oder zu ergänzen. . . . Da die Zahl der Kursusteilnehmer beschränkt ist, wird um rechtzeitige Anmeldung gebeten." *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1936*, [p. 1].

[33] "Meisterschüler aus dem Ausland, die teilweise dort schon an die Öffentlichkeit traten, werden im Unterricht der großen deutschen Meister den letzten Schliff erhalten." "Verschiedene Mitteiligungen," *Musik im Kriege*, June/July 1944, 76.

enrollment numbers, in 1937 some 150 students registered at Potsdam alone.[34] And the numbers remained strong even as the war progressed.

The Leimer-Gieseking Classes

Leimer led DMfA courses between May and September, yet the exact dates for the summer courses generally varied each year, as for all classes. In 1939 they ran from the end of May to mid-August, for example, but in 1940 from May to September.[35] His pupils received three lessons a week. It was explained in the brochure that six weeks were needed for the introduction to the Leimer-Gieseking system, which concentrated on such skills as memorization, listening and concentration, the study of scores, and practice methods.[36]

Owing to his busy concert schedule, Gieseking's own involvement was limited to a smaller part of the summer, mainly visits made during the months of July and August, as in 1936. He did not teach students directly, but rather demonstrated and discussed (in German, French, and English) "a number of the most important works of the piano literature."[37] Leimer's pupils were allowed to sit in on Gieseking's DMfA classes at no extra charge—yet another favor from his grateful "pupil." As Leimer's main pedagogical purpose was to introduce the Leimer-Gieseking method, Gieseking's demonstrations must have been viewed as necessary part of the training, a highlight that doubtless attracted most of the participants.

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[34] "Musikinstitut für Ausländer," *Neues Musikblatt*, Aug./Sept. 1937, 2.

[35] "Zeitgeschichte," *Die Musik*, Jan. 1939, 285; "Zeitgeschichte," *Die Musik*, May 1940, 288.

[36] *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1936*, [p. 6].

[37] Ibid.

Perhaps since Leimer was generally known outside of Hanover merely for his method books and was by now partly handicapped, the cost of his classes, 250 RM (60 RM for auditors), was not in the highest price range of those affiliated with the DMfA. In 1936, the participation fee for Gieseking's courses, it was announced, would be "determined in a separate agreement."[38] Partakers in the DMfA courses of pianists Edwin Fischer and Wilhelm Kempff, by comparison, had to pay 350 RM by 1936 and until 1942, and 400 RM for 1943 and 1944.[39] But these two star pianists led their classes independently and in the traditional manner, i.e. they did not simply play through and comment on repertoire, as did Gieseking. Fischer taught for over three weeks, in which students played for him and others even received private lessons.[40] Kempff offered courses twice a week for a full month, in which he discussed students' technique and interpretations, demonstrated works himself, and likewise offered some private instruction.[41] Ultimately, the fees for Leimer's classes never increased except for the auditors, who in 1944 had to pay half of the regular cost of 125 RM. This was the price that other DMfA instructors had been charging auditors since Gieseking and Leimer were first hired.

While Gieseking had only sporadically led masterclasses prior to the DMfA courses, he had led a summer music course at his alma mater, Hanover's State Conservatorium, as early as August 1921. During these early classes, Gieseking had

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[38] *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1936*, [p. 6].

[39] "Zeitgeschichte," *Die Musik*, Jan. 1939, 285; "Zeitgeschichte," *Die Musik*, May 1940, 288; *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1944, Potsdam und Salzburg*.

[40] See, for example, *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1936*, [p. 4]. Auditors paid half of the full cost.

[41] *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1936*, [p. 5]. Auditors paid half of the full cost.

similarly taught and demonstrated the development of piano music from Bach to contemporary works.[42] There is not enough evidence to suggest whether he had led DMfA masterclasses during any subsequent summers before 1935 other than in 1929, but he most likely did not. He makes no mention of it in his private correspondence, and being busy with his career as a touring virtuoso and recording artist with ever-growing international fame, he may have had little interest then in what was, by comparison, lackluster and low-paid teaching. He preferred to take time off from his career in the summers, particularly now that, as of 1931, he was the father of two children.

But in 1935, Gieseking and Leimer became a permanent part of the institute's summer program. After participating in the first summer classes that year, Gieseking described them in a letter to his American piano technician, Richard Pohlman: "I had the summer course with Mr. Leimer, which was fairly well attended. The pupils and students kept asking for more, so I played over 100 compositions for them, from Bach to Hindemith. The same institution wants again the same course, but I should really prefer to keep more away from the piano during the next summer" (Gieseking's English).[43]

By January 1936, Leimer and Schünemann had begun to discuss further masterclasses for the coming summer, but Gieseking was still opposed to participating further in the courses. "The Boss talked for hours about the course," he complained to Annie after meeting with Leimer in January 1936.

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[42] "Notizen," *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, June 1921, 205; "Notizen," *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, Nov. 1921, 330.

[43] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 Dec. 1935, DEC. The institution in question could have only been the DMfA, and in a letter to Annie from 3 November 1935, Gieseking had mentioned meeting the institute's director, Georg Schünemann, in Berlin. In January 1936, he, Leimer, and Schünemann continue to discuss further classes for the approaching summer. Gieseking, Berlin, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 3 Nov. 1935, GFA; Gieseking, Düsseldorf, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 10 Jan. 1936, GFA.

> I've found a way out of it, though. I won't necessarily be obliged to take part and, at the same time, won't be advertised at a cheaper rate the Edwin Fischer.[44] If Schünemann agrees to this, we [Leimer and Gieseking] will separate our announcements [in the brochures]. The Boss will then give continuous courses (his usual lessons), and I will demonstrate works "sufficient enrollment permitting." Because the enrollment in that case will most probably not be enough, the institute will have my name in its brochure, but I'll be off the hook. Moreover, only those signed up for Leimer's courses will be allowed to sit in on my performance classes! I hope that Schünemann agrees to this.[45]

Schünemann did accept Gieseking's terms and, unsurprisingly, there was enough interest in his involvement, so that he had to be included. On 14 February 1936 Leimer, obviously required to do so if for reasons that are now unclear, informed Hanover's Oberbürgermeister, Arthur Menge, and the latter's office director, August Löhdefink, that he had been hired to lead courses for the DMfA.[46] At the time of that year's summer session, the *Niedersächsische Tageszeitung* spoke to Gieseking about his renewed participation in the DMfA classes and reported the following:

> [Gieseking], together with his former teacher in Hanover, Leimer, has been appointed to lead the Musikinstitut für Ausländer [classes] in Wiesbaden. (The decidedly pedagogical component [of the classes] will be taught by Leimer, while

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[44] Gieseking's remark about Edwin Fischer makes it clear that he expected to be paid the highest rate for his involvement in the DMfA courses, and one cannot blame him considering his reputation. Although he respected Fischer's artistry enormously—and they became friends—he seems to have been somewhat envious of the high fees the Swiss pianist was earning in general at the time. Just two days later, he again brought up Fischer's profits to Annie: "By the way, 'Edwin' earned over 3,500 marks(!) for the all-Beethoven recital he gave in Hamburg between Christmas and New Year's Day! Now that's what I call doing business! Dr. Goette said I should also start giving all-Beethoven programs since the public loves them so much." ("Übrigens hat 'Edwin' mit einem Beethoven-Abend zwischen Weihnachten und Neujahr in Hamburg über 3500 Mark(!) verdient! Das ist ein Geschäft! Dr. Goette meinte, ich müsste auch langsam zu Beethoven-Abenden übergehen, weil die Leute so davon angetan sind.") Gieseking, Cologne, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[45] "Der Chef redete ja stundenlang vom Kursus, ich habe jetzt einen Ausweg gefunden, wonach ich nicht direct verpflichtet bin und zugleich nicht billiger als Edwin Fischer annonciert werde. Wenn Schünemann dies annimmt, trennen wir unsere Ankündigungen, der Chef gibt dann ständige Kurse (seine gewöhnlichen Unterricht), ich mache „bei genügender Beteiligung" Vorspielstunden. Da die Beteiligung dann höchst wahrscheinlich nicht genügend wird, hat das Institut meinen Namen im Prospeckt und ich bin die Sache los. Ausserdem sind bei meinen eventuellen Vorspielstunden nur Teilnehmer der Leimerkurse zugelassen! Hoffentlich nimmt Schünemann dies an." Gieseking, Düsseldorf, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 10 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[46] Karl Leimer to Oberbürgermeister [Arthur] Menge, 14 Feb. 1936, Stadt.H., HR 19 Nr. 57; Leimer to Direcktor [August] Lödefink [*sic*], 14 Feb. 1936, Stadt.H., HR 19 Nr. 57.

> Gieseking will contribute by demonstrating [works] and setting the highest standards.) This will give him [Gieseking] the chance to serve, first and foremost, the music's mission to bring together people of various nations: among others, pupils from Switzerland, Holland, England, and Canada, together with Germans, will receive their final training from our most famous artists and virtuosos. It is an institution that will doubtless prompt many foreigners to visit Germany and further strengthen our international standing in this area. For we can be sure about one thing, as Gieseking himself averred: There can be no musical life today without including the Germans; not even during the [First] World War, when nations fought against us with all their weapons, were they able to manage without Beethoven, Wagner, Schubert, etc.[47]

After the 1936 session, Gieseking was more determined than ever not to participate again the next year. Following a subsequent talk with Leimer and Schünemann in October 1936 about the 1937 term, he wrote to Annie: "I strictly refused to take part!"[48] Yet once again he would give in and rejoin Leimer that year, too.[49]

The exact years and locations in which the Leimer-Gieseking DMfA classes were held remain somewhat unclear. Heike Elftmann has stated that they took place annually from 1935 to 1944 in Wiesbaden, while other evidence—including Gieseking's letters to Annie—suggests that they did not occur every year.[50] According to newspaper and magazine announcements—the details of which may not always be accurate—and some

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[47] "[E]r, zusammen mit seinem alten hannoverschen Lehrer Leimer, dazu berufen wurde, das Musikinstitut für Ausländer in Wiesbaden zu leiten. (Die ausgesprochen pädagogische Arbeit übernimmt Leimer, während Gieseking lediglich durch sein Vorspielen erzieherisch wirkt und strengste Maßstäbe schafft.) Hier wird er [Gieseking] Gelegenheit haben, der völkerverbindenden Mission der Musik an erster Stelle zu dienen: hier werden Schweizer, Holländer, Engländer, Kanadier u. a. mit Deutschen gemeinsam durch unsere bekanntesten Künstler und Virtuosen die letzte Schulung erhalten, eine Institution, die ohne Zweifel viele Ausländer zu einem Deutschlandbesuch veranlassen wird und unsere Weltgeltung auf diesem Gebiet noch verstärkt. Denn daran ist kein Zweifel, wie Gieseking mit Nachdruck betonte: Es gibt kein modernes Musikleben ohne die Deutschen; nicht mal im Weltkrieg, wo man mit allen Waffen gegen uns kämpfte, kam man ohne Beethoven, Wagner, Schubert usw. aus." P. N. "Niedersächsische Köpfe," *Niedersächsische Tageszeitung*, 6 Aug. 1936. The author wishes to thank Johann Krischanitz of the Niedersächsische Landesarchiv-Haupstaatsarchiv Hannover, for kindly mailing him a copy of the article.

[48] "[I]ch habe meine Mitwirkung dabei aber strikt abgelehnt!" Gieseking, Berlin, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Oct. 1936, GFA.

[49] For a review that lists Gieseking's participation see "Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer," *Neues Musikblatt*, Aug./Sept. 1937, 2.

[50] Elftmann, *Georg Schünemann*, 261.

extant brochures, the Leimer-Gieseking classes were offered in 1935, 1936, 1937, 1939, 1940, 1942, and 1943. Furthermore, they were going to be given in 1944, but Leimer's weakened health and death prevented it.[51]

With regard to their location, Ricarda Braumandl has written that the Gieseking-Leimer classes took place in Berlin, Wiesbaden, and Leipzig in 1936, in Berlin-Potsdam in 1939, and in Berlin-Potsdam and Salzburg in 1940.[52] The DMfA brochures and certain newspaper articles such as the one cited above, however, indicate that Leimer and Gieseking always taught at the Stadtschloss in Wiesbaden, their hometown in those years.[53] Yet in the institute's brochure for 1936, it was somewhat vaguely mentioned that "An introduction to the Leimer-Gieseking method is scheduled to take place as a special event during the Berlin courses."[54] Owing to Leimer's age and declining physical condition—he had gone almost entirely blind by the winter of 1935–36 (age 78) and became confined to a wheel chair—it would have been extremely difficult for him to offer the courses in other cities. On 10 January 1936, Gieseking wrote to Annie, "I hope

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[51] Gieseking's letter to Pohlman discussed above confirms the 1935 classes. For advertisements and reviews for the DMfA courses for the years 1937, 1939, 1940, and 1944 see "Musikinstitut für Ausländer," *Neues Musikblatt*, Aug./Sept. 1937, 2; "Musical Notes from Abroad," *Musical Times*, Mar. 1939, 226–27; "Musikerziehung," *Der Musikerzieher*, July 1940, 155; *Schweizerische Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, yearbook v. 84 (1944), 208. The DMfA brochures examined for 1936 and 1942–44 include *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1936* (Berlin: H. S. Hermann-Buxenstein, 1936); *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1942, Potsdam und Salzburg* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, KG, 1942); *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1943, Potsdam und Salzburg* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, KG, 1943); *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1944, Potsdam und Salzburg* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, KG, 1944).

[52] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 29–30.

[53] Gieseking's daughter Jutta Hajmássy remembers Leimer and her father leading masterclasses in the Stadtschloss at the Marktplatz in Wiesbaden. Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 10 Sept. 2008.

[54] "Eine Einführung in das System Leimer-Gieseking ist als besondere Veranstaltung auch im Rahmen der Berliner Kurse vorgesehen." *Deutsches Musikinstitut für Ausländer: Berlin: Sommerkurse 1936*, [p. 6]. That Leimer's initial classes were held only at Wiesbaden was also stated in newspaper articles announcing his eightieth birthday. See "Karl Leimer, ein Achtziger," *Musikblätter der Sudetendeutschen*, 15 July 1938, 313 and "Karl Leimer 80 Jahre Alt," *Hannoversche Anzeige*, 21 June 1938 (a copy is found in the Stadtarchiv Hannover file: HR 19 Nr. 57).

the Boss [Leimer] didn't have an accident at the hotel (I brought him to his room). He can hardly see anything anymore!"[55] On 12 November that same year, Gieseking explains that he suspected Leimer had had "some kind of stroke."[56] His declining health notwithstanding, Leimer continued to lead the summer classes, not to mention the writing of his pedagogical book published in 1938. And as late as 21 October 1936, he was planning to offer a course in Berlin without Gieseking the following summer.[57] It is uncertain whether these plans changed, however, to make things easier for Leimer.[58]

End of the DMfA and Further Masterclasses

The DMfA courses were an important example of Gieseking's promotion of Leimer and his pedagogical method. While Gieseking was often reluctant to involve himself in the summer program, he continued to do so, even if to a limited degree and possibly not every year. He was understandably focused more on his international career as a concert pianist and, until the war, a recording artist. Despite his general lack of enthusiasm for the classes, as well as Leimer's waning health, they continued to lead the classes together through 1943. They were scheduled to lead the classes in 1944, which proved to be the DMfA's final summer, but Leimer's death, at age eighty-six, came on 19

[55] "[H]offentlich ist der Chef nicht verunglückt im Hotel (ich brachte ihn ja aufs Zimmer), er kann ja wirklich fast nichts mehr sehen!" Gieseking, Düsseldorf, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 10 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[56] "Der Chef hat wohl doch eine Art Schlaganfall gehabt, wenn ihm jetzt so schlecht ist. . . ." Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Nov. 1936, GFA.

[57] Gieseking, Berlin, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Oct. 1936, GFA.

[58] An announcement in the *Musical Times* about the 1939 classes list all of the DMfA events, Leimer's and Gieseking's included, under the location "Potsdam," but this is clearly a mistake as the courses always took place in multiple cities. "Musical Notes from Abroad," *Musical Times*, Mar. 1939, 226–27.

July 1944.[59] A report on the DMfA's opening events that year was printed in *Musik im Kriege*. In addition to demonstrating the continued success that the program enjoyed—even at this late stage of the hostilities—it shows that Leimer was remembered that day for his years-long commitment to the institution and probably for his other accomplishments as a pedagogue:

> This year's Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer session was opened with a humble ceremony. Exquisite chamber music was played masterfully by Elly Ney, Ludwig Hoelscher, and Arno Schellenburg, with interposed speeches given by Reich Propaganda Director [of Salzburg] Dr. [Heinz] Wolff, General Director Dr. Heinz Drewes, and the institute's director, Prof. Dr. Georg Schünemann.[60] After some commemorative words on the late instructors Maestro [Vittorino] Moratti and Prof. Karl Leimer, the director was able to announce that there are 400 participants from 22 nations for this year's courses, and that another hundred applicants had to be declined.[61] General Director Drewes referred to the courses offered in Salzburg as a commitment to the German spirit and as a national duty. They continue the tradition set forth by the Platonic Academy.[62]

Six months later, as the war's end was rapidly approaching, the head of the DMfA, Georg Schünemann, committed suicide on 2 January 1945.[63] Yet this did not mean the

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[59] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 31.

[60] Heinz Wolff (1910–87) had been the NSDAP's *Gaupropagandaleiter* since 1942 and was since then also director of the prestigious Salzburger Festspiele, which was at this time financed by Goebbels. One of the Reich Music Chamber's two vice presidents, Heinz Drewes (1903–80) had served as the institutions General Director since 1933 and had headed the Propaganda Ministry's music division since 1937. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Wolff, Heinz" and "Drewes, Heinz."

[61] Note that Leimer is incorrectly referred to as "Professor"—a distinction he would never receive, as explained in Excursion III, "Karl Leimer's Professor Title." Moratti (1877–1944) was a voice instructor.

[62] "Die diesjährigen Kurse des Deutschen Musikinstituts für Ausländer wurden mit einer schlichten Feierstunde eröffnet. Erlesene Kammermusik, von Elly Ney, Ludwig Hoelscher und Arno Schellenburg in vollendeter Weise geboten, umrahmte Ansprachen des Reichspropagandaleiters Dr. Wolff, des Generalintendanten Dr. Heinz Drewes und des Kursleiters Prof. Dr. Georg Schünemann. Der Kursusleiter konnte, nach Gedenkworten für die verstorbenen Kurslehrer Maestro Moratti und Prof. Karl Laimer [*sic*], mitteilen, daß die Teilnehmerzahl der diesjährigen Kurse 400 aus 22 Nationen betrage, und einige weitere hundert abgewiesen werden mußten. Generalintendant Dr. Drewes bezeichnete die Salzburger Ausländerkurse als ein Bekenntnis deutschen Geistes und als nationale Verpflichtung; sie seien vom gleichen Sinne getragen wie die platonische Akademie." "Veranstaltungen," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1944, 118.

[63] *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, Centennial Edition, s.v. "Schünemann, Georg."

immediate end of the summer program, for its propaganda value was deemed too great by Goebbels and his Ministry.

After Schünemann's death, one Amtsrat Klaus, an official counselor of the Propaganda Ministry who was also Gieseking's primary contact person there in connection with the latter's foreign tours,[64] went through the trouble of appointing the prominent musicologist Hans Joachim Moser (1889–1967) to succeed Schünemann's in the spring of 1945; Moser was general secretary of the Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen (Reich Department of Musical Activities), a part of the Propaganda Ministry.[65] But with Germany's capitulation came the abrupt end of the DMfA courses.

As Heike Elftmann has shown, there were several obstacles that would have prevented the courses from taking place by 1945 even without Germany's surrender. The many preparations usually made by Schünemann had not been carried out. The wartime situation, above all the destruction and risk of further bombings, had made the host cities increasingly unsuitable for such classes. Faculty members had been lost: Leimer, Moratti (at Salzburg), and Schünemann were dead, and Edwin Fischer and Georg Kulenkampff were living in Switzerland.[66]

It is unlikely as well that Gieseking would have continued to involve himself now that Leimer was gone. In 1943 he had also begun to lead his own classes (without Leimer) in Braunwald, Switzerland, a beautifully situated Alpine village. Similar to those

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[64] During Gieseking's postwar interrogation, he said the following about Klaus: "Amtsrat Klaus was always very nice to me. He would say usually, [']Won't you please play on this occasion,' I obtained many favors from him in connection with my foreign tours." Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2, 3.

[65] Heike Elftmann, *Georg Schünemann*, 265–66.

[66] Ibid.

he gave for the DMfA, Gieseking demonstrated works and offered some commentary.[67] While some sources indicate that Gieseking also took part in the DMfA program that summer, he would have doubtless found two classes to be too many, even if those in Braunwald were just for one week.[68]

In 1949, the composer Boris Blacher (1903–75) and composer/choral conductor Hans Chemin-Petit (1902–81) helped found the *Internationales Musikinstitut* in Berlin, which served as the postwar, de-nazified continuation of the DMfA. In Potsdam, Irene Bauer-Kempff, with the help of her brother Roland—both children of the now former DMfA instructor, pianist Wilhelm Kempff—began to lead masterclasses at Potsdam to help re-establish the musical activities there.[69] Gieseking himself had already begun to hold monthly, international masterclasses in 1947 in the occupied French zone (those in Braunwald ended in 1944), namely at the Staatliches Conservatorium des Saarlandes, the state-funded conservatory located in Saarbrücken. These were more traditionally taught—the students played for Gieseking—and he would keep this position until his death in 1956.[70] During his initial postwar South American tours starting in the late 1940s, he also gave masterclasses in Argentina in 1949 and 1950, at the University of Tucumán's newly founded (1948) Higher Institute of Arts (Universidad Nacional de

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[67] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[68] The Braunwald classes are discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8.

[69] The Kempffs were, in fact, continuing a family tradition in the Potsdam region. Their father, Wilhelm (1895–1991), had come from a family of professional Lutheran church musicians. His grandfather, Frederick Kempff, had been a cantor, and his father, also Wilhelm Kempff, had served as Royal Music Director and Cantor at the St. Nicholas Church in Jüterbog (near Potsdam). Robert Philip, "Kempff, Wilhelm," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 14 Feb. 2012, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14874; "Wilhelm Kempff," Naxos.com, accessed 14 Feb. 2012, http://www.naxos.com/person/Wilhelm_Kempff_23991/23991/htm.

[70] Gieseking's teachings at Saarbrücken and the benefits gained from taking on the position are discussed in Chapter 10.

Tucumán's Instituto Superior de Artes).[71] Thus, Gieseking's legacy as a pedagogue, aided further by the continued sales of the Leimer publications, have endured to this day.

In 1941, Gieseking made one last, new effort on behalf of Leimer, as he requested that Reich officials bestow an honorary title of professor on his mentor.[72]

[71] Gieseking discusses the masterclasses led at both Saarbrücken and Tucumán in many of his letters from the postwar period found in the GFA, as, for example, in Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Sept. 1949, and Gieseking, Montevideo, to Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1950.

[72] This is the subject of the Excursus III "Karl Leimer's Professor Title."

Chapter 3:

Fame, Honor, and Politics, 1936–1938

1936

After relatively uneventful concert trips in Switzerland and Britain, a number of significant incidents occur during Gieseking's European tours between 1936 and 1938. He travels to Spain during the pre-revolutionary unrest, gives a broadcast performance of Liszt's E-flat Piano Concerto on the occasion of the Olympic Games, tries to have State Secretary Walter Funk at the Propaganda Ministry get the ban on Paul Hindemith's music lifted, buys out his Jewish manager Arthur Bernstein, is named Professor in Hitler's name, participates in a reception held on the occasion of the Mussolini's visit, performs at the *Reichsmusiktage* in Düsseldorf, and is decorated by the Belgians. The Reich Music Chamber's Foreign Office subsidizes one of his concerts abroad, with 165.70 RM taken from the account of Joseph Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry.[1] Gieseking's fame continues to grow worldwide, and he returns to North America, where he also has more success than ever before. Moreover, 1936 proves a turning point for him as a recording artist. After the minimal studio activity of 1933 through 1935, he resumes making a greater number of highly successful commercial discs annually.

[1] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter," see 2216. Further details about the concert are not given.

Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, January

In January 1936, Gieseking started out the new year busily by giving nineteen concerts.[2] His first appearances were made in German cities such as Hanover, Bremen, Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Hamburg, as well as in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and The Hague.[3] In Düsseldorf, Gieseking was scheduled to perform a Mozart concerto and Franck's *Variations symphoniques* for piano and orchestra, with Hugo Balzer (1894–1985) leading the city's Städtisches Orchester.[4] Gieseking had not played the Franck work for a considerable time, yet after some initial panic and an unusual amount of last-minute practicing, he managed to pull it off well. This was partly made possible by an older woman who happened to attend the rehearsal. In a letter to his wife, Annie, Gieseking gave an amusing account of the incident, including an equally humorous description of the concert and its conclusion. In doing so, he made a sharp criticism—possibly, though not necessarily, in jest—of Ravel's popular *Bolero*:

> Yesterday was a incredibly busy day: got up at 6:15 a.m., then (with Dr. Goette) journeyed here [to Düsseldorf], and went directly from the train station to rehearsal. Because I had apparently forgotten much of the Franck, I was quite uncertain during the variations. If an elderly lady listening to the rehearsal had not brought along the score, I would have made a complete mess out of it! But I sat down immediately after the run-through for a good hour and practiced the Franck thoroughly before doing anything else. At around 2:30 p.m., I ate here in the hotel and then slept until about 4:30. Actually I wanted to write you then, but the Franck had me too nervous, and so I went back to the hall at 5:30 and crammed in another hour of practice! After all, I had not played the piece for years. I just don't know why I didn't think to practice it at home! [. . .] The concert was overcrowded, the giant hall completely jam packed, and the temperature accordingly hot. Balzer conducted very well, I played Mozart and Franck and

[2] Gieseking, Berne, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 28 Jan. 1936, DEC.

[3] Gieseking, Hanover, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 7 Jan. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Bremen, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 8 Jan. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Düsseldorf, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 10 Jan. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Cologne, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[4] Balzar had been appointed General Music Director of the Düsseldorf orchestra in 1934. Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Balzar, Hugo."

> didn't botch either one. Because Ravel's Bolero came at the end (the piece for imbeciles!), I played the Strauss waltz-paraphrase [Alfred Grünfeld's (1852–1924) *Johann Strauss II: Transcriptions & Paraphrases for Solo Piano – Die Fledermaus*, op. 56], which drew forth thunderous applause. After the concert, the orchestra was photographed. Because the photographer was taking too long to finish, I began to play some appropriate music in the corner until finally the whole orchestra improvised its way through the "Blue Danube" [Waltz]—if the audience had heard it, it would have caused a sensation. [5]

After the performance, Gieseking and Balzer joined some of the attendees at a local restaurant, among them the NSDAP's Gauleiter for Düsseldorf, Friedrich Karl Florian (1894–1975), another, unnamed Nazi party member, along with the latters' wives and still others.[6] Gieseking related little about the evening to Annie, yet he did mention how "there was much protest, when we (Balzer and I) left, but the long gatherings are not appropriate."[7] Gieseking often expresses a dislike for such socializing in his correspondence; thus, this is but one of many instances in which he felt obliged to join German officials after a concert, yet dismissed himself early. In fact, in the same letter Gieseking explained how just two nights before, Goette had "celebrated" ("gefeiert")—

[5] "Gestern war ein recht anstrengender Tag: um 6 ¼ aufstehen, dann (mit Dr. Goette) Reise hierher, direct vom Bahnhof zur Probe; da ich die Noten vom Franck ja bekanntlich vergessen hatte, war ich sehr unsicher in den Variationen. Wenn nicht eine alte Dame, die in der Probe zuhörte, eine Partitur gehabt hätte, würde ich kompromittierend gepatzt haben! So aber setzte ich mich gleich nach der Probe noch eine gute Stunde hin und übte erstmal den Franck gründlich. Um ½ 3 ass ich dann hier im Hotel, dann schlief ich bis gegen ½ 5, eigentlich wollte ich da schreiben, aber der Franck machte mich nervös, da ging ich noch um ½ 6 in den Saal und paukte nochmal eine Stunde! Ich hatte ja das Stück auch jahrelang nicht gespielt, nur ist mir unklar, warum ich es zu Hause nicht geübt hatte! [. . .] "Das Konzert war überfüllt, der Riesensaal gänzlich vollgeproft, die Hitze entsprechend. Balzer dirigierte sehr gut, ich spielte Mozart und Franck, habe beides nicht verpatzt. Da am Schluss der Bolero von Ravel kam (das Stück für Schwachsinniger!), spielte ich die Strauss-Waltzer-Paraphrase, wonach entsprechend getobt wurde. Nach dem Konzert wurde das Orchester photographiert, da der Photograph nicht fertig wurde fing ich an, in der Ecke etwas passende Musik anzudeuten, schliesslich spielte das ganze Orchester improvisierend die blaue Donau—wenn das Publikum das gehört hätte, wäre eine Sensation daraus geworden." Gieseking, Düsseldorf, to Annie, letter, 10 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[6] Florian served as Gauleiter of Düsseldorf from 1930 to 1945.

[7] "Es wurde sehr protestiert, dass wir (Balzer und ich) schon weggingen, aber die langen Sitzungen sind ja nicht angebracht." Gieseking, Düsseldorf, to Annie, letter, 10 Jan. 1936, GFA.

he is being sarcastic—until 3 a.m. He had also been invited to the gathering, but was happy to report to his wife: "Good, that I wasn't there with him!"[8]

Still in January, Gieseking proceeded to give his next concert tour in Switzerland, traveling to such cities as La Chaux-de-Fonds, Geneva, Vevey, Berne, and Lausanne.[9] During this time, he was able to collaborate with a number of important Swiss musicians. Most notably, he played a Piano Concerto by the Swiss composer Frank Martin (1890–1974), as well as the Schumann concerto, under the direction of the Swiss conductor Ernest Ansermet (1883–1969) in La Chaux-de-Fonds. Gieseking expressed his view of the Martin composition to Annie: "[I] am not so impressed by the piece, and the ensemble playing is extremely difficult. Fortunately, Ansermet conducts such things so well."[10]

Martin had arranged to meet with Gieseking (Ansermet had to travel to Turin) on 22 January, who was surprised to see so many "durchaus unbekannte" ("completely unknown") composers there, apparently at Martin's home.[11] "[I] have seldom got to know so many *compositeurs* at once, certainly none of whom are writing ground-breaking works, however. With Conrad Beck [1901–89] I had a most interesting conversation about compositional problems; he makes a lot of sense."[12] In Berne,

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[8] "Gut, dass ich da nicht mit war!" Gieseking, Düsseldorf, to Annie, letter, 10 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[9] Gieseking, La Chaux-de-Fonds, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Jan. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Geneva, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 23 Jan. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Vevey, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 25 Jan. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Berne, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[10] "[I]ch finde das Stück nicht so fabelhaft, dabei ist es recht schwer im Zusammenspiel, ein Glück, dass Ansermet solche Sachen so gut dirigiert." Gieseking, Geneva, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 23 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[11] Gieseking, La Chaux-de-Fonds, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Jan. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Geneva, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 23 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[12] "[I]ch habe selten so viele compositeurs kennen gelernt, die aber gewiss alle nicht welterschütternd schreiben. Mit Conrad Beck unterhielt ich mich recht interessant über

Gieseking also had the chance to practice Albert Moeschinger's *Toccata* with the Swiss composer at his side. Moeschinger (1897–1985) also joined him and some acquaintances for dinner that evening.[13]

Britain, February

After more German engagements, including a lauded performance of Mozart's A-major Concerto (K. 488) and Max Trapp's Concerto in D major (op. 26, composed 1931) with Hermann Abendroth leading Leipzig's Gewandhaus Orchestra, Gieseking traveled to Great Britain in February.[14] There he concertized in Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Edinburgh. Having begun to record in 1923, initially in Berlin for the Homocord label, he had long since established an international reputation not merely as a leading performer, but also increasingly as a successful recording artist.[15] His visit to London included a further recording session in Abbey Road Studio No. 3, and the following description he gave of it shows just how remarkably efficient he could be in the studio:[16]

> Woke up at 8:30 a.m., at 10 I was at Columbia [Records]. It sounded much better here [than in Berlin]. I played enough to fill 8 [78rpm] record sides. Only *Children's Corner* is still missing, which I was especially hoping to record. It was quite a bit already, though. In 2 hours I had to record [Debussy's] *Reflets dans*

Kompositionsprobleme, der ist sehr vernünftig." Gieseking, Geneva, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 23 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[13] Gieseking, Berne, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Jan. 1936, GFA.

[14] Wilhelm Jung, "Konzert: Leipzig," *Die Musik*, Feb. 1936, 391. Gieseking had played the Trapp Concerto with Willem Mengelberg in October 1935—of which a commercially released broadcast recording survives—and would perform it again within the next month under Eugen Jochum in Hamburg. Willem Mengelberg: Archives inédites II (2001), 2 CDs, Tahra Records TAH 401/402; "Konzert: Hamburg," *Die Musik*, Mar. 1936, 466.

[15] For a complete list of Gieseking's earliest commercial records, see Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 5–6.

[16] This session duplicated two earlier sessions that had taken place in Berlin on 2 and 3 October 1935, of which all the takes were rejected. The most likely reasons for this would have been that either the sonic quality or the performances were deemed unsatisfactory. Lundgren, *Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography*, [no page numbers].

> *l'eau*, *Soirée dans Grenade*, [and] "Cathedrale" ["La cathédrale engloutie"], Mozart's ["Turkish"] March, Handel Variations ["The Harmonious Blacksmith"], [Chopin's] "Minute" Waltz, and the popular Schubert [*Moment musical* no. 3] as well as a piece by Brahms [*Klavierstücke*, op. 119 no. 3]. I was careful, however, and limited the wrong notes as much as possible. At 12:15 I had to be at a radio station for a rehearsal until 1 o'clock.[17]

Gieseking needed only one "take" for six of the nine pieces recorded. The remaining three works (*Reflets dans l'eau*, the "Turkish" March, and "La Cathédrale engloutie") were played twice, though the first take was chosen in two cases.[18] The resulting records were issued on the U.S., French, German, Australian, and Italian Columbia labels, as well as the Japanese label, Nipponophone, which had become an affiliate of Columbia in 1927.[19] At this point, Gieseking would continue to make a significant number of commercial recordings each year until the nearly complete, long-lasting interruption brought on by WWII. Two more sessions took place this year, at which time he committed to disc three Mozart works, further solidifying his reputation as an exponent of the composer's keyboard music: the Piano Concerto Nr. 9 in E-flat major (K. 271, "Jeunehomme") on 29 September, with Hans Rosbaud conducting the Berlin Staatsoper orchestra, and the Sonatas Nr. 16 in B-flat major (K. 570) and Nr. 14 in C minor (K. 457)

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[17] Gieseking forgot to mention that he had also recorded Chopin's Prelude op. 28, no. 3. He was considering staying in London longer so that he could record *Children's Corner*, but that goal would remain unrealized until January 1937. "Heute ½ 9 auf, um 10 war ich bei Columbia, es klang hier bedeutend besser, ich spielte 8 Platten-Seiten voll, es fehlt nur noch Children's Corner, das ich gerade besonders gern eingespielt hätte. Es war aber schon allerhand, in 2 Stunden Reflets dans l'eau, Soirée dans Grenade, Cathedrale, Mozart-Marsch, Händel-Variationen, Minuten-Waltzer und den beliebten Schubert einzuspielen, dazu noch einen Brahms. Ich habe aber aufgepasst und falsche Noten möglichst vermieden. 12 ¼ war ich beim Radio, Probe bis 1. . . ." Gieseking, London, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Feb. 1936, GFA; Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 7–8.

[18] The second take was used only for the Mozart movement. Lundgren, *Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography*.

[19] Ibid.; Frank W. Hoffmann, ed., *Encyclopedia of Recorded Sound*, 2d ed., vol. 1 (New York: Routledge: 2005), s.v. "Nipponophone Co., Ltd."

the following day.[20] Critiquing the Mozart Concerto record the following summer, Compton Pakenham of the *New York Times* concluded, "Here he is properly detached, allowing the music to speak for itself and, to judge by the cadenzas in comparison with the passages in which the orchestra plays without the piano, it is his mind that directs most of the performance."[21]

Spain and Portugal

During the second half of April 1936, Gieseking journeyed to Spain and Portugal to fulfill a small number of engagements, two in Portugal and three in Spain, over a twelve-day period.[22] While he arrived on 15 April and left Barcelona on 27 April, the concerts themselves took place within only ten days, during 17–25 April. As had been the case regarding his Mexican tour the previous year, the performances were arranged through Ernesto de Quesada's agency, Conciertos Daniel. This time, however, a representative from the Madrid office, Valentín Cortés, was in charge of Gieseking's visit.[23] Gieseking met with Cortés right away, as he reported to Annie: "After arriving [in Madrid] today [16 April], I first freshened up thoroughly, then went to [Conciertos]

[20] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 8.

[21] Pakenham, "Recent Recordings: Gieseking Plays Mozart Concerto—Works By Faure, Pierne, Bach, and Others," *New York Times*, 13 June 1937.

[22] Severin Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[23] Gieseking spells Cortés's name as "Cortez" throughout his correspondence with Annie from the time of this Spanish-Portuguese tour. (This is certainly the same representative from the Madrid office.) The correct spelling is given by Quesada's son, Ernesto de Quesada Jr., in his essay "Ernesto de Quesada: Founder de los Conciertos Daniel," accessed 12 Apr. 2011, http://www.conciertosdaniel.com/Noticias/Ernesto%20De%20Quesada%20Lopez%20Chaves.pdf. Gieseking does not mention Quesada Sr. in the correspondence regarding this brief tour.

Daniel. Mr. Cortez was not there yet. He requested I travel to his place (at the agency's expense!), [so] I was accompanied to his home. We discussed the details of the tour."[24]

At this point in his career, Gieseking began to tour in part by airplane. Departing from Stuttgart on 15 April, he had made his first "Luftreise" (literally, "air journey") to Barcelona, from where he traveled to Madrid to begin the tour.[25] Excited about the adventurous flight, the next day he sent Annie a letter in which he charmingly captured the thrill of those early years of commercial aviation, pointing out both its pros and cons. This was a Lufthansa airplane:[26]

> The flight went very well, . . . at 9:20 a.m. we departed. The plane was quite full, but one had a very comfortable seat, plenty of room on all sides—utterly pleasant! First we went over the Black Forest, right over the Feldberg, only 100 meters over the summit, and you could look down at Titisee, etc.[27] I did not recognize Triberg from above. . . .[28] Then we continued high above Basel, after that over the Swiss Jura Mountains, Lake Neuchâtel and Lake Geneva. One saw the Alps the entire time, although they were not very clear. In Geneva we had a ten-minute stopover, where it was freezing cold and overcast. Then the weather stayed good for a while, but in the Rhône Valley the wind started to blow. One was rocked about somewhat; sometimes you have the seat pulled right out from under you, as it were. I am sure you wouldn't like it! Because the shaking is completely irregular—unlike on a steam ship, where there is always the same swaying kick to the stomach—I handled it very well. (Some passengers got sick.) In Marseille there was nearly a storm; one had to hold onto to one's hat it was blowing so hard. After that, we went straight across the [Mediterranean] Sea. At the high altitude it was calm again, and then we had a splendid view of the coast of Catalonia and the Pyrenees. There was turbulence once more, but Barcelona was reached right on time. One of the nicest things about a plane is that there is no dust at all,

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[24] "Heute nach der Ankunft machte ich erst sorgfältig Toilette, ging dann zu Daniel, Herr Cortez war noch nicht da, er bat mich, zu ihm zu kommen (auf Kosten der Firma!), ich wurde zu ihm begleitet, wir besprachen die Einzelheiten der Tournee." Gieseking, Madrid, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[25] Gieseking, Stuttgart, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 15 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[26] Shortly after arriving, he had mentioned the flight in a postcard sent the same day. Gieseking, Barcelona, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 15 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[27] The Feldberg is the highest mountain of the Black Forest. Titisee is a lake in the southern, mountainous Black Forest, covering an area of 1.3 kilometers.

[28] The town of Triberg is located in the Black Forest's Schwarzwald-Baar district and is known for its waterfalls.

> everything is impeccably clean. When I think of how I would have looked after traveling that stretch by train![29]

Naturally, Gieseking still had to take long train trips during the tour, including one right away to Madrid for thirteen and a half hours overnight, just as he would also continue to travel to the North America via ship through 1939, where he likewise continued to tour mostly by train until his visits years after World War II.[30]

Gieseking had first concertized in Spain at the start of his international career, in 1923, a tour that Arthur Bernstein had arranged.[31] A postcard sent from Madrid to the German composer, conductor and pedagogue Heinz Tiessen (1887–1971) on 25 May 1925, shows that he had returned two years later, if not sooner.[32] During the 1923 visit, he had initially traveled to Portugal by ship before taking an "endless" train trip to Spain, and, at the conclusion of the early tour, he journeyed by steamboat to Italy.[33] While he

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[29] "[D]er Flug verlief also sehr gut, . . . 9.20 wurde losgeflogen, das Flugzeug war ziemlich besetzt, man hat aber einen sehr bequemen Sessel für sich, reichlich Platz nach allen Seiten, durchaus komfortabel! Zuerst ging's über den Schwarzwald, genau über den Feldberg weg, nur etwa 100 Meter über der Spitze, man sah auf den Titisee etc. Triberg habe ich von oben nicht erkannt. . . . Dann ging es hoch über Basel weg, danach über Schweizer Jura, Neuchateler u. Genfer See, die ganze Zeit sah man die Alpen, die jedoch nicht ganz klar waren. In Genf 10 Minuten Aufenthalt, dort war es eisig kalt, trübe, dann blieb das Wetter noch einige Zeit ganz gut, im Rhonetal ging dann der Wind los. Man wurde dabei etwas geschaukelt, manchmal wird sozusagen der Sitz unter einem weggezogen, für Dich wäre das sicher nichts! Da die Erschütterungen ganz unregelmässig sind, nicht wie beim Dampfer, wo immer wieder derselbe Schaukelstoss in den Magen erteilt wird, hielt ich es sehr gut aus. (Einigen Passagieren wurde schlecht.) In Marseille war beinahe Sturm, man musste die Mütze festhalten, so wehte es. Danach ging es quer übers Meer, in der Höhe war es wieder ruhig, dann war prachtvolle Aussicht auf die Küste von Katalonien und die Pyrenäen, dabei schaukelte es nochmal etwas, aber Barcelona wurde ganz pünktlich erreicht. Sehr angenehm beim Flugzeug ist, dass gar kein Staub vorhanden ist, alles tadellos sauber; wenn ich denke wie man nach der Strecke in der Eisenbahn ausgesehen hätte!" Gieseking, Madrid, letter, 16 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[30] Gieseking, Madrid, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Apr. 1936, GFA. Gieseking's first intercontinental flights would not occur until after World War II, the first ones being to South America, followed by North America in 1948.

[31] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 56–57.

[32] Gieseking, Madrid, to Heinz Tiessen, postcard, 25 May 1925, Heinz-Tiessen-Archiv, Lauf. Nr.: 719, AdKA, Berlin. During the Nazi era, Tiessen would be placed on the NS-Kulturgemeinde's list of "Musik-Bolschewisten." Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Tiessen, Heinz."

[33] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 56–57.

enjoyed this earlier Spanish visit, he had played in "truly bizarre towns," and the transportation had indeed been one of his chief complaints:

> The trips were in part terribly uncomfortable, for example, when the only train in a particular place arrived and departed at four o'clock in the morning and the station was situated about ten kilometers [ca. 6.2 miles] outside the town center, or when one had to take an omnibus that was drawn by six harnessed mules to the terminal.[34]

As a result, Gieseking—and probably most other touring artists—must have truly appreciated the advances that had since been made in transportation, air travel above all.

Marital Problems

Annie had been opposed to the present trip to Spain, possibly in part because of a minor marital dispute. As recently as January, Gieseking had written his wife from Freiburg, regretting a disagreement they had had shortly before his departure.[35] Similarly, he now wrote to Annie from Stuttgart on 15 April, some two weeks after their eleventh wedding anniversary (31 March), expressing his regret for leaving her for the tour, and the next day he wrote again from Madrid, further lamenting his decision to travel to Spain.[36]

> I have had enough of this tour without it having even really begun. You were (for once—or: as always) right again; I should not have undertaken this tour—but there is nothing I can do about it now. I would, however, think long and hard before ever repeating it!! Nevertheless, I ate well here today at the Hotel

[34] "Die Reisen waren teilweise entsetzlich unbequem, zum Beispiel, wenn der einzige Zug im Konzertort morgens um 4 Uhr eintraf und abfuhr und der Bahnhof etwa zehn Kilometer von der Stadt entfernt lag, und wenn man auf einem mit sechs Maultieren bespannten Omnibus zur Bahn fahren mußte." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 57.

[35] Gieseking, Freiburg, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 20 1936, GFA.

[36] Gieseking, Stuttgart, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 15 Apr. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Madrid, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Apr. 1936, GFA.

> Nacional, and everything else here is actually not too bad. Only the weather is cold and windy—not at all southern!![37]

Offering words of consolation, Gieseking reminded Annie that their summer vacation together would begin upon his return in just sixteen days.[38] She was a housewife, raising the children, and Walter generally took much of the summers off, during which time he enjoyed his leisure with the family, working in the garden, doing little to no practicing. They also went on trips within Europe, usually to the Alps, where Walter, who had a strong love for nature, could enjoy some mountain climbing and entomological work. Annie often joined him during these field trips.[39]

Spanish Unrest

On 18 April, Gieseking wrote to his wife to ease any worries she might have had about the disorder in Spain: "I fear that you have learned of the general strike and unrest

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[37] "Jedenfalls habe ich von dieser Tournee schon genug, bevor sie überhaupt richtig angefangen hat. Du hast mal wieder (ausnahmsweise – oder: wie immer) Recht, ich hätte diese Reise gar nicht machen sollen—aber es war ja jetzt nichts mehr daran zu ändern. Aber eine Wiederholung werde ich mir schwer überlegen!! Trotzdem ich heute hier im [Hotel] Nacional recht gut gegessen habe und sonst ja alles hier gar nicht schlecht ist. Nur das Wetter ist kalt und windig—durchaus nicht südlich!!" Gieseking, Madrid, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[38] Gieseking, Stuttgart, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 15 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[39] By the time of his American debut in 1926, Gieseking had already established this tradition. In an interview that same season with Harriette Brower, he addressed the topic: "I really need very little practise [*sic*], . . . as I do not forget what I have learned; my fingers don't forget either. In the summer I take a couple of months off for rest and recreation, and often do not touch a piano or even see one, in all that time. But this seems to make no difference with my playing. After the vacation I can return and at once give a recital or play with orchestra without the least difficulty. All of which proves I do not need much visible practise. During my concert season, of course, I have little time for practise, but I can study new works, on trains, as I travel about." Brower and Johnson, *Piano Mastery*, 175–76. In an autobiographical sketch in the form of a letter from 1937 Gieseking indicated his preferred leisure activities: "To relax (when there is time for this): mountain climbing, butterfly collecting, gardening" ("Zur Erholung (wenn dazu Zeit ist): Bergsteigen, Schmetterlingesammeln, Gartenarbeit"). Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to unidentified "Doktor," n.p., letter, 11 Apr. 1937, Signatur: Autogr. Gieseking, Walter, Lebenslauf, 2 S., 2º, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

in Madrid, and for that reason I am hurrying to send you a few lines."[40] It is hard to believe that he and Annie had not been concerned about his visit any sooner. Since the recent election of 16 February, political turmoil and widespread violence had surged throughout the country. The Leftist Popular Front's victory in the poll had caused the Spanish nationalists to unite against the leftist republicans, and the foreign press was covering the widespread disorder—Spain itself had issued a press censorship.[41] Other nations followed the conflict through the daily reports on the riots, general strikes, freeing of prisoners, killings and other hostilities that were occurring. A "state of alarm" had been issued at the time of the election, and martial law and even a "state of war" were declared in various parts of Spain.[42] Spaniards had begun to flee to avoid the danger, and extremists soon began to make threats against "all foreigners."[43] The national crisis would soon develop into the Spanish Civil War (July 1936–April 1939), which would ultimately leave between 500,000 and 1,000,000 dead. Within a few months of the war's outbreak, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy would begin to aid the Spanish nationalists, leading them to their victory in 1939, as the Soviets supported the leftist forces. While, surprisingly, neither Walter nor Annie made any mention of the early violence and growing public fear in their frequent correspondence between the election and the

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[40] "[I]ch fürchte, dass Du vom Generalstreik und Unruhen in Madrid erfahren hast und daher beeile ich mich besonders, doch ein paar Zeilen loszuschicken." Gieseking, Valencia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 18 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[41] Henry Buckley, "Riots Celebrate Leftist Victory in Spain's Vote," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 Feb. 1936.

[42] See, for example, "Martial Law Declared in 3 Cities as Sequel to Radical Victory," *Washington Post*, 18 Feb. 1936; Henry Buckley, "Riots Celebrate Leftist Victory in Spain's Vote," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 Feb. 1936; "Riots Sweeping Spain; Soviet Set Up in Town," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 21 Feb. 1936.

[43] "Tension in Spain Rises After Poll," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 18 Feb. 1936; "England Asks Spain to Protect Britons in Riots," *Washington Post*, 13 Mar. 1936.

Spanish concerts, they now had every reason to be somewhat concerned for his safety during the visit.

The General Strike in Madrid

Nationwide chaos notwithstanding, the tour brought Gieseking to Barcelona, the capital city of Madrid, Valencia, Porto, and back to Madrid.[44] Madrid was among those places shut down by a general strike, causing even further mayhem.[45] In spite of the circumstances, Gieseking's first concert took place there on 17 April, as scheduled. He reported on the situation to Annie:

> When I arrived all the shops were closed, no trolleys were running, etc.: general strike! Herr Ashelm [the concert manager in Madrid] called me and said that the concert would still take place. I played before approximately 130 people (instead of the 1,200! who otherwise supposedly come) and received my payment! At the hotel, students served us because the waiters were also on strike; there was food, however. In other words, the strike caused no other problems; it is, of course, just a stupid [i.e. inconvenient] situation."[46]

In his memoir, however, Gieseking later remembered how the general strike had made the circumstances of his visit "not so pleasant" ("nicht sehr erfreulich"). "Shortly thereafter," he added, "the calamitous Spanish Civil War began."[47]

On 18 April, Gieseking gave the next recital in Valencia, where Cortés's chauffeur drove them in an "absolutely first-class car" ("ganz erst-klassigen Auto"),

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[44] Gieseking, Valencia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 18 Apr. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Madrid, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Apr. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Barcelona, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[45] "Spain Rounds Up Fascists; Strike Cripples Madrid," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 Apr. 1936.

[46] "Als ich dort ankam, waren alle Läden zu, es fuhr keine Elektrische, etc.: Generalstreik! Herr Ashelm rief mich dann an und sagte, das Konzert finde trotzdem statt. Ich spielte auch vor ca. 130 Leuten (statt 1200! die sonst kommen sollten) und bekam mein Honorar! Im Hotel bedienten Studenten, da die Kellner auch streikten, es gab aber zu essen. Also war der Streik nicht weiter bedenklich, nur sind es doch blödsinnige Zustände." Gieseking, Valencia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 18 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[47] "Bald danach begann der unselige spanische Bürgerkrieg." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 69.

before returning to Madrid the next day.[48] From Madrid, he traveled to Porto, Portugal on 20 April, concertizing there on 21 and 22 April.[49] And on Friday, the twenty-fourth, he journeyed back to Madrid by train—this time *not* overnight in a sleeping car—which must have been a grueling fifteen hours for him after being spoiled by the recent, swift and, excluding the turbulence, comfortable flight. He had to change trains, there were delays, and when he finally arrived, he was "utterly dead tired" ("gänzlich totmüde!").[50]

Meeting with German Diplomats

During the Spanish tour, Gieseking met with some German diplomats, by now a routine that he would maintain throughout his career.[51] While in Madrid the first time, he visited the German Embassy. Since the Ambassador was away, however, Gieseking did not expect to (and apparently did not) receive an invitation to perform there.[52] In Porto, on the other hand, he joined one German Consul Stüwe and others at a restaurant after his second concert there on 22 April. After catching butterflies during the early part of the day, he was invited to Stüwe's home. "That evening I then had to eat at the consul's place; I bet his wife wanted to see what a grass eater [i.e. Gieseking, the vegetarian] would have to be served! It was nice there; the Gilberts were present, too, as well as the consul's son, with his wife. There was, among other things, forty-five-year-old port

[48] Gieseking, Valencia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 18 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[49] Gieseking, Madrid, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[50] Gieseking, Barcelona, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[51] As we learned in the Chapter 2, German musicians—Gieseking included—were required to gain approval for all foreign concerts from the German Foreign Office and/or the Propaganda Ministry during the National Socialist period.

[52] Gieseking, Madrid, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Apr. 1936, GFA.

wine."[53] Old acquaintances of Gieseking's, Mr. Gilbert and his son had also joined the pianist—all driven by the Gilberts' chauffeur—for the earlier entomological field trip. In general, Gieseking liked the Portuguese, finding them perhaps only too "terribly polite" ("furchtbar höflich"). "In Portuguese one says 'Your Excellency' where we say 'Sie' [the German formal form of 'you']."[54]

Upon returning to Madrid, Gieseking also met the Deputy Head of Mission (*stellvertretender Botschafter*) and Legation Councilor (*Legationsrat*), as they attended his final concert on 25 April.[55] Afterward, he somewhat reluctantly invited the latter to dine with him—"that is, he wanted to take me along [with him], but I had no desire to go out."[56]

There were some changes made to the itinerary, and Gieseking flew from Barcelona to Switzerland on 27 April; he apparently arrived back in Wiesbaden on the twenty-ninth, two days sooner than planned.[57] Between the tour's inconveniences and the thought of the approaching summer vacation on his mind, he had been eagerly anticipating the upcoming break: "I will be happy to board the plane," he had written only four days into the tour, "with which I can return to more cultured places. Yet no one

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[53] "Den Abend musste ich dann noch beim Konsul essen, die Frau wollte sicher sehen, was ein Grasfresser vorgesetzt bekommen muss! Dort war es gemüthlich, Gilberts waren auch da, dazu der Sohn des Konsuls mit Frau. Es gab u.a. 45 jährigen Portwein." Gieseking, Barcelona, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[54] "[Auf] portugiesisch sagt man ja auch 'Euerer Excellenz,' wo wir 'Sie' sagen!" Ibid.

[55] Gieseking was originally scheduled to perform in Barcelona that day. Gieseking, Madrid, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[56] "Ich lud dann den Legationsrat zum Essen ein, d.h. er wollte mich mitnehmen, aber ich wollte nicht mehr ausgehen." Gieseking, Barcelona, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[57] Ibid.

is doing me any harm here; on the contrary, I had two excellent reviews this morning in Valencia! But still: I can't wait for the break—no trips, no work—and relaxation!"[58]

The state of affairs in Spain had interfered with the overall success of Gieseking's tour considerably: concerts were rescheduled and canceled and attendance limited. Although his earnings for the recitals that did take place appear to have been unaffected, he was presumably not paid for those that did not occur. Furthermore, because he was not allowed to take his entire profits out of Spain, he had to leave a portion of the gain with the embassy in Madrid.[59] Writing to Richard Pohlman, his Baldwin piano technician and chum in the U.S., Gieseking had this to say about the Spanish visit: "[I] had several concerts there, but as there was a general strike just [i.e. right] during my first recital in Madrid and the whole country [was] infested with communistic trouble, it was not so extremely enjoyable. Only the travel from Germany to Spain in a few hours by airplane was marvelous."[60] On a more positive note, he was delighted to bring back with him the butterfly specimens he had caught as well as some plants he had collected for his beloved garden.[61] Yet the visit must have left him with a bad impression of Spain as a place to concertize. Indeed, Gieseking would not return there until the war, during which time he gave a total of nine performances in the Franco-led, Axis Power friendly country in 1943, 1944, and 1945.[62] While the U.S. Military Government later suspected that the wartime

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[58] "Ich werde mit Wohlbehagen das Flugzeug besteigen, mit dem ich mich in kultiviertere Gegenden zurückbegeben kann. Obwohl mir hier ja keiner was tut, im Gegenteil, ich hatte heute früh in Valencia 2 vorzügliche Kritiken! Aber sonst und trotzdem: nichts wie aufhören—keine Reisen, keine Arbeit—und ausruhen!" Gieseking, Madrid, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[59] Gieseking, Barcelona, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[60] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 10 June 1936, DEC.

[61] Gieseking, Barcelona, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Apr. 1936, GFA.

[62] Severin Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3. He returned to Portugal in 1942, 1943, and 1944, during which time he gave he gave sixteen performances all together.

concerts had played a propagandistic role for the Nazi government, Gieseking's German manager Rudolf Goette argued that the engagements were "purely private arrangements" ("rein private Abschlüsse") that he had organized independently of the Nazi authorities.[63]

After the war, however, it seems that Gieseking played in Spain but one last time. In 1956, the last year of his life, he travelled across the country by car in order to play an all-Debussy recital at the Festival Internacional de Música y Danza in Granada on 27 June. His daughter Freya did the driving, and his postwar manager, André Puglia, along with the latter's wife, accompanied them. Along the way, the group visited Madrid and Toledo, though no concerts took place in those cities.[64] On the other hand, he continued to make appearances in Portugal, where, as in Italy, he was able to make a considerable amount of profit.[65]

The Reiffs

From Barcelona, Gieseking flew to Switzerland, first to Geneva, then traveling further to Zurich for a short stay before making his way back to Wiesbaden. Regarding his accommodation in the Swiss city, he remarked, "In Zurich I am not going to Reiff's [place] for obvious reasons: bad room, bad service, anti-Nazi environment, etc."[66] The

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[63] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 2.

[64] Walter and Freya Gieseking, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, postcard, 19 June 1956, GFA. The performance in Granada is discussed further in Chapter 14.

[65] In August 1948, Gieseking explained to Jutta how he could earn more from concerts in Italy and Portugal than from the entire North America tour that his American manager Charles Wagner was then planning for him. The reason for this, Gieseking noted, was the high percentage of taxes he had to pay in the U.S. By the end of April/early May 1949, Gieseking had already concertized in Portugal again (after the war). Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Jutta Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Aug. 1948, GFA; Annie and Walter Gieseking, to Jutta and Freya [addressed as "Butzi" and "Wupsi"] Gieseking, letter, 4 May 1949, GFA.

[66] "In Zurich gehe ich nicht zu Reiff's aus den bekannten Gründen: schlechtes Zimmer, Hundewirtschaft, Antinazistimmung, etc." Gieseking, Barcelona, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Apr. 1936, GFA.

Swiss silk industrialist Hermann Reiff (1856–1938) and his wife, Lily Reiff-Sertorius (1866–1958), a German-Swiss composer who had also been a piano pupil of Franz Liszt, regularly welcomed artists to their home in Zurich, where Gieseking had evidently often stayed in the past.[67] There home, which must have been quite luxurious, was, in fact, a popular meeting place for such eminent figures as violinist Adolf Busch and writer Thomas Mann.[68] Gieseking's above remark implies that he did not wish to hear others criticizing Nazi Germany, which he at least partly supported at the time. But he probably wanted to avoid staying where he would encounter any kind of heated political arguments. He was, to be fair, usually extremely busy while on tour, and he needed to relax and get proper rest when returning to his lodging. He made it clear on numerous occasions that he generally did not enjoy discussing politics, and he frequently found ways to excuse himself from after-concert dinner invitations, often in order to get some much-needed sleep. In February 1939, for example, after accepting a dinner invitation with a small number of guests, which he preferred, he confided to Annie: "Actually, I still much prefer to relax in the sofa corner in the evenings, without being disturbed by strangers, but of course that also never works out."[69]

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[67] The reader will recall that Gieseking had mentioned receiving the Reiffs' advice when searching for a home in Switzerland back in 1931 (see Chapter 1). Thus, he had known them for some time by now.

[68] Sibylle Ehrismann, Thomas Meyer, and Barbara Davatz, eds., *Schweizer Komponistinnen der Gegenwart: eine Dokumentation hrsg. vom Frauenmusik-Forum* (Zurich: Musik Hug, 1985), 11; Adolf Busch and Irene Serkin-Busch, *Adolf Busch: Briefe, Bilder, Erinnerungen* (Walpole, NH: Arts & Letters Press, 1991), 289.

[69] "An sich lese ich am liebsten abends ruhig in der Sofaecke, ohne durch fremde Leute gestört zu werden, aber immer geht da ja auch nicht." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

The Summer of 1936

In the summer of 1936, Gieseking again joined Karl Leimer by demonstrating piano literature for the summer classes organized in association with the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer. He otherwise made only a couple of appearances during these months, enjoying the remaining free time he had as much as possible. In a letter to Richard Pohlman from 10 June, Gieseking described the exceptionally made engagements:

> My concerts are now finished, except [for the] very few summer interludes, [such] as a radio symphony concert in Frankfurt on the 26th (our local station), where I [will] play Mozart and Debussy with orchestra and after that [give] the first public performance of a Sonata for Flute and Piano, composed by "your obedient servant" . . [.] (Don't say anything about flute-players now!!)[70]

The "Sonata" for flute and piano referred to here would ultimately be published as a "Sonatine" by Johannes Oertel of Berlin in 1937 and has remained Gieseking's most frequently performed and recorded work to this day.[71] He had mentioned the composition as early as January 1936, begun to notate the separate flute part before mid-February, and gave the described premier performance with one Herr Schmidt on an unspecified date shortly before 4 July that summer.[72]

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[70] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 10 June 1936, DEC. The final sentence of the quoted excerpt to Pohlman is but one example of the many jokes that Pohlman and Gieseking enjoyed sharing and is further evidence of their close friendship. In no other known letters, other than those with his wife, is Gieseking so informal.

[71] Gieseking, *Sonatine für Flöte und Klavier* (Berlin: Johanness Oertel, 1937).

[72] Gieseking, Cologne, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 12 Jan. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Edinburgh, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Feb. 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, [?] Schmidt, 4 July 1936, copy of the letter in the GFA.

The Olympic Games

On the occasion of the Olympic Games in Berlin in August, Gieseking was engaged to give a broadcast performance in the capital of Liszt's Piano Concerto in E-flat major. He apparently took unusually swift tempos in this instance, for he later recalled how it afterward "gave rise to the joke about my wanting to set the record for the fastest performance of this concerto."[73] There is no evidence of the arrangements having been made by the Propaganda Ministry, but the Ministry and Reich Radio Association monitored all German broadcasts of the events rigidly, and Joseph Goebbels would surely have welcomed the occurrence for propaganda purposes.[74] It created the perfect opportunity to allow a global audience to hear German pianism at its arguable best during this ultimate, international athletic contest in which forty-nine nations competed.

The Nazis, most notably Propaganda Minster Goebbels, had, of course, quickly realized radio's importance in the dissemination of propaganda and made excessive use of the medium from the beginning of Nazi rule. Hitler himself had likewise realized its potential early on, remarking already in *Mein Kampf* (published in 1925 and 1926), "It is a terrible weapon in the hands of those who know how to use it."[75] Consequently, the Propaganda Ministry made certain that radios—until then generally considered a luxury item—were made available across the Reich. The government-subsidized *Volksempfänger* (literally: people's receiver) began to be manufactured in 1933, with a price tag of just 76 RM, approximately two weeks' pay for an average German worker.

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[73] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 69.

[74] David Clay Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), 248.

[75] Quoted ibid. Naturally, the Propaganda Ministry had also begun to make use of film at this time as well, the most famous examples being those made by Leni Riefenstahl (e.g. *Triumph of the Will* and *Olympia*, parts 1 and 2). For a summary of the regime's use of radio and film see Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 247–48.

This was the initial VE 301 model. Subsequent German radio sets were made even more affordable and could be paid in installments.[76]

For the Olympics, the Nazi regime arranged for the events to be broadcast worldwide. The German Organizing Committee had German radio engineers develop a high-tech broadcast center in Berlin that could transmit to an estimated 300 million listeners across the globe—an unprecedented achievement in media history at the time.[77] Public loudspeakers were set up on the corners of streets in Berlin and other cities, which attracted excited crowds of passers-by, including those in automobiles who caused frequent traffic jams as they stopped to listen to the broadcast events.[78] The number of those who heard Gieseking's performance is unknowable, but the concerts transmitted by the Germans during these weeks must have set new audience records.

The Family Tree is Checked, September

The Hitler regime was eager to determine which Reich citizens belonged to the "Aryan" race and which did not. Surviving genealogical records show that Gieseking, surely as a consequence, had to begin gathering information on his lineage already by September 1934. In his family's case, there was only some concern that his grandmother, Wilhelmina Gieseking née David, because of her maiden name, might have had Jewish

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[76] Large, *Nazi Games*, 248; Roger Moorhouse, *Berlin at War* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 205; Wolfgang Benz, *Die 101 Wichtigsten Fragen: Das Dritte Reich*, 2d ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008), 50–51; David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda*, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 41–42.

[77] Large, *Nazi Games*, 249. This figure is also given in Arnd Krüger and William J. Murray, eds., *The Nazi Olympics: Sport, Politics, and Appeasement in the 1930s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 2. Throughout the Games, 105 reporters were responsible for 2,328 radio broadcasts to 40 nations. Ward Rennen, *CityEvents: Place Selling in a Media Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 144. Foreign broadcasting companies, of course, provided some limited coverage of events as well; see Large, *Nazi Games*, 249.

[78] Large, *Nazi Games*, 250.

blood. After writing his Uncle Hans Hendrich in Lahde, however, where some of Gieseking's relatives still lived, the former confirmed that "grandmother was from a pure Aryan family, whose ancestry we can trace back to 1700."[79] In the fall of 1936, Gieseking received an official letter from the Reich Music Chamber explaining that all its members were now required to submit (by 31 August) documentation for them and their spouses proving their Aryan blood, in compliance with the Nuremberg Laws of 1935. In the letter, relevant paragraphs from the Laws were cited and the following directions given:

> Prior to the filling of the declaration, all members are required to prove with the appropriate documentation (original birth or baptism certificates of one's parents and the grandparents on both sides; those married must also provide the corresponding certificates of the spouse) that they and, when applicable, their spouse are in fact of the declared lineage, so that the documents, upon request, can be submitted at any time.[80]

Gieseking was able to obtain the necessary birth and baptism certificates, marriage certificates, and death certificates for family and ancestors, proving his "Aryan" ancestry.[81]

Unrealized North American Visit, Fall 1936

While Gieseking had originally planned to concertize in North America in the fall of 1936, ultimately he decided to call off the tour. As we have seen, he was not entirely

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[79] "Großmutter war aus einer rein arischen Familie, deren Stammbaum wir bis 1700 nachweisen können." Hans Hendrich, Lahde, to Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 30 Sept. 1934, GFA.

[80] "Alle Mitglieder haben sich vor der Ausfüllung der Erklärung durch Anforderung entsprechender Urkunden: (eigene Geburts- bezw. Taufurkunden der Eltern und der beiderseitigen Grosseltern, -verheiratete ausserdem durch die entsprechenden Urkunden des Ehegatten) darüber zu vergewissern, dass sie bezw. ihre Ehegatten tatsächlich der erklärten Abstammung sind, so dass die Urkunden auf Anforderung jederzeit vorgelegt werden können." Reichsmusikkammer President [Heinrich] Ihrlert, Berlin, to Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, n.d., GFA.

[81] All of the family records (typed, copied and handwritten pages) are preserved in the GFA.

pleased by Charles Wagner's arrangements the previous year, and he had therefore considered finding a new American manager. In December 1935, months after the completion of that year's North American tour, he explained his continued discontent with Wagner's management to Richard Pohlman:

> After talking to the big boss (Mr. Wulsin), [Lucien Wulsin Jr., CEO of the Baldwin Piano Company], whom I met in Holland in October, I asked Wagner for a real iron-clad, air-tight guarantee. He seem[ed] a little surprised, perhaps even hurt, but, as you know, everyone has a weak and delicate spot, and I suspect mine is sometimes around the bank statements, as usual – but anyway, I want only Wagner to work and to get a real tour together. (You know that I am not so extremely crazy about cash![82]) I think that he will agree to my conditions and that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you next October [1936] [Gieseking's English].[83]

Apparently, Wagner's proposed itinerary had not pleased Gieseking, who therefore decided to remain in Europe instead, where he was in demand probably more than ever. In a letter to Pohlman from 10 June 1936, the pianist wrote: "In October the [European] tour starts again, I am coming soon pretty near of being sold out [everywhere], so many dates are requested (for concerts, not by . . . butterflies!)" [Gieseking's English].[84] Addressing the cancelled visit elsewhere to Pohlman, Gieseking further explained: "I am absolutely of your opinion, it is [i.e. will be] a h . . . [hell] of a long time before we have another drink together! But for business reasons it was much better to wait until 1937 and I hope for a fine tour at that time!" [Gieseking's English].[85]

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[82] What Gieseking really means is that financial gain is not his sole interest as a performing artist.

[83] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 15 Dec. 1935, DEC.

[84] With "butterflies," Gieseking must have meant "women," which was apparently a term he and Pohlman jokingly used to refer to the other sex at times. This is further clarified in the same letter, when Gieseking writes, "I am much less interested in the butterflies around here (the winged ones!), because there are no new species to be found for my collection." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 10 June 1936, DEC.

[85] Ibid.

Gieseking would keep working with Wagner and did return the following year as intended. The two men therefore must not have had a falling out of any significance because of Gieseking's decision to postpone a U.S. visit until 1937. In fact, Wagner traveled to Europe in July 1936, and he and Gieseking met to discuss the forthcoming tour. Afterwards, Gieseking reported to Pohlman, "He [Wagner] rushed through a large part of Europe (by airplane) and was optimistic – as ever [i.e. as always]. Hope he'll get a nice tour [arranged] for 37" [Gieseking's English].[86]

The Hindemith Ban, October

In the fall of 1936, Gieseking's European itinerary started off well, as he had expected owing to the excellent ticket sales. At the end of the summer he had enthusiastically written to Richard Pohlman:

> The summer will soon be over and the busy season begins again[.] I suppose [that] several "concert grands" are already looking forward with fear and apprehension to all the bad things pianists are going to inflict upon them! Anyway, my season starts on the 25th [with two concertos]: Mozart and [the] Liszt E flat (oh boy!) in Mayence (Mainz), right across the Rhine from here. Later on, in October, the usual traveling business starts[.] I shall have plenty of piano-playing to do. . [. .] [Gieseking's English][87]

But in October came an unfortunate surprise: the Nazis officially banned all performances of German composer Paul Hindemith's output, which, with few exceptions, remained enforced until 1945.[88] Hindemith's music had been controversial among the National Socialists even prior to 1933. In 1930, for example, the performance of any of

[86] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 12 Sept. 1936, DEC.

[87] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, letter, 12 Sept. 1936, DEC.

[88] Erik Levi, "The Censorship of Musical Modernism in Germany, 1918–1945," in Critical Studies: Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age, ed. Beate Müller (New York: Editions Rodopi, 2004), 80.

his works had been prohibited by Wilhelm Frick's Ministry of Education in the state of Thuringia.[89] The influential lobbying organization led by Alfred Rosenberg, the *NS-Kulturgemeinde*, had since March 1934 led a campaign against Hindemith's music, which Hitler allegedly also detested.[90]

Then in November 1934 began the famous scandal, "Der Fall Hindemith" ("The Hindemith Case"), named after a contentious article written by conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler. As part of a failed plan made with Hindemith, Furtwängler published the piece on 25 November in a widely circulated Berlin newspaper, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.[91] He thereby daringly engaged himself in a dispute with Nazi leaders over Hindemith's music, its value to the Third Reich, and "the freedom of the artistic personality."[92]

As early as November 1923, Minister Goebbels had been impressed by a performance of the composer's "marvelous" *Naschi-Naschi Dances*, predicting "Hindemith will be of significance in the future."[93] On 6 December 1934, however, the minister—in response to Furtwängler's article—denounced Hindemith and his music during a speech given at the Berlin *Sportpalast*. Alluding to the composer, Goebbels

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[89] Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 108.

[90] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 20, 180–81.

[91] As part of the plan, Furtwängler was also supposed to (1) defend Hindemith before an audience that was to include Hitler and (2) hand the latter an invitation to a composition class led by Hindemith. Giselher Schubert, "Hindemith, Paul," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 1 May 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[92] Quote from Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*, 138. See also ibid., 50–52; Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 180–81, 188–89; Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master*, 180. For a recent examination of the Hindemith scandal, also see Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master*, 179–94; an earlier account of it is found in Curt Riess, *Furtwängler: Musik und Politik* (Bern: Alfred Scherz Verlag, 1953), 171–211. See also the account given by Berta Geissmar, Furtwängler's personal assistant, in Chapter 11 of her book, *Musik im Schatten der Politik* (Zurich: Atlantis Musik-Verlag AG, 1983), 116–32.

[93] Thacker, *Joseph Goebbels*, 24.

proclaimed, "[W]e cannot afford to reject a real artist. But he must be a genuine artist and not a noise maker of no musical talent."[94] Consequently, Furtwängler resigned from most of his official positions the same month, although he would reach a compromise with the Nazi officials in February the following year, returning to the concert hall that April.[95] By 9 December, Gieseking had read about Furtwängler's "Abschied" ("farewell"), which he described to Annie as being "a most unfortunate incident!" ("Eine höchst bedauerliche Sache!").[96] Hindemith took a leave of absence from his post at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik in April 1935 to work as a musical advisor in Ankara under the auspices of the Turkish government, returning there in 1936 and 1937.[97] The "Hindemith affair," as it also came to be known, has been rightfully described by Michael Kater as "the first cultural scandal of the Third Reich."[98]

When Gieseking learned of the Hindemith ban in October 1936 he became furious. The two musicians had been friends since 1922, and Gieseking had on numerous occasions programmed the composer's music.[99] In fact, he had daringly made his

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[94] Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master*, 186.

[95] Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*, 141–45, 155–56, 174–77; Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, 355–57.

[96] Gieseking, Milan, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Dec. 1934, GFA.

[97] Schubert, "Hindemith, Paul."

[98] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 181.

[99] Gieseking and Hindemith became acquainted when they both took part in the Salzburg Festival in August 1922. Gieseking was excited about the festival and having the opportunity to become acquainted with so many prominent musicians. In a postcard to Annie, he described the scene: "I am still here. . . . It is most enjoyable though, as there is an incredible number of musicians here, and aside from much trash, excellent music can also be heard. I permitted myself to make the necessary [good] impression [on some of these musicians.] And the Hindemith Quartet! Fantastic! . . . Thus far I have met among others Bartok, [Felix] Petyrek, Hindemith, and so on (another fifty people)." ("Ich bin noch hier. . . . Es ist mir aber recht angenehm, hier sind nämlich unglaublich viele Musikanten und neben viel Schund wird auch vorzügliche Musik geboten. Ich habe mir erlaubt, gestern Abend den erforderlichen Eindruck zu schinden. Ausserdem das Hindemith-Quartett! Fabelhaft! . . . Bisher lernte ich kennen u. a. Bartok, Petyrek, Hindemith, u.s.w. (noch fünfzig andere Leute.) . . ." Gieseking, Salzburg, to Anni(e) Haaka, Hanover, postcard, 9 Aug. 1922, GFA.

American orchestral debut on 17 January 1926, exactly one week after his solo debut at New York's Aeolian Hall, by playing Hindemith's *Kammermusik* no. 2 with Eugene Goossens leading members of the New York Symphony at the city's Mecca Auditorium.[100] Gieseking's performance, which also included De Falla's popular "Nights in the Gardens of Spain," had received rave reviews from critics of the major papers and music journals. The distinguished pianist, teacher, and critic Olga Samaroff wrote in a *New York Post* review,

> For Mr. Gieseking's work in the Hindemith, for his amazing rhythmic vitality, for his technique, so brilliant that it is hardly obvious, and for the infinite variety of shading and sonorousness in his tone, all we can do is join the audience in its cheering ovation. Also we can predict future ovations, well deserved and incentive, it is hoped, to keep this large grizzly bear of a sympathetic pianist with us.[101]

The day before this 1926 performance, Gieseking had been asked for his opinion of Hindemith's music during an interview for *Musical America*. He reply was, as we should expect, enthusiastic, yet it was probably most sincere:

> Paul Hindemith is a very gifted composer. Unlike the impressionistic type of modernist, his shibboleth, like many others of the left wing, is "Back to Bach." Totally different superficially in form and substance, nevertheless there is a great spiritual kinship between the music of the young German radical and that of the organist of the Thomaskirche [J. S. Bach].[102]

During his Carnegie Hall debut recital on 2 March 1926, Gieseking included another Hindemith work, namely the *Klaviermusik*, op. 37 (1925–27) on the second,

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[100] Hindemith's *Kammermusik* no. 2, op. 36, no. 1, was composed in 1924 for piano and twelve instruments.

[101] Olga Samaroff, "Goosens Final N. Y. Symphony Concert," *New York Post*, 18 Jan. 1926.

[102] D. J. "Are You Planning a Pianistic Tour? Let Walter Gieseking be Your Baedeker," *Musical America*, 23 Jan. 1926, 7.

modern half of the program that also comprised Alfredo Casella's *Sonatina*, op. 28 (1916) and Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Alt Wien*, op. 30 (1923).[103]

Currently, in October 1936, Gieseking had just learned a new sonata of Hindemith's, apparently Piano Sonata no. 1 "Der Main," in preparation for an upcoming performance.[104] On 10 October he wrote to Annie, "Today I was unusually industrious, practiced for several hours in the morning, first Hindemith, then [Schumann's] Davidsbündler [Tänze] and Liszt."[105] Gieseking, as was well publicized during his lifetime, was able to maintain his active performance career with relatively little practice, hence this "unusual" motivation. But to his astonishment, the next day Gieseking learned of the new ban on Paule's (as he often referred to his friend) music:

> From Goette . . . I have received the truly shattering message that "all works of Hindemith are prohibited"!! I've just finished learning the beautiful Sonata—this is truly a tragedy! I am now also supposed to decide at once what I want to play instead of Paule's Sonata. Just when I wanted to get a little sleep, I had to find out about this annoying matter.[106]

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[103] Olin Downes, "Music," *New York Times*, 3 Mar. 1926. According to Downes, the Hindemith and Castelnuovo-Tedesco works received their New York premieres on this occasion.

[104] Gieseking noted that he had learned the Hindemith Piano Sonata (which he does not identify) while traveling to The Hague by train for an orchestral performance with Mengelberg. Since his youth, Gieseking had taken advantage of the free time to learn new music and sometimes compose while traveling, a skill that was surely facilitated by his photographic memory and absolute pitch. According to Geoffrey Skelton, Gieseking was scheduled to give the premiere performance of Hindemith's Piano Sonata No. 1 ("Der Main") in Berlin in the fall of 1936. Hindemith mentions in a letter of 8 July 1936 to his publisher Willy Strecker (of the Schott firm), however, that "Gieseking will surely be glad to play the second sonata to you." Upon completing the first sonata, Hindemith "did another right away, just for practice. It is the lighter counterpart to the rather weighty first." Both sonatas were composed in 1936 and sent to Strecker together. Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Oct. 1936, GFA; Hindemith and Skelton, *Selected Letters of Paul Hindemith* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 92, 94. For more on the Sonata, Gieseking's involvement, and the Reich's reactions to Hindemith and his music, see Gunther Nickel and Luitgard Schader, "Two Homeless Singers: On Hölderlin's 'Der Main' and Hindemith's Sonata of the Same Name," *Hindemith-Forum* 7, 2003, 13–14, accessed 20 Oct. 2013, www.hindemith.info/fileadmin/hindemith-forum/hf_7_2003.pdf.

[105] "Heute war ich ungemein fleissig, übte vormittags stundenlang, erst Hindemith, dann Davidsbündler und Liszt." Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 10–11 Oct. 1936, GFA.

[106] "Von Goette erreicht mich aber auch die recht niederschmetternde Nachricht, dass "sämtliche Werke Hindemiths verboten sind"!! Nun habe ich gerade die schöne Sonate fertig gelernt—es ist wirklich eine Katastrophe! Ich soll jetzt auch sofort entscheiden, was ich statt Paule's Sonata spielen will. Gerade

Gieseking was supposed to meet up with some family members that day, but was now not in the best of spirits: "As you can imagine, I am not interested in the family gathering, my mood is not exactly great, especially now that I know about the Hindemith ban."[107]

On 21 October, Gieseking's tour had brought him to Berlin. Since Hindemith's proscription, he had discussed the subject among friends and colleagues and decided to take some action. Thus, he had arranged to meet with the Propaganda Ministry's State Secretary (Staatssekretär) Walter Funk (also spelled Walther) while in the Reich capital. Gieseking mentioned his plan to Annie: "At 1 o'clock I am expected by State Secretary Funk to discuss the 'Paule' [Hindemith] situation; I am therefore not leaving for Stettin until late in the evening, which in itself is not pleasant, but in general everyone thinks it is important that I express my opinion of Paule."[108]

Earlier that same year, Gieseking had found himself in some trouble with Funk for not having traveled to Berlin to give a recital requested by the Propaganda Ministry. At that time he had mentioned to Annie, "I also wrote to Minister Funk, explaining where I played and why I couldn't (play in Berlin!)."[109] Still concerned about the incident, he discussed it further in a letter sent home two days later:

> I hope that I am not expected to appear before Adolf [Hitler] today, in case yet another invitation has arrived [from Berlin]. I wrote to the State Secretary Funk, and accidentally addressed him as Oberregierungsrat [Senior Government

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jetzt, wo ich noch etwas pennen wollte, muss ich diese ärgerliche Sache erfahren." Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 10–11 October 1936, GFA.

[107] "Wie Du dir denken kannst, lege ich gar keinen Wert auf die Familienbegegnung hin, überhaupt jetzt, wo ich die Nachricht über das Hindemith-Verbot erhalten habe, ist meine Stimmung nicht gerade hervorragend." Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 10–11 October 1936, GFA.

[108] "Um 1 Uhr werde ich von Staatssekretär Funk erwartet in Sachen "Paule", daher fahre ich erst spät nach Stettin, was an sich nicht angenehm ist, aber allgemein wird es für wichtig gehalten, dass ich mal meine Meinung über Paule vortrage." Gieseking, Berlin, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Oct. 1936, GFA.

[109] "An Min. [Minister] Funk habe ich auch noch geschrieben, wo ich spielte und warum ich nicht konnte (in Berlin spielen!)." Gieseking, Düsseldorf, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Feb. 1936, GFA.

> Advisor] (that was his previous position; I hope he's not offended). I did not realize this until it was too late, after the letter was already underway. In any case, the officials should now realize that I'm on tour. Mr. van Gelderen, who always makes his business trips by plane, explained how I could have traveled to Berlin today, played there this evening, taken a plane to London tomorrow morning, and actually arrived in Oxford on schedule. But the ordeal would have been too stressful, particularly since I now have to give 7 concerts during the next 6 days![110]

There is no evidence of Gieseking having received another invitation from the Propaganda Ministry and none to play before Hitler at this time. In his above reference to Hitler, he seems to have been merely making a point. He had no notion of the details of the Ministry's plans for him—for all he knew, they could have been expecting him to play for the Führer—and he was merely hoping to avoid any trouble with Funk and the other officials. This passage, of course, demonstrates well the pressure that Gieseking, like so many of his colleagues, continued to face as the Ministry requested and expected the services of approved artists. Gieseking was working independently, but he was fully aware that, by this time, requests from the Ministry were to be taken as orders and any refusals on his part had to be submitted carefully. This February incident must have given him an uneasy feeling about his impending October meeting with Funk.

On 24 October, three days after speaking with Funk, Gieseking reported on the visit to his wife. He was surprised by both the State Secretary's kindness and the ample amount of time he set aside for the meeting:

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[110] "Hoffentlich werde ich heute nicht bei Adolf [Hitler] erwartet, wenn nun doch noch eine Einladung gekommen ist. Ich habe dem Staatssekretär Funk geschrieben, habe ihn versehentlich mit Oberregierungsrat angeredet (das war er früher, hoffentlich nimmt er dies nicht übel), war mir zu spät einfiel, als der Brief schon weg war. Immerhin sollten die Leute ja nun Bescheid wissen, dass ich auf Tournee bin. Herr van Gelderen, der seine Geschäftsreisen immer per Flugzeug macht, hatte mir vorgerechnet, dass ich heute hätte nach Berlin fahren können, abends dort spielen, morgen früh im Flugzeug nach London, dann wäre ich doch rechtzeitig in Oxford gewesen. Aber die Strapaze wäre reichlich viel gewesen, besonders wo ich doch jetzt in den nächsten 6 Tagen 7 Konzerte habe!" Gieseking, Enschede (The Netherlands), to Annie, letter, 4 Feb. 1936, GFA.

> In Berlin I met for 1 ¼ hours(!) with State Secretary Funk, who was most cordial and, in general, talked quite sensibly. He also buttered me up quite a bit—I was the only pianist that played like [Alfred] Reisenauer [1863–1907] and so on, in that manner—but regarding Paule, I wasn't able to achieve anything; the verdict: [a lift of the Hindemith ban is] politically unacceptable, because the opposition is demonstrating! The rest of the details of the conversation will be better told in person.[111]

It is unfortunate that Gieseking did not describe the meeting any further. While he may have felt that, owing to the length of the discussion, it was simply too much to recount in writing, he had reason to fear that the letter might be screened. Although general postal censorship for Germans did not become common until the start of the war, the Hitler regime had already begun to censor mail legally with the passing of the Reichstag Fire Decree (*Reichstagsbrandverordnung*) on 28 February 1933, the day after the infamous arson attack.[112] Instituting a state of emergency, the decree canceled the constitutional protection of fundamental civil liberties, making it possible for the Nazis to boost the state and police surveillance of German citizens. In addition to mail censorship, which also included telegraphic correspondence, phones were tapped and homes were searched without warrants or explanation.[113] Anyone was at risk of being taken into

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[111] "Also in Berlin sprach ich 1 ¼ Stunden(!) mit Staatssekretär Funk, der sehr liebenswürdig war, überhaupt sehr vernünftig redete, mich ausserdem heftig beschmuste, ich wäre der einzige Pianist der an Reisenauer erinnerte und so in dem Stil—aber im Sachen Paule war nichts zu erreichen, es heisst: politisch untragbar, weil die Opposition demonstriert! Die näheren Einzelheiten des Gesprächs erzählen sich besser mündlich." Gieseking, Hanover, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 24 Oct. 1936, GFA.

[112] The decree was formally called the "Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the People and the State" (*Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat*). "Nazi Terror Begins," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed 27 Apr. 2011http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005686. On mail censorship see "German Postal Censorship in World War II." *Censored and Military Postal History: World War II – German Censorship*, accessed 26 Apr. 2011, http://www.postalcensorship.com/examples/ww2germany/c_ww2ger.html; Karl Heinz Riemer, "Die Überwachung des Auslandesbriefverkehrs während des II. Weltkrieges durch deutsche Dienststellen," Neue Schriftenreihe Poststempelgilde "Rhein Donau," Heft 88, Düsseldorf, 1979; Riemer, "Devisenkontrolle im Auslandsbrief-und Paketverkehr im Deutschen Reich 1933–1939," Heft 93, Düsseldorf, Neue Schriftenreihe Poststempelgilde "Rhein Donau," 1983.

[113] See Article 1 of the *Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat*, 28. Feb.1933, *Reichsgesetzblatt* I, nr. 17, 1933, p. 83, documentArchiv.de, accessed 3 Nov. 2013, http://www.documentArchiv.de/ns/rtbrand.html. For an English translation see "Decree of the Reich

custody without warning or cause and detained for an indefinite period. The resulting large numbers of arrests soon created difficulties for the German prisons.[114]

Still not over the Hindemith ban, the following month Gieseking demonstrated at the piano some of the composer's music privately for an unnamed conductor. Presumably in the city of Neuss, Gieseking was there to give a concerto performance with an orchestra comprising students and teachers from the Cologne Conservatory. "With the conductor, who is a student council member and school teacher, I had a nice conversation," Gieseking wrote to Annie. "I also played some Hindemith for him."[115] He had doubtless been sharing with his colleague his own personal thoughts on the new Hindemith ban, while demonstrating at the piano favorite works or excerpts from the composer's now forbidden keyboard output.

As for Hindemith, in March 1937 he would permanently leave his post at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik and begin his exile in Switzerland by the end of the following year. Ultimately, he would emigrate to the U.S. in 1940, after having traveled

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President for the Protection of the People and the State (Reichstag Fire Decree)," Holocaust Encyclopedia, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed 27 Apr. 2011, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007889.

[114] "Nazi Terror Begins," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed 27 Apr. 2011, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005686; also Stackelberg, *Hitler's Germany*, 102. There is later evidence of the Nazis' Mail Censorship Office (*Prüfungsstelle*, also the *Auslandsbrief-Prüfstelle*) checking Gieseking's correspondence. Suspecting the office had been reading more of his mail, he wrote to Annie on 6 February [the year is given as 1939, but 1940 must be correct], "The letter from you and Jutta of 20 January arrived, which was not stamped until the 25th, presumably because the Censorship Office first had the Italian letter translated. I'd like to file a complain with them, for if they are going to open letters, which doesn't really bother me, they should at least work faster!" ("Dein und Jutta's Brief vom 20.1. der erst am 25. abgestempelt wurde, wahrscheinlich, weil die Prüfungs[s]telle erst den italienischen Brief übersetzen liess. Ich hätte Lust, mich dort zu beschweren, denn wenn die die Briefe öffnen, was mich ja nicht weiter stört, sollten sie wenigstens schneller arbeiten!") Gieseking then learned that Annie had not sent the letter until a later date, though a letter from Florence sent on 7 December 1939 bears the stamp of the Nazi Censorship Office that read, "Geprüft, Oberkommando der Wehrmacht" ("Checked, Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht"). Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939; Gieseking, Florence, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Dec. 1939, GFA.

[115] "Mit dem Dirigenten, der Studienrat-Schulmusiklehrer ist, unterhielt ich mich ja ganz gut, spielte ihm auch etwas Hindemith vor. . . ." Gieseking, Münster, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Nov. 1936, GFA.

there annually starting in 1937.[116] Walter Funk would be tried as a major war criminal during the Nuremberg Trials in 1945–46 and sentenced to life in prison after being found guilty of committing crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. He would be released 1957 owing to his failing health, three years before his death.[117]

1937

Buying Out Bernstein

By 1937, Gieseking's managers Goette and Bernstein had been working well together for some three years. Further difficulties had arisen as soon as word got out about the partnership, however, despite their intentions to keep it secret.[118] Gieseking later recalled these circumstances: "Because Dr. Goette was an incredibly active and competent worker . . . both partners were most content working together until lesser-important bigwigs not pleased with Dr. Goette for working with Jews caused occasional local problems."[119]

Similarly, Goette maintained that Gieseking's decision to keep working with Bernstein caused the pianist to have many German enemies himself, though Goette named none.[120] As a result, Gieseking ultimately decided that it would be best for him to

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[116] Schubert, "Hindemith, Paul."

[117] "Walther Funk," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed 17 Apr. 2012, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007111.

[118] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [1].

[119] "Da Dr. Goette sehr aktiv war und geschickt arbeitete . . . lief diese Zusammenarbeit recht zufriedenstellend, bis auf gelegentliche lokale Schwierigkeiten kleinerer Parteibonzen, die es Dr. Goette verübelten, daß er mit Juden zusammenarbeitete." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 67.

[120] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [1].

stop working with Bernstein and to pay him off.[121] Goette later gave his own account of what happened next: "I can no longer recall the amount of the buyout. I only remember that it was a substantial figure given the catastrophic decline in [Gieseking's] earnings [since 1933], which Mr. Gieseking paid in addition to the [Bernstein's] commission."[122] While Gieseking's income in many cases may have been less for certain concerts, his annual proceeds nonetheless remained high.[123]

At this point, Gieseking began to work solely under Goette. When he later explained in his memoirs what had happened to Bernstein, he never mentioned a buyout. He claimed only that, through Goette's agency, Bernstein continued to receive a percentage of his fees until the latter's emigration from Germany.[124] As with many other unmentioned, potentially controversial details of his career, Gieseking may have intentionally decided to avoid any description of that part of the Bernstein story, believing that some may have criticized him for what had occurred, aware that his postwar reputation was already damaged considerably. On the other hand, he could have

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[121] In a report from January 1946 on Gieseking and Goette's defense of him, the British Military Government concluded that "Bernstein resigned at his own request." While Goette's account is somewhat ambiguously written in the passive voice, that Gieseking and Goette initiated the termination of the agreement seems correct: "Es wurde dann die Vereinbarung mit Herrn Bernstein getroffen, seine Ansprüche (die rein moralischer Art waren) abzulösen" ["It was then agreed upon that the arrangement with Herr Bernstein, his entitlements (which were of a purely moral nature), would end."] It is important to realize that Gieseking, Goette, and Bernstein were, in any case, apparently all satisfied with the terms of the buyout, and Gieseking and Bernstein remained on friendly terms. "Walter Gieseking," [Information Control Unit, G.P.O., Hamburg], 22 Jan. 1946, file: Walter Gieseking, RKK 2700, R 55/73, BA; Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [1].

[122] "Die Höhe der Ablösung ist mir nicht mehr bekannt; ich erinnere mich nur noch, dass es eine angesichts der katastrophalen Honorarrückgänge beachtliche Summe war, die Herr Gieseking zusätzlich zur Provision bezahlte." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [p. 1].

[123] Gieseking's income is examined closely in Excursus V, "A Summary of Gieseking's Performances and Earnings during the National Socialist Period."

[124] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 67.

seized the opportunity to describe his efforts to help the Bernsteins flee to the U.S. shortly before the war, but he did not.[125]

Meanwhile, Gieseking continued to report to the Reich officials in Berlin with regard to his concerts, those abroad in particular. While in the capital in mid-March, he wrote to Annie: "Otherwise, I was at the Reich Music Chamber for a long time, where they treated me with exceptional courtesy. The discussion on the foreign concerts was very useful."[126] Nazi officials would continue to monitor their renowned pianist's career closely until the end of World War II, especially those at the Propaganda Ministry and Foreign Office.

The Professor Title

During a ministers' meeting held on 7 April 1933, attended by Hitler, Goebbels, Franz von Papen, Hermann Göring, and Otto Meissner among others, the *Entwurf eines Gesetzes über Titel, Orden und Ehrenzeichen* (Draft of a Law for Titles, Medals and Decorations) was approved.[127] According to the new law, titles were to be "bestowed by the Reich president and by the state governments."[128] In the meeting summary, we also learn that Göring, who had proposed the draft legislation, spoke of its high importance.

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[125] Bernstein's flight to the U.S. is discussed in Chapter 6.

[126] "Im übrigen war ich längere Zeit auf der Reichmusikkammer, wurde dort ausserordentlich höflich behandelt, die Aussprache über die Auslandskonzerte war sehr nützlich." Gieseking, Berlin, to Annie, letter, 15 March 1937, GFA.

[127] Alfred Kube, *Pour le mérite und Hakenkreuz: Hermann Göring im Dritten Reich*, 2d ed. (Munich: Oldenburg, 1987), 26; Karl-Heinz Minuth, ed. *Die Regierung Hitler: Teil I: 1933/34*, vol. 1 (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1983), 311, 324.

[128] Hindenburg was Reich president until his death (in office) on 2 August 1934, at which point Hitler took on the position. After the Volksabstimmung of 19 August 1934, however, Hitler dispensed with the title "Reichspräsident," from that point on bearing the double-title Führer and Reich Chancellor (Führer und Reichskanzler). Hitler to Reichsinnenminister, "Erlaß des Reichskanzlers zum Vollzug des Gesetzes über das Staatsoberhaupt des Deutschen Reiches vom 1. August 1934," Berlin, 2 Aug. 1934, accessed 9 Sept. 2008, http://www.verfassungen.de/de/de33-45/staatsoberhaupt34-v1.htm.

He went so far as to assert that "the Weimar Republic failed partly because of its lack of awards, decorations, etc., as well as its inability to organize popular festivities."[129]

Civilians and soldiers would receive countless awards and decorations under the Nazi regime, and, just as Göring had wished, the number of national festivals, too, increased significantly. Erika Mann observed the Nazi obsession with such national events: "All the way down the street, the flags are waving, every window colored with red banners, and the black swastika in the middle of each. You don't stop to ask why; it's bound to be some national event. Not a week passes without an occasion on which families are given one reason or another to hang out the swastika."[130] A main objective for the Nazis' efforts to bestow awards and celebrate German holidays was surely to set examples by showing off the accomplishments of productive, successful, and loyal Germans, to boost patriotism and morale, and to gain further adherents—as Göring's aforementioned words spoken at the ministers' meeting implied.

Although from 1937 on, Hitler had the final say as to whether a title or other award was to be granted, the Propaganda Ministry normally first approved any recommendations received. Based on Karl Leimer's case in 1941, a letter of nomination was initially submitted to a high-ranking official, for example Erich Müller, head of the Personnel Department, who then discussed the idea with the Propaganda Ministry and ultimately with Goebbels directly.[131] With the Minister's approval, the official *Vorschlag*

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[129] "[D]ie Weimarer Republik nicht zum mindesten infolge ihres Mangels an Ehrenauszeichnungen, Orden usw. sowie an der Unfähigkeit, populäre Feiern zu veranstalten, zugrunde gegangen sei." Minutes of the ministers' meeting of 7 April 1933 (Niederschrift der Ministerbesprechung vom 7. April 1933), quoted in Alfred Kube, *Pour le mérite und Hakenkreuz*, 26.

[130] Mann, *School for Barbarians*, 21.

[131] Gieseking's attempt to see Leimer named professor by the regime is the subject of Excursus III, "Karl Leimer's Professor Title." Erich Müller headed the Personnel Department from 1937 to 1944. Max

(proposal) and prepared *Urkunde* (certificate of award) were submitted to State Secretary Otto Meißner for final approval; Meißner also headed the Presidential Chancellery of the Führer.[132]

On 30 January 1937, Hitler, at Goebbels's suggestion, bestowed upon a group of fifty-two German musicians the titles *Generalmusikdirektor*, *Kammersänger*, *Kammersängerin*, *Kammermusiker*, and *Professor*. Gieseking received the latter distinction.[133] A special decree issued in 1937 stipulated that titles had to be awarded personally by the Führer himself, who seems to have found some pleasure in honoring musicians.[134] Erik Levi has described the personal involvement on Hitler's part:

> Hitler . . . took an active interest in the distribution of awards. From 1934, he honoured the most senior representatives of the music profession with the annual Goethe Prize. Three years later, he issued a directive, claiming the sole right to promote conductors, instrumentalists and singers to the titles of Professor, General Music Directors, State Kapellmeisters, Chamber Singers and Virtuosos. The announcement of these awards usually coincided with Hitler's birthday [20 April] and in 1937 resulted in promotions for 52 musicians.[135]

There must have been an official ceremony in April, for Gieseking listed in an autobiographical description in a letter of 11 April 1937 that he was to be named

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Bonacker, *Goebbels Mann beim Radio: Der NS-Propagandist Hans Fritsche (1900–1953)* (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2007), 93n192.

[132] Meißner (1880–1953) headed the Presidential Chancellery under Hitler (Präsidialkanzlei des Führers) from 1934 to 1945 and was also appointed state minister (*Staatsminister*) in 1937. Robert S. Wistrich, *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* (New York: Macmillan Press, 1982), 207. For more on Meißner see Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 178–9.

[133] "Auszeichnung deutscher Musiker" *Neues Musikblatt*, Feb. 1937, 2; "Ehrungen," *Zeitschrift für Musik*, Mar. 1937, 250–51; Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 35.

[134] Incoming Message: OMGUS ODIC [Office of the Director] Intelligence Section, to ISB [Information Services Branch], Vienna Grogan de Pasetti, 15 May 1946, RG 260, box 2, Records of U.S. Occupation Headquarters, WWII, U.S. Forces Austria, USACA [U.S. Allied Command Austria] Section, ISB Theater and Music Section, General Records, 1945–50, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[135] Among those receiving the title of professor were Elly Ney, the Reich's most celebrated female pianist, and the since forgotten pianist Otto Voß (1875–1946). Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 35; "Auszeichnungen deutscher Musiker durch den Führer und Reichkanzler," *Zeitschrift für Musik*, May 1937, 528.

professor on the thirtieth (not Hitler's birthday) of that month.[136] It is unknown, however, whether the Führer personally conferred the honors and, if so, whether Gieseking participated in the ceremony. A lack of correspondence with his wife from this time does suggest that he was presently back in Germany, but his exact whereabouts remain uncertain. He insisted on numerous occasions that he never personally met Hitler—and there is no evidence that he did—claiming that the Reich Chancellor had only once been in the audience during the charity concert of 28 November 1935 in Berlin.[137] No official paperwork on the subject of Gieseking's professorship has been found, thus these particulars are unknowable.

The titles were granted at this time, in part, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the *National Erhebung*, the rise of the National Socialists.[138] The regime was naturally interested in honoring those perceived as having contributed significantly to the Reich's cultural status. It is therefore no surprise to discover that it chose to honor Gieseking, given that he was recognized not only as arguably the Reich's top pianist, but also as a leading classical artist worldwide. While Hitler and other Nazi officials may have been made aware of his occasional work as a teacher, composer, and essayist, it was clearly the recognition he had attained as a performer and recording artist that had earned

[136] Gieseking concisely writes: "Am 30. 4. 37 Ernennung zum Professor." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to unidentified person ("Herr Doktor"), Lebenslauf, 2 S., 2°, Autogr. Gieseking, Walter, 11 Apr. 1937, o.O, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

[137] To give one example, Gieseking swore that he "never met Hitler privately and . . . never played for him" except for the benefit event of 28 November 1935 (discussed in Chapter 2) in a signed declaration quoted in "Gieseking Signs For American Tour," *Musical America*, May 1953, 4.

[138] "Er [Gieseking] erhielt den Proffesoren [*sic*] Title vom Führer im Jahre 1937 aus Anlaß der vierten Wiederkehr des Tages der Nationalen Erhebung." "Ahnentafel der Fam. Karl Gieseking, Lahde 49," typed letter, n.d., n.p., GFA, 3.

him the title. The announcements in both the *Neues Musikblatt* and the *Zeitschrift für Musik*, in fact, listed him simply as "der Pianist Walter Gieseking."[139]

Gieseking had been in London when he first received the news on 1 February in a letter from Annie as well as one from Goette.[140] While he expressed some contentment with his new title, he was amused by the ensuing attention it began to bring him:

> That so many people are congratulating me [is surprising], strange that this naming apparently impresses so much! Imagine how these same people would react if we [the Germans] did what they do in England, where Dr. [Adrian] Boult, the conductor [we know] from the radio, was made a member of the nobility![141] (The things that musicians can become!) At the tailor's, I saw the velvet tailcoat and the rest of the fancy dress including the sword that those who are ennobled have to wear as they are introduced to the court! A wonderful, old ritual, but the cost is "modern"—some 720 marks!! (sword included). It's good that I don't need anything like that.[142]

The next evening he thanked Minister Goebbels in a night telegram, explaining to Annie that "presumably one must do that on such occasions."[143] The following day, 2 February, he was asked to sign his name inside a couple of Grotrian grand pianos at one Mr. Hands's, which he did "without the important(?) title," as he lightheartedly remarked

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[139] "Auszeichnung deutscher Musiker" *Neues Musikblatt*, Feb. 1937, 2; "Ehrungen," *Zeitschrift für Musik*, Mar. 1937, 250–51. Gieseking was on occasion erroneously referred to as a "Professor" before receiving the title. One example of this occurred when Gieseking performed under Robert Laugs in October 1935. See "Erstes Reihenkonzert," Preussisches Staatstheater Kassel, concert program, 4 Oct. 1935, GFA.

[140] Gieseking, Liverpool, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Feb. 1937, GFA.

[141] Sir Adrian Boult (1889–1983) became internationally famous as conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra, which he led from 1930 to 1950.

[142] "Dass so viele Leute gratulieren, komisch, dass diese Ernennung offenbar so imponiert! Wie würden sich die Leute erst aufregen, wenn es bei uns auch so etwas gäbe wie in England, wo doch Dr. Boult, der Dirigent vom Radio, den persönlichen Adel erhalten hat! (Was Musikanten alles werden können!) Ich habe beim Schneider den Samtfrack und das übrige Kostüm inkl. Degen gesehen, das die geadelten Leute bei der Vorstellung bei Hof tragen müssen! Fabelhaft altertümliche Sache, aber Kostenpunkt, "zeitgemäss" etwa 720 Mark!! (Degen einbegriffen). Gut, dass ich so etwas nicht brauche." Gieseking, London, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 5 Feb. 1937, GFA.

[143] "[V]ermutlich tut man das ja in solchen Fällen." Gieseking, Liverpool, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Feb. 1937, GFA.

to Annie.[144] Because the congratulatory mail continued to arrive, later that week he wrote to his wife:

> If I had a text prepared, you could go ahead and order the thank you cards, but we should be able to acquire them quickly so that I will be able to send them off next week. I must say it again: strange, that the people find this so important! You do feel this way too, I hope? Otherwise I will be very disappointed in you!??[145]

Gieseking, again with a touch of humor, ended the letter with: "Your husband bids you farewell, the 'Herr Professor' . . [.] Walter."[146]

Mussolini's Visit, September 1937

On the occasion of Mussolini's Berlin visit in late September 1937, which "proved a triumphal celebration of the alleged common character of the Fascist and National Socialist revolutions, and led to a significant tightening of the relationship between the regimes,"[147] a number of Germany's leading musicians participated in a reception held for the Italian leader.[148] In the *Deutsche Tonkunstler-Zeitung*, a monthly periodical for which Gieseking was listed as co-editor from 1936 to 1938, the following report of the grand musical affair was printed:

> By personal invitation of the Fuehrer and Reichschancellor, Adolf Hitler, Professor [Hermann] Abendroth, Professor [Wilhelm] Backhaus, Vice-President

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[144] Gieseking, Liverpool, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Feb. 1937, GFA.

[145] "Wenn ich einen Text wüsste, könntest Du ja schon gedruckte Danksagungen bestellen, aber die werden wohl schnell zu haben sein, sodass ich sie nächste Woche abschicken kann. Ich muss wieder sagen: komisch, dass die Leute das für so bedeutungsvoll halten! Du fühlst Dich hoffentlich auch entsprechend? Sonst bin ich aber enttäuscht!??" Gieseking, London, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 5 Feb. 1937, GFA.

[146] "Es empfiehlt sich Dein Ehemann, der 'Herr Professor'. . [.] Walter." Ibid.

[147] MacGregor Knox, *Mussolini Unleashed, 1939–1941: Politics and Strategy in Fascist Italy's Last War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 35.

[148] Borden W. Painter Jr., *Mussolini's Rome: Rebuilding the Eternal City* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 79. According to Painter, after a stop in Munich, Mussolini was in Berlin from 25 to 29 September 1937.

> [Heinz] Drewes,[149] Professor [Edwin] Fischer, Professor Gieseking, Professor [Elly] Ney and many others took part in the reception at the House of Arts in honor of the Duce Mussolini.[150]

While one suspects that Hitler and Mussolini would have been present during at least part of this 1937 reception, it has not been verified. The above report certainly suggests that both heads of state were present. Yet, to repeat, Gieseking repeatedly claimed to have only performed before Hitler once. And he and his managers later maintained that he never played before Mussolini.[151] They may have been lying, but it cannot be proven, and Gieseking seemed to be honest about such matters. There is no mention of the Berlin reception in Gieseking's surviving private correspondence from the time of the event.

North America, 1937

In April 1937, Gieseking noted that in Europe, "with the exception of Russia and some of the Baltic countries," he had appeared "almost everywhere . . . from Lisbon, Gibraltar and Palermo to Stockholm, Viborg, Scotland etc."[152] He had long since been in demand worldwide, however, and he indicated that "Requests for concerts come from all corners of the globe: South America, India, Australia, etc.—yet, I still have not been able to bring myself to undertake such long trips."[153] While he would journey to South

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[149] In March 1937, Drewes was appointed vice-president of the Reich Music Chamber as well as head of the Propaganda Ministry's music division. Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 32.

[150] The quoted translation is found in Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 10.

[151] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, New York, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC; Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 9.

[152] "In Europa habe ich fast überall gespielt, nur nicht in Russland und einigen Balkanstaaten. Von Lissabon, Gibraltar u. Palermo bis Stockholm, Viborg, Schottland etc. habe ich Europa ziemlich gründlich 'bespielt.'" Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to unidentified person ("Herr Doktor"), Lebenslauf, 2 S., 2°, Autogr. Gieseking, Walter, 11 Apr. 1937, o.O, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

[153] "Konzertanfragen liegen aus allen Teilen der Welt vor: Südamerika, Indien, Australien, etc. – doch habe ich mich zu so weiten Reisen noch nicht entschliessen können." Ibid.

America, Australia, and parts of Asia after the war, for now he continued to restrict his tours to Europe and North America.

In October 1937, Gieseking traveled to New York aboard the ocean liner *Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen* for his tenth North American tour, which would only include U.S. cities this season. The United States had become immensely important for his career, and the country in which he earned the most. The proceeds from this concert trip, as well as the royalties received from recordings sold in the U.S. throughout 1937, for example, would bring in an estimated $12,903, whereas the fees and royalties earned in Germany amounted to $8,065 (20,000 RM) and those from his other European engagements (including some £571 in England) also to $8,065 (20,000 RM).[154]

As usual, during the trans-Atlantic voyage Gieseking met other esteemed colleagues, who on this occasion included the Dutch conductor Willem van Hoogstraten (1884–1964) and Russian composer-pianist Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873–1943).[155] Gieseking was, in particular, a great admirer of Rachmaninoff's music and would soon be playing the latter's popular Second Piano Concerto in the U.S. He was thrilled to have the opportunity to meet with the famous figure, and he mentioned their encounters to Annie:

> The Rachmaninoffs were not very visible. They came on deck only in the mornings from 11 to 12 o'clock sometimes, and then I could mostly speak to them only briefly. He [Rachmaninoff] invited van H. [Hoogstraten] and me to his "salon" two evenings, however. It was extremely interesting to get to know him better in this manner. He is in many ways rather odd, he finds, for example, the

[154] These figures, roughly ten percent of which derived from record royalties, are found in Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8. Kaven lists the amounts in reichsmarks only, however. The rounded-up conversions to U.S. dollars and British pounds are based on a table from Bidwell, *Currency Conversion Tables*, 22–24.

[155] Hoogstraten had been married to pianist Elly Ney from 1911 to 1927.

> *Dreimäderlhaus* [*House of Three Girls*] beautiful![156] He is very nice, though, and his wife is also most pleasant.[157]

Upon arrival, Gieseking's piano technician, Richard Pohlman, and Edward Snowdon, the associate of the pianist's American manager, Charles Wagner, both went aboard the ship to greet the artist. They then brought Gieseking to his hotel, where the awaited musician soon gave interviews for some eager journalists. Philip Wyman of the Baldwin piano company arrived before long and invited Gieseking to dinner. They would be joined by pianist José Iturbi, too, with whom Gieseking got along especially well. He must have been delighted to see his friends and colleagues again.[158] Regarding Pohlman, with whom he always spent the most time during his North American visits, he commented, "This one is still the same, worry-free, and content."[159]

Gieseking had another extensive tour before him, and he was proud of Wagner's hard work. [160] The itinerary was as follows:

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[156] While there is Vienna's "Dreimäderlhaus," a splendid example of Biedermeier era (ca. 1815–48) architecture, Gieseking is surely referring to the Viennese pastiche operetta by the same name. The fictional libretto is based on the novel *Schwammerl* (published 1912) by Rudolf Hans Bartsch (1873–1952) and has Franz Schubert and two of his friends in love with the three daughters of a merchant occupying the house. The once immensely popular stage work features Schubert's music, arranged by the Hungarian composer Heinrich Barté (1857–1924); the libretto was written by Alfred Maria Willner and Heinz Reichert. If we compare Gieseking's repertoire and own compositions (particularly some of those currently unpublished) with those of Rachmaninoff's, we can conclude that the former's musical taste was generally much less conservative than Rachmaninoff's—despite his love for his Russian colleague's music and many more "conventional" works. This might explain Gieseking's comment regarding Rachmaninoff's "odd" approval of the *Dreimäderlhaus*.

[157] "Rachmaninoff's waren wenig zu sehen, kamen nur vormittags zwischen 11 und 12 mal an Deck, dann sprach ich sie meist für kurze Zeit. Er hatte aber van H.[Hoogstraten] und mich 2 Abende in seinen "Salon" eingeladen, es war ganz interessant, ihn dadurch mal etwas näher kennen zu lernen. Er ist in vieler Beziehung etwas komisch, z. B. findet er das Dreimäderlhaus schön! Er ist aber ganz gemütlich und seine Frau ist auch ganz angenehm." Gieseking, aboard the S.S. "Norddeutscher Loyd Bremen," to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Oct. 1937, GFA.

[158] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Oct. 1937, GFA.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Ibid.

October: 10th (New York), 14th (Lynchberg, VA), 17th (Indianapolis, at the Fesler home), 19th (Chicago), 20th (St. Paul), 22nd (Mt. Vernon, Iowa), 29–30th (Boston—concerto performance).

November: 2nd (Oberlin); 4–5th (Chicago—concerto performance); 8th (Springfield, Massachusetts); 9th (Rochester); 10–12th, 14th (New York—with the Philharmonic); 15th (Brooklyn); 18th (New York—Waldorf Historia Hotel[161]); 19th (Washington—German Embassy[162]); 23rd (Memphis); 25th (Detroit); 28th (Indianapolis—at the Fesler home again[163]); 30th (Pittsburgh).

December: 1st (New York); 3rd, 4th (Cincinnati); 7th (San Francisco); 10th (Los Angeles); 11th (Phoenix).[164]

Annie joins her Husband in the U.S.

Gieseking and Annie had begun to have more marital problems before he departed. As a result, they decided that Annie should join him for part of the American tour.[165] Until her arrival, the ever-cheerful Pohlman helped Gieseking get through the trying times:

> I don't know how I would manage to carry out this tour if I didn't have Pohlman's company. My "worries" bothered me so much during the last concerts that I often had to try hard just to concentrate! . . . Without Pohlman's companionship, I would probably completely fall apart. During trips we tell dirty jokes, read

[161] Gieseking was asked to accompany a singer for this recital at the hotel, which he agreed to do despite thinking it would be "one of these really stupid concerts" ("eins dieser ganz blödsinnigen Konzerte"). Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 24, 26 Oct. 1937, GFA.

[162] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 24 Oct. 1937, GFA. Gieseking again accompanied soprano Maria Müller on this occasion, as he had done at the German Embassy in January 1933 (see Chapter 1).

[163] Gieseking mentions that the Feslers wanted to arrange for a third private recital to take place at their home on 16 October. It is uncertain whether the plan was realized, but in a subsequent letter of 25 November Annie—having joined Walter in November for the remainder of the American tour—writes to her mother that Gieseking will give two private recitals for the Feslers over the next (unspecified) days. Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Oct. 1937, GFA; Annie, Detroit, to Anna Haake, Hanover, letter, 25 Nov. 1937, GFA.

[164] Gieseking noted on 8 October that two more concerts in California would be added in December and possibly still other concerts. No records of any such additional engagements have been found, however. Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Oct. 1937, GFA.

[165] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 24 Oct. 1937, GFA.

> countless newspapers, solve crossword puzzles in English (a good language exercise; I'm quite good at it) . . . it keeps me distracted from my concerns."[166]

Annie arrived in the U.S. sometime in November, and was able to accompany her husband there for the first time.[167] While the rather constant traveling by train was hectic, she was excited by all the adventure. She was surprised to see that "on the train only Negroes serve you," and she must have felt as if she were experiencing the real "Wild West" to some extent during the travels.[168] She described the tour, the many journeys above all, in a letter to her mother, Anna Haake:

> On Tuesday the piano recital was in a giant hall in Memphis! (seated 2,500 people). Afterward straight to the Pullman car; at 7:30 a.m. arrived in St. Louis, 1 ½ hour stopover there. . . . Then we traveled another 12 hours by train in an overheated train compartment, were here [in Detroit] at 9 in the evening. We had a drink nearby and then went to bed. . . . This evening at 8:30 concert with orchestra. Tomorrow a shorter trip, some 5 hours to Indianapolis; there Walter will give 2 house concerts at the home of some rich people with the last name Fesler, where we will also stay until Monday. This long trip has actually done me some good, but I am happy that the coming days will be somewhat more relaxed. . . . On the train one gets indescribably dirty, which is why the windows stay shut. However, you can step out into the open air at the end of the train when

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[166] "Ich weiss aber nicht, wie ich diese Tournee ausführen sollte, wenn ich nicht Pohlm.'s Gesellschaft hätte. Meine "Sorgen" haben mich schon in den letzten Konzerten so gestört, dass ich oft Mühe hatte, mich zu konzertieren! . . . "Ohne die Aufheiterung durch Pohlman würde ich wohl hier überhaupt gänzlich zusammenklappen. Auf Reisen machen wir eben faule Witze, lesen zahlose Zeitschriften, lösen Kreuzworträtsel auf Englisch (gut Sprachübung, ich kann es ziemlich) . . . da werde ich immer von meinen Sorgen abgelenkt." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 24 Oct. 1937, GFA.

[167] This was the first time that Annie accompanied her husband during a North American tour. Although she had traveled with Walter to the U.S. in January 1927, she had to return to Hanover shortly after their arrival as she was feeling ill: she had just become pregnant with their first child, Jutta (born in Hanover on 28 Aug. 1927). After spending a couple of weeks in New York City at that time (while Walter continued concertizing in various American cities), Annie departed on 3 February. Understandably, Annie must have chosen not to join him during the longer, American tours thereafter for the sake of their daughters. Their second child, Freya, was born in Hanover on 14 May 1931. Gieseking, Boston, to Annie, New York, postcard, 14 Jan. 1927, GFA; Gieseking, Chicago, to Annie, New York, letter, 1 Feb. 1927, GFA; Gieseking, Baltimore, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 26 Feb. 1927, GFA.

[168] "In der Eisenbahn bedienen nur Neger." Annie, Detroit, to Anna Haake, Wiesbaden, letter, 25 Nov. 1937, GFA.

> the heat and air become unbearable. Yesterday the train radio played for 12 hours, not always pleasant. . . . The time is flying by, of course.[169]

During the tour, Gieseking felt he had his greatest American triumph yet, during a concert conducted by John Barbirolli on 11 November. "In the autumn of 1937," Gieseking later recalled, "I . . . gave a performance of Rachmaninoff's [Second] Piano Concerto in C minor at the New York Philharmonic, the success of which I believe established my name in North America once and for all."[170] In his review of the performance, noted New York critic Olin Downes wrote a glowing and jocular review:

> [I]t is not easy to believe that we can hear a greater interpretation of this work from any pianist before the public today. Mr. Gieseking played with a power, beauty and fire which swept the orchestra and the audience with him. . . .
>
> . . . If the pianist had possessed a Paderewskian crown of hair, or had worn Russian mustaches and uniform, the audience would probably have risen and raved even more than it did, for here was a big, unpicturesque man swaying from side to side in his own excitement, playing gigantically, now with a melting lyricism, now with a brilliancy that was savage.
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> . . . [T]he audience, excited to top pitch . . . relieved itself in wild applause at the end.[171]

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[169] "Dienstag abend war das Konzert in Memphis Klavierabend in einem Riesensaal! (faßt 2500 Personen) Hinterher gleich in den Schlafwagen, morgens um ½ 8 Uhr in St. Louis, dort 1 ½ Std. Aufenthalt. . . . Dann fuhren wir wieder 12 Stunden Eisenbahn im überheizten Abteil, waren abends 9 Uhr hier, tranken noch etwas in der Nähe und gingen dann schlafen. . . . [H]eute abend ½ 9 Uhr Konzert mit Orchester. Morgen kürzerer Reise, etwa 5 Std. nach Indianapolis, dort gibt W[alter] 2 Hauskonzerte bei reichen Leuten namens Feßler, wo wir auch wohen bis Montag. Diese langen Reisen sind mir eigentlich ganz gut bekommen, aber es ist ganz angenehm, daß die nächsten Tage etwas ruhiger sind. . . . In der Bahn wird man unbeschreiblich dreckig, deshalb bleiben auch die Fenster zu, aber man kann sich am Wagenende ins Freie stellen wenn einem Hitze und Luft unerträglich werden. Gestern lief die ganzen 12 Std. das Radio im Zug, nicht immer angenehm. . . . Uns vergeht die Zeit natürlich schnell." Annie, Detroit, to Anna Haake, Wiesbaden, letter, 25 Nov. 1937, GFA.

[170] "Im Herbst 1937 war ich wieder in den USA und hatte mit dem c-Moll-Konzert von Rachmaninow in der New Yorker Philharmonie einen Erfolg, der meinen Namen wohl endgültig in Nordamerika 'durchsetzte.'" Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 69.

[171] Downes, "Gieseking Soloist with Barbirolli," *New York Times*, 12 Nov. 1937. For a less favorable review of the performance see "Music—Gotham Listeners have Much of Interest," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 21 Nov. 1937. Gieseking's interpretation of the concerto under Barbirolli *may* have been preserved sonically, for a repeat performance with the conductor and the New York Philharmonic was given only days later, on 14 November, which was a national live broadcast. Gray and Quonten, in fact, list the performance in their discography, although no known recording (private or commercial) can be identified. This does not preclude the possibility of one turning up in the future, however. See Gray and Quonten,

Despite the concert's success, it seems rather far-fetched for Gieseking to make the humble claim that this performance was what finally brought him lasting recognition on the continent. He had clearly made a name for himself there already during his initial tour in 1926, and his fame had grown swiftly. Rave reviews of his American concerts are abundant from the very start—a large number of which he collected and pasted into a surviving scrapbook—and his many recordings were advertised heavily and sold increasingly well.[172] He had, in fact, made a multitude of new discs in 1937: a selection of works by Debussy and Ravel in London on 31 January, Grieg's Piano Concerto in A minor and Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 (op. 15) in Berlin on 28 April, and on 29 April solo works by Roussel and Grieg, as well as his own *Sonatine für Flöte und Klavier* performed with Gustav Scheck.[173] Reviewing the Debussy issues that appeared in stores in February 1938, Compton Pakenham of the *New York Times* wrote, "Gieseking is in his element. His Debussy is in perfect taste, played with illuminating understanding. With its

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"Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 9, 58. The author wishes to thank Donald Manildi of the International Piano Archives for his assistance regarding this matter.

[172] Gieseking, in fact, kept two scrapbooks containing well over a thousand newspaper clippings and other articles regarding his career. They usually give the source and were meticulously pasted in, largely in chronological order. A smaller-sized scrapbook (33 x 28 cm) covers Nov. 1917–Aug. 1919 (with loose articles that continue until July 1920); a larger scrapbook (ca. 47 x 31.5 cm, labeled "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art," or "Scrapbook for all types of Newspaper Clippings") covers Oct. 1920–Apr. 1926. Both books are preserved in the Gieseking family archive in Wiesbaden. There are also several envelopes containing hundreds of loose articles from Gieseking's clipping collection. Throughout much of his career, he paid clipping agencies such as Argus de la Presse in Paris and the Presse und Ausschnittdienst v. Beust in Stuttgart to gather these reviews and articles for him; they derive from European, Australian and American sources. Moreover, Gieseking's American manager Charles L. Wagner sent him many U.S. clippings collected by the Burrelle's bureau in New York. In the GFA, for example, there are three smaller envelopes (c. 19 x 11 cm) bearing Wagner's name, which are filled with clippings from 1939. In 1929, Gieseking had expressed his views on music criticism in an article he wrote for the journal *Melos*. He also cites and comments on reviews throughout his memoirs. See Gieseking, "Glossen zur Musikkritik" *Melos*, Mar. 1929, 124–25 and the autobiographical component of Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 9–81.

[173] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 44.

clearly cut detail and sensitively balanced values, each sketch leaves an indelible impression."[174]

Gieseking and Annie returned to Europe in December. They presumably departed shortly after his 11 December concert in Phoenix, in order to be home with their daughters and other family members for the holidays.

1938

European Engagements during the First Half of 1938

After the holidays, Gieseking resumed touring across Europe, and Annie continued to accompany him. In a letter of 18 June, he gave a summary (in English) of his many performances:

> Since we [Gieseking and Annie] left N.Y. [New York in December], we did a very big lot of [*sic*] traveling: I had 54 or 55 concerts since January, playing, beside[s] [in] the dear home country[,] in Belgium, France (twice), Holland, Cechoslovakia [*sic*], Switzerland, Italy. In Italy I had a longer tour. I had to have time to sample the various kinds of "Spaghetti" and the different vegetables. . [. .] The boss, pardon me—the "Missus" came along and enjoyed it, most of the time. In Rome we went to [the composer Alfredo] Casella's house for dinner, it was funny, partly because they were fighting like h . . . [i.e. hell], mostly in fun, of course. In Paris I played a whole Debussy program, but even there the audience seems to prefer Beethoven and Chopin's oldest war-horses. The other concerts were all "as usual", perhaps there was in some places a better B.O. (Box Office!) [i.e. better ticket sales] as before: Berlin, f[or]. inst[ance]. Having both recitals sold out to the last stage seat. (Brings in twice [the] amount of dough.) So I don't have to complain. And you can easily imagine that I was kept nicely busy with those 55 dates, of which 45 were [given] in a three-months [*sic*] time, between Jan. 10th and Apr. 7th! . . . [At the] [e]nd of April– May was [the] Italian tour, since then I have [had] less [*sic*] concerts.[175]

[174] Pakenham, "Recent Phonograph Recordings," *New York Times*, 30 Jan. 1938.

[175] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 18 June 1938, DEC.

The tour was undeniably eventful, yet a few events were of particular importance, starting with the *Reichsmusiktage* (Reich Music Days), which was held in Düsseldorf the last week of May.

The *Reichsmusiktage* and "Entartete Musik" Exhibition in Düsseldorf (May 1938) and Gieseking's Modern Repertoire

In May 1938, Gieseking took part in the *Reichsmusiktage*, the German national music festival in Düsseldorf, where he appeared in the Zweites Sinfoniekonzert (Second Orchestral Concert) on 24 May.[176] Under the direction of Hugo Balzer (1894–1985) leading Düsseldorf's Städtisches Orchester, Gieseking performed Joseph Marx's "Castelli Romani" Piano Concerto, a work he had premiered in Darmstadt on 5 February 1931.[177] A member of the Nazi party, Balzer had served as General Music Director at Düsseldorf since 1934 and was an official music advisor (*Musikreferent*) for the NS-Kulturgemeinde.[178] According to one review of the *Reichsmusiktage* concerts, "The Städtische Orchester of Düsseldorf offered under its conductor Hugo Balzer carefully prepared, refined and soulful readings of all the [orchestral] works."[179]

One of the alleged aims of the propagandistic *Reichsmusiktage* was to demonstrate that German music "no longer belonged to a small circle, but rather to the

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[176] Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter."

[177] Gieseking had also given the "Reichsdeutsche Uraufführung" (German Reich Premiere) of Marx's first Piano Concerto in Hanover in June 1921. Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 52, 64.

[178] In 1939, Balzer would receive an honorary professor title in Hitler's name. Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Balzer, Hugo."

[179] "Das Städtische Orchester Düsseldorf hat unter seinem Dirigenten Hugo Balzer alle Werke in sorgsam vorbereiteter, ausgefeilter und beseelter Form geboten." Dr. A. H., "Musik in Deutschland: Reichsmusiktage 1938," *Musikblätter der Sudetendeutschen*, 15 Juli 1938, 9.10. Heft, 307. Balzer conducted additional concerts during the festival on 25, 26, and 29 May. Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Balzer, Hugo."

entire people (*Volk*)."[180] Some thirty events took place within eight days and included orchestral concerts with numerous world premieres programmed, chamber music recitals, outdoor performances (*Platzkonzerte*) featuring military bands and district marching bands (*Gaumusikzüge*), concerts presented by the Hitler Youth and the National Socialist German Students League (NSD-Studentenbund), choir performances, and so-called "factory concerts" (*Werkkonzerte*) held in large Düsseldorf plants.[181] In addition, there were opera productions; a variety of symposia (*Tagungen*), with one on the subject of "Musik und Rasse"; a cultural-political rally (*kulturpoltische Kundgebung*) including a speech by Goebbels; and perhaps most significantly, the infamous "Degenerate Music" ("Entartete Musik") exhibition.[182]

The exhibition was part of the regime's continued, and now more intensified, efforts to cleanse the Reich of modernist and "non-Aryan" repertoire.[183] It aimed to show visitors the eminent cultural downfall Germans faced in consequence of the "degenerate" music of Jews and other musicians. Commenced by Staatsrat (State Councillor) Dr. Hans Severus Ziegler, it presented "writings and recorded examples of a completely Jewish influenced, past 'degenerate' art movement," reported the *Musikblätter der*

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[180] "[Deutsche Musik ist] jetzt nicht mehr Sache eines kleinen Kreises, sondern Angelegenheit des ganzen Volkes." Dr. A. H., "Musik in Deutschland: Reichsmusiktage 1938," 306.

[181] Among the orchestras that took part was the Berlin Philharmonic led by Hermann Abendroth, for a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Dr. A. H., "Musik in Deutschland: Reichsmusiktage 1938," 306.

[182] Among the musical highlights were several operas by Richard Strauss, who conducted the performance of his own *Arabella* himself. As part of the *Tagungen*, Dr. L. Schiedermairs and Prof. Dr. Friedrich Blume discussed "Musik und Rasse." Ibid., 306, 308.

[183] Gieseking makes no mention of the exhibition in the surviving correspondence. For more on the *Reichsmusiktage* and the Nazi regime's policies toward modernism in music see Chapter 4 "*Entartete Musik*: The War Against Modernism" in Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 82–123.

Sudetendeutschen.[184] Selected writings, scores, manuscripts, and other "documentation of the 'decline'" (*Verfall*) were displayed, along with pictures of the targeted composers: Arnold Schoenberg, Igor Stravinsky, and Paul Hindemith were given special attention, but among others included were Kurt Weill, Ernst Krenek, Franz Schreker, Alban Berg, Karol Rathaus, Ernst Toch, and Hermann Reutter. The "intrusion" (*Einbruch*) of "Neger-Jazz" found in German music was also infamously highlighted.[185] While the extent of his prior awareness of the planned exhibition is unknown, Gieseking could hardly have chosen a worse Nazi musical event to partake in, particularly since the exhibition opened the same day as his performance.[186]

Gieseking's participation in the *Reichsmusiktage* on this date might at first seem rather ironic, for throughout most of the Weimar era, he had earned a reputation as an outstanding advocate of contemporary music, and he never entirely quit playing new works. He generally, if less frequently during the 1930s, agreed to meet with hopeful composers and play through their latest compositions. Others mailed him manuscripts, but naturally, he was selective about those he performed publicly.[187] The list below

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[184] Dr. A. H., "Musik in Deutschland: Reichsmusiktage 1938," 308. Then general director of Weimar's Deutsches Nationaltheater as well, Ziegler—who Gesa Kordes has described as "one of the Nazis' most notorious cultural rhetoricians"—had been responsible for envisioning and organizing the exhibition. Kordes, "Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search for a New Musical Identity," in *Music and German National Identity*, eds. Celia Applegate and Pamela Maxine Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 208; Levi, "Censorship of Musical Modernism," 78.

[185] Dr. A. H., "Musik in Deutschland: Reichsmusiktage 1938," 308.

[186] Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter."

[187] There are numerous examples of Gieseking's encounters with composers described throughout surviving correspondence. To give an example, Gieseking visited the Russian-born American writer, conductor, and composer Nicolas Slonimsky (1894–1995) in New York in the late 1920s where they discussed music and Gieseking "played modern music of any kind." Afterward Slonimsky sent Gieseking an original composition, to which the latter replied (in still somewhat limited English): "Thank you very much for sending me your amusing piece. I shall be delighted to know more of your compositions. If you will care to send some to Europe, thank you very much in advance." Slonimsky sent him further, published works, so that on 2 January 1930 Gieseking wrote to thank him for the "delightful amusing piano pieces" and sent his "best congratulations." "I am sure, now that they are printed, many musicians will enjoy the

provides a small selection of his modern repertoire during the close of the Weimar era and most of the years of the Third Reich:

Table 1:

Selected Modern Compositions Performed by Gieseking, 1931–1943

Year Performed	Composer and Work
1931:	Joseph Marx, "Castelli Romani" Concerto
1933:	Richard Strauß, *Burleske* Arthur Honegger, Concertino for Piano and Orchestra Albert Möschinger, Klavierkonzert
1934:	August Reuß, Klavierkonzert, op. 48
1935:	Frank Martin, Piano Concerto No. 1
1935 and 1936:	Max Trapp, Klavierkonzert in D-Dur [op. 26]
1940 and 1941:	Walter Gieseking, *Variations on a Theme by Grieg* and Hans Pfitzner, Sonata in E minor (op. 28) for Violin and Piano, both works performed with violinist Max Strub Unidentified works by Gian Francesco Malipiero, Manuel de Falla, and Alexander Scriabin Julius Weißmann, *Vier Traumspiele*
1942:	Walter Niemann, C-major Piano Concerto
1943:	Max Reger, unnamed work(s).[188]

acquaintance with your compositions." There is no record of Gieseking ever programming Slonimsky's music, but the former had always been selective about the repertoire he performed, as Hindemith made clear in a letter from 29 June 1926 (Berlin) to his publisher Willy Strecker, which concerned his new First Piano Sonata: "I have taken a great deal of trouble over this piece and hope it will make a good impression. The two movements missing until now should also satisfy our severe Gieseking. Leaving aside the modifications he will make in any case (there's no escaping that with him unless your name is Josef Marx or Castelnuovo), he should be getting his money's worth)." This remark implies that Gieseking had, at least partially, commissioned the Hindemith work. For the information regarding Slonimsky see Gieseking, New York, to Slonimsky, place?, letter, 13 Apr. 1929 and Gieseking, Hanover, to Slonimsky, place?, letter, 2 Jan. 1930, Slonimsky Collection, Correspondence "Gieseking, Walter," Box 141, Folder 24, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. The Hindemith letter is cited in Hindemith and Skelton, *Selected Letters of Paul Hindemith*, 92.

[188] For mention of Gieseking's performance of Marx's "Castelli Romani" Concerto see Albert Harmann, "Konzert: Hannover," *Die Musik*, July 1931, 770; for Strauss's *Burleske* and Honegger's Concertino see Willy Tappolet, "Konzert: Genf," *Die Musik*, Mar. 1933, 453 and L. Dunton Green, "Konzert: London," *Die Musik*, Nov. 1933, 137; for Möschinger's Klavierkonzert see Julius Mai, "Konzert: Bern," *Die Musik*, June 1933, 690 and "Zeitgeschichte: Neue Werke Für Den Konzertsaal," *Die Musik*, Okt. 1933, 74; for Reuß's Klavierkonzert, op. 48, see Albert Hartmann, "Konzert: Hannover," *Die Musik*, Jan. 1934, 301; for Martin's Piano Concerto No. 1 see Charles W. King, *Frank Martin: A Bio-Bibliography*, Bio-Bibliographies in Music, no. 26 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 15; for Trapp's Klavierkonzert in D major, op. 26, see "Zeitgeschichte: Neue Werke für den Konzertsaal," *Die Musik*, Dec. 1935, 238 and Wilhelm Jung, "Konzert: Leipzig," *Die Musik*, Feb. 1936, 391, as well as Gieseking, Geneva, to Annie, letter, Wiesbaden, 23 Jan. 1936, GFA; for Gieseking's Variations on a Theme by Grieg and Pfitzner's Sonata, op. 28, see August Uerz, "Walter Gieseking–Max Strub: Sonatenabend in der KdF-

Admittedly, this repertoire contained nothing radically modern, yet contemporary audiences did not necessarily find the works accessible. Gieseking mentioned, for example, how even the Marx concerto performance of 1931 was "controversial" and we recall that the concert featuring the Martin and Trapp concertos under the direction of Eugen Jochum did not sell well.[189]

While it is still less known, Gieseking had also composed in a modern, albeit tonal, vein since his teenage years, although his later works were usually less experimental—something more noticeable when the many unpublished works are considered.[190] In addition, in the 1920s he had made piano rolls of Arnold Schoenberg's *Sechs Kleine Klavierstücke*, op. 19, and the second piece from *Klavierstücke*, op. 11, possibly making him the first pianist to "record" selections of the composer's atonal keyboard music—something that seems to have been overlooked by scholars.[191] Finally, he had always been fond of certain popular music and often played early jazz works or improvised his own, though usually in private settings. Many accounts of Gieseking's jazz interest survive, and some deserve mention.

Kulturgemeinde," *Niedersächsiche Tageszeitung*, 6–7 Apr. 1940 and Hermann Killer, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, Mar. 1941, 224; for the Malipiero, de Falla, and Scriabin works see Killer, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, Mar. 1941, 225; for Weißmann's *Vier Traumspiele* see Gottfried Schweizer, "Konzert: Frankfurt am Main," *Die Musik*, 1940/41, 259; for Niemann's, C-major Piano Concerto see Erwin Völsing, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, Dec. 1942, 88. Gieseking mentions the Reger work(s) in Gieseking, Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 22 Oct. 1943, postcard, GFA.

[189] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 64. The performances with Jochim were discussed in Chapter 2.

[190] Gieseking's more adventurous music, particularly from the World War I years, has yet to be published. A list of Gieseking's compositional output is included as Appendix 4A and B. The manuscripts of Gieseking's unpublished compositions are preserved in the GFA.

[191] Numerous searches have thus far failed to uncover an earlier recording of any of Schoenberg's keyboard works. Sitsky, ed., *The Classical Reproducing Piano Roll*, vol. 1, 463; Charles David Smith and Richard James Howe, *The Welte-Mignon: Its Music and Musicians* (New York: Vestal Press, 1994), 373–74. For more information on Gieseking's piano rolls see Broadbent and Broadbent, *Great Pianists of the Golden Age*, 314–25.

During his first U.S. tour in 1926, Gieseking's friend, the composer Alfredo Casella, described this in an article about that season's new pianistic sensation, simply entitled "Walter Gieseking": "[W]hen Gieseking, after playing a program of most serious music, sits down at the piano in a friend's house and plays an American jazz piece with the expertness of a Harlem Negro, then one sees that youth is his outstanding characteristic."[192] To give another example, Elsa Respighi (wife of the composer Ottorino Respighi, 1879–1936) recalled how her husband, Gieseking, and others once had a spontaneous jam session in Cincinnati one night. This incident occurred shortly after Gieseking's performance of Respighi's *Toccata* for piano and orchestra (composed 1928), under Fritz Reiner and the Cincinnati Symphony:

> After the concert we were invited to dinner at the home of Mr. Wulsin [Lucien Wulsin Jr.], who was head of the firm of Baldwin Piano.[193] It was a remarkable evening, and most enjoyable because after dinner the lady of the house, a most beautiful woman [presumably Peggy Wulsin], brought out a complete set of jazz drums and, strapping on a tenor saxophone, quickly proved her competence with the instrument. Simultaneously Gieseking set about playing hot jazz on the piano and Respighi was dared to join in with the drums. What came out of that strange ensemble was indescribable. Besides being the recognized authority on Debussy, Ravel, and Mozart (as everyone knew), Gieseking was also—and this we did not know—a skillful jazz musician. Mrs. Wulsin played the saxophone magnificently, and Respighi, with a complete set of drums at his disposal, unleashed the most extraordinary rhythms. Pity there was no recorder there![194]

Gieseking's interest in jazz and popular music is further confirmed by his own popular compositions, the published foxtrots and *Drei Tanzimprovisationen* (*Three Dance Improvisations*), for example. Almost prophetically, he wrote his final jazz dance piece, an untitled and currently unpublished Charleston, in December 1932—just as the

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[192] Alfredo Casella, "Walter Gieseking," *Boston Christian Science Monitor*, 10 Apr. 1926.

[193] Both Gieseking and Ottorino Respighi were Baldwin-endorsed artists.

[194] Elsa Respighi, Giovanni Fontecchio, and Roger Johnson, *Fifty Years of a Life in Music, 1905–1955* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993), 136.

Weimar era was coming to an end, with the National Socialists about to take over the next month. It was his first popular work since the two published cabaret songs from 1927–28: "Der Zinnoberschlager" and "Die Dame von besserer Qualität."[195] As is commonly known, jazz was largely—though not entirely—censored by the Hitler regime.[196] Included in the "Degenerate Music" exhibition was a jazz section (as mentioned above), as well as a division devoted to the "theorists" of atonality. Unsurprisingly, Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre* was one of the treatises accused of propagating the teachings of *Kulturbolschewismus*, or "cultural Bolshevism."[197]

Despite his early progressiveness, by the 1930s Gieseking's attitude toward promoting new works in public, particularly those more avant-garde, had changed. In his memoir, he remembered his continued disappointment with the reception of modern compositions by both audiences and critics alike and his eventual determination to give up on the cause of promoting new music already after the 1929/30 season. His frustration at that time had largely been caused by poor receptions in Germany and the U.S., though he had doubtless experienced many similarly apathetic reactions in other countries:

> The most disappointing artistic results I had were in Berlin and New York, when I played only contemporary works; in Berlin, if my memory serves me well, there was even free admission.
>
> These modern programs in Berlin comprised works by Hermann Reutter, Richard Wintzer, Fidelio Finke, Ernst Toch, Karol Rathaus, and the Partita by Erwin Schulhoff; on the program in New York were Cyril Scott's Suite op. 75, Walter Niemann's *Gartenmusik* [Garden Music] op. 117, pieces from Hindemith's [*Klaviermusik*, in two parts (1925–27)] op. 37, Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Sonata [op. 51, (1928)?], [Alexandre] Tansman's *Sonatine*

[195] The autograph copy of the 66-measure composition, which is in cut time and in the key of E-flat major, is found in the GFA. All of the popular works are listed in Appendix 4A and B.

[196] See Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 84–86. For an exhaustive study on the subject of Jazz music in the Third Reich see Kater, *Different Drummers*.

[197] Geraldine de Courcy, "Düsseldorf Exhibits 'Degenerate Music,'" *Musical America*, July 1938, 7.

> *transatlantique* [for two pianos (1930)], [Erwin] Schulhoff's Partita [1922], and Ravel's *Valses nobles et sentimentales* [1911]. Both concerts were such commercial failures that they can only be called catastrophes. But we could not have counted on selling a large number of tickets, and we didn't; this was therefore just what we had expected. As the music critics, with increasingly fewer exceptions, showed no interest in the new works and had little to say about these concerts, I convinced myself that what I was doing was pointless and that the public had no interest whatsoever in my idealism. I had learned my lesson from this. . . . Although certainly not all works have lasting worth, in my opinion no musically interested person should escape listening to such compositions, too, instead of ecstatically harkening to the "Moonlight" Sonata for the hundred and sixty-seventh time. The "Moonlight" Sonata is unquestionably an ingenious work, but there is more to music than just Beethoven sonatas.[198]

Gieseking must have been serious about his new decision, for in the summer of 1931 he turned down a request from Aaron Copland to premiere the composer's *Piano Variations*. Gieseking recognized the work's innovation, but—again, with a general audience in mind—feared a poor reception. He sent his reason to the Copland: "During the last week I found time to try out your Variations. This composition is very interesting and most original, but I do not know an audience which would accept such crude

[198] "Die künstlerisch enttäuschendsten Ergebnisse hatte ich in Berlin und New York, als ich nur zeitgenössische Werke, in Berlin—wenn ich mich recht entsinne—sogar bei freiem Eintritt, vortrug. Diese modernen Programme enthielten in Berlin Werke von Hermann Reutter, Richard Wintzer, Fidelio Finke, Ernst Toch, Karol Rathaus und die Partita von Erwin Schulhoff; in New York Cyril Scott, Suite op. 75, Walter Niemann, Gartenmusik op. 117, Hindemith, Stücke aus op. 37, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Sonate, Tansman, Sonatine translantique, Schulhoff, Partita, und Ravel, Valses nobles et sentimentales. Beide Konzerte waren geschäftlich derartige Mißerfolge, daß man nur von Katastrophen sprechen kann. Allerdings konnte mit einer begeisterten Teilnahme des zahlenden Publikums nicht gerechnet werden, und dies hatte man auch erwartet. Daß die Musikkritiker, mit verschwindenden Ausnahmen, kein Interesse für die neuen Werke zeigten und kaum über diese Konzerte berichteten, überzeugten mich, daß ich hier einem unnützen und der Öffentlichkeit durchaus unerwünschten Idealismus gefolgt war. Aus dieser Erkenntnis habe ich gelernt. . . . [O]bwohl sicher nicht alle Werke darin bleibenden Wert haben, sollte es sich meines Erachtens kein musikalisch interessierter Mensch entgehen lassen, auch solche Kompositionen anzuhören, anstatt zum hundersiebenundsechzigsten Male verzückt der Mondschein-Sonate zu lauschen. Die Mondschein-Sonate ist ein geniales Werk, darin ist nicht zu zweifeln, aber die Musik besteht nicht nur aus Beethoven-Sonaten." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 63–64.

dissonances without protesting, except perhaps the League of Composers people in N.Y. and some of the group of the ISCM [International Society for Contemporary Music]."[199]

Two years later, in an interview from November 1933, which was published the following February by *Die Musik*—a journal that was "Nazified" and became an organ of Alfred Rosenberg's NS-Kulturgemeinde[200]—Gieseking discussed the notion that the public had the right to want to hear familiar works, and he went so far as to shun composers writing exceedingly avant-garde music, particularly those creating atonal compositions:

> Basically, the public turned away from the radical new composers already during the first crisis years [of the Great Depression]. Today, when the public spends money on concerts, it wants to hear good works of importance. Hardly anyone can afford to listen to new music, only to get to know it once. And it is precisely the wish to get to know the controversial, not to affirm it, that has, of course, been the decisive factor in creating the booming market for the radicals. When the hyper-zealous [composers] who dare to ridicule the romantic inclination of our soul are no longer allowed to do so, then so be it. Real progress will not be hindered because of that. The opposite is true. Incidentally, atonality never determined the development [of modern music]. And when one believed to be writing atonal music, in the strictest sense one never did so far as real artistic creation is concerned. There simply cannot be a work of art without a theme that returns or is modified, without a key center, without a tonic pitch around which everything is built and to which everything returns. So it is just as well, even necessary, that this misconception is banished from our mind—and it is significant that there has been no modern compositional style, as we see it, anywhere in the world but here in Germany [i.e. the German-speaking nations].[201]

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[199] Gieseking, Berlin, to Copland, letter, 22 June 1931, quoted in Rüdiger Jennert, *Paul Hindemith und die Neue Welt: Studien zur amerikanischen Hindemith-Rezeption*, Würzburger Musikhistorische Beiträge, Band 26 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider: 2005), 151.

[200] Michael Meyer, "The Nazi Musicologist as Myth Maker in the Third Reich," *Journal of Contemporary History* 10, no. 4 (Oct. 1975): 651.

[201] "Im Grunde hat sich das Publikum ja schon seit den ersten Krisenjahren von den radikalen Neutönern abgewendet. Heute, wenn es Geld für Konzerte ausgeben soll, will es schon Gutes Wertvolles hören. Kaum jemand kann es sich noch leisten, neue Musik anzuhören, nur um sie einmal kennenzulernen. Und eben der Wunsch, das Umstrittene kennenzulernen, nicht es zu bejahen, hat doch ziemlich ausschlaggebend die Konjunktur für die Radikalen geschaffen. [W]enn die Hyper-Eifrigen des romantischen Dranges unserer Seele nicht mehr zu spoetten wagen dürfen, so ist das nur gut. Der wahre Fortschritt wird dadurch nicht gehemmt. Im Gegenteil. Übrigens hat nie die Atonalität die Entwicklung bestimmt. Und wenn man sie gemeint hat, im eigentlichen Sinn hat es sie, soweit echtes künstlerisches

It is indeed surprising that of all pianists, Gieseking was now openly criticizing contemporary music deemed too adventurous for the public's taste. One wonders if the National Socialists' aesthetic views, which they increasingly enforced throughout the Third Reich, had actually begun to influence his own musical preferences. While he may also have been merely being "politically correct" in this instance because of the journal's new function as a Nazi-run magazine, his programs were indeed now generally much more conservative that those of the earlier Weimar era, even when they contained newer pieces.[202]

On the other hand, one might sympathize with an artist like Gieseking for giving in to the taste of general audiences. Learning new and often complex works for a single, at most a few, performances was not practical, rewarded very little, and eschewed by most venues booking him. "Contemporary music is poorly received by the public. And the concert organizers are against it," the pianist said during a postwar radio interview, in which he expressed his regret over the perpetual "opposition" ("Widerstand") against such repertoire.[203] In general, the modern compositions he did choose to play throughout the NS era would have been judged "safe" by Nazi officials. Yet he would have to drop certain works as further composers were banned—as we saw in the case of Hindemith—

Schaffen in Betracht kommt, nie gegeben. Ein Kunstwerk ohne Thema, das wiederkehrt oder abgewandelt wird, ohne eine Grundharmonie, ohne einen Grundton, auf den sich alles aufbaut und zu dem alles wieder zurückdrängt, kann es einfach nicht geben. Es ist also nur gut, ja notwendig, daß dieser Irrglaube aus den Hirnen verbannt wird—und es ist bezeichnend, daß es eine Moderne in unserem Sinne nirgendwo in der Welt gegeben hat als bei uns in Deutschland . . ." Quoted in "Eine Stunde bei Walter Gieseking, *Die Musik*, Feb. 1934, 392–93.

[202] Examples of Gieseking's Weimar-era programs featuring contemporary works can be found in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 44–69.

[203] "Die zeitgenössische Musik nimmt das Publikum zu sehr übel. Und auch die Veranstalter sind dagegen. . . ." Walter Gieseking, 1951 interview excerpt, included in Wolfgang Korb, "Der Pianist Walter Gieseking," SR 2 KulturRadio, part of the series *Trouvailles*, aired on 10 July 2010, accessed 10 Feb. 2013, http://mobil.sr-online.de/ipod/sr2/sendungen_a-z/trouvailles/sendung12574.html.

and during the war this will include, among others, the very music that had brought him so much fame and recognition, namely that of Debussy and Ravel.[204]

It is clear that by the late time of the "Degenerate Music" exhibition, Gieseking had long since begun to program more conservative works. While there is no record of his opinion of the exhibition, one suspects that he more than likely found it absurd, despite his participation in the festival and his own disinclination to perform the more "radical" contemporary music that was targeted. Even certain Nazi officials were opposed to the exhibition. While it was supported by Rosenberg and important party members, others such as Reich Music Chamber President Peter Raabe, who refused to participate, strongly disapproved of certain exhibits.[205] Also, as Erik Levi has written, "It is significant to note that this event was not organized directly by the [Propaganda] Ministry, nor did it enjoy its patronage."[206]

Belgium, 1938: The Eugène Ysaÿe Competition and the Rubinstein Incident

During the week of the *Reichsmusiktage*, Gieseking traveled to Belgium for the final days of May, where he had been invited to judge the second Eugène Ysaÿe Competition in Brussels (now called the Queen Elisabeth Competition, after the former queen of Belgium, Elisabeth of Bavaria [1876–1965]). A major musical occurrence, and still recognized as one of the most prestigious competitions worldwide, it was an all-

[204] The topic of banned music and how it affected Gieseking's career is discussed in the following chapters, in particular during the WWII discussion.

[205] Levi, "Censorship of Musical Modernism," 78.

[206] Ibid.

piano contest that year, after first involving only violinists in 1937.[207] The enormous jury (twenty-nine persons in all) consisted of a number of prominent pianists, among them Robert Casadesus, Samuel Feinberg, Emil Frey, Ignaz Friedman, Raoul Koczalski, Nicholas Orloff, Arthur Rubinstein, Walter Rummel, Olga Samaroff-Stokowsky, Emil von Sauer, Carlo Zecchi, and Gieseking.[208] Many of the jury members must have been involved in only the preliminary part of the event, however, leaving the final round for the most famous figures to judge. Gieseking, for example, did not arrive until 29 May, when the three-day final round began.[209]

Queen Elisabeth and her young daughter, Marie José, then the Princess of Piedmont, were always present in their box.[210] Gieseking was excited about taking part and wrote home to tell Annie about what he had seen the first day: "So far it has been very interesting. A very eastern-looking boy played, among other things, the Rachmaninoff Third [Piano Concerto] with enormous technique. A French girl [either Monique Yver de la Bruchollerie or Colette Gaveau[211]] played Mozart etc. with less facility but with much more musicianship."[212] The young Emil Gilels, probably the "very eastern-looking boy," received first prize and went on to become one of the great pianists

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[207] "List of winners," Queen Elisabeth Competition, accessed 21 Feb. 2011, http://www.cmireb.be/data/palmares_1937-2010.pdf.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Gieseking, Brussels, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 29 May 1938, GFA. The final round continued each day until 31 May.

[210] Arthur Rubinstein, *My Many Years* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 439. Note that Rubinstein incorrectly refers to Marie José as the Queen of Italy, which she would not become until May 1946 and only until the following month.

[211] Bruchollerie and Gaveau were the only two pianists representing France among the competition's twelve "Laureates." "List of winners," Queen Elisabeth Competition, accessed 21 Feb. 2011, http://www.cmireb.be/data/palmares_1937-2010.pdf.

[212] "Bisher war es sehr interessant, ein sehr östlicher Jüngling spielte u.a. das dritte Rachmaninoff mit enormer Technik, eine Französin Mozart etc. mit weniger Technik, aber viel musikalischer." Gieseking, Brussels, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 29 May 1938, GFA.

of the century. Gieseking again described the event a few weeks later to Richard Pohlman:

> At the end of May, I went to Brussels, by invitation of the Committee of the Ysaye Foundation. About 85 young pianists competed for the prizes given by this Foundation. I was, together with a few other pianists like Friedman, Orloff, Sauer, Rubinstein and Casadesus, [a] member of the Jury[,] which had to make the last choice [i.e. pick the winners]. This means I had only to hear the 12 "chosen people" (there were many Aryans among these!), that is the 12 best and give them the last approbation. It was quite interesting to hear them, they played very well, mostly.[213]

When Rubinstein wrote the second volume of his memoirs toward the end of his life (published in 1980 under the title of *My Many Years*), he remembered that a loyal Reich musician, with NSDAP membership, had been sent by the Hitler regime to monitor the events of the competition.[214] Rubinstein then related a controversial incident involving this pianist and Gieseking, which he claimed had occurred during that time:

> After one of the sessions, I invited Friedman and [Nicholaï] Orloff to have a bite with me. Seeing Gieseking standing alone, I asked him most amiably to join us. "But don't let the German Nazi [the aforementioned observer] come with us," I said in a confidential tone.
>
> "What do you mean by that?" he answered arrogantly, "I am a convinced Nazi. Hitler is saving our country."
>
> This put me into a boiling rage. "Look here, Gieseking," I said sternly, "you had better keep out of my way," and I never addressed him or looked at him again.[215]

Rubinstein had first made this assertion in a letter published by *Life* in February 1949, shortly after Gieseking had been forced to cancel his American tour and return to Europe as a result of the public opposition against his appearances and consequent actions taken by the U.S. Justice Department.[216] In the 1949 letter, in which Rubinstein

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[213] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 18 June 1938, DEC.

[214] Rubinstein, *My Many Years*, 439.

[215] Ibid., 439–40.

[216] Gieseking's experiences in the U.S. in 1949 are explored in detail in Chapter 11.

accused Gieseking of having "cooperated musically" with the Nazis, the former did not refer to the piano competition and wrongly gave the year as 1939: "[I]n 1939 Gieseking boasted to me of being a Nazi."[217] Rubinstein also criticized Gieseking for not having fled the Reich and for never having "publicly expressed the slightest sorrow at the atrocities committed under Hitler."[218]

The same day Rubinstein's letter appeared, Gieseking sent the following reply (in English) to his American assistant manager, Edward Snowdon, who played an important role in fighting to defend his client's reputation at this time:

> Rubinstein's memory seems to have suffered. I recall meeting him in 1938 in Brussels, when we were both among the members of the jury for the "Concours Ysaÿe." I know distinctly that I've never said . . . that I was a Nazi! Why should I have lied so and just [i.e. particularly] to Rubinstein? It would have been awfully rude and impolite to say such a thing to a Jew, whom I've always considered to be a great pianist. I still think so, by the way. It is . . . understandable that he, after the sufferings or even the killing of some of his relatives in Poland, should be very distressed. But several of my Jewish pupils and other acquaintances are in exactly the same position, but they know that I am not responsible for these horrible happenings. . . .
>
> . . . [A]s each country had the right to name one judge for the jury, the German authorities wanted to send me there as a representative of Germany. This I refused, but later, when the Belgian government invited me to participate as a judge for the final competition [round], I accepted. So I was there as a member of the international gremium [i.e. jury] invited by the King of Belgium (or the Queen-mother) and not as a representative of Nazi Germany! There was a rather unknown German piano professor sent to Brussels, [c]ould it be that [it was] he [who] talked to Rubinstein? I think he was a party member, but I'm not sure. Never met him again [emphasis in original].[219]

In the letter to Richard Pohlman from 18 June 1938 (cited further above), written only weeks after the competition, we saw that Gieseking explained how the invitation had

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[217] "Gieseking Gets the Gate," Letters to the Editor, *Life*, 28 Feb. 1949, 7.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Gieseking, [Wiesbaden?], to Duke (and Jean) [i.e. Edward and Jean Snowdon, letter, 28 Feb. 1949, DEC.

come from the Committee of the Ysaÿe Foundation.[220] In any case, he now made his argument clear: he was not sent there by the Nazi regime.

In another response to Rubinstein's charge, which Gieseking wrote to his American attorney Meyer Kurz (who was Jewish), he added:

> I agree with Mr. Rubinstein entirely on one point: I also have a distinct disinclination to associate with a Nazi. That's why my contact with this particular subspecies was always confined to the strictest minimum, though they had the legal power over my country and therefore over myself and my family. . . .
>
> . . . I am against war, against class and racial hatred, and if Mr. Rubinstein says reproachfully that I never "expressed the slightest sorrow at the atrocities committed under Hitler," how does he know I didn't?[221]

Kurz submitted the letter to *Life*, maintaining that Gieseking had asked him to do so, but the magazine would not publish it.[222] The pianist's reliable private correspondence with his wife, of course, never contains this kind of anti-Nazi sentiment, but by the time of the postwar occupation of Germany, he was one of many Germans who had apparently corrected their political outlook.

Former Gieseking pupil Dean Elder, who had also met and interviewed Rubinstein for *Clavier* magazine, made an effort to defend Gieseking from the accusations after the publication of Rubinstein's *My Many Years* in 1980.[223] In a letter to *New York Times* critic Donal Henahan—who, in reviewing the book, repeated Rubinstein's claim that Gieseking had confessed to being a Nazi—Elder, who believed

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[220] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 18 June 1938, DEC.

[221] Gieseking, [Wiesbaden], to [Meyer Kurz], letter, n.d. [ca. April 1949], DEC.

[222] Meyer Kurz, to the editor of *Life*, 26 Apr. 1949, copy in the DEC. Over thirty years later, Dean Elder discussed the letter and *Life*'s rejection in a communication to Donal Henahan of the *New York Times*. See Elder, New York, to Donal Henahan, New York, letter, 28 Jan. 1980, DEC.

[223] Gieseking was not brought up during Elder's interview with Rubinstein, which took place in April 1969. See Rubinstein, Arthur, "A Conversation with Artur Rubinstein," interview by Dean Elder (Drake Hotel, New York City, 12 Apr. 1969), *Clavier: A Magazine for Pianists & Organists*, Sept. 1969, 14–20; reprinted as "Artur Rubinstein" in Elder, *Pianists at Play: Interviews, Master Lessons, and Technical Regimes* (Evanston, IL: The Instrumentalist Company, 1982), 1–6.

Gieseking's side of the story, concluded: "I will never comprehend why Rubinstein told this lie about Gieseking, without asking Gieseking for his side. They knew each other. I believe Rubinstein, swept up in the tenor of the times, wanted to destroy his competition. That is the only answer I can come up with after 30 years."[224] After receiving Elder's "extensive protest [letter] of several thousand words," which included large passages from Gieseking's abovementioned testimony to Snowdon and Kurz, Henahan—who had repeated Rubinstein's story—felt obliged to print a summary of Elder's missive, if not until many months later.[225]

Despite any amount of Gieseking's approval of the regime, we cannot be certain that the incident occurred, or at least as Rubinstein described it. Though not impossible, it would have indeed been most inconsiderate and, in fact, uncharacteristic of Gieseking to make such a remark to an eminent colleague, particularly while working together in a professional setting. Additionally, while he referred to Rubinstein when describing the competition in the above-cited letter to Pohlman, he made no mention of any such confrontation. Considering the close relationship he had with Pohlman, it seems odd that he would not have done so had the occurrence happened. Gieseking had been dead for some twenty-four years by the time Rubinstein's *My Many Years*, written entirely near the end of the latter's long life, was published. In general, the accuracy of Rubinstein's retelling of events therein may be considered dubious at best. Yet owing to his popularity and the success of *My Many Years*, the account would be widely read and certainly often

[224] Henahan, "The Great-Hearted Player: Rubinstein," *New York Times*, 27 Jan. 1949; Elder, New York, to Donal Henahan, New York, letter, 28 Jan. 1980, DEC.

[225] See Henahan, "A Critic Answers His Critics," Music View, *New York Times*, 7 Sept. 1944.

repeated by others, as Henahan had done in the *New York Times*.[226] Rubinstein's biographer, Harvey Sachs, to give another example, more recently wrote that Gieseking "had claimed to be a Nazi enthusiast before and during the war," a charge likely based, at least in part, on Rubinstein's recollections.[227] Such posthumous accusations, whether or not accurately relayed, have continued to tarnish Gieseking's reputation to this day.

Regardless of what precisely happened that day in Brussels, the Rubinstein-Gieseking incident reminds us of the pre-war tension that did exist, and continued to exist, between German artists and their colleagues, especially those who were Jewish. Moreover, it reveals how the Hitler regime was monitoring the Ysaÿe competition. As for the two esteemed pianists, they presumably never met or spoke to one another again after the disagreement of 1949, though Gieseking was neither too upset nor too proud to let it stop him from enjoying Rubinstein's artistry. He was, in fact, thrilled to get tickets to his colleague's Carnegie Hall recital in early March 1955, as we will see.[228]

Officier de l'Ordre de Léopold, May 1938

Although Gieseking had concertized little in Belgium before being invited to judge the Ysaÿe competition, he was decorated by King Leopold III of Belgium before a private audience, making him an "Officier de l'Ordre de Léopold" (Officer of the Order

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[226] In the Preface to *My Many Years*, Rubinstein admitted that "this difficult task" of dictating the work to his assistant Tony Madigan "had tested my memory to the extreme." "This work was done of sheer memory without the help of documentation or exterior co-creators of this voluminous autobiography." Rubinstein, *My Many Years*, Preface. Rubinstein's biographer, Harvey Sachs, in his Preface addressed the matter of trustworthiness of dates and other details found in the pianist's two-volume autobiography: "Rubinstein's memoirs . . . must be taken as a point of departure on factual matters, but they are unreliable. . . . [Rubinstein's] reconstruction [of his life and career] is flawed in the extreme." Sachs, *Rubinstein: A Life* (New York: Grove Press, 1995), xi.

[227] Sachs, *Rubinstein: A Life*, 297.

[228] Gieseking, New York, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 3 Mar. 1955, GFA.

of Leopold [Civil Division]).[229] As Gieseking humorously relayed to Pohlman, "The members of the Jury were also received in the audience by the King and the Queen of Belgium. Since then I am 'Officer of the Order of the Crown of Leopold' and I can run around with a beautiful decoration on my manly chest . . ."[230] Just how many of the jury members were decorated is uncertain.

In the U.S., *Musical America* reported that the pianist had received the honor "for his contribution to civilization through music."[231] According to the official documentation, the honor was made at the suggestion of the Belgian Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Paul-Henri Spaak.[232] Hitler's approval was required before Gieseking could formally acknowledge the title, however, and the Führer, doubtless pleased to see any German artist honored, consented. In early October, the Propaganda Ministry sent Gieseking a document bearing Hitler's required signature. It read as follows:

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[229] The documentation of Gieseking's "Officier de l'Ordre de Léopold" decoration (4 pages) is found in the GFA. There is the original document in French, a notarized translation in German, a letter to Gieseking from the German Propaganda Ministry from 5 October 1938, and an approval certificate dated 26 September signed by Hitler. The event was announced in the U.S. by *Musical America*: "Gieseking," Personalities, *Musical America* (July 1938), 16.

[230] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 18 June 1938, DEC.

[231] "Gieseking," Personalities, *Musical America* (July 1938), 16.

[232] "Officier de l'Ordre de Léopold" documents, GFA.

In the Name of

the
German Volk

I give
the concert pianist

Professor Walter Gieseking
permission to accept
the Officer's Cross
of the Order of the Belgian King Leopold.
Berlin, 26 September 1938
The Führer and Reich Chancellor
[signed] Adolf Hitler.[233]

And so the Belgians became the first foreign nation to decorate Gieseking.

Unrealized North American Tour, Summer of 1938

Gieseking had planned to give a summer tour in North America in 1938, but as he had done two years earlier, he canceled the visit. His reason this time was his extensive touring in Europe; unlike in 1936, his decision apparently had nothing to do with Charles Wagner's arrangements. Gieseking must have informed his manager of his decision early enough to avoid creating difficulties concerning the bookings and other arrangements. In a letter to Richard Pohlman from 18 June, the pianist mentioned with the usual humor his choice to call off the concert trip, alluding to the many European engagements he had already fulfilled:

> Now I do hope that you'll survive the grave disappointment of my not-coming-over for the summer tour. I should have liked to come for several reasons (butterflies etc.!), but on the other side [i.e. hand], it does one much better to stop making music once in a while [Gieseking's English].[234]

[233] ("Im Namen des deutschen Volkes erteile ich dem Konzertpianisten Professor Walter Gieseking die Genehmigung zur Annahme des Offizierkreuzes des Königlich Belgischen Leopold-Ordens. Berlin, den 26. September 1938 Der Führer und Reichskanzler [signed] Adolf Hitler.") "Officier de l'Ordre de Léopold" approval letter, GFA.

[234] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 18 June 1938, DEC.

Gieseking had also been scheduled to make his debut appearance at the Hollywood Bowl on 5 August, which would now be delayed for seventeen years.[235]

More Recordings, August 10–11

After not having made any commercial discs since those completed for Columbia in Berlin's Electrola Saal during a two-day recording session in April 1937, Gieseking finished a series of records for the firm on 10 and 11 August 1938, this time at Berlin's Beethoven Saal. The works selected for the first day included Debussy's Preludes Book I (oddly, all but no. 10 "La cathédrale engloutie") and *Estampes*, no. 3 "Jardins sous la pluie"; as well as Chopin's *Berceuse*, op. 57; Mazurka no. 13, op. 17/4; and Barcarolle, op. 60. The next day he continued with Beethoven's "Waldstein" Sonata, op. 53, and Bagatelle, op. 33 no. 1; as well as Ravel's *Miroirs* No. 4, "Alborada del gracioso"; Miroirs No. 5 "La vallée des cloches"; Gaspard de la nuit no. 2 "Le gibet" and no. 3 "Scarbo"; followed by Debussy's *Images* I/3 "Mouvement"; *Images* II/1 "Cloches à travers"; *Estampes*, no. 1 "Pagodes"; and "L'isle joyeuse."[236] The "Waldstein" disc was on the U.S. market by April the following year. Reviewing it, Jay Walz of the *Washington Post* concluded, "There hasn't been better recorded piano music in many moons than Walter Gieseking's. . . ."[237] More albums, featuring works by Beethoven, Ravel, and Debussy, were issued by June, and Walz was once more awed by the pianist's readings: "he delivers his goods with tremendous impact, and as fresh as if it were right

[235] For announcements of the intended concert in 1938 see "Rambling Around," *Musical Courier*, 15 June 1938, p. 18 and "Bowl Seats Go on Sale: Season Ticket Books for 1938 Series to Be Offered Today," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 June 1938.

[236] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 9–10.

[237] Walz, "Gieseking Gives 'Waldstein' Sonata Finished Performance," *Washington Post*, 23 Apr. 1939.

out of the cellophane wrapper. Which accounts, we believe, for his sensational comeback in America last season."[238]

Berlin

During the first part of the 1938/39 season Gieseking toured Europe. The details of his itinerary are uncertain, but by June 1938 he had already reported to Richard Pohlman on his filled schedule: "The first half of the next season is pretty well sold out over here, so I can look . . . [forward to] another busy winter." (Gieseking's English)[239] It was during the first half of the season that the pianist made his only Berlin appearance at the city's Beethoven-Saal. The much anticipated event had sold out. Writing for the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, Dr. Wolfgang Sachse could find no fault in the performance, which included among other works, pieces by Chopin, Rachmaninoff, and Debussy:

> The unheard of artistry of this player as well as his technical and intellectual mastery have often been praised, so that one can hardly say anything new. Always striking are the sudden emotional contrasts of his readings: the ineffable tenderness and poetry of melodic passages are followed by upsurges of the most furious force. . . .[240]

For his Berlin public, the great German pianist could do little wrong.

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[238] Walz, "New Recording Reveals Gieseking as Beethoven Master: His 'Appassionata' Sonata Develops Power Through Restraint and Sensitive, Clean Phrases; Pianist Also Records Ravel, Debussy, *Washington Post*, 25 June 1939.

[239] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 18 June 1938, DEC.

[240] "Die unerhörte Klangkunst dieses Spielers, seine technische und geistige Meisterschaft sind oft bewundert worden, so daß man hier kaum Neues sagen kann. Auffallend immer wieder die jähen seelischen Gegensätze seiner Gestaltungsweise: unsagbare Weichheit und Poesie der melodischen Tonspinnung sind abgelöst durch Aufwallungen furiosester Wucht. . . ." Sachse, "Aus dem Berliner Musikleben," *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, 11 Nov. 1938, 690.

The Regime's Interest in Gieseking's Belgian Reappearance, November 1938

In November, Gieseking returned to Belgium during a trip combined with Amsterdam, and the Propaganda officials in Berlin were most interested in his visit. On 17 September, his contact person at the Propaganda Ministry, Amtsrat Klaus of its Music Division, had already written on behalf of Reich Minister Joseph Goebbels to the German Consulate General in Antwerp regarding the performance there on 18 November. From this communication, we read: "I ask that all steps deemed appropriate be taken there to ensure the desired interest in the events [i.e. Gieseking's concert] and also that the reception of the performances by both the public and press is reported on in due course. Furthermore, I request that you inform the [Nazi] Party's public authorities accordingly."[241]

As ordered, the German Consul General in Antwerp (1936–39), Dr. Hans Schmidt-Rolke, reported back to Berlin after the recital:

> The concert that the pianist Walter Gieseking gave here on the 18th [. . .] as part of the Société Royale des Nouveaux Concerts scored a most extraordinary success. Before a select audience that filled the hall to the last seat, Gieseking performed works by Bach, Mozart, Schumann, Chopin, Debussy, and Ravel and the mastery of his playing won him the greatest applause.
>
> The local press is completely unanimous in its appraisal of this "musical sensation" and describes Gieseking as one of the greatest piano virtuosos of our time.
>
> You will find enclosed a clipping from *Le Matin*.
>
> The Embassy in Brussels has received a copy of this report.[242]

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[241] "Ich bitte, von dort aus alle Schritte zu unternehmen, die geeignet erscheinen, den Veranstaltungen den erwünschten Wiederhall zu geben sowie über die Aufnahme der Darbietungen bei Publikum und Presse zu gegebener Zeit zu berichten. Auch bitte ich die Hoheitsträger der Partei entsprechend zu verständigen." Amtsrat Klaus, RMfVP, Berlin, to the German Consulate General, Antwerp, 17 Sept. 1938, file: Altes Amt, Antwerpen 13/4, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts Berlin (hereafter AAA 13/4, PA/AAB).

[242] "Das Konzert, das der Pianist Walter Gieseking am 18. ds. Mts. hier im Rahmen der Société Royale des Nouveaux Conserts [*sic*] gab, hatte einen ganz ungewöhnlichen Erfolg. Vor einer ausgewählten Zuhörerschaft, die den Saal bis auf den letzten Platz füllte, spielte Gieseking Werke von Bach, Mozart, Schumann, Chopin, Debussy und Ravel und errang durch die Meisterschaft seines Spiels den stärksten

In the referred to *Le Matin* (Antwerp) review, by G. [Guy?] Davenel, the German pianist was indeed praised highly: "Walter Gieseking is rightly recognized today as one of the four or five most brilliant piano virtuosos of our time."[243] Public attendance for such events had, in fact, been low, causing the local organizers, the Société Royale des Nouveaux Concerts, to reduce the quantity of concerts, allowing it to improve the quality of offerings, as Davenel also pointed out. He was personally pleased to observe how the eager concertgoers had "stormed the spacious Cercle Artistique hall yesterday to attend the first chamber music concert organized this year by the head of our city's music associations. . . ."[244] The critic for *Le Courier d'Anvers* likewise commented on Gieseking's success filling the hall: "It was truly comforting finally to see a full house at a recital. It is true that if a pianist like Walter Gieseking, whose reputation is well established, could not draw a crowd, then one could lose all hope."[245] Such was Gieseking's popularity in Belgium at this time, just one year before the Polish Invasion initiated WWII. He will be in for a great surprise when he tries to return the following year, however, shortly after Germany had fired its first shots.

Beifall. Die hiesige Presse ist in ihrem Urteil über dieses 'musikalische Ereignis' ganz einheitlich und bezeichnet Gieseking als einen der grössten Klaviervirtuosen der Gegenwart. Einen Ausschnitt aus dem '[Le] Matin' füge ich in der Anlage bei. Botschaft Brüssel hat Durchschlag dieses Berichts erhalten." Schmidt-Rolke, Deutsches Generalkonsulat, Antwerp, to the Auswärtiges Amts, Berlin, for the RMVP, Berlin, 20 Nov. 1938, file: AAA 13/4, PA/AAB.

[243] "Walter Gieseking passe à juste titre aujourd'hui pour l'un des quatre ou cinq virtuoses du piano les plus éclatants de l'époque." G. Davenel, "Société royale des Nouveaux Concerts: Le récital du célèbre pianiste Gieseking remporte un vibrant succès, devant une salle bondée," *Le Matin*, 19 Nov. 1938.

[244] "ils ont pris d'assaut la coquette salle du Cercle Artistique, hier, pour assister au premier des concerts de musique de chambre organisés cette saison par la doyenne des associations musicales de notre ville. . . ." Ibid.

[245] "Il était vraiment réconfortant de voir enfin une salle comble à un récital. Il est vrai que si un pianiste comme M. Walter Gieseking, dont la réputation est établie, n'attirait pas la foule on pourrait désespérer de tout." Y. G., "Sté Rle des Nouveaux Concerts: Le récital Gieseking," *Le Courier d'Anvers*, 25 Nov. 1938.

Italy, December 1938

In December, Gieseking found himself giving yet another series of concerts in Italy, where he so often played and had given a larger number of concerts earlier that year.[246] In Venice, he was surprised to learn that the hall, situated right next to Doge's Palace, had been an old prison in former times.[247] He claimed to have made an extra amount of effort to play well, yet he sneered at the reviews. "The critics in Venice have written much praise," he wrote to Annie, "but one can't place too much importance on that."[248]

During the tour, Gieseking was introduced to some important musicians. Immediately after a concert in Florence on 8 December, for example, he met the Italian composer Luigi Dallapiccola (1904–1975) and his wife at a dinner party.[249] Later, at the hotel, he became acquainted with the composer and essayist Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882–1973), who was staying there and was just then playing at dice with two unnamed *Kapellmeisters*. The composer made a good impression on Gieseking: "Malipero is very friendly, remarkably educated and, I think one could say a handsome man (except for a wart à la [Franz] Liszt)."[250]

On Friday, 9 December, Gieseking made his way to Rome, where he gave a concert that same day. Later that evening he had an uncommonly late rehearsal, from ten

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[246] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 18 June 1938, DEC.

[247] Dating back to the fourteenth-century, the Doge's Palace itself had once contained its own prison cells. See Guy Geltner, *The Medieval Prison: A Social History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 12–14.

[248] "Die Kritiker in Venedig haben ja sehr gelobt, aber da kann man ja auch nicht zuviel drauf geben." Gieseking, Florence, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Dec. 1938, GFA.

[249] Ibid.

[250] "Malipiero ist sehr sympathisch, ausserordentlich gebildet und nach meiner Ansicht ein sozusagen schöner Mann (bis auf eine Warze à la Liszt)." Ibid.

to eleven o'clock, with the renowned conductor Bernardino Molinari (1880–1952).[251] He was further annoyed that Molinari insisted on an unusual amount of preparation.[252] Gieseking was apparently as opposed to over-rehearsing as he was to over-practicing. He was still somewhat irritated by this the next day, as made clear in his letter to Annie:

> Yesterday [9 December] there were two rehearsals, [including] a very demanding, uninterrupted one of both concertos in the morning from 11 to 1 o'clock. It all went well, yet Molinari wanted to run through a couple of places again yesterday at 6 p.m. (crazy!). I went there at 6 o'clock, but protested after a half hour because I found the rehearsal completely unnecessary.[253]

Following an interview he gave after the evening rehearsal of 9 December, Gieseking had the opportunity to play his own recently composed *Sonatine* for flute and piano (which he had premiered in Germany that summer and which was published by Johannes Oertel) with the first flutist from Molinari's Augusteo Orchestra. He was always happy to be able to perform his compositions with any willing colleagues, and was pleased that the musician was able to play his latest chamber work "very well" ("sehr gut").[254]

Two days after the performance with Molinari, Gieseking wrote to his wife: "I hope you were able to hear the concert [over the radio] (along with the clamor of 3,000 listeners) on Sunday [11 December]; it went well, but was exhausting."[255] After spending

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[251] One of the leading Italian conductors of his time, Molinari championed new works by Italian composers such as Casella, Malipiero, Perosi, Pizzetti and Respighi and others such as Debussy, Strauss, and Stravinsky. Claudia Casini, "Molinari, Bernardino," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed.

[252] Gieseking, Rome, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Dec. 1938, GFA.

[253] "Gestern waren zwei Proben, morgens von 11-1 eine sehr anstrengende ununterbrochene Probe beider Konzerte. Es ging alles gut, trotzdem wollte Molinari gestern um 6 nochmal ein paar Stellen durchnehmen (verrückt!). Ich ging um 6 hin, streikte aber nach einer halben Stunde, weil ich dies Durchspielen ganz überflüssig fand." Ibid.

[254] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, [first name?] Schmidt, [place?], letter (copy), 4 July 1936, GFA; Gieseking, Rome, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Dec. 1938, GFA.

[255] Gieseking did not name the two concertos he played. Additionally, there may have been a concert on 10 December, though he makes no mention of one. "Das Konzert am Sonntag, hast Du

some time on Rome's Pincian Hill (Pincio) the next day, he traveled six and a half hours by train to Genoa, where he had to give a concert that same evening. Extremely tired, he found the hectic schedule "not at all pleasant" ("garnicht angenehm").[256] Following the performance, the consul general in Genoa wanted to take him aboard a *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength-Through-Joy Organization) cruise ship docked there. The captain had invited them to visit.[257] It is uncertain whether Gieseking complied, but he may have declined in order to get some much-needed rest. Having ended the tour, he took a sixteen-hour train trip back home to Wiesbaden two days later.[258]

Conclusion

The year 1938 was a superb one for Gieseking professionally. Because he did not travel to North America, he was able to focus on his European career, particularly in Germany. As a result, it was his best year at home since at least 1935, doubtless his best

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hoffentlich (nebst Geschrei von 3000 Zuhörern) hören können, es ging ja gut, war aber anstrengend." Gieseking, Genoa, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 13 Dec. 1938, GFA.

[256] Ibid.

[257] Ibid. The Nationalsozialistischen Gemeinschaft Kraft durch Freude (Strength-Through-Joy Organization, also KdF) was part of the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (German Labor Front), all headed by Robert Ley. Its mission was to provide German workers with organized entertainment and cultural activities for their leisure and vacations. Naturally, the Nazi regime used it to promote its campaign and as a means of propaganda to demonstrate the "benefits" of National Socialism to the German people. Its offerings included music, theater, sport, and trips, including cruises—until then a luxury limited to the wealthy—for mixed classes in the Baltic and Mediterranean Seas (the destinations were later expanded) on the specially built KdF ships. Between the fall of 1934 and 1936, an estimated figure of over 52 million Germans had participated in KdF activities. By the time war had broken out, some forty-three million Germans had taken part in a KdF vacation, though the number of those who took part in such cruises was limited (180,000 in 1938). Incidentally, the German car later known as the *Volkswagen* (The People's Car) was originally the *KdF-Wagen*. See C. W. Guillebaud, *The Social Policy of Nazi Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), 38–39; Florian Harms, "Wellness unterm Hakenkreuz," *Spiegel-Online*, 19 July 2007, accessed 15 Apr. 2011, http://www.spiegel.de/reise/aktuell/nazi-propaganda-wellness-unterm-hakenkreuz-a-494971.html; Shelley Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 139ff.

[258] Gieseking, Genoa, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 13 Dec. 1938, GFA.

there ever.[259] In his postwar investigation report on Gieseking, Severin Kaven of the U.S. Military Government listed the pianist's combined gross income for the year as 86,500 RM (with roughly 10% coming from record royalties), 51,500 of which was earned in Germany, i.e. 60% of his profits.[260] A mere 5,500 RM came from England, with 29,500 RM deriving from the remaining European countries.[261] (By comparison, Gieseking listed his total takings for 1932, all nations included, as having been merely 41,000 RM.[262]) His income had grown steadily over the last three years, having been 59,000 RM in 1936 and 72,000 RM in 1937.[263] Now he would return to North America at the start of 1939 and enjoy even greater fame and fortune than before. Meanwhile, the political situation in Europe continued to intensify so that by the end of upcoming year, the continent would find itself once again at war. Gieseking's career would begin to be affected at once.

[259] For the previous years there is only record of his gross income for 1932, 1934–1937. For his gross income for 1932 and 1934, see Gieseking, "Meldebogen." For his income for Germany alone for 1935–1937, see Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[260] Gieseking himself listed a lower figure in his postwar *Meldebogen*, namely 76,000. He also indicates that this included earnings for Europe and the U.S. He probably included money received in royalty payments for his recordings sold in the U.S. Kaven indicates in his "Report" that approximately ten percent of the earnings listed represent Gieseking's earnings from record sales. Gieseking, "Meldebogen"; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[261] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[262] Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[263] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

Chapter 4:

The 1939 North American Tour

In January 1939, Gieseking sets out for a U.S. and Canadian tour that will last through the beginning of April. He had traveled to North America nearly each season since his debut there in 1926, making this already his eleventh visit.[1] As we have seen, he had not always been satisfied with his American manager Charles Wagner's arrangements and had therefore put pressure on him. On this occasion, Gieseking was already quite pleased with Wagner's bookings by June of 1938, as he explained to Richard Pohlman:

> A few days ago I got a list of dates for 1939 from Charlie [Wagner] – Boy, he did quite a good job this time. He has already [booked] about 22 dates (many of these orchestral pairs [in] Phila[delphia], Kansas City, Washington, Cincinnati) and the fees go pretty near "20 grand"! This looks promising, doesn't it? I think I'm going to suggest something like two weeks more, so <u>we</u> can have our vacation in California at the end of this tour. You won't object? Until now the Coast is out, no time for it. N.Y. Philharmonic wants Rachmaninoff D minor (the third [concerto]), I'm going to learn it (Gieseking's English).[2]

While there is, nonetheless, a somewhat uncertain start, the tour results in Gieseking's most outstanding artistic success thus far. As always, his most important concerts are given in New York City, where he spends most of his time, but he also performs in such places as Wellesley (Massachusetts), Syracuse, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Austin, Springfield and Andover (Massachusetts), Reading (Pennsylvania), New Brunswick, Baltimore, Toronto, Detroit, and, as he mentioned to Pohlman, Washington

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[1] Gieseking did not travel to North America in 1931, 1936, or 1938. Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 61.

[2] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 18 June 1938, DEC.

D.C., Philadelphia, Kansas City, and Cincinnati. Additionally, he will make a significant number of new recordings for Columbia Records in New York, for he has become a best-selling recording artist. What Gieseking does not realize until much later in the year, however, is that this will be his last American visit until several years after World War II.

The North American tour proves pivotal in Gieseking's career in several ways and therefore warrants a more in-depth examination. Professionally, things could not be going any better for him, but there were adverse circumstances that had an impact on him during the trip. His personal view toward the political goings-on was conflicted. The world's uncertain, pre-war state of affairs, as well as the increasingly hostile reactions in the U.S. to Germany's hegemonic actions and its mistreatment of Jews, became sustained irritants: Gieseking disliked the sensationalist reporting in the American press. Having marital problems again, he expresses anger and confusion in his letters to Annie. Some of the comments he makes to her—"Everything is just so completely twisted and confusing," for example (from 13 January 1939)—indicate some mental anguish. He is also concerned about his health. While only age forty-three, he has become conscious of his aging, and makes an effort to adopt a healthier lifestyle and diet, something he repeatedly brings up in his correspondence. In addition to these personal problems, and most importantly, the political climate in the U.S. has become intense because of Germany's increasing aggression.

A look at many events of this season's U.S.-Canadian visit sheds important light not only on Gieseking's career and his developing view toward the Hitler regime, but also on how Nazism was now viewed by Americans, both pro- and anti-German. Gieseking was last in America in 1937. By now, the world is quickly and inexorably

headed toward the most devastating and deadly war in history, and the political view of the Hitler regime in the U.S. has been rapidly changing. The widespread hostility toward his homeland astonishes Gieseking. There is tremendous tension in the air, and fear of war is spreading fast. Germany is now viewed by an ever-growing number of Americans as the warmongering, inhumane police state that it was, and the American press coverage upsets the pianist tremendously, for he does not wish to believe the reports about Hitler and his homeland. He either has to admit that the Americans are right, however inaccurate the details of some reports may be, or to avoid the truth. He chooses the latter.

Gieseking begins to spend more time with Americans who are pro-German and anti-Semitic, while avoiding those who are not. He becomes increasingly reactive, doubtless as a means of defense to the anti-German situation in which he so often finds himself, and he continues to be outspoken against Jews in private correspondence with his wife. His convictions, however deeply rooted they may or may not have been, become clear, and they reflect a significant development in his attitude toward Nazism. His comments reveal an inner angst and conflict as well increased anger and distress. Unsurprisingly, there are moments when the volcano erupts.

Physical Concerns and Personal Problems

At the start of the year, Annie and Walter found themselves in another marital dispute, for there had once again been infidelity on her husband's part recently.[3] To help

[3] The woman identified as one "[Frau] S." Annie, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, New York, letter, 31 Jan. 1939, GFA; Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA; Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 Mar. 1939, GFA. Presumably the same woman is referred as "Frau Schw." in an earlier letter from 1936 Gieseking, The Hague and Münster, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter 12 Nov. 1936, GFA. She may also be the unnamed person referred to in Gieseking, New York, to Annie, letter, 24 Oct. 1937, GFA.

console his wife and perhaps assuage his guilty conscience, he promised Annie that he would be faithful during the North American tour: "Do I have to reiterate that, during this trip, I guarantee not to 'start anything new' (or however you refer to this. . . .)[?] You therefore have no reason to worry."[4] He also soon began to discuss the possibility of Annie joining him during the latter half of his travels.[5]

The original plan had been for Annie to accompany her husband for the entire journey, but she decided to remain in Wiesbaden at the last minute.[6] She was having some problems with one of her legs, which she used as an excuse to stay home.[7] For years, she suffered from what was evidently chronic venous disease. Among the symptoms were varicose veins that often became infected, as well as wounds (venous ulcers) on her legs, for which she was currently being treated. Her doctor had ordered her to remain in bed as much as possible at present.[8] The concern for her leg notwithstanding, she then told Walter in a letter of 21 February that her real reason for not going with him had been that he was not "verliebt" ("in love") enough with her.[9] They would work things out, but Annie did not meet up with him for any part of the tour.

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[4] "Muss ich nochmal wiederholen, dass ich garantiere, während dieser Reise nichts "Neues anzufangen" (oder wie Du es sonst nennst. . . .) Daher brauchst Du Dir aus diesem Grund keine Sorgen zu machen." Gieseking, aboard the S.S. *New York*, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[5] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[6] Gieseking mentioned how his piano technician, Richard Pohlman, was going to be surprised not to see Annie with him. Gieseking, aboard the S.S. *New York*, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[7] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[8] Annie, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, New York, letter, 31 Jan. 1939, GFA; Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Feb. 1939, GFA; Gieseking, New York, Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[9] Gieseking discusses Annie's letter in Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Mar. 1939, GFA.

Gieseking, too, had recently not been feeling as fit as he would have liked, which was largely aggravated, perhaps brought on, by his strenuous career. He continued to be troubled and distracted by his personal problems during this time, so that by early February he would begin to blame his "inner, constant unhappiness" ("innere permanente Unzufriedenheit") for interfering with his playing during the tour (emphasis in the original):

> I have not been feeling well lately; my nerves have become quite frayed. In every concert I suddenly feel anxious, and my memory often fails me at moments. I should probably not play for a while. That would surely be good for me, but since there isn't the slightest possibility for me to take a break, I will just have to keep working and see how long I will be able to keep this up.[10]

He was also somewhat bothered that people had begun, not for the first time, to take him for someone around age sixty. Although Gieseking had already gone largely bald in his twenties, he remarked to his wife on 22 February: "I am indeed completely gray-haired, especially under the stage lights."[11] Just two weeks later, he described the following, related incident to Annie: "In Lexington Pohlman heard again that the people thought I was twenty years younger than Paderewski, that is 58! The Feslers, Wulsins, etc. are still teasing me about this—I look good for 58, etc. Well, there are certainly others who are in better shape at age 58."[12] Gieseking must have had a good laugh at this, too, but was doubtless now bothered by it as well, as his final remark suggests.

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[10] "Ich bin ja durchaus nicht gesundheitlich auf der Höhe, meine Nerven sind recht schlecht geworden, in jedem Konzert befällt mich eine plötzliche Unruhe und mein Gedächtnis setzt oft für Momente aus. An sich dürfte ich mal eine Zeitlang nicht spielen, das wäre bestimmt gut, aber da ich ja nicht die geringste Möglichkeit sehe, zur Ruhe zu kommen, muss man eben weiterarbeiten und sehen, wie lange es gut geht." Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[11] "Ich bin ja auch vollkommen grauhaarig, im Rampenlicht besonders." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[12] "In Lexington hörte Pohlman wieder, dass mich die Leute für 20 Jahre jünger als Paderewski hielten, also 58! Damit werde ich noch angeulkt von Fesler's, Wulsin's, etc.—ich hätte mich gut gehalten

Additionally, although Gieseking had been a vegetarian since at least his early adulthood, he had newly begun to adhere to an even healthier diet—supposedly no alcohol (or at least significantly less), less coffee, and lots of canned grapefruit juice. He began to turn down dinner and party invitations so that he could not only get proper sleep but also play better, especially during the Columbia sessions.[13] The social drinking had been considerable at times owing to his profession and the unavoidable, frequent gatherings, particularly after concerts. Furthermore, Richard Pohlman, his piano technician and chum who accompanied him during the American tours, was fond of drink, and this had presumably caused Gieseking to indulge in liquor more often himself.[14] Only days after Gieseking's arrival in the U.S.—apparently before his recent decision to abstain from alcohol—he had been at a social gathering, where the American composer Emerson Whithorne made the following observation: "I was surprised to see that Walter drank a good many cocktails, more than I have ever seen him drink. As a rule he goes pretty easy on drinks. He seems to me to have altered greatly in the last year. . . ."[15] Gieseking, if he was being truthful to his wife, was pleased with the immediate results of his new, healthier lifestyle: "With all these precautions and restrictions at least I am doing so well that I can give the concerts without too much trouble."[16]

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für 58", etc. – Na ja – andere sind bestimmt mit 58 in besserer Verfassung[.]" Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[13] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA; Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[14] Freya Colassis née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, Germany, 11 Oct. 2007.

[15] Withorne, New York, to Lucien Wulsin [Jr.], [Cincinnati?], letter, 28 Jan. 1939, DEC.

[16] "Mit allen diesen Vorsichtsmassnahmen und Einschränkungen geht es mir dann wenigstens so gut, dass ich die Konzerte ohne allzugrosse Mühe erledigen kann." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

Aboard the SS *New York*

Traveling aboard the S.S. *New York*, Gieseking was unusually low-spirited during the Atlantic crossing, as is well demonstrated by his unusually acerbic and uncharacteristic, contentious remarks to Annie:

> As usual, I have already had enough of this trip—actually I had already lost any desire to travel on this ship in Bremerhaven. Yet everything appears to be fine, other than that my cabin is not on the sunny side, which I regret. There are other things I regret even more, indeed so much that it causes me to lose my appetite. I still have to get used to the vibrations; in any case, I slept very little and very poorly last night. There are few passengers on the ship, and in Southampton and Cherbourg there probably won't be too many others that come aboard either. I also can't play piano on board; thus, it's going to be a "great" week!! The chief steward came to see me again, just to offer me a seat at the captain's table, but I turned it down. I am in the worst mood—I am angry, partly at myself (I am unbiased, as you can see), partly because of your damn stubbornness! But I don't want to repeat what I have already said, which we discussed before with such "patience"—I hope I will think about everything more rationally once I have had time to cool down. If the tour continues to get on my nerves as it has so far, then the first concert won't be too good! Everything is just so completely twisted and confusing. (Of course, you will say that I brought this on myself!)[17]

To make matters worse for him at present, there was not a single acquaintance or colleague of his aboard the ship, and he had "even less desire than usual" ("noch weniger

[17] The quotation marks have been added to the translated quotation to emphasize Gieseking's use of sarcasm. "Ich habe, wie üblich, schon genug von dieser Fahrt—eigentlich hatte ich schon in Bremerhaven keine Lust mehr, auf diesem Schiff zu fahren. Dabei ist alles äusserlich in Ordnung, abgesehen davon, dass meine Kabine nicht an der Sonnenseite liegt, was ich bedauere. Andere Sachen bedaure ich aber noch mehr und zwar so gründlich, dass mir sogar der Appetit vergeht. An die Vibration muss ich mich auch erst gewöhnen, jedenfalls habe ich vorige Nacht sehr wenig und sehr schlecht geschlafen. Es sind wenig Passagiere auf dem Schiff, in Southampton und Cherbourg werden wohl auch nicht mehr allzuviele dazukommen. Klavierspielen geht auch nicht an Bord, also wird es eine grossartige Woche werden!! Der Obersteward kam nochmal extra, um mir einen Platz am Kapitänstisch anzubieten, ich habe aber abgelehnt. Ich bin äusserst schlecht aufgelegt—ich bin wütend, teils auf mich (ich bin unparteiisch, wie Du siehst), teils auf Deinen verd.[ammten] Eigensinn! Aber ich will nicht nochmal dasselbe sagen, das wir uns schon mit solcher Ausdauer erzählt haben—hoffentlich werde ich nach einiger Zeit etwas ruhiger über alles denken. Wenn mir die Reise weiter so auf die Nerven fällt, wie bisher, kann das erste Konzert ja gut werden! Es ist eben alles vollständig verdreht und verfahren (durch meine Schuld, wirst Du natürlich sagen!)"Gieseking, aboard the S.S. *New York*, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 Jan. 1939, GFA.

Lust als sonst") to converse with strangers.[18] Regarding the passengers, he made the following, anti-Semitic comment:

> Otherwise, regarding the crossing I can say that the travelers are nothing special (an enormous amount of Jews!) The steward here in the study burst out in laughter when, after an entire Jewish family shuffled through, I said to him: "at least the crew is Aryan." He acted as if he hadn't heard this "joke" before. . . . Well, New York won't be much different after this.[19]

With the final sentence, Gieseking was comparing the ship's alleged large number of Jewish fares to New York's considerable Jewish population.

Of course, there were many European Jews and others emigrating at this time, above all to escape the Hitler regime. In fact, in the year 1939 the United States would witness the highest number of European émigrés since 1930, reaching a total number of 63,138.[20] Not since 1923 had so many Jews relocated to the distant nation—totaling 43,450, more than 68% of that year's combined number of settlers there. This was to remain the largest influx of Jewish migrants to the U.S. during the entire National Socialist period, including the war.[21] Since the start of his Atlantic crossings to North America in 1926, however, Gieseking had noticed that a large number of the ocean liner passengers appeared to be Jewish. As early as 15 January 1929, he had remarked to

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[18] Gieseking, aboard the S.S. *New York*, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[19] "Sonst ist von der Reise zu berichten, dass das Publikum nicht besonders ist (enorm viel Juden!). Der Steward hier im Schreibzimmer lachte sich schief, als ich ihm einmal sagte, nachdem eine ganze Nichtarierfamilie durchgelatscht war: 'es ist nur gut, dass die Besatzung arisch ist.' Er tat, als wenn dieser 'Witz' für ihn neu war. . Na, so fällt Newyork nicht so sehr auf." Ibid.

[20] The total number immigrants to the U.S. that year amounted to 82,998. See Table Ad90-97 – Immigrants, by continent of last residence: 1820–1997 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition Online* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), accessed 24 May 2011, http://hsus.cambridge.org/HSUSWeb/HSUSEntryServlet.

[21] See Table 17, "Jewish Immigration into the United States: 1881–1948," in Jon Bloomberg, *The Jewish World in the Modern Age* (Jersey City, NJ: KTAV Pub. House, 2004), 249.

Annie: "By the way, there are only a few Christians on board, as always!"[22] This is a rare instance prior to 1933 in which he makes a comment referring to Jews, which is surely what he meant when he wrote "only a few Christians." During the present crossing, a young and hopeful musician approached Gieseking wishing for some advice: "Just now a migrant (though actually Aryan-looking) boy, an organist, came over from the tourist class to speak to me. There seems to be a tremendous amount of people moving to America, most of whom are pursuing only vague prospects. One can do nothing other than give some noncommittal advice."[23]

To entertain himself during the voyage, Gieseking read as usual: the "humorous" novel *Steputat und Co.* by Hellmut Lange, of which a film had been made and released in 1938; a travel report on Afghanistan; and an unnamed book by Carl Jung, which he found "especially interesting, but you have to read it with the utmost attention. I am still far from finished."[24] Additionally, he spent time composing, a hobby in which he partook only sporadically throughout his career, completing much of his (unpublished) *Chaconne (über ein Thema von Scarlatti)* for solo piano.[25]

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[22] "Übrigens sind nur wenige Christen an bord, wie immer!" Gieseking, aboard the S.S. *Majestic*, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 15 Jan. 1929, GFA.

[23] "Eben kam ein Auswanderer (aber eigentlich arisch aussehender) Jüngling, Organist, aus der Touristenklasse, um mich zu sprechen. Es scheinen furchtbar viele Leute jetzt nach Amerika zu ziehen, die meisten auf ganz unbestimmte Aussichten hin. Man kann nichts tun, als ein paar unverbindliche Ratschläge zu geben." Gieseking, aboard the S.S. *New York*, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[24] "[Ä]usserst interessant, aber man muss es mit äusserster Aufmerksamkeit lesen, ich bin noch längst nicht damit fertig." Ibid.

[25] The work is based on Scarlatti's Aria L. 423 (K. 32). Ibid.; Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1939, GFA. The author is currently preparing a series of critical editions of Gieseking's unpublished works, which will include the Chaconne.

Arriving in New York

Gieseking arrived in New York City on 20 January, where he was picked up and brought to the Hotel Great Northern by his American manager, Charles Wagner, and the latter's associate, Edward Snowdon. He met with Wagner at his office at noon to discuss the tour, after which he made this somewhat perplexing remark: "The tour seems like it's going to work out although the mood ['*Stimmung*'] is said to be much worse than in earlier years."[26] While it is not entirely clear what he meant regarding the "mood," he seems to have been suggesting that there had been a general decline of interest in performances on the public's part, for he also noted that "on Sunday evening I will give my [first] piano recital; the ticket sales do not appear to be too stunning."[27] Yet there were concerts lined up and many being arranged, which seemed promising if still somewhat uncertain:

> On Tuesday I will play in Wellesley near Boston, perhaps I will meet up with Wagner and Snowdon on Monday evening in New Haven (2 hours from here) and then travel with them by car to Wellesley. While underway, we can do some advertising for other concerts ([give] an interview in Springfield etc.). Mrs. Fesler wrote [from Indianapolis] and has booked me for 5 February. San Francisco is apparently not yet a done deal, [but] supposedly they want 6 recitals in one week. The net earnings for me would be $3,500 with the trip paid for; in other words it would pay quite well. There's still a lot of time until then![28]

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[26] "[D]ie Tournee scheint richtig zu funktionieren, obwohl die Stimmung viel schlechter sein soll als in früheren Jahren." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[27] "Sonntag Abend ist der [erste] Klavierabend, der Kartenverkauf scheint nicht so überwältigend zu sein." Ibid.

[28] "Dienstag spiele ich in Wellesley bei Boston, vielleicht treffe ich Wagner und Snowdon Montag Abend in New Haven (2 Stunden von hier) und fahre dann mit denen per Auto nach Wellesley. Unterwegs kann Reklame für andere Konzerte gemacht werden (Interview in Springfield etc.). Mrs. Fesler hat geschrieben und sich den 5. Februar reservieren lassen. San Francisco ist offenbar noch nicht ganz ausgemacht, es sollen 6 Abende in 1 Woche sein, Honorar für mich netto 3500 Dollar und freie Reise, also ganz gut bezahlt. Dies ist ja noch lange hin!" Ibid.

Eugene Ormandy

As German affairs became increasingly controversial in the U.S., Gieseking was often in the company of Americans who condemned Hitler's politics. In late January, he performed under Eugene Ormandy again, this time playing Brahms's B-flat Piano Concerto. After being co-conductor (along with Leopold Stokowski) of the Philadelphia Orchestra from 1936, Ormandy had become sole conductor in 1938. He would hold the position until 1980, during which time he established himself as one of the world's foremost orchestral leaders.[29] Gieseking found the orchestra itself "first-rate" ("erstklassig") and Ormandy "also quite good" ("auch ganz gut").[30] But, to Gieseking's dismay, Ormandy began to discuss politics after the rehearsal, and Nazi Germany, the Jews, and the European situation must have been the main topic. (We will recall how, in March 1934, Gieseking feared this might happen when he visited Ormandy's home after a joint performance in Minneapolis.[31]) "This was rather unfortunate," Gieseking wrote home afterward, "but I am glad that I wasn't able to accept the invitation to visit him at his home. (His wife is a Viennese Jew and I am also very suspicious of him [i.e. that Ormandy, too, is Jewish]."[32] Ormandy was married to harpist Stephanie Goldner from 1922 to 1947.[33] Born Jenö Blau, the conductor, in fact, did come from a Jewish family,

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[29] José A Bowen, "Ormandy, Eugene," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 7 June 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20481.

[30] Gieseking, Philadelphia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[31] See Chapter 2.

[32] "Nach der Probe fing er an, über Politik zu reden, dies war weniger erfreulich, daher bin ich froh, dass nichts aus seiner Einladung zu sich ins Haus geworden ist. (Seine Frau ist Wiener Jüdin und er doch auch sehr verdächtig.)" Gieseking, Philadelphia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[33] Robert L. Jones, *American National Biography*, Supplement 2, Mark Christopher Carnes, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v. "Ormandy, Eugene."

although he allegedly recanted from his Jewish faith.[34] Gieseking's racist remark notwithstanding, he did have a legitimate reason to decline Ormandy's invitation: the Philadelphia concert started at 3:00 p.m., and he had to catch a train back to New York at five o'clock in order to be at Carnegie Hall for 8:30 p.m., after first returning to the hotel; his aim was to participate in the first public performance of his latest chamber work.[35] Gieseking had described Ormandy's conducting with much more enthusiasm in 1934. After this afternoon concerto performance, however, he commented: "It went well. Ormandy conducted in a somewhat callous, non-Aryan manner, but it was still good."[36] The racial aspect of his above criticism is naturally to be dismissed, but Ormandy's performances of *certain* works were, in fact, frequently accused of being "shallow," as José Bowen has noted, and his interpretations of the music of Beethoven and Brahms were not universally well received.[37]

Callimahos and the *Variations on a Theme by Grieg*

On the day of Gieseking's New York arrival, the Greek-American flutist and cryptologist Lambros D. Callimahos (1910–77) had stopped by Wagner's office. He was scheduled to give the world premiere of Gieseking's newest published composition, the

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[34] David Ewen, "Ormandy, Eugene," in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia: An Authoritative and Popular Presentation of Jews and Judaism Since the Earliest Times*, vol. 8, Isaac Landman, ed. (New York: Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, 1944). As Robert Jones has written, however, Ormandy "never forgot his Europeans Jewish roots," explaining how Ormandy reportedly refused to shake the hand of conductor Herbert von Karajan in 1955, when the Vienna Philharmonic appeared in Philadelphia. A former member of the Nazi party, Karajan was accused by many Americans of having collaborated with the Nazi regime. Jones, *American National Biography*, Supplement 2, s.v. "Ormandy, Eugene."

[35] Gieseking, Philadelphia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[36] "Es ging gut, Ormandy dirigierte etwas kaltschnäuzig-nichtarisch, aber es war trotzdem gut." Ibid. For more on the use of the term "non-Aryan" see Diemut Majer, *"Non-Germans" under the Third Reich*, 632n20.

[37] José A Bowen, "Ormandy, Eugene," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 7 June 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20481.

Variationen für Flöte oder Violine und Klavier über ein Thema von Grieg, during a solo recital at Carnegie Hall on 27 January 1939.[38] Gieseking had eagerly agreed to take part in the event. Following a rehearsal on the evening of 21 January, he wrote to Annie about his colleague: "Call[imahos] can play the Variations on a Theme by Grieg very well. His technique is truly remarkable. He can execute things on the flute that seem absolutely impossible. We also played my *Sonatine*, which he performs perfectly, too."[39]

Despite his abilities, Callimahos had been unable to find an orchestral position during this time, which he blamed on Jewish immigrants. During another rehearsal with Gieseking on 23 January, he expressed this viewpoint. Gieseking described the meeting to Annie:

> At 3 p.m. Callimahos came for another rehearsal. Afterwards he told me that nowhere, in no orchestra in New York, can he find a position because he is Aryan! Although he plays so wonderfully, all the Viennese Jews are getting the jobs. He is such a rabid Anti-Semite that he curses like a storm trooper. If what he says is only halfway correct, though, he has the right to be angry.[40]

Callimahos's anti-Semitic sentiment was evidently more intense than what Gieseking was used to encountering among his colleagues.

A year earlier, Callimahos and his piano accompanist Paul Ulanowsky (1908–68) had given the Chicago (Civic Theater), Boston (Jordan Hall) and New York (Carnegie Hall) premieres of Gieseking's *Sonatine* for flute and piano on 14, 20 and 21 January

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[38] The *Variationen für Flöte oder Violine und Klavier über ein Thema von Grieg* was published by Johannes Oertel (Berlin) in 1938.

[39] "Call.[imahos] kann die Variationen [über ein Thema von Grieg] sehr gut, er hat eine ganz unglaubliche Technik, kann auf der Flöte Sachen spielen, die man für ganz unmöglich halten möchte. Die Sonatine spielten wir auch, er kann die auch tadellos." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1939, GFA; Gieseking, Philadelphia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[40] "[U]m 3 kam Callimahos zu noch einer Probe, danach erzählte er, dass er nirgends, in keinem Orchester in Newyork eine Stelle finden kann, weil er arisch ist! Trotzdem er so fabelhaft spielt, bekommen alle Stellen die Wiener Juden. Er ist so rabiater Antisemit, dass er so im Stürmer-Stil schimpft. Wenn das, was er sagt, nur halbwegs stimmt, hat er auch Recht." Gieseking, Philadelphia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1939, GFA.

1938, respectively.[41] Having been in contact with Gieseking beforehand, Callimahos had suggested the pianist-composer write a set of variations. As a result, by August 1937 Gieseking had begun to compose the set based on Grieg's theme from the "Arietta" from the *Lyriske Smaastykker* (Lyric Pieces), op. 12, no. 1.[42] On the day of his Carnegie Hall appearance with Callimahos, Gieseking had first given the afternoon performance of Brahms's Piano Concerto in B-flat major under Ormandy in Philadelphia.[43] Immediately thereafter, he rushed back to New York in order to accompany the flutist during the performance of his composition.[44] Printed on the concert program was the note that "If Mr. Gieseking is able to return to New York in time for the concert, he will play the piano part in his Variations on a Theme of Grieg."[45] Gieseking arrived in time and two days after the joint recital, he sent a letter of thanks to Callimahos: "I would like to express my warmest thanks again for your unsurpassable playing. It was a great joy to hear not only my variations, but also the rest of your program! You can be assured that

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[41] "Flutist Charms Concert Audience," *Chicago Herald Examiner*, 15 Jan. 1938; Herman Devries, "Music in Review," *Chicago American*, 15 Jan. 1938; "An Evening of Flute Virtuosity," *Christian Science Monitor*, 21 Jan. 1938; "Jordan Hall: Callmahos," *Daily Boston Globe*, 21 Jan. 1938; Olin Downes, "Callimahos, Flutist, is Heard in Recital," *New York Times*, 28 Jan. 1938; "An Evening of Flute Virtuosity," *Christian Science Monitor*, 21 Jan. 1938.

[42] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Callimahos, Salzburg, letter, 30 Aug. 1937, Callimahos folders, National Flute Association Collection, Library of Congress, box 53, folder 3. Gieseking postponed finishing the work for some time, however. In a letter of 18 June 1938, he wrote to Richard Pohlman, "I still haven't finished my Variations for Flute and Piano, didn't have time for composing (and not enough ideas!)." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 18 June 1938, DEC.

[43] Gieseking, en route on a Pennsylvania Railroad "American" train, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 30 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[44] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[45] Concert program: "Callimahos: Flutist," Carnegie Hall Program: Season 1938–1939, New York, 27 Jan. 1939, Callimahos folders, National Flute Association Inc. Archives, Library of Congress, box 53, folder 3.

I'm now going to recommend you everywhere. . . ."[46] Gieseking also described the performance to Annie:

> Callimahos's concert was very nice. He played my variations very well, the fast one in a murderous tempo, so that I had to pay attention not to hit any wrong notes. After this (5th) variation there was already applause, [followed by] four curtain calls at the end. The reviews from the day before yesterday were also really good, thus "my best work" is a success—at least somewhat. After the concert, hundreds of people went to Callimahos in the artists' room. I said goodbye quickly, but therefore wrote him again yesterday.[47]

There were indeed glowing write-ups of the performance, which praised Gieseking's new composition as well. Olin Downes of the *New York Times* wrote the following:

> The variations are very ingeniously done, each one in a different manner and mood, and each one differently scored. In places, the piano part becomes important. In these places Mr. Gieseking sometimes achieved mountainous sonorities, nevertheless so contrived as to set off and not overwhelm the capabilities of the single instrument.
>
> Not often has a composer such an ensemble in his own hands as Mr. Gieseking could boast on this occasion. Mr. Callimahos, however, was not outdone; he performed with a degree of taste and quality of tone that matched the pianist's achievement.[48]

To help his German publisher, Johannes Oertel, publicize the piece, Gieseking mailed the firm some of the American reviews so that Oertel could send them around to

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[46] "Ich möchte Ihnen nochmals meinen herzlichsten Dank für Ihr unübertreffliches Spiel sagen; nicht nur meine Variationen, sondern auch Ihr übriges Programm habe ich mit grosser Freude von Ihnen gehört! Sie können versichert sein, dass ich jetzt überall für Sie Reklame machen werde. . . ." Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Callimahos, New York, letter, 29 Jan. 1937, Callimahos folders, National Flute Association Inc. Archives, Library of Congress, box 53, folder 3.

[47] "Das Konzert von Callimahos war sehr schön, er spielte die Variationen sehr gut, die schnelle in einem mörderlichen Tempo, so dass ich sehr aufpassen musste, um nicht vorbeizuschlagen. Nach dieser (5ten) Variation gab es schon Applaus, am Schluss 4 Hervorrufe, die Kritiken vorgestern waren auch recht gut, also ist 'mein bestes Werk' erfolgreich—wenigstens einigermassen. Nach dem Konzert kamen Hunderte von Menschen zu Callimahos ins Künstlerzimmer, ich verabschiedete mich rasch von ihm, habe ihm dafür gestern noch geschrieben." Gieseking, en route on a Pennsylvania Railroad "American" train, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 30 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[48] Downes, "Callimahos Heard in Flute Recital," *New York Times*, 28 Jan. 1939.

the German press.[49] At least one subsequent German announcement praised the work highly:

> The outstanding pianist proves he is also a competent creator of original ideas [i.e. compositions]. . . . One senses how Gieseking draws from his rich knowledge of exquisite and charming sound possibilities, which he newly molds in completely organic forms. The individual variations are made distinctive through effective contrast. . . . The work presents both soloist and accompanist with a rewarding and worthwhile task.[50]

Gieseking believed his creation was going to be successful, and on 9 February, he could send home promising news about its reception: "Today I also read a very good review of the flute variations. That piece will surely be played often. It's, of course, schmaltzy enough!"[51] Oertel, too, was enthusiastic and to help the score get played had begun to send copies to respected flutists and violinists.[52] Gieseking was also hoping to record the work with Callimahos—"that will then show how it is correctly performed" ("das gibt dann die richtige Aufführung").[53] Four days later, he had made the arrangements with Columbia, and the work was recorded on 3 April; yet for reasons unknown, it was never released.[54] Still, Gieseking was proud to be getting such recognition as a composer, although he would continue to write music only

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[49] Johannes Oertel, Berlin, to Callimahos, letter, 10 Mar. 1938, Callimahos folders, National Flute Association Inc. Archives, Library of Congress, box 53, folder 3.

[50] "Der hervorragende Pianist gibt sich in diesem Werk auch als befähigter Gestalter eigener Intentionen zu erkennen. . . . Man spürt, wie Gieseking aus der reichen Kenntnis erlesener und reizvoller Klangwirkungen schöpft, die er in durchaus organischen Gestaltungen neu formt. Die einzelnen Variationen heben sich wirkungsvoll kontrastierend voneinander ab. . . . Das Werk stellt Solisten und Begleiter vor eine dankbare und lohnende Aufgabe." Erich Schütze, "Walter Gieseking. Variationen für Flöte oder Violine und Klavier über ein Thema von Edward Grieg," Publication information unknown. Copy found in "Walter Gieseking" file, Reichskulturkammer (RKK) 2700, R 55/73, BA.

[51] "Von den Flötenvariationen las ich heute noch eine sehr gute Kritik, das Stück wird sicher öfter gespielt werden. Ist ja auch schmalzig genug!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[52] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[53] Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[54] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19–21 Mar. 1938, GFA; Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 11.

intermittently. His concert career, recording schedule, and entomological interests certainly kept him busy enough, not to mention the frequent, often obligatory social engagements after performances. And when he was home, he understandably looked forward to a break from his hectic career.

Karl Krueger and Rachmaninoff's Third Piano Concerto

During the 1939 tour, Gieseking had his biggest success with Rachmaninoff's Third Piano Concerto in D minor (composed 1909), a work he had only first performed in Europe the previous fall.[55] On the evening of 2 February 1939 and the following afternoon, he played the concerto in Kansas City, Missouri, under the direction of the American conductor Karl Krueger (1874–1979) leading the city's philharmonic orchestra. Gieseking found Krueger's conducting to be "quite good, but somewhat stiff for Rachmaninoff" ("ganz gut, aber etwas steif für Rachmaninoff").[56] Krueger, who led the orchestra from its founding year of 1933 to 1944,[57] was most concerned at this time, though, because he had shot and gravely injured a woman who had been pursuing his wife, and the woman was momentarily still paralyzed.[58] Gieseking wondered how Krueger was able to conduct under such circumstances, but the latter assured him that music was the best escape—something with which Gieseking presently disagreed.[59]

Krueger was also frustrated by pressure that local community members had placed on him. When it was discovered that he was planning some European

[55] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 70.

[56] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[57] "History of the Kansas City Philharmonic," Kansas City Symphony, accessed 11 Sept. 2013, https://www.kcsymphony.org/StaticCtl/KCPhilAct.

[58] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[59] Ibid.

engagements that would include concerts in Italy, Austria, and Hungary, Jewish concertgoers allegedly threatened to boycott his local performances. Gieseking derisively remarked to Annie that this was "indicative of America's tolerance" ("bezeichnend für die amerikanische Toleranz").[60] "There aren't even that many Jews in Kansas City," he added, "but the few they have make as much noise as 100 hound dogs, as Krueger said."[61]

Gieseking had learned the difficult concerto quickly, but had practiced it "etwas" ("somewhat")—probably a lot for Gieseking—during the week leading up to the concerts; he had even had a grand piano delivered to his hotel room on this occasion, something he only rarely arranged.[62] While at the Feslers' home in Indianapolis that week, he also drilled the work one morning until 1 p.m, and afterwards he reported to Annie: "my fingers hurt, but I think I can really play the piece [now]."[63] The practice indeed paid off, and despite Krueger's personal worries, he, too, conducted well. The reviews of the first concert were so enthusiastic that the repeat performance on 3 February was sold out.[64] Reporting the initial evening, the *Kansas City Star* wrote,

> There was a bowing, happy, bald-headed short man, and a bowing, happy, bald-headed tall man taking applause from the stage of the Music hall Thursday night. Two memorable pictures they made and Philharmonic concert fans are trying to decide which was most appealing.
>
> The huge piano soloist, Walter Gieseking, got his tumult after the Rachmaninoff concerto at which he worked like a Teuton wrestler.[65]

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[60] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[61] "Dabei sind garnicht viele Juden in Kansas City, aber die paar machen ein Geschrei wie 100 Schlosshunde, wie Krueger sagte." Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] "[M]ir tun die Finger weh, aber ich glaube, ich kann das Stück ziemlich!" Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] "Julius Osiier, at 73, Enjoys One of Life's Happy Moments," *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, 5 Feb. 1939.

Gieseking played the colossal work again on 9, 10, and 12 February at Carnegie Hall, this time with John Barbirolli and New York's Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra.[66] The final concert was also broadcast by WABC.[67] Just as Gieseking had received much attention and acclaim after his performance of the Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto in the autumn of 1937, the critics again praised his pianism. In fact, Gieseking later recalled in his memoirs how "I had even more success [with Rachmaninoff's Third Piano Concerto] . . . in February 1939 than I had had with his Second Concerto in 1937."[68] Incidentally, the 1937 concert had also taken place at Carnegie Hall with Barbirolli leading the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra.[69] Thrilled by the reception of his latest performances, Gieseking described some write-ups to Annie:

> I want to tell you that the Rachmaninoff 3 was a great success. Yesterday evening and this afternoon I played it. We performed well together. The orchestra accompanied beautifully. I did my best and it was, based on the write-ups, apparently "excellent." Olin Downes of the New York Times wrote a wonderful review. [Charles] Wagner already sent countless copies of this article everywhere. Another critique is very strange: the concert is described like a boxing match and I am portrayed as a new Falstaff at the piano, like [pianists Raoul] Pugno [1850–1914] and [Alfred] Reisenauer [1863–1907]! Actually, [I find that] incredibly impudent, but truly American. "There is nothing like a good fat man at the piano," one reads among other things. Downes mentioned Paderewski and [Anton]

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[66] Display Ad 349, *New York Times*, 5 Feb. 1939; "Programs of the Week," *New York Times*, 5 Feb. 1949.

[67] "Radio Programs Scheduled for Broadcast this Week," *New York Times*, 5 Feb. 1939. A recording of the broadcast concerto performance was released on LP by the International Piano Library label (IPL 505), although Gieseking felt that the best performance had taken place on 10 February. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 10; Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[68] "[I]ch spielte . . . das dritte Rachmaninoff-Konzert (d-Moll), das mir dann im Februar 1939 in der New Yorker Philharmonie einen noch größeren Erfolg einbrachte als das zweite im Jahr 1937." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 70.

[69] Olin Downes, "Gieseking Soloist with Barbirolli," *New York Times*, 12 Nov. 1937. In his memoir, Gieseking mistakenly indicated that the concert had taken place in the "New York Philharmonic" ("in der New Yoker Philharmonie"). See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 70.

> Rubinstein in his review and thought the performance better than that given by Rachmaninoff himself—that's going a bit too far. . . .[70]

Of course, Gieseking, like so many of his contemporaries, recognized Rachmaninoff as one of the greatest pianists alive, and there was surely no doubt in the minds of most musicians—certainly Gieseking's—that the great Russian composer's interpretations of his own works were definitive.[71] Still, he must have been flattered by the review. Comparisons made to the late Russian pianist Anton Rubinstein (1829–94) and especially the Polish pianist Ignace Jan Paderewski (1864–1941) were also to any pianist's advantage. On 13 February, the day after the final Rachmaninoff performance with Barbirolli, Gieseking played before 3,000 people in Springfield, Massachusetts. His manager was again most pleased with what the critics had written: "Wagner was excited and then even more excited when, in the papers the next morning, it was declared that

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[70] "[I]ch [will] Dir mitteilen, dass Rachmaninoff 3 einen sensationellen Erfolg hatte. Gestern Abend und heute Nachmittag spielte ich es, es ging sehr gut zusammen, das Orchester begleitete sehr schön, ich habe mir Mühe gegeben und es ist, nach den Kritiken zu urteilen, offenbar 'vorzüglich' gewesen. Olin Downes in der N. Y. Times hat fabelhaft geschrieben, [Charles] Wagner hat schon unzählige Exemplare dieser Kritik überallhin geschickt. Eine andere Besprechung ist sehr komisch, das Konzert wird im Stil eines Boxkampfes beschrieben und ich bin als ein neuer Falstaff am Klavier wie [pianists Raoul] Pugno [1852–1914] und [Alfred] Reisenauer [1863–1907] bezeichnet! Eigentlich unverschämt frech, aber echt amerikanisch. 'There is nothing like a good fat man at the piano' heisst es u. A. – Downes erwähnt Paderewski und Rubinstein in seiner Kritik und hält die Aufführung für besser als die von Rachmaninoff selbst—es reicht also . . [. .]" Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 10 Feb. 1939, GFA. See also Olin Downes, "Gieseking Soloist for Philharmonic," *New York Times*, 10 Feb. 1939.

[71] In his memoirs, Gieseking later reflected on his preferred pianists: "One of those absolutely unforgettable impressions made on me in 1913 was a piano recital given by [the Liszt pupil] Eugen d'Albert (1864–1932). . . . Only on one other occasion can I recall someone's pianistic abilities making a similarly strong impression on me, which was when I heard Rachmaninoff at Carnegie Hall in New York many years later. That, too, was truly impressive piano playing. Certainly other colleagues often played very well, but not in such a way that the listener was indeed deeply moved." ("Zu den absolut unvergeßlichen Eindrücken des Jahres 1913 gehört ein Klavierabend von Eugen d'Albert. . . . Einen ähnlich starken pianistischen Eindruck habe ich nur noch einmal, viel später, gehabt, als ich Rachmaninoff in der Carnegie Hall, New York, hörte. Auch das war restlos imponierendes Klavierspiel. Andere Kollegen spielten gewiß oft sehr schön, aber doch nicht so, daß man wirklich im innersten ergriffen war.") Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 29.

only Paderewski had won comparable acclaim!"[72] Paderewski was near the very end of his career, but was still by far the most successful pianist alive. As Gieseking noted in the same letter, "Wagner is still ecstatic, especially because of the Paderewski comparison, which is, of course, the highest praise that a pianist can receive here."[73]

The Feslers

On Sunday, 5 February, Gieseking gave another private afternoon recital at Caroline Fesler's Indianapolis home, before an audience of some fifteen people.[74] Fesler had requested works by Bach, Scarlatti, Beethoven, a Schubert Sonata, and Debussy's *Suite bergamasque*, and her distinguished guest happily complied .[75] Later that evening, Gieseking also played two additional Schubert Sonatas, as well as his own newest published composition, the *Variations on a Theme by Grieg*—with Mrs. Fesler—who played the flute part on a second piano.[76] He was amused by her sincere attempt to play the instrument, which he described to Annie: "Sight-reading, she fumbled through the flute part quite cleverly. She claims that, in the past, she could only play the simplest of things, but through the famous method [i.e. the piano methods published by Leimer and

[72] "Wagner war begeistert, und noch begeisterter, als am nächsten Morgen die Zeitungen schrieben, dass nur Paderewski ähnlichen Erfolg gehabt hätte!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[73] "Wagner ist noch immer begeistert, besonders über die Einreihung neben Paderewski, die doch das höchste Lob ist, das ein Pianist hier kriegen kann." Ibid.

[74] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[75] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[76] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Feb. 1939, GFA.

Gieseking] she learned so much more! She counts diligently and at times loudly. It is really strange to see how seriously she takes something like that."[77]

Subsequently, Fesler sent Gieseking some mail she had received from the aforementioned recital guests, which he commented on in a letter to Annie of 16 March. They had found the (unidentified) Schubert Sonata "especially beautiful" ("besonders schön"), according to Gieseking, who remarked to his wife how "in a smaller circle, this 'intimate' music naturally makes a stronger impression than in a concert."[78] In their correspondence, some of the same persons also inquired into private lessons with the pianist, evidently believing he was now residing in the United States. Somewhat irritated by this presumption, Gieseking reasoned why they had thought this:

> [B]ecause they have such strange views of our country, they think that everyone is merely concerned with trying to flee as fast as possible! Only an enthusiastic concertgoer, who writes every year, sent me a letter about his stay in Germany, with which he is so impressed that his countrymen [Americans] no longer believe what he writes. The letter is interesting."[79]

Commenting further on pianists' interest in playing for him, he then explained how he had no desire for this, which one might understand owing to his busy concert and recording schedule. He then elucidates, however, that he suspected a number of them

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[77] "[S]ie stümperte die Flötenstimme ganz geschickt vom Blatt. Sie behauptet ja, sie hätte früher nur allereinfachste Sachen spielen können und durch die berühmte Methode soviel dazu gelernt! Sie zählt eifrig und zuweilen laut, es ist recht komisch, wie ernst sie sowas nimmt." Ibid. There were two books first published in German during the 1930s by Gieseking and his mentor and brother-in-law Karl Leimer, which taught the so-called Leimer-Gieseking method. Both volumes had appeared in English translations shortly after the German printings. Leimer was responsible for most of the writing, however, while Gieseking seems to have served largely as an endorser. The method books are discussed further in Excursus I, "Karl Leimer and the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer Courses, 1935–1944" and Excursus III, "Karl Leimer's Professor Title, June 1941."

[78] "[I]m kleinen Kreis macht eben diese "intime" Musik mehr Eindruck als im Konzert." Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[79] "[W]eil sie ja so komische Ansichten von unserem Land haben, dass sie denken, jeder versucht nur, so schnell wie möglich auszurücken! Nur ein eifriger Konzertbesucher, der jedes Jahr schreibt, schickte mir einen Brief über seinen Aufenthalt in Deutschland, worüber er so begeistert ist, dass ihm seine Landsleute nicht mehr glauben, wie er schreibt. Der Brief ist interessant." Ibid. The "interesting" letter to which Gieseking referred is presumably lost.

were Jewish: "I could of course give piano lessons. People often ask if they (men and women pianists) can play for me, but I am not interested in that, plus many of them have very suspicious sounding names (non-Aryan)."[80] This is the first known instance in which he turned away pianists partly for racist reasons.

American Composer Emerson Whithorne

On 12 February, Gieseking visited a small New York radio station to hear an hour of Emerson Whithorne's compositions performed. "I heard the concert in the foyer through an excellent speaker," explained Gieseking. "It was most interesting."[81] The since-forgotten music of Whithorne (1884–1958) was frequently programmed during his lifetime. An unidentified violinist played one of the composer's new sonatas with the French-American pianist E. (Elie) Robert Schmitz (1889–1949), which Gieseking also found "*interessant*."[82] Whithorne's wife, Jane, then sang Lieder by her husband; Gieseking liked the music but not so much her voice. In addition, Schmitz played selected solo piano works by Whithorne "very tastefully" ("sehr geschmackvoll").

Afterward, Whithorne and his wife took Gieseking with them to the home of the Yugoslavian violinist, Zlatko Baloković (1895–1965), who, as the pianist commented to Annie, "only because of his advertisements is well known" ("nur durch seine Reklame

[80] "Ich könnte ja Stunden geben, es fragen öfters Leute an wegen Vorspielen (Pianisten u. -innen), aber ich habe keine Lust dazu, ausserdem haben die vielfach verdächtig klingende Namen (nichtarische)." Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[81] "Ich hörte das Konzert im Vorraum durch einen vorzüglichen Lautsprecher, es war ganz interessant." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[82] Ibid. Like Gieseking, Schmitz became particularly known for his performances of Debussy's works. He also authored the posthumously published monograph, *The Piano Works of Claude Debussy* (New York: Dover Publications, 1950).

bekannt ist”).[83] Baloković had married Joyce Borden, heiress of the Borden family fortune, and was now a multi-millionaire who could afford to promote himself well.[84] Baloković played for the guests, which impressed neither Whithorne nor Gieseking. Furthermore, the latter was surprised by Whithorne’s uncouth behavior, both during the performance and later that evening:

> Unfortunately, the host [Baloković] soon played a very bad sonata by a Serbian composer. Emerson constantly made inappropriate remarks about it, and, in general, behaved in a most uncivilized manner. He criticized Rachmaninoff’s music terribly, which caused us to have a friendly dispute. After the sonata, he [Emerson] wanted to grab a bite to eat, so we left and went to a restaurant (Reuben’s). There Emerson railed at the Jews, although we were about the only Aryans in the place (Emerson and wife, Robert Schmitz, and I). Then free gift certificates were given out to the guests. Whoever won something, could go collect items from certain nearby (Madison Avenue) businesses (purses, clothes, etc., up to $15 in value). During the drawing, only non-Aryan names were being called out, which caused Emerson to complain ever more loudly until his wife also won something. I haven’t heard anything else about it and how the prize looked. The group was actually quite cheerful, but it still wasn’t the right thing for me—I am not in the mood for this, for when I see how joyful all the people are and what it is that makes them happy [. . .]—but perhaps they are just pretending to be [happy]![85]

That Gieseking was not “in the mood” for this company perhaps had something to do with his own current personal problems, the “inner, constant unhappiness” he felt,

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[83] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[84] Finding Aid, “Balokovic, Zlatko, Papers,” Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota, accessed 11 June 2011, http://www.ihrc.umn.edu/research/vitrage/all/ba/ihrc274.html.

[85] “Leider spielte der Hausherr bald eine sehr schlechte Sonate von einem serbischen Komponisten vor. Emerson machte dauernd unpassende Bemerkungen dazu, benahm sich überhaupt nicht ganz gesittet, er schimpfte auch fürchterlich auf Rachmaninoffs Musik, weswegen wir uns freundschaftlich zankten. Nach der Sonate wollte er etwas essen, wir verschwanden daher, gingen in ein Restaurant (Reuben), dort schimpfte Emerson dann auf die Juden. Dabei waren wir ungefähr die einzigen Arier in dem Lokal. (Emerson u. Frau, Robert Schmitz und ich). Es wurden dann Gratis-Lose an die Gäste verteilt, wer was gewann, konnte sich in gewissen Geschäften in der Nähe (Madison Avenue) Sachen abholen (Handtaschen, Kleider, etc. bis zu 15 Dollar Wert). Bei der Verlosung wurden nur nichtarische Namen ausgerufen, worauf Emerson immer lauter schimpfte, bis seine Frau auch was gewann. Ich habe aber noch nichts wieder davon gehört und wie der Gewinn wohl ausgesehen hat. Die Gesellschaft war ja ganz vergnügt, aber für mich ist auch dies nicht das Richtige—ich bin nicht dazu aufgelegt, denn wenn ich sehe, wie vergnügt die Leute alle sind und worüber die sich so amüsieren können—vielleicht allerdings tun die auch bloss so!” Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

largely owing to his marital difficulties (as he had expressed in the letter to Annie of 6 February). At the same time, he makes it clear that the group was overly jovial for his taste. By all accounts, Gieseking tended to be rather introverted at such social gatherings, and, unsurprisingly, he seems to have lost all desire to spend more time with Whithorne after this incident. On 1 March, he made the following complaint to Annie: "Actually I would have loved to have heard Paderewski over the radio [on Sunday, 26 February]. He played at two o'clock. I had no interest, however, in going to see Whithorne."[86]

Whithorne regretted that Gieseking now made little effort to program new works, and had gone so far as to complain about this in a "confidential" letter of 28 January, which he had sent to Lucien Wulsin Jr., head of the Baldwin piano company:

> His [Gieseking's] outlook is very material. He said he was playing a Rachmaninoff Concerto with the Philharmonic and I asked why, as he had done one last year. Why not Brahms or something really fine and he said it was "effective."
>
> I believe his career has been made largely on his artistic integrity and ideal outlook. Now I believe he is slowly becoming a "music merchant" as Busoni called Godowsky. This is too bad with a man of his outstanding ability.
>
> This, naturally, is only my personal opinion and I may be cock-eyed, but I doubt it. . . . Also from playing perhaps too much modern (contemporary) music he has gone to the extreme of never playing any. After all[,] he made his name on the contemporary repertoire.
>
> To my mind his Chopin, Schumann and Beethoven are not his best interpretations[,] so his programs have room for some good and grateful contemporary numbers. After all[,] we do not now consider Debussy new! We have had him for thirty years.[87]

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[86] "Eigentlich hätte ich ganz gern Paderewski im Radio gehört, er spielte um 2, ich hatte aber keine Lust, etwa zu Whithorne zu gehen." The remark also shows us that, while Gieseking often criticized Paderewski's pianism, he still maintained some respect for his immensely famous, older colleague. Commenting further on the Polish pianist, he told Annie, "He supposedly has no more technique, but he's carrying out a large tour, playing approximately every 4 to 5 days." ("Er soll gar keine Technik mehr haben, dabei macht er jetzt eine grosse Tournee, spielt etwa alle 4-5 Tage.") Gieseking, New York, to Annie, 1 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[87] Emerson Whithorne, New York, to Lucien Wulsin [Jr.], [Cincinnati?], letter, 28 Jan. 1939, DEC.

Despite being somewhat personally turned off by Whithorne, Gieseking agreed to play two works by the composer during his final public recital at Columbia University on 1 April. Whithorne must have talked him into doing him this favor. The day before the concert, Gieseking got up extra early and practiced the pieces, "which I still haven't securely learned" ("die ich noch nicht sicher kann").[88] This was for Gieseking merely one of many occasions in which he prepared works on relatively short notice for a performance.

Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto

Later in February, Gieseking had traveled to Reading, Pennsylvania, to play Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto, a work he now felt was "of course easy compared to the Third."[89] Hans Kindler, founder and conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, had traveled from Washington to lead the performance, and many of the orchestra members were from Philadelphia.[90] After the afternoon rehearsal on 18 February, Gieseking went to a club briefly, where he joined his manager Charles Wagner and others, including one Mr. Schumann. The orchestra's chief financial supporter, Schumann had studied music in Leipzig and known celebrated musicians such as pianist Alfred Reisenauer, and he still spoke German "fluently."[91] The conversation turned to politics and Gieseking was surprised to see that everyone present appeared to be pro-Nazi: "There were many German-Americans there, who for once are all for Hitler and,

[88] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, letter, 31 Mar. 1931, GFA.

[89] "Rachmaninoff 2 ist doch leicht, verglichen mit Nr. 3." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

what's more, believe that the Jews here, too, will be thrown out in a couple of years (which I tend to doubt)."[92] Kindler had evidently not joined them, possibly because during the rehearsal he and Gieseking had had an argument, "because I interrupted him too often and gave him signals," according to the pianist.[93] Incidentally, Kindler would later speak out against Gieseking as an effort to stop his postwar U.S. return tour scheduled for early 1949.[94] The conductor would then maintain that Gieseking served as a propaganda tool for the Nazi regime during his American tours, and he would also allegedly tell U.S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark during a conversation that Gieseking "praised Hitler in highest terms" prior to World War II.[95] During its postwar investigation of the Gieseking case, the FBI would not fail to take note of Kindler's testimony.[96]

Recording Success

By early February, Gieseking's records, in particular those of the best-selling Debussy Preludes, book one (issued as six ten-inch discs), had become tremendously successful, disappearing quickly from the shelves of American shops.[97] Reporting on this, he wrote to Annie:

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[92] "Es waren viel Deutschamerikaner dort, die alle mal für Hitler sind und wieder behaupten, dass die Juden auch hier in ein paar Jahren herausgeschmissen würden (was ich ja etwas bezweifle)." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[93] Gieseking wrote, "Heute vormittag hatte ich in der Probe Krach mit dem hiesigen Kapellmeister, weil ich ihm zuviel dazwischen redete und Zeichen gab. . . ." Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[94] See "Klein Says Dr. Kindler Opposes Gieseking Tour," *Evening Star* (Washington D.C.), 24 Jan. 1949.

[95] Ibid.

[96] The FBI's Gieseking dossier, which can be requested under the Freedom of Information Act, contains a copy of the *Evening Star* (Washington D.C.) article "Klein Says Dr. Kindler Opposes Gieseking Tour," of 24 Jan. 1949.

[97] "Best Selling Records," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 5 Feb. 1939.

> The Debussy Preludes, book I, are selling so enormously well (I believe in New York alone some 200 albums in ca. 6 weeks) that the Columbia representative here wanted to have recordings of the second book at once. The result: yesterday [21 February] I recorded the Preludes from 9:45 to 1:30 and 2:30 to 6:00. 'Feux d'artifice' still has to be cleaner, but the Preludes are otherwise done.[98]

Columbia was indeed eager to have the popular pianist make more recordings during the present tour and arranged seven recording sessions for him at the New York studio, which took place between 21 February and 5 April.[99] After the Preludes, Gieseking continued by recording compositions by Beethoven, Bach, Bach/Myra Hess, Brahms, more Debussy, and two of his own published works: the *Variations on a Theme by Grieg* (an unissued disc featuring the flutist Lambros Callimahos) and his transcription of Richard Strauss's Lied "Ständchen" (op. 17, no. 2).[100] Gieseking frequently played the last-named work as an encore. On 24 February, he gave a particularly descriptive and critical account of that day's studio session:

> Today I made recordings again: Beethoven Sonata, op. 101, and "Feux d'artifice" with run-throughs etc. this lasted from 10 a.m. to 3:45. In between I listened to Edwin Fischer's "Appassionata" records; he makes quite a lot of mistakes, but plays the first movement very powerfully, the second [movement], on the other hand, boring, emotionless. Yet I still find it not easy to make better records of it and will therefore practice the "Appassionata" until Monday. The Columbia representative here insists on having this popular work! Yesterday afternoon I listened to the [Debussy] Préludes [book II]. I think the recordings are very good, better than the earlier ones [of book I].[101] The "Waldstein" Sonata [Beethoven's op. 53] is, by the way, also not bad; it's only unfortunate that I often play too fast! Today I compared the first movement with Fischer's discs. I do play significantly

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[98] "Die Debussy Preludes Heft I werden so enorm gekauft (ich glaube in Newyork allein etwa 200 Alben in ca. 6 Wochen) dass der hiesige Columbia-Vertreter sofort Aufnahmen vom 2. Band haben wollte: Resultat: gestern spielte ich von 9.45 – 13.30 und 14.30-18.00 Debussy Preludes ein. Feux d'artifice muss noch sauberer herauskommen, sonst sind die Preludes eingemacht." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[99] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 10–11.

[100] For further details about the sessions, see ibid.

[101] As Gieseking had never before recorded any of Debussy's Preludes from book II, he was referring to his rather recent discs of book I. He had first recorded no. 10, "La cathédrale engloutie," for Columbia's Abby Road studios in London on 9 February 1936, followed by the rest of the book (nos. 1–9, 11–12) on 10 August 1938, also for Columbia, but at Berlin's *Beethoven Saal*. Ibid., 8, 48–49.

> clearer and cleaner, but of course he plays with more Beethovenian force—unfortunately, I didn't sleep well last night, which made recording this morning most difficult. Whenever I become restless, I make mistakes (at the piano!) and ruin everything![102]

In the end, Gieseking was quite pleased with how he had played during these sessions, particularly of the accuracy. Describing "the difficult task of making records of the 'Appassionata'" ("die schwere Aufgabe, Platten von der Appassionata zu machen"), he relayed to Annie: "The 2nd part of the 1st movement has a few wrong notes, but otherwise I think I played sufficiently well. In general, the discs are mostly so clean that I often have to search for a long time before I am able to determine which recording is worse."[103]

Days later, Gieseking recorded Bach's Partita No. 6 and, after dining at Child's restaurant—where he most often ate—and visiting his American manager Charles Wagner's office, he returned to Columbia's studios that evening to listen to the latest test pressings of works he had recorded: Beethoven's "Appassionata" Sonata and op. 101, and the remainder of the Debussy Preludes, book II.[104] He appreciated American Columbia's willingness to involve him in the selection process, which was oddly not

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[102] "Heute habe ich wieder Platten eingespielt: Beethoven-Sonata op. 101 und Feux d'artifice, mit Proben u.s.w. hat dies von 10 – ¾ 4 gedauert. Zwischendurch habe ich mir Edwin Fischer's Appassionata-Platten angehört, er schmiert darin ziemlich, spielt aber den ersten Satz sehr kraftvoll, den zweiten dagegen langweilig, ausdruckslos. Ich finde es aber trotzdem nicht leicht, davon bessere Platten zu machen, werde darum bis Montag an der Appassionata üben. Der Columbiavertreter hier will durchaus dieses beliebte Werk haben! Gestern Nachmittag hörte ich die [Debussy] Préludes, ich halte die Aufnahmen für sehr gut, besser als die früheren. Die Waldsteinsonata ist ja übrigens auch nicht schlecht, schade, dass ich so oft zu schnell spiele! Ich verglich den ersten Satz heute mit Edwin's Platten. Ich spiele ja bedeutend klarer und sauberer, er spielt aber doch mit mehr Beethoven'scher Wucht—Leider hatte ich vorige Nacht nicht gut geschlafen, dies machte mir das Einspielen heute morgen sehr schwer, wenn ich unruhig werde, greife ich vorbei (am Klavier!) und verhetze alles." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, letter, 24 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[103] "Den 2ten Teil vom 1sten Satz habe ich nicht ohne ein paar falsche Noten fertiggebracht, aber sonst finde ich, dass ich durchaus annehmbar gespielt hatte. Überhaupt sind die Platten meist so sauber, dass ich oft lange suchen muss, bis ich herausfinde, welche Aufnahme schlechter ist." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[104] Ibid.

always common practice elsewhere. On 1 March Gieseking wrote home, "Over the last few days I have worked really hard. The result: a series of excellent records!"[105] He returned to the recording sessions in the same letter, expressing his content further:

> The man here lets me choose the records that I think should be released. In general, it has, so far, been very pleasant to work with the recording crew here—not that I have anything against Herr Berten and the others [of German Columbia]! But the recordings here are, in my opinion, significantly better than those I made in Berlin! By the way, it is no wonder that the people [of American Columbia] are so friendly, the recordings of the Debussy Preludes, book I, are, or at least were, sold out in New York again yesterday! –Since "my" ["]Appassionata["] has many fewer wrong notes than "Edwin's" [i.e. Edwin Fischer's], it will probably give his discs some stiff competition.[106]

Of course, Gieseking recognized that his recordings were not flawless. On 22 February, he expressed as much after receiving an amusing letter from a fan from New Orleans:

> After the radio concert [of Rachmaninoff's Third Piano Concerto under John Barbirolli on 12 February] I received a number of letters, also telegrams, one of which is completely nuts: "Please don't ever improve, you are completely perfect now"—from New Orleans, signed Lillian Rogers. Well, when I listen to the recordings [I think]: completely perfect is certainly something completely different! It's good that these people don't have ears that are too well trained![107]

How times have changed. Most commercial recordings today are expected to be essentially note perfect, but classical music fans back then—before the advent of tape

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[105] "In den letzten Tagen habe ich ziemlich schwer gearbeitet, das Resultat ist eine Serie vorzüglicher Platten!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[106] "Der Mann hier lässt mich die Platten aussuchen, die herausgegeben werden sollen, es ist überhaupt ein bisher sehr angenehmes Arbeiten mit den Aufnahmeleuten hier—womit ich nichts gegen Herrn Berten u.s.w. gesagt haben will! Aber die Aufnahmen hier sind m. E. bedeutend besser als die in Berlin gemachten! Übrigens ist es kein Wunder, wenn die Leute so freundlich sind, die Platten des [or der?] Debussy-Preludes Band I sind, bzw. waren gestern in Newyork wieder ausverkauft! –Da nun "meine" Appassionata viel weniger falsche Noten als "Edwin seine" hat, wird dies wohl eine schwere Konkurrenz für dessen Platten werden." Ibid.

[107] "Nach dem Radiokonzert erhielt ich eine Anzahl Briefe, auch Telegramme, eins davon ganz verrückt: "please dont [*sic.*] ever improve[,] you are completely perfect now" aus New Orleans mit der Unterschrift Lillian Rogers. –Na, wenn ich die Aufnahmen höre: completely perfect ist doch sehr was Anderes! Gut, dass die Leute nicht so guttrainierte Ohren haben!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

splicing—were accustomed to hearing some wrong notes when enjoying their 78-rpm discs. More often than not, the average listener probably failed to notice the mishaps.

If he had not done so earlier, Gieseking by now must have realized the seemingly boundless potential in making records, well aware of the resulting international recognition and ever-growing financial gain it was now bringing him. He knew, too, that American Columbia was wasting no time in capitalizing on its best-selling pianist. In the same letter of 1 March, he explained how, after giving some concerts in New Brunswick, Indianapolis, Washington, and Baltimore, he would return to the studio: "When I come back to New York, I am supposed to make further discs, possibly of all of Bach's Partitas(!), pieces by Brahms, my Variations [on a Theme by Grieg], etc.—endless plans!"[108] Gieseking would make a series of recordings between 3 and 5 April, the final days of his American tour, which did include works by Bach (though only the fifth Partita), Brahms, and, as previously mentioned, his Grieg Variations (which remained unreleased).[109]

Understandably, Charles Wagner, too, had begun to work into his marketing Gieseking's success as a recording artist, as well as the demand for his radio appearances. On a program from 15 March 1939, the pianist's final Town Hall recital of the season, was printed: "Year after year new hosts join the legions of Gieseking admirers. In two years his recording of Beethoven's Emperor Concerto alone has sold over 45,000 copies,

[108] "Wenn ich in New York zurück bin, soll ich weitere Platten spielen, es ist die Rede von allen Bach-Partiten(!), Brahms Stücken, meine Variationen, u.s.w. endlose Pläne!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[109] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 11.

and now, more than ever, he is in demand as guest artist for important broadcasts. But mechanical devices can never capture the spirit of a Gieseking concert."[110]

The *New Yorker* and America's Press Coverage of Nazi Germany

During the last week of February, there was an incident when Gieseking became both shocked and angry after reading an article in the *New Yorker*, his "favorite magazine," to which he subscribed in Germany:[111]

> In the *New Yorker* there was a story that was so dreadful that it made me outright sick, which is also the reason why I slept so terribly. Strange, the *New Yorker* had, of course, always printed nice, entertaining articles, but in both of the last two issues, it has also suddenly begun to join in the rabble rousing [against the Nazis], and these horror stories were written markedly in an anti-Nazi style.[112]

Gieseking had doubtless read Irwin Shaw's short story "Sailor off the Bremen," which appeared in the *New Yorker*'s 25 February 1939 issue.[113] In the tale, Ernest, has been assaulted and partly disfeatured—he has lost an eye and teeth—by a German steward, Lueger, during a communist rally that took place aboard the SS *Bremen* (incidentally, a German ocean liner Gieseking had traveled on to America in recent years).[114] Lueger is a

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[110] "Gieseking: Last Town Hall Recital This Season," concert program, 15 Mar. 1939, Harry Anderson Collection, IPAM. The referred to Beethoven recording, issued by Columbia Records, was made on 11 Aug. 1934 and also featured Bruno Walter leading the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 7.

[111] Gieseking was unable to receive the *New Yorker* by 1941 because of the war, at which point he continued to receive only *Musical America* "fairly regularly." Gieseking, Zurich, to Richard Pohlman, New York, letter, 27 Mar. 1941, DEC.

[112] "Im Newyorker stand eine so schauerliche Geschichte, dass mir dann ganz mies wurde, deswegen habe ich auch so schlecht geschlafen. Komisch, der Newyorker brachte doch sonst immer nette Unterhaltungssachen, in den beiden letzten Nummern wird auf einmal auch gehetzt und diese Schauergeschichte war auch reichlich im Anti-Nazi-Stil abgefasst." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, letter, 24 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[113] While Gieseking's letter is dated 24 February, magazines such as the *New Yorker* appeared prior to the date of publication, of course, as they still do today.

[114] The SS *Bremen* had been the sight of anti-Nazi demonstrations at least on one well publicized occasion, which must have inspired Shaw to some extent. After a large anti-Nazi demonstration led by as many as 2,000 communists in New York during the night of 26–27 July 1935, a small group of activists

devoted member of the Nazi Party and is believed to be a spy that has sent at least two men to concentration camps. Ernest's brother, Charlie, as an act of revenge, violently attacks Lueger during the relatively lengthy and brutal ending that Gieseking found disturbing. Nazis are clearly portrayed as the enemy, and Shaw—who was Jewish—intersperses anti-Nazi remarks throughout the story. We read, for instance, "What the hell is it your business if lunatics're running Germany?"[115]

That Gieseking lost sleep after reading this fiction says something about his nature: he was repulsed by the violence. Conversely, his reaction reveals his resentment over the magazine's efforts to ridicule Germany. Like many American papers and magazines, the *New Yorker* had indeed begun to criticize the controversial activities of the Nazi regime, but long before the February issues to which Gieseking referred.[116] Presently, for example, it was covering the rumors that Hitler had been assassinated over four years ago, which its editors confessed was their "private conviction," too.[117] The

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made their way aboard the *Bremen* within an hour of its departure. One of them, twenty-five-year-old William Bailey, succeeded in cutting down the Nazi flag from the jack staff, throwing it into the Hudson River. Reporters described the scene at the New York Harbor pier as "near-riots," and there were a number of injuries and arrests. The Reich press blamed the attack on the "pronouncements of the Communists' Council in Moscow," according to U.S. reports. The ship had also played a role in Nazi espionage, and by 1938 all Jewish crew members had been dismissed. "Reds Rip Flag Off Bremen, Throw it into Hudson; 2,000 Battle the Police," *New York Times*, 27 July 1935; William Bailey recounts the incident in detail in his autobiography, see Chapter 14 "Ripping the Swastika off the Bremen," in Bailey, *The Kid from Hoboken*, book two, ed. Lynn Damme, accessed 22 May 2011, http://www.larkspring.com/Kid/Contents.html; "Nazis Blame Moscow for Flag Attack," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 July 1935; Peter A. Huchthausen, "Shadow Voyage—Escape of German Liner SS *Bremen*," The Maritime Network, accessed 22 May 2011, http://www.freewebs.com/tmnarticles/bremen.htm; also published in *Sea History* (Spring 2005), 14–17.

[115] Irwin Shaw, "Sailor Off the Bremen," *New Yorker*, 25 Feb. 1939, 15–18.

[116] One monograph on this topic is Michael Zalampas, *Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich in American Magazines, 1923–1939* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1989).

[117] "The Talk of the Town," *New Yorker*, 18 Feb. 1939, 7. See also William A. Krauss's letter printed in "Department of Amplification," *New Yorker*, 14 Jan. 1939, 14 and Hugh Parry's letter printed in "Department of Amplification," *New Yorker*, 25 Feb. 1939, 54–55. There were various rumors that Hitler had been killed, one of which was told in the form of the anonymously published book *The Strange Death of Adolf Hitler*. According to the publishers, the book (published in early 1939) was written by Maximilian Bauer, one of Hitler's "doubles." Bauer maintained that Hitler was poisoned by high Nazi officials at the

next issue, from 4 March, included a mocking report by Russell Maloney on the recent meeting of the anti-Semitic German-American Bund. The event had taken place in honor of George Washington at Madison Square Garden on 20 February, and a confrontation broke out between storm troopers and anti-Nazi demonstrators.[118]

The *New Yorker*'s anti-Nazi commentary, articles and news coverage should not have surprised Gieseking, especially now that there was widespread fear throughout the world that Germany would soon start a new war.[119] During his most recent Reichstag speech on 30 January, Hitler had announced, "If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe."[120] In response, *Time* magazine wrote: "Every time Führer Adolf Hitler gets ready to make a speech the world gets scared. Every time he gets through making a speech the world is relieved that he has not immediately plunged it into war."[121] One wonders how much, if at all, American news coverage and writings might have begun to affect Gieseking's opinion of the Hitler regime or open his eyes. Since this would be his last American tour until years after the war, however, he would soon be largely, if not entirely, cut off from the American media. At the conflict's outbreak, the hitherto available foreign papers from countries such as the U.S. and

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time of the Munich Agreement in late September 1938, while dining with Goering, Goebbels, von Ribbentrop, and others. "Author Declares he Impersonated Hitler," *Harvard Crimson*, 3 Mar. 1939; Maximilian Bauer, *The Strange Death of Adolf Hitler* (New York: Macaulay, 1939).

[118] Maloney, "Heil Washington," A Reporter at Large, *New Yorker*, 4 Mar. 1939.

[119] For examples of the widespread fear of war, see "When War Comes," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 Feb. 1939; "Halifax Says Britain Ready," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 Feb. 1939; Genêt [Janet Flanner], "Letter from Paris," *New Yorker*, 11 Feb. 1939; and Leon Oliver, "War Scares," *Daily Boston Globe*, 18 Feb. 1939.

[120] "Germany: Reactions to Hitler," *Time*, 13 Feb. 1939, accessed 22 May 2011, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,771516,00.html.

[121] Ibid.

England, which were sold at kiosks in the Reich, were immediately prohibited.[122] And while listening to news broadcast by foreign stations, the British Broadcasting Corporation, better known as the BBC, for example, was one way for Germans to receive uncensored news throughout the fighting, this too would be outlawed on 1 September 1939, the day Hitler's forces invaded Poland.[123] Listening was obviously done, but was risky; and violators caught did not escape punishment.[124] Of course, Gieseking would have been able to access a variety of foreign news coverage as he continued his international career in Europe throughout the hostilities, particularly in neutral Switzerland, where he appeared each season numerous times.

The John Kirkpatrick Concert of 24 February

On 24 February, Gieseking attended a Town Hall recital given by the American pianist John Kirkpatrick (1905–1991). Kirkpatrick had premiered composer Charles Ives's (1874–1954) *Concord Sonata* in January, first privately and then before a modest audience at Town Hall.[125] The concert had "so many repercussions," wrote *New Yorker* critic Clifton Faulman, "that Mr. Kirkpatrick returned to Town Hall last week [24

[122] Hans Dieter Schäfer, *Das gespaltene Bewußtsein: Über deutsche Kultur und Lebenswirklichkeit, 1933–1945* (Munich: Hanser, 1981), 127.

[123] "Das Abhören ausländischer Sender ist verboten!: Verordnung über außerordentliche Rundfunkmaßnahmen," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Berlin edition, 2 Sept. 1939. Information on Germans listening to foreign broadcasts, including those of the BBC, can be found in Fritz Karl Michael Hillenbrand, *Underground Humour in Nazi Germany, 1933–1945* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 174–77. More discussion of Germans receiving foreign news during WWII will follow in Chapter 8.

[124] See, for example, "Der Führer darf das gar nicht wissen," *Der Spiegel*, 12 December 1965, accessed 20 June 2011, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46275329.html.

[125] Information regarding these performances is found in James B. Sinclair, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music of Charles Ives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 194.

February] for an all-Ives program that included a repetition of the Sonata."[126] Gieseking left an account of the February performance:

> That evening I was at a concert (as a paying guest, in fact: 40 cents for a good seat at that back of the hall). Performed were compositions by an approximately 65-year-old American [Charles Ives, who was 62 at the time], who had run an insurance company and wrote countless works on the side. Piano pieces and songs. The man has enormous talent. It's only too bad that he never learned to compose better. A sonata [the *Concord*] lasted 50 minutes (the critics here have written much about it), was not at all too boring, however. The pianist [Kirkpatrick] (for once an Aryan) played excellently, though! And the sonata was extremely difficult.[127]

Gieseking's perceptive criticism of Ives's unorthodox approach to composing is amusing to read today, although one suspects that Ives might have taken it as a compliment. Little did Gieseking know how important Ives would become, although he must have realized that Kirkpatrick had a fine career ahead of him. More significant than Gieseking's comments on the concert, however, is his description of an incident that occurred just after the performance, reflecting self-delusion:

> Concerts here are only uncomfortable for me because the public naturally knows me too well. At the end of this concert, a young girl approached me, wanted to know if she could ask me a question. Then she asked: "Are you a Nazi?" I played so wonderfully, etc. they all admired me and so on, [the girl continued,] that it would be terrible to have to think that I was a Nazi. I gave her a few answers, was probably quite gruff. What nerve to come ask me such questions, but when one sees the newspapers here it is no wonder that such a fool comes with stupid

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[126] Faulman, "Many Keyboards—Wagner Everywhere," Musical Events, *New Yorker*, 4 Mar. 1939, 47–8. The noted New York critic Lawrence Gilman's enthusiastic review of Kirkpatrick's first Town Hall appearance was largely responsible for the recent publicity. "Biographical Sketch," the John Kirkpatrick Papers, MSS 56, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University, accessed 11 June 2011, http://drs.library.yale.edu:8083/saxon/SaxonServlet?style=http://drs.library.yale.edu:8083/saxon/EAD/yul.ead2002.xhtml.xsl&source=http://drs.library.yale.edu:8083/fedora/get/music:mss.0056/EAD#N6.

[127] "[A]n dem Abend war ich (sogar zahlender Gast, 40 cents für einen guten Platz hinten im Saal) in einem Konzert, wo Kompositionen von einem etwa 65 jährigen Amerikaner, der ein Versicherungsgeschäft betrieben hat und nebenbei unzählige Werke schrieb, aufgeführt wurden. Klaviersachen und Lieder. Der Mann [Ives] hat enormes Talent, schade, dass er nicht besser komponieren gelernt hat. Eine Sonata dauerte 50 Minuten, (die Kritiken hier haben viel darüber geschrieben) war dabei aber garnicht so langweilig, allerdings spielte der Pianist [Kirkpatrick] (ausnahmsweise mal ein Arier) vorzüglich! Dabei war die Sonata äusserst schwer." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Mar. 1939, GFA. Ives's output comprises a range of genres, of course, not merely piano works and lieder.

> questions. The best reply came to me afterward: I should have said: "I only have to stay here in America a little longer, then I'd become a real one[.]"[128]

The above passage deserves some comment as it tells us several things. Gieseking probably told the woman, in so many words, that she was completely misinformed, that the reports about Germany were usually unfounded and exaggerated—as he sincerely believed to be the case. He must have made it clear how much the question insulted him, and he very well may have defended the Hitler regime and even admitted to being a Nazi, at least at some level. (*If* he had boasted about being a Nazi to Arthur Rubinstein in Belgium in 1938—an incident that may or may not have happened—then why would he not have done so here to this young woman?) The "best reply" Gieseking thought of afterward can be interpreted in two ways. First, again, he may have thought himself a Nazi by that point, but wished to evade admitting to it. A second interpretation is that he denied being a "real" Nazi, perhaps considering himself more moderate. We must remember that he never joined the Nazi Party and perhaps for that reason—despite all evidence of him occasionally identifying with the Hitler regime and the increase in his anti-Semitic remarks since 1933—he surely did not consider himself a true, far-right National Socialist. There never would be indisputable evidence of Gieseking's being a self-proclaimed Nazi. Of course, his definition of a bona fide Nazi is unknowable, but Germans would have naturally distinguished the moderates from the extremists. The

[128] "Konzerte hier sind nur unangenehm für mich, weil mich das Publikum doch zu sehr kennt. Am Schluss dieses Konzert kam ein junges Mädchen auf mich los, ob sie mich was fragen dürfte, dann fragte sie: are you a Nazi? Ich spielte so wundervoll, etc. sie alle bewunderten mich so, u.s.w. da wäre es ihnen schrecklich, wenn sie denken müssten, dass ich ein Nazi wäre. Ich gab ihr ein paar entsprechende Antworten, wurde vermutlich ziemlich grob. Es ist eine Unverschämtheit, mit solchen Fragen zu kommen, aber wenn man die Zeitungen hier sieht, muss man sich ja nicht wundern, wenn eine solche dumme Gans mit dämlichen Fragen kommt. Die beste Antwort fiel mir erst hinterher ein: ich hätte sagen müssen: ich muss nur noch etwas länger hier in Amerika sein, dann würde ich a real one[.]" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Mar. 1939, GFA.

"best reply" suggests that Gieseking was deluding himself and reacting to what he perceived as unjustly negative accusations against Germany. It was a sarcastic comment on America, where he had by now witnessed much anti-Semitism among the public—such as Emerson Whithorne's and Lambros Callimahos's—so that, in his view, staying in the U.S. could turn a person into a Nazi.

More Mingling with German Diplomats

After performing Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto in Baltimore on 7 March—"it was yet another so-called great success"—Gieseking traveled back to Washington D.C.[129] The next day he spent part of the day and the late evening socializing with two officials from the German Embassy, most notably Dr. Hans Thomsen, who was now chargé d'affaires.[130] Hitler had recalled his Ambassador to the U.S., Hans Dieckhoff, on 18 November 1938 upon learning that Roosevelt had removed the U.S. Ambassador to Germany, Hugh Wilson, four days earlier because of the recent *Kristallnacht* pogrom (8–9 November). Thus, Thomsen had become Hitler's first man in Washington.[131] Describing Thomsen at that time, Joseph E. Persico has recently written:

> Thomsen [was] a tall, handsome, blond-haired, exquisitely mannered German of Norwegian ancestry. The clever Thomsen and his glamorous wife, Bebe, managed to soften the appearance of serving a vile regime by playing the good Germans. After nazi storm troopers smashed 815 Jewish shop windows, burned 76 synagogues, and murdered 36 Jews in 1938, a moment burned into

[129] "[E]s war wieder ein sogenannter grosser Erfolg. . . ." Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[130] Having been in the German diplomatic corps since 1918, Thomsen (1891–1968) first served as counselor of the German Embassy in Washington starting in 1936 before becoming chargé d'affaires upon Dieckhoff's recall in November 1938. Thomsen would fill this position until the U.S. declared war on Germany in December 1941, causing a termination of U.S.-German relations. Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 505.

[131] Tibor Frank, ed. *Discussing Hitler: Advisers of U.S. Diplomacy in Central Europe, 1934–1941* (New York: Central European Press, 2003) 209n54.

> history as Kristallnacht, Bebe would burst into tears at diplomatic receptions, almost on cue, to bewail the awful things the Nazis were doing.
>
> The ambitious Thomsen nevertheless continued to serve his Führer with shrewdness and style.[132]

At one o'clock, Thomsen picked up Gieseking. The two men dined together and then took a drive. Gieseking wrote: "I ate at his house. He was alone, as his wife was in Florida. After lunch he drove me through the park by way of detour back to the hotel."[133] Gieseking then prepared for and gave his concert in Washington that evening, after which he again joined Thomsen along with two others whom he did not identify by name. One of them had been a member of the Foreign Service of Austria, which had been annexed almost exactly one year earlier, on 12 March 1938. Unfortunately, Gieseking gave no further account of what the subjects of conversation had been, relaying only the following description of the evening to Annie:

> Subsequently I was with Thomsen and another man from the embassy for some time at the former Austrian envoy's place, whose wife bugged me so much for encores at the embassy last year. This time there was no music, but rather genuine Pilsner beer in bottles, which was not good, though.[134]

As early as 1 March, Gieseking had explained to his wife that there would probably not be a concert at the German Embassy on account of Ambassador Dieckhoff's absence;

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[132] Persico, *Roosevelt's Secret War: FDR and World War II Espionage* (New York: Random House, 2001), 46. In the U.S., Thomsen contributed to Goebbels's anti-Jewish propaganda ironically by supporting the dissemination of a small book titled "Germany must Perish," by an unknown American Jew, Theodore Newman. Newman recommended the eradication of the Germans through sterilization. Thomsen's real purpose, of course, was to propagate the "revolting idea" and thereby serve Goebbels's propaganda schemes in the Reich. Goebbels, who referred to Newman as "Nathan Kaufmann"—using him to represent the voice of the American Jews—tactically exploited the publication to argue effectively for the deportation of Jews from Germany as of the fall of 1941. Eckart Conze et al., *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit: Deutsche Diplomaten im Dritten Reich und in der Bundesrepublik*, rev. ed. (Munich: Random House [Pantheon], 2012), 194–95.

[133] "Ich ass bei ihm zu Hause, er war allein, seine Frau in Florida, nach dem Lunch fuhr er mich durch den Park auf Umwegen ins Hotel zurück." Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[134] "[D]anach war ich einige Zeit mit Thomsen und einem andern Herrn der Botschaft beim früheren österreichischen Gesandten, dessen Frau voriges Jahr auf der Botschaft so sehr um Zugaben quälte. Diesmal gab es keine Musik, sondern echtes Pilsner in Flaschen, das aber garnicht gut war." Ibid.

Thomsen, he had heard, had no interest in arranging such social gatherings.[135] Gieseking had indeed been right about there being no recital, but he must have therefore been all the more surprised by Thomsen's efforts to spend time with him. This would prove to be the last occasion when Gieseking mingled with Nazi officials in the U.S.[136]

The Ford Sunday Evening Hour of 12 March

In March, Gieseking was scheduled to perform under Ormandy again, this time in Detroit as part of the Ford Sunday Evening Hour radio show. The popular program was broadcast nationally by all eighty-six stations of the CBS network, and among the many illustrious guest musicians who appeared on it were Jascha Heifetz, José Iturbi, Rosa Ponselle, Mischa Elman, Yehudi Menuhin, Myra Hess, Kirsten Flagstad, Marian Anderson, and Oscar Levant.[137] While the orchestra was normally led by Victor Kolar, the Detroit Symphony Orchestra's associate director, guest conductors included Sir Thomas Beecham, Artur Rodzinski, George Szell, Fritz Reiner, and others.[138] In 1939, participating artists received anywhere from $350 to as much as $5,000 (Heifetz's pay) per appearance. Conductors earned between $600 and $1,500—Ormandy received this top amount.[139] Attendance was free and the packed performances were, after 1936,

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[135] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[136] For two studies on German diplomats during the Third Reich see Eckart Conze et al., *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit* and Paul Seabury, *The Wilhelmstrasse: A Study of German Diplomats Under the Nazi Regime* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954).

[137] David Lanier Lewis, *The Public Image of Henry Ford: An American Folk Hero and His Company* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 315.

[138] Ibid., 316.

[139] Ibid., 316.

broadcast from Detroit's Masonic Temple—Michigan's largest hall, which at that time seated five thousand.[140]

Gieseking was originally supposed to perform on the Sunday show on 19 March, but because a singer fell ill, his appearance was moved forward one week.[141] He did not seem to mind this, although he regretted the resulting loss of public exposure: "The schedule change has caused me to miss out on a lot of publicity, for this Ford Hour is, of course, advertised everywhere. Yet it was too late [to announce my appearance] in many cases."[142] Gieseking was happy to see that Wagner covered the train costs from New York to Detroit, and although the Ford company provided him with a chauffeur-driven car in the Motor City, he remarked to Annie how "the driver's tips made it more expensive than if I had taken a cab each time." [143] Gieseking had always been frugal.

On 12 March, Gieseking rehearsed for the show with Ormandy from noon until 2:30 and also played through his solo pieces. He described the evening performance to Annie: "The radio concert was at 9 o'clock, a dreadfully mixed program. I played the last movement of Beethoven's E-flat [the "Emperor" Piano Concerto], Ravel's "Ondine" and the "Fledermaus" Fantasy(!). Ormandy conducted (well), the Detroit Orchestra played. In the hall were some 5,000 listeners (free admission), and the whole thing lasted exactly one hour."[144]

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[140] Lewis, *The Public Image of Henry Ford*, 316.

[141] Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[142] "[I]ch habe durch die Verlegung viel Reklame verloren, weil diese Ford Hour (Radiostunde) doch überall angekündigt wird, wofür es in vielen Fällen zu spät war." Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[143] Ibid.

[144] "Um 9 war das Radiokonzert, scheusslich gemischtes Programm, ich spielte den letzten Satz von Beethoven Es-dur, Ravel Ondine und Fledermaus-Fantasie(!) Ormandy dirigierte (gut), das Detroit Orchester spielte. Im Saal waren etwa 5000 Zuhörer (gratis), das ganze dauerte genau eine Stunde." Ibid.

Many of the Ford show's fervent listeners naturally sent in letters after airings, and when Gieseking was back in New York, he picked up a collection of fan mail.[145] He had been receiving more correspondence than ever, surely because of the rise in his popularity, but much of this newest post pertained to the radio appearance. Some who wrote in compared his performance to that of Artur Schnabel's from the same day. Schnabel (1882–1951) was at that time probably most famous as an interpreter of Beethoven's music, as he had somewhat recently become the first pianist to record the great composer's complete thirty-two Piano Sonatas, which he did for His Master's Voice (HMV) between 1932 and 1935.[146] "I have received quite a lot of letters from various people lately," Gieseking wrote, adding, "Some found my Beethoven playing much more beautiful than Schnabel's (who also played on the 12th over the radio, only the entire E-flat [Piano Concerto of Beethoven's])—he is probably getting letters that express the opposite opinion."[147] Through such broadcast engagements, in addition to the nationwide press coverage and substantial marketing done by his managers and Columbia records, Gieseking was becoming a household name for many Americans.

[Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.] Die "Fledermaus" Fantasie, which Gieseking had once called "Mist" ("garbage") despite occasionally programming it, was most likely Alfred Grünfeld's (1852–1924) once relatively popular *Johann Strauss II: Transcriptions & Paraphrases for Solo Piano – Die Fledermaus*, op. 56. Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Feb. 1934, GFA.

[145] Lewis, *The Public Image of Henry Ford*, 315.

[146] Schnabel's recordings have been reissued in recent years and remain popular. See, for example, Schnabel, *Beethoven Piano Sonatas*, recorded 1932–35, EMI CDHH 7 63765 2, 1991, 8 CDs.

[147] "Ich bekam ziemlich viel Briefe in der letzen Zeit, verschiedene Leute schrieben, sie hätten mein Beethovenspiel viel schöner gefunden als Schnabel's (der auch am 12. im Radio, aber das ganze Es-dur, spielte)—vermutlich bekommt er Briefe mit der gegenteiligen Behauptung." Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

The Steinway Offer and the Baldwin Piano Company

Gieseking's success had, probably for some time now, caught the attention of the Steinway & Sons piano company, which was now hoping to sign him on as a Steinway artist.[148] In March, Alexander "Sascha" Greiner (1888–1958), who from 1928 to 1958 managed Steinway's concert and artist department, contacted the pianist by phone to arrange a meeting.[149] Naturally, Greiner was well aware that Gieseking had been a Baldwin artist for his American appearances since the start of his U.S. career, and that in Europe he played Grotrian-Steinweg pianos exclusively, with only rare exceptions.[150] Gieseking had on a few occasions performed on a Steinway grand and had on at least one occasion recognized the instrument as being superior to the Grotrian pianos. On 9 December 1934, for instance, he relayed the following incident to Annie:

> Today the concert was not at all so taxing because in Bergamo [Italy] there was a Steinway! The same program yesterday was terribly stressful on a soft Grotrian. It was as if I had been pulled out of the water [because I had worked up such a sweat]. Today I did not even need to change clothes afterward, yet everything [on the program] sounded at least as loud and powerful. I had a little scare at the beginning of the concert, when my right, 4th finger was causing a lot of pain and almost gave out on me, probably because of yesterday's exertion. (This is all embarrassing for the Grotrians, but they need to know about this.)[151]

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[148] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19–21 Mar. 1938, GFA.

[149] Theodore E. Steinway, *People and Pianos: A Pictorial History of Steinway & Sons* (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard, 2005), 147.

[150] This is made clear by the many surviving programs in the GFA that indicate that Grotrian-Steinweg pianos were used. The company also loaned Gieseking a grand piano for his home until his death. Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, 13 Oct. 2009.

[151] "Heute hat mich das Konzert allerdings garnicht so sehr angestrengt und zwar weil in Bergamo ein Steinway war! Dasselbe Programm gestern auf einem weichen Grotrian war fürchterlich anstrengend, ich war wie aus dem Wasser gezogen. Heute brauchte ich mich nicht mal umzuziehen, dabei hat alles mindestens so laut und kräftig geklungen. Einen kleinen Schreck kriegte ich am Anfang des Konzerts, wo mein rechter 4ten Finger ziemlich weh tat und beinahe streikte, wahrscheinlich eine Folge von der gestrigen Anstrengung. (Dies ist alles peinlich für Grotrian's, aber erfahren müssen die das mal.)" Gieseking, Milan, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Dec. 1934, GFA.

On 20 March 1936, Gieseking paid the visit to Greiner, whom he found "most amiable" ("äusserst liebenswürdig").[152] Greiner explained that there had been a misunderstanding in Hamburg, apparently on the part of Gieseking's German manager, Goette, and he reassured the pianist that, were he to accept Steinway's offer, he would have to play Steinway pianos only in Europe, not in the U.S.[153] "[W]hen Dr. Goette hears this, he will probably give a nasty sneer," Gieseking told Annie afterward.[154] Unfortunately, Gieseking does not make it clear as to why Goette responded so critically, but the latter must have been pleased with the existing Grotrian-Steinweg sponsorship and not keen on the Steinway proposal. In any case, Gieseking, perhaps because of Goette, declined the offer, which would have doubtless been a more profitable agreement than that with Grotrian-Steinweg judging from Steinway's international success and prominence. Gieseking was never to become a Steinway artist, but the firm continued to respect him as one of the world's foremost classical performers. Nearly two decades later, after learning of his death in 1956, the Steinway office in Berlin sent Gieseking's daughter Jutta a condolence letter. From it we read: "Today [29 October] Berlin was expecting to have him [Gieseking] give another one of his magnificent concerts. The hard fate was stronger, however, and so we are now left only with the memory of one of the greatest musicians of his time, one whom we shall never forget."[155]

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[152] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19–21 Mar. 1938, GFA.

[153] Ibid.

[154] "[W]enn Dr. Goette dies hört, wird er wohl boshaft grinsen." Gieseking, Cincinnati, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 25 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[155] "Heute erwartete Berlin ihn wieder zu einem seiner herrlichen Konzerte. Das harte Geschick aber ist stärker gewesen, und so verbleibt uns nur die Erinnerung an einen der größten Musiker seiner Zeit, der auch uns unvergessen bleiben wird." Steinway and Sons [signature illegible], Berlin, to Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 29 Oct. 1956, GFA.

At the time of the Steinway offer, Gieseking relayed to Annie an anti-Semitic joke Pohlman had recently told him, which involved the "big boss" ("hohen Herrn"). The context of the letter shows that this was a reference to Lucien Wulsin Jr., CEO of the Baldwin Piano and Organ Company. The joke, as retold by Gieseking, went as follows:

> He [Wulsin Jr.] is with his most important helpers and someone says: "It smells like someone here hasn't washed his feet!"
> [Wulsin's] reply: "Sure, I've kicked so many Jews in the . . . (fired them), that it's no wonder if my feet smell!"[156]

Pohlman had heard it told by some of Baldwin's piano movers, Gieseking explained, "who, based on this, are also not exactly pro-Jewish!" ("die demnach auch nicht gerade philosemitisch eingestellt sind!").[157] The incident suggests that Wulsin had dismissed Jewish workers solely for racial reasons, but this has not been confirmed. Furthermore, a number of notable Baldwin artists were Jewish, pianists Josef Lhevinne and Harold Bauer to name but two.[158] It also implies that Gieseking's contentment with the Baldwin company may have been partly owing to its pro-German outlook. Yet this would not explain why he and Goette did not accept the Steinway offer, as the Steinway family was not Jewish. According to one report, during WWII Steinway's competitors in the U.S. circulated stories that the company was pro-Nazi, while its rivals in Germany disseminated lies that the firm was Jewish owned.[159] Gieseking and Goette must have

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[156] "Dieser ist mit seinen nächsten Helfern zusammen, da meint jemand: hier muss sich einer die Füsse nicht gewaschen haben, so riecht es hier! Antwort: gewiss, ich habe doch so viele Juden in den . . [.] getreten (rausgeschmissen), da ist es doch kein Wunder, if my feet smell!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[157] Ibid.

[158] A brochure from the 1940s lists many more Baldwin artists, and including Jewish conductor-composer Leonard Bernstein and Jewish composers Aaron Copland and Darius Milhaud. William Osborne, *Music in Ohio* (Kent: Kent State Press, 2004), 487.

[159] "Henry Z. Steinway," Obituaries, *Telegraph*, 5 Nov. 2008, accessed 15 June 2011, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/3387171/Henry-Z-Steinway.html.

known that the Steinways were not Jews, however, and Gieseking did, after all, meet with Greiner to learn more about the offer.

Canada in Mid-March

Gieseking was also popular in parts of Canada and regularly made a small number of appearances there during his North American tours. After he gave a recital comprising German classics, which included Bach's Italian Concerto, a work by Mozart, and Beethoven's last Piano Sonata, op. 111, Edward W. Wodson of the *Toronto Evening Telegram* described the virtuoso performer's "Royal Artistry" in another colorful review:

> Gieseking is one of the kings of the piano. His technique is so tremendous that the music lover has only to sit back and hear how he uses it. Thunders and zephyrs—tornados and organ legatos—lightning scales and lingering melodies—crashing chords and flowing counterpoints—babbling brooks and rock-splitting crashes—two hands that leap and scurry like six and fingers that have a hundred shades in their touch; these are mere details to Gieseking, like the vocabulary of a Shakespeare or the vocal cords of an orator. But how he uses them—and when—this is where his kingship comes in. He towers over the piano like a giant and in sforzando passages he is terrifying—and then his touch turns gossamer and silky, coaxing and pleading and persuading and praying with the accents of poetry tranquil and refreshing.[160]

Because of the war and postwar politics that would soon begin to hinder his career, Gieseking's many Canadian fans would be unable to receive him again until 1952. That would, nonetheless, be sooner than his return to public venues on the U.S. mainland, where he was to remain a *persona non grata* for even a year longer.

[160] Wodson, "Royal Artistry Distinguishes Piano Recital," Music Notes, *Toronto Evening Telegram*, 17 Mar. 1939.

Gieseking's Tolerance Lessens

By the spring of 1939, Americans were increasingly discussing Germany and the European pre-war situation, while Gieseking was becoming noticeably less tolerant of the frequent anti-German remarks and American news reports on Germany. He continued to believe that the American media was reporting unfounded information and stretching the truth, as the following excerpt from a letter to Annie of 19 March shows. In a statement that reflects further self-delusion, Gieseking mentions Clara Meyer, an acquaintance from St. Louis:

> I also really gave Clara Meyer a piece of my mind because she always tries to make veiled criticisms of Germany. You will surely make a grimace when you see that I sometimes have patriotic outbursts. During the last days, I got terribly angry over the disgraceful distortions in the newspapers here. In the headlines, everything is made out to be much worse than what is in the article, and rumors are given as facts, all based on the presumption that the Americans only read the headlines. Well, why should I bring up politics, which of course doesn't interest you much?[161]

At this time, Gieseking noted how in New York's Central Park he sometimes saw "appalling individuals" ("fürchterliche Typen"), "also often German-speaking Jews, who without any retouching would fit right in the *Der Stürmer* [newspaper]. There are also Negroes and Chinese and everything else, only Aryan Americans are few in number!"[162] Gieseking may have been partly influenced by the Nazis' widespread racial propaganda, and it is notable that he referred specifically to *Der Stürmer*—the infamously anti-Semitic

[161] "Clara Meyer habe ich auch ziemlich gründlich was aufs Dach gegeben, weil die immer versteckte Kritik an Deutschland versucht. Du verziehst sicher Dein Gesicht, wenn Du siehst, dass ich patriotische Anfälle bekomme, ich konnte mich aber in den letzten Tagen fürchterlich über die infamen Verdrehungen der Zeitungen hier ärgern. In der Überschrift wird alles viel schlimmer gemacht als es dann in dem Artikel steht und Gerüchte als Tatsachen bezeichnet, alles in der Voraussetzung, dass der Amerikaner nur die Überschrift liest. Na, was soll ich Politik erwähnen, die Dich doch nicht viel interessiert?" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[162] The original sentence reads: "Übrigens sieht man im Central Park manchmal fürchterliche Typen, auch oft deutschsprechende Juden, die unretouchiert in den Stürmer passen würden. Dazu Neger und Chinesen und alles Mögliche, nur arische Amerikaner sind selten!" Ibid.

weekly edited by Julius Streicher from 1923 through February 1945.[163] The publication was also known for the caricatures by Streicher's cartoonist, Philipp Rupprecht (1900–75), who used the penname "Fips." Describing what he called "the most notorious newspaper ever published," Richard Levy writes, "Fips presented Jews as ugly, fat, dirty, sex-obsessed, and evil individuals."[164]

In the same letter of 19 March, Gieseking then explained to Annie how the pianist-composer Isador Achron (1892–1948), had wished to play his newly written piano concerto for him. Isador was the brother of the more famous composer-violinist Joseph Achron. Born in Warsaw, he had studied at the St. Petersburg Conservatory and emigrated to the U.S. in 1922, where he became legendary violinist Jascha Heifetz's (1901–87) accompanist.[165] We have seen how Gieseking was often obliging when composers approached him for this reason. As made clear in his letter, however, this time he created the excuse that he had "no time" ("keine Zeit") for this, simply because Achron was Jewish.[166]

Arthur Bernstein Emigrates to the U.S. via London

Yet there is an opposing and significant side to the question of Gieseking's apparent anti-Jewish bias, which pertains to his relationship with his former German-

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[163] For a recent study of Streicher as editor of *Der Stürmer*, see Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Nazi Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper* Der Stürmer (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001).

[164] Richard S. Levy, *Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005), s.v. "*Stürmer, Der*."

[165] Gdal Saleski, *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race* (New York: Bloch, 1927), s.v. "Isador Achron."

[166] When Gieseking described Achron in the letter to Annie, he wrote: "Komponist, der Name verrät das übrige" ("Composer, the name says the rest"). Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Mar. 1939, GFA.

Jewish manager Arthur Bernstein and family. During the tour, Gieseking was also occasionally occupied with assisting Arthur's son, Hans Bernstein (1903–1977), who was now living in the U.S. and for professional reasons (perhaps by this time) had changed his name to Harold Byrns. (Still a student at Harvard, Leonard Bernstein had not yet popularized the name.)[167]

Byrns was a talented and respected conductor and orchestrator who had studied at Berlin's Stern Conservatory and with such figures as Erich Kleiber, Franz Schreker, Leo Blech, and, according to some sources, also Gieseking.[168] He had been engaged as conductor at opera houses in northern Germany before the Nazis brought an abrupt end to his career there. Consequently, Hans fled to Italy in 1933 (possibly in 1934), but this plan failed. After concertizing in the southern country in January 1935, Gieseking mentioned to Annie the hopeless position in which the young exile found himself: "I also spoke to Hans Bernstein and his wife; he is in a really difficult situation. He cannot do anything anywhere, hasn't secured a single engagement!"[169] Hans soon turned his thoughts to the United States, to which he immigrated to the U.S. the following year, initially staying in New York City before settling down in Los Angeles.

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[167] Gene Lees, *The Musical Worlds of Lerner and Loewe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 44–45; Dirk Böttcher, Klaus Mlynek, Waldemar R. Röhrbein, Hugo Thielen, et al., *Hannoversches Biographisches Lexikon: Von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart* (Hanover: Schlütersche, 2002), s.v. "Byrns, Harold."

[168] See, for example, Böttcher et al., *Hannoversches Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v. "Byrns, Harold." While it is quite possible that Gieseking gave Hans piano lessons while they were both living in Hanover, there is no record of the former ever mentioning this.

[169] Gieseking seems to have met Hans and his wife while in Rome. "Hans Bernstein u[nd] Frau sprach ich ja auch, der hat es wirklich schwer, nirgends kann er was tun, hat kein einziges Engagement!" Gieseking, Geneva, to Annie, letter, 30 Jan. 1935, GFA.

In the early part of 1939, Hans, being rightfully concerned about his parents, finally moved forward with his plans to get them out of Germany while he still could.[170] On 9 February, Gieseking mentioned to Annie that Hans wished to speak to him at once and that they had agreed to meet at the hotel the next morning.[171] After the discussion, Gieseking reported to his wife that Hans, while still earning very little in the U.S., was nevertheless planning to get his parents there that October.[172] While Gieseking made no further comment regarding the Bernsteins, he must have agreed to help Hans carry out his plan in some way, presumably through further financial support. His many connections in either England, the U.S., or Germany may have been needed as well.[173]

Later that month, on 29 February, Hans spoke to Gieseking again about his intentions. "I met Hans B. below [at Columbia Records studios in New York]," Gieseking wrote home, "who told me that his parents would be traveling to England next month. The two [Arthur Bernstein and his wife] will doubtless finally be happy then!"[174] Gieseking was obviously no longer in regular contact with Arthur, presumably since the buyout in 1937 or shortly thereafter, when he had begun to be managed solely by Rudolf

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[170] There is some confusion over the year when Bernstein and his wife left Germany. In Gieseking's memoir, he gives 1937. In his postwar interrogation, he says 1935. The private correspondence with Annie, however, substantiates that 1939 is the correct year of their flight. Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 67; Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," [1].

[171] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[172] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, letter, 10 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[173] In an earlier letter of 8 October 1937, Gieseking mentions that "Hans Bernstein has not yet shown up" ("Hans Bernstein ist noch nicht aufgetaucht."). It is uncertain, though certainly possible, if they were planning to meet already in order to discuss Hans's plans to get his parents to the U.S. Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Oct. 1937, GFA.

[174] "[Ich] traf unten Hans B. [Bernstein], der mir erzählte, dass seine Eltern nächsten Monat nach England führen, dann sind die beiden auch wahrscheinlich erstmal froh!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, letter, 29 Feb. 1939, GFA.

Goette.[175] Yet Gieseking and the Bernsteins were still on cordial terms, for Hans otherwise surely would not have bothered to go to him for assistance.

The final record we have of Gieseking meeting with Hans comes from a letter of 31 March 1939. Gieseking mentioned to Annie that he had visited one Dr. Schwarz because of Hans Bernstein that day.[176] He writes nothing more about the visit, but this again corroborates that he continued to support Hans's efforts. It only remains unclear as to what exactly Gieseking did to facilitate the Bernsteins' emigration. We do know that Arthur and his wife safely arrived in America that year, perhaps in October as their son had originally planned. Once Hans had managed to get them to England, though, he might have succeeded in bringing them to the U.S. even sooner. He doubtless wished for this.

Gieseking later claimed that he and Goette gave Arthur Bernstein "a lot of money" upon his departure from Hamburg to help him get restarted in the United States.[177] When Kaven cross-examined Goette, the latter mentioned only that Gieseking had handed Bernstein 1,500 RM at that time.[178] Additionally, Gieseking's American manager Charles Wagner would maintain that he and his client both provided Arthur and Hans with letters of introduction to facilitate their initial search for employment.[179] "When Bernstein's son, Hans, came to this country," Wagner later explained after the

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[175] A lack of any mention of the Bernsteins in Gieseking's correspondence with Annie since 1937 also supports the notion that he and Bernstein no longer kept in regular touch.

[176] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, letter, 31 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[177] Charles L. Wagner, "Walter Gieseking's Record," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 Feb. 1949.

[178] When Kaven repeated what Goette said, Gieseking answered with: "I'll have to check up on this." Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," [1].

[179] Wagner, "Walter Gieseking's Record," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 Feb. 1949.

war, “Gieseking gave him a letter to me, here in New York, asking my aid in securing a job for him.”[180]

There is virtually no documentation of the subsequent relationship between Gieseking and the Bernsteins. In August 1948, however, Gieseking wrote “Mr. Byrnes [*sic*],” (certainly Arthur, who had also changed his name, and *not* Hans Bernstein[181]) to try to clarify only vaguely identified matters. We read, for example: “This one [Bernstein] I wrote very straightforwardly about the rumors, the anonymous letter, and asked him if he felt that he had been mistreated?”[182] It is not entirely clear what Gieseking was referring to, but Arthur Bernstein must have read and heard reports discussing his erstwhile client. Gieseking had, by that time, become the subject of heated controversy in the United States, having been accused of collaborating and sympathizing with the Nazis. And someone had apparently written Bernstein a damning letter about the pianist, presumably containing such accusations. Gieseking’s above remark further suggests that he was uncertain whether Arthur would be willing to forgive him. In any case, they were no longer in regular contact, if at all, and nothing else relating to him and the Bernsteins can been gathered from that point on. Gieseking’s final known mention of Arthur appeared in his autobiographical sketch, in which he gave a brief account of what had happened to the latter during the Third Reich. In doing so, he rather apologetically explained: “I never thought that I would ever have to mention this—my wish was only to

[180] Wagner, “Walter Gieseking’s Record,” Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 Feb. 1949.

[181] Charles Wagner mentioned in February 1949 that both Hans and Arthur had altered their surname to Byrns. See ibid.

[182] “Diesem schrieb ich ganz klar über die Gerüchte, den anonymen Brief und fragte ihn, ob er sich schlecht behandelt fühlte?” Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Jutta Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Aug. 1948, GFA.

help for as long as possible my longstanding manager, whose work possibilities had become limited through no fault of his or mine."[183]

As for the Bernsteins' future in America, despite a slow restart, Hans would ultimately establish connections there with some of the world's most recognized names—Igor Stravinsky, Arnold Schoenberg, and Alma Mahler among them—and he played a large role in convincing the latter to allow the performance of her deceased husband's unfinished, Tenth Symphony as completed by Deryck Cooke.[184] Between 1945 and 1951 Hans orchestrated over thirty Hollywood films, conducted at least one, and composed the music to two more.[185] In addition, the young, ambitious musician formed the Los Angeles Chamber Symphony Orchestra in 1948 (not to confuse with today's Los Angeles Chamber Orchestra, founded in 1968), and, as conductor of the ensemble, he championed modern works—especially those of émigré composers such as Hindemith, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Toch.[186] In 1954, he would nonetheless return to Europe and continue his profession in various countries with more ample success, particularly as an orchestrator and arranger. He died in Berlin at age 73.[187]

Arthur Bernstein, on the other hand, was either near or had already reached the age of retirement upon his arrival in the U.S. The year of his death is unknown, but he

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[183] "Ich dachte nie, daß ich dies überhaupt einmal erwähnen müßte—mein Wunsch war nur, meinem langjährigen Vertreter, der ohne seine oder meine Schuld in seiner Arbeitsmöglichkeit eingreschränkt war, solange wie möglich zu helfen." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 67.

[184] Dorothy L. Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians: Hitler's Émigrés and Exiles in Southern California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 63.

[185] Byrns was usually uncredited for his film contributions. IMDb, s.v. "Byrns, Harold," accessed 10 Sept. 2013, http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0126353/.

[186] Crawford, *A Windfall of Musicians*, 63. Note that Crawford gives the year 1949 for the founding of the orchestra, but other sources, including Byrns himself, give 1948. See Byrns, "Meine Begegnung mit Arnold Schönberg," *Melos: Zeitschrift für Neue Musik*, June 1971, 234 and Böttcher et al., *Hannoversches Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v. "Byrns, Harold."

[187] Böttcher et al., *Hannoversches Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v. "Byrns, Harold."

probably did not continue his profession much longer, if at all, owing to the difficulties of reestablishing himself in the highly competitive foreign country.

Fear of War

Arthur Bernstein had made a noble attempt to continue his career and remain in Nazi Germany, but Hans had clearly realized the grave risk of letting his parents stay there any longer. In addition to the Nazis' continued oppression of the Jews, there was the increasing fear of another war with Germany. Gieseking himself soon expressed concern about this after purchasing a selection of Sunday papers on 19 March, which were "really quite saddening: warmongering and dreadful agitations [against Germany]!"[188] The Germans had just seized Czechoslovakia on 16 March, a state Hitler had promised to defend, and now the increasingly anxious world was wondering what the Führer's following move would be.[189] There were reports that Rumania would be Germany's next victim because of its resources, namely grain and oil, which Hitler's army needed.[190] Britain and France protested the latest annexation and had now decided to institute its new "stop Hitler" policy.[191] The British were consequently considering applying conscription and were having discussions with the U.S., Canada, Australia, New

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[188] "Daneben hat man ja noch die paar Kilo Sonntagszeitung, die aber recht wenig erfreulich ist: Kriegsgeschrei und eine fürchterliche Hetze!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[189] Harold Callender, "Britain is now United to Meet Nazi Threats," *New York Times*, 19 Mar. 1939.

[190] Joseph Driscoll, "Cabinet Considers Backing Rumania, Hears Nazis have 44 Divisions Ready," *Washington Post*, 19 Mar. 1939; Frederick Palmer, "Hitler is Nearer War with Nations of Europe-Palmer," *Atlanta Constitution*, 19 Mar. 1939.

[191] Harold Callender, "Britain is now United to Meet Nazi Threats," *New York Times*, 19 Mar. 1939; Bertram D. Hulen, "U.S. Raises Duites 25% on German Imports; Britain and France Protest Czech Seizure; Russian Backing Sought in Bloc to Aid Rumania," *New York Times*, 19 Mar. 1939; Joseph Driscoll, Cabinet Considers Backing Rumania, Hears Nazis have 44 Divisions Ready," *Washington Post*, 19 Mar. 1939.

Zealand, South Africa, and Ireland about backing them up should war break out.[192] In response to the Nazis march into Czechoslovakia, the U.S. announced it would increase duties 25 percent on all goods imported from Germany.[193] America was also discussing a war referendum known as the Ludlow Amendment. This would have deprived Congress of its power to declare war, calling instead for a national referendum and thereby placing the decision in the hands of the people.[194] War was indeed rapidly approaching. Yet, as we have seen, Gieseking refused to believe all that was being reported in the U.S. media and was perhaps naively still thinking that Hitler did not wish for war.

The North American Tour: Conclusion

At the end of his 1939 U.S.-Canadian tour, Gieseking made appearances in Cincinnati, Maryville, Knoxville, Norfolk, and New York, with the final concert at Columbia University on 1 April.[195] A potential engagement in San Francisco fell through, and so now he would have only the recording sessions of 3–5 April to complete before setting off to Europe on 6 April, in a "luxurious cabin" ("feudale Kabine") aboard the S.S. *Europa*.[196] He was scheduled to arrive in Bremerhaven on 14 April and would be home in Wiesbaden the same day.[197]

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[192] Driscoll, "Cabinet Considers Backing Rumania."

[193] Hulen, "U.S. Raises Duties 25% on German Imports; Britain and France Protest Czech Seizure; Russian Backing Sought in Bloc to Aid Rumania," *New York Times*, 19 Mar. 1939.

[194] "Agitated by Europe, Forces Seek War Referendum," *Daily Boston Globe*, 19 Mar. 1939; Clyde Eagleton, "War Referendum," Letters to the Editor of the Times on Issues of Current Interest, *New York Times*, 19 Mar. 1939.

[195] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[196] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 11; Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[197] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 Mar. 1939, GFA.

The tour had been his most successful yet, and within a period of less than three months, his American concerts had brought in record profits. Owing to the U.S.'s wealth and interest in the arts, Gieseking's gross earnings there in 1939 (from his concerts and recordings) were, in fact, for the first time higher than his gross income from all European countries combined.[198] Including that year's royalties received from his U.S. record sales (circa 10% of Gieseking's annual gross income), this amounted to an estimated 50,000 RM (approximately 20,080 U.S. dollars at that time)—more than half of his combined gross receipts of 92,500 RM for the entire year.[199] With his records selling out, his popularity had grown tremendously. Gieseking's reviews, too, had been overwhelmingly praiseful, and the success had led him to make a conscious decision to play better than ever: he had maintained a healthier lifestyle with fewer parties after concerts and almost no drinking, practiced piano more than usual, and put much hard work into making a series of numerous, outstanding recordings. He had quickly realized that the tour was going to be his most triumphant to date, and as early as 16 March he had written home to Annie: "The success really hasn't let up; there have never been such 'colorful' reviews. There is already supposed to be an enormous amount of requests [for me] for next season."[200] Yet Gieseking must have realized that the prospect of war was becoming ever graver, and that its outbreak could prevent next year's American tour. Indeed, on 19 March—the Sunday in which he had commented on the newspaper

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[198] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[199] Ibid. Kaven lists this amount in reichmarks only, indicating that it is for the "U.S.A." It is quite possible that Gieseking's Canadian earnings were factored into this, however, since Canada, like Mexico, is absent from his otherwise thorough postwar report. The rounded-up conversion to U.S. dollars is based on a table from Bidwell, *Currency Conversion Tables*, 22–24.

[200] "Der Erfolg ist ja unverändert, es hat noch niemals vorher so 'fasanenhafte' Kritiken gegeben. Für nächste Saison sollen schon enorm viele Anfragen vorliegen." Gieseking, Toronto, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

coverage of the threat of another conflict—he had remarked to Annie: "Miss Breid [an employee of Charles Wagner's agency] is already worried that I won't be able to (or won't want to) come here [to North America] next year; then Charlie [Wagner] will lose out on the good business with the 'Paderewski successor' (ouch!).[201] As far as can be ascertained, Gieseking had not encountered any protest against his American appearances since the California outcry of 1934 that had been organized by local Jewish groups. The next time he would return to the U.S., the situation would prove completely different. At present, the world was still at peace, however, and he was planning to return to America for another tour in 1940, breaking the every-other-year pattern he had maintained since 1935.

[201] "Miss Breid hat schon Angst, dass ich nächstes Jahr nicht kommen kann (oder will), dann entgeht Charlie das gute Geschäft mit dem ‚Paderewski-Nachfolger' (au!)." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Mar. 1939, GFA. With "ouch!" Gieseking is playfully referring to his recently being compared to Paderewski. While he seems to have respected the Polish pianist, he knew that he was by far the better pianist—though nowhere nearly as famous—especially now that Paderewski was far past his prime. The latter would, in fact, die only two years later at age 80.

Part II: The War Years

Introduction to the Wartime Chapters

Chapters 5 through 8 examine Gieseking's often mentioned, yet unstudied, activities during World War II, illustrating the extent to which his career was increasingly affected by the policies of the National Socialist regime as well as the worsening conditions created by the warfare itself. To place his engagements in context, the recurrent, varying political circumstances are, as in the previous chapters, described in depth, often with concentration on the controversial aspects. Because of the pre-eminent status Gieseking maintained throughout the fighting and the special treatment accorded to him by Nazi officialdom, the inclusion of such information, it is felt, is crucial to a solid and scholarly assessment of his career during these years. A second central aim of the wartime discussion is to provide new details, along with abundant original thought, on numerous sup-topics that lie within the larger topic of music and the Third Reich during the Second World War. As before, ample "apolitical" biographical elements are included to provide a broader view of Gieseking's life.

Wartime Sources

A word about the sources used for the following chapters. The documentation of Gieseking's activities from the time of the Polish campaign until Germany's defeat are relatively scarce compared to the wealth of surviving materials pertaining to the other periods of his adult life. Yet a sufficient—and ever increasing amount—of information from both primary and secondary sources has proven to exist, including a small collection of newspaper clippings from Gieseking's *Nachlass*, as well as unpublished

correspondence with family, friends, and even regime officials. Equally essential to this part of the study were various postwar letters and documents pertaining to Gieseking, his managers, and the occupying Allied Military Governments, as well as materials from the Foreign Office's Political Archive in Berlin. Gieseking's U.S. Military investigation records and a statement submitted to British Military Government officials by his German manager for all of Europe, Dr. Rudolf Goette, were likewise items of particular importance. The evidence from such sources is frequently integrated into the discussion not merely to add description to events, but also to elucidate the generally increasing political aspects of many of Gieseking's performances.

Severin Kaven's Investigation Records

Still in Wiesbaden after the war, Gieseking resided in what became the American zone of occupation. Within months of Germany's defeat, Severin Kaven was ordered to carry out a thorough investigation of the pianist for the occupying U.S. Forces. An émigré from Łódź, Poland, Kaven, then aged 46, to repeat, had worked for the Psychological Warfare Division of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) during the war, which evolved into the Information Control Division after VE-Day, on 12 May 1945.[1] Although it was initially an independent department, the division had become fully integrated into the Office of Military Government United States (OMGUS) by February 1946.[2]

[1] Dr. Cora Sol Goldstein, "A Strategic Failure: American Information Control Policy in Occupied Iraq," *Military Review* (Mar.–Apr. 2008): 59, accessed 11 Mar. 2012, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/goldstein_mar08.pdf.

[2] Ibid.

On 21 September 1945, Kaven interrogated the pianist, submitting a detailed report four days later to the ICD (already listed as a part of the U.S. Army) based on his findings and conclusions.[3] The result: ICD would have Gieseking blacklisted by mid-October.[4] Kaven's report drew from "interrogations of German and foreign nationals who at one time or another were connected with Gieseking's musical career; such personal files as the artist was willing to surrender for inspection; and finally, the interrogation of Gieseking himself."[5] His interrogation transcript and report provide crucial, and indeed highly critical, information pertaining to Gieseking's activities during much of the NS-period, details that cannot be found elsewhere.[6] Indubitably, they count among the most important surviving primary sources related to the pianist's activities during the Third Reich, in particular the war years, owing to the lack of extant correspondence of Gieseking's from that time. For these reasons, the Kaven documents are cited and commented on frequently, especially in Chapters 5 through 9.

Yet the Kaven records require a word of caution. Like other postwar assertions that Gieseking had sympathized and collaborated with the Hitler regime, many of Kaven's charges were criticized by the pianist and his defenders as being unfair and, in some instances, inaccurate (see Chapter 9 of the postwar discussion). When, in early 1948, the American media began to publish articles that repeated information from

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[3] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 21 Sept. 1945, 2, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking, Pianist," 25 Sept. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[4] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," 14 Mar. 1946, PR/ISC Group, Control Commission for Germany, Main HQ, Bünde, BAOR, to HQ 1 Corps District, PR/ISC Branch, Mil. Gov., file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[5] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 1.

[6] Kaven noted in his report that the pianist's files "do not cover his activities during the years 1933–1938." Consequently, he was only able to examine a relatively small number of programs and papers from this period. Ibid.

Kaven's interrogation transcript and report, Gieseking sent the following response (in English) to his American manager, Charles Wagner:

> As these accusations were never put before my eyes officially, I had never the possibility of defending myself. The U.S. investigator [Kaven] asked many questions when he came, but much of these questions was [*sic*] so silly that I couldn't take this seriously. I think too highly of American intelligence[,] and American justice is something I firmly believe in[,] and for that reason I can look at this investigator only as an overzealous military subordinate, anxious to do a job which will please his superiors. This impression made it seem useless to issue any denial. The investigator concentrat[ed] all his activity finding facts against me—this was not only my [opinion], but also Dr. Goette's opinion. When Dr. Goette, who as my European manager, knew all the facts, proved that I declined constantly invitations to play for Hitler or Goebbels, the investigator did not pay any attention to this fact.[7]

Gieseking continues to make other points that are included in the relevant discussions throughout this dissertation.

Along with his American lawyer and German and U.S. managers, Gieseking made repeated efforts to counter the list of accusations he faced after Germany's defeat, many of which were drawn directly from Kaven's report.[8] As we will see in Chapter 9, even the various occupying military governments were initially in disagreement over the pianist's history after the war. When considering Kaven's statements, it is therefore necessary that, as the French and British Military Governments had done, we weigh the

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[7] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, New York, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[8] Examples of this, the most important one being Delbert Clark's *New York Times* article of 8 February 1949 entitled "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934," will be discussed in Chapter 11. The *Nation*'s coverage of the Gieseking matter in late 1948 and early 1949, to give a second example, drew largely from Clark's article and thus indirectly from Kaven's investigation. For Clark's own defense of his charges printed in the magazine see Delbert Clark, letters to the editors, *Nation*, 22 Jan. 1949, 111. For the *Nation*'s staff's personal correspondence apropos the Gieseking affair, see Subject file: "Walter Gieseking," Series VIII, subject files: MS Am 2302 (5317), Howard M. Jones, George G. Kirstein, and Carey McWilliams Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (hereafter: "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA). In particular, see J[erry] T[allmer]'s "Memo on Walter Gieseking," (n.d. [1948], to F. K. [Freda Kirchweg], H. F. [Harold C. Field], R. B. [Robert Bendiner], et al.), in which Clark's article is mentioned as a source of information on Gieseking's record during the Nazi era.

circumstances of Gieseking's engagements as best we can ourselves, but with even greater objectivity.

Rudolf Goette's Defense

The testimony given by Gieseking's German manager, Dr. Rudolf Goette, is found in the previously mentioned six-page, typed document titled "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933" or "Overview of Walter Gieseking's Activities Since 1933."[9] Goette submitted the text to the British Information Control Unit (No. 8) at Hamburg on 11 January 1946, along with a one-page supplement, merely some three months after the American ICD had blacklisted Gieseking.[10] During Kaven's postwar investigation of Gieseking's record, he had questioned Goette for approximately four hours in the latter's hometown of Hamburg (in the British occupied zone), partly in the presence of one Major Lambert.[11] Goette had done his best to argue in favor of Gieseking at the time, but to no avail. In the subsequently prepared "Überblick," he further aimed to defend the pianist by offering his own explanations for the many engagements and damning details described in Kaven's report on Gieseking. In doing so, Goette gives vital information on Gieseking's activities throughout the Third Reich, the war years included. As his manager, Goette also attempted to take much of the blame for arrangements and performances that later proved controversial. While it did little to help his client, it probably helped further convince certain British Military Government officials that

[9] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933."

[10] In the supplement, the title of which translates as "Supplement to the Report on Walter Gieseking," Goette gives brief information pertaining to Gieseking's postwar performances since Germany's capitulation. See Goette, "Ergänzung zum Bericht über Walter Gieseking," Hamburg, 11 Jan. 1946, to No. 8 Information Control Unit, GPO, Hamburg, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[11] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 3.

Kaven's investigation report on Gieseking was "biased."[12] As Goette explains, it was often he, and not Gieseking, who communicated with Reich officials with regard to the arrangements of Gieseking's appearances. His arguments therefore, as partial as they may have been, are essential to our discussion.

Wartime Correspondence

Despite its scarcity, Gieseking's unpublished wartime correspondence from his *Nachlass* supplies us with invaluable details pertaining to numerous events and tours. While other letters may have been lost or destroyed, we can be confident that Gieseking wrote home much less during this period because of the circumstances brought on by the war: he was forced to stay in Europe throughout its duration and was therefore never away from home for an extended time.[13] Conversely, during his North American tours preceding the conflict, Gieseking had written home frequently, a fact confirmed by his copious surviving correspondence from these years. Similarly, upon resuming his international career in the late 1940s, the letters and postcards once again became plentiful.

Records of the German Foreign Office

Towards the completion of this dissertation, the author was able to begin examining records from the German Foreign Office's Political Archive in Berlin (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts). These materials include correspondence,

[12] More on this in Chapter 9. "Subject: Walter Gieseking," P. J. A. Eade, HQ, 1 Corps District, Iserlohn, to ADAWS, 24 Feb. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[13] There would be no extra-European tours after his North American visit in early 1939 until his first South American tour of 1948.

reports, and collected newspaper cuttings and have thus far proved most pertinent to Gieseking's concerts abroad, particularly in Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland from the late 1930s through the end of the war. Further examination of the archive's holdings could potentially illuminate many more details still unknown regarding the Foreign Office's involvement in the pianist's tours outside of the Reich.

Today we are in the fortunate position to have access to a significantly greater amount of information on Gieseking in general, allowing us to judge events in greater context than ever before. We are also evaluating our subject's career in hindsight after more than half a century and must be careful not to judge him too harshly because of this. Much of the world, many Germans included—and Gieseking was one of them—have argued that they did not know about the worst of the Nazis' atrocities until the Allies had entered the Reich. This remains a controversial topic, but we cannot always assume that Gieseking knew what we today know about the Nazi officials and organizations with whom he came into contact. That being said, there may be reason to criticize him for some of the many actions he carried out during Hitler's rule.

Regarding the increased mixing of music and politics during the war, we should ask ourselves two key questions with respect to the next chapters: First, to what extent was Gieseking's career influenced or controlled by the dictates of the Hitler regime? Second, to what degree did he actively contribute to its campaigns—regardless of any benign personal intentions or disinterest—by invariably making appearances in which he was automatically viewed by many as a cultural representative of Nazi Germany?

Chapter 5:

World War II, Part One, 1939–1940

> I was not at the front—indeed. I'm happy I did not get any closer to it than I did. The whole war business is something terrifying to me. The pictures and what I heard of the front were enough.
>
> —Gieseking on his experiences as a military musician during the First World War.[1]

1939

Increasing Demands for Gieseking back in Europe

By 1939, Walter Gieseking had long since established himself as one of the world's leading and most popular classical pianists. After completing his North American tour in April, he had returned to Europe, where he resumed concertizing while taking much-needed breaks at home in between engagements. He was enjoying greater fame than ever—not only in the U.S., but also on his native continent—and the demand for his appearances even surprised his German-European manager, Dr. Rudolf Goette. On 19 March, Gieseking, still touring the U.S., had explained to Annie that Goette had some time ago declined an invitation for him to perform at the *Schlesische Musikfest* in Görlitz and was "now worried because there have been too many requests for the next season [1939–40]."[2] By that time, Gieseking had already accepted invitations to give concerto

[1] Charles Ludwig, "Gieseking, Giant of Piano, Achieved Fame and Baldness at Same Time," *Cincinnati Daily Times-Star*, 19 Mar. 1926.

[2] "Goette . . . ist jetzt in Sorge, weil er für nächste Saison zu viele Anfragen hat." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Mar. 1939, GFA.

performances in Milan and Bologna at the end of May.[3] Because he generally enjoyed taking much of the summers off, he was therefore considering how he might also find time, perhaps while vacationing in Italy, to pursue his entomological interests by going "auf den Fang"—literally: "on the catch," i.e. butterfly hunting.[4]

The Milan performance took place at the city's famous opera house, La Scala, after its opera season had ended, and it received great acclaim. A German paper, too, reported on the success and Gieseking's eminent status in the Italian city:

> He is recognized by the Milan public as one of the greatest pianists in many years and during his recent appearance was rewarded by the most enthusiastic applause. Gieseking played the E-flat Concerto for piano and orchestra [the "Emperor"] by Beethoven and *Burleske* by Richard Strauss."[5]

The Italian engagements were among Gieseking's last before the Polish Campaign began on 1 September 1939, with Germany's invasion of the neighboring country. His final concert prior to the attack took place in Austria. While drafting his memoirs several years after the war, he remembered the event:

> When I left New York at the beginning of April 1939, I had already scheduled a tour for 1940. We spent the summer peacefully in Wiesbaden. On 20 August 1939, I played Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto [G major, op. 58] in Salzburg with the Vienna Philharmonic under the direction of Karl Böhm. I missed the rehearsal by mistake, but this did not detract from the performance. It was my last concert before the war that would bring so much horror into the world.[6]

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[3] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Er [Gieseking] ist dem Mailänder Publikum als einer der hervorragendsten Klavierkünstler seit langem bekannt und wurde auch bei seinem jetzigen Auftreten mit stärkstem Beifall überschüttet. Gieseking spielte das Konzert in Es-dur für Klavier und Orchester von Beethoven und die Burleske von Richard Strauß." Unidentified clipping from June 1939, found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[6] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 70.

The Outbreak of War

On 3 September, France and England declared war on Germany, just two days after the Reich military had fired its first shots in Poland. The conflict that would develop into World War II was underway. Yet the following eight months formed what became known as the Phoney War, or as the Germans called it, *Sitzkrieg*, meaning "sitting war," a play on the term *Blitzkrieg*. Despite France and Britain's declaration of war, the Allies launched no major military offences against Hitler's army until those in Denmark and Norway in April and May 1940, followed by the larger-scale combat that took place on the Western Front in May through June, when the Germans moved forward with "Operation Yellow" ("Fall Gelb").[7] Be that as it may, Europe was again at war, and the mood was sobering to its citizens. The bloody events of the World War One were still all too vivid in their memories. Gieseking's career would be affected by the occurrences of the Second World War at once and more than he could have ever foreseen.

In a postcard dated 4 September 1939, Gieseking, who from 11 August 1916 to 1 December 1918 had served away from the Western Front during the previous war, described his regret over the new confrontation to his American friend and piano tuner, Richard Pohlman:[8]

> I don't have to tell you about the sad happenings of these last days, you know them certainly. We are hoping to survive this war better than the last one and are hoping for the best, that's all one can do. I wrote my dear manager "Charlie" [Charles Wagner] that I shall certainly do my best to keep my engagements in America, but stronger powers have to decide about this now. My European concerts are supposed to start on the 22d of this month, it is said that music and

[7] See Dear, ed., "phoney war," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 885–87. While some historians give April as the end of the Phoney War, most give the more significant month of May as its conclusion.

[8] In his published autobiographical sketch, Gieseking recounts his experiences during WWI, in which he was trained as a stretcher-bearer and served as a military musician, in Hanover followed by the Island of Borkum. See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 30–44.

> theater shall be kept going, that means that I shall probably be busy at least in this country. [. . .] Let's hope that we meet again soon! (Gieseking's English).[9]

In a subsequent letter to Pohlman from 12 December, Gieseking mentioned his family's personal safety, even during this early, "phoney" phase of the conflict:

> [W]e are quiet and undisturbed in Wiesbaden, even if we are only 12 minutes from the French border (in a fast plane). By night everything is absolutely dark [because of the blackouts], but otherwise nothing disturbs us. When they shoot down an enemy plane in the vicinity, we read it only in the papers. Some of them were shot down less than 10 miles from our house (Gieseking's English).[10]

During his postwar interrogation six years later, Gieseking was asked how he felt about the initial hostilities at this time, to which he answered: "I hoped the war would end after the Polish campaign. Germany wanted to reach an agreement with England."[11] Of course, no such agreement would be reached, and the battle would not come to a quick close. Despite the uncanny, largely non-aggressive period between the Allies (France and the U.K.) and Germany that prevailed during the eight or nine months of the Phoney War, unimaginable monstrosities and "epic" struggles lay ahead for millions.

Hitler's "Indispensable" Artists: The "Unabkömmlich" Lists of October 1939

Throughout the National Socialist era, the Hitler regime increasingly determined who could and could not perform within the Third Reich. At the beginning of their empowerment, the Nazis began to produce black and white lists of artists who were either ostracized or deemed desirable.[12] In October 1939, only weeks after the Polish invasion and by order of Hitler, Hermann Göring created special lists of "the most capable artists,

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[9] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, postcard, 4 Sept. 1939, DEC.

[10] Gieseking, Zurich, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 12 Dec. 1939, DEC.

[11] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

[12] Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, 7.

who one would not want to do without during the time of war and after the war."[13] The following month, Reich Minister Joseph Goebbels wrote in his diary: "A list of artists to claim [was] drawn up. The best talents must be retained. That has been a very difficult task."[14] These artists—actors, writers, architects, painters, musicians, and others, who appealed to the taste of Hitler, Göring, and especially Goebbels and his Propaganda Ministry—were classified as "unabkömmlich" (also "uk-gestellt"), literally meaning "indispensable." They were deferred from military service in order to continue their art, albeit while fulfilling objectives—willingly or unwillingly—laid out by the regime, particularly by the Propaganda Ministry. Special requests came from other Nazi officials as well.[15] Anyone who failed to comply with the authorities' wishes risked having his or her exempt status reviewed and revoked at any point.[16]

When later filling out the required *Meldebogen* (registration form) in 1946, Gieseking had to indicate his "unabkömmlich" standing.[17] After first answering "No," he then corrected his reply: "Yes, I was, like all well known musicians, UK-gestellt."[18] In January 1947, the U.S. Military Government submitted an *Arbeitsblatt* (worksheet) to the German *Spruchkammer* (tribunal) in Wiesbaden, in which it was explained that, as indicated in the Wehrmacht-file: Wehrstammbuch 1895/3/44, Gieseking had received his "unabkömmlich" status in 1940 "in accordance with the orders of the Oberkommando der

[13] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 166; Frank Vossler, *Propaganda in die eigene Truppe: Die Truppenbetreuung in der Wehrmacht 1939–1945*, Krieg in der Geschichte, no. 21 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005), 359–60.

[14] "Eine Liste von zu reklamierenden Künstlern aufgestellt. Die besten Kräfte müssen erhalten blieben. Das ist eine sehr schwierige Frage." Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, Teil 1. Aufzeichnungen 1923–1941, vol. 7, ed. Elka Fröhlich (Munich: Sauer, 1998), 195.

[15] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 166; Vossler, *Propaganda in die eigene Truppe*, 360.

[16] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, 5180.

[17] Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[18] "Nein. Doch ich war, wie alle bekannten Musiker, UK gestellt." Ibid.

Wehrmacht (Supreme Command of the Armed Forces)."[19] The regime had therefore granted Gieseking the special treatment allotted only to those considered the Reich's most elite musicians.

Naturally, Nazi officials expected obedience and favors in return, particularly as the fighting progressed and fewer artists were allowed to continue their profession. Those not judged "indispensable" by the regime were sent to battle or to do manual labor instead, particularly in armament factories. This is made clear in a letter from 11 September 1944, in which the head of the Reich Culture Chamber, Hans Hinkel, wrote to Goebbels, "All artists that are freed from armament work or military service and still active professionally will be 'kriegsdienstverpflichtet' (obligated to serve during the war)"; that is, the artists were required to fulfill any of the regime's requests for performances or other services.[20]

Despite their special status, there would be great challenges for Gieseking and the Reich's other remaining active artists. To begin with, while it had been difficult to do so before, it was now impossible to maintain one's career independent of the regime. In order to concertize abroad, German artists had to receive permission from both the Propaganda Ministry and the Foreign Office, through whom one also had to transfer the earnings of all foreign engagements.[21] In addition, the regime increasingly requested the

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[19] "Uk gemäß OKW-Befehl 1940." Subject: Gieseking, Walter, Priority-Case No. 21, "Arbeitsblatt," U.S. Military Government to *Spruchkammer* Wiesbaden, 17 Jan. 1947, Abt.: 520 W, Nr. 72, Zg.: 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

[20] "Alle Künstler, die von der Rüstungsarbeit bezw. von der Wehrpflicht freigestellt werden und noch in ihrem Beruf tätig sein dürfen, werden kriegsdienstverpflichtet." Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 173; "Betr: Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle," Hans Hinkel, Berlin, to Reichsminister [Joseph Goebbels], Berlin, 11 Sept. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich.

[21] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4.

services of "its" artists and would progressively involve itself in the planning of their itineraries—always with propagandistic aims in mind.

Nonetheless, Gieseking would later aver that, with the help of his manager, Rudolf Goette, he had continued to enjoy artistic freedom, at least largely, even during the war.[22] "To the limit of possibility, I left the Nazis alone—and was left pretty much alone," he asserted. "My manager was very good at keeping me away 'on tour' so that I kept incredibly free and was not available when I was wanted for something."[23] Consistent with this is Goette's claim that, until a later period of WWII, Gieseking's concerts remained largely their own affairs, free of any noteworthy influence of the Propaganda Ministry's and, in fact, not without "heated disputes" ("heftigsten Auseinander-setzungen") with Goebbels and other Ministry officials on Gieseking's part.[24] Goette would also contend, giving no specific dates, that into the conflict he was able to arrange Gieseking's foreign concerts in countries that were still untouched by the hostilities, citing the Balkan states as an example:

> After war broke out, the situation pertaining to Gieseking's career did not change suddenly. He traveled to the foreign countries that had not yet been affected by the war, and he granted me power of attorney for the first time, even when making the Balkan arrangements.[25]

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[22] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6. Other colleagues of Gieseking's doubtless made similar claims as they all fought to defend themselves during the postwar investigations carried out by the occupying military governments. We will return to Gieseking's defense of his activities during the NS-era in subsequent chapters.

[23] Quoted ibid.

[24] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 2.

[25] "Nach Kriegsausbruch änderten sich die Verhältnisse nicht plötzlich in der Tätigkeit Giesekings. Er bereiste die fremden Länder, die von den Kriegsereignissen noch nicht berührt waren und gab mir erstmalig Vollmacht, auch auf dem Balkan Abschlüsse zu tätigen." Ibid.

To be specific, of all the Balkan nations, Gieseking appeared only in Romania, which, given its struggle to maintain its existence and short-lived neutral status, was hardly unaffected by the conflict—even at this early stage.

More precise, if less trustworthy, information pertaining to the arrangements of Gieseking's concerts comes from the pianist's American assistant manager, Edward W. Snowdon. As a response to the intense postwar protest that emerged against Gieseking's American return, Snowdon prepared and privately printed a pamphlet in the fall of 1948, entitled "Some Notes on the Gieseking Case. We read:

> About 95% of Gieseking's engagements were booked personally, or by his European manager [Goette], without any prior [Nazi] government knowledge or approval. . . .
> . . . During the war years, Gieseking played 196 concerts outside of Germany. Of these, 180 [92%] were booked personally through managers with whom he had been doing business for years. The rest, for the most part, were private social affairs at the homes of people for whom he had played many times. It is undoubtedly true that the Propaganda Ministry tried to turn some of his concerts to their advantage, but European managers report there was always a minimum of propaganda around a Gieseking recital. He did not willingly let his art be used for propaganda purposes: he tried to keep himself as clear from all official and governmental affairs as possible.[26]

It should be noted that Severin Kaven counted more than 196 wartime foreign concerts, giving in his postwar U.S. Military report a sum of 210 for 1940 to 1944 alone.[27] In addition to such inaccuracies, Snowdon had *not* been involved in Gieseking's wartime career directly, and he had become so personally occupied with the defense of his client after Germany's defeat that his testimony must be considered with caution.

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[26] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6–7. In a *New York Times* article of 29 February 1948, Gieseking's attorney, Meyer Kurz, gave the same figures Snowdon cited regarding the number of Gieseking's wartime concerts given abroad. He and Snowdon were most certainly sharing their information. See Kurz, "Gieseking, Pro and Con."

[27] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3–4.

As the strategic bombings in civilian areas began by the autumn of 1940, which in addition to demolishing nearly entire cities also brought about the destruction of roads and railway tracks, it became ever more difficult—and dangerous—for performers to fulfill their engagements. Gieseking would not be spared any of these conditions and troubles. The Allied bombing campaign, led by the Royal Air Force, targeted German cities such as Lübeck, Rostock, Cologne, Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, and Gieseking's hometown of Wiesbaden, resulting in a combined death toll of some 430,000, of which approximately 370,000 were civilians. In the United Kingdom, by comparison, 60,595 civilians were killed during the German Luftwaffe bombings, a smaller yet equally tragic number.[28]

The Initial Wartime Concerts in Europe

During the first, quieter phase of the war, Gieseking continued his career as industriously as ever, only now with his engagements restricted to Germany and those European countries where German citizens were permitted to appear. According to his postwar U.S. Military Government investigation, following the highly successful North American tour in the first quarter of 1939, Gieseking gave 17 further concerts that year in Germany alone and 15 others outside its borders, in annexed Austria (1) and Czechoslovakia (1), as well as in Italy (8), the Netherlands (2), and Switzerland (3).[29] Throughout the war, he would make the majority of his foreign appearances in Switzerland (69 during 1940–45), the Netherlands (29 during 1940–44), and Italy (26

[28] Gerhard Schreiber, *Der Zweite Weltkrieg*, 2d ed. (München: C. H. Beck, 2004), 48–9.

[29] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4. A collection of newspaper reviews of these performances survives in the GFA.

during 1940–43)—124 in all, forming 54% of his 228 non-German engagements. Neutral Portugal (during 1942–44) and annexed Austria (during 1940–43) would follow, where in each country he would give 16 wartime concerts.[30]

The reviews and Gieseking's private correspondence show that, as before, his fans abroad were thrilled to attend his performances despite the mounting anti-German sentiment across much of Europe. The Netherlands was nervously enjoying its short-lived (until May 1940) neutral agreement with Hitler. Yet after Dutch concertgoers gave Gieseking repeated ovations at the close of a sold-out recital at The Hague's Diligentia Theater in late November, Jos Vranken of *De Telegraaf* noted how "the audience only reluctantly bade the great artist farewell."[31] Following a recital in neutral Switzerland, which now found itself anxiously sandwiched between belligerent Germany and fascist Italy, a critic writing for the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* observed how "Walter Gieseking's unique piano playing, heard in the small Tonhallesaal on 24 January 1940, afforded listeners the opportunity to forget all of the current events for a few hours and to turn people of the twentieth century into real romantics."[32]

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[30] See Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4. Wartime appearances made in Europe in 1939 have been omitted because of the unknown figures: Kaven's total for that year does not distinguish between pre-war and wartime concerts.

[31] "Het talrijke publiek heeft Gieseking herhaaldelijke ovaties gebracht. Men nam slechts noode afscheid van den grooten artist." Jos. Vranken, "Piano-Recital Walter Gieseking, *De Telegraaf* (Amsterdam), 29 Nov. 1939.

[32] "Das Wunder eines solchen reproduktiven Doppelvermögens ist das Geheimnis von Walter Giesekings einzigartigem Klavierspiel, das im kleinen Tonhallesaal, am 24. Januar, alles Zeitengeschehen für Stunden vergessen und aus Menschen des zwangzigsten Jahrhunderts regelrechte Schwärmer werden ließ." E. I., "Konzerte," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 26 Feb. [Jan.?] 1940.

Germany, 1939

During the first years of war, Gieseking would give the majority of his concerts within Germany. Moreover, even after 1942, when he began to make the bulk of his appearances in foreign European countries, his fees for his individual German engagements, on average, more than doubled, then even tripled, those received for his performances abroad.[33] Since his early career during the Weimar era, he had quickly come to be recognized worldwide as one of Germany's outstanding musicians, and he was now regarded by most, the Hitler regime included, as the Reich's finest pianist. No other active German keyboard virtuoso enjoyed the global reputation that Gieseking had earned, above all in the U.S., where his best-selling records prevented his popularity from waning even during his long absence brought on by the war. He could demand high fees. Indeed, when the Propaganda Ministry classified Gieseking as one of its merely seventeen "Gottbegnadet" ("God-gifted") pianists toward the end of the war, he qualified for the highest pay scale offered all musicians.[34] After the ceasefire, the U.S. Military Government would recognize him as "the greatest living German pianist" and "one of the few great living pianists."[35] British Military Government officials in occupied Germany went a step further, calling him "one of the greatest musicians in Europe."[36]

Gieseking regularly appeared in Hanover, the birthplace of his wife and his own hometown from 1913 to 1934. Approximately one month after performing the Second or Third Rachmaninoff Concerto at the city's opera house, he returned to give a solo recital

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[33] This conclusion can be made by calculating the figures given in Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4, 8. This point is discussed in further detail below in this chapter and in Excursus V.

[34] The God-gifted lists are examined in Chapter 8.

[35] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," [1].

[36] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," P. J. A. Eade, HQ, 1 Corps District, Iserlohn, to ADAWS, 24 Feb. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

in the Stadthalle's Beethoven Saal on 26 October. Hanover critic Erich Limmert did not fail to note in a rather pro-German tone how "the artist delighted his exceptionally plentiful crowd of local community members with works by four German composers who belong to the immortal treasures of our *Volk*."[37] The composers, as one can almost guess, were Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, and Brahms. August Uerz of Hanover's *Niedersächsische Tageszeitung* concluded his review with the following summary of Gieseking's concert:

> His intellectually magnificently concentrated, nearly exaggerated Beethoven, the dark moods of the Brahms pieces, and his Baroque-informed Bach style were once again received with the liveliest gratitude and heartfelt appreciation in the sold-out Beethoven Hall.[38]

The works in question were Bach's Partita No. 5, Beethoven's "Appassionata" Sonata, Schumann's *Kreisleriana*, and four unidentified *Intermezzi* by Brahms, and we can be confident that encores followed.[39] Gieseking repeated the program the next evening, 27 October, at Hamburg's *Conventgarten*, where many of his curious admirers came armed with opera glasses, as critic Friedrich Stichtenoth quipped, "with which they hoped to implant in their consciousness, as it were, a permanent, visual impression of the pianistic

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[37] "In seinem Klavierabend . . . der Künstler beglückte seine ungemein zahlreiche hiesige Gemeinde mit Werken von vier deutschen Komponisten, die zum unsterblichen Besitz unseres Volkes gehören." Erich Limmert, "Walter Gieseking: Klavierabend im Beethoven Saal," *Hannoverscher Anzeiger*, 27 Oct. 1939.

[38] "Sein gedanklich prachtvoll konzentrieter, beinahe übersteigerter Beethoven, die verhangenen Stimmungen der Brahmschen Stücke und sein barockfachlicher Bachstil fanden auch diesmal wieder lebhaftesten Dank und herzliche Anerkennung im ausverkauften Beethovensaal." August Uerz, "Klavierabend Walter Gieseking," *Niedersächsische Tageszeitung*, 27 Oct. 1939.

[39] Erich Limmert, "Walter Gieseking: Klavierabend im Beethoven Saal," *Hannoverscher Anzeiger*, 27 Oct. 1939.

gymnastics." For Stichtenoth, the artist was inimitable: "That there . . . will ever be another Gieseking is hard to imagine."[40]

Gieseking and Furtwängler

If Gieseking was the Reich's foremost pianist, the single musician (not counting composers) generally regarded worldwide as Germany's premier talent was surely the conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, known above all for his concerts with the famed Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. The following accolade, from an early 1933 review of a Furtwängler concert that included Gieseking's appearance for Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto—possibly their first joint performance of the NS era—already illustrates the former's special status in the Reich:

> The eminent conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler is one of the greatest assets of the new German cultural policy and, having been named Prussian State Councilor, it is his duty to serve the National Socialist State and its beliefs in a particularly solemn manner. As the highest-ranking *Staatskapellmeister*, Furtwängler holds a position today more important than any ever held before by a musician in Germany. The concerts of the Philharmonic Orchestra that he leads serve as the highlights of Berlin's musical life.[41]

It is therefore no surprise that, given Gieseking's own high standing, he and Furtwängler would continue to join forces for concerts throughout the duration of the Third Reich.

On 30 October 1939, Gieseking gave his first wartime performance of Brahms's B-flat-major Piano Concerto under Furtwängler's direction at the Berlin Philharmonic.

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[40] "Das es . . . neue Giesekings geben wird, ist kaum anzunehmen." Frierich Stichtenoth, "Von links betrachtet: Walter Gieseking im Conventgarten," *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, Abend-Ausgabe, 28 Oct. 1939.

[41] "Wilhelm Furtwänglers Persönlichkeit ist einer der stärksten Aktivposten der neuen deutschen Kulturpolitik, die den großen Dirigenten durch Ernennung zum Preußischen Staatsrat in besonders feierlicher Form auf den nationalsozialistischen Staat und seine Idee verpflichtet hat. Als erster Staatskapellmeister steht Furtwängler heute auf so überragendem Posten, wie er bisher noch keinem Musiker in Deutschland eingeräumt wurde. Die von ihm geleiteten Konzerte des Philharmonischen Orchesters bedeuten die repräsentativen Höhepunkte des Berliner Musiklebens." Friedrich W. Herzog, "Konzert," Das Musikleben der Gegenwart, *Die Musik*, Nov. 1933, 132.

Describing the pianist's playing that evening, Edwin von der Nüll of the *B.Z. am Mittag* wrote: "Gieseking delivers the work's four movements so colorfully, so wonderfully translucent and so meticulously envisioned, that one remains in an awestruck state."[42] And writing for the Nazi Party's central organ, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the prominent musicologist and critic Herbert Gerigk, who is infamously remembered for having co-authored the Nazi *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (1940), proclaimed: "Gieseking mastered the piano [part] in an unbelievably perfect manner; it was, so to speak, the realization of the concept of perfect pianism."[43] Regarding the two musicians' collaboration that evening, Fred Hamel of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, one of widest read German papers both at home and outside of the Reich,[44] reported: "Gieseking plays the B-flat major Concerto by Brahms. Rather: he plays it with Furtwängler. For the manner in which these two remarkably distinct, equal yet different musical phenomena converge while collaborating is an experience without comparison."[45]

While not close friends, Gieseking and Furtwängler, who was the pianist's senior by nine years, were well acquainted, and they must have respected each other's artistry

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[42] "Gieseking breitet die vier Sätze des Werkes so farbig, so wunderbar klar und so raffiniert durchdacht vor uns aus, daß man aus dem Staunen nicht herauskommt." Edwin v. d. Nüll, "Romantischer Abend," *B. Z. am Mittag*, 31 Oct. 1939.

[43] "Gieseking meisterte den Flügel in unwahrscheinlich vollkommener Weise; es war sozusagen eine Erfüllung der Idee des vollendeten Klavierspieles." Herbert Gerigk, "Furwängler und Gieseking in der Philharmonie," *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1 Nov. 1939. Since 1937 Gerigk had also held the title *Leiter der Hauptstelle Musik beim Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP* (Leader of the Music Branch by order of the Führer for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Enlightenment of the Nazi Party). Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Gerigk, Herbert."

[44] Adam C. Stanley, *Modernizing Tradition: Gender and Consumerism in Interwar France and Germany* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 182.

[45] "Das B-Dur-Konzert von Brahms spielt Walter Gieseking. Vielmehr: er spielt es mit Furtwängler. Denn wie diese beiden scharf ausgeprägten, ebenbürtig-verschiedenen Musiknaturen sich auf einer gemeinsamen Ebene treffen, das ist ein einzigartiges Erlebnis." Hamel, "Romantischer Welt: Furtwängler und Gieseking," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 31 Oct. 1939.

tremendously. Gieseking remarked to Annie shortly after the October concerto performance: "Furtwängler is indeed astonishingly better than his colleagues."[46]

Unsurprisingly, the Furtwängler-Gieseking concerts were for many concertgoers—and officials no doubt—events not to be missed, and attached to at least one of the posters announcing the recent performance had been a green flyer that read "Ausverkauft"—sold out.[47] Thus, after Gieseking gave tickets to the October concert to two acquaintances in Berlin, one a soldier, he became irate upon learning that they had left without listening to the performance because the seats were supposedly so bad. "That's typical of these stupid idiots! He should have realized that it is nearly impossible to get tickets for the Furtwängler concerts."[48]

Gieseking's making of commercial recordings, excluding the many broadcast performances that survive and are on the market, was, with few exceptions, completely interrupted by the war, and he would not resume making any such discs until his sessions at EMI's Abbey Road Studios in mid-October 1948.[49] Yet at least one wartime recording of Gieseking under Furtwängler and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra has endured: a performance from 3 March 1942 of Robert Schumann's Concerto in A minor, op. 54, a work Gieseking favored throughout his career.[50] We therefore have the opportunity to

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[46] "Furtwängler ist doch erstaunlich viel besser als seine Kollegen." Gieseking, Berlin, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Nov. 1939, GFA.

[47] Alfred Burgartz, "Gieseking und Furtwängler: In der Philharmonie," clipping from the evening edition of an unidentified newspaper, GFA.

[48] "Das sieht diesen verrückten Affen ähnlich! Der sollte auch begriffen haben, dass es fast unmöglich ist, Plätze für die Furtwänglerkonzerte zu bekommen." Gieseking, Berlin, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Nov. 1939, GFA.

[49] During the initial postwar sessions, from 13 to 16 October 1948, Gieseking recorded works by Beethoven, Debussy, and Grieg. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 18–19.

[50] This recording has been issued commercially on numerous occasions. For two examples, see Ibid., 13.

hear and judge for ourselves what the German officials, as well as many of the world's classical music enthusiasts, considered to be music making of the highest level at the time. There is an anecdote about how the conductor and pianist quarreled over a question of articulation while preparing the work:

> Furtwängler and Gieseking argued for two full rehearsals over the correct performance of three eighth notes in Schumann's Piano Concerto, for the two men felt this was important for the larger picture. Incidentally, it was Gieseking who ultimately won the argument![51]

If true, this incident did not necessarily occur at the time of the 1942 recording.

On 2 November, Gieseking made a solo appearance in Braunschweig, where he had often performed. The concert was the Braunschweig Music Community's (*Braunschweiger Musikgemeinde*) second "Meisterkonzert" of the season. For the event, Gieseking reused his recent Hamburg program of 27 October, only replacing Schumann's *Kreisleriana* with the same composer's *Fantasie*, op. 17—another work that Gieseking played throughout his career and which he used to end his recital on this occasion, excluding any encores.[52] One critic felt that "Das Wunder Gieseking" had matured as an artist since his last visit:

> His unfathomable pianistic wisdom appears to have developed. We have appreciated him for some time as a master of inconceivable tonal coloring and a hardly imaginable command of touch. Last night in the *Städtischen Konzerthaus* we got to know him as a wise interpreter of an expressive style that touches the soul and which draws its strength not merely from the technical supremacy at hand, but is experienced above all through Gieseking's convincing creative will. What we witnessed yesterday for the first time, that was clearly the kind of

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[51] "Furtwängler und Gieseking stritten sich zwei volle Orchesterproben lang um die Ausführung dreier Achtelnoten in Schumanns Klavierkonzert, weil die beiden Herren dies für das Gesamtwerk für wichtig hielten. Der Ausgang war übrigens, daß Gieseking überzeugte!" Tijn Vellekoop, "O. Prof. Gerhard Taschner, Hauptfach Violine," in *Der legendäre Geiger Gerhard Taschner: Vom ersten Bogenstrich gefangen*, ed. Walter Gerstberger (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1998), 235.

[52] Dr. Heinrich Sievers, "Das Wunder Gieseking: Zweites Meisterkonzert der Braunschweiger Musikgemeinde," *Braunschweiger Tageszeitung*, 3 Nov. 1939.

> matureness and masculine earnestness that emerges only after one has overcome the purely technical matters and entered into the higher spheres.[53]

Just two weeks after Gieseking's late-October performance with Furtwängler in Berlin, he returned to the German capital, this time for a solo recital. Rather similar to the all-German programs he had played in Hanover and Hamburg only days before the Furtwängler concert, this repertoire, if international, would have likewise satisfied current regime regulations. Included were, as in Hanover, Bach's Partita No. 5, Schumann's *Kreisleriana*, and Brahms *Intermezzi* (possibly a modified group), but then came the fresh repertoire: Liszt's *Bénédiction de Dieu dans la solitude*—the Germans, of course, used the German translation *Lobpreisung Gottes in der Einsamkeit*—and compositions originating from Reich-friendly nations: a sonata by the eighteenth-century Italian composer Pier Domenico Paradies (1707–91) and more recent pieces by the Russians Alexander Scriabin and Sergei Rachmaninoff.[54]

Apparently writing with the new war in mind, a critic for the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* began his review of the recital by describing what he saw as the new responsibility that German performing artists now had to take on:

> Our concert soloists, now more than ever before, must be aware of the effects of their performances, that they also have to play a significant role in the strengthening of the home front. They now have the chance to be true priests of their art: the people who flock to the concert halls wish to be fortified internally and are not receptive to problematic creations [i.e. liberal works or interpretations]. Walter Gieseking pleasured his audience, which filled the

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[53] "Seine unerklärbare Weisheit des Spieles scheint noch gewachsen. Wir schätzten ihn seit langem als Meister von nie geahntem Farbvermögen und kaum vorstellbarer Anschlagskultur. Gestern abend in Städtischen Konzerthaus lernten wir ihn als klugen Deuter einer seelisch erregenden Ausdruckskunst kennen, die ihrer Kräfte nicht nur aus der technischen Ueberlegenheit zieht, sondern vor allem in ihrem souveränen Gestaltungswillen fühlbar wird. Was wir gestern erstmalig erlebten, das war abgeklärte Reife und männlicher Ernst, der mit der Ueberwindung des nur Technischen in die Bezirke des Ewigen vordringt." Dr. Heinrich Sievers, "Das Wunder Gieseking: Zweites Meisterkonzert der Braunschweiger Musikgemeinde," *Braunschweiger Tageszeitung*, 3 Nov. 1939.

[54] Herbert Gerigk, "Klavierabend Walter Gieseking," *Völkischer Beobachter*, 17 Nov. 1939.

> Beethoven Hall to the last seat, with a few carefree hours by instinctively selecting the right works.[55]

Obviously uninterested in the non-German works, the same critic noted how the recital ended with "foreign compositions" ("ausländischen Kompositionen") with no further comment, though he did add that Gieseking received "storming ovations."[56] Herbert Gerigk, too, noted in the *Völkischer Beobachter* how "The applause did not want to end."[57] Edwin von der Nüll proclaimed, "Gieseking, who we hope to hear again soon, occupies a special position in German pianism."[58] The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* critic Erwin Kroll was fascinated, as was common, by Gieseking the colorist: "Many had come yesterday to witness the magician of piano sounds, the greatest master of touch among the pianists, and Walter Gieseking presented a romantic program that revealed the complete magic of his playing."[59] Heinz Joachim of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* similarly observed: "His [Gieseking's] tone is created by his magical touch, which is as delicate as the most precious porcelain one moment and stormy with primal force the

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[55] "Unsere Konzertsolisten müssen sich jetzt mehr denn je bei der Ausstellung ihrer Vortragsfolgen bewußt sein, daß auch sie einen wesentlichen Anteil an der Stärkung der inneren Front zu tragen haben. Sie können jetzt wahre Priester ihrer Kunst sein; die Menschen, die in die Konzertsäle strömen, wollen innerlich gekräftigt werden und sind nicht empfänglich für problematische Schöpfungen. Walter Gieseking bereitete seiner Gemeinde, die den Beethoven-Saal bis auf den letzten Platz fülle, durch die mit sicherer Einfühlung ausgewählten Werke beglückende Stunden." Franz [Koppen?], "Stunde der Innerlichkeit: Walter Gieseking im Beethoven-Saal," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, Morgen-Ausgabe, 17 Nov. 1939.

[56] Ibid.

[57] "Der Beifall wollte nicht enden." Herbert Gerigk, "Klavierabend Walter Gieseking," *Völkischer Beobachter*, 17 Nov. 1939.

[58] "Gieseking, der hoffentlich bald wieder zu hören ist, nimmt im deutschen Klavierspiel eine Sonderstellung ein." Edwin v. d. Nüll, "Gieseking: Sein Abend im Beethovensaal," *B. Z. am Mittag*, 16 Nov. 1939.

[59] "Viele waren gekommen, den Magier des Klavierklanges, den größten Anschlagkünstler unter den Pianisten, zu erleben, und Walter Gieseking wartete mit einem romantischen Programm auf, das den ganzen Zauber seines Spiels offenbarte." Erwin Kroll, "Chronik der Konzerte: Romantiker am Klavier," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Morgen-Ausgabe, 17 Nov. 1939.

next, yet always lucent during his passionate, possessed playing."[60] As these reviews testify, the German critics were unanimous in their praise of Gieseking's pianism. They also show just how popular the famed artist had become in his native land by the time of the war.

Czechoslovakia, mid-November 1939

As he had done in 1937 and 1938, Gieseking traveled to Prague for a single concert in mid-November (probably the 18th) 1939. By this time, the neighboring country of Czechoslovakia had been divided up and taken over by the Germans, Hungarians, and, to a lesser extent, the Poles.

During the Munich Conference of September 1938, Britain, France, and Italy had signed over to Hitler the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia's western, northern, and southern regions (the border areas of Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia) in which most of the ethnic German minorities known as the "Sudeten" Germans lived.[61] Beginning with Germany's annexation of this newly gained territory in October, followed by that of southern strips of Slovakia and Ruthenia by Hungary, Czechoslovakia had become fully dismembered by March 1939, when the Germans invaded. A share of the Czech part of the land was then annexed, while most of the remaining area became the Protectorate of

[60] "Sein Ton ist ein Wunder des Anschlags, bald duftig wie kostbarstes Porzellan, bald stürmisch mit elementarer Gewalt, stets leuchtend in der glutvollen Besessenheit seines Spiels." Heinz Joachim, "Macht der Persönlichkeit: Klavierabend Walter Gieseking," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, Morgen-Ausgabe, 16 Nov. 1939.

[61] A smaller percentage of the Sudeten Germans also lived in central regions of the state. After the war, from 1945 to 1946, some 2.5 million Sudeten Germans would be forced to leave Czechoslovakia, which had, of course, reacquired the areas forming "Sudetenland." Evan Mawdsley, *World War II: A New History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 91.

Bohemia and Moravia until the end of the war.[62] A government-in-exile headed by the former Czech president, Eduard Beneš (1887–1948), would continue to function in London during this time, however.[63] In contrast, after declaring its independence from Czechoslovakia in March 1939 and entering into a so-called Treaty of Protection with Germany that same month, the remaining Slovak half of the nation, excluding territory that had been annexed by Hungary, became the Slovak Republic—a fascist, Eastern Ally that served as a Nazi satellite state.

Gieseking had been traveling from Toronto to New York City when he learned from press reports of the goings on in Czechoslovakia in mid-March: "The journey is not at all interesting. I already finished reading the papers a while ago, which are filled with news from Prague."[64] Some of the headlines from that infamous day of 15 March, when the Germans entered, read "Czechs Gobbled Up By Nazis," "Hitler Takes Entire Czech Nation: Hungary Army Joins Invasion," "Prague is Calm as Nazi Troops Begin Entrance: Fear Stricken Jews and Emigres Run to Cover," and "Czech Ministry Warns All Against Resistance: News of German Occupation Broadcast to Public as Church Bells Toll."[65] It was announced that the Czechs would indeed not resist.[66] That notwithstanding, when the

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[62] The Zaolzie region, the eastern part of Czech Silesia, was seized by the Poles until the Germans took it over upon entering Poland in September 1939.

[63] Beneš had served as president from 1935 until 1938, when Sudetenland was annexed. After the war, he again served as president from 1946 to 1948.

[64] "Dies Reise [von Toronto nach Newyork] ist durchaus nicht interessant, die Zeitungen, die voll von Nachrichten aus Prag sind, sind auch schon längst gelesen." Gieseking, on a train from Toronto to New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[65] Sigrid Schultz, "Czechs Gobbled Up By Nazis: Prague Asks People to Be Calm When Troops Arrive," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 15 Mar. 1939; "Hitler Takes Entire Czech Nation: Hungary Army Joins Invasion," *Los Angeles Times*, 15 Mar. 1939; "Prague is Calm as Nazi Troops Begin Entrance: Fear Stricken Jews and Emigres Run to Cover," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 15 Mar. 1939; "Czech Ministry Warns All Against Resistance: News of German Occupation Broadcast to Public as Church Bells Toll," *Daily Boston Globe*, 15 Mar. 1939.

[66] "Czech Patriots Defiant," *Daily Boston Globe*, 15 Mar. 1939.

German troops entered Moravská-Ostrava that evening, an area strategically located near the Polish border, it was reported that inhabitants courageously stood before the tanks and began singing the Czech national anthem.[67]

Gieseking's performance, of Beethoven's Piano Concerto Nr. 4 in G major, took place at the historic Ständetheater in Prague, where Mozart's operas *Don Giovanni* and *La Clemenza di Tito* had been premiered back in 1787 and 1791 respectively. It was the second concert in a series given by the Sudeten German Philharmonic Orchestra (Sudetendeutsches Philharmonische Orchester), led by conductor and SA-Oberführer Otto Wartisch (1893–1969).[68] After the event, critic Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt of *Der Neue Tag*, a German daily newspaper published in occupied Prague, wrote the following in his review entitled "Jubel um Gieseking" ("Cheers for Gieseking"):

> Merely a few weeks after hearing Germany's first violinist, Georg Kulenkampff, Prague has now heard Germany's first pianist: Walter Gieseking. That two artists of such outstanding caliber could be engaged for the beginning of the concert season has afforded the Sudeten-German Philharmonic Orchestra a sound foundation for its start in Prague. . . .
>
> . . . Accompanied excellently by General Music Director Dr. Otto Wartisch and the orchestra, Gieseking brought the audience to outbursts of applause, the likes of which the Ständetheater has seldom heard. With two encores, an Intermezzo by Brahms and Schumann's *Arabesque*, he acknowledged the excitement.[69]

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[67] "Czechs Sing National Hymn," *Daily Boston Globe*, 15 Mar. 1939.

[68] H. H. Stuckenschmidt, "Jubel um Gieseking: Zweites Konzert unter Otto Wartisch im Ständetheater," *Der Neue Tag* (Occupied Prague), 18 Nov. 1939, p. 8, Hans Heins Stuckenschmidt Archiv, Lauf. Nr.: 3422, AdKA, Berlin. For a summary of Wartisch's record during the Third Reich, see Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Wartisch, Otto."

[69] "Nach Deutschlands erstem Geiger, Georg Kulenkampff, hat nun Prag im Abstand von wenigen Wochen Deutschlands ersten Pianisten gehört: Walter Gieseking. Daß man zwei Künstler von so überragendem Format für den Beginn der Spielzeit gewinnen konnte, war eine gute Grundlage für den Prager Start des Sudetendeutschen Philharmonischen Orchesters. . . . . Von Generalmusikdirektor Dr. Otto Wartisch und dem Orchester vortrefflich begleitet, riß Gieseking das Publikum zu Beifallssalven hin, wie sie das Ständetheater selten gehört hat. Mit zwei Zugaben, einem Inermezzo von Brahms und Schumanns Arabeske, quittierte er die Begeisterung." H. H. Stuckenschmidt, "Jubel um Gieseking."

Judging Gieseking's pianism, Stuckenschmidt added, "Gieseking is a kind of Apollonian player: those who love outbreaks of genius and keyboard frenzy should stay away from him."[70]

In his postwar report, U.S. Officer Severin Kaven emphasized the "unmistakable German character" of Gieseking's concerts in the Reich's annexed countries. Regarding the pianist's engagements in Prague, Kaven noted:

> The organizations and the halls sound provocatively German, while the music was devoted to German masters. . . . Another concert was with the German Philharmonic Orchestra at the German Opera House, and the same is true of his subsequent appearances during the war years.[71]

The articles published in *Der Neue Tag* alone confirm Kaven's conclusions. The paper abounds with news concentrated on German artists, repertoire, and newly claimed "German" venues. Regarding the capital city, one reads about the "Prager Deutschen" and "der Deutscher Prag."[72] The Wartisch-Gieseking concert began with Brahms's *Variations on a Theme by J. Haydn*, although it did conclude with a non-German orchestral work, namely Rimsky-Korsakov's "Sheherazade," op. 35—the "inferiority" of which, however, was not overlooked by Stuckenschmidt and perhaps other zealous Germans: "Then we had to move down a few levels outside of the canon of German classics. Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov's symphonic suite 'Sheherazade' is musically

[70] "Gieseking ist der Typus des apollinischen Spielers," he proclaimed, "wer Genie-Ausbrüche und Tastenraserei liebt, mag ihm fernbleiben." Stuckenschmidt, "Jubel um Gieseking."

[71] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7.

[72] A collection of Stuckenschmidt's writings for 1939 also include a multitude of articles that appeared on the same pages. These further confirm the paper's pro-German stance and the Nazis' efforts to Germanize the occupied Czech region of Sudetenland. See Stueckenschmidt Archiv, "Der Neue Tag" [Occupied Prague], Lauf. Nr.: 3422, Adk, Berlin.

speaking certainly not more than a product of cultivated artistic craft (*Kunstgewerbe*)."[73] Yet Stuckenschmidt did recognize that the piece had at least some worth: "But we do not want to underestimate the score's coloristic merits."[74]

His 1939 performance having been a success, Gieseking would return to Czechoslovakia to give at least one broadcast performance in 1940, and, as we will see, a slightly increased number of concerts there will follow in 1941, 1942, and 1943.

Italy, December 1939

Through much of WWII, Gieseking, along with many of his eminent German colleagues, continued to make annual appearances in Italy, where he had so often played since his early career. Italy had been an Axis power since the signing of the Rome-Berlin treaty in May 1936. Despite its ties with Germany, above all through its more recent military alliance known as the "Pact of Steel" of May 1939, the Axis nation would not join the Germans in their war mission until 10 June 1940.[75] Even then, Rudolf Goette maintained that he succeeded in booking Gieseking's Italian engagements into the war through the private firm Moltrasio—not through Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry—until the agency ceased to exist, a date left unspecified.[76]

Reporting on some upcoming "German Music in Rome," as the headline read in *Der Neue Tag*, the following announcement was printed:

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[73] "Dann mußten wir aus den Bezirken deutscher Klassik um einige Stufen herabsteigen. Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakoffs sinfonische Suite 'Scheherazade' ist musikalisch gewiß nicht mehr als ein Produkt kultivierten Kunstgewerbes." Stuckenschmidt, "Jubel um Gieseking."

[74] "Aber wir wollen den koloristischen Wert der Partitur nicht unterschätzen." Ibid.

[75] Dear, ed., "Pact of Steel," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 863.

[76] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 2.

> The calendar of events has just been released for the concert season 1939/40 of the royal music academy in Rome [i.e. the Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia]. Karl Böhm of the Dresden Staatsoper and Eugen Jochum of the Hamburg Staatstheater will conduct the Symphony Orchester of the Augusteo [based at the Accademia]. Walter Gieseking will make two appearances. There will be a separate series devoted to the important works of Johannes Brahms. For the first time, Rome will also hear Weiner's Concerto for Piano and Orchestra and Handel's Concerto for Harp and Orchestra.[77] A chamber-music concert will be devoted to the works of Honegger, in which, in addition to the composer, pianist Franz Josef Hirt and singer Elsa Scherz-Meister will take part.[78]

As usual, Gieseking was well received by Italian critics and audiences alike during his visit. Following his performance in Rome's church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere on 8 December 1939, in which he played works by Bach, Scarlatti, Brahms, Pier Domenico Paradies, Beethoven, Scriabin, Rachmaninoff, and Debussy, a review from *Il Tevere-Roma* read:

> The audience remained stunned as it witnessed Gieseking's hands evoke from the keyboard transparent and bright chords—an almost magical effect—a world of sweet and tender images with soft, varying colors, in which the delicacy of his touch blended marvelously with that of Debussy's music.
>
> The distinguished concert pianist finished to unrelenting, wild applause and offered the most appreciative audience a number of lively encores.[79]

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[77] Weiner's first name is not given, thus his identity remains uncertain. Likewise, no further information regarding the Handel Concerto is provided.

[78] "Das Programm für die Konzertsaison 1939/40 der kgl. Musikakademie in Rom ist soeben veröffentlicht worden. Karl Böhm von der Dresdner Staatsoper und Eugen Jochum vom Hamburger Staatstheater werden das Orchester des Augusteo dirigieren; in zwei Konzertern wird Walter Gieseking auftreten. In einem eigenen Zyklus sollen die bedeutenden Werke von Johannes Brahms zu Gehör gebracht werden. Neu für Rom ist auch das 'Konzert für Klavier und Orchester' von Weiner und Händels 'Konzert für Harfe und Orchester.' Ein eigener Kammermusikabend wird den Werken Honeggers gewidmet sein, an dem außer dem Komponisten noch Franz Josef Hirt am Klavier und die Sängerin Elsa Scherz-Meister teilnehmen werden." "Deutsche Musik in Rom," *Der Neue Tag* (Occupied Prague), 27 Oct. 1939. While Honegger's music was banned by the Nazi regime, it was obviously still allowed to be performed in fascist Italy. It is curious, however, that German artists were permitted to perform a recital devoted to his works. For information on the regime's ban of Honneger's music, see Harry Halbreich, *Arthur Honegger* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1999), 162.

[79] "Il pubblico è rimasto attonito, mentre le mani di Gieseking creavano sulla tastiera, attraverso accordi trasparenti e luminosi—quasi per l'effectto di un sortilegio—tutto un mondo di immagini dolci e carezzevoli, di tenui e ondeggianti sfumature, in cui la delicatezza del tocco di lui prodigiosamente fondevasi con quella della musica di Debussy. Applausi insistenti, entusiastici hanno accolto l'illustre concertista, che alla fine del concerto ha concesso alcuni bis con vivissimo compiacimento del pubblico." "Santa Cecilia: Walter Gieseking," *Il Tevere-Roma*, 9 Dec. 1939.

In attendance that evening was the beautiful Princess of Piedmont, Marie José of Belgium (1906–2001). The princess was the wife of Prince Umberto from the Court of Naples and the sister of Belgium's King Leopold III.[80] She would famously become the last Queen of Italy in May 1946, a reign fated to cease but thirty-five days later. She had called Gieseking the day before the Rome recital to ask that he listen to a local child prodigy at the court.[81] While it is uncertain whether he complied, Gieseking often agreed to such requests despite his busy itinerary. He mentioned in the same letter, for example, that he had just heard a Sicilian pianist, who had traveled from Messina to Milan to play for him. The Grotrian representative in Milan had suggested this meeting and made the arrangements. Summarizing the unnamed pianist's playing, Gieseking wrote to Annie afterward: "Technically surprisingly good, but otherwise still clueless, has hardly had any sufficient training, though; is clearly very gifted. . . ."[82]

Gieseking's brief Italian tour came to a grand close. From Rome, he traveled to Bologna for a concert that sold out within three hours in a hall that seated some 2,000 concertgoers, and a subsequent performance in Florence was given in the large Teatro Comunale before some 3,000 listeners.[83] He would return again the following month, while Italy was still at peace.

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[80] C. G. "Walter Gieseking a S. Cecilia," *Il Popolo Roma*, 9 Dec. 1939.

[81] Gieseking, Florence, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Dec. 1939, GFA.

[82] "Technick erstaunlich gut, sonst noch ahnungslos, hat auch kaum ordentlich Unterricht gehabt, ist sehr begabt offenbar. . . ." Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

Wartime Hindrances: The Cancelled 1940 U.S. Tour

As late as November 1939, Gieseking had not yet given up on his planned American tour for 1940. Traveling there now posed a problem, however, owing to difficulties created by the war in Europe. On 1 November, he reported to Annie about the dilemma he presently faced:

> At 5 [p.m.] I was at the Foreign Office. I had a long discussion with the gentleman who had written me. It would be possible to travel to America via Japan, arriving on 1 February. The trip takes 28 days: Siberia, Japan, San Francisco. It is impossible to travel by way of Italy or over the Atlantic in general, as the English are taking the Germans from the ships. In May, I would then concertize in Japan for 12 to 14 days. Well, all of this must be considered carefully.[84]

He had visited the Propaganda Ministry for an hour the previous morning, presumably to discuss the tour and possibly other engagements.[85]

While Gieseking's December Italian tour in 1939 had been as successful as ever, it was during that trip that he regretfully, after months of uncertainty, concluded that he would call off his 1940 North American tour because of the wartime complexities. This was a major financial setback. Gieseking had earned 54 percent of his gross earnings in North America in 1939—50,000 RM from his concerts and recordings.[86] On 6 December, Gieseking informed his manager in New York, Charles Wagner, of his decision. The following day he explained this to Annie from Florence: "Yesterday morning I sent the

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[84] "Um 5 war ich auf dem Auswärtigen Amt, hatte dort eine längere Besprechung mit dem Herrn, der mit geschrieben hatte. Es wäre möglich, über Japan am 1. Februar in Amerika anzukommen, die Reise dauert etwa 28 Tage: Siberien–Japan–San Francisco. Über Italien oder sonst über die Atlantik kann man nicht fahren, die Engländer holen die Deutschen von den Schiffen. Im Mai sollte ich dann etwa 12–14 Tagen in Japan konzertieren. Na, dies alles muss reiflich überlegt werden." Gieseking, Berlin, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Nov. 1939, GFA.

[85] Gieseking mentions that he spoke with one Herr Berten afterward over lunch, and an unnamed singer was with them. It is uncertain, however, if Berten was affiliated with the Propaganda Ministry or another Nazi office. Ibid.

[86] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

cable to Wagner. He will no doubt be very upset about the cancellation, but everyone thinks I have made the right choice, even the German Consul General in Turin, for example."[87]

When Severin Kaven interrogated Gieseking after the war, the latter told him that "Some very high[-]ranking people in the Propaganda Ministry wanted me [t]o go to Japan, but I refused."[88] In his subsequent report, Kaven interpreted this as follows: "[Gieseking] admitted [that] some of the most high-ranking people in the [Propaganda] Ministry were extremely anxious to send him to the States via Japan, but he refused to take the risk of being captured by the English."[89] To his friend Richard Pohlman, Gieseking gave a more detailed description of his reasons for aborting the American tour:

> Well, I can only say that I regret immensely that I cannot come over this winter, but even with the greatest detours, [such] as via Siberia–Japan–Pacific Ocean, or by plane to South America, then via Chile–Mexico to the U.S.[,] there is no safe way for a German to get there. Everywhere there is a possibility of being caught by the English, and it wouldn't help my concerts much if I were sitting in a concentration camp somewhere, say in Hongkong or Canada or Guyana . . [.]
>
> This reason and the other one, that it really is not now the right time to leave the family alone for nearly half a year (the tour would have taken that long with the necessary detours) brought me to decide the postponement "until better times." Let's hope this will not be for too long, as I really miss my American concerts and everything connected with them, as there is your company, "our" vacation in Florida or Texas or somewhere, and – oh yes – you mentioned our occasional drinks – well, Prost, here goes—to a quick return of normal times and my return to good old U.S. [Gieseking's English][90]

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[87] "Gestern vormittag schichte ich das Kabel an Wagner ab, die Absage wird ihn wohl schwer erschüttern, aber jedermann halt die für richtig, auch z. B. der deutsche Generalkonsul in Turin." Gieseking, Florence, to Annie [Wiesbaden], letter, 7 Dec. 1939, GFA.

[88] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

[89] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4.

[90] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 12 Dec. 1939, DEC.

Gieseking must have felt he had made the right, responsible decision, above all for the sake of his family. At the same time, the above passage suggests that he was indeed opposed to the war, if partly for selfish reasons.

Gieseking would not be able to return to the United States until several years after the war, ultimately creating a total absence of fourteen years—a much longer period than he could have possibly imagined. This forced hiatus was a major setback to his career, for the U.S., as was common, had become the most important country for him professionally. Nonetheless, he managed to maintain his international status as one of the world's greatest pianists, and his popularity still grew in America. This was made possible by his many recordings, which continued to sell well and receive frequent airplay on that side of the Atlantic.[91] Meanwhile, he would have to give an increased number of concerts in European countries to make up for the lost American opportunities.

The Annulment of the Brussels Contract

With the war came further obstacles that immediately began to impede Gieseking's international career. To start, the Director-General of the Brussels Philharmonic Society, Marcel Cuvelier (1899–1959), annulled his contract for a winter visit in 1939, although Belgium itself was still at peace with Germany. In his letter to the pianist, Cuvelier explained that the Society had "decided against the hiring of artists from belligerent countries," as Gieseking later recalled.[92] The Belgians had been in a state of

[91] Countless advertisements of Gieseking's records as well as schedules indicated their frequent broadcasts can be found throughout leading newspapers such as the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times* and *Chicago Daily Tribune*.

[92] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5. Cuvelier also became Secretary of the UNESCO International Council of Music, served as jury president of the Queen Elisabeth Competition starting in 1951, and initiated the Jeunesses Musicales movement early in

high alert since the Polish invasion, anticipating an attack at any time by the German forces. While the nation's prime minister, Hubert Pierlot, prepared his military for the feared incursion, its king, Leopold III, appealed for peace, hoping, in vain, to see his and other northern European countries sustain their present neutral positions. When the Germans did begin their assault on 10 May 1940, as part of its campaign code-named "Operation Yellow" ("Fall Gelb"), the Belgians were prepared and fought valiantly. Then abruptly, and not without much controversy, Leopold surrendered to Germany on 28 May and, as a self-proclaimed prisoner of war, retreated to the royal castle at Laeken until his deportation to Germany in 1944.[93] Considering Belgium's dire circumstances, it should have come as no surprise to Gieseking that Cuvelier was unwilling to honor the engagements of a prominent German artist at this time. Gieseking will have the last word, however, when, after the German occupation of Belgium, he returns two years in a row at the height of the war.

In addition to the canceled American tour and the Belgian annulment, the fighting would prevent any appearances by Gieseking in England until years after the Reich's defeat. Furthermore, a return to Paris would not be possible until sometime after its

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the war in response to the Hitler regime's efforts regarding the Reich's youth. See Cuvelier, "Jeunesses Musicales," *Arts and Education*, UNESCO (June 1949): 15–16; *Ingeborg Küchler-Lamcken*, "Jeunesses Musicales," *Die Zeit (Online)*, 13 Sept. 1951, accessed 19 Sept. 2013, http://www.zeit.de/1951/37/jeunesse-musicales; Thierry Bouckaert, *Le réve d'Elisabeth: cinquante ans de Concours Reine Elisabeth* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001), 229. Fernando Menon's thesis "investigates the possible reasons for the foundation of *JM* [Jeunesses Musicales] in Belgium, during the occupation of German troops, in 1940, linking its principles with the Scout Movement and against the spread of Nazi ideals by Hitler Youth"; see Menon, "*Jeunesses Musicales* e sua representação civil no Paraná: Juventude Musical Brasileira 8ª Região PR/SC – Setor do Paraná (1953–1963)," (MM thesis, Universidade Federal do Paraná, 2008).

[93] Martin Conway, "Belgium," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 118–22.

German occupation on 14 June 1940, though, for reasons unknown, Gieseking does not revisit the city until 1943, at which time he also returns to Belgium.[94]

1939 Conclusion

In a letter dated 19 December 1939, Gieseking described his recent and upcoming performances to Richard Pohlman. Evidently, he had by now told Pohlman about his decision to cancel the 1940 North American tour, and one senses Gieseking's resentment over the matter underneath the decidedly optimistic tone in the following excerpt:

> I have just been in Italy: 6 concerts and 3 rehearsals in one week—you see I am busy! Now I play a few dates in Switzerland and then comes the Christmas vacation, after which I have no engagements so far, but there are so many dates pending and so many cities waiting for a concert that I shall have no difficulty at all of getting a full season. Concerts in Germany go extremely well—plenty of sold-out houses and also a nice amount of dough, mazuma or what you may call it . . [.] "cash and carry" is the principle applied to my concerts! (Gieseking's English)[95]

Judging by Gieseking's positive account of his fall concerts of 1939, the total number of performances he gave that year (excluding his North American concerts of January through April) may have exceeded the figure listed in Severin Kaven's military report, which was merely thirty-two.[96] If Gieseking was receiving cash payments, as his above letter to Pohlman implies, he may have knowingly not listed certain concerts, although this is pure speculation. In any case, Gieseking's gross income for 1939 was presumably his highest ever—recorded as 92,500 RM, 90% of which was concert earnings, the remaining 10% having been received as recording royalties. And he would

[94] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3.

[95] Gieseking, Zurich, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 12 Dec. 1939, DEC.

[96] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4.

manage to maintain a lofty income until 1945, with his peak years coming in the middle of the war.[97]

1940

In 1940, Gieseking's fulfilled thirty-four engagements in Germany and gave at least another twenty-six performances outside his homeland, namely in annexed Austria (5) and Czechoslovakia (1), as well as in Italy (2), the Netherlands (11), Romania (4), and Switzerland (3).[98] Before setting forth on his first concert trip abroad, however, he finished composing a set of piano duets.

The *Divertimento: Vier Unterhaltungsstücke*

Never to give up writing music as a hobby, Gieseking would periodically turn to composition during the war, perhaps now in part as a mental escape from the grim European situation. On 6–8 August 1939, just before the invasion of Poland, he had begun composing a group of pieces for piano four-hands, which he entitled *Divertimento: Vier Unterhaltungsstücke*, or *Divertimento: Four Light Pieces*. He completed the duets

[97] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8. Kaven's report shows Gieseking's gross income from 1935 to 1945 only. Because of Gieseking's ever-growing fame, however, it seems rather unlikely that he would have earned more in any year prior to 1935, despite Rudolf Goette's claim that his client was paid much less per engagement after 1933. In his postwar *Meldebogen* (questionaire), Gieseking, in fact, indicated that his earnings for 1932 were only 41,000 RM. See Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [p. 1] and Gieseking, "Meldebogen." Gieseking's earnings during the Third Reich are discussed in more detail in Excursus V, "A Summary of Gieseking's Performances and Earnings during the National Socialist Period."

[98] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4. Czechoslovakia is not listed in Kaven's report. As discussed below, however, a letter Gieseking wrote to Annie on 26 February, which must have been written in 1940, shows us that he traveled there—as he had done annually since 1937—for at least one performance. On this occasion it was a broadcast recital. Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

around 16 January 1940, though the set survives only in manuscript form.[99] The mood of the work was in direct contrast to that brought on by the war. Even as the German forces remained ostensibly invincible for some time, particularly in their early Blitzkrieg attacks, Gieseking, like his older compatriots, had not forgotten the horrors of the First World War. And as his above-cited correspondence with Pohlman from the fall of 1939 shows, he was quite concerned about the latest "sad happenings."[100]

In the *Divertimento* pieces, there is a noticeable French influence in his music, as well as occasional American ideas, a mixture that recalls his popular, jazz-inspired works and improvisations of the Weimar era. This is naturally unsurprising owing to his affinity for French works and less-known passion for early jazz music. Despite the "light" or "entertainment" elements, however, we get a different, more mature, form of *Unterhaltungsmusik* from that of his Weimar-period foxtrots and dances. Was Gieseking now longing for the "good old days"? Appropriate for the commonly amateurish piano-duet genre, the work's four movements are only moderately difficult and like Gieseking's subsequently published four-hand work, *Spiel um ein Kinderlied* (Play on a Children's Song), they call to mind his earlier, playful *Kinderlieder* style. Although Gieseking himself enjoyed playing piano duets—as his occasional recitals with Eduard Erdmann demonstrate—he may have had the piano pupil or hobbyist in mind when composing the *Divertimento*, possibly his two growing daughters, Jutta and Freya.[101] Both received piano lessons and other music instruction throughout their youth and, like their mother,

[99] The manuscripts are found in the GFA. While complete, the conclusion of the fourth piece's B section has been penciled in, possibly at a date later than 16 January 1940.

[100] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Pohlman, New York, postcard, 4 Sept. 1939, DEC.

[101] For more on Erdmann and the duo recitals, refer to Chapter 7.

Annie, both became competent amateurs, particularly Freya.[102] Incidentally, both would marry piano pupils of their father's after the war.[103]

Switzerland, January 1940

In January, Gieseking traveled to Switzerland, where he gave the first concert in Zurich on the twenty-fourth. The majority of the Swiss, as well as the press, were strongly opposed to the Hitler regime.[104] Switzerland, which had maintained its neutrality since the establishment thereof in 1815, had immediately begun to fear a German invasion and therefore wasted no time in marshaling its large, if inferior, army along its northern border to Germany. This was carried out already on 2 September 1939.[105] By May 1940, the alarm would grow significantly as German planes began to infringe upon Swiss air territory; yet Switzerland would succeed in maintaining its neutral position, if in part by minding German needs such as the haulage of supplies between the Reich and its southern Axis ally, Italy.[106]

The Zurich audience was apparently as excited as ever to hear the great pianist, who was likewise pleased with the success that evening, offering four encores before bidding his Swiss admirers farewell. Nonetheless, Gieseking had experienced some

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[102] Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking and Freya Colassis née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, Germany, 8 Oct. 2007.

[103] On 24 June 1950, Jutta wedded Imre Hajmássy (1918–2008), a native of Úszor, Hungary (now Kvetoslavov, Slovakia), who subsequent to his studies at the Franz Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest had studied with the prominent German pianist Elly Ney. On 24 October 1960, Freya married Achilles Colassis (1923–92), a native of Greece, who later taught at the Conservatoire de Lausanne. Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 35, 42.

[104] Dear, ed., "Switzerland," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 1094–95.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

difficulty while playing. “Almost sold-out, it sounded very good, though I did have some memory lapses,” he wrote to Annie.[107] Despite his abnormally acute photographic memory, Gieseking could have occasional moments of memory failure, and he was presently experiencing an attack of his chronic “stomach” pains, which may have caused some distraction.[108]

Gieseking was currently following the advice of his trusted friend, the Wiesbaden doctor Hans Kirchner, himself an ardent music enthusiast and competent amateur pianist.[109] Kirchner was a specialist for internal illnesses and the head doctor at the clinic, Sanatorium Nerotal, near Gieseking’s home, where the pianist would continue to be treated until the end of his life. Gieseking frequently followed Kirchner’s prescribed diets and on many occasions spent several weeks, at times a month or more, in the clinic. He had suffered from attacks of the stomach, gall bladder, and pancreas for years, and Kirchner had treated him since approximately 1930.[110] The doctor’s present orders required that he place a heating pad on his stomach twice a day, at noon and again in the evening.[111]

Although Gieseking seldom cancelled concerts, even when feeling ill, his ailments indeed hindered his playing at times. On 27 January 1940, for example, just two days after he mentioned the application of the heating pad, he explained to Annie: “I have

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[107] Gieseking, Zurich, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 25 Jan. 1940, GFA.

[108] Ibid. Gieseking’s photographic memory greatly facilitated his ability to commit quickly to memory even the most complex works, usually by studying the score away from the piano. Yet he naturally experienced occasional memory lapses during performances. Because he practiced piano relatively little, particularly familiar works, a fact confirmed repeatedly throughout the private correspondence, this was possibly one of the main causes of the sporadic memory failures. During a performance, Gieseking’s improvisational skills most likely allowed him to “fake” any uncertain passages competently.

[109] Freya Colassis née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 20 Dec. 2010.

[110] Dr. Hans Kirchner, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, New York, letter, 20 Sept. 1961, DEC.

[111] Gieseking, Zurich, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 25 Jan. 1940, GFA.

hardly had any more stomach trouble, although I notice during "fortissimo" playing that it is not yet 100% remedied, even if it no longer causes pain."[112] An example of a similar, later recurrence came one year after the war's end, as he wrote to his American pupil Dean Elder:

> I've just spent a whole month in the sanitarium. I have a stomach ulcer and as there was danger of perforation I had to keep quiet and shall be on a diet for about six to eight more weeks. I can't even play a forte on the piano, paradoxical, isn't it? (Gieseking's English).[113]

While in Zurich that January, two pianists were given the opportunity to play for the famous German pianist. Each chose Beethoven's "Appassionata" Sonata, op. 57, a piece Gieseking himself was currently programming and frequently played throughout his career. Despite his busy schedule (and present stomach complaints) he was often willing to listen to pianists privately and offer his advice, and their age seemed to matter little. In this instance, the first pianist, Hans Hermann Wetzler, was seventy years old, and there are numerous accounts of when Gieseking allowed gifted children to play for him. (While he was touring South America in the fall of 1952, for example, the famous Argentinean pianist Martha Argerich [b. 1941], then a small wunderkind, was given such

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[112] Gieseking, Zurich, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 27 Jan. 1940, GFA.

[113] Quoted in Dean Elder, New York, to Dr. Hans Kirchner, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Sept. 1961, DEC. Elder had first met Gieseking while serving in the United States Army, attached to the War Crimes Branch in Wiesbaden in 1945, and after he and his wife, Carolyn, had some private piano lessons with him, they later participated in Gieseking's masterclasses in Saarbrücken from 1950–53. On 31 December 1952, Gieseking again mentioned his ailment to Elder, which in this unusual instance, forced him to cancel a number of engagements: "returning to Wiesbaden, I got an attack of stomach ulcers, had to stay five weeks in the sanitarium and had to cancel all November dates." Because Gieseking refused to be operated on, he would ultimately have to undergo an emergency operation in London on 23 October 1956 because of acute attack of pancreatitis. He would not recover, dying only three days later. Dean Elder, unedited interview for the Canadian Broadcasting Company, Sept. 1970, "Les mercredis de la musique" series, [interviewer unidentified], REQ 101283, tapes 3, 4, 5 (7" reels), IPAM, College Park, MD, transcribed by the author; Quoted in Dean Elder, New York, to Dr. Hans Kirchner, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 Sept. 1961, DEC. Jutta Hajmássy, commentary in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 80.

a chance.[114]) The second pianist, whom Gieseking refers to only as "Witschi," had also studied with his own mentor, Karl Leimer, and would soon give a public concert in Zurich as well. Two days later, Gieseking described Witschi's private performance for him to Annie: "Independently, he is a rather mediocre pianist; he played much better while working with the Boss [i.e. Leimer]."[115]

A "quite well attended" ("recht gut besuchte") concert in Geneva followed that in Zurich on 25 January, where the critics differed highly over Gieseking's artistry.[116] This had evidently been the case during a previous performance there. Rather amused by the repeated incident, Gieseking wrote home to his wife:

> [T]he Genevan reviews were once again completely conflicting. Mr. Moosére (Mooser) tore me apart so much that I almost had to change my profession, especially [regarding] the Bach and the "Appassionata." On the other hand, another critic found the Beethoven "ideal."[117]

Mingling with German Officials

After the Genevan concert, the *Generalkonsul* (consul general) invited Gieseking to dinner. Though unnamed, this would have been Consul-General Wolfgang Krauel, who, as Klemens von Klemperer writes, "was a convinced anti-Nazi and eventually,

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[114] Gieseking's personal photograph collection in the GFA provides documentation of the meeting with Argerich; some photographs, for example, show the two of them at the piano, playing four-hand works together. In Argerich's autograph book is an entry from Gieseking dated 19 September 1952, which reads "To the small Maria Martha Argerich, all our most sincere wishes for her pianistic progress" ("À la petite María Martha Argerich, tous nos vœux les plus sincères pour ses progrès pianistiques"). Oliver Bellamy in his biography, *Martha Argerich: L'enfant et les sortilèges* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 2010), 47. The lasting, positive effect that Gieseking had on Argerich has been recounted by Oliver Bellamy in his recent biography. Ibid., 46–48.

[115] When corresponding with family, Gieseking usually referred to Leimer as "der Chef," meaning "the Boss." "[E]r macht es allein doch ziemlich mässig, beim Chef spielte er besser." Gieseking, Lausanne, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 27 Jan. 1940, GFA.

[116] Ibid.

[117] "[D]ie Genfer Kritiken waren wieder vollkommen ungleich, Mr. Moosére (Mooser) hat mich so verissen, dass ich ja beinahe den Beruf wechseln müsste, besonders Bach u.[nd] die Appassionata. Dafür findet ein anderer den Beethoven 'ideal'!" Ibid.

when about to be recalled to Berlin in the spring of 1943, chose to remain in Switzerland and become an exile."[118] They were joined by two young men from the consulate, *Ortsgruppenleiter* (local group leaders of the Nazi Party), other officials (all unnamed), and some students. Gieseking enjoyed the consul-general's company, who must have been a practiced raconteur. In his next letter home, Gieseking relayed to Annie how that evening's host had been in Persia before WWI and knew "many interesting regions" ("viel[e] interessante Gegenden").[119] Regrettably, Gieseking did not describe anything else about the conversation.

Such mingling with Reich officials was surely often expected of Gieseking and would doubtless occur throughout the war. As the last example demonstrated, these individuals were not necessarily always pro-Hitler, although they must have been in most cases. Gieseking's private correspondence makes it clear that he frequently felt obliged to dine with guests after performances and only reluctantly accepted invitations in many instances. In a wartime letter dated 25 November (without a year), he mentions to Annie how he had met with the events organizer the previous day, who happened to be "a gentlemen from the Verkehrsverein–NS Kulturgemeinde–Kraft durch Freude [Tourist Office, National Socialist Cultural Community, and Strength-Through-Joy Organization], etc.; he is apparently on the board of directors for everything."[120] After a concert that same November evening, one of the board members ("Vorstand") drove Gieseking back to the hotel, but then wished to go to a restaurant. Gieseking felt he had no choice but to

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[118] Klemperer, *German Resistance Against Hitler: The Search for Allies Abroad, 1938–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 73n134. See also page 268 and 299n16.

[119] Gieseking, Lausanne, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 27 Jan. 1940, GFA.

[120] "Gestern, als ich gechrieben hatte, besuchte ich noch den Veranstalter, vielmehr den einen Herr vom Verkehrsverein – NS Kulturgemeinde – Kraft durch Freude etc., der ist offenbar überall im Vorstand." Gieseking, Freiburg, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 25 Nov. [no year], GFA.

join him, and later expressed his frustration over the occasion: "I drank my *spritzer*, then had the courage to excuse myself. After being most persistent, I succeeded in doing this at 11:45."[121] The next morning, however, Gieseking was apparently feeling less apathetic toward this group. Two more men from the same organizations visited him and had him sign and dedicate photographs they had supposedly received for advertising purposes. "It's always hard for me to turn requests like that down," he wrote home, "especially because they were all very nice people."[122]

Signing autographs and photographs was something else Gieseking did not particularly enjoy doing, and he frequently expressed his lack of interest therein in letters to his family. During his first South American tour in 1948, for instance, he would complain how his representative there, José [Josef] Schraml, had him sign as many as one hundred and fifty photographs at a time, which Gieseking grudgingly did during his leisure.[123] While he found it to be "too stupid a tradition" ("eine zu blöde Unsitte!"), Schraml maintained that giving autographs was more important than playing encores after a concert—"three . . . are enough." Gieseking found Schraml's idea "strange" ("komisch"), but he more or less complied, usually limiting his encores to four during the South American trips.[124]

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[121] "[I]ch trank meine Schorle mit ihnen, hatt dann Mühe, mich zu verziehen, dies gelang infolge grosse Beharrlichkeit um 11.45." Gieseking, Freiburg, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 25 Nov. [no year], GFA. Because the NS Kulturgemeinde and Strength-Through-Joy organizations were merged in 1937, the letter must date from sometime between then and 1944.

[122] "Sie liessen sich offenbar alle zur Reklame geschickten Bilder unterschreiben und widmen, dies kann man ja immer nicht abschlagen, ausserdem waren es auch alles ganz nette Leute." Ibid.

[123] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Aug. 1948, GFA

[124] Ibid.

Italy, late January 1940

From Switzerland, Gieseking traveled further to Italy on 27 January to give a concert in Naples, followed by another in Palermo.[125] A few days later, he sent Annie a summary of his recent travels from Munich:

> Dear Anni!
>
> Since this train is lit inside, I have decided to send you this card to let you know that I am back and will arrive in Munich next, probably around midnight. The trip went as planned. The weather was rainy nearly everywhere; it is simply not the right time to be in Italy. From Lausanne I journeyed almost fifteen hours to Naples, where I played the Brahms D-minor [Piano Concerto, op. 15] for the very first time. Concert sold out, the princess [of Piedmont] [was] there again. Monday, eleven-hour trip to Palermo. On the way, I met up with Hubert Giesen, who is on tour with the violinist [Lilia] d'Albore.[126] Unfortunately, [we talked] only briefly, while crossing a street in Messina. The two of them traveled on to Catania. On Tuesday [I was in] Palermo[.] The weather was not great, but [the temperature was] 16° above zero, not below. Concert in the afternoon, small hall, terribly overfilled. Dinner with people from the consulate. Wednesday 6:50 a.m. to 7:45 p.m., a thirteen-hour train ride[:] Palermo to Naples to Rome. Some of the region very beautiful, later though terrible weather, no view. Yesterday in Rome ran errands, many in fact. Traveled to Florence in the afternoon. Met Dea and her sister there. The two of them helped me with the rest of the errands this morning. I hope they were happy with my own efforts. At 11:20 a.m. I left Florence. . . . It is quite peaceful and comfortable—a direct connection from Florence to Berlin, or rather Rome to Berlin. Tomorrow I will continue on to Stuttgart and call you from there. I hope everything is okay and that you and the children are well. My stomach has not bothered me lately, but I don't think that I have completely recovered. Getting quite tired now—perhaps it's because of the climate change. I hope you can read this chicken scratch. The train just shook a lot, yet nothing like those electric railcars in Italy, which cause so many passengers to become nauseous. – My love to you and the daughters. = = = [Kisses] to you as well, and

[125] While Gieseking also traveled to Rome and Florence, he did not mention concertizing in the two cities in his correspondence with Annie from that time. Furthermore, Kaven listed in his postwar report that Gieseking gave merely two performances in Italy in 1940. Gieseking, Lausanne, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 27 Jan. 1940, GFA; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[126] The German pianist Hubert Giesen (1898–1980) became a highly sought-after accompanist, collaborating with Fritz Kreisler, Yehudi Menuhin, and Fritz Wunderlich among others. The Italian violinist Lilia (actually Emilia) d'Albore (1914–1990) had studied at the Rossini Conservatoire and then with Carl Flesh. She enjoyed a successful career as a performer and, starting in 1941, as a professor at the Accademia di Santa Cecilia in Rome. Peter Seidle, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., s.v. "Giesen, Hubert (Cornelius Ludwig)"; Wilibald Gurlitt, ed., *Riemann Musik Lexikon*, 12th ed., s.v. "D'Albore, Lilia."

I'll see you on Monday.

Yours, Walter.[127]

Gieseking had given his last performances in peacetime Italy, for on 10 June Mussolini would declare war on the Allies from the balcony over Rome's Piazza Venezia.

Gieseking's Discs Continue to Top the American Charts, January 1940

Meanwhile, Gieseking's records continued to sell well, particularly in the U.S., where three were currently among the most popular discs of any kind being sold. This was indeed an extraordinary achievement, and it speaks volumes about the reputation he enjoyed in America. In the above-cited letter of 27 January, he was thrilled to report to his wife on the latest success: "In *Esquire* I read that among the fourteen records listed as best sellers is my 'Appassionata' as well as my Debussy 'Rêverie' and Strauss 'Ständchen' discs. The only best-selling piano records in the U.S.!"[128] The Richard

[127] "Liebe Anni! Da dieser Zug innen beleuchtet ist, möchte ich mit dieser Karte melden, dass ich wieder zurück bin und nachher, wohl so gegen Mitternacht, in München ankommen werde. Die Reise ist programmgemäss verlaufen, das Wetter war nur fast überall regnerisch, es ist eben doch nicht die richtige Jahreszeit für Italien. Von Lausanne fuhr ich fast 15 Stunden bis Neapel, dort wurde Brahms d-moll zum allerersten Mal gespielt. Konzert ausverkauft, die Prinzessin wieder da. Montag 11 Stunden Fahrt bis Palermo, unterwegs traf ich Hubert Giesen, der mit der Geigerin d'Albore eine Tournee macht. Leider nur kurz, bei der Überfahrt über die Strasse von Messina, die Beiden fuhren nach Catania. Dienstag in Palermo [,] Wetter mässig, aber 16° Wärme, nicht Kälte. Konzert nachmittags, kleiners Saal, furchtbar überfüllt. Abendessen mit Leuten vom Konsulat. Mittwoch 6.50–19.45, also 13 Stunden Eisenbahn[:] Palermo–Neapel–Rom. Gegend teilweise sehr schön, später aber Wetter sehr schlect, keine Aussicht. Gestern in Rom Besorgungen erledigdt und zwar gründlich. Nachmittags fuhr ich nach Florenz, traf noch Dea u.[nd Ihre] Schwester. Heute früh halfen die beiden mir noch beim Rest der Besorgungen, ich hoffe zufriedenstellend gearbeitet zu haben. 11.20 fuhr ich aus Florenz. . . . es ist ganz friedensmässig bequem—direkter Wagen Florenz–Berlin, oder vielmehr Rom–Berlin. Morgen werde ich nach Stuttgart fahren und von dort anrufen. Hoffentlich ist alles in Ordnung und Du u.[nd] die Töchter gesund. Mein Magen hat mich nicht mehr gestört, ich bin aber noch nicht ganz in Ordnung, glaube ich – werde Reicht so furchtbar müde—liegt aber vielleicht aus Klimawechsel. Hoffentlicht kannst Du das Gekritzel lesen, eben schaukelte der Zug heftig, allerdings längst nicht so wie die elektrischen Triebwagen in Italien, wo viele Leute übel drin werden. – Viele Grüsse an Dich und die Töchter. Dir auch = = = und auf Wiedersehen Montag. Dein Walter." Gieseking, Munich, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 2 Feb. 1940, GFA.

[128] "Im Esquire las ich, dass unter 14 erwähnten Platten, die als bestverkaufte bezeichnet werden, von mir sowohl die Appassionata wie die Debussy-Reverie, Strauss 'Ständchen' Disc verzeichnet sind. Die einzigen Klavierplatten, die in U.S. best-seller sind!" Gieseking, Lausanne, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 27 Jan. 1940, GFA.

Strauss piece was Gieseking's own transcription of the original Lied, Strauss's Op. 17 no. 2.[129] He had recorded Beethoven's "Appassionata" Sonata (op. 57) on 27 February 1939, followed by the Debussy work and his Strauss transcription on 4 April that year, all for American Columbia Records.[130]

Eastern Europe, Spring 1940

In the latter half of February 1940, Gieseking gave a string of concerts that brought him into Eastern Europe, namely to the capital cities of Vienna, Bucharest, and Prague, as well as to Berlin. Third Reich politics had, by this time, already had a drastic impact on the Eastern nations. Austria had been annexed in March 1938, Romania was striving to keep its initial neutral position, and Czechoslovakia had been divided up and taken over by Germany and Hungary, with its government-in-exile in England.

Reich officials had actually been hoping to have Gieseking tour in a greater number of Southeastern nations during the first half of this year, specifically in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and possibly Greece.[131] Yet of these countries, there is only record of him appearing in Romania in 1940, and there is no documentation to show that he ever performed in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, or Greece. Other pianists on the regime's propaganda agenda for the Southeast at this time were Edwin Fischer (for Hungary and Romania) and Wilhelm Kempff (for Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia), and still other

[129] In 1923, Gieseking had published six transcriptions of songs by Richard Strauss under the title *Ausgewählte Lieder*. The original publisher was Adolph Fürstner, Berlin, Boosey & Hawkes re-printed some of the transcriptions (all?) in 1943. Of the six, Gieseking most often played "Ständchen," usually as an encore.

[130] Gieseking had first recorded his transcriptions of Strauss' "Ständchen" (op. 17, no. 2) and "Freundliche Vision" (op. 48, no. 1) for the Homocord company in Berlin in 1927. See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 6.

[131] Sicherheitsdienst der SS: Meldungen aus dem Reich, Berlin SW 68, 22 Jan. 1940, [pp. 4–5] accessed 30 Sept. 2013, http://www.forost.ungarisches-institut.de/pdf/19400122-1.pdf.

musicians and ensembles on the list were Wilhelm Furtwängler, the Vienna Philharmonic, the Dresden String Quartet, and even Leipzig's renowned boys' choir, the Thomanenchor.[132] The reason for the Reich's interest in improving the German music offerings in the East is made clear in an SS intelligence report from 22 January that year:

> The press of the Southeast States and relevant reports show that the wartime German concert tours carried out in the neutral Southeast States proved to be extremely effective cultural policy. Moreover, they have strengthened the internal relationship between ethnic Germans and Reich Germans in these countries. Even members of the ruling circles of these countries themselves have participated in some of the concerts, and the connected social events have facilitated personal contact and discussion between the German musicians and cultural circles of these countries.[133]

Austria

Whether Gieseking's smaller Easter European tour satisfied the Nazi officials is unknown, as is the extent of their involvement in the arrangements. In any case, he began by traveling to Vienna. Since the beginning of his international career, he had made occasional, brief appearances in Austria. He had performed there twice in 1936 and given a single concert there in 1938, six months after the *Anschluss*. To repeat, he had given his last pre-war concert in Salzburg in August 1939.[134] While he never performed in the annexed nation extensively, he suddenly began to give an increased number of concerts there each season: five in 1940, two in 1941, four in 1942, and five in 1943. In all, he

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[132] Sicherheitsdienst der SS: Meldungen aus dem Reich, Berlin SW 68, 22 Jan. 1940, [pp. 4–5] accessed 30 Sept. 2013, http://www.forost.ungarisches-institut.de/pdf/19400122-1.pdf.

[133] "Aus der Presse der Südoststaaten und einschlägigen Berichten ergibt sich, dass die während des Krieges veranstalteten deutschen Konzertreisen in den neutralen Südoststaaten eine ausserordentlich starke kulturpolitische Wirksamkeit hatten und darüber hinaus die innere Situation der Volksdeutschen und Reichsdeutschen in diesen Ländern stärkten. Die Regierundkreise [*sic*] dieser Staaten selbst haben zum Teil an den Konzerten teilgenommen, und gesell schriftliche [*sic*, i.e. gesellschaftliche] Veranstaltungen, die an die Konzerte angeknüpft wurden, haben zur persönlichen Fühlungnahme und Aussprache zwischen deutsche Musikern und Kulturkreisen dieser Länder Gelegenheit." See "Deutsche Kulturpolitik im Südosten," ibid., [p. 4].

[134] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 70.

would give a total of eighteen concerts in Austria between 1938 and 1943.[135] Due to the destruction during the last phase of the war, he did not visit in 1944 or 1945, which was in fact against the Propaganda Ministry's wishes.[136]

Gieseking's initial Viennese recital, in which he played works by Bach, Schumann, Brahms, Rachmaninoff, and Liszt, took place in the important Großer Musikvereinsaal.[137] It was "very well attended," he wrote in a letter home, adding that "the large hall (2,000 seats), even looked rather filled."[138] He enjoyed great success among Austrian audiences. "Vienna Celebrated Walter Gieseking" was the title of Hans Ruß's glowing review in the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*. Above all, Ruß appreciated Gieseking's objective, *Werktreue* (textually faithful) interpretive approach:

> The listener may find this kind of music making to be all too strict, maybe even cold or "impersonal." Yet when one views music as an art that speaks for itself, simply through its sheer existence, and when one further agrees that a musician's main task should be to serve as mediator, then Walter Gieseking must be ranked among the greatest pianists known to the world today.[139]

Many must have somewhat agreed with Ruß, for the concert concluded with "giant applause and many encores," as the critic also noted.[140] While Gieseking, too, was pleased with the artistic success of the performance, he was disappointed that none of his Viennese social contacts had attended the concert: "Not a single acquaintance bothered to

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[135] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4.

[136] We will return to this in Chapter 8.

[137] Hans Ruß, "Wien feierte Walter Gieseking," *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, 22 Feb. 1940.

[138] "[Das] Wiener Konzert, welches ganz gut besucht war, sogar das grosse Saal (2000 Plätze) sah ziemlich voll aus." Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[139] "Man kann diese Art des Musizierens als allzu streng, ja gegebenenfalls sogar als kalt, als 'unpersönlich' empfinden. Wenn man Musik jedoch als eine Kunst ansieht, die aus eigener Kraft wirkt, gleichsam durch ihre bloße Existenz, und wenn man weiter die Aufgabe des Musikers zuerst darin sieht, Musik zu vermitteln, dann muß man Walter Gieseking zu den größten Pianisten zählen, die die Welt heute kennt." Hans Ruß, "Wien feierte Walter Gieseking," *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, 22 Feb. 1940.

[140] Ibid.

show up, not even Joseph Marx, whom I didn't call because I no longer have his private number. I was certain that he was going to come, but when the composers themselves are not on the program. . . ."[141] Marx, one of Austria's most renowned composers at the time, had been a closer colleague of Gieseking's for many years, and, as demonstrated in previous chapters, the latter had often programmed Marx's music since the beginning of his career.[142]

Regarding Ruß's above observation, it should be noted that Gieseking would go so far as to advocate the modern, *Werktreue* approach to musical interpretation in writing, as demonstrated by one of his two wartime essays on the subject, "Intuition and *Werk-treue* as Foundations of Interpretation" (1942).[143] Gieseking writes, "A masterwork does not need to be arranged or altered; the great masters always knew exactly what they wanted, and they had the ability to realize their intentions."[144] The ideal goal, he adds, should be "to come as close as possible to creating a perfect harmony between the composer's wishes and those of his obedient servant, the interpreter."[145] But according to his friend and colleague, Paul Hindemith, Gieseking did not always practice what he

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[141] "Es hat sich kein einziger Bekannter sehen lassen, noch nicht mal Joseph Marx, den ich nicht angerufen hatte, weil ich seine Geheimnummer nicht mehr habe. Ich dachte bestimmt, dass er ins Konzert gekommen wäre, aber wenn die Komponisten nicht selbst auf dem Programm stehen. . . ." Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[142] An early new-music program from 26 Jan. 1920, for example, contains Marx's *Albumblatt*. A week later, on 2 Feb. 1920, another program included Marx's *Albumblatt* and *Ballade*. Each of the works had been recently composed in 1916. "Klavier-Abend[:] Walter Gieseking," Frauenklub Leipzig, concert program, 26 Jan. 1920, GFA; Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 47.

[143] "Intuition und Werktreue als Grundlagen der Interpretation," in *Von Deutscher Tonkunst. Festschrift zu Peter Paabes 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Alfred Morgenroth (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1942): 147–50. Reprinted in Walter Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 97–102.

[144] "Ein Meisterwerk bedarf keiner Bearbeitung oder Veränderung, die großen Meister wußten stets genau, was sie wollten—und haben auch das Können bessen, ihre Absichten zu verwirklichen." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 101.

[145] "[D]em möglichst vollkommenen Einklang der Ausdruckswünsche des Komponisten und seines gehorsamen Dieners, des Interpreten." Ibid., 102.

preached. In a letter from June 1936, about his newly completed Piano Sonata no. 1 ("Der Main"), Hindemith tellingly wrote the following to his friend and publisher at the Schott firm, Willy Strecker:

> Today I have at last completed the much-mentioned piano sonata. I have taken a great deal of trouble over this piece and hope it will make a good impression. The two movements missing until now should also satisfy our severe Gieseking. Leaving aside the modifications he will make in any case (there's no escaping that with him unless your name is Josef Marx or Castelnuovo[-Tedesco]), he should be getting his money's worth.[146]

As for Gieseking's opinion of the new work, he was apparently only dissatisfied with the slow movement, a set of variations, causing Hindemith to replace it without delay.[147] The pianist was prepared to premiere the work in Berlin that fall, but, as we will recall, the National Socialist government banned the composer's works right at that time, which led Gieseking to protest the decision bravely, if politely, by speaking to State Secretary Walter Funk at the Propaganda Ministry.[148]

Romania, 1940

From Vienna, Gieseking took a direct, four-and-a-half hour flight to Bucharest on 21 February, where he stayed at the "new and absolutely first-rate" Athénée Palace Hotel.[149] This was his first-ever visit to Romania, which had announced its neutrality in September 1939, and he was excited about visiting the unfamiliar, eastern land. Already

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[146] Hindemith, Berlin-Charlottenburg, to Strecker, letter, 29 June 1936, in Paul Hindemith, *Selected Letters of Paul Hindemith*, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Skelton (Binghamton, N.Y.: Vail-Ballou Press, 1995), 92.

[147] Gunther Nickel and Luitgard Schader, "Two Homeless Singers: On Hölderlin's 'Der Main' and Hindemith's Sonata of the Same Name," *Hindemith-Forum* 7, 2003, 14, accessed 20 Oct. 2013, www.hindemith.info/fileadmin/hindemith-forum/hf_7_2003.pdf.

[148] See Chapter 3.

[149] Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

curiously looking down from the plane window, he described in a subsequent letter to Annie how nice the view over the Carpathians was, resenting that he could otherwise see only snow.[150]

On Thursday, 22 February, the day after his arrival, Gieseking rehearsed with the Bucharest Philharmonic Orchestra. Leading the ensemble was its founder, the Romanian conductor George Georgescu (1887–1964). Having studied music in Berlin and worked under Arthur Nikisch (1855–1922) in Leipzig, Georgescu had followed Richard Strauss's advice and chosen to focus his career on conducting.[151] Gieseking found his colleague to be an "excellent" ("vorzüglicher") leader, though his orchestra was merely "decent" ("ordentlich").[152] Describing that day's rehearsal and the events that followed, the pianist wrote home: "Rachmaninoff [the Second or Third Piano Concerto] and Strauss [the *Burleske*] were a lot of work. My fingertips are also quite sore after so much pounding."[153]

Pianist Hubert Giesen, whom Gieseking had happened upon in Italy the previous month, attended the rehearsal. Giesen was still touring with the violinist Lilia d'Albore, in their case under the auspices of the Italian fascist government. Surprised that they were being sent to seemingly unimportant towns, Gieseking remarked to Annie: "In the evening they drove out to the provinces. D'Albore plays in the most remote, gloomy

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[150] Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[151] Viorel Cosma, "Georgescu, George," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10886 (accessed 15 June 2011).

[152] Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[153] "Rachmaninoff und Strauss waren eine schwere Arbeit, die Fingerspitzen tun auch sehr weh nach soviel Gepauke." Ibid.

towns, officially sent there by the Italy."[154] Did Gieseking not realize that the purpose of such tours was surely first and foremost to support the Italian government's propaganda mission? Little did he know that he, too, would end up playing in remote places by 1944, as, for instance, when German officials arrange for him to give a series of concerts in Turkey. Additionally, as the Allied forces pulverized a growing number of the Reich's larger cites through strategic bombing during the later stage of the war, Goette began to schedule more of Gieseking's performances in its smaller, undamaged towns.[155]

Following the orchestral rehearsal with Georgescu, Romulus Orchis, general secretary of the Bucharest Philharmonic, invited Gieseking to lunch. The vegetarian pianist was impressed by the excellent, meatless meals offered:

> There are good oily dishes in Romania, especially zucchini, eggplant and okra and cold risotto with mushrooms or zucchini. A baked eggplant as a salad, filled with sorrel and other vegetables is quite remarkable! Only it's almost embarrassing that we are constantly treated. Herr Orchis let me pay only once yesterday, otherwise it was always he [who paid]. . . . He also treated Giesen and Frau d'Albore the first time we had lunch.[156]

The concert took place that same evening (22 February) and "went well" ("klappte gut"), although Gieseking was forced to play a piano in need of some restoration: "Unfortunately, the Grotrian grand piano did not arrive, and the Bechstein was quite

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[154] "[S]ie fuhren abends in die Provinz. Die d'Albore spielt in allerhand finsteren Nestern, von Italien offiziell dorthin geschicht." Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[155] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 3.

[156] "Es gibt gute ölige Sachen in Rumänien, besonders Zucchini, Auberginen und Okra—auch Risotto kalt mit Pilzen oder Zucchini. Eine gebackene Aubergine als Salat mit Sauerampfer und anderen Gemüsen gefüllt ist direkt bemerkenswert! Nur ist es beinahe peinlich, dass man dauernd eingeladen ist, der Herr Orchis hat mich nur gestern einmal zahlen lassen, sonst war immer es derjenige. . [. .] Am ersten Mittag hatter er auch Giesen und Frau d'Albore eingeladen." Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

derelict."[157] Afterward, he accompanied Orchis to a favorite pub of the latter's, namely the Continental. Gieseking humorously told Annie how, upon leaving, he was "nearly blessed by a priest, who in very good German gave me a load of sweet talk—he knew Rachmaninoff, or so he said."[158] While at the Continental, he also had the opportunity to hear a house band play Romanian music, some of which he found "highly original and much more rhythmic than the Hungarian gypsy howling."[159]

On 23 February, a Friday, Gieseking took advantage of the nice weather and explored the city by foot. To Annie, he wrote: "The main streets with 'skyscrapers' do not take long to see, but it is not at all very oriental in Bucharest, apart from fur hats and occasional (very dirty) gypsies or farmers in traditional costumes."[160]

Stomach problems

The Romanian visit was not without some discomfort, however, as Gieseking had begun to feel ill. He had been experiencing more "stomach" trouble.[161] While he would have therefore preferred to get as much rest as possible, he was reluctant to decline any invitations received from the Reich's foreign representatives. "On the days of concerts, I

[157] "Leider war der Grotrianflügel nicht angekommen und der Bechstein war ziemlich klapperig." Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[158] "Beim Ausgang wurde ich noch halbwegs von einem Popen gesegnet, der in ganz guten Deutsch seinen Schmus losliess—er kannte Rachmaninoff, wie er sagte." Ibid.

[159] "[M]anche rumänische Sachen sind ganz originell und viel rhythmischer als die ungarische Zigeunerwimmerei." Ibid.

[160] "[D]ie Hauptstrassen mit „Wolkenkraztern" hat man bald erledigt, es ist aber gar nicht so sehr orientalisch in Burkarest, abgesehen von Pelzmützen und gelegentlichen (sehr dreckigen) Zigeunern oder Bauern in Tracht." Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

should not accept any invitations," he wrote home, "but one can't say no to the envoys." "I've cancelled plans with everyone else," he added.[162]

One such invitation brought Gieseking to the German Foreign Office (Gesandschaft) in Bucharest. After practicing piano some and then visiting the police station to take care of his notice of departure, a bureaucratic process he found to be "quite complicated" ("ziemlich kompliziert"), he had lunch at the Office. Subsequently, he complained to Annie about the visit:

> Because of my diet, which was naturally misunderstood, boiled fish and chicken with rice was placed before me. . . . On top of that, [there was] the conversation with the envoy's wife and his mother-in-law—I really can't stand such things, and I had no luck at all in trying to take a nap afterward, but partly also because of a cough. . . ."[163]

By Saturday, 24 February, Gieseking was feeling better: "My stomach etc. no longer cause[s] any pain. The fatty Romanian food is, of course, in perfect accordance with Dr. Kirchner's orders."[164] The concert that evening also "went well" and Gieseking was glad to see that the piano technician, one Herr Lüpke, had made the Bechstein "significantly better" ("bedeutend besser"); Lüpke had, in fact, traveled five days by train from Hanover to get there.[165] One suspects that the Propaganda Ministry or Foreign Office may have sponsored Lüpke's trip and services. It is most odd that a local piano technician was not hired for the job instead, but perhaps he continued to travel with

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[162] "An Konzerttagen sollte ich eigentlich keine Einladungen annehmen, aber beim Gesandten kann man ja nicht absagen. Bei allen anderen Leuten habe ich abgesagt." Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[163] "Wegen meiner Diät, die natürlich falsch verstanden war, bekam ich gekochten Fisch und Huhn mit Reis vorgesetzt. . . . Dazu die Unterhaltung mit der Frau Gesandtin und seiner Schwiegermutter—ich kann solche Sachen direkt nicht gut vertragen, konnte nachher gar nicht zum Mittagsschlaf kommen, allerdings zum Teil auch wegen Husten. . . ." Ibid.

[164] "Der Magen etc. Hat aber garnicht mehr weh getan, das fette rumänische Essen ist ja auch ganz nach Dr. Kirchner's Vorschriften." Ibid.

[165] Ibid.

Gieseking for the rest of the eastern tour. Nothing more is known about the man, but because Gieseking refers to him impersonally as "Herr Lüpke," we can conclude that their relationship remained formal and business related, unlike the close friendship that Gieseking enjoyed with his American tuner, Richard Pohlman.

The next day, Gieseking again joined Orchis and some others for lunch. He noted how someone had shown them a new edition of twelve Strauss songs: "Beforehand, I looked through some satirical Lieder by Strauss [the song cycle *Die Krämerspiegel* (The Shopkeeper's Mirror), op. 66], settings of texts by Alfred Kerr(!), in which all [music] publishers are ridiculed. Someone wanted to sell the music to me. It was only published in a deluxe edition, but I found 200 RM to be too expensive."[166] Kerr was a German-Jew, which might explain Gieseking's insertion of the exclamation point. Strauss's settings of the poems had first been published in 1918, the year they were written, and they are indeed mocking, "very much in the cynical spirit of the time," as Bryan Gilliam has observed.[167] The publishers attacked are even named in the texts.

Reflecting on the Romanian Visit

On Sunday, 25 February, there was also a farewell dinner for Gieseking at Orchis's place. He seemed to enjoy the host's company and hospitality, and he wrote to Annie: "Mr. Orchis highly recommends that I return with you in October, the Romanian

[166] "[V] orher sah ich mit ihm noch ulkige Lieder von Strauss durch, nach Texten von Alfred Kerr(!), worin alle Verlager angepöbelt werden. Dies Werk wollte mir jemand verkaufen, es ist nur einer Luxusausgabe erschienen, aber 200 Mk. fand ich zu teuer." Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[167] Bryan Gilliam and Charles Youmans, "Strauss, Richard," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40117pg8 (accessed 8 Jan. 2012).

caviar will then be fresh, and you have to try it! I already told you that these people are overly hospitable and kind, but Herr Orchis knows how to treat you well."[168]

The following morning, Gieseking took a plane from Bucharest back to Vienna, where he arrived at approximately 12:30 p.m.[169] He was quite pleased with his first Romanian visit. Reflecting further on the tour during the flight, he noted:

> The audience in Bucharest is very attentive and appreciative. Because one can fly there so easily and the food and hotel are also good, it makes this gigantic honorarium seem even better! . . . After the concert, another Legation Councilor invited me to dine with him, actually at his place, but we were then only at the Continental together.[170]

Gieseking was also happy to report to his wife that he had taken advantage of the goods that were available in Romania, items apparently already difficult to come by in Germany because of the war: "By the way, I bought some things on Saturday: curd soap, soap powder, oil, ham, ½ kg of coffee, etc. In Romania there is plenty of everything, but you are not allowed to take too much of it out of the country."[171]

Gieseking's 1940 Romanian visit was brief, with merely four performances, yet this was still more than the number of his appearances that year in Switzerland (3) and

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[168] "Herr Orchis lässt sich Dir besonders empfehlen, ich sollte im Oktober mit Dir kommen, der rumänische Kaviar wäre dann frisch gerutet und den müsstest Du probieren! Ich sagte ja schon diese Leute sind übertrieben gastlich und liebenswürdig, aber mit Mr. Orchis kommt man eigentlich gut aus." Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[169] Ibid.

[170] "[D]as Publikum in B. [Bukarest] ist sehr aufmerksam und dankbar. Da man so gut hinfliegen kann und das Essen und Hotel auch gut sind, kann man ja gut dies Riesenhonorar mitnehmen! . . . Nach dem Konzert hatte noch ein Legationsrat eingeladen, eigentlich zu sich, aber wir waren dann nur im Continental zusammen." Ibid.

[171] "Übrigens habe ich Sonnabend auch einiges eingekauft: Kernseife, Seifenpulver, Öl, Schinken, ½ kg Kaffee, u.s.w. In Rumänien gibt es alles überreichlich, aber ausführen darf man auch nicht viel." Ibid.

Italy (2).[172] It is most significant, however, because of the political function it took on during this difficult time for Romania and its people.

Regardless of his personal convictions, Gieseking represented the Third Reich and many of those attending his concerts would have taken that for granted. His selected repertoire for the occasion—the Rachmaninoff Concerto and Strauss's *Burlesque*, for example—as music of Russia and Germany, was in accordance with Reich officials' imposed program regulations: the Soviets were currently cooperating with the Germans. These works were, of course, *not* necessarily what Romanian nationals would have been clamoring to hear during this dismal time. The two powerful and aggressive nations represented were looming threats and would, within months, divide and occupy the Romanians' beloved homeland. Such tours, whether arranged by Goebbels's Ministry or not, functioned strongly as Nazi propaganda and Gieseking, according to the American Military Government, served as an "artistic emissary of Nazi Germany."[173] Consequently, he was later criticized by the U.S. Military officials, and others as well, for having played in nations where he had only rarely or, as in the case of Romania, never performed prior to WWII.[174]

While it is easy to suspect that Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry and the German Foreign Office had been behind Gieseking's initial Romanian tour of 1940, which would certainly help explain the pianist's sudden interest in the country, there is nonetheless no documentation to prove that such was the case. Because Gieseking had allegedly given Rudolf Goette power of attorney with regard to all his wartime engagements, this

[172] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[173] This is found in a British Military Government Report: "Walter Gieseking," 22 Jan. 1946, file: Walter Gieseking, RKK 2700, R 55/73, BDC, BA.

[174] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7.

encompassed the Balkan appearances. Goette, in fact, swore that he been solely responsible for arranging the pianist's *initial* Balkan visit (perhaps each of the visits—something unspecified), maintaining that the Ministry had not involved itself in them whatsoever:[175]

> Gieseking had for many years received invitations from the Balkan states, even before 1933. Owing to his American tours, Gieseking had never found the time to accept invitations from the Balkans and South America. I declare in lieu of an oath that I carried out these first Balkan business dealings personally and privately, without any influence by the Propaganda Ministry, with the conductor Georgescu ([during a] personal conversation) and his representative, Mr. Orchis.[176]

Goette makes no mention of Gieseking's concerts in Prague, Vienna and Berlin during this first eastern tour. But the above statement seems to imply that, according to Goette, none of the engagements were sponsored by or booked at the suggestion of Goebbels's Ministry. Yet even if that was the case, Gieseking's letter to Annie makes it quite clear that he was repeatedly in the company of German officials in Romania who had incontrovertibly taken a strong interest in his presence. As we have seen, this was typical wherever he traveled during the National Socialist period. In the above testimony, however, Goette acknowledges, albeit somewhat indirectly, that the Propaganda officials were involved in the 1943 Romanian engagements and possibly those in 1941 as well.

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[175] Goette explained this in his letter to the British Information Control Unit at Hamburg from January 1946. Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 2.

[176] "Von den Balkanländern war Gieseking schon jahrelang, auch vor 1933, eingeladen. Mit Rücksicht auf seine amerikanschen Tourneen hatte Gieseking bis dahin nie Zeit gefunden, Einladungen vom Balkan und von Südamerika anzunehmen. Ich versichere an Eides statt, dass ich diese ersten Balkanabschlüsse ohne jede Beeinflussung durch das Propagandaministerium persönlich und privat mit dem Dirigenten Georgescu (persönliche Rücksprache) und seinem Beauftragten Herrn Orchis tätigte." Ibid.

Unsurprisingly, Romania would not be able to maintain its present neutral status for long, and it would become the victim of territorial disputes.[177] As one historian recently noted, Romania, along with the other Balkan states, "represented potential assets in terms of population, geographical position, and raw materials."[178] Its leaders were, in fact, unaware that Soviet and German officials had already secretly signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in August 1939, in which the Romanian territory of Bessarabia was declared to be within the Soviet's interest zone.[179] By mid-1940, the country would fall under pressure from the Soviets and, like its Balkan neighbors, soon be brought under Nazi domination because of the German offensive launched in the region. On 23 November, it was forced to join the Axis powers formally by signing the Tripartite Pact.

The Hitler regime was naturally interested Romania's strategic position for its own Eastern interests, gaining the support of its troops—also for Germany's offensive against the Soviets the following year—and, above all, the country's economic resources.[180] Already in 1940, Germany pressured Romania into surrendering territories to three Eastern Allies: the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Bulgaria.[181] This created widespread unrest and led King Carol II (1893–1953), against his will, to appoint Ion Antonescu (1882–1946) as prime minister/dictator, who, in turn, forced the king to

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[177] Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, *Romania: A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: Federal Research Division, 1991), 79–80; Bruce Wetterau, *World History: A Dictionary of Important People, Places, and Events from Ancient Times to the Present* (New York: H. Holt, 1994), s.v. "Rumania"; Cyprian Blamire and Paul Jackson, *World Fascism: A Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), s.v. "Antonescu, General Ion (1882–1946)."

[178] Mawdsley, *World War II: A New History*, 107.

[179] Bernard A. Cook, ed., *Europe since 1945: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York: Garland Publishing, 2001), s.v. "Moldova." The Soviets would annex Bessarabia on 14 August 1940, making it part of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

[180] Gabriel Gorodetsky, *Grand Delusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 123.

[181] Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, *Romania: A Country Study*, 292.

abdicate on 5 September that year.[182] That same month, Antonescu formed the Romanian regime: the National Legionary State. By June 1941, Romania would have joined Germany in its invasion of Russia and, by that December, declared war on the U.S.

Gieseking would return to Romania in October 1941 to give three concerts and again in 1943 for two more.[183] While he presumably made further appearances with Georgescu and his orchestra, there is record of him performing Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto under the composer-conductor Georges Enescu (1881–1955) leading the Bucharest Philharmonic Orchestra on 14 November 1943; the concert took place at the capital city's Romanian Athenaeum.[184] There was no 1944 visit, however, and by that fall Romania had joined the Allied powers in their fight against Hitler's army. Georgescu would tour with the Bucharest Philharmonic in German-occupied countries during the war, and he was therefore among the many non-Germans who were found guilty of Nazi collaboration during the postwar investigations. As a result, he was ultimately banned from performing in his native country for the remainder of his life.[185]

Czechoslovakia, 27 February 1940

On Monday, 26 February, Gieseking took an early flight back to Vienna, where he was scheduled to travel to Prague the next day for a broadcast performance:

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[182] Wetterau, *World History*, s.v. "Rumania"; Blamire and Jackson, *World Fascism: A Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, s.v. "Antonescu, General Ion (1882–1946)."

[183] "Walter Gieseking in Nederland," *De Tijd* (Netherlands), 5 Oct. 1941; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[184] Lundgren, *Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography*, n.p. (found under "Broadcast Transcriptions: 1930–1956").

[185] "George Georgescu," biographical sketch, Concursul George Georgescu 2008 International Contest for Performing Artists website, accessed 17 June 2011, http://www.concursulgeorgegeorgescu.ro/georgegeorgescuen.html.

> Let's hope it works out with the Prague radio station. At any rate, I have ordered a plane ticket to Prague for tomorrow morning, and I am also expecting a message from Goette in Vienna. Since there is only one train from Vienna to Prague (from 4 o'clock to midnight), the plane is preferable. I'll see how I spend the afternoon today in Vienna. I'll probably send home a package, so that I won't have to lug the food items with me to Prague and Berlin.[186]

This radio performance is not included in the statistics given in Severin Kaven's postwar military report, either because it was overlooked or perhaps because it was not before a live audience. Furthermore, Gieseking's mention of Goette does confirm that his manager was involved in the Eastern European tour's arrangements, though this does not necessarily exclude all involvement on the part of the Propaganda Ministry. Gieseking had, in fact, made a single appearance in Prague each year since 1937, and he would give a slightly higher number of concerts in Czechoslovakia further into the war: two in 1941, three in 1942, and two in 1942.[187]

On Thursday, 29 February, Gieseking was scheduled to play at a German radio station, but it is unclear if this was the same one in Prague or one in Berlin, the city he traveled to next. He suspected that the staff would want him to make some wax discs (Wachsplatten), which they could naturally then broadcast as they pleased.[188] This may

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[186] "Hoffentlich klappt das nun mit dem Prager Sender, ich habe jedenfalls für morgen früh einen Flugplatz nach Prag bestellt, erwarte auch von Goette Nachricht in Wien. Da es nur einen Zug von Wien nach Prag gibt (von 16 bis 24 Uhr), ist das Flugzeug vorzuziehen. Werde sehen, wie ich heute den Nachmittag in Wien verbringe. Wahrscheinlich werde ich ein Paket aufgeben, damit ich die Esswaren nicht erst nach Prag und Berlin mitzuschleppen brauche." Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA.

[187] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4. We should remember that the extent to which Kaven's figures are accurate is unknowable. Because he fails to indicate in his report that Gieseking appeared in Czechoslovakia in 1940, for example, we have reason to suspect that there may be other inaccuracies. Since Kaven met with Goette and Gieseking during his investigation of the latter's history, however, we must accept his findings to be generally reliable.

[188] Gieseking, aboard a plane en route from Bucharest to Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Feb. [1940], GFA. At that time, initial wax master copies also served as the first stage of the commercial recording process, from which more permanent copies on shellac-based discs were prepared for repeated playings. No commercial discs of Gieseking's from this time are known to have ever been released, however. Of course, during WWII many materials, particularly metals, became scarce, which were needed

have had to do with their conflicting schedules. Gieseking was seldom in one place for long when touring in Europe, thus having him drop by to make some records at his convenience was surely the easiest solution on this occasion.[189]

German Concerts, 1940

Gieseking had given only seventeen concerts in Germany throughout 1939—a low figure partly because of the outbreak of the war and partly because of his extensive North American tour during the first months of that year—but in 1940 his German performances doubled, totaling 34.[190]

Among the later controversial engagements was a broadcast performance that had been arranged by the National Socialist Students' Union (Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund) in Munich, something Severin Kaven did not fail to note in his postwar interrogation report.[191] The Students' Union was an active and influential division of the Nazi Party, which, as one author has written, "was devoted to the furtherance of the Nazi way of life among students and indoctrination with National

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for the war industry. This might also explain the (increased?) use of wax records that, as in this case pertaining to Gieseking, presumably did not lead to the production of shellac discs. Following the Pearl Harbor attack, the brass mastercopies of Chopin-Godowsky etudes recorded by pianist David Saperton for RCA Victor in 1940, for example, were melted down and allegedly used as shell casings. Sidney Foster, "David Saperton," liner notes for *David Saperton Plays Chopin and Godowsky*, VAI Audio VAIA/IPA 1037-2, 1996, 2 CDs. The author thanks Donald Manildi and Maxwell Brown of the International Piano Archives at Maryland for their help with this information.

[189] Gieseking recorded significantly less during the war. Since the spring of 1939, he had made only two commercial recordings in January (1940), which were produced at Columbia's Berlin location and included Bach's Italian Concerto and Beethoven's Piano Sonata, op. 49, no. 2. The exact dates of a few works recorded remain uncertain, however, and might have originated during the hostilities. See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 12–15.

[190] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2.

[191] Ibid., 3.

Socialist philosophy, and included physical training and military drills."[192] The fanatical students in Munich, as in many other German cities, had organized boycotts against Jewish professors. This led to many dismissals, and some professors consequently committed suicide, were assaulted, or even placed in concentration camps.[193] Perhaps most notoriously, Nazi students across Germany participated in the burning of books by Jewish authors and others deemed detrimental to the Nazi cause. Playing for the Students' Union meant playing for some of the most radical, young Nazis of all.

Max Strub and the Kraft-durch-Freude Chamber Music Recital, April 1940

Gieseking's many subsequent engagements within Germany naturally continued to include performances in his former hometown of Hanover and his current place of residence, Wiesbaden. Among this year's concerts was a chamber-music recital given with his eminent colleague Max Strub (1900–66) in a Hanover concert hall in early April 1940 (probably 6 April). Strub was a leading violinist of the day, as both soloist and chamber musician. He had played in a piano trio with pianist Elly Ney and cellist Ludwig Hoelscher (Gieseking's chamber partner during the early postwar years), and his own ensemble, the Strub Quartet, became one Germany's most successful chamber groups.

The Gieseking-Strub recital was arranged by the National Socialists' "Kraft durch Freude"-Kulturgemeinde program.[194] (The NS-Kulturgemeinde, or Cultural Community, while listed, had already been amalgamated into the Kraft durch Freude [Strength-

[192] Lepage, *Hitler Youth*, 93.

[193] Abraham Wolf, *Higher Education in Nazi Germany: Or Education for World Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 15.

[194] August Uerz, "Walter Gieseking–Max Strub: Sonatenabend in der KdF-Kulturgemeinde," *Niedersächsiche Tageszeitung*, 6–7 Apr. 1940; Theodor W. Werner, "Sonaten-Abend: Walter Gieseking und Max Strub spielten," *Hannoverscher Kurier*, 7 Apr. 1940.

through-Joy] Organization in September 1937.[195]) Beginning with Schubert's Sonatina in G minor (op. posth. 137, nr. 3/D. 408), the program continued with Beethoven's "Kreutzer" Sonata (op. 47) and Hans Pfitzner's Sonata in E minor (op. 28).

Pfitzner was a friend of both Strub's and Gieseking's, and he dedicated at least one work to "My dear Max Strub" (the String Quartet in C minor, op. 50) and two compositions to the pianist: the Piano Concerto in E-flat Major, op. 31 (1922), which Gieseking helped popularize, and the *5 Klavierstücke*, op. 47 (1941).[196] Gieseking had, in fact, performed Pfitzner's music for years and would continue to do so, not only in Germany, but also in annexed countries. Consequently, this would be yet another strike against him after the war, for Pfitzner was considered one of Nazi Germany's three most important "God-gifted" musicians, one who more clearly sympathized with the regime, enjoyed his eminent status, and as Kaven noted, "was constantly eulogized by the new masters of the Reichmusic Chamber."[197]

The chamber recital with Strub concluded with Gieseking's own *Variations on a Theme by Grieg*, written for (or at least published for) piano and flute or violin.[198] This

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[195] John London, ed., *Theater Under the Nazis* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 9.

[196] A photograph of Strub, Gieseking, and Pfitzner together is found in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, between pages 64–65. For a wartime announcement of Pfitzner's op. 50 and its dedication to Strub, as well as one of Pfitzner's op. 47, naming Gieseking as the dedicatee, see Ludwig Schrott, "Neue Pfitznerwerke," *Musik im Kriege*, Apr./May 1944, 6.

[197] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 9–10. For a summary of Pfitzner's record during the National Socialist period see Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Pfitzner, Hans." For a recent discussion of Pfitzner's questionable guilt of Nazi sympathy see Jens Jessen, "Kann man Hans Pfitzner retten?" Klassic-Debatte, *Die Zeit*, 31 Oct. 2007, accessed 3 Oct. 2011, http://www.zeit.de/2007/45/ Spitze_45 and also *Die Zeit*'s interview with conductor Ingo Metzmacher on Pfitzner and his compositions: Claus Spahn, "Ich bin eine deutsche Seele," Klassik, *Die Zeit*, 6 Feb. 2009, accessed 3 Oct. 2011, http://www.zeit.de2007/40/Interview-Metzmacher.

[198] The program details are given in August Uerz, "Walter Gieseking–Max Strub: Sonatenabend in der KdF-Kulturgemeinde," *Niedersächsiche Tageszeitung*, 6–7 Apr. 1940. For more on the publication of the work see Excursus IV, "Gieseking's Published Compositions during the Third Reich and Postwar Period."

appears to have been the first time Gieseking publicly performed the work in Europe and with a violinist. It is a well-crafted piece, one that is indeed worthy of using Grieg's lovely and inspired theme. The score had been brought out by the Adolph Fürstner firm in 1938, and it received its *world* premiere, we will recall, when the composer accompanied flutist Lambros Callimahos during the latter's Carnegie Hall recital on 27 January 1939.[199] Shortly thereafter, during the first week of March 1939, flutist Franz Danneberg and pianist August Vogt had given the European premiere, and while this concert had taken place near Gieseking's home, namely at Wiesbaden's *Kurhaus*, the composer could not attend for he was still touring North America.[200] Danneberg was a member of the city's *Kurorchester*, and Vogt was possibly Carl-August Vogt, who became General Music Director of the Philharmonie Baden-Baden in April 1953.

The two distinguished musicians, Strub and Gieseking, had recently given what appears to have been their first joint recital sometime during the winter of 1939–1940, the success of which had led to this second, sold-out concert in April.[201] Erich Limmert of the *Hannoverscher Anzeiger* reported the following after this latest performance:

> The chance to hear famous soloists together in a chamber-music recital is a rare event. And when two artists on the level of Walter Gieseking and Max Strub give a sonata recital, then expectations of music lovers are exceptionally high. The large audience, which had received invitations for the concert from the KdF-Kulturgemeinde, got to know Gieseking as a composer on this evening. . . . As a composer, he is still the superb pianist with a fine sense of sound, as his large, devoted Hanover community has known him to be for some time.[202]

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[199] The premiere performance with Callimahos is discussed in Chapter 4.

[200] Dr. Wolfgang Stephan, "Im Kurhaus," *Wiesbadener Tageblatt*, 7 Mar. 1939.

[201] August Uerz, "Walter Gieseking–Max Strub: Sonatenabend in der KdF-Kulturgemeinde," *Niedersächsiche Tageszeitung*, 6–7 Apr. 1940.

[202] "Berühmte Solisten in einem Kammermusik-Abend zu erleben, ist eine seltene Gelegenheit. Und wenn zwei Künstler vom Range Walter Giesekings und Max Strubs einen Sonaten-Abend geben, dann sind die Erwartungen der Musikfreunde hochgespannt. Die zahlreiche Zuhörerschaft, die der Einladung der

While this was an all-German program—nothing uncommon during the Nazi era—Gieseking's own music offered the Hanoverians some forbidden and, perhaps in some cases, longed-for "impressionism," the influence of which can be clearly heard in his variations and other self-composed works. In fact, Limmert did not fail to point out Gieseking's "Liebe" for impressionism, but he gave the far-fetched explanation of how the acclaimed pianist had been inspired, apparently solely, by the German impressionist composer Walter Niemann—there was no mention of Debussy or Ravel, who were by this time banned by the regime. From Limmert's review we read, "Years ago the artist [Gieseking] occasionally played pieces by Walter Niemann; these late impressionistic works must have also had the strongest creative influence on Gieseking."[203] He otherwise connected Gieseking's use of sound, or "sound painting" ("Klangbild"), and "chordal coloring" ("akkordische Farbigkeit") to that of the "newer" Russian composers, particularly Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition"—a piece Gieseking seldom, if ever, programmed and never recorded, although he made since-forgotten piano rolls of it.[204]

To be sure, Gieseking knew Niemann's music quite well: he was personally acquainted with the composer, mentioning him occasionally when writing Annie, and

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KdF-Kulturgemeinde ins Konzerthaus gefolgt war, lernte an diesem Abend Gieseking as Komponisten kennen. . . . Er ist auch als Komponist der mit feinsinniger Kultur des Klanges ausgezeichnete Pianist, wie ihn seine große, treue hannoversche Gemeinde schon lange kennt." Erich Limmert, "Gieseking als Komponist," *Hannoverscher Anzeiger*, 6–7 Apr. 1940.

[203] "Vor Jahren spielte der Künstler gelegentlich Stücke von Walter Niemann; von diesen impressionistischen Spätblüten dürften auf Gieseking auch die stärksten schöpferischen Eingebungen ausgegangen sein." Ibid.

[204] No longer a "new" work, Mussorgsky had written the piano suite *Kartinki s vïstavki* ("Pictures at an Exhibition") in 1874. The first edition of it, by Rimsky-Korsakov, appeared in 1886, five years after Mussorgsky's death. Gieseking made rolls of the work—necessarily in four parts—for the Triphonola firm (rolls: 58875, 58876, 58877, 58878) during the 1920s (the exact date is unknown). Ibid. For an online list of the rolls see "Walter Gieseking," Reproducing Piano Roll Foundation, accessed 12 Dec. 2009, http://www.rprf.org/Rollography.html.

since the start of his career had periodically played pieces by his compatriot—especially during the Weimar era, when Niemann's music enjoyed tremendous popularity. As late as 1938, he had given a recital in Berlin, the second half of which was devoted to impressionist works, but there was no Debussy—just Niemann and Ravel.[205] According to Rudolf Goette, Gieseking had wanted to help Niemann financially by promoting his keyboard output, just as he had done for German composer Julius Weismann (1879–1950).[206] Gieseking premiered Niemann's "Alt-China," op. 62 on 12 November 1919, for example, recorded "Silver Cascade" for the Brunswick label in 1928, and also made piano rolls of the same works and several others.[207] He continued to program Niemann's music throughout the war—though apparently seldom, if ever, afterward—and at least one unreleased, wartime radio broadcast survives of him playing the composer's *Zwei Barkarolen*, op. 144, in Berlin.[208] As further evidence of their friendship, there is a letter from the composer to Gieseking found in the latter's *Nachlass*, in which Niemann addresses the pianist with the familiar German form of "you"—"du."[209] In addition, a

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[205] Dr. Wolfgang Sachse, "Konzert-Nachrichten," *Allgemeine Musikzeitung: Wochenschrift für das Musikleben der Gegenwart*, 18 Mar. 1938, 181.

[206] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 5.

[207] Gieseking made rolls of the entire "Old China" suite for the Triphonola company (rolls 58771, 58772, 58773, 58774, 58775, n.d.). At least one other pianist, one K. Heinemann, made rolls of the work, but since there are no dates given—as is often the case with these documents—it is impossible to determine whether Gieseking's or Heinemann's were produced first. Other Niemann rolls of Gieseking's include that of the "Singende Fontäne (Singing Fountain), Op. 30, which he made for both the Ampico company (roll 6586) as well as the Welte firm (roll 3830). For Welte-Mignon, he made two additional rolls of pieces from *The Magic Book*, Op. 92, namely "Kolibri" (Humming-Bird) no. 1 (roll 7363) and no. 6 "The Silver Cascade," (roll 7364). The information pertaining to the premiere of "Alt China" is found in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 47. For a list of the piano rolls see Sitsky ed., *The Classical Reproducing Piano Roll*, vol. II: Pianists, 834. For an online list of the rolls see "Walter Gieseking," Reproducing Piano Roll Foundation, accessed 12 Dec. 2009, http://www.rprf.org/Rollography.html. The recording of "The Silver Cascade" (Brunswick 78: 30 123) is listed in Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 57.

[208] Walter Niemann, *Zwei Barkarolen*, op. 144 (Augsburg: Böhm, 1938). Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 57.

[209] Niemann, Leipzig, to Gieseking, New York, letter, 2 Mar. 1929, GFA.

photograph of Niemann in the Gieseking estate bears the dedication "Walter Niemann, to his dear friend, the great master Walter Gieseking, in gratitude and admiration, in memory of 22 Oct. 1926 in Leipzig! ('Hamburg' op. 107)."[210] Gieseking had apparently just played Niemann's new work, "Hamburg: Ein Zyklus von 13 Charakterstücken" (Hamburg: A Cycle of Thirteen Character Pieces), which was published by C.F. Peters in Leipzig that same year.

Yet there can be no doubt that Gieseking the composer was inspired primarily by the turn-of-the-century French masters, whose music he famously championed throughout his career. Despite any traces of originality, Niemann's impressionistic compositions, which also contain elements of exoticism and nationalism (his early works, opp. 1–54, were written in a late-Romantic style[211]), can easily be viewed as inferior imitations of the French masterworks that Gieseking had studied, regularly programmed, and repeatedly recorded since his years as a conservatory pupil—hence the obscurity of Niemann's oeuvre today. Of course, Limmert had to have been fully aware of all of this, but he was going along with the promotion of Niemann's music within the Reich, which for many Germans had to serve as an ersatz for the prohibited French repertoire. Gieseking himself would be criticized by the U.S. Military Government after the war for having played works by the "insignificant German impressionist" ("nicht bedeutenden deutschen Impressionisten"), while complying with the wartime ban on French music.[212]

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[210] "Walter Niemann, seinem lieben Freund und großmeister Walter Gieseking in Dankbarkeit und Bewunderung zur Erinnerung am dem 22 Okt. 1926 in Leipzig! ('Hamburg' op. 107)." Photograph of Walter Niemann, 1926, GFA.

[211] Rose Maur, "Niemann, Walter," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 6 Jan. 2012, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19938.

[212] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 5.

As a final point, it should be noted that when Vogt and Danneberg gave the European premiere of the Grieg Variations in March 1939—that is, before the Nazis' ban on French music had gone into affect—another German critic, Dr. Wolfgang Stephan of the *Wiesbadener Tageblatt*, did comment on the French Impressionists in his review of Gieseking's work, even referring to the latter's French past:

> Here, too . . . we find the influence of the French Impressionists, which also enjoy a privileged place in the repertoire of the Lyon-born pianist. Yet in no way does this natural and intended influence hinder Gieseking the composer from creating new and original concepts in the variation genre.[213]

Regarding any Russian influence, with reference again to Limmert's review, Gieseking was naturally familiar with a considerable amount of the more popular Russian repertoire, particularly the compositions of Rachmaninoff and Scriabin. He had played their music since his youth, and a bold, early program from 21 September 1921, for example, contained Scriabin's Fifth Piano Sonata, op. 53.[214] Analyses of Gieseking's own compositions, including the various unpublished works that survive in his privately maintained *Nachlass*, would surely identify traces of Russian inspiration as well, yet the modern French and German influence is by far the most evident.

By mid-1940 Gieseking, inspired to compose further chamber music, had also completed a work with the rather unusual instrumentation for three violins. A delightful piece of only moderate difficulty, he entitled it *Kleine Musik für drei Violinen*, or *Little*

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[213] "Auch hier hat . . . der französische Impressionismus Päte gestanden, der ja auch im pianistischen Repertoire des gebürtigen Lyoners eine besondere Vorzugsstellung einnimmt. Doch mindert diese natürliche und selbstgewählte Patenschaft keineswegs den Eigenanspruch des Komponisten Gieseking, auf dem Gebiet der Variation neuen und eigenen Ausdruck erschlossen zu haben." Dr. Wolfgang Stephan, "Im Kurhaus," *Wiesbadener Tageblatt*, 7 Mar. 1939.

[214] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 55.

Music for Three Violins.[215] Gieseking's interest in the violin can perhaps partly be explained by his past training and ensemble experience: he had learned to play the violin in his youth, we will remember, and later performed as violinist in the conservatory orchestra in Hanover; then he served as both violinist and violist in various Prussian military bands in Hanover and on the Island of Borkum during the First World War.[216] During his years as a military musician (1916–18), he once even appeared as solo violinist for a silent-film presentation at a suburban cinema in Hanover; this was something he regularly did at that time to earn extra money, though he usually played the piano and harmonium during the Sunday showings at the Hotel Nordsee in Borkum.[217]

Once again, Max Strub, who one suspects may have also encouraged Gieseking to write more chamber music at this time, involved himself in the premiere performance of *Kleine Musik für drei Violinen*, only on this occasion by having three of his pupils play the piece—from manuscript—during a "Kammermusik-Abend" held in the Theatersaal at the Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin on 24 June 1940. The pupils, Hans-Ulrich Tiesler, Max Kayser, and Franz Hopfner, were participants in Professor Strub's Violin and Chamber Music classes, which were led at the Hochschule. It is uncertain whether Gieseking was in the audience that evening, but this time the program opened with his work and was followed by compositions of Reger, Dvořák, and

[215] As indicated inside the score, the first violin part may alternatively be played by the oboe or flute. Gieseking, *Kleine Musik für drei Violinen*, ed. Max Strub (Berlin: Johannes Oertel/Adolf Fürstner, 1941).

[216] See Chapter 1. Gieseking's own, at times humorous, accounts of his background as violinist and violist can be read in the autobiographical sketch included in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*. See, for example, pages 14, 18, 23, 34–35, 38–9.

[217] Ibid., 35–6 and 41.

Borodin.[218] (Note the Borodin selection: since the start of WWII, Russian music had become increasingly popular among German audiences, a point addressed in the subsequent discussion on Nazi censorship.) While Gieseking's *Kleine Musik für drei Violinen* has since been largely forgotten, it was published by the Johannes Oertel Verlag in 1941, with the editing provided by Strub.[219]

Not one month after the conservatory performance of his *Kleine Musik*, Gieseking was inspired to compose another light chamber work for strings during the week of 17–23 July 1940.[220] This one was for string quartet, namely the *Serenade* in A major. After a three-year delay, it would likewise be published by the Oertel firm in 1943—along with the *Kleine Musik*, his only other wartime publication.[221] It is one of only three of Gieseking's published works that does not involve the piano and is his only completed composition for string quartet without additional accompaniment.[222] As before, his

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[218] Program: "Kammermusik-Abend," Staatliche Akademischer Hochschule für Musik Berlin, 24 June 1940, photocopy in author's possesion. The author wishes to thank Ruprecht Bauriedl of the Johannes Oertel e.K. Musikverlag und Bühnenvertrieb in Munich for kindly sending him the copy of the original program. In a guestbook belonging to the vintner and amateur musician, Carl Jung, in whose postwar soirees Gieseking often participated, it is misleadingly indicated that Gieseking's *Kleine Musik für drei Violinen* was "premiered" at Schloss Boosenburg in Rüdesheim on 26 Mar. 1946; this would have been merely the first performance at the Rüdesheim location, however. See Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner: Ein Beitrag zu seiner Rüdesheimer Zeit von Februar 1946 bis August 1950," in *Der legendäre Geiger Gerhard Taschner: Vom ersten Bogenstrich gefangen*, ed. Walter Gerstberger (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wißner, 1998), 266-67.

[219] For more on Oertel and the publication of *Kleine Musik für drei Violinen*, which also involved Gieseking's previously publisher, Adolph Fürstner, see Excursus IV. An examination of the work is also found in Haid, "Walter Gieseking and His Published Chamber Music," 127–38. A commercial recording of *Kleine Musik für drei Violinen* is included in Gieseking, *Walter Gieseking: The Rediscovered Compositions: Lieder, Piano Works, Chamber Music*, produced by Frank R. Latino, Centaur Records CRC 3215, 2012, CD. The disc also features the premiere recordings of a selection of Gieseking's unpublished compositions: Lieder, a melodrama for speaker and piano, chamber music, and solo and four-hand piano works written between 1915 and 1950.

[220] The surviving manuscripts in the GFA provide the dates of the work's conception.

[221] Gieseking, *Serenade in A-Dur* (Berlin: Johannes Oertel Verlag, 1943). For more on the Serenade, also see Excursus IV.

[222] The other work that does not incorporate the piano is the posthumously published *Divertimento* for Clarinet and String Quartet, which Gieseking began to compose in 1941. Gieseking, Divertimento für Klarinette in A und Streichquartett (Edition Ebenos, Aachen, 2002).

supportive colleague Max Strub served as the score's editor. There is also a surviving radio recording of the Strub Quartet playing the Serenade ten years later, in March 1953.[223] Gieseking generally maintained high standards when composing, as he did in this instance. Nonetheless, this fine work suffered the common fate of his small output, having been almost completely forgotten today. It has yet to be commercially recorded.[224]

Gieseking and Strub would team up to give another *Sonatenabend* again sometime in early 1941, making their first appearance together in Berlin. Another all-German program, they played music by Brahms, Schubert, Pfitzner, and, as before, Gieseking's *Variations on a Theme by Grieg*. Writing for the Nazi journal *Die Musik* (edited by Herbert Gerigk), Hermann Killer found the variations "powerfully expressive and masterfully composed" ("ausdruckstarke und meisterhaft gesetzte Variationen").[225] And in 1942, Gieseking joined Strub during one of the latter's three solo recitals, to play the Pfitzner Sonata in E minor again.[226]

Having been recognized as one of the regimes' most important violinists—and, like Gieseking, Pfitzner and other elite figures, ultimately included on the Nazis' late-war "God-gifted" list—Strub, too, would continue his career within the Reich until Germany's defeat, fulfilling propagandistic engagements such as a tour through occupied France in 1943. Consequently, his history during the National Socialist era would be found far from clean after the war. Upon resuming his career during the postwar period,

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[223] Gieseking, *Serenade* in A major, performed by the Strub-Quartett, 2 Mar. 1953, unpublished mono radio recording of the former Süddeutscher Rundfunk (SDR), now housed in the Südwestrundfunk archive, SWR2; a copy of the performance is also preserved by the International Piano Archives at Maryland in College Park.

[224] An examination of the Serenade is also found in Haid, "Walter Gieseking and His Published Chamber Music," 139–50.

[225] Hermann Killer, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, Mar. 1941, 224.

[226] Hermann Killer, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, July 1942, 324.

he would be based in Detmold, where he taught at the Nordwestdeutsche Musikakademie.[227]

Nazi-Censored Repertoire

Throughout its rule, the Nazi regime had implemented changing restrictions on the performance of "non-Aryan" and other "undesirable" composers. The Reich Music Chamber continued this during the war by banning "enemy" music of such figures as Debussy, Ravel, Honegger, Milhaud, and, once the Russians had become German foes in the summer of 1941, Rachmaninoff and Tchaikovsky—to name only some examples.[228] This was especially significant for Gieseking's career, owing to his reputation as an interpreter of French music, namely that of Debussy and Ravel. If he wished to continue his career as a Third Reich citizen, he knew he had little choice but to comply with the regime's censorship regulations. And, indeed, he obeyed the rules, playing the music of prohibited composers only on occasions when the ban was lifted for certain concerts, those held at German legations and embassies, for example, in cities such as Paris, Brussels, and Copenhagen.[229] Another chance to do so within wartime Germany came when he played works by Debussy before the Foreign Press Association in Berlin on 20 November 1943, "an event organized by the National Socialist Party for purely propaganda purposes."[230] This was, however, shortly after the ban on French music had

[227] For a summary of Strub's record during the National Socialist era, see Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Strub, Max."

[228] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 9; Richard Grunberger, *The 12-Year Reich: A Social History of Nazi Germany 1933-1945* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston: 1971), 415; Thacker, *Music After Hitler*, 81.

[229] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 9.

[230] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 47; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2.

been made less restrictive.[231] In a postwar report from 7 December 1945, Alfred Toombs of the U.S. Army's Information Control Division explained this development as follows, though inaccurately referring to a complete abolition of the censorship directive:

> The ban on French music was lifted in nazi Germany some time in 1943. The Propaganda Ministry announced the new regulation through its subservient Reichsmusikkammer in the monthly bulletin, but under the Nazi system of Gau, Kreis or city censorship of music programs, the resistance against overcoming long-acquired habits must have been tremendous. Furthermore, in a police-controlled country, with denunciations rampant, not many had the courage to play music which was suppressed for more than four years. Gieseking, it was revealed during the investigation [by Severin Kaven of September 1945], was a persona grata with the Propaganda Ministry and could have easily taken a chance, but his programs inside Germany during the years 1943, 1944 and 1945 do not contain a single piece of French music.[232]

Toombs was obviously unaware of the exceptional occasions in which Gieseking had been able to play French repertoire. Furthermore, to be precise, Goebbels had merely modified the ban on French compositions, permitting the performance of such works so long as "it remained limited to special cases and did not exceed a limited proportion of the program (a fourth of the proposed program at most)."[233] This had been made official on 3 November 1943, merely seventeen days before Gieseking's concert before the Foreign Press Association in Berlin.[234] Ricarda Braumandl has recently written that, by playing Debussy's music at this occurrence, Gieseking "took advantage of this opportunity," overlooking any collaborationist motivation on his part.[235] Kaven, on the other hand, had been more suspicious of the pianist's intentions: "The Goebbels Office

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[231] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 9; Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 8; Kehler, ed., *The Piano in Concert*, vol. I, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter."

[232] Subject: Walter Gieseking, Alfred Toombs to Colonel [?] Powell, 7 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich.

[233] Quoted in Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 47.

[234] Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982), 375.

[235] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 47.

lifted the ban and Gieseking readily complied."[236] In every instance when Gieseking performed French music during this period—whether before private German audiences at embassies or legations or during public concerts in Europe's capital cities, Paris included—Kaven felt he was dutifully fulfilling the regime's wishes.[237]

With regard to Frédéric Chopin (1810–49), a review from early 1941 by Hermann Killer in *Die Musik* describes a program Gieseking gave, presumably also in Berlin, which included the composer's B-minor Sonata. This was a work that the pianist rarely performed and never recorded, and it was preceded by Schumann's *Fantasie*, and followed by a more modern, international second half that featured works by Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882–1973), de Falla, and Scriabin.[238] Similar to their evolving policy regarding French music, the National Socialists' attitude toward Chopin, who was born and raised in Poland but spent his adulthood in France, was complex and deserves some clarification.

Just as Smetana's music was banned in Czechoslovakia, Chopin's music, as was widely reported, was prohibited in Poland throughout its German occupation.[239] With its blatant patriotic and nationalist aspects—those of the Polonaises and Mazurkas especially—the composer's incredibly popular music, which has always meant much to the Poles, was naturally targeted by the Nazi regime without delay. Moreover, as part of the their plan to demoralize the Polish people, Nazi officials went so far as to close, restrict, and in some cases even destroy bookstores, libraries, museums, scientific

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[236] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 9.

[237] Ibid.

[238] Hermann Killer, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, Mar. 1941, 225.

[239] Sir Ernest MacMillan, *MacMillan on Music*, ed. Carl Morey (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 69; Stefan Sutkowski, *The History of Music in Poland: The Contemporary Era, 1939–1974* (Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition, 2001), 50n16.

collections, and monuments—and this included at least one of Chopin, namely the main monument in Warsaw.[240] Yet Germans, and presumably other "Aryan" guest artists, could play Chopin's music within Germany, if perhaps not for certain official occasions when, say, an all-German program might be preferred and expected.

As was reported in a popular *Time* article, the Nazis, as they had done with César Franck,[241] went so far as to make the absurd claim that Chopin himself was, in fact, German, the ancestors of his French father Nicolas's side—never mind his Polish mother, Tekla Justyna Krzyzanowska—having been the Alsatian, Schopping family.[242] This began in 1940, when Nazi researchers suddenly found proof that Nicholas Chopin (in Polish: Mikołaj Chopin, 1771–1844) had come from the village of Marainville-sur-Madon (Vosges department), in the province of Lorraine, not far south of Nancy.[243] This has proven to be true. But of course the Germans had newly seized the long-contested Alsace-Lorraine region, after having resentfully returned it to the French under the Treaty of Versailles in 1919; the territory had been annexed by the German Empire in 1871. Hence, in the Nazis' eyes this was German soil, as it had officially been before World War One, and the Chopins were therefore German. As Manuela Schwartz has written, "With the proof of [Frédéric] Chopin's alleged German ancestry . . . the Nazis succeeded

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[240] Irene Tomaszewski and Tecia Werbowski, "Nazis Reported Degrading Poles," *New York Times*, 11 Feb. 1941; Tomaszewski and Werbowski *Code Name Żegota: Rescuing Jews in Occupied Poland, 1942–1945: The Most Dangerous Conspiracy in Wartime Europe* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2010), 6.

[241] For a good, late-war example of the Germanization of Franck see Reinhold Zimmermann, "Cäsar Franck: 'der französischer Brahms?'" *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept., 91–2. See also Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 9.

[242] "People: Troubled," *Time*, 15 May 1944, accessed 15 Jan. 2012, http://timedemo.newscred.com/article/161d05aa97e37e87e3fc20a48d588bc3.html/edit.

[243] Manuela Schwartz, "Musikpolitik und Musikpropaganda im besetzten Frankreich," in *Kultur–Propaganda–Öffentlichkeit: Intentionen deutscher Besatzungspolitik und Reaktionen auf die Okkupation*, eds. Wolfgang Benz, Gerhard Otto, and Anabella Weismann, Nationalsozialistische Besatzungspolitik in Europa 1939–1945, Bd. 5 (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), 64.

not only in Germanizing one of the most treasured composers of the twentieth century and making him one of the German masters, but above all in taking him away from the French."[244]

The Hitler regime continued to revise its proscription of "enemy" composers accordingly as the war progressed and the politics shifted. Alan Steinweis gives a summary of such mid-war modifications:

> In July 1941 . . . Goebbels banned all works by Soviet composers. By 15 August 1941, comprehensive bans had been placed on music composed, arranged, and published by Jews, British subjects, Poles (except Chopin), Russians, and French citizens (except Bizet). To further Germanize music programming, Goebbels and [Peter] Raabe encouraged orchestras to pay added attention to the compositions of relatively obscure German composers, such as Spohr, Lortzing, von Suppé, and Millöcker.[245]

During Gieseking's postwar interrogation, the subject of his wartime programs was addressed. This part of the conversation went as follows:

> Q. [Officer Severin Kaven] Before the war you were never known to be sold on Russian music?
> A. [Gieseking] I played it from time to time.
> Q. Between September 1939 and June 1941, while Germany was on friendly terms with the Soviets, you played repeatedly Rachmaninoff, Tchaikovsky and Scriabine [*sic*]?
> A. I made out a Russian group [of works]. This was an idea that came to me.
> Q. When war on Russia was declared, Russian music disappeared from your programs?
> A. You know why.
> Q. You are known all over the world as the greatest interpreter of French impressionistic music, but during the war you stopped playing Debussy and Ravel inside Germany?
> A. This was an order of the Reichmusic Chamber.
> Q. You played, however, Debussy and Ravel at the recital before the Foreign Press Association in Berlin?

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[244] "Mit dem Nachweis von Chopins angeblicher deutscher Herkunft . . . sollte es nicht nur gelingen, einen der beliebtesten Komponisten des 20. Jahrhunderts zu germanisieren und dem Kreise deutscher Tongenies zuzuführen, sondern ihn vor allem den Franzosen wegzunehmen." Schwartz, "Musikpolitik und Musikpropaganda im besetzten Frankreich," 64–5.

[245] Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 166.

A. Permission was granted for this occasion.
Q. Don't you think that such deals have lowered your standing as a pure artist?
A. I always abide by the law. I never try to go against it. It's no use.
Q. You undoubtedly know that the Nazis accepted Cesar Franck into their fold?[246]
A. Well, wasn't his grandfather German?
Q. You will agree, of course, that this was pure nonsense. Regardless of his paternal or maternal antecedents, Franck was French in spirit and inspiration?
A. Of course.
Q. Why, then did you start playing his music? You played Franck very seldom before?
A. All the program directors started clamoring for it, and I had to oblige.[247]

Kaven was neither convinced nor persuaded by Gieseking's answers, and in his subsequent report, he restated with confidence the assertions he had made during Gieseking's questioning. "During the war, some Nazi musicologist discovered German antecedents in Franck's genealogical tree and promptly decided 'the Germans can consider him now as one of their own,'" Kaven concluded, adding, "Gieseking took the hint and started to play Franck's compositions."[248] Yet Franck's heritage, in fact, remains contested to this day. In the latest *New Grove Dictionary*, John Trevitt and Joël-Marie Fauquet begin their article by addressing this point:

> Franck's cultural origins have been the subject of some dispute. Before 1830 Liège was officially part of the French-dominated Walloon district of what later became Belgium. His mother's ancestry was wholly German; the family of his father Nicholas-Joseph, a minor clerk who was unemployed at the time of his elder son's birth, came from Gemmenich near the German border.[249]

No mention is made of the Nazis' research and promotion of Franck as a German.

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[246] Nazi authorities issued an order that Franck's first name was to be given the more German spelling of "Cäsar" or in cases without the umlaut, "Caesar." Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 9.

[247] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 21 Sept. 1945, 5.

[248] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 9.

[249] John Trevitt and Joël-Marie Fauquet, "Franck, César," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10121 (accessed 2 Mar. 2012).

While Kaven acknowledged that Gieseking had performed banned French music when it was occasionally permitted, he derisively commented "but neither Prague, Poznań or the Alsatian cities of Strasbourg, Colmar, or Mulhouse heard him play Debussy and Ravel."[250] He clearly felt that Gieseking had too willingly accepted—and thereby promoted—the Nazis' racially determined music censorship.

In a postwar letter to Charles Wagner from February 1948, Gieseking defended himself against the accusations pertaining to censored music, contending that he had played Russian music since his early career, that the audiences (presumably German) had desired to hear Russian works, and that he programmed Nazi-banned music during his concerts abroad during the war:

> I have played lots of Russian modern music, especially Scriabin, in the twenties (also in America!)[.] The great demand for Russian works after 1939, from the audiences, was the only reason for my falling back on old programs [with Russian works].
>
> Performing Debussy and Ravel was strictly forbidden in Germany after 1939. I played Debussy and Ravel, nevertheless in all foreign (neutral and occupied) countries, just as I played Russian music after 1941, outside Germany (In Germany all Russian music was forbidden when the war with Russia started), the Tschaikovsky Concerto, for instance, in Switzerland in February, 1944 (Gieseking's English).[251]

Regarding his wartime performances of Franck's music, Gieseking further reminded Wagner that "Franck's Symphonic Variations were on [*sic*] my repertoire since 1930. In 1931, I made recordings in London of this work, which are still on sale [i.e. for sale] ([by] Columbia Records)."[252] The recording in question was actually produced in November 1932 at Abbey Road Studios, for which Gieseking was accompanied by the

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[250] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 5.

[251] Gieseking, Saarbrücken, to Charles [Wagner], New York, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[252] Ibid.

London Philharmonic Orchestra led by the English conductor Sir Henry J. Wood (1869–1944).[253]

The pianist's German manager, Goette, admitted that Gieseking had frequently played Franck's *Variations symphoniques* for diplomatic receptions abroad during the last war years. "That apparently functioned as NS-Propaganda for the occupied western territories," he added before taking part of the blame: "Now I can solemnly declare that I was quite often personally responsible for selecting Franck's Symphonic Variations for Gieseking's orchestral concerts." Goette gave as an example a performance given for the Frankfurt Museum Society (Museumgesellschaft).[254] In response to the postwar accusations that Gieseking had also stopped performing Chopin's music, Goette answered: "Herr Gieseking always had at least the *Berceuse*, *Barcarolle*, and some of the Nocturnes in his repertoire."[255] While Gieseking did play the first two pieces throughout his career, along with other selections of Chopin's music, he, in fact, almost never performed any of the Nocturnes despite his early, Weimar-era commercial recordings op. 9 nos. 2 and 3 and op. 15 no. 2.[256]

Regarding Russian repertoire, Goette would argue on behalf of his client that he "has always been recognized as one of the best interpreters of the Tchaikovsky Concerto,

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[253] Gieseking recorded the work again in 1951 with Herbert von Karajan leading the London-based Philharmonia Orchestra, and three broadcast performances of the work survive as well. The only other known recorded documentation of Gieseking playing a Franck composition is a 1947 performance with violinist Gerhard Taschner, in which they perform the composer's popular Sonata for violin and piano. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 7, 50.

[254] "Das sei offensichtliche NS-Propaganda für die besetzten Westgebiete gewesen. Nun kann ich an Eides statt versichern, dass ich selbst sehr oft für Orchesterkonzerte Giesekings die Sinfonischen Variationen von Franck abgeschlossen habe." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 5.

[255] "Mindestens die Berceuse, Barcarolle und einige Nocturnes hatte Herr Gieseking regelmässig im Repertoire." Ibid.

[256] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 5.

which he also played in Germany quite often, so long as it was not directly prohibited."[257] As for the Russian composer's output for solo piano, Goette rightfully pointed out how essentially none of the works belonged to the standard repertoire and were "probably not regularly programmed by any reputable pianist in the world."[258]

Many will agree that Kaven was right to criticize Gieseking for obeying and thereby further propagating the regime's censorship policies. Essentially all of his successful German colleagues were guilty of this charge, of course, and in hindsight we may easily choose to consider them cowards for this today. We must bear in mind, however, that the Nazi authorities would have doubtless taken action to stop such "protest" at once. And in the police state that Hitler's Germany was, one could only fear the severest form of punishment.

That Gieseking performed forbidden music in Germany on occasions when the authorities allowed him to do so, for obvious reasons does not count as an act of resistance. Yet this does suggest, as his postwar testimony implied, that he was still eager to play these works during their censorship. Gieseking audaciously—if not convincingly—asserted, however, that by programming such music outside the German borders, he had in fact resisted the regime. The final question posed by Kaven during Gieseking's postwar examination was, "What did you do to oppose the Nazis?" Gieseking's reply: "I played Debussy abroad. There was no ruling on that, but I took a

[257] "Herr Gieseking ist übrigens seit jeher einer der besten Interpreten für das Tschaikowsky-Konzert, welches er auch in Deutschland sehr oft spielte, solange es nicht direct verboten war." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 5.

[258] "Die Sololiteratur von Tschaikowsky für Klavier . . . wird wohl von keinem namhaften Pianisten der Welt regelmässig gespielt." Ibid.

chance."[259] We can only wonder why he never bothered to mention his efforts to protest the ban on Hindemith's music back in 1936.

Unpublished Wartime Lieder

In the summer months of 1940, Gieseking found the inspiration to compose two Lieder for voice and piano, something he would repeat four years later. During the entire Second World War, the only art songs he completed were these four, and while they are among his finest works, all of them remained unpublished.

The first Lied was written from 11 to 13 June 1940 and is entitled "Sag ich's euch, geliebte Bäume," or "Should I tell you, beloved trees?"[260] It is his only strophic setting among the over twenty unpublished Lieder, containing only minor variants for the repeat, and it is his only setting of a Goethe poem. Gieseking preferred texts by contemporary authors. Approximately three minutes in duration, it is a gem, one of his most beautifully lyrical works, if not the most progressive, and one arguably worthy of a place among the revered canon of twentieth-century art song.

Upon finishing the Goethe Lied, Gieseking completed a more virtuosic setting of Rainer Maria Rilke's (1875–1926) "Vollmacht" ("Full Power"), from the final year of the Bohemian-Austrian poet's life. The pianist-composer's fair copy is dated "end of June–early July 1940." [261] Marked "Sehr lebhaft. Presto, molto agitato," both the vocal and piano parts of the work are brilliant, difficult, and sufficiently modern to have been

[259] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking, 6.

[260] The fair copy survives in the GFA.

[261] The fair copy, like that of the Goethe setting, survives in the GFA.

reason enough for Gieseking to have not bothered to pursue its publication. Unlike the Goethe Lied, it might have dissatisfied the Nazi officials' enforced, conservative taste.

The Netherlands, 1940

For many years Gieseking had concertized annually in the Netherlands, always in the region of Holland, to be more precise; we will recall his controversial performance in The Hague following the "Blood Purge" in Germany in 1934. The small nation had no intention to involve itself in the new war, and was desperate to maintain its neutral status, just as it had done for the duration of World War One. In an attempt to see that Dutch neutrality remain observed, the Dutch Queen, Wilhelmina, together with Belgium's King Leopold III, had appealed to Germany, as well as to France and Britain, in September. After receiving consent from Hitler personally, the Germans broke their promise by invading the country on 10 May 1940. By the war's end, some 220,000 Dutch lives would be claimed.[262]

Following the mere two performances given there in 1939, Gieseking returned to Holland throughout 1940, increasing the number of his appearances to eleven—his most there since 1936 and a crest for the war years. Sound recordings of three of his orchestral performances from 1940 have been preserved. The earliest one is of a concert he gave in Amsterdam on 28 March under Willem Mengelberg (1871–1951) leading the Concertgebouw Orchestra; on the program was Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 3 in D minor.[263] The other two recordings date from the start of the 1940/41 season. From 31

[262] M. R. D. Foot, "Netherlands," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 782–86.

[263] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 12.

October is a performance Gieseking gave under Mengelberg and his Amsterdam orchestra again, this time playing Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 2 in C minor and Franck's *Variations symphoniques*. Mengelberg was, incidentally, also accused of Nazi collaboration after the war and thus fired from his eminent position. Of German heritage and German-schooled, he had joined the Reich Culture Chamber and his orchestra was purged of its Jewish members. Like Gieseking, he was criticized for participating in the Nazis' propaganda missions, and he would similarly argue in his defense: "My art is public property. . . . I have no interest in politics." Unlike Gieseking, however, he did not live to see the ban on his career lifted.[264] Thus, we have in Mengelberg's case an example of a Dutchman being penalized more harshly than any German musician after the war—all of whom would be permitted to resume their careers by 1947.[265]

The third recording originated during the same Dutch trip just three days later, while Gieseking appeared in Maastricht under Henri Hermanns (1883–1947) conducting the Maastricht Municipal Orchestra (Maastricht Stedelijk Orkest) on 3 November. This program featured the pianist playing Liszt's Piano Concerto No. 1 in E-flat major and Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 21 in C major, K. 467. With the exception of the Mozart concerto, these live recordings, which were broadcast by the General Association of Radio Broadcasting (Algemene Vereniging Radio Omroep), have since been issued commercially and are treasured by Gieseking fans despite their inferior sonic quality.[266]

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[264] Joe Saltzman, "A Musician and 'Nazification': Music," *Los Angeles Times*, 3 Sept. 1978.

[265] This is explained in Chapter 9. See also Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 53–4.

[266] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 12; Lundgren, *Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography*, n.p. (found under "Walter Gieseking: Broadcast Transcriptions 1930-1956"). Commercial LPs and CDs containing the performances are included in the discographies.

Gieseking would revisit the occupied Netherlands each season until late in the war, giving no fewer than fifty-four Dutch performances in all between the years 1935 and 1944.[267]

1940 Conclusion: Gieseking's Income Drops

Despite his continued European concertizing and high takings in 1940 (84,000 RM, record royalties included), Gieseking's gross income had dropped for the first time since 1936.[268] This was naturally caused by circumstances of the war, above all the cancellation of his American tour. The new, European enemy nations were less important for him financially. His gross earnings from England had, since 1935, never amounted to more than 7,500 RM, and during the same period in France, he had given only one or two concerts a year, except for 1938, when he gave four.[269] By comparison, of his combined profits of 92,500 RM in 1939, 50,000 had originated from America alone. In 1940, his total gross income added up to 84,000 RM: 53,000 deriving from engagements and record sales within Germany, with the other 31,000 received from foreign European nations.[270]

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[267] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[268] All figures discussed here refer to gross earnings and include the payments Gieseking received from recording royalties, which generally amounted to approximately 10 percent of his annual income. Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[269] Gieseking sometimes gave concerts in Scotland when traveling to England, yet if Kaven's figures pertaining to the English concerts include Scottish earnings as well, this is not indicated. Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3–4.

[270] Ibid., 8. It is uncertain whether the 31,000 RM for Gieseking's foreign European engagements included record royalties as well.

Excursus II:

Gieseking as Essayist and Journal "Editor" during the Third Reich and Postwar Years

Throughout his career, Walter Gieseking sporadically published a modest number of essays on music, six during the National Socialist era and postwar period.[1] From 1936 to 1943, he was also listed as one of four editors of the German monthly, the *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung: Fachblatt für Musiker und Musikerzieher* (*German Musicians' Gazette: Trade Journal for Musicians and Music Educators*, hereafter *DTZ*), which became *Der Musikerzieher* (the *Music Educator*) beginning with the October 1938 issue.[2] The other three coeditors were the eminent conductor Hermann Abendroth (1883–1956), with whom Gieseking sometimes performed, the choral conductor Bruno Kittel (1870–1948), and the violinist Carl Wendling (1875–1962).[3] All four names appeared in large print on the journal cover (of both the *DTZ* and *Der Musikerzieher*), with Gieseking's placed second from the top, following alphabetical order. Four of his own essays were featured in the journals:

- "Bekenntnis zum Klavier" ("A Tribute to the Piano," *DTZ*, Marz 1933)
- "Zum Lobe des Klaviers" ("In Praise of the Piano," *DTZ*, October 1936)

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[1] For a list of Gieseking's writings, see Appendix 3, "Essays by Walter Gieseking: A Partially Annotated List in Chronological Order."

[2] The Schott publishing firm at Mainz brought out the *DTZ* from 1903 (Jahrgang 1) to 1937/38 (Jahrgang 34) and *Der Musikerzieher* from 1938/39 (Jahrgang 35) to 1942/43 (Jahrgang 39). By merging with *Völkische Musikerziehung*, the monthly periodical continued in 1944 as a joint-publication under the title *Zeitschrift für völkische Musikerziehung*, at which point the new editors were Eugen Bieder and Adolf Struber. See "German Wartime Periodicals," *Notes*, Second Series 5, no. 2 (Mar. 1948): 203–05.

[3] In addition to being one of the leading conductors of the Third Reich, Abendroth was director of the *Fachschaft Musikerziehung* (Music Education Branch) in Goebbels' *Reichsmusikkammer*. Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Abendroth, Hermann."

- "Wie Künstler üben" ("How Artists Practice," *DTZ*, October 1937)
- "Bach-Interpretation auf dem Konzerflügel" ("Bach Interpretation on the Concert Grand," *Der Musikerzieher*, Mai 1941).[4]

Gieseking's involvement in these periodicals in particular, even though it appears to have been limited, is of interest because it reveals yet another way in which he became caught up in Nazi stratagem, perhaps unwittingly, and would become still one more item on his Third Reich record for which he was criticized after World War II. At least two his later essays for other journals were likewise influenced by the political circumstances of the time, namely the Allied forces' postwar agendas, in which music and the arts played an imperative role in occupied Germany's reeducation and re-democratization.

The *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung*

Founded in 1903, the *DTZ* was the official journal of the Reichsverband Deutscher Tonkünstler und Musiklehrer (Reich Association of German Musicians and Music Teachers), hereafter RDTM. Within months of Hitler's empowerment, however, it was absorbed into the Reich Music Chamber and henceforth Nazified. The reorganization was announced in the May 1933 edition.[5] In a foreword to the *DTZ*'s October 1936 issue, Heinz Ihlert, assistant general manager of the RDTM since the takeover, defined the goal of the journal to be the "further development of this profession [i.e. music education] according to our National Socialist outlook, which is dedicated to cultivating the next

[4] The latter three essays listed here were posthumously reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, see pages 85–88, 93–96, 111–17. Complete citations of the essays are found in Appendix 3.

[5] The RDTM's new chairman was Gustav Havemann, a former leftist who joined the Nazi movement in 1932. Havemann was a member of the NSDAP and *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* and soon became head of the Reichsmusikerschaft (Reich Musicians' Branch) of the Reichsmusikkammer. See the announcement by Havemann, Arnold Ebel, and H. [Heinz] E. Ihlert in *DTZ*, 5 Mai 1933, 65–66. For information on Havemenn see Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 23–24 and Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Havemann, Gustav."

generation of musical talent."[6] The monthly was now littered with quotes and announcements by Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, and other Nazi officials and featured politically charged articles such as Abendroth's "Die Juden in der Musikgeschichte" ("The Jews in Music History") and National Socialist reports such as the Hitler Youth pedagogue Dr. Wilhelm Zwittenhoff's "Kulturlager der HJ in Weimar" (The Hitler Youth Culture Camp in Weimar).[7] Propagandistic announcements were also printed, one example of which read, "Deutscher sei stolz auf den Führer und sein Werk!" (Germans be proud of the Führer and his work!).[8] When the journal's title became *Der Musikerzieher*, nothing changed.

Gieseking as "Editor"

Regarding Gieseking's title as coeditor of the journals, we can be rather certain that it was merely nominal, his name having served merely as an effective endorsement. He was surely too busy for such work owing to his career as a concert pianist. Nowhere in his surviving private correspondence from the years the journals were printed does he mention them, nor does he express any interest in editing or writing despite his published essays. On the contrary, in a letter from 2 February 1937, he complained about having to prepare one for his former mentor Karl Leimer: "During this trip I haven't got around to writing anything yet on pedaling, which the boss [Leimer] has asked for. Whenever I'm sitting on the train, I prefer to read rather than exert myself mentally, and at present I

[6] "Weiterentwicklung eines Standes im Sinne unserer nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung, der berufen ist, im deutschen Kulturleben den musikalischen Nachwuchs zu sichern." Heinz Ihlert, "Der Deutschen Tonkünstler-Zeitung zum Geleit," *DTZ*, Oct. 1936, [2].

[7] Hermann Abendroth, "Die Juden in der Musikgeschichte," *Der Musikerzieher*, July 1939, 231–33; Zwittenhoff, "Kulturlager der HJ in Weimar," *DTZ*, July 1938, 242.

[8] Announcement, *DTZ*, Apr. 1938, 155.

really have little free time."[9] None of the persons listed as editors of the *DTZ* and *Der Musikerzieher*, it should be added, appear to have contributed essays or articles regularly to the journals. One suspects that at least Abendroth, too, owing to his active career—including the position of Kapellmeister of Leipzig's eminent Gewandhaus Orchestra—did not actually work as an editor, but, like Gieseking, merely served as an endorser and occasional contributor.

Severin Kaven Condemns Gieseking's Involvement with the Journals

When Gieseking's history during the Third Reich was evaluated after WWII, his critics did not overlook his affiliation with the journals. That his name, as editor, appeared on the covers was all the evidence of guilt they needed. (*Der Musikerzieher* was referred to specifically, his opponents probably unaware that its title had also previously been the *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung*.) This began with Severin Kaven's postwar investigation of the pianist, carried out in occupied Germany for the U.S. Military Government.[10] In his final report from 25 September 1945, Kaven described the journal's National Socialist aspects as follows:

> This publication, although it printed many purely-musical articles, dealt at great length with the multitude of problems arising from the vast program of musical education, which was undertaken by the Goebbels Office. It was not an official party organ, but was Nazi in spirit, and on momentous occasions, such as the occupation of Czechoslovakia or the declaration of war, the front-page read like

[9] "[D]abei komme ich auf dieser Reise ja garnicht dazu, die Sache über das Pedal zu schreiben, die der Chef erwartet. Wenn ich in der Bahn sitze, lese ich lieber, als dass ich meinen Geist anstrenge, und in diesen Tagen habe ich ja recht wenig freie Zeit. . . ." Gieseking, Liverpool, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Feb. 1937, GFA. While Gieseking's writing (assuming he completed it) may have been incorporated into Leimer's treatise, *Rhythmik, Dynamik, Pedal und andere Probleme des Klavierspiels nach Leimer-Gieseking* (first published by B. Schott's Söhne in Mainz in 1938 and in English that same year in Philadelphia by Theodore Presser), he may have been referring to the undated essay "Vom Pedal" ("On the Pedal"), which posthumously appeared in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 103–10.

[10] Gieseking's postwar blacklisting is explored in Chapter 9.

> any political paper with all the claptrap of Nazi slogans. Other articles dealt with Nazi racial theories on music, specifically Mendelssohn and Mahler, whose talent or inspiration was stripped of greatness or Germanic virtue.[11]

Gieseking's Essays for the *DTZ* and the National Socialist Context

While Gieseking's writings for the journals could, in fact, be described as largely apolitical and "purely musical," to borrow Kaven's term, two of them did have a slightly nationalist bent, namely "Bekenntnis zum Klavier" ("A Tribute to the Piano") and "Zum Lobe des Klaviers" ("In Praise of the Piano"). In the items, Gieseking promoted not merely the piano and piano playing, but also the idea of *Hausmusik*, domestic music-making—a pastime placed high on the Nazi cultural agenda after having previously waned in popularity since the late nineteenth century.[12]

In the first essay, "Bekenntnis zum Klavier," Gieseking supported the notion of amateur *Hausmusik* as an ideal, *völkisch* activity:

> Exponents of the musical culture of a *Volk* are not, as one would like to believe, merely the great creative and performing musicians it produces. The most effective music-making of an entire *Volk* is carried out by the music lover, who in his leisure hours occupies himself musically, either alone or in the company of some like-minded friends in his home after a day's work. Thereby, he provides the noblest and finest edification and recreation: the appreciation of and familiarity with the musical splendors that exist so abundantly in the musical works of the great masters.[13]

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[11] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 25 Sept. 1945, p. 10.

[12] Michael Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 130–31 Kater discusses *Hausmusik* in the Third Reich on pages 130–34. While the idea of *Hausmusik* had already become more common during the 18th century, the term itself did not become frequently used until the mid-19th century. "Hausmusik," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12568 (accessed 3 June 2011).

[13] "Träger der Musikkultur eines Volkes sind nicht, wie man glauben möchte, nur die großen schöpferischen und reproduzierenden Tonkünstler, die es hervorbringt. Die im Volksganzen innerlich wirksamste musikalische Tätigkeit wird geleistet von dem Musikliebhaber, der sich selbst in seinen Mußestunden musikalisch betätigt, der in seinem Heim nach erledigter Tagesarbeit, allein oder in Gesellschaft gleichgesinnter Freunde, sich die edelste und schönste Erbauung und Erholung verschafft: das Erkennen und Empfinden der musikalischen Schönheiten, die in so überreichem Maße in den Tonwerken der großen Meister vorhanden sind." Gieseking, "Bekenntnis zum Klavier,"*DTZ*, 5 Mar. 1933, 33.

At the time of the article's publication, the year 1933, the German piano industry was still recovering from the drastic drop in sales since 1930. It was none other than Joseph Goebbels who, in his keynote speech to the *Reichsmusikfest* in Düsseldorf, announced that the annual production of the instrument had previously plummeted from some 40,500 to 6,000 units, with the improved figure for 1933 still amounting to less than 50 percent of that of 1930.[14] Thus, one wonders whether pianists such as Gieseking may have been asked by music publishers, piano makers, or even Reich Music Chamber officials to help promote the piano by writing articles concerning the instrument in any way.

In the second essay, "Zum Lobe des Klaviers," first published in 1936, Gieseking wrote: "Every national comrade [*Volksgenosse*] who in his leisure makes music [i.e. *Hausmusik*]—no matter how insignificant it may seem—contributes something to the musical cultural life of the German *Volk*!"[15] Incidentally, when the essay was posthumously reprinted in *So wurde ich Pianist* in 1963, the same sentence was carefully denationalized to read: "Everyone who in his leisure makes music—no matter how insignificant it may seem—contributes something to our cultural life."[16]

Gieseking was one of many Germans to endorse *Hausmusik*, which, as journals such as the *DTZ* and *Der Musikerzieher* amply verify, was well propagated by the National Socialists. Additionally, the first "Tag der deutschen Hausmusik" ("Day of

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[14] Goebbels's speech was reported on in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on 30 May 1938. See Grunberger, *The 12-Year Reich*, 417, 509n20.

[15] "Jeder Volksgenosse, der in seinen Mußestunden—und sei es noch so unbedeutend—musiziert, leistet irgendwie einen Beitrag zum musikkulturellen Leben des deutschen Volkes!" Gieseking, "Zum Lobe des Klaviers," *DTZ*, Oct. 1936, 4–5. This essay was reprinted twice, first in *Skizzen* (Berlin) 12, no. 6/7 (1938), 11–12, and then posthumously, with omissions, in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 85–88.

[16] "Jeder, der in seinen Mußestunden—und sei es noch so unbedeutend—musiziert, leistet irgendwie einen Beitrag zum musikkulturellen Leben." See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 87.

German *Hausmusik*"—this was not an official holiday) had already taken place in 1932, and annual *Hausmusik* events began to be arranged in January 1933, the month of Hitler's seizure of power.[17] About the importance of home music-making in the Third Reich, Michael Kater has written:

> *Hausmusik* was not an invention of the Nazis . . . but it had never before been politicized to the extent that they would attempt. . .
> . . . In *Hausmusik* no single performer excelled; it was the collective group that counted, and this was but a mirror of the larger concept of gemeinschaft. [It] constituted a depersonalizing apparatus that served well the overall aims of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. . . . [A]lmost everyone was urged to participate.[18]

On the occasion of the "Tag der deutschen Hausmusik" in November 1941, Gieseking gave a lecture-recital before an audience of Berlin youth. His presentation included a variety of small-scale piano works, selected Bach Inventions for example, from the Baroque, Classical and Romantic eras, and also some contemporary compositions.[19]

Noticeable in Gieseking's writings are the references to the German *Volk*, a central concept of Nazi ideology that permeated publications on many subjects during the Third Reich, and the *DTZ* and *Der Musikerzieher* were again no exceptions to this. To be sure, the term "Volk," like "Reich" and "Führer," was ubiquitous throughout the period of National Socialism, but the Germans' obsession with the idea of the *Volk* had begun during the early part of the previous century.

Largely in response to the French Revolution and the French domination of German territory and culture, the notion of the *Volksgeist* (folk or national spirit) was

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[17] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 131.

[18] Ibid., 130–31, 133.

[19] Marlise Hansemann, *Die Musik*, Dec. 1941, 115. The "Tag der deutschen Hausmusik," including Gieseking's participation, is discussed further in Chapter 6.

widely discussed during the German people's struggle for its own national identity.[20] German philosophers, starting with Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) and followed by Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) among others, maintained that there was a superior, German *Volksgeist*. "Fichte," writes Francis R. Nicosia, "called on Germans early in the [nineteenth] century to cherish and revere the German *Volksgeist* . . . as the foundation of all good culture and civilization. . . ." And in doing so, Fichte also "warned against the evils of Jewish emancipation and suggested the return of the Jews to Palestine."[21]

Hitler and his henchmen, of course, took the earlier concepts of the *Volksgeist* and exaggerated the racial aspects. As Nathan Gardels more recently remarked, "Herder's *Volksgeist* became the Third Reich."[22] Hitler's campaign slogan had been "Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer!" and the idea of the racially pure *Volksgemeinschaft*, or Peoples' Community, remained fundamental to his vision.[23] Addressing the importance of community education (*Gemeinschaftserziehung*) for the German *Volk*, Hitler announced during his Reichstag speech of 30 January 1937: "[T]he education of the individual should never end! It is therefore the task of the national community [*Volksgemeinschaft*] to ensure that teaching and further education always serves its [the community's]

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[20] Urs Fuhrer writes, "During the first half of the nineteenth century the terms *Volk* and *Volksgeist* became part of the vocabulary of a rising tide of German nationalism in which cultural and political issues became thoroughly entangled." Fuhrer, *Cultivating Minds: Identity as Meaning-Making Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 42.

[21] Nicosia, *The Third Reich & the Palestine Question* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2000), 20.

[22] Anne Löchte, *Johann Gottfried Herder: Kulturtheorie und Humanistätsidee der* Ideen, Humanitätsbriefe *und* Adrastea (Würzberg, Königshausen & Neumann, 2005), 77.

[23] Milton Meltzer, *Never to Forget: the Jews of the Holocaust* (New York: HarperCollins, 1976), 19. For more on Hilter and the "Volksgemeinschaft" see David Nicholls, *Adolf Hitler: A Biographical Companion* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2000), s.v. "Volksgemeinschaft."

interests, which is the preservation of the *Volk*."[24] Naturally, the many *völkisch* terms of the *Volk* movement largely became taboo after World War II because of their connection with Nazism.

Gieseking's Other Essays of the NS Era

Aside from the four essays published in the *DTZ* and *Der Musikerzieher*, only two others by Gieseking appeared in print in Germany during the Third Reich.[25] These were (1) an early, privately printed "Denkschrift" ("Memorandum") from 1933 in honor of his mentor Karl Leimer, who had been a piano pedagogue in Königsberg and subsequently in Hanover, where he helped found the State Conservatory, and (2) the previously mentioned "Intuition und Werktreue als Grundlagen der Interpretation" ("Intuition and Textual Fidelity as Foundations of Interpretation"), which was included in a Festschrift honoring Peter Raabe, published in 1942 with Alfred Morgenroth serving as editor.[26] In 1938, we will recall, the second of the Leimer-Gieseking piano method publications, *Rhythmik, Dynamik, Pedal und andere Probleme des Klavierspiels nach Leimer-*

[24] "[D]ie Belehrung des einzelnen Menschen kann niemals ein Ende finden! Es ist daher die Aufgabe der Volksgemeinschaft, dafür zu sorgen, daß diese Belehrung und Weiterbildung stets im Sinne ihrer Interessen, das heißt der Erhaltung des Volkes[,] liegt." Quoted in "Zum 50. Geburtstag des Führers," *Der Musikerzieher*, Mai 1939, 177.

[25] In the popular American magazine, the *Etude*, two English "interviews" with Gieseking were also published during the 1930s, both of which, however, read like an essay, without any questions or commentary on the part of the named intervierwers. See David Ewen, "Increasing the Resources of the Piano," *Etude*, July 1935, 399, 434 and Oliver Daniel, "An Interview with the Eminent Pianist Walter Gieseking," The Amazing Musical World of To-day, *Etude*, Jan. 1939, 7–8.

[26] Gieseking, "Denkschrift," (Hanover, Aug. 1933), private publication, HR19 Nr. 57, Stadt.H.; Gieseking, "Intuition und Werktreue als Grundlagen der Interpretation."

Gieseking, though essentially the work of Leimer, who was listed as the sole author, was also published.[27]

While Gieseking's "Denkschrift" could be called patriotic, it was not National Socialist. In writing the document, he was trying to help Leimer—now seventy-five years old, out of work and going blind—find a volunteer position as a piano pedagogue, preferably by leading masterclasses. Gieseking explained that two of the main goals would be to improve the quality of music education in Germany and to advance its international status as a place for music study. "This," he added, "would also help to ensure that more foreigners, who at present attend music schools outside of Germany in far too large a number, would come here for their studies and take back to their homelands an understanding of German music and culture."[28] Furthermore, he agreed to participate in the courses as much as possible, likewise on a volunteer basis. By 1935, he and Leimer had, we will recall, begun to lead summer masterclasses in Wiesbaden for the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer, although they were paid for their work.[29]

The second essay, "Intuition und Werktreue als Grundlagen der Interpretation," was likewise free of any Nazi language. Raabe, however, in addition to being a conductor and writer, had led the Reich Music Chamber since July 1935.[30] Some therefore might find Gieseking's contribution to the Festschrift controversial, for he thereby paid tribute

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[27] Karl Leimer, *Rhythmik, Dynamik, Pedal und andere Probleme des Klavierspiels nach Leimer-Gieseking*. The Leimer-Gieseking methods were discussed in Excursus I and are explored further in Excursus III.

[28] "Es würde dadurch auch mitgeholfen werden, daß die Ausländer, die sich in viel zu großer Zahl außerdeutschen Musikschulen zuwenden, mehr als bisher nach Deutschland zum Studium kämen und von hier das Verständnis für deutsche Musik und deutsches Wesen mit in ihre Heimatländer zurücknehmen würden." Gieseking, "Denkschrift."

[29] See Excursus I, "Karl Leimer and the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer Courses, 1935–1944."

[30] Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Raabe, Peter."

to a high-ranking Nazi official. To be sure, Severin Kaven did not disregard this during his postwar investigation of the pianist, from which we read: "In 1942, Gieseking was one of 22 contributors to a jubilee publication honoring the 70th birthday of Peter Raabe. Raabe was none other than the president of the Reichsmusic Chamber. Among the contributors were many known as ardent party members."[31]

Postwar Controversy: Delbert Clark's *New York Times* Article of February 1948

More than two years after Kaven's investigation of Gieseking, his conclusions regarding the latter's involvement with the *DTZ* and *Der Musikerzieher* were brought up again in Delbert Clark's highly critical *New York Times* article of 8 February 1948, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934." After accessing Kaven's investigation file on Gieseking, which was supposed to be confidential Military documents, Clark based his article on the leaked information, using it to increase the opposition against Gieseking's intended return to postwar America.[32] Among the many charges he made therein, was the assertion that "Gieseking was co-editor and co-sponsor of the magazine, 'Musical Educator,' party line paper of the Nazi era."[33] Such was his interpretation of Kaven's earlier assessment.

Gieseking in his Defense

After reading Clark's article, Gieseking wrote a long letter on 19 February to his American manager, Charles Wagner, in which he defended himself against the

[31] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 25 Sept. 1945, p. 10.

[32] "Memo: Walter Gieseking. Ref. Telephone Conversation: Int. Dir. Herford-Sely, 25 Feb. [19]48]," [handwritten, double-sided document; from 25 Feb. 1948(?)], file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[33] Clark, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934." We will examine Clark's article more closely in Chapter 11.

accusations. The pianist argued that his contribution to the periodical had been limited and of little significance. He made no direct mention of the alleged co-sponsorship, and there is, in fact, no evidence of him having lent any financially support. Moreover, he maintained that "The 'Musical Educator' was not a Nazi party paper."[34] He had nothing more to say about the matter.

In subsequent correspondence from 28 February to Wagner's associate, Edward Snowdon, however, Gieseking returned to the topic, recognizing this time that the journal had at least cooperated with the regime: "The 'Musikerzieher' was obliged, [for] some time, to carry certain articles imposed by the Propaganda Ministry, but as I never saw anything of this paper except the published numbers, I never knew about this" (Gieseking's English).[35] Gieseking, to repeat, had published one essay in *Der Musikerzieher*, namely "Bach-Interpretation auf dem Konzerflügel" ("Bach Interpretation on the Concert Grand"), although he probably also had the *DTZ* in mind when he made this last comment, rightfully viewing the two journals as one and the same.[36]

The *Nation* Brings up the Charges

At the end of 1948, Gieseking's affiliation with the German journals was brought up yet again, this time by the *Nation*. The popular magazine's staff had joined the growing number of Americans protesting the pianist's upcoming North American tour,

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[34] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, [New York], letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[35] Gieseking, [Wiesbaden or Saarbrücken?], to "Duke" [Edward] and Jean [Snowdon], letter, 28 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[36] Gieseking, "Bach-Interpretation auf dem Konzerflügel," *Der Musikerzieher*, Mai 1941, 121–23; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 111–17.

which was scheduled to begin in New York that January.[37] Condemning the pianist for his involvement with *Der Musikerzieher* (among a list of other charges), assistant editor of the *Nation*, Jerry Tallmer, who had been assigned to the "Gieseking Case" in 1948 and had read Clark's *New York Times* article from February, wrote in a staff memo: "The tone of this magazine—and content—was thoroughly Nazi, even down to the idiotic articles about how lousy was the music of Mendelssohn, Mahler, etc. Letters by G[ieseking] and others, written on the stationery of this magazine, were terminated "Heil Hitler."[38] In a subsequent article titled "Walter Gieseking's American Manager," published in the *Nation* on 4 December, it was similarly—and now publicly—announced that "Like his [Gieseking's] three coeditors of the *Musikerzieher*, a privately owned trade journal for music teachers, he closed his letters with "Heil Hitler!"[39] Regrettably, the whereabouts of this correspondence, which might disclose the full extent of Gieseking's involvement as editor, are unknown.

In reply to the *Nation*'s charges, Edward Snowdon argued that "Gieseking lamented the fact that the Nazis moved in on it and converted it to political purposes, but it is ridiculous to suppose that they would have allowed him to resign his editorship and remove the prestige of his name from the paper."[40] We cannot know for certain how Gieseking felt about the nazification of German music publications at that time. Yet we must keep in mind that the *DTZ* was already controlled by Havemann and the Reich

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[37] The *Nation*'s staff correspondence regarding the Gieseking matter is found in "Walter Gieseking" subject file, Houghton Library (HL), Cambridge, MA.

[38] J[erry] T[allmer], "Memo on Walter Gieseking," n.d. [1948], to F. K. [Freda Kirchweg], H. F. [Harold C. Field], R. B. [Robert Bendiner], et al., "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[39] "Walter Gieseking's American Manager," *Nation*, 4 Dec. 1948, [617].

[40] While Snowdon named *Der Musikerzieher* only, his statement would have applied to the *DTZ* as well. Edward W. Snowdon, New York, to [Harold C. Field], New York, 7 Dec. 1948, "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

Music Chamber by April 1933, and the journal was therefore politically influenced long before Gieseking's affiliation as editor with it. Snowdon's defense therefore loses at least some of its credibility.

In an earlier Weimar-era essay from 1929 titled "Glossen zur Musikkritik" ("Comments on Music Criticism"), however, we do have evidence of Gieseking expressing his regret over the mixing of music criticism and politics—Nazi politics, to be precise. The reviews of certain critics were, wrote the pianist, "unfortunately influenced by the views of their political party" ("parteipolitisch beeinflußt"). "In my collection of reviews," he continued, "there are grotesque examples that were written with a politically charged slant, mostly from Munich. (Although I am, of course, a 'pure-Aryan' German!)"[41] While this review, published in the important journal *Melos*, tells us something about Gieseking's stance in 1929, as we have seen, he quickly began to change his political mindset after 1933.[42]

Gieseking's Postwar Publications

Subsequent to Gieseking's clearance from his postwar blacklisting, he resumed writing essays from time to time, beginning with one called "Wie spielt man Ravels Klaviermusik?" ("How Does One Play Ravel's Piano Music?"). Like "Glossen zur Musikkritik," this appeared in *Melos*, printed in the French zone of occupation in

[41] "In meiner Kritiken-Sammlung finden sich groteske Beispiele von parteiisch-reaktionärer Gesinnung, meist aus München stammend. (Trotzdem ich doch 'rein-arischer' Deutscher bin!)" Gieseking, "Glossen zur Musikkritik," 124.

[42] According to Elizabeth Janik, *Melos* "became the most influential voice of New Music in Weimar Berlin." Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Tradition in Cold War Berlin*, Studies in European Histories, no. 40 (Boston: Brill, 2005), 36.

Germany.[43] After becoming nationalized at the start of the Third Reich, *Melos* had resumed publication in August 1947 and was now edited by Heinrich Strobel, who had championed new music in Germany during the Weimar era, but fled to Paris in 1933. There he later wrote for the *Pariser Zeitung* during France's occupation.[44] With Strobel in charge, *Melos* once again became the leading journal for new music in all of Germany, the full title of which was appropriately *Melos: Zeitschrift für Neue Musik*.[45]

After the Nazis' defeat, each of the Allied military governments made great efforts to promote their culture within Germany, both in and outside of their own occupied zone.[46] As part of this, the French had also instituted a new cultural journal in Germany, *Die Quelle* (*The Source*), published by the Johannes Asmus Verlag at Konstanz and Leipzig. In 1948, Gieseking contributed an essay to the publication, titled "Warum ich Debussy spiele" ("Why I Play Debussy").[47] The following paragraph was included as an introduction:

> Walter Gieseking, the most important living interpreter of Debussy's music, for the first time since the war has carried out an extensive and successful guest tour through France in the months of April and May. After his return, we at *Die Quelle* asked the artist to discuss his relationship with the great French composer.[48]

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[43] Gieseking, "Wie spielt man Ravels Klaviermusik?" *Melos: Zeitschrift für Neue Musik*, Dez. 1947, 412–14; reprinted (with omissions) in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 122–26.

[44] Ole Hass, "Melos (Berlin, 1920–1934)," *RIPM*, accessed 1 June 2011, http://www.ripm.org/journal_info.php5?ABB=MEL. Strobel also served as artistic director for the *Südwestfunk* (Southwest Radio) in Baden-Baden, which under his leadership gained recognition for its support of avant-garde music. Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 37, 66–67.

[45] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 64.

[46] See chapter three of Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, of which pages 80–85 ("Une Cascade de Spectacles") pertain specifically to France's efforts to propagate its own music and artists in postwar Germany.

[47] Gieseking, "Warum ich Debussy spiele," *Die Quelle: Zeitschrift für Theater, Musik, Film* 2, no. 6 (1948), 68–72; reprinted (with omissions) in Gieseking. *So wurde ich Pianist*. 118–121.

[48] "Walter Gieseking, der bedeutendste lebende Interpret der Musik Debussys, hat in den Monaten April und Mai zum ersten Mal nach dem Kriege eine große und erfolgreiche Gastspielreise durch Frankreich durchgeführt. Wir haben den Künstler nach seiner Rückkehr gebeten, in der 'Quelle' sein

It is possible that French officials themselves had also wished for Gieseking to submit the essays on Ravel and Debussy. He owed the French an enormous favor for taking his side after the war and thereby helping him resume his international career, which the Americans had initially impeded by blacklisting him from the fall of 1945 to January 1947. The French occupiers continued to engage the pianist during that time and began to provide him and his family with much assistance in obtaining interzonal travel permits, foreign visas, and ultimately Saar passports.[49] By late summer of 1947, Gieseking was even offered a teaching position at the newly founded State Conservatory at Saarbrücken (Staatliches Konservatorium Saarbrücken) in the French-administered Saar Protectorate, only a few months before his first essay on Ravel's music was printed.[50]

Die Quelle, which sold in all four occupied zones for 4.50 RM per copy, had quickly acquired a monthly deficit that reached 155,000 francs by March of 1948.[51] Thus, the inclusion of essays by celebrity musicians such as Gieseking may have been arranged as an attempt to reduce the journal's financial losses. Whether he felt obligated to do so or not, the pianist now found himself writing about the very music that had brought him so much fame before being banned by the Hitler regime during the war, and he surely knew that such endeavors could potentially help him rescue both his partly tarnished postwar reputation as well as that of the music itself within Germany. Addressing the

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Verhältnis zu dem großen französischen Komponisten darzulegen." Introduction to Gieseking, "Warum ich Debussy spiele," 68.

[49] The postwar assistance and favors Gieseking received from the French as well as his blacklisting and other difficulties brought on by the American Military Government are examined more closely in Chapters 9 and 10.

[50] The Saarbrücken masterclasses are examined in Chapter 10.

[51] By July 1947 over 22,000 copies of *Die Quelle* were distributed throughout occupied Germany. Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 102.

issue of nationality and music, Gieseking, in a conspicuously open-minded manner, wrote in his essay on Debussy:

> People have often—perhaps not surprisingly—tried to find out why it is that a German interpreter [i.e. Gieseking], of all people, is so widely associated with music that is so very French. The most simple and obvious but probably all too general answer to this question is perhaps: music knows no borders; it is a universal language, which people of all nationalities can understand.[52]

He then goes on to explain that he spent the first sixteen years of his life in France, mostly on the French (and Italian) Riviera, which "of course, must have had a great influence on my mental development."[53]

Conclusion

The nationalization of popular music journals during the Third Reich provides us with another means of understanding the changing political conditions imposed on the German people and the extent to which the Nazi government increasingly controlled German society. The role of music publications in the postwar period reveals how the Allies, too, accordingly made use of such materials in their reeducation of Germany. Gieseking personally viewed his occasional efforts as essayist and nominal position as coeditor as largely unimportant and secondary. As did the music world, he deemed himself first and foremost a concert pianist and recording artist. Yet his engagement as writer and "editor"—minor as they may have been—like so many other aspects of his

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[52] "Schon oft wurde—vielleicht nicht ohne Verwunderung—nach den Gründen geforscht, warum es gerade ein Interpret deutscher Abstammung ist, der so weitgehend mit einer so sehr französischen Musik assoziiert wird. Die einfachste und nächstliegende, aber wohl allzu summarische Antwort auf diese Frage dürfte lauten: die Musik kennt eben keine Grenzen, sie ist eine übernational, allen Völkern verständliche Sprache!" Gieseking goes on to explain, however, that he was born in Lyon. Gieseking, "Warum ich Debussy spiele," 68.

[53] From the original text, we read, "Aber daß ich die ersten 16 Jahre meines Lebens fast ausschließlich an der französischen Riviera (und in Italien) verbracht habe, dürfte auf meine psychische Entwicklung doch wohl erheblich eingewirkt haben." Ibid.

career, did not escape ridicule after WWII. As did Severin Kaven, and later Delbert Clark and Jerry Tallmer, one may criticize Gieseking for having endorsed and occasionally contributed to the *DTZ* and *Der Musikerzieher*. Yet others may perhaps find this unfair, for the pianist's writings added up to a negligible number, four in all, and were free of Nazi rhetoric other than his promotion of *Hausmusik* and, with it, Hitler's vision of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. The regime's advocacy of *Hausmusik* was, it could be argued, one of its more harmless preoccupations, although, admittedly, its idea of community music-making would have excluded those deemed racially "impure," with so-called "degenerate" compositions likewise being eschewed.

Apart from the noted exceptions, Gieseking's essays remain focused on music and the piano, making no mention of Nazi authorities, institutions, or doctrines. By comparison, Hermann Abendroth's writings, to give just one other example, were overtly consumed with political dogma. In his article "Der Aufgabenkreis der Deutschen Tonkünstler-Zeitung" ("The Tasks of the *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung*"), Abendroth described the journal's first objective as follows: "The *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung* wants to play its part, within its realm, in the realization of the German cultural policy goals set by the Führer and State authorities."[54] This appeared in the first issue in which Abendroth, Gieseking, Kittel, and Wendling were listed as the journal's new editors.

\ After the Second World War, Gieseking was never again named editor of any periodicals and, as before, he only infrequently wrote essays. As in the case of those on Ravel and Debussy, he was essentially once more playing along with a government's political agenda, and his expositions, as before, had some propagandistic value—only this

[54] "Die Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung will zu ihrem Teil und innerhalb ihres Bereiches mithelfen an der Verwirklichung der von Führer und Staat autoritär gestellten Ziele deutscher Kulturpolitik." Abendroth, "Der Aufgabenkreis der Deutschen Tonkünstler-Zeitung," *DTZ*, Oct. 1936, 3.

time for the well-intentioned French, as part of their mission to rehabilitate the previously censored French arts in liberated Germany. Regardless of the purpose, composing essays remained an activity that interested Gieseking relatively little. And editing, we can be sure, interested him even less. Only once after the war did he rather surprisingly return to the field, though in an entirely different way: he helped prepare a performance edition of Franz Schubert's *Impromptus* and *Moments musicaux*, which was among the very first works published by the G. Henle company in late-1948.[55]

[55] Schubert, *Impromptus*, *Moments musicaux*, ed. Walter Gieseking (Munich: Henle, 1948, reprinted in 1976).

Chapter 6:

World War II, Part Two, 1941–1942

1941

Under Karajan in Berlin, February

In 1941, Gieseking gave a total of 48 concerts in Germany and 38 in foreign nations, including Italy (9), the Netherlands (6), Hungary (1), Romania (3), and Switzerland (14), as well as annexed Austria (2) Czechoslovakia (2) and Poland (1).[1] One of his first German concerts featured Sergei Rachmaninoff's popular Piano Concerto Nr. 2 in C minor, op. 18, which he gave under the direction of the Third Reich's young star conductor, Herbert von Karajan. The concert took place at Berlin's important State Opera (Staatsoper Unter den Linden) on 10 February. Nazi officials had a strong interest in the venue, above all Hermann Göring. Just as Goebbels became the chief patron of the City Opera (Städtische Oper) and Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, so did Göring of Berlin's State Opera and its own outstanding orchestra.[2] Both men were, of course, tied to the city politically: Goebbels being Berlin's Gauleiter, Göring the Minister President of the Free State of Prussia. Göring carefully maintained control of *his* institution, making sure that it did not fall under any influence of Goebbels and his Propaganda Ministry, as Pamela Potter explains, and "the two Nazi leaders concentrated on getting the best and the

[1] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4.

[2] Pamela Potter, "Music in the Third Reich: The Complex Task of 'Germanization,'" in *The Arts in Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, eds. Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 97.

brightest stars for their ensembles and found themselves in a fierce rivalry with one another."[3]

The Karajan-Gieseking performance was announced on the Staatstheater posters, which advertised the events of the Staatsoper, Schauspielhaus am Gendarmenmarkt, and the Staatstheater-Kleines Haus. Printed on each upper side was the Reich's national emblem: the mighty, right-facing German eagle (*Reichsadler*) with its wings spread, positioned atop a swastika enclosed by an oak-leaf wreath.[4] We can be confident that for musical events such as this one, featuring more than one of the Reich's most prominent artists, several of the best seats would have been reserved for Nazi officials. Had Göring been present that evening? Because of the Russian centerpiece on this occasion, perhaps there were some Soviets in attendance as well.

Switzerland, March

It was at this point that Gieseking increased the number of his appearances in Switzerland noticeably, from three in both 1939 and 1940, to the fourteen made in 1941.[5] While he was touring the neutral country in late-March, he seized the opportunity to send Richard Pohlman a lengthy letter, in English, from Zurich:

> Dear Pohlman,
>
> What a long time since I've had a letter from you and you from me! Well, here I am on tour in Switzerland and as there is still the transatlantic Air Mail (Clipper) carrying mail to the old U.S. – I'll try and take a chance! . . .

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[3] Potter, "Music in the Third Reich," 97.

[4] Images of the poster with some description was gathered from the online auction website specializing in opera, classical music and ballet memorabilia, Tamino, under the description "Karajan, Herbert von - Gieseking, Walter - Berlin Staatsoper Poster 1941," accessed 13 Feb. 2012, http://www.operacollectors.com/servlet/the-4833/Herbert-Von-Karajan-Walter/Detail.

[5] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

Hope you and your family are and have been well, happy and healthy all this time! We are all in top form, the whole family feels fine, the children have grown, Jutta is with her 13 years taller than her mother, Freya loves to sit on top of the trees, both play piano with much facility, but hate distinctly practicing – in fact, they nearly never practice between their lessons. Our house stands still in the same old place, we have "air alarm" sometimes, but this doesn't disturb us and we hope everything will remain as easy as it has been up to now. My season is an extremely busy one, I have rather too many concerts and have been rushing around all this winter since September, and shall go on with concerts till the end of May! "They" (that is: the critics, the paying audiences and several other important people) say that I'm still able to shake a good tune out of the ivories – that I tickle them well . . . even if it's not a Baldwin now! Last night I had a recital here, which was sold out to the last inch – stage seats – boy, it was hot in the place! My beautiful clean shirt ("shoit") which I wanted to last for a dozen more concerts (?), took offence and folded up. – So I must pull out the "other one" to-night. . .

. . . I wrote, also to Charlie Wagner, whose book (have you seen it?) I've just received with a flattering dedication from the boss manager.[6] As I wrote to him: the chief flaw in the actual [i.e. present] picture is the complete impossibility of making an American tour! I do only hope that I can return to New York and the surrounding places before I've become an old tottering octogenarian – oh boy, wouldn't that be too bad! Well, let's hope for less complicated times and for the next opportunity to paint the town – here goes![7] . . . I hope also that the Baldwin Co. is still making pianos and not some war stuff, though a real grand piano is also sort of a war material, sometimes, don't you think so.[8]

Since starting this letter, I've moved again to another town [i.e. Gieseking was concertizing elsewhere] – have just played at Vevey, on Lake Geneva (Switzerland, not Michigan or Minnesota or where[ever] the American version of this beautiful piece of water is located). This was the last concert of this trip, now we [will] return home for a couple of days and then comes another group of dates. So the old business of piano-playing goes on[.] . . .

. . . Again: Cheerio – prost – salute –

Always sincerely yours,
Walter Gieseking[9]

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[6] Gieseking is referring to Wagner's autobiography, *Seeing Stars*.

[7] With "here goes!," Gieseking implies making a toast, something he occasionally does in his letters to Pohlman since they enjoyed drinking together.

[8] Gieseking is merely being humorous here, of course, when he refers to the piano as being "war material"; he certainly is *not* referring to any propagandistic functions music had taken on since Hitler's rise.

[9] Gieseking, Zurich and Vevey, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 27 Mar. 1941, DEC.

Hungary, Poland, and Romania

Gieseking's light-hearted letter above gives us the impression that he was merely going about business as usual despite the conflict. He was not. His wartime tours brought him to nations that he had otherwise rarely or never before visited—in part as requested, or rather ordered, by the Nazi regime. During his 1941 tours, for instance, he returned to Romania and, for the first time since 1936, to annexed Poland and to Hungary; while the Polish date is uncertain (and no details about the engagement are known), this year's visits to Romania and Hungary occurred in October.[10]

Gieseking gave at least one more recital in Hungary this year, namely at Budapest's large and beautiful Vigadó concert hall on 20 November 1942. Hungary had been a member of the Axis Powers since 20 November 1940, when it joined the new Tripartite Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan established in late September. Thus, this happened to be the second anniversary of the nation's Axis membership, and it is therefore possible, if uncertain, that his performance, in part, celebrated the German-Hungarian union. On the program were works by Mozart, Beethoven, Scarlatti, Brahms, and Schumann—common Gieseking repertoire, though noticeably Axis-approved composers.[11] Probably more often than not, Nazi officials attended the renowned virtuoso's concerts, and we can be sure that many were in attendance on this occasion. And in such instances, as his correspondence makes clear, Gieseking was generally expected to dine with them afterwards, something he more often than not resented.

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[10] The Eastern European concerts in Romania and Hungary are briefly mentioned as forthcoming October engagements in "Walter Gieseking in Nederland," *De Tijd* (Netherlands), 5 Oct. 1941. Note that while the paper gives the total number of these concerts as three, Kaven listed a sum of four in his investigation. Cf. Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[11] Program: Gieseking, Walter, zongoraestje," Vigadó concert hall, Budapest, 20 Nov. 1942, GFA.

Further details about Gieseking's Eastern appearances during this season remain to be uncovered. He will return to Poland in 1942, to Romania in 1943, and to Hungary each year through 1944.[12]

Czechoslovakia, 1941–42

Since 1937, Gieseking had traveled to Czechoslovakia annually to give a single performance. Now, in 1941, he returned for two concerts, and he would offer three in 1942 and two more in 1943.[13] Summarizing the pianist's activities in the annexed country, Kaven noted, "A recital in Brunn [from the German spelling 'Brünn' for the Czech city Brno] on February 3, 1942, was held at the German Home [Deutsches Haus]."[14] Kaven felt that Gieseking's concerts in all of the annexed lands, the engagements in Czechoslovakia included, were in every aspect German events: the venues, the orchestras, the organizers, the sponsors, the repertoire—all were German.[15] As before, Gieseking saw, or at least pretended to have seen, this as another harmless, purely musical affair. Kaven's questions put to him about these visits went as follows:

> Q. [Kaven] You also played each year in Prague during the war. All your concerts there underlined the German character of the occasion. Prague certainly wasn't a German city?
> A. [Gieseking] Why shouldn't I've played to Germans in Prague? The Czechs were not permitted to hire German artists, and we could only play in German halls.
> Q. You must have known about conditions in Czechoslovakia. The Czechs were fighting for the independence of their country?
> A. It was difficult to tell who started the war.[16]

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[12] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 7.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, such responses from Gieseking convinced Kaven that the pianist had accepted and believed in Hitler's New Order. When he asked Gieseking as much during the postwar interrogation, the latter, in fact, answered with an honest and straightforward "Yes."[17]

The Netherlands, May 1941

Gieseking, to repeat, made six appearances in the Netherlands in 1941. There is documentation showing that he was featured as piano soloist for at least one concert during a tour given by none other than the National Socialist Reich Symphony Orchestra (Nationalsozialistisches Reichs-Sinfonieorchester) that May.[18] The Nazi ensemble had been active since its founding in 1931, before Hitler's empowerment. On the occasion of its fifth anniversary, the German musicologist Erich Valentin had tellingly written in a tribute article published in the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, "As a political entity engaged in the [National Socialist] movement, the orchestra served in the battle for the German people, even then, before the [Nazi] takeover, as a living witness to the will of the Nazi cultural ideology."[19] Starting from Frankfurt and under the leadership of Erich Kloss (1898–1967), the Reich Symphony Orchestra played in occupied France, Belgium, and the Netherlands during its current 1941 tour.[20] Because there is no record of Gieseking having concertized in France or Belgium this year, however, we may presume that he

[17] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 10; Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

[18] See Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter" and "Kloss, Erich."

[19] "Als eine im Dienste der Bewegung stehende politische Einheit wurde das Orchester im Kampf um das deutsche Volk eingesetzt, schon damals, vor der Machtübernahme, als ein lebendiger Zeuge für den Kulturwillen der nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung." Quoted in Nina Okrassa, *Peter Raabe: Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer (1872–1945)* (Köln: Böhlau, 2004), 270–71n52.

[20] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter" and "Kloss, Erich."

joined forces with Kloss and the musicians in the Netherlands only, for at least one concerto performance.[21] Furthermore, he never *toured* with any orchestra, which would have been unusual for any solo performer of his stature. No further details about the events are known.

At War with Russia

By May 1941, the German forces seemed invincible to most onlookers and had, in the words of Norman Davies, "outperformed their wildest dreams."[22] Summarizing the Germans' successes thus far, Davies continues:

> With the sole exception of Britain, they had soundly beaten all their enemies. With the sole exception of Sweden, which was compliant to their wishes, they completely controlled Northern Europe. With the exception of Portugal and Spain, which were in neutral Fascist hands, they controlled all of Southern Europe. With the sole exception of neutral Switzerland, they controlled the whole of Western and Central Europe, and of Central Europe's eastern approaches from the Baltic to the Black Sea. They possessed the finest military machine ever devised.[23]

On 22 June 1941, the Reich's forces began Operation Barbarossa, its boldest quest of all, yet one that would not go as planned. A chief aim of Hitler's, as he announced in various speeches, was to create more eastern *Lebensraum* (living space) for Reich citizens by conquering the Soviet Union. Hitler had thought long and hard about this ostentatious campaign, even mentioning the idea in his earlier book, *Mein Kampf*, from 1924 (first published in two volumes in 1925 and 1926).[24] Of course, his intentions

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[21] This is *not* made clear in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter."

[22] Norman Davies, "Nazi-Soviet Pact," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 92.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Gerd R. Ueberschär, "Barbarossa," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 109–13. For more on the historical background of *Mein Kampf* see Felicity J. Rash, *The Language of Violence: Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 19–21.

went far beyond the mere gaining of territory. "The invasion of the USSR . . . had a powerful ideological drive behind it," writes Richard Overy, "but its timing was governed as much by changes in the Soviet policy in eastern Europe, and the need to acquire additional resources to fight the war in the west."[25] The Nazi objectives aside, some believed that Hitler had taken preemptive measures to thwart a planned incursion by Stalin's Red Army.[26] In any case, Hitler's move was in direct violation of not only the German-Soviet Treaty of Non-Aggression from August 1939, but also the German-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Demarcation of September 1939 and subsequent clandestine agreements between Germany and the U.S.S.R.[27] The deadly, intense fighting would continue—at times in temperatures down to minus 40°C—without interruption for forty-six months.[28] The Russians and other Soviets defended their land vigorously during what they still today proudly call the Great Patriotic War. As a result, Hitler's *Wehrmacht* had failed to conquer Moscow by December of 1941, and the Soviet offensive became "an indisputable failure of the blitzkrieg concept," the success of which had until this time made the Nazi army seem unstoppable.[29] The war had reached a turning point.

Now that Germany was at war with the Soviets, its musicians were no longer permitted to perform Russian repertoire. Thus, Gieseking's increased efforts to meet the

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[25] Overy, "Nazi," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 109–13.

[26] While it remains contentious, Viktor Suvorov claimed in his book *Icebreaker: Who Started the Second World War?* (first published in English in 1990) that Stalin was indeed planning to invade Germany in July 1941, and that Hitler indeed ordered the attack on the U.S.S.R. upon learning of the plan. For a recent discussion of Suvorov's claims see David E. Murphy, *What Stalin Knew: The Enigma of Barbarossa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), particularly pages 180–81.

[27] Davies, "Nazi-Soviet Pact," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 780–82.

[28] Davies, *Europe at War*, 94; Schreiber, *Der Zweite Weltkrieg*, 62.

[29] Gerd R. Ueberschär, "Barbarossa," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 109–13.

previous wartime demand within the Reich for works by Rachmaninoff, Scriabin, and Tchaikovsky came to a sudden halt for the remainder of the conflict, something that not all Russians would forget anytime soon. Because of his compliance with the regime's censorship policies, those later running the Soviet-controlled station, Radio Berlin (located in the cities postwar British sector), for instance, would at first—though not for long—be opposed to playing the pianist's recordings over the air after the war.[30]

"Tag der deutschen Hausmusik," 22 November 1941

On 22 November 1932, just prior to the Nazis' empowerment, the first official "Tag der Hausmusik," or "Day of Home Music Making," had been celebrated in the Kassel region of central Germany.[31] Starting in 1934, it began to be organized by the National Socialists' newly founded *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Hausmusik* (Working Group for Home Music Making), itself a component of the Reich Music Chamber's Music Education Division.[32] The German, family-oriented, national celebration—now nazified and accordingly renamed the "Tag der deutschen Hausmusik" (Day of German Home Music Making)—continued to promote music-making in the home, schools, military hospitals, and even the workplace during breaks, always occurring in November.[33]

Each year a particular city was chosen to host the main events, and while these were usually historic German places such as Hamburg in 1944, towns in occupied

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[30] We will return to this topic in the postwar discussion found in Chapter 10.

[31] Okrassa, *Peter Raabe: Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer*, 325.

[32] Inga Mai Groote, ed., *Musik in der Geschichte zwischen Funktion und Autonomie* (Munich: Utz, 2011), 124.

[33] Okrassa, *Peter Raabe: Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer*, 325; Peter Funk, "Das Musikleben: Der Tag der deutschen Hausmusik 1943. Die alte Kulturstadt Straßburg im Mittelpunk," *Musik im Kriege*, Dec./Jan. 1943, 186–88.

territory, too, were chosen—Strasbourg in the Alsace in 1943, for example.[34] Among other festival themes, which were partly associated with the chosen location, usually one great German composer—Austrians naturally included—was selected, at least throughout WWII. The output of the figure, or figures, decided on became the focus of the holiday's events: Schubert in 1940, Mozart in 1941, Bach in 1942, Reger and other contemporary composers in 1943, and Brahms in 1944.[35] Yet apart from those prohibited by the regime, essentially all genres of Western music were encouraged to be played and heard. As one announcement read: "All forms of music from marches to dances, to suites of the old masters, yes, even the classic chamber works have a place in our schools and family life on the *Tag der Hausmusik*."[36] The holiday would continue to be observed though 1944, despite the limited special public festivities on account of Germany's state of "total war" by that time.[37] And until the end, the scope of these arrangements had been impressive. The Bach year of 1942 alone saw no fewer than 11,664 events take place, among them over 5,000 in schools and over 900 in military hospitals.[38]

As early as 1933, Gieseking, we will recall, had promoted the idea of amateur, *völkisch* home music making (i.e. *Hausmusik*) in his published essay entitled "Bekenntnis

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[34] Funk, "Das Musikleben," 186–88.

[35] Okrassa, *Peter Raabe: Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer*, 325.

[36] "Alle Formen der Musik vom Marsch und Tanz bis zu den Suiten alter Meister, ja bis zu den Kammermusikwerken der Klassiker haben am Tag der Hausmusik einen Platz im Schul- und Familienleben." "Musik in Schule und Haus," *Der Deutsche Erzieher: Reichszeitung des Nationalsozialistischen Lehrerbundes*, Heft 11 (1936), 6.

[37] It is uncertain when the title was changed to include the adjective "deutschen," but German officials presumably used it early on. Still, it continued to be referred to simply as "Tag der Hausmusik" into the war. Okrassa, *Peter Raabe: Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer*, 325; an example of the continued use of "Tag der Hausmusik" is found in the announcement "Tag der Hausmusik," *Die Musik*, Jan. 1942, 184.

[38] Okrassa, *Peter Raabe: Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer*, 325.

zum Klavier"—although without referring to the "Tag der Hausmusik," which was then new and still regional to Kassel.[39] Now, on the occasion of the *Tag der deutschen Hausmusik* in November 1941, he participated in the popular celebration by giving a lecture-recital before a group of Berlin youth. The following report of the event appeared in *Die Musik*:

> During a musical festivity that was part of the "Tag der deutschen Hausmusik," *Meister* Gieseking presented to our Berlin youth miniature piano pieces by classical, romantic and contemporary masters. It was an excellent idea to have this literature for the young introduced by a master. With great dedication, Gieseking warmly devoted himself to the small treasures he had selected, and with his wonderful musical spirit [*Musiziergeist*] and with simple, explanatory words, he created the natural, carefree merriment of a *Hausmusik* hour. A musical highlight was the two-part inventions of Bach, which—in the opinion of our great pianist—"no one can escape" (or better: no one should escape; unfortunately, they become forms of torture for most students as a result of the "talent" of many piano teachers!). Regarding the selection of good, valuable teaching material in general, the *Meister*'s own words—"it is difficult to compose expressive music that is easy to play"—remind us just how limited that area is and how much such decisions are left up to the pedagogical abilities and knowledge of the individual piano teacher.[40]

Like physical education, music education had an important place in Nazi Germany's schools. Gieseking's lecture-recital must have made a lasting impression on the young audience members. But sadly, music was constantly misused and musical

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[39] Gieseking, "Bekenntnis zum Klavier," 33. The essay was discussed in Excursus II, "Gieseking as Essayist and 'Editor' During the Third Reich and Postwar Years."

[40] "Anläßlich des 'Tages der deutschen Hausmusik' brachte Meister Gieseking in einer musikalischen Feierstunde unserer Berliner Jugend kleine Klavierstücke klassischer, romantischer und zeitgenössischer Meister zum Vortrag. Vortrefflich war der Gedanke, diese Jugendliteratur durch einen Meister darstellen zu lassen. Mit unendlicher Sorgfalt gab sich Gieseking den kleinen Kostbarkeiten, die er zur Auswahl gebracht hatte, liebevoll hin und schuf mit seinem wunderbaren Musiziergeist und mit einfachen erklärenden Worten die natürliche, unbeschwerte Feierlichkeit einer hausmusikalische Stunde. Die zweistimmigen Inventionen von Bach, denen—nach Meinung unseres großen Pianisten—'keiner entgeht' (besser: keiner entgehen sollte; leider werden sie den meisten Schülern dank der 'Begabung' mancher Klavierlehrer zur Qual!), wurden u. a. zu einem musikalischen Erlebnis. Was die Auswahl guter, wertvoller Unterrichtsliteratur überhaupt betrifft, so verraten des Meisters Worte, 'daß es schwer ist, ausdrucksstarke Musik zu komponieren, die leicht spielbar ist', wie begrenzt das Gebiet ist und wie sehr es auf das musikpädagogische Können und Wissen des betreffenden Klavierlehrers ankommt." Hansemann, "Konzert," 115.

events—those given on account of this holiday being no exception—had an underlying propagandistic function. For one, regime censorship policy, essentially regardless of the occasion, had to be observed and, in so doing, necessarily promoted. Gieseking doubtless said nothing degrading about "degenerate" composers, but we may be certain that he also did not dare to play or discuss such forbidden music in this instance. One can only imagine how ill at ease he must have felt when addressing the "contemporary masters" (if the assumption is correct), without being able to mention the French impressionists Debussy and Ravel, the Russians Rachmaninoff and Scriabin, or his old friend Hindemith, who was by this time a German expatriate living in the U.S.

On New Year's Day 1944, Reich Music Chamber President Peter Raabe contemplated the upcoming events of 1944 and penned an advance piece on what would prove to be the final *Tag der deutschen Hausmusik*. He concluded with the following words:

> At a time which demands the greatest commitment from each one of us, we feel more strongly connected to *Hausmusik* than ever before. For the front and home it serves as a means of mental relaxation and inner edification. In addition, *Hausmusik* lives within us as a symbol of the unshakable cultural will of the German people.[41]

At an increasingly ominous and hopeless time for all Germans, such was the propagandistic importance of this event in the eyes of the Nazi officials.

Conclusion, 1941

With Germany's Operation Barbarossa having failed, ending in December 1941, along with the United States' entry into the war that same month, the Allies were now on

[41] "Stärker denn je fühlen wir uns in einer Zeit, die von jedem einzelnen den letzten Einsatz fordert, der Hausmusik verbunden. Für Front und Heimat ist sie ein Mittel seelischer Entspannung und innerer Erbauung. Darüber hinaus ist die Hausmusik in uns lebendig als Symbol des durch nichts zu erschütternden Kulturwillens des deutschen Menschen." Peter Raabe, "Zeitspiegel: Tag der deutschen Hausmusik 1944," *Musik im Kriege*, Feb./Mar. 1944, 234.

a long, difficult, and costly path to victory. There would be no end to the war in sight for years, of course, and Gieseking carried on with his career as before. He had made his first wartime appearances in Hungary and Poland this year and returned to all the other foreign and annexed nations he had played in thus far: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, the Netherlands, Romania, and Switzerland. His total number of foreign, wartime engagements had risen from 15 in 1939, to 25 in 1940, to 38 in 1941, and his German concerts had now reached a total of 48, his highest since the 45 he gave in 1938, just before the war.[42] After the decline in 1940, Gieseking's earnings were back up, having reached 93,000 RM in 1941—500 RM more than his 1939 takings, which had still included the successful U.S. tour.[43] But his most financially successful war years were still to come.

In 1941, Gieseking had also found more time to compose. Most notably, from that summer (primarily 25 July through 27 August, though to at least May 1942) originates a second work of his that made use of the description "divertimento," namely the *Divertimento* for Clarinet and String Quartet. It is a rare creative excursion in which the piano is not involved.[44] Gieseking revised the piece in 1951 and 1952, but may have still been unhappy with it since he never had it published.[45] Not until 2002 was it posthumously brought out, and not until 2011 was a commercial recording of it issued.[46]

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[42] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3–4.

[43] Ibid., 8.

[44] The manuscripts, which as in most instances indicate the times in which Gieseking composed the work, are maintained in the GFA.

[45] Gieseking indicated when the revisions were made on the relevant manuscripts.

[46] Gieseking, *Divertimento für Klarinette in A und Streichquartett* (Aachen: Edition Ebenos, 2002). The first recording of the work appeared on the recent compact disc *Walter Gieseking: Musique de chambre, vol. 2*. Recorded 2010. Les Ménestrels/LM002, 2011. CD.

1942

In 1942, Gieseking gave foreign concerts in Italy (2), Hungary (at least 1), the Netherlands (3), Portugal (3), and Switzerland (10), as well as in the annexed nations of Austria (4) Czechoslovakia (3), Poland (1), and the German-seized Alsace region of France (4)—no fewer than 31 performances abroad in all. His appearances within Germany totaled 57, his wartime maximum.[47] His immense gross earnings this year would likewise be his greatest of the entire war—144,000 RM (record royalties included), 114,000 of which would come from his German winnings.[48] If the war already began to have a devastating effect on Germany during the first three years, it would appear that the opposite was true with regard to Gieseking's flourishing career.

Switzerland

In a *New York Times* article from 9 November 1941 entitled "The Swiss Carry On," the continued musical activities and upcoming 1941/42 winter season in neutral Switzerland were reported on, and Gieseking was listed as one of the most prominent figures scheduled to perform:

> Despite the fact that all of the countries surrounding Switzerland are caught up by the war, the republic has arranged an elaborate program of musical events for this season. Just as the third International Music Festival held at Lucerne in August proved a decided success, because of the strong support it received from the Swiss themselves in the enforced absence of an international audience, so it is anticipated that large gatherings will attend the concerts to be given this Winter not only in the larger but also the less populous communities of the land.

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[47] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4. Note that Kaven overlooked Gieseking's Hungarian recital, given in Budapest on 20 November, unless he mistakenly indicated this as the pianist's performance there listed for 1941. The program for the 1942 appearance survives, see Program: Gieseking, Walter, zongoraestje," Vigadó concert hall, Budapest, 20 Nov. 1942, GFA.

[48] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

> In Geneva, Lausanne and other towns of the vicinity[,] the Orchestra de la Suisse Romande, under Ernest Ansermet, will give a round of programs, some with important soloists. Among the assisting artists who will appear at these events are Jacques Thibaud, Pablo Casals, Walter Gieseking, Wilhelm Backhaus and several others.[49]

Among the renowned guest conductors who would likewise be visiting the country that season were Wilhelm Furtwängler, Willem Mengelberg, and Felix Weingartner.[50] Gieseking had, of course, been a regular visitor to Switzerland since his early career, and it would remain an important place for him throughout the war and for the rest of his career. Between 1941 and the end of the hostilities, he gave no fewer than forty-six concerts there.[51]

Berlin

As usual, Gieseking made further frequent appearances in Berlin in 1942. In a review published in January, the prominent critic Herbert Gerigk had the following to say about the pianist's most recent recital there:

> When it comes to shades of touch, Walter Gieseking probably stands alone. He played a Schumann sonata as if the grand piano had been an orchestra and he had been obliged to orchestrate the work. As an interpreter, a musician, and a master technician, Gieseking has attained a transcendent level of playing that one can admire only in awe.[52]

Following a subsequent performance given there that season, Hermann Killer wrote in his assessment: "Among the series of pianists, Walter Gieseking once again impressed us

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[49] "The Swiss Carry On," *New York Times*, 9 Nov. 1941.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[52] "In der Schattierung des Anschlages steht Walter Gieseking wohl auf einsamer Höhe. Er spielte eine Schumann-Sonata so, als wäre der Konzertflügel ein Orchester und er müsse das Werk instrumentieren. Gieseking hat als Nachschaffender, als Musikant wie als Meister der Technik einen Gipfel erreicht, den man nur in Ehrfurcht bewundern kann." Gerigk, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, Jan. 1942, 145.

with his mastery, which in terms of touch, form-giving power, and all aspects of tone and expression always becomes an artistic revelation."[53]

That summer, Gieseking gave an all-Bach recital in the German capital, where he also rejoined his friend Max Strub for another reading of Pfitzner's Sonata in E minor.[54] To cap off the year (possibly following other Berlin recitals in between), Gieseking returned to the metropolis to play a program that included Schumann's A-minor Piano Concerto followed by Walter Niemann's recently composed Concerto in C major, op. 153 (1941).[55] This performance was given with Berlin's Städtisches Orchester, and was the first of a series of Sunday concerts led by conductor Fritz Zaun (1893–1966).[56] Erwin Völsing of *Die Musik* found that Gieseking played the Schumann with "exquisite tonal nuances and true poetry" ("erlesenen klanglichen Feinheiten und wahrhaft poesieerfüllt").[57] This critic was not so convinced by the Niemann work, however, the formal design of which proceeds as such: lively Praeludium, variations on an old Dutch lullaby, cadenza, quiet ending.[58] Without referring to Gieseking's rendering of it, Völsing thought the roughly nineteen-minute composition to be "effective, but not stylistically

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[53] "In der Reihe der Pianisten begeisterte Walter Gieseking wieder durch eine Meisterschaft, die im Anschlag, in der Formkraft, in allen Dingen des Klanges und Ausdruckes immer wieder einer künstlerischen Offenbarung gleichkommt." Hermann Killer, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, May 1942, 275.

[54] Hermann Killer, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, July 1942, 324. Strub also kept busy leading his eminent quartet during the war, and reviews of the ensemble's performances during those years exist in abundance.

[55] Völsing, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," 88.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Maurice Hinson, *Music for Piano and Orchestra: An Annotated Guide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 213.

consistent" ("das zwar effektvolle, stilistisch aber nicht einheitliche C-Dur Konzert von Walter Niemann").[59]

Erika Mann Protests "Enemy Music," February 1942

During the war, Gieseking may not have been able to visit the United States, but he was anything but forgotten there. For many Americans, the great German pianist continued to be the subject of both admiration and debate. Germany and Italy had declared war on the U.S. four days after Japan's Pearl Harbor attack of 7 December 1941, the "Day of Infamy" as it became known after President Roosevelt's speech the next day, and there was naturally a tremendous surge in anti-German sentiment.

On 15 February 1942, a mere two months after those decisive December events that turned the European combat into a genuine world war, the *New York Times* published an open letter by Erika Mann, daughter of novelist Thomas Mann, in which she protested against "enemy music" being broadcast over U.S. radio stations.[60] Attacking the Columbia Broadcasting System and its flagship radio station, WABC—the letter was addressed "To the Radio Editor"—Mann's main point was to remind Americans that German musicians were receiving U.S. dollars in the form of royalties and to influence listeners to boycott these artists. She accused Columbia record producers, for whom Gieseking had recorded since 1931, of forgetting who America's enemies were. Gieseking himself "is represented more frequently than any other pianist," she complained.

[59] Völsing, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," 88.

[60] Eeika Iann [*sic*], "Erika Mann Protests," *New York Times*, 15 Feb. 1942.

> In fact, he of all artists on today's program was honored by flattering introductory remarks, including a short biography and a description of his hobbies.
>
> When not playing on the piano Mr. Gieseking, we learned, is mainly occupied by collecting butterflies. But most of us don't care a hoot what Mr. Gieseking is fooling around with, as long as Mr. Hitler is fooling around with him.[61]

Mann further maintained that while some could argue that composers such as Richard Strauss were irreplaceable, Gieseking, she felt, was not. Rudolf Serkin, Alfred Cortot, Vladimir Horowitz, and Artur Schnabel were "at least his peers," she contended, "So, why listen to Hitler's man?"[62] Mann was obviously unaware that Cortot, a respected, close acquaintance of Gieseking's, had a highly controversial wartime record. After the war, he was accused of having supported the Vichy regime by performing in concerts sponsored by the Nazis throughout the German occupation of France. Consequently, Cortot found himself temporarily placed on the French blacklist during the initial postwar period, declared a *persona non grata* both within and outside of France.[63]

Disagreeing with Mann, one reader, musicologist Samuel F. Pogue, raised the question as to whether Gieseking's performance of a Beethoven sonata could become a "tool of the 'enemy of mankind'?"[64] Pogue, like others, was of the opinion that artists should be judged independently from politics. As he bluntly put it: "I don't care if Strauss eats breakfast, lunch and dinner with Hitler every day. That doesn't change his artistic

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[61] Iann [*sic*], "Erika Mann Protests," *New York Times*, 15 Feb. 1942.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Martin Cooper and Charles Timbrell, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 2d ed., s.v. "Cortot, Alfred (Denis)"; Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 4. For examples of Cortot's controversial activities in occupied France during the war, see Schwartz, "Musikpolitik und Musikpropaganda im besetzten Frankreich," 55–78.

[64] Pogue later became a professor at the University of Cincinnati. "Samuel F. Pogue, "A Reader Takes Issue with Erika Mann—More on the Matter of Pronunciation," *New York Times*, 22 Feb. 1942.

stature a bit."[65] Another *New York Times* reader, Katherine Anne Porter (presumably the writer), accused Pogue of missing Mann's point. While agreeing that "enemy art" did not exist, Porter argued that there were "enemy artists" and that they should be held accountable for their "human responsibility"; she felt that these German figures were to be judged as Nazis and were therefore unworthy of profiting from their U.S. record sales and airplay.[66] Porter asked Americans to support instead those musicians who had "fled for their lives from the amiable crony and generous patron of Mr. Gieseking and Mr. Strauss."[67]

Gieseking had indeed been a controversial topic among Americans for some time. We will recall the early protests against his appearances in California in 1934.[68] Yet, like the earlier outcry, the public dispute initiated by Mann seems to have died down quickly, having had presumably little effect on Gieseking's album sales and airplay. He was simply much too popular, and American Columbia advertised his discs aggressively.[69] The ethics of airing recordings by controversial persons would be called into question again after the war, however. The U.S. and British Military Governments brought up the permissibility of music and plays performed by blacklisted Germans in the occupied zones, and in the American press there would likewise be continued discussion regarding the royalties of German artists' records, as we will see.[70]

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[65] "Samuel F. Pogue, "A Reader Takes Issue with Erika Mann," *New York Times*, 22 Feb. 1942.

[66] Katherine Anne Porter, "Question of Royalties," *New York Times*, 8 Mar. 1942.

[67] Ibid.

[68] The California protests were dealt with in Chapter 2.

[69] An historical newspaper search via Proquest demonstrates the frequency in which Gieseking's records were listed in advertisements and reviewed by critics, particularly in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post*.

[70] These topics are examined in Chapter 9.

The Reich Strikes Back?: The Nazi Ban on "Enemy Music" Recordings, March 1942

Directly after the publication of Mann's letter, in March 1942, Nazi officialdom, referring back to an early war edict, declared that the sale and purchase of "enemy music" was now strictly prohibited anywhere within the Third Reich, its occupied territories included.[71] While no evidence has yet been found to corroborate that German officials had read Mann's letter, or that they had at least received word of her recent effort to have Americans boycott German artists' recordings, further research could show that they were now, to a certain degree, retaliating in response to her actions. If so, Mann's protest was effective in limiting the sales of Gieseking's recordings, but in the Reich rather than the U.S.—an ironic consequence that she could never have foreseen and quite possibly never learned of. The Reich Music Chamber's statement, as printed in *Die Musik*, read as follows:

> The President of the Reich Music Chamber [Peter Raabe] announces the following: With reference to the decree of 2 September 1939 on the programming policy of Germany's wartime musical activity, it is stipulated that the sale of records manufactured by companies of enemy nations, as well as those featuring works by authors [i.e. song writers or composers] or performers of enemy nations, is to cease within the borders of the German Reich. This also applies to the nations that have broken off diplomatic relations with the Axis powers. For the sale of records containing pre-Bolshevik Russian or French music, a grace period of 6 months from the time of the publication of this decree will be given.
>
> It remains permissible to sell records with music from Bizet's *Carmen* and records of Chopin's works. The sale of discs with enemy-nation music in the occupied territories is also prohibited. Dutch, Belgian, Danish, Greek and Norwegian records, as well as records of German music issued by French firms, remain acceptable for sale.[72]

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[71] "Zeitgeschichte," *Die Musik*, Mar. 1942, 215.

[72] "Der Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer [Peter Raabe] gibt bekannt: Unter Bezugnahme auf den Erlaß über die Programmgestaltung des deutschen Musiklebens im Kriege vom 2.9.1939 wird verfügt, daß der Verkauf von Schallplatten, die von Firmen der Feindstaaten hergestellt oder mit Werken von Autoren oder durch Mitwirkende der Feindstaaten bespielt sind, im Gebiet des Deutschen Reiches zu unterbleiben

It also remains to be determined just how strictly the Reich Music Chamber enforced the record ban, but all "enemy" music and performers are excluded in the recording reviews published in the important German music journal *Musik im Kriege*—the wartime (1943–1944) amalgamation of *Die Musik*, *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, *Zeitschrift für Musik*, and *Neues Musikblatt*. Instead, one finds carefully selected German and Reich-friendly composers and primarily German performers.[73] Naturally, the labels were German—Deutsche Grammophon, Telefunken, and Odeon—although the English label Electrola managed to continue functioning in the Reich, if not without great financial losses, by complying with Nazi restrictions.[74] Gieseking records are nowhere to be found. Aside from featuring "enemy music," since the late Weimar era most of his discs had been first manufactured by record companies of enemy nations, namely Brunswick briefly in 1928 and, since 1931, American Columbia and Columbia Records (under EMI in the United Kingdom).[75]

We have no documentation of Gieseking's reaction to Raabe's notice, but he must have been as repulsed by the news as he was upon learning of the ban on Hindemith's

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hat. Dies gilt auch für die Staaten, die die diplomatischen Beziehungen zu den Achsenmächten abgebrochen haben. Für den Abstoß von Schallplatten mit russisch-vorbolschewistischer sowie französischer Musik wird eine Frist von 6 Monaten vom Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung dieses Erlasses abgewährt.

Es bleibt zulässig, Schallplatten mit Musik aus Bizets 'Carmen' und Schallplatten mit Werken von Chopin zu verkaufen. Der Verkauf von Schallplatten mit feindstaatlicher Musik in die besetzten Gebiete hat gleichfalls zu unterbleiben. Holländische, belgische, dänische, griechische und norwegische Schallplatten sowie Schallplatten französischer Firmen mit deutscher Musik bleiben zum Verkauf zugelassen." Ibid.

[73] For two example columns see Herbert Gerigk, "Die Schallplatte: Neuaufnahmen in Auslese," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1943, 112–13 and Gerigk and Rudolf Somer, "Die Schallplatte: Neuaufnahmen in Auslese," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1943, 185–86.

[74] For a discussion of the record industry in the Third Reich, including information on each of these labels, see Martin Elste, "Zwischen Privatheit und Politik: Die Schallplatten-Industrie im NS-Staat," in *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland*, eds. Hanns-Werner Heister and Hans-Günter Klein (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984), 107–14.

[75] See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 6–12.

music back in 1936. To draw this conclusion, we need only consider the widespread success of his popular Debussy and Ravel recordings. He was generally proud of his records, and his earnings from them had been substantial—roughly 5,000 RM for the U.S. sales in 1939 alone, to give but one example.[76] Taking into account his unusually relaxed and efficient manner in the studio, this was cash easily earned. The record ban, which had to have caused some, perhaps considerable, monetary loss for him, must have come as a most unwelcome surprise. It could only have had a negative impact on his view of the regime and its increasingly dictatorial policies. Its consequences should therefore not be underestimated.

It is also unknown whether Gieseking was able to receive royalty payments from the U.S. and England directly to Germany for the duration of the war. If this was *not* the case, one suspects that he would either have had a trusted friend handle such business matters through foreign bank accounts in his absence, or that he would have been reimbursed by the record firms after V-E Day. The most likely American candidate for this first option would have been Richard Pohlman, who had assisted Gieseking with his U.S. financial transactions since at least 1936.[77] Yet there is no evidence of this for the war period, and so we can only speculate. Any consequent monetary losses notwithstanding, Gieseking's gross income from his German wartime engagements would reach an all-time high in 1942—114,000 RM, i.e. nearly twice as much as his 1941

[76] While Gieseking occasionally mentions earnings from recordings in his correspondence with Annie, no precise record of his total income from record sales has been located. In the figures given in his interrogation report, Severin Kaven notes merely that ten percent of the amounts (Gieseking's gross income) represent earnings from record sales. Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[77] In a letter sent from Switzerland on 28 January 1936, Gieseking wrote to Pohlman, "I have received the mail from the Guaranty Trust Co. Thank you very much for taking good care of this stuff." Gieseking, Berne, to Pohlman, [New York], letter, 28 Jan. 1936, DEC.

earnings there (66,000 RM) and more than twice the amount of those from 1943 (51,000 RM).[78]

Raabe's above-cited Reich Music Chamber announcement, it should be added, also declared that all works by American composers, as well as those published by American firms, were now prohibited within the Reich. This included any German reprints of the same compositions.[79] None of Gieseking's own works had been published by American companies, but his jazz-inspired dance pieces from the Weimar era must have now been taboo, if they had not been before. This small, largely forgotten group of compositions, admittedly not his most important creations, include the "Schorschi-Batschi Fox-Trott" ("Uncle Batschi Foxtrot," ca. 1925) and *Drei Tanzimprovisationen* ("Three Dance Improvisations," 1926) for piano and the cabaret songs "Der Zinnober-schlager" ("The Cinnabar Festival Theme Song," 1928) and "Die Dame von besserer Qualität" ("The Lady of Better Quality," 1928).[80]

Konzert-Sonatine für Violoncello und Klavier

Despite the developments in music censorship, by 8 March (with drafts possibly made the previous year), Gieseking began to compose the *Konzert-Sonatine für Violoncello und Klavier*, the publication of which, like the *Spiel um ein Kinderlied*, was

[78] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[79] "Zeitgeschichte," *Die Musik*, Mar. 1942, 215.

[80] Willking Giese [Walter Gieseking], "Schorschi-Batschi Fox-Trott" (Berlin: Paragon-Musik-Verlag, ca. 1925); Walter Gieseking, *Drei Tanzimprovisationen* (Berlin: Adolph Fürstner, 1926); "Der Zinnoberschlager, " (Hannover: *Hannoverscher Kurier* with permission from A. Fürstner in Berlin, 1928); "Die Dame von besserer Qualität" from the *Revue* "Mit Hilfe der Technik," ([Hanover]: Edler & Krische with permission from A. Fürstner in Berlin, 1928). A "Foxtrott-Improvisation" had also appeared, though merely printed in the *Musikblätter des Hannoverschen Anzeigers*, Nr. 1, 1. Jahrgang, Hanover, February 1925, with permission from A. Fürstner, Berlin. The following year, however, this work served as the first piece of the published *Drei Tanzimpovisationen*. For Gieseking's unpublished works from the Weimar years, refer to Appendix 4B.

nevertheless postponed by the hostilities until 1948.[81] A highly virtuosic work, the solo part of the *Konzert-Sonatine* is not always idiomatically conceived for the cello; a problem that arises in his other completed but unpublished works for cello and piano: the *Variationen über ein Wolgalied* (composed 1946) and his transcription of Domenico Scarlatti's Keyboard Sonata in G major, K. 91/L. 176, (transposed to D major, notated on 9 February 1948).[82] A recording from 25 September 1948 survives of Gieseking performing the *Konzert-Sonatine* with Ludwig Hoelscher (1907–96), one of Germany's leading cellists, who became the pianist's frequent chamber partner during the postwar period.[83]

Annexed Poland

In the spring of 1942, Gieseking appeared in Poland again. One recital took place in Gliwice (German: Gleiwitz), an industrial city in Upper Silesia. The entire southern province, in which the infamous Auschwitz camp was built, had been annexed to the Reich during the early events of September 1939. With the support of his recently founded (September 1941) Upper Silesian Foundation (Stiftung Oberschlesien), the *Gauleiter*, Fritz Bracht, was busy ensuring that the German arts were heavily propagated

[81] Gieseking, *Konzert-Sonatine* (Berlin: Johannes Oertel, 1948). His surviving manuscripts in the GFA show that he worked on the piece primarily in March and July 1942, but one draft may originate from 1941.

[82] For further discussion of the *Konzert-Sonatine* see Haid, "Walter Gieseking and His Published Chamber Music," 151–64. The drafts and final manuscript copy of the *Variationen über ein Wolgalied* as well as the Scarlatti transcription manuscript are found in the GFA; both works are listed below in Appendix 4B.

[83] Gieseking, Ludwig Hoelscher, and Gerhard Taschner, *Trio Gieseking-Taschner-Hoelscher*, recorded 1947–48, Bayer Records, BR200 032 (mono), 1992, CD. Along with the acclaimed violinist Gerhard Taschner (1922–76), Gieseking and Hoelscher would also form the Gieseking-Taschner-Hoelscher Trio after the war, when all three men found themselves blacklisted by the Allied Military Governments. Their performances primarily took place at private soirées held by the vintner Carl Jung at his residence in Rüdesheim, Schloss Boosenburg. See Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 257–437. Jung's soirées and the trio are examined below in Chapter 9.

throughout the district.[84] In an article about the Nazi-run area's "flourishing musical life" ("aufblühendes Musikleben"), Wolfgang Pohl praised the success of Bracht's campaign: "Through concerts, the foundation for a new German cultural life shall be laid not merely in the *Gau* capital [Katowice; in German: Kattowitz], but also throughout the rest of East Upper Silesia, having been freed from its oppressive Polish rule."[85] The German musicians were indeed keeping busy there. The German Kattowitz Orchestra alone had given over a hundred symphony concerts.[86] Pohl further mentioned the musical activity in Gliwice, including Gieseking's recent performance:

> Gleiwitz is playing a special role in the concert life of Upper Silesia, in that they [the German organizers] are trying to fill the entire winter season—with the active support of the local industry—with guest artists. . . . A piano recital by Walter Gieseking and a concert given by the Cologne Chamber Orchestra featuring old masterworks served as delightful sources of exquisite [solo and] chamber music.[87]

Two other prominent, elite German pianists who appeared in the Nazi-seized province around this time were Winfried Wolf and Gieseking's friend and occasional duo-partner, Eduard Erdmann.[88]

Another one of Gieseking's wartime appearances in annexed Poland took place on 2 March, presumably during the present 1942 visit.[89] This recital he gave at a

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[84] Wolfgang Pohl, "Aufblühendes Musikleben in Oberschlesien," Das Musikleben der Gegenwart, *Die Musik*, Mar. 1942, 200–02.

[85] "Nicht nur in der Gauhauptstadt [Kattowitz], auch im ganzen übrigen von polnischer Zwangsherrschaft befreiten Ostoberschlesien sollte durch Konzerte das Fundament zu einem neuen deutschen Kulturleben gelegt werden." Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] "Gleiwitz nimmt im oberschlesischen Konzertwesen insofern eine besondere Stellung ein, als man dort—mit tatkräftiger Unterstützung der bodenständigen Industrie—versucht, das gesamte Winterprogramm mit Gästen zu bestreiten. . . . Erlesene kammermusikalische Genüsse vermittelten ein Klavierabend Walter Giesekings und ein Konzert des Kölner Kammerorchesters mit Werken alter Meister." Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Kaven gives the year 1942 in his "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," though he lists the date specifically as 2 March 1943 in his "Report on Walter Gieseking" (p. 7). In the Report, he indicates that

university concert hall in Poznań, presumably one belonging to the newly established German Reichsuniversität. Along with the other Polish universities, the Nazis had shut down the city's Uniwersytet Poznański and converted its facilities for their personal use.[90] Located on the Warta River in west-central Poland, the city of Poznań, called Posen by the Germans, served as the capital of the Reichsgau Wartheland (initially called Reichsgau Posen) during the nation's German takeover.[91] Such appearances made by German artists would naturally come to be viewed as controversial. According to Severin Kaven's military report from September 1945, the sponsors in this instance were listed as "The concert organizers of the Gau capital."[92] Kaven asked Gieseking about the event during the postwar cross-examination, and the latter expressed no feelings of guilt:

> Q. [Kaven] Your concert in Poznan in 1942 [*sic*?] was a thoroughly German affair. As you know, the territory was annexed by the Nazis. Did you approve of that?
> A. [Gieseking] Wasn't Poznan a German city until 1918?[93]

Gieseking gave one concert in Poland in 1941 and only one in 1942, with none shown for 1943 (p. 4). (Kaven failed to learn that Gieseking also played in Katowice, Poland, in mid-November this year.) Because the recital in Gliwice shows that Gieseking was in Poland at this time in 1942, we can best assume that this is also the correct year for the Poznań engagement. Furthermore, while back home in Wiesbaden on 5 March 1943, he described his latest and forthcoming concert activity to his friend in Leipzig, Ernst Smigelski, making no mention of any appearance in Posen; this strongly suggests that he had not just played there three days earlier. Sources: "Opernhaus: Kattowitz," Zeitschrift für Musik 12, 1942; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 5 Mar. 1943, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

[90] For a recent monograph on the Reich University see Helmut Wilhelm Schaller, *Die "Reichsuniversität Posen" 1941–1945": Vorgeschichte, nationalsozialistische Gründung, Widerstand und polnischer Neubeginn*, Symbolae Slavicae 29, eds. Wolfgang Gesemann and Helmut Schaller (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010).

[91] As British historian Norman Davies reminds us, the Soviets initially occupied the Eastern half of Poland at the same time, though "the Soviet zone of occupation was simply not regarded as a zone of occupation." This lasted until the Germans moved further eastward into Poland. In 1944–45, the Soviet Union would once again begin to occupy Poland as its forces advanced westward. Davies, *Europe at War, 1939–1945: No Simple Victory* (London: Pan Books, 2006), 13, 294.

[92] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7.

[93] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

In mid-November, Gieseking would find himself in annexed Poland one more time, for at least two performances. These took place in Kattowitz on 16 and 17 November, and on both dates he played Schumann's Piano Concerto in A minor under Otto Watisch at the Schausspielhaus Königshütte.[94] There is no documentation of any further trips to Poland for the remainder of the war.

Portugal, Spring 1942

While Gieseking did not travel to Spain just yet, in 1942 he began to make annual appearances in the Portuguese capital of Lisbon, where he had not played since his 1936 tour of the two Western European countries. Portugal, like neighboring Spain, had declared its neutrality on 1 September 1939. Although it never engaged in actual combat, it would earn a "co-belligerent" status in October 1943 upon permitting the Allied forces to set up bases in the Azores.[95] It was a fascist nation, however, run by the dictator António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970). Yet Salazar had an aversion to the German National Socialists, and while he supplied Germany (and Britain) with tungsten, a vital component in steel making, he would eventually give in to the Allies' pleas and stop its German exports in the summer of 1944.[96]

During Gieseking's wartime visits to Portugal, in 1942, 1943, and 1944, he gave an increasing number of concerts: three, five, and seven respectively. On each occasion, he and Annie found accommodation with Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, the Reich's Foreign Minister to Portugal since 1934, who until his dismissal late in the war

[94] "Opernhaus: Kattowitz," Zeitschrift für Musik 12, 1942.

[95] I. C. B. Dear, ed., "Portugal," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 910–11.

[96] Ibid.; Davies, *Europe at War, 1939–1945*, 286.

generally remained loyal to, if never entirely sympathetic with, the Hitler regime.[97] As a special event and tour "highlight," the guest of honor would offer a private piano recital arranged by Hoyningen-Huene.[98] Whereas Portugal's working class generally sided with the Allies, its wealthier citizens tended to be pro-Nazi.[99] It is easy to imagine that this included many of its classical-music concertgoers.

Gieseking continued to give a relatively large number of performances during his current tour in the spring of 1942, which he referred to as a "Weltreise," or world journey, in a letter to Hoyningen-Huene. After appearing in Lisbon (shortly before the Berlin Philharmonic made a visit there), he traveled to Italy via Spain. The heavy rainfall in Barcelona caused the runway to flood and flights to be delayed, and his next concerts in Naples and Florence were therefore cancelled, but he arrived just in time for his sold-out performance at Milan's renowned opera house, La Scala.[100]

Upon returning to Germany, Gieseking made an appearance at the "Volkstümliches Beethovenfest" in Bonn.[101] Although two evenings of the nazified festival were devoted entirely to the music of Beethoven, a tradition by now, a number of other

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[97] [U.S.] State Department Special Interrogation Mission, Interrogation of Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, 11 Oct. 1945, p. 2, file: RG165, Box 745, 390/35/15/02, entry P, 179C, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[98] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7. Kaven mentions the importance of Gieseking's private recitals given for Hoyningen-Huene, and while we may assume that Gieseking gave such a recital during each stay in Lisbon, this is not made clear. In Chapter 7, more details are given on Gieseking's private recital held at the Minister's residence in 1943.

[99] Dear, ed., "Portugal," 910–11.

[100] Gieseking did not perform in Spain in 1942. We will recall that when the Wehrmacht granted Gieseking his "unabkömmlich" status in 1940, they restricted him from appearing in Spain and Russia. As further verification that no concerts were given there, in his report Severin Kaven did not list any concerts in Spain that year. Subject: Gieseking, Walter, Priority-Case No. 21, "Arbeitsblatt," U.S. Military Government to *Spruchkammer* Wiesbaden, 17 Jan. 1947, Abt.: 504, Nr. 72, Zg.: 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking."

[101] Letter from Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, 21 May 1942, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking Hs 316, HLW.

German and Austrian composers were also featured—Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, and Brahms, as well as Hermann Unger, Hans Pfitzner, Max Reger, and Hugo Wolf.[102]

Western Germany

Gieseking's German itinerary for 1942 naturally also brought him to various, more nearby places in the western half of the country. In the city of Neuss, located on the Rhine, he appeared as soloist with the Rheinisches Symphonie Orchestra, led by Konrad Wassenberg; this seems to have been part of another series of events co-sponsored by the Nazi Strength-Through-Joy Organization.[103] Perhaps more controversial, however, were his concerts given in the small, western town of Bad Godesberg.

Bad Godesberg had gained a reputation as being one of Hitler's favorite places to visit. Having first stayed there in 1926, the "Führer" would return over seventy times by the end of his life.[104] Most famously, he had met with British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain there from 22 to 24 September 1938 to discuss the situation regarding Sudetenland. Gieseking gave only occasional concerts in Bad Godesberg during the war, the dates of which, years included, are uncertain. Yet owing to Hitler's repeated presence in the town, some of the pianist's postwar critics questioned the motive for his visits. His German manager, Rudolf Goette, offered the following explanation for the engagements:

> Because I have always tried to arrange Gieseking's tours to be geographically as smoothly connected as possible, I also occasionally accepted an offer from Godesberg to be part of a West German concert tour. None of us thought that an engagement in the small town of Godesberg would later be considered politically

[102] Manfred van Rey, Ernst Herttrich, Thomas Daniel Schlee, and Robert Fontani, *Die Beethoven-feste in Bonn 1845–2003*, Bd. 1 (Bonn: Verlag Beethoven-Haus Bonn, 2003), 89.

[103] C. Weisweiler, "Konzert: Neus am Rhein," *Die Musik*, June 1942, 308.

[104] "Adolf Hitler am 'Deutschen Rhein: NS-Prominenz aus der Sicht eines Hobbyfotografen," Stadtmuseum Bonn, accessed 21 Jan. 2012, http://www2.bonn.de/stadtmuseum/inhalte/hitler.htm.

> dubious merely because it became known throughout the world for having been the meeting place of Chamberlain and Hitler. It is true that Mr. Gieseking did not play in some medium- and small-sized towns before the war. These places were later visited for very understandable reasons of a purely private nature, however [i.e. there was no any external influence from Nazi officials]: the concertizing abroad no longer took so much time, and many of the big German cities could no longer plan events without restraint because of the frequent bombings. Moreover, Gieseking's fees were not as high as those charged by his equally ranked foreign colleagues (Horowitz, Rachmaninoff), so that he has always given a larger number of performances than they have. I informed Mr. Gieseking of the Godesberg arrangements without consulting him in advance; for conveniently located engagements during the tour, I was authorized to act independently.[105]

That Gieseking's foreign engagements no longer demanded too much time can be explained by the lack of any extended tours, such as the months-long trips undertaken in North America before the war. His journeys made throughout the fighting, limited to European nations, were always relatively brief, evidently never lasting more than a week or two in each instance.

In the western province of Saarland, which had been "returned" to the Reich on 1 March 1935, Gieseking reappeared in 1942 to give a performance of Brahms's D-minor Concerto.[106] The German pianist was greeted as a "welcome, familiar artist" ("willkommene Bekannte"), reported Heinrich Dessauer in *Die Musik*.[107] In all likelihood, Dessauer was truthfully referring to how the non-German audience members,

[105] "Da ich seit jeher die Tourneen Giesekings geographisch so flüssig wie möglich legte, nahm ich auf einer westdeutschen Konzertreise gelegentlich auch ein Angebot aus Godesberg an. Niemand von uns dachte daran, dass ein Engagement in der kleinen Stadt Godesberg einmal ein politischer Fall sein könne, weil Godesberg durch die Zusammenkunft Chamberlains mit Hitler in der Welt bekannt wurde. Es ist richtig, dass Herr Gieseking vor dem Krieg in manchen Mittel- und Kleinstädten nicht spielte. Der Grund, dass diese Städte später berücksichtigt wurden, ist aber sehr einleuchtend und rein privater Natur: das Konzertieren im Ausland nahm nicht mehr so viel Zeit in Anspruch, die deutschen Grosstädte [*sic*] konnten wegen der häufigen Bombenangriffe nicht mehr freizügig disponieren. Ausserdem lagen die Honorare Giesekings nicht so hoch wie die seiner gleichrangigen auswärtigen Kollegen (Horowitz, Rachmaninoff), sodass er seit jeher zahlenmässig mehr spielte als diese. Ich habe den Abschluss Godesberg Herrn Gieseking gemeldet, ohne dass er vorher orientiert war; für günstig liegende Engagements auf den Reisen war ich zum selbst[st]ändigen Handeln bevollmächtigt." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 3.

[106] Heinrich Dessauer, "Konzert: Saarbrücken," *Die Musik*, July 1942, 335.

[107] Ibid.

too, had received Gieseking. The local French inhabitants must have had no hard feelings about his wartime concerts there, for, as we will see, they later welcomed the pianist back with open arms after Germany's defeat—granting him Saar citizenship, honoring him repeatedly, and helping him resume his career internationally as swiftly as possible.[108]

Congress of German Authors, 8 October 1942

On 8 October 1942, Gieseking performed in Weimar as part of the "Tag des deutschen Buchs" (Congress of German Authors, literally "Day of the German Book"), which honored selected German and foreign writers. He would later be found at fault for participating in the event, for it was described as having been "Goebbels' brainchild to unite European culture," and the Reich Minister's intentions were never benign, regardless of their purported purposes.[109] "Goebbels tried to make an international congress out of it, by inviting all those collaborationist writers who wanted to come," wrote Severin Kaven.[110] Furthermore, Gieseking's recital occurred "at the much decried gathering of German authors."[111]

Gieseking had received an "official request" from the Propaganda Ministry, which paid his fees on this occasion. "I had to do it," he later said in his defense, arguing that, had he refused, "I might not have gotten a foreign visa the next time."[112] After the war, Goette explained the circumstances behind this appearance:

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[108] Gieseking's special postwar relationship with the French is discussed in Chapter 10.

[109] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3.

[110] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3.

> A telephone call came from the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin: Gieseking was to play on this occasion in Weimar at all costs. I was told that Minister Goebbels had personally made the request and was going to attend the event. I declined because Mr. Gieseking was already scheduled to play in a normal orchestral concert in Nuremberg on that date. A few days later I received another call from the Propaganda Ministry. I was told that they had contacted those in charge of the Nuremberg engagement and that Gieseking was relieved from the obligation. They demanded a commitment to the Weimar arrangements over the phone, which I had to give, subject only to confirmation from Nuremberg. I had to confront Mr. Gieseking with a *fait accompli*. Because the contracting party in Nuremberg submitted to the pressure of the Propaganda Ministry and relieved him, he was quite embarrassed, for this was the first time he had ever had to break a legally binding contract. In the end, Minister Goebbels was, in fact, not present at Gieseking's concert.[113]

Although Goette could have fabricated this excuse for Gieseking's participation, his description seems plausible. If true, this testimony serves as an important reminder of just how easily Goebbels could have his way and also of how Germans naturally feared going against the wishes of the Minister.

German Concerts of October 1942 and the Wartime Food Situation

Shortly after the Weimar performance, Gieseking was in Halle for a concert, where he encountered the American violinist Guila Bustabo (1916–2002). Immensely active in the Third Reich and always chaperoned by her authoritative mother, Blanche, Bustabo played in Germany and its occupied nations with the full approval and support of

[113] "Vom Propagandaministerium aus Berlin kam der telefonische Anruf, Gieseking müsse unter allen Umständen bei dieser Gelegenheit in Weimar spielen; Minister Goebbels verlange es persönlich; der Minister wäre auch anwesend. Ich lehnte ab, weil Herr Gieseking für den fraglichen Termin in Nürnberg für ein normales Sinfonie-Konzert verpflichtet war. Einige Tage später wurde ich erneut vom Propagandaministerium angerufen. Man teilte mir mit, dass man sich persönlich mit Nürnberg in Verbindung gesetzt und Gieseking von der Verpflichtung befreit habe. Man verlangte von mir am Telefon die Zusage für Weimar, die ich unter dem Vorbehalt der Bestätigung Nürnbergs geben musste. Herrn Gieseking musste ich vor eine vollendete Tatsache stellen. Es war ihm sehr peinlich, weil er dadurch erstmalig in die Zwangslage kam, einen rechtsgültigen Vertrag nicht einhalten zu können, weil der Vertragspartner in Nürnberg sich dem Druck des Propagandaministeriums fügte und ihn freigab. Der Minister Goebbels war schliesslich beim Konzert Giesekings doch nicht anwesend." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 3.

Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry.[114] In a postcard to his daughter Jutta, now fifteen years old, Gieseking described his latest travels made by train:

> I stood until we reached Halle. There were usually 37 people [in each railcar] where there was really only room for 13. In Halle I met up with Guila Bustabo and her mother. She didn't come to my concert though, for she had to play Sunday morning [11 October] and therefore had to go to bed early. (Before 9 p.m. That should serve as an example for you and your sister!)[115]

On Sunday morning, Gieseking traveled "comfortably, but very early" ("gut, aber sehr früh) to Berlin, where he performed a Concerto by Walter Niemann.[116] This was surely the one in C major, op. 153 (1941), which he had recently added to his repertoire. "The Niemann Concerto was a great success," he was happy to report to Jutta afterward, "It sounds very beautiful, and we played it well. . . ."[117]

While in the Reich capital, Gieseking met up with his usual group of friends, the Kaplicks and the Ernsts, individuals frequently brought up in the family correspondence, as well as an acquaintance by the name of Rehbock. Owing to the growing lack of food,

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[114] Because Guila maintained a prominent career in the Third Reich, playing under conductors such as Karajan, Furtwängler, Mengelberg and others, she, too, despite being an American, was initially accused of Nazi collaboration after the war and accordingly arrested and blacklisted in the fall of 1945. A postwar investigation confirmed that she had performed "with special permission of [the] Nazi propaganda ministry, and had permitted her talents to be exploited for Nazi propaganda." She was reissued a U.S. passport on 17 April 1946 and allowed to reenter the U.S., though she was subsequently refused permission to travel within Europe again and remained on the blacklist further, at least until 1948. Leon Goldstein of the American Veterans Committee described her wartime record as "disloyal to the point of treason." Robert A. McClure, New York Field Office, War Department, to Leon Goldstein, New York, 5 Feb. 1948, NARA I, Washington D.C., RG85, INS Entry 9, 17 W-3/13/22/4, FRC 3065, file 56249/953; Goldstein, New York, to Commissioner of Immigration, Washington D.C., letter, 16 Feb. 1948, NARA I, Washington D.C., RG85, INS Entry 9, 17 W-3/13/22/4, FRC 3065, file 56249/953; Obituary, ["Guila Bustabo: Violinist, 86"], *New York Times*, 2 May 2002. For a review of a Bustabo's concert in Berlin in 1942, see Killer, "Konzert: Berliner Konzerte," *Die Musik*, May 1942, 275.

[115] "Ich habe bis Halle gestanden, es waren meist 37 Personen dort wo eigentlich 13 Platz haben. In Halle traf ich Guila Bustabo mit ihrer Mutter, sie kam aber nicht in mein Konzert, weil sie Sonntag vormittags zu spielen hatte und darum früh ins Bett musste. (Vor 9, nehmt Euch ein Beispiel daran!)" Gieseking, Stettin, to Jutta Gieseking, Wiesbaden, postcard, postmarked 14 Oct. 1942, GFA.

[116] Ibid.

[117] "Das Niemann-Konzert hatte grossen Publikumserfolg, es klingt sehr hübsch und klappte gut. . . ." Ibid.

the group spent most of their time together in search of a decent meal. A preoccupation with eating becomes apparent in Gieseking's correspondence, as in the above-mentioned postcard to Jutta, in which he also relates the following about the Berlin visit:

> With the rehearsal and concert at 5 p.m., the day went by fast. I ate a little at the [Hotel] Esplanade[118] around noon; I was with the Kaplicks at Ringgli's that evening.[119] On Monday I visited the Ernsts while it was still morning and had a nice lunch there. Monday's concert was not until 7 p.m., there was therefore still time for coffee and *Zwetschenkuchen* [plum cake]! After the concert, I went with the Ernsts and Herr Rehbock to the Esplanade. It was not nice there, though, as there was nothing to order (only after much effort was I able to get something to eat despite having ordered in advance). Consequently, we then went to the Ernsts' place and finished off the rest of the *Zwetschenkuchen*, fruit, and [we each had] a glass of wine. Around 11:45 p.m., I took the last subway train back [to the hotel]. (Herr Rehbock was with me.)[120]

From Berlin, Gieseking hurried further northward to Stettin on 15 February, only to find out that he had somehow misunderstood the arrangements. Once again, he turns to the subject of food in his account of the events to Jutta:

> Yesterday I traveled to Stettin much too early because I thought a concerto performance and morning rehearsal were scheduled. It was a solo recital, and I could have left much later. I practiced there that morning and slept in the afternoon. In between that, I was able to have only a little to eat. Frau Beel.[?] attended the concert, brought some food with her and was, in general, friendly and kind.[121]

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[118] The once luxurious Hotel Esplanade stood at Berlin's busy Potsdamer Platz. It was bombed later in the war, and today there are only ruins of the building to be seen at the modern Sony Center that was built there after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

[119] It is uncertain whether Ringgli was an acquaintance or a restaurant.

[120] [M]it Probe und Konzert um 17 Uhr verging der Tag schnell. Mittags ass ich wenig im [Hotel] Esplanade, abends mit Kaplick's bei Ringgli. Montag ging ich schon vormittags zu Ernst's, ass dort gut zu Mittag, das Montagskonzert war erst um 7, daher war noch Zeit zu Kaffee u.[nd] Zwetschenkuchen! Nach dem Konzert mit Ernst's und Hrn. Rehbock im Esplanade, dort war es so ungemütlich, weil nichts zu haben war (mit Mühe für mich etwas zu essen trotz Vorbestellung), dass wir noch zu Ernst's fuhren, den Rest Zwetschenkuchen und Obst und ein Glas Wein vertilgten um 3/4 12 ging die letzte U-Bahn zurück. (Herr Rehbock war mit.) . . . Gieseking, Stettin, to Jutta Gieseking, Wiesbaden, postcard, postmarked 14 Oct. 1942, GFA.

[121] "Gestern fuhr ich viel zu früh nach Stettin, weil ich dachte, hier wäre ein Orchesterkonzert und Probe am Vormittag—es war ein Klavierabend und ich hätte erst viel später zu fahren brauchen. Da habe ich vormittags geübt, nachmittags geschlafen, zwischendurch wenig zu essen bekommen. Frau Beel. war

It may indeed seem odd to read in the correspondence how an acquaintance in the audience, described only as "Frau Beel.," brought the famed pianist something to eat, though presumably not until the concert had ended. During the war, however, hunger and privation remained widespread and led to the death of many, and as the hostilities progressed, food supplies dwindled further. In 1936, the average calorie intake for Germans had been 3,113 calories per day; by early 1945 it will have fallen to 2,010.[122] Food had already begun to be rationed in Germany in August 1939, just prior to the Polish invasion, and its citizens became concerned about the shortages and diminished quality of provisions immediately.[123] An article in the *Daily News* (New York) from October 1939 tested the Reich's new wartime diet and reported its findings: "Nazi food rations will lead to untold suffering if not eventual starvation in Germany."[124] The food situation was, of course, worsened by the harsh winters and resulting insufficient harvests.[125] By May 1942, Goebbels had proclaimed while addressing Germany's "war aims" in *Das Reich* that "'it's no war for throne or alter,' but 'a war for grain and bread."[126]

Despite Gieseking's fame and wealth, he and his family were naturally also subjected to rationed food and were often hungry and desperate for anything to eat. In

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im Konzert, brachte etwas mit und war auch sonst freundlich und nett." Gieseking, Stettin, to Jutta Gieseking, Wiesbaden, postcard, postmarked 14 Oct. 1942, GFA.

[122] These figures were for "normal" citizens. Those doing hard labor received, or were at least promised, supplementary portions. Wolfgang Benz, *Geschichte des Dritten Reiches* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000), 277.

[123] Sigrid Schultz, "Germany on War Rations; Family Life Disrupted: Women Given Small Dole While Men Are Away," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 Aug. 1939.

[124] Quoted in "War Diet to Cause Malnutrition in Reich, Doctor Says," *Washington Post*, 5 Oct. 1939.

[125] Angus Thuermer, "Germany Pinched by Three War Winters and Two Bad Harvests," *Daily Boston Globe*, 20 May 1942.

[126] "Germany's 'War Aims' Outlined by Goebbels," *Atlanta Constitution*, 28 May 1942. For a brief report on Germany's wartime food rations, see "Germany Alters Food Rations," *Christian Science Monitor*, 15 Sept. 1942.

fact, at times he had no choice but to gather the leaves of certain nutritious plants such as dandelions for the family to cook, and on one occasion during the fighting, he was nearly killed in the process. Jutta remembers the incident:

> We had, of course, nothing to eat, and my father was outside picking leaves in the meadow, from stinging nettles and dandelions. . . . They might be rich in vitamins, but to say that we liked eating them . . . but there was nothing else. And then my father suddenly heard "zzzz," something, and lowered his head, and a bomb splinter from a grenade . . . flew over his head. Had it hit him, he could have been killed. He held his head down just at the right moment. . . . It happened frequently that the anti-aircraft guns shot at planes, and one therefore risked being hit by a splinter, also from the bombs, when in the street. One could be struck in the head. But my father ducked in time and wasn't hit. I found bomb splinters here and there and had a whole case [of them]. I collected them, although now they are gone. I could never find them later.[127]

Germany would not witness an end to the food shortage until several years after the war. In this regard, the early postwar period, in part because of a dry spell, would become the most difficult time of all, for, as we will see, the calorie intake for Germans in each of the occupied zones plummeted.

Kohlenferien

Among the many other deficient resources in wartime Germany was fuel. Naturally, the military's needs came first. Because of the coal shortages, Reich officials periodically announced so-called "Kohlenferien" (also spelled "Kohleferien," meaning "coal

[127] "Wir hatten doch nichts zu essen und mein Vater hat draußen Blätter gepflückt, auf der Wiese, von Brennnessel und Löwenzahn . . . Es mag ja vitaminreich sein, aber dass wir es gerne gegessen haben . . . aber es gab ja nichts. Und da hat mein Vater gehört auf einmal "zzzz," irgendwas, und hat den Kopf runtergebeugt und da ist ein Splitter von einer Granate . . . über seinen Kopf hingeflogen. Wenn die ihn getroffen hätte, hätte er tot sein können. Er hat im richtigen Moment den Kopf runtergehalten . . . das war oft so, da hat die . . . Fliegerabwehrkanone auf die Flugzeuge geschossen und da kam auch, oder auch von den Bomben . . . riskierte man, dass wenn man auf der Straße war, von so einem Splitter . . . das könnte man auf den Kopf kriegen. Und mein Vater hat rechtzeitig den Kopf runter und ist nicht getroffen worden. Und ich habe dann ab und zu Splitter gefunden und hatte eine ganze Schachtel, habe ich die gesammelt. Aber die ist weg, die habe ich nie mehr gefunden." Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 14 Dec. 2010.

holidays"), as a measure to conserve energy. Schools could be shut down for over a month at a time, and the students merely showed up to receive assignments to complete at home, as Gieseking's children, Jutta and Freya, occasionally had to do.[128] In the postcard to Jutta of 14 October 1942, Gieseking made the following suggestion to his daughter: "You and Freya should go to the countryside during the *Kohlenferien*, although it is really not so nice there in the winter. . . ."[129] Gieseking did not own a country house, thus it is not clear where he intended to send the children during the mentioned break.[130] Coal holidays were not a new initiative, for they had been put into use during harsh winters of the past, as during the First World War. There had already been *Kohlenferien* in various German cities during the current war's first and second winter seasons, the need for which would only increase as the fighting continued and the Reich's supply of resources dwindled. There would be further *Kohlenferien* during the postwar years as well, when wartorn, occupied Germany, still devastated by the loss of life and destruction, had only begun to be rebuilt and was lacking virtually all necessities.[131]

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[128] Jutta remembers going to school to obtain the assignments during the *Kohlenferien*. Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 16 Feb. 2012.

[129] "Du und Freya soll[t]en während der Kohlenferien auf das Gut kommen, aber im Winter ist es doch sicher nicht so schön dort. . . ." Gieseking, Stettin, to Jutta Gieseking, Wiesbaden, postcard, postmarked 14 Oct. 1942, GFA.

[130] Jutta Hajmássy cannot recall where she and her sister may have gone and has verified that they did not own a home out in a rural area. Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 16 Feb. 2012.

[131] A wealth of memoirs and other accounts mention the *Kohlenferien* and are readily available online. For an example from World War I see Dieter Schäfer, *Der Krieg, 1914/16: Werden und Wesen des Weltkrieges dargestellt in umfassenderen Abhandlungen und kleineren Sonderartikeln* (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1920), 265. For examples during WWII see "Nationalsozialismus und Zweiter Weltkrieg," Viktoria-Luise-Gymnasium Hameln, accessed 1 Feb. 2012, http://www.vikilu.de/vikilu/index.php?id=63; Hans Eugen Specker, *Ulm im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Ulm: Stadtarchiv Ulm, 1995), 59, 86; Frithjof Rodi, *Das Haus auf dem Hügel: Eine Jugend am Rande des Kraters*, 2d ed. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2007), 28; and Helmut Halter, *Stadt unterm Hakenkreuz: Kommunalpolitik in Regensburg während der NS-Zeit* (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1994), 524. For an example from the postwar period see Udo Winkel, *Nürnberg 1945–1949: Die Amtszeit des 1. Stadtrats Juni 1946–Juni 1948* (Nürnberg: Im Selbstverlag des Stadtrats zu Nürnberg, 1989), 552.

Gieseking is Approved for "Troop Care," November 1942

Not long after the Polish invasion, the NS regime had begun arranging for Reich artists to offer so-called *Truppenbetreuung*, literally "troop care."[132] Reich Chamber Music officials expected all approved persons to lend their support to this cause. Participants were, in fact, relatively well paid for such patriotic engagements, and thousands of both prominent and lesser-known figures had consequently provided their services since the events of September 1939. While the pay scale varied considerably, a common artist might earn up to 75 RM for a day's work or even up to 150 RM for an especially popular event.[133] The Propaganda Ministry's annual budget for troop care for 1942 alone was 300,000 RM, and the "Strength through Joy" Organization had its own, competing funds.[134] The latter institution paid Peter Anton Kastner, a relatively unknown member of the Dortmunder Marionettentheater, between 6,000 to 9,000 RM for his engagements from 1937 through 1939 and 24,000 to 40,000 RM for those from 1940 through 1944.[135]

The amount of troop-care involvement on the part of Reich artists nonetheless could not meet the high demands. In an announcement from 8 August 1940, Reich Theater Chamber President Ludwig Körner, Reich Music Chamber President Peter Raabe, and Reich Film Chamber President Carl Froelich reminded German artists of these expected duties and expressed the need for many more volunteers. These services, it was reiterated, were arranged not merely for troops:

> Through artistic performance, it is our duty to turn the hours of combat pauses into hours of hours of enjoyment and edification for all of our soldiers, the men of

[132] For a comprehensive examination of "troop care," see Vossler, *Propaganda in die eigene Truppe*.

[133] Ibid., 292.

[134] Ibid., 290.

[135] Kastner was engaged by the "Kraft through Joy" for the Wehrmacht. Ibid., 293.

> the Todt Organisation and the RAD [*Reichsarbeitdienst*, or Reich Labor Service], and the armament workers. Through the diverse opportunities of cultural support, we have to ease the sufferings of the wounded lying in military hospitals, who took this fate upon them for all of us. A still greater engagement of all artists of the German theater, our musical life, and film is necessary. For this we are calling on you! Help the relevant institutions in your leisure! Do without vacation days, which our comrades on the front also do not have. . . . Our victorious army is fighting for the future of German culture and therefore also for your future. We await the fulfillment of your duty.[136]

Goebbels himself concluded the statement with a few strong and direct words aimed at those whom he considered cowards: "I expect that all German artists, to whom this plea for help is addressed, joyfully and willingly participate in the great task of *Truppenbetreuung*. Those who try to dodge the responsibility neither deserve to live during this historic time nor to share in its blessings."[137]

Although two years had passed since the announcement published by Körner, Raabe, Froelich, and Goebbels, in November 1942 the Cultural Personalities Department (Kulturpersonalien Abteilung) of the Reich Culture Chamber did a background check on Gieseking in order to approve him for "troop care."[138] Headed by Hellmuth von Loebell, the Culture Chamber's "most important man after [Hans] Hinkel involved in the 'Final Solution to the Jewish Question,'" the department maintained the files on all chamber

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[136] "Es gilt, all unseren Soldaten, den Männern der Organisation Todt und das RAD und den Rüstungsarbeitern die Stunden der Kampfpausen zu Stunden der Freude und der Erbauung durch künstlerische Leistungen zu machen, den Verwundeten in den Lazaretten ihr Los, das sie für uns alle auf sich genommen, durch die mannigfaltigen Möglichkeiten der kulturellen Betreuung zu erleichtern. Ein noch größerer Einsatz aller Künstler des deutschen Theaters, unseres Musiklebens und des Films ist erforderlich. Hierzu rufen wir Euch auf! Stellt Eure Freizeit den zuständigen Stellen zur Verfügung! Verzichtet auf Urlaubstage, die unsere Kameraden an der Front auch nicht kennen. . . . Unsere siegreiche Wehrmacht kämpft für die Zukunft deutscher Kultur, und damit auch für Eure Zukunft. Wir erwarten Eure Pflichterfüllung." [Ludwig] Körner, [Peter] Raabe, [Carl] Froelich, and Joseph Goebbels, "Aufruf! Deutsche Künstler," Nachrichtendienst für Musiker, *Der Musikerzieher*, Oct. 1940, 11.

[137] "Ich erwarte, daß jeder deutsche Kunstschaffende, an den der Ruf zur Mithilfe ergeht, sich freudig und gern dem großen Werk der Truppenbetreuung zur Verfügung stellt. Wer sich hier zu drücken versucht, ist es nicht wert, in dieser geschichtlichen Zeit zu leben und ihrer Segnungen teilhaftig zu werden." Ibid.

[138] "Gieseking, Walter, M 01148," [record of background check], 25 Nov. 1942, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

members and was in charge of the racial and political-history screenings.[139] While Gieseking's proof of ancestry (*Abstammungsnachweis*) could not be found, the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt), which was also involved in the vetting process, concluded that in his case "There is no record of unfavorable political activity."[140] The document was consequently stamped by the Cultural Personalities Department: "There are no objections to an appearance before the troops."[141] According to the U.S. Military Government's postwar records, however, the Wehrmacht file (Wehrstammbuch 1895/3/44) added the restriction that Gieseking should not appear in Russia or Spain.[142] The constraint regarding the Soviet Union, an enemy nation since June 1941, is understandable, but the basis for that regarding fascist Spain, which maintained a non-belligerent status throughout the war and had even entered into a cultural agreement with Germany on 19 January 1939, is unclear.[143] Whatever the cause, the Spanish restriction would only be temporary. The full extent to which Gieseking participated in providing "troop care" is unknown, but the fees offered were certainly no motivating factor in his case. In all probability, he did his best to avoid such performances as much as possible. Yet by the end of 1944, he found himself carrying out

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[139] Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Loebell, Helmuth von"; Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany*, 63.

[140] "Gieseking, Walter, M 01148," [record of background check], 25 Nov. 1942, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[141] "Gegen einen Einsatz vor der Truppe bestehen keine Bedenken" Ibid.

[142] "Erhielt eine Bescheinigung, das keine Bedenken für Reisen ins Ausland bestehen ausser Russl. [Russland] und Spanien." Subject: Gieseking, Walter, Priority-Case No. 21, "Arbeitsblatt," U.S. Military Government to *Spruchkammer* Wiesbaden, 17 Jan. 1947, Abt.: 504, Nr. 72, Zg.: 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

[143] For more on the German-Spanish Cultural Agreement see, Falk-Thoralf Günther, "Das deutsch-spanische Kulturabkommen von 1939," Themenportal Europäische Geschichte, accessed 21 Jan. 2012, http://www.europa.clio-online.de/site/lang__de-DE/ItemID__222/mid__12188/40208766/Default.aspx.

a “Wehrmacht tour” (“Wehrmachtstournee”), which brought him to Berlin among other places.[144] There may have been other instances when he provided such services, particularly during the final months of the Third Reich.

The Alsace-Lorraine Region, December 1942

Among Gieseking’s final foreign concerts in 1942 were four in Alsace-Lorraine, known as *Elsaß-Lothringen* to the Germans.[145] This east-central region of France (on the German border), which Germany was obliged to cede to the French under the Treaty of Versailles, had been annexed to the Reich in the summer of 1940.[146] “At a few hours’ notice,” writes M. R. D. Foot, “200,000 French-speaking inhabitants were evicted westward. . . . The remaining inhabitants, German-speakers but few of them pro-Nazi in sentiment, were given no opportunity to express any feelings of resentment they might have had.”[147] Hitler’s regime had since begun to Germanize the province, and many of the French occupants were, in fact, deported, frequently to Algeria.[148] Another 140,000 men from the region were forcibly recruited into the *Wehrmacht* during the war, most of whom ended up fighting the Soviets.[149]

Gieseking’s Alsatian performances took place in the cities of Colmar, Mulhouse, and Strasbourg, or, as the Germans spelled them: Kolmar, Mülhausen, and Straßburg.

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[144] More details about the Wehrmacht tour are still unknown. Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to [Konsul] Doktor [Schatz], Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, letter, 27 Dec. 1944, Kult Pol K, Musik, 1943–45, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amt, Berlin.

[145] Kaven, “Report on Walter Gieseking,” 4.

[146] In his military report, Severin Kaven categorizes the Alsace region as an annexed nation.

[147] Foot, “Alsace-Lorraine,” in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 29.

[148] Davies, *Europe at War*, 310.

[149] Liliane M. Vassberg, *Alsatian Acts of Identity* (Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1993), 21.

The engagements in Colmar and Mulhouse, on December 15 and 16 respectively, were backed by the National Socialist Strength-Through-Joy Organization.[150] A report on Colmar's musical activities printed the following year in *Musik im Kriege* mentioned these concerts:

> In the three years of German administration in the Alsace, a relatively sizable and loyal community of music enthusiasts has developed, which enabled the music director of the Colmar Municipal Theater, Dr. Gustav Koslik, to lead eight concerts with a total of 3,276 visitors during the 1942/43 season. Soloists such as [violinist Georg] Kulenkampff and Gieseking were the excitedly received highlights among these concerts, Haydn's "Creation" the greatest highlight of all.[151]

The venue referred to, the Kolmarer Stadttheater (Colmar Municipal Theater), located in central Alsace, had just completed its first season as an "independent German stage" ("selbständige deutsche Bühne").[152] In a concurrent report in *Musik im Kriege*, it was stated that over those nine months, 144,670 persons had attended performances held at the theater "and this figure confirms," it was haughtily added, "that the little over 40,000 inhabitants of this town deserve to have their own stage."[153]

During the postwar interrogation, Kaven brought up Gieseking's Alsatian appearances, about which the pianist made no apologies. From the transcript we read:

Q. [Kaven] You gave 2 concerts in Alsace under the auspices of "Kraft durch

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[150] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7.

[151] "In den drei Jahren deutscher Verwaltung im Elsaß hat sich in Kolmar eine verhältnismäßig ansehnliche und treue Gemeinde von Musikfreunden zusammengefunden, mit der der musikalische Oberleiter des Kolmarer Stadttheaters, Dr. Gustav Koslik, 1942/43 acht Konzerte mit insgesamt 3276 Besuchern durchführen konnte. Solisten wie Kulenkampff und Gieseking waren die begeistert aufgenommenen Mittelpunkte dieser Konzerte, Haydns 'Schöpfung' der Mittelpunkt dieser Konzerte überhaupt." Edmund Huber, "Konzerte: Kolmar," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1943, 111.

[152] Edmund Huber, "Oper: Kolmar," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1943, 110.

[153] Ibid. While statistics giving Colmar's population loss caused by the occupation have not been located, the number of residents had already reached 49,448 in 1936. "From 1918 to 1945 – The inter-war period and hardships time," Colmar: Centre-Alsace, Office de Tourisme, accessed 20 Jan. 2012, http://www.ot-colmar.fr/en/detailed-chronology/166-from-1918-to-1945-the-inter-war-period-and-hardships-time.

Freude" [Strength-Through-Joy Organization]. You must have known that the Nazis annexed the province and proceeded to germanize [*sic*] it. Your concerts were a contributing factor, weren't they?

A. [Gieseking] Why shouldn't I have played in Alsace? The Alsatians are neither French nor German. They are an Allaman[n]ic people, and most of them don't speak French. I couldn't pay attention to all this nonsense.[154]

Like Gieseking's engagements in other annexed territories, Kaven felt these events had an "unmistakable German character."[155] In his investigation report, Kaven relayed the following information:

> The concert in Colmar was at the same time under the sponsorship of the City Administration, while the one in Mulhouse was under the sponsorship of the Mayor of the city. Both concerts thus received not only official [Nazi] party blessing but also approval of the city authorities at a time when Alsace was submitted to a policy of radical Germanization. It goes without saying that only music by German composers was performed.[156]

It is unknown which specific works Gieseking played in these concerts.

After the war, Rudolf Goette claimed that when he informed Gieseking of the Alsatian visit, it was already a *fait accompli*.[157] He argued further that Gieseking had been unaware of the Alsatians forced evacuation, adding "Even I didn't know about that until most recently, although I listened to foreign broadcasts often enough during the war."[158] Additionally, Goette raised a point about the Austrian conductor Hans Rosbaud (1895–1962), who had served as conductor of occupied Strasbourg's Orchestre philharmonique starting in 1941. Not only had Rosbaud been cleared by the U.S. Military

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[154] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3. According to one study, "After World War I, the percentage of Alsatians who could speak French fluently is estimated at 2%, and another 8% of the population had a 'relative knowledge of French.'" Vassberg, *Alsatian Acts of Identity*, 18.

[155] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 7.

[156] Ibid. The Nazi Gauleiter of Alsace, who thereby served as the region's Head of the Civil Government, was Robert Heinrich Wagner (1895–1946). Wagner was executed in Strasbourg in 1946 for his war crimes, which included the ruthless Germanization of Alsace. "Milde Strafen für die Täter," *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung*, 8 Nov. 2008.

[157] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 4.

[158] Ibid.

Government since the war's end, but the same officials had even named him general music director of the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra.[159] Gieseking and Rosbaud had performed together for many years. "I think it is unfair to recognize a conductor who held a permanent position in Alsace, while conversely referring to Gieseking's occasional performances there as a kind of war crime," contended Goette. "That would be a double-standard—in a democracy."[160]

Any reviews printed in Nazi publications, such as all those found in *Musik im Kriege*, were as controlled propaganda only going to report positively on events within the Reich and its annexed and occupied territories. Gieseking's audiences in the Alsatian cities may have largely been German, or at least largely German-speaking, and might also have included many of the community minority who were pro-Nazi. While other locals who were unsupportive of the Hitler regime may have been willing to put politics aside for the few hours of a concert, some would have surely been unwilling to attend events given by Reich artists. We can be certain that some Nazi officials, accompanied by military personnel and/or police, were present at most events featuring the Reich's elite, and under such conditions, protest of any kind was unlikely. Thus, such concerts in conquered areas took place peacefully. Late in the war, Gieseking would return to the Alsace region, namely to its capital, Strasbourg, to give his third and final wartime

[159] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 4; Joan Evans, "Rosbaud, Hans," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 20 Jan. 2012, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music.23825.

[160] "Ich denke, man kann nicht gut einen Dirigenten anerkennen, der im Elsass eine ständige Position ausfüllte, auf der anderen Seite ein gelegentliches Spielen im Elsass seitens Giesekings als eine Art Kriegsverbrechen bezeichnet [*sic*]. Das wäre zweierlei Maass [*sic*] – in der Demokratie." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 4.

concert in the historical city, this time in a concerto performance with the pre-eminent Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.[161]

Conclusion

In 1941 and 1942, there had been major developments in the war. Most notably, the United States had entered it in December 1941, and by the same month the Germans' Operation Barbarossa had failed—the world was reassured in knowing that Hitler's army was, in fact, not invincible. The Battle of the Atlantic had begun in 1941, and the Allies had suffered great losses at sea owing to the German U-boats. This situation was about to change in 1943, however, through the use of more escorts and technological advancements such as those made in underwater sound detection and surface radar.[162]

With regard to air combat, Warsaw had suffered from heavy German *Luftwaffe* attacks first in 1939, as had the Dutch port city of Rotterdam in 1940 and the English cities of London, Liverpool, and Coventry in 1940 and 1941.[163] Consequently, since 1942 the Western air offensive was in progress, and Germany's Ruhr District, as well as important cities such as Berlin, Cologne, Essen, Munich, Nuremburg, and Bremen, had already suffered their first bombing raids.[164] Some of the most devastating and deadly Allied airborne attacks, such as those on Hamburg and Dresden, were still being planned. There had been fighting in northern Africa since September 1940 as well, and in November 1942, British and American forces initiated Operation Torch by landing troops

[161] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 7.

[162] Davies, *Europe at War*, 98.

[163] Ibid., 299.

[164] Ibid.

in French North Africa, namely in Morocco and Algeria. On the Eastern Front, the horrific Battle of Stalingrad had begun in the late summer of 1942.

All of the principal countries had become involved in the fighting since the early part of 1942. The Western nations were more optimistic than ever, and their citizens proud of the progress being made. In the U.S., papers were flooded with positive news about the conflict, and one could already read about "What to Do with Germany at War's End" by January 1942 or, by that May, about Eleanor Roosevelt's suggestion of policing postwar Germany.[165] Other articles discussed how the Royal Air Force's offensives were "crippling" Germany's military, and the report "Germany Pinched by Three War Winters and Two Bad Harvests" seemed to propagate the idea that nature too was on the Allies' side.[166] Meanwhile, in Germany "former enthusiasm for the war seems to have dropped to zero," it was publicized.[167] The American media was greatly boosting both American morale and support for the Allied cause.

Regardless of the trying conditions, everyday life endured in the Reich, and music remained an important part of it—in homes, schools, concert halls, military hospitals, armament factories, on the Fronts, and anywhere a radio or record player could be found. Since the start of the war, Gieseking was one of many artists who had been classified by the Reich Culture Chamber as "unabkömmlich." Between 1940 and 1942, he had given no fewer than 139 concerts in Germany and another 93 concerts in nine European

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[165] Frederick Cramer, "What to Do with Germany at War's End: Inject Democracy to Maintain Peace, Says Professor," *Daily Boston Globe*, 18 Jan. 1942; "Mrs. Roosevelt Talks On Policing Post-War Germany," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 4 May 1942.

[166] Angus Thuermer, "Germany Pinched by Three War Winters and Two Bad Harvests," *Daily Boston Globe*, 20 May 1942.

[167] "War Enthusiasm in Germany Declared to Be Down to Zero," *Los Angeles Times*, 2 May 1942.

countries, including those now occupied by the Reich.[168] He had earned an estimated 321,000 RM in these three years alone, and by 1942 was earning an average of circa 1,800 RM per concert in Germany and roughly 900 RM for each appearance abroad.[169] His German fees per engagement would continue to increase significantly through 1944, until the final months of the war. Indeed, Gieseking was enjoying considerable artistic and financial success, even with the political developments. After the war, his American opponents would not overlook his outstanding monetary record, using it as further evidence to argue that he had been an opportunist during the Third Reich. In his client's defense, the pianist's assistant manager in New York, Edward Snowdon, wrote, "It should be recalled that the years 1935 to 1942, which have been cited as years of great increase in Gieseking's income, were years in which his international fame was growing by leaps and bounds, and they were years in which his fees, as well as all other artists' fees, were rapidly increasing."[170]

Despite moments of impressive productivity, Gieseking was never a prolific composer or essayist, yet he had completed a small group of fine compositions between 1940 and 1942: a *Divertimento* for piano four-hands; two Lieder, "Sag ich's euch, geliebte Bäume" (Goethe) and "Vollmacht" (Rilke); *Kleine Musik* for three violins, the Serenade for string quartet, and the *Konzert-Sonatine* for cello and piano. The Johannes Oertel Verlag in Berlin had published *Kleine Musik* in 1941 and the Serenade would

[168] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4.

[169] Ibid., 2–4, 8; note that the 10% of Gieseking's total earnings that derived from record royalties, as indicated by Kaven, has been subtracted from these figures in order to give more accurate, if only approximate, average amounts of Gieseking's earnings per engagement.

[170] Snowdon, "The Gieseking Case," 8.

follow in 1943.[171] Furthermore, Gieseking continued to be listed as co-editor of the music journal *Der Musikerzieher* (The Music Educator) for another year—although this was merely an endorsement—and published one article in it in 1941 titled "Bach Interpretation on the Concert Grand" ("Bach-Interpretation auf dem Konzertflügel").[172] A second essay, "Intuition and *Werktreue* as Foundations of Interpretation" ("Intuition und Werktreue als Grundlagen der Interpretation"), appeared in 1942, in the previously mentioned Festschrift celebrating the seventieth birthday of Reich Music Chamber President Peter Raabe.[173]

In other ways, the war continued to hamper Gieseking's career. Most importantly, his activities in North America and Britain were kept on hold as long as the fighting continued. This meant that his distinguished career as a best-selling recording artist also remained completely interrupted, not merely in the U.S. and England, but in Germany as well. What is more, in America Erika Mann had publicly condemned his records as "enemy music," recommending that the nation's music enthusiasts boycott them. And because of the Nazi regime's more recent censorship laws, his many newer discs could evidently no longer be discussed, marketed, sold, or listened to within the greater Reich. In addition, the publication of two of his completed chamber works—the *Konzert-Sonatine* for cello and piano and the *Spiel um ein Kinderlied* for piano four-hands—would be delayed until after the postwar years.[174]

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[171] These publications and Gieseking's efforts as a composer are examined further in Excursus IV.

[172] Gieseking, "Bach-Interpretation auf dem Konzertflügel."

[173] Gieseking, "Intuition und Werktreue als Grundlagen der Interpretation." More on Gieseking's contribution to the Festschrift and his other published writings is found in Excursus II.

[174] Both of these works would be published by Johannes Oertel in 1948, see Appendix 4A. For more on their publication see Excursus IV, "Gieseking's Published Compositions during the Third Reich and Postwar Period."

Yet there were more important concerns for Gieseking at this time. Most significantly, he and his family were already experiencing the effects of the widespread food shortage. His children, Jutta and Freya, were growing up, having turned ages fifteen and eleven respectively by the end of 1942, and their well-being was of tremendous concern to Gieseking. Furthermore, his father, Wilhelm, now age seventy-three, lived in Wiesbaden, as did his beloved mentor, Karl Leimer, who was now eighty-four. Neither would live to see the end of the hostilities. The worst of the war's horrors was still to come, and the following years would prove ever more difficult for Gieseking and his family.

Excursus III:

Karl Leimer's Professor Title

Gieseking had been awarded an honorary professor title in Hitler's name in 1937.[1] During the Second World War, he made an attempt to have his mentor, Karl Leimer, named professor by the Nazi government. Leimer, we will recall, had also been Gieseking's brother-in-law, although he had by now divorced Gieseking's sister-in-law, Else.[2] At this time, Gieseking necessarily corresponded with Reich authorities at the Propaganda Ministry, including Reich Minister Goebbels. This case study recounts the only known occurrence in which Gieseking requested a favor from the regime, while also shedding light on the Nazis' wartime position regarding the bestowal of honorary titles.

Honorary Titles in the Belligerent Third Reich

During the earlier part of WWII, Nazi officials, still assuming victory would be theirs, nonetheless decided to cease granting honorary titles until the conflict had ended.[3] Yet in early 1941, a few exceptions were made, and Lothar Max Müthel (1896–1964), director (*Direktor*) of Vienna's Burgtheater, and Alexander Spring (1891–1956), general manager (*Generalintendant*) of the state theaters in Cologne, both received the title of

[1] See Chapter 3.

[2] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 16 Feb. 2012.

[3] [Memo] from the Personalabteilung, 23 Apr. 1941, Berlin, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (hereafter RMfVP), R55 73, doc. 72, BA; letter to Herrn Präsidenten der Reichsmusikkammer [Peter Raabe], 21 July 1941, Berlin, RMfVP, R55/73, doc. 110, BA.

professor in Hitler's name.[4] Additionally, Hitler, "on his own initiative," honored the composer Herms Niel (Herman Nielebock, 1888–1954) with the title on 20 April, allegedly because Niel's victory piece written for the southeast military campaign, the "Balkanmarsch" ("Balkan March"), had pleased him so much.[5] Hitler, whose love for and support of Richard Wagner's music is well known, was surely more delighted by the piece's propagandistic value than by any musical qualities it may have had.

Nazi officials now rightfully feared that other Germans seeking honorary titles, including persons who had been refused in the past, might begin to submit further requests upon learning of these exceptionally conferred awards. Thus, any announcements of Müthel's and Spring's distinctions, it was decided, could be printed only in the local media in order to limit any wider dissemination of such news. This resolution was emphasized in an internal communiqué from the Propaganda Ministry's Personnel Department:

> As the bestowing of all titles are in all cases to be deferred during the war, with regard to the two recent exceptions—Professor Spring in Cologne and General Manager Müthel in Vienna—we have agreed with the person in charge, State Secretary and Head of the Presidential Chancellory [Otto Meißner (1880–1953)], to allow the announcements to appear only in the local press, not in the Reich Press. This is to prevent pointless requests [for the bestowal of other honorary titles].[6]

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[4] An actor and director, Müthel was placed in charge of all state theaters during the war. He was active in Berlin, Munich, Vienna and Salzburg during the fighting, and continued his career as acting director in Frankfurt from 1951 to 1956. In addition to his director position, Alexander Spring was Ratsherr (councilor) of the city of Cologne. For more on Müthel and Spring, see Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.vv. "Müthel, Lothar" and "Spring, Alexander."

[5] [Memo] from the Personalabteilung, 23 Apr. 1941, Berlin, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 72, BA. According to Goebbels, Niel became for Nazi Germany, "the creator of our most popular mass-war [march] songs (*Massenkriegsgesänge*)." Niel's success grew when the regime began to use the marching and soldier songs for propaganda purposes. Among them were "Kamerad, wir marschieren im Westen" ("Comrade, We are Marching into the West") against the French, and "Im Osten pfeift der Wind" ("In the East Whistles the Wind") for the Nazis' Eastern campaign. Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Niel, Herms."

[6] "Da während des Krieges alle Titelverleihungen grundsätzlich zurückgestellt sind, haben wir, um aussichtlosen Wünschen vorzubeugen, bei den zwei in letzter Zeit vorgenommenen Ausnahmen—Prof.

Yet since Hitler himself had chosen to honor Niel, this particular conferral was considered of "special political importance"; consequently, there could be no objection to the announcement being reported nationwide.[7]

Gieseking's Request for Leimer

Despite the regime's efforts to limit the press coverage, Gieseking learned of the titles granted. Encouraged, he wrote to an official counselor at the Propaganda Ministry, presumably his usual contact, Amtsrat Klaus.[8] In addition, he included a second letter addressed to Reich Minister Goebbels. Goebbels, we will recall, had proposed to Hitler the idea of presenting titles in 1937, when Gieseking was on the list with over fifty others.[9] While there are no records to show that Gieseking ever became personally acquainted with the Minister, he was certainly well aware that Goebbels recognized him as one of the Reich's greatest musical assets, one who had been behaving as expected to boot. A return favor was in order.[10]

Spring in Köln und Generalintendant Müthel in Wien—im Einvernehmen mit dem dafür zuständigen Staatsminister und Chef der Präsidialkanzlei die Bekanntgabe in der Reichspresse unterbunden und lediglich Veröffentlichungen in der örtlichen Presse zugelassen." See [Memo] from the Personalabteilung, 23 Apr. 1941, Berlin, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 72, BA.

[7] "Im Hinblick auf die besondere politische Bedeutung der Auszeichnung von Herms Niel ist gegen die in diesem Fall erfolgte Veröffentlichung selbstverständlich nichts einzuwenden." Ibid.

[8] The name of the Amtsrat is not given. While questioning Gieseking after the war, however, Severin Kaven brought up a letter from 27 November 1939 (now lost), which Gieseking had written to a certain Amtsrat. "The letter was addressed to an Amtsrat Klaus of the Berlin Propaganda Ministry," Gieseking replied, explaining that Klaus had kindly assisted him with the arrangements of his concerts in foreign countries. This correspondence concerned Gieseking's U.S. tour that had been scheduled for 1940, which he decided to cancel owing to the new wartime complications involving travel to the U.S. (See Chapter 5). Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

[9] Refer to Chapter 3.

[10] In Gieseking's correspondence there is also no record of him having ever personally met with Goebbels.

In these letters, Gieseking requested that Karl Leimer now be considered for an honorary professor title.[11] Leimer was an octogenarian, soon to turn age eighty-three, and Gieseking feared that his former mentor was nearing the end of his life. Part of his letter to the Amtsrat reads:

> It would bring me great joy if I could help my teacher receive this honor. Unfortunately, he is in such bad physical health, that it is no longer realistic to think that he could wait a long time to receive the title of professor, which I believe would make him very happy. A while back, I heard that such bestowments were to cease during the war. Meanwhile the press has reported news of various conferrals, which brings me hope that my request might be passed on [to Goebbels].[12]

Understandably, Gieseking never mentions that Leimer had once been his brother-in-law.

Leimer's Failing Health

Gieseking was careful to call attention to Leimer's age and poor health. Among other ailments, since the mid-1930s, Leimer had lost most of his eyesight and was confined to a wheelchair.[13] He had returned to Wiesbaden in the mid-1930s and was therefore able to visit the Gieseking home frequently, often joining the Gieseking family for dinner.[14] Aside from Leimer's ex-wife, Else (Annie's sister), their younger daughter, Ellen, had lived there since WWII, and at least since the war's end, so had the latter's husband, Heinz Grosse.[15] He was then living with his third wife, also elderly, who

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[11] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Amstrat [Klaus?], Berlin, 3 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 79, BA; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Goebbels, Berlin, 3 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 80, BA.

[12] "Es wäre mir eine große Freude, wenn ich meinem Lehrer zu dieser Auszeichnung verhelfen könnte; er ist ja leider körperlich so leidend, dass man nicht mehr damit rechnen kann, dass er noch lange darauf warten könnte, den Professortitel, der ihn sehr beglücken würde, zu erhalten." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Amstrat [Klaus?], Berlin, 3 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 79, BA.

[13] Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 10 Sept. 2008.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Else Leimer and Ellen and Heinz Grosse are discussed further in Chapters 7–9. From his first marriage, Leimer also had a second, older daughter, Irene (b. 1896), who had settled in California, where her father also sometimes stayed for extended visits. Ibid. A postcard Leimer wrote to Gieseking, as well as

continued to care for him, although they, too, may have already been divorced by this time.[16] Considering Leimer's physical condition, it is remarkable that he maintained both the will and ability to teach.

Gieseking's Request is Passed on to Goebbels

As hoped, the Amtsrat passed on Gieseking's request. It is the only known extant letter from the pianist to Goebbels and is quoted in full here:

> Most honored Herr Minister!
>
> The well-known piano pedagogue Karl Leimer (former director of the State Conservatory in Hanover) will be 83 years old on the 22nd of this month [June]. In spite of his advanced age and physical ailments, Leimer still leads courses for the *Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer*, and this summer he will teach pupils who in part still travel from abroad in order to become familiar with his outstanding pedagogical method.[17]
>
> As I owe essentially my entire pianistic training to Herr Leimer, I am hereby taking the liberty to suggest, most humbly, that his achievements be recognized through the bestowal of the title "professor." Herr Leimer helped many pianists perfect their abilities not only through lessons, but also through his pedagogical books, which have been translated into several languages and published in numerous editions (publisher: Schott Söhne at Mainz). These publications have undoubtedly contributed to the world fame enjoyed by German music culture.
>
> I ask you, most esteemed Herr Minister, to initiate the process so that my teacher, near the end of his life, might experience the joy of this recognition and award.

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the envelope of a letter he sent to Annie, show he had already been in Los Angeles for some (unspecified) time by March 1929, and an advertisement describes the masterclasses he led there (without Gieseking and organized through the impresario L. E. Behymer) in May 1930. Other correspondence proves he was in the U.S. again in October 1930, and another, similar advertisement demonstrates that he lead classes there again in November. See Leimer, Los Angeles, to Gieseking, New York, postcard, 14 Mar. 1929, GFA; Leimer, Los Angeles, to Annie, envelope, 21 Mar. 1929, GFA; 'Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 27 Oct. 1930, GFA; Advertisements: "Karl Leimer" and "Karl Leimer: The only teacher of Walter Gieseking," clippings from February and November 1930 respectively (original source: *Behymer's Review*?, published by L. E. Behymer in California), each found in the "Walter Gieseking" file of the Harry L. Anderson Collection, IPAM, College Park, MD.

[16] Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 10 Sept. 2008.

[17] The *Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer* courses, including Leimer and Gieseking's involvement, were the topic of Excursus I.

With respectful regards and Heil Hitler,[18]
I am most faithfully yours,
Walter Gieseking[19]

Gieseking realized that Leimer had never distinguished himself as a performer. He was therefore hoping that, in addition to his own achievements, the efficacy and recognition of the Leimer-Gieseking method books would be enough to convince Goebbels and his associates to honor Leimer. It is worth noting that Gieseking referred to the piano methods as "his," that is, Leimer's, without taking any credit for them, and his mentor was, in fact, listed as the sole author. Because Gieseking had probably contributed little of the actual writing, this was only fair. We can be certain, however, that without Gieseking's endorsement, the publications would have never enjoyed the same level of international success.

Gieseking also knew that highlighting the methods' contribution to German culture, whatever that may have been, would be key to having Leimer awarded the desired title. Goebbels and his Propaganda Ministry were interested in honoring artists

[18] Gieseking's letters to the Amtsrat and Goebbels provide further, rare instances in which he concluded correspondence with the Nazi salutation "Heil Hitler." As explained in Chapter 1, this formality was mandatory for all communication with the government. While we do not know how Gieseking personally felt about its use, it would have been pointless and possibly dangerous for him to write such high-ranking Nazi officials—Goebbels in particular—requesting a favor, without concluding with "Heil Hitler."

[19] "Sehr verehrter Herr Minister! Der bekannte Klavierpädagoge Karl Leimer (früherer Direktor des Städt. Konservatoriums in Hannover) vollendet am 22 d. Mo. sein 83. Lebensjahr. Trotz seines hohen Alters und körperlichen Leiden ist Herr Leimer auch jetzt noch in den Kursen des Deutschen Musikinstituts für Ausländer tätig und wird diesen Sommer noch Schüler unterrichten, die teilweise noch heute aus dem Ausland zu ihm kommen, um seine hervorragende pädagogische Methode kennen zu lernen. Da ich Herrn Leimer so gut wie meine gesamte pianistische Ausbildung verdanke, erlaube ich mir, hiermit ergebenst anzuregen, dass seine Leistungen durch die Verleihung des Professor-Titels anerkannt werden. Herr Leimer hat nicht nur durch seinen Unterricht vielen Pianisten zu Vervollkommnung ihrer Leistungen verholfen, auch seine musikpädagogischen Bücher, die in viele Sprachen übersetzt und in hohen Auflagen erschienen sind (Verlag: Schott Söhne, Mainz) haben unzweifelhaft zum Weltruhm deutscher Musikkultur beigetragen. Ich bitte Sie darum, sehr verehrter Herr Minister, es möglichst veranlassen zu wollen, dass mein Lehrer an seinem Lebensende noch die Freude dieser Anerkennung und Auszeichnung zuteil wird. Mit verehrungsvollen Empfehlungen und Heil Hitler bin ich Ihr sehr ergebener Walter Gieseking." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Goebbels, Berlin, 3 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 80, BA.

who had promoted German culture both in and outside of the Reich's borders—its primary objective being "to shape popular opinion"[20] or, in the words of Lilian Karina, Marion Kant, and Jonathan Steinberg, "to generate a flood of propaganda to support and strengthen the regime."[21] Yet in the eyes of some Propaganda Ministry officials, Leimer had not contributed sufficiently to the Nazi cause, even with the popularity of his method books. Not only had he failed to achieve lasting fame and recognition as a performer, in spite of his earlier, albeit limited, concert activity as a pianist and conductor, but he had also produced only one star pupil about which the Reich could now boast—Gieseking. Thus, there would be some difference of opinion over the Leimer matter.

The Regime's Initial Response

After first examining Gieseking's request, a summary from the Ministry's Personnel Department was submitted to Goebbels. The conclusion reached read as follows:

> In Director M's [Dr. Erich Müller's[22]] opinion, Leimer's achievements probably deserve to be recognized by the conferral of the professor title when there is peace. He does not believe there to be an urgent need for the honor to be made, as an exception, during the war, however. I agree with this view and therefore request that the proposition be refused. I am aware that Prof. Gieseking made reference to the recent, exceptionally made bestowment[s]. The only person involved in the field of music was the composer Herms Niel, whose current importance completely overshadows the quiet achievements of a music pedagogue, in my opinion.[23]

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[20] Thacker, *Joseph Goebbels*, 152.

[21] Karina, Kant, and Steinberg, *Hitler's Dancers: German Modern Dance and the Third Reich*, trans. Jonathan Steinberg (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 78.

[22] Müller (1902–?) had lead the Personnel Department since 1937 and in 1942 would become head of the *Sonderkommando*. Klee, *Kulturlexikom zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Müller, Erich."

[23] "Nach Auffassung von Leiter M könnten die Verdienste Leimers in Friedenszeiten die Verleihung des Professortitels wohl rechtfertigen; einen dringenden Grund für die ausnahmsweise Verleihung während des Krieges hält er jedoch nicht für gegeben. Ich schließe mich dieser Auffassung an

That same day, Director Müller sent a second copy of the above-cited letter to Goebbels, with the part about granting the title after the war underlined, and forwarded the question "Submit again once the war has ended?"[24] Goebbels's answer must have surprised him: "Try anyway!"[25] This meant at once.

Goebbels's Attempt to have Leimer Honored

Obeying Goebbels's order, an official message was sent to Müller the next day, 17 June, explaining that an attempt should be made to present Leimer with the title.[26] Goebbels also had Müller prepare a letter that would "list Leimer's accomplishments and, above all, refer to his advanced age," and the Reich Minister himself would then submit the final dispatch to the Presidential Chancellery (*Präsidialkanzlei*), Hitler's own office.[27]

To obtain an official summary of Leimer's career, a Regierungsrat (Senior Civil Servant) at the Propaganda Ministry, one Dr. Reimer, contacted Alfred Morgenroth's staff at the Reich Music Chamber. A subsequent report from the Music Chamber gave the following biographical information: Leimer had (1) studied piano, theory, and music

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und bitte daher, die Anregung abzulehnen. Ich bemerke hierbei, daß sich Prof. Gieseking bei seiner Anregung auf die in der letzten Zeit erfolgten gelegentlichen Ernennung berufen hat; auf dem Gebiet der Musik handelt es sich hier allein um den Komponisten Hers Niel, neben dessen aktueller Bedeutung die Stillen Leistungen eines Musikpädagogen m.E. [meines Erachtens] völlig zurücktreten." Leiter der Personalabteilung [des Propaganda-Ministeriums, Dr. Erich Müller] to Minister Goebbels, internal letter, Berlin, 14 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, docs. 84–5, BA.

[24] "Wiedervorlage bei Kriegsende?" Ibid.

[25] "[D]och versuchen!" Ibid. That Goebbels wrote this handwritten reply is confirmed by his accompanying signature, "Dr. G."

[26] Lt. Frowein to Leiter der Personalabteilung [des Propaganda-Ministeriums, Dr. Erich Müller], internal letter, Berlin, 17 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 86.

[27] The message reads, in part: "Der Minister ersucht Sie, ihm einen entsprechenden Briefentwurf an die Präsidialkanzlei vorzulegen, der die Verdienste Leimers aufzählt und vor allen Dingen auf sein hohes Alter hinweist." ("The Minister asks that you prepare for him an appropriate draft letter to submit to the Presidential Chancellery.") Ibid.

history at the Stuttgart Conservatory under professors Wilhelm Krüger,[28] Ludwig Stark,[29] and Immanuel Faißt[30] from 1878 to 1882;[31] (2) directed the Königsberg Conservatory in Prussia from 1882 to 1897 and from then until somewhat recently (until 1934) the Hanover Conservatory; (3) been a concert pianist in his earlier years; (4) led piano masterclasses as part of the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer (since 1935); (5) been known to professional musicians, above all, as the teacher of the "brilliant pianist Prof. Walter Gieseking, who attributed much of his own artistic development to Leimer's

[28] Krüger (1820–83) was a German pianist, teacher and composer, who had studied piano with Peter Joseph von Lindpaintner, a Kapellmeister at Stuttgart, and composition with C. Ziegele. From 1845 to start of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, he performed and taught in Paris. Upon his subsequent return to Germany, he worked primarily as a pedagogue. Although his works are forgotten today, his output consists of 168 opus numbers, mostly piano pieces in the virtuosic, Romantic salon style. Works such as his "La Harpe éolienne" and "Chanson du Gondolier" became very popular in their day. *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, Centennial Edition, s.v. "Krüger, Wilhelm; Sir George Grove, J. A. Fuller-Maitland, and Mrs. Edmond R. Wodehouse, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (A.D. 1450–1880) by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign*, v. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1880), 733; William Smythe Babcock Mathews, *How to Understand Music* (Chicago: Lyon & Healy, 1881), 42.

[29] Stark (1831–84) became a successful German pedagogue. With regard to his own teachers, there is some uncertainty: In the *Riemann Musik Lexikon* one reads that he studied composition with both Ignaz (1807–95) and Franz (1803–90) Lachner. Writing for the *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Folker Göthel claimed that Stark had already begun to compose works for the Munich Hoftheater while studying under Vincenz Lachner (1811–93). A co-founder of the Stuttgart Musikschule, which soon became the Conservatory, Stark taught voice, theory, sight-reading, and music history there until his death. In 1868 he was appointed "königlicher Professor" (Royal Professor) and in 1873 received the honorary title Dr. phil. h. c. from the Universität Tübingen. His publications include the *Große theoretische-praktische Klavierschule* (first published in 1858 in three volumes, co-authored by Sigmund Lebert [1823–84]) and *Kunst und Welt* (Stuttgart, 1884). *Riemann Musik Lexikon*, 12th ed., s.v. "Stark, Ludwig"; Folker Göthel, "Stark, Ludwig," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1st ed.

[30] Immanuel (Gottlob Friedrich) Faißt (1823–94) was an organist, conductor, and composer. Among other things, he directed the Conservatory at Stuttgart from 1859–94, which during that time became one of the leading German conservatories. (The institution was called the Stuttgarter Musikschule from 1857–59, renamed the Konservatorium für Musik from 1865–1921; its official name today is the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Stuttgart). His output includes choral works and arrangements, songs, organ works, piano works, motets, cantatas. Furthermore, he published many writings on music, most of which was pedagogical. "Die Hochschule im Überblick," Staatliche Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Stuttgart, accessed 7 Sept. 2008, http://www.mh-stuttgart.de/hochschule/ueberblick/#Geschichte; Linda Maria Koldau, "Faißt, Immanuel," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed.

[31] According to Ricarda Braumandl, Leimer first enrolled at the Polytechnische Schule (now the Technische Hochschule) in Karlsruhe, with the goal of becoming a civil engineer. Wilhelm Krüger convinced him to study music and enroll at the Stuttgart Conservatory. Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 21.

method of training the memory and ear and his practice system"; and (6) authored the method published as the Leimer-Gieseking system.[32] Then came the skepticism:

> So far as we know, Leimer has not been able to produce other well-known pianists. This makes it difficult to determine objectively whether the exceptional teaching success in Gieseking's case was, in fact, the result of outstanding pedagogy and not essentially the outcome of this unique talent's own personal genius.[33]

Of course, the officials were right to question Leimer's success as a pedagogue. And we can be confident that Gieseking's own outstanding pianistic facility, which was already evident in his early childhood, had more to do with his innate skills than with Leimer's training, despite the former's claims to the contrary.

The Propaganda Ministry is Unconvinced

The following day, a second, more positive biographical sketch, prepared internally by the Ministry's Music Department, was sent to one Herr Kohler of the Personnel Department. Unlike the previous, more honest biographical sketch, this revised text leaves no doubt as to Leimer's contribution to music education and, thus, his role in the promotion of German culture. Perhaps above all, it clarifies that Leimer's—and by implication Gieseking's—work for the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer was considered indirect work for the Propaganda Ministry. The new letter read, in part:

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[32] "Karl Leimer ist in der Fachwelt vor allem als Lehrer des genialen Pianisten Prof. Walter Gieseking bekannt geworden, der seiner Methode der musikalischen Gedächtnis- und Gehöhrsschulung und der Übungstechnik für seine eigene künstlerische Entwicklung besondere Bedeutung beilegt." Dr. [Alfred] Morgenroth, p.p. [illegible signature], Reichsmusikkammer, Berlin, to the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, letter, 18 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 87, BA.

[33] "Soweit hier bekannt, sind andere namhafte Pianisten aus der Schule Leimers nicht hervorgegangen, so dass es schwierig ist, objektiv zu beurteilen, ob der ausserordentliche Lehrerfolg im Falle Gieseking tatsächlich auf ein überragendes pädagogisches Können oder nicht vorwiegend auf die persönliche Genialität dieses einmaligen Talentes zurückzuführen ist." Ibid.

> He [Leimer] studied at the Stuttgart Conservatory and by the age of 25 had already become Director of the Königsberg Conservatory. In 1897 he founded his own music school, which later developed into the State Conservatory.[34] In addition, he conducted the concerts of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde [Society of Music Friends] in Hanover and became widely respected as a piano pedagogue. Consequently, he was invited to California to give master classes each year [in the early 1930s]. To this day he regularly leads piano master classes in Wiesbaden, as part of the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer and thus indirectly for the Ministry.
>
> Among his pupils is, above all, Walter Gieseking, who has become world famous. Leimer continues to be decisively active in the field of piano pedagogy for advanced pianists. One of the most known literary results of this work is his method "Modernes Klavierspiel [*Modern Piano Playing*, published] 1931," which has been translated into three foreign languages.[35]

On 20 June, Müller's Personnel Department sent Goebbels the information he needed to submit to State Minister Otto Meißner at Hitler's Presidential Chancellery: a formal proposal (*Antrag*) for Leimer's title, with the recommendation form (*Vorschlag für die Verleihung des Titles Professor*) and certificate (*Urkunde*) for the conferral.[36] Goebbels took the final step and submitted the proposal to Meißner.[37] Keeping in mind the wartime restriction regarding titles, he took Müller's advice and suggested that, as in the case of Müthel and Spring, any announcements thereof be placed only in the local

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[34] For a more detailed account of Leimer's years as director of the State Conservatory, see Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 23–30.

[35] Music Department ("Abteilung M") of the Propaganda Ministry to ORR Kohler its the Personnel Department (Personalabteilung), internal letter, Berlin, 19 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, docs. 88–89, BA. The three foreign languages in which the method had been first been translated were English, French, and Italian. According to an article on Leimer from July 1938, however, *Modernes Klavierspiel* had already been printed in seven (unspecified) languages; see Buttler, "Zum 80. Geburtstag von Karl Leimer," 240–41. Leimer's subsequent and final method book, *Rhythmik, Dynamik, Pedal und andere Probleme des Klavierspiels nach Leimer-Gieseking*, had also been published in German and English in 1938. For more on Leimer's writings, including those attributed to both him and Gieseking, see Excursus I, "Karl Leimer and the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer Courses, 1935–44."

[36] Leiter der Personalabteilung [des Propaganda-Ministeriums, Dr. Erich Müller] to Minister [Goebbels], internal letter, Berlin, 20 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 90 [staff copy to Müller] and 91, BA. Vorschlag für die Verleihung des Titels Professor, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin, 23 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, docs. 93–96, BA.

[37] Goebbels [Propaganda Ministry], Berlin, to Staatsminister and Chef der Präsidialkanzlei des Führers [Meißner], Berlin, 23 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 92, BA. Note: Leimer had turned eighty-three the day before.

media, in this instance the presses of Hanover and Wiesbaden.[38] These were the two cities with which Leimer was most affiliated and Gieseking's own past and present hometowns as well.

In the proposal, "Nomination for the Bestowal of the Professor Title" ("Vorschlag für die Verleihung des Titels Professor"), dated 23 June 1941, Leimer was listed merely as a *Klavierpädagoge*, or piano pedagogue. Below "Brief Career Description" ("Kurzer Lebensgang"), however, more was mentioned: his past directorial work for the conservatories at Königsberg and Hanover, his former activity as a concert pianist and conductor for the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Hanover. Under "Justification of the Proposal" ("Begründung des Vorschlags"), his accomplishments listed in the two aforementioned biographical sketches were repeated. And as he had turned eighty-three the previous day, his age, too, was once again emphasized, so that the honor might occur "möglichst bald"—as soon as possible.[39]

On 4 July, Meißner returned the certificate with the following reply addressed to Goebbels:

> According to the Führer's [Hitler's] instruction, there are to be no exceptions to his earlier order with regard to title conferrals during the war.
>
> Your proposal, to bestow the title of professor on the piano pedagogue Karl Leimer in Hanover, must therefore be deferred until the end of the war.
>
> The prepared certificate of conferment is hereby returned.[40]

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[38] Leiter der Personalabteilung [des Propaganda-Ministeriums, Dr. Erich Müller] to Minister [Goebbels], internal letter, Berlin, 20 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, docs 90–91.; Goebbels [Propaganda Ministry], Berlin, to Staatsminister and Chef der Präsidialkanzlei des Führers [Meißner], Berlin, 23 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 92, BA. Leimer was living at Lave Straße 58 in Hanover; Gieseking at Wilhelmine Straße 24 in Wiesbaden. Leimer must have moved to Wiesbaden shortly thereafter, however, for he spent his final years there.

[39] Vorschlag für die Verleihung des Titels Professor, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin, 23 June 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, docs. 93–96, BA.

[40] "Nach der vom Führer gegebenen Weisung sollen Ausnahmen von seiner früheren Anordnung, nach welcher Titelverleihungen während des Krieges zu ruhen haben, gründsätzlich nicht gemacht werden.

The decision to postpone the bestowal probably surprised Goebbels. Gieseking received news of the final verdict on 15 July in a letter from Propaganda Ministry. It was explained that Minister Goebbels had attempted to have Leimer honored, but that the presentation was prohibited because of Hitler's wartime provision—despite the few recent exceptions that had been made. The Ministry also informed Gieseking that the proposal could be taken up again after the conflict's end.[41] But Gieseking's fear would come true. Leimer died in Wiesbaden on 19 July 1944, at age eighty-six and at the height of the hostilities—without having received the distinguished professor title.

Conclusion

While Leimer owed much of his recognition to Gieseking, his role in music education since the days of Prussia, long before the rule of the Hitler regime, had been important. He probably deserved acknowledgment for his lifelong commitment to the arts, but, as fate would have it, his last years coincided with the Third Reich and the war. We can only wonder why Gieseking had not made any earlier attempts to request Leimer's nomination, before the hold on honorary titles had gone into effect and while his mentor was in better health. The thought must have occurred to him, at least when he himself was named professor in 1937.

Of course, some may rightfully question the ethics of Gieseking's decision to make such a request from the Hitler regime, which he later adamantly claimed to have

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Ihr Vorschlag, dem Klavierpädagogen Karl Leimer in Hannover den Titel Professor zu verleihen, muß daher bis zur Beendung des Krieges zurrückgestellt bleiben. Die vorbereitete Verleihungsurkunde ist wiederbeigefügt." Betrifft: Vorschlag zur Verleihung des Titels Professor an den Klavierpädagogen Karl Leimer in Hannover, Berlin, 4 Juli 1941, RMfVP, R55 73, doc. 98, BA.

[41] Reichsminsterium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin, to Walter Gieseking, Wiesbaden, 15 July 1941, RMfVP, R55 73 doc. 100, BA.

avoided as much as possible.[42] This concerned no mere award, but rather a distinguished honorary title granted most selectively by the regime superiors in the name of the Führer himself, and it is doubtful that anyone genuinely opposed to the Nazis would have pursued this "distinction." On the other hand, others might find it unfair to interpret Gieseking's initiative as further evidence of Nazi approval on his part. He had for many years done his best to help Leimer, whose own view of the National Socialists is unknown, and on this occasion Gieseking's sole aim, it could be argued, was simply to see his friend, former relative, and mentor recognized for his contributions to music before his nearing death.

Most likely owing to the outcome of this incident, the Propaganda Ministry began to adhere more strictly to its decision not to confer any titles for the remainder of the conflict. Just days after the Leimer case was closed, the Ministry had to inform Reich Music Chamber President Peter Raabe, that the professor title also could not be bestowed on the musician Kurt Hosemann because of the wartime terms.[43] The brilliant but since forgotten pianist Frieda Kwast-Hodapp (1880–1949) was likewise refused the title for the same reason.[44] The regime had enough "professors" for now, it would seem, and had more important matters to attend to.

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[42] See, for example, Snowdon, "The Gieseking Case," 12.

[43] This may have been the cellist Curt Hosemann who had been active in Breslau and played in the Breslauer Triovereinigung. Hosemann's case had been submitted at the beginning of the fighting, before the Hitler's decision to prohibit title granting, but had been postponed because further information was still needed. Reichsminsterium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin, to President of the Reichsmusikkammer [Peter Raabe], Berlin, 21 July 1941, RMfVP, R55 73 doc. 113, BA. For a brief, incomplete list of musicians who either received a title or appointment or were refused one by the Nazi regime see "Titelverleihungen an Musiker, auch sonstige Ehrungen: 1938–1944," RMfVP, R55 73, BA.

[44] "Titelverleihungen an Musiker, auch sonstige Ehrungen: 1938–1944," RMfVP, R55 73, BA. Kwast-Hodapp enjoyed a busy career throughout the Third Reich and was named one of its seventeen "God-gifted" pianists in the fall of 1944. The eminent pianist-composer Percy Grainger once described her as "the most prodigious talent amongst women pianists I have ever encountered." Kwast-Hodapp was then only eighteen or nineteen years old. "Gottbegnadeten-Liste," file: Korrespondenz des

Nonetheless, normal promotions and replacements of artists necessarily continued to be arranged, and by the summer of 1944 another exception was made to the wartime restriction regarding government distinctions. Goebbels succeeded in convincing Hitler to bestow some "titles" (although "promotions" might be a more accurate term in this instance) on at least four musicians, and the news was reported nationwide. The announcement in the important late-war music journal *Musik im Kriege* read as follows:

> At the suggestion of Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels, the Führer has honored a number of artists, who have especially earned the distinctions for having carried out war tasks in the cultural sphere. The title of general manager [*General-intendant*] was bestowed upon Karl Wüstenhagen of Hamburg, Gustav Rudolf Sellner of Hanover, and Erich Orthmann in Berlin. The title of chief music director [*Generalmusikdirektor*] was conferred on State Conductor Dr. Hans Schmidt-Isserdtedt in Berlin.[45]

Of course, by this time three long years had passed since Leimer's rejected title, and the war had developed significantly. The Western Allies were advancing from the west, with the Soviet army pressing forward from the east. Nazi Germany's days were numbered. Announcements of loyal Reich citizens being recognized by the Führer, such as these new title recipients, for their unyielding efforts during the ever-gloomier war situation were surely intended to boost German confidence. Morale building had doubtless become a more crucial concern than ever for Goebbels and his Propaganda Ministry at this point. It is uncertain whether other honors were exceptionally awarded prior to Germany's defeat, but there is no known record of further artists receiving honorary titles, that of

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Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich; Grainger's quote is found in John Bird, *Percy Grainger* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 33–4.

[45] "Der Führer hat auf Vorschlag von Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels eine Reihe von Kulturschaffenden, die sich um die Durchführung von Kriegsaufgaben auf kulturellem Gebiet besonders verdient gemacht haben, durch Verleihung von Titeln ausgezeichnet. So wurden verliehen der Titel Generalintandant an die Intendanten Karl Wüstenhagen in Hamburg, Gustav Rudolf Sellner in Hannover, Erich Orthmann in Berlin, der Titel Generalmusikdirektor an den Staatskapellmeister Dr. Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt in Berlin." "Verschiedene Mitteiligungen," *Musik im Kriege*, June/July 1944, 76.

"professor" included. Yet we can be sure that, had Germany won the war, the Nazi regime would have proceeded promptly with the granting of all esteemed titles, along with its many other exalted awards. For Hitler and his henchmen, there could not be too much glory in the Third Reich.[46]

[46] An announcement of titles and awards bestowed between 1938 and 1944, which lists Leimer's and Kwast-Hodapp's refusals, shows that the prominent Reich composer Ernst Pepping (1901–81) was named professor. Based on the information we have examined, however, we may assume that this had occurred before the wartime restrictions and the subsequent refusals mentioned here. The short list gives nine individual names, otherwise making merely a general reference to members of the Vienna Philharmonic. With regard to professor titles, other than Leimer's and Kwast-Hodapp's rejections, only Herm Neil's and Pepping's bestowals are stated. See "Titelverleihungen an Musiker, auch sonstige Ehrungen: 1938–1944" RMfVP, R55 73, BA.

Chapter 7:

World War II, Part Three, 1943: Total War Begins

On 18 February 1943, while giving his historic speech "Rise now, Nation, and Let the Storm Break Loose!" ("Nun, Volk steh auf, und Sturm brich los!), Reich Minister Joseph Goebbels proclaimed before the select Berlin audience: "Total war is the demand of the hour."[1] Germany had become more desperate to win an ever more costly and hopeless battle, and the maximum amount of available resources were now to be used to serve the war effort. Unnecessary institutions would be closed and many more civilians drafted. Meanwhile, those Reich artists with permission to continue their careers full time did so, albeit with little independence from the Propaganda Ministry and Foreign Office by this point. The number of full-time, professional performers dwindled, as the Nazi regime increasingly let only the most talented and loyal individuals remain active. As a result, the longstanding, prestigious German musical culture was rapidly deteriorating. The Reich made certain, however, that its elite artists maintained the lofty quality befitting German music. Consequently, Gieseking became busier than ever.

Despite the intensified fighting and devastation across much of Europe, Gieseking's most financially successful year during the entire National Socialist period, after 1942, was 1943, when he earned 108,000 RM. While this was a significant drop from the previous year's 144,000 RM, it was still a remarkable sum. And his income for

[1] Goebbels, "Nun, Volk steh auf, und Sturm brich los! Rede im Berliner Sportpalast," *Der steile Aufstieg* (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1944), 167–204; transcript available at German Propaganda Archive, Calvin College, accessed 14 Mar. 2010, http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/goeb36.htm.

1944 (90,000 RM), while even lower, would nonetheless be higher than any of the prewar years.[2]

A look at Table 2 and Figure 1 (below) shows how the number of foreign concerts Gieseking gave (those in annexed nations included) increased significantly in 1943, totaling 62 in all. By comparison, in 1942 he had appeared only 30 times abroad. Simultaneously, he gave increasingly fewer concerts within Germany in 1943 (23) and 1944 (15), a combined total of 38 for both years, compared to the 57 he had given there in 1942 alone.[3] This is rather surprising when we consider the steadily climbing and drastically higher average pay rate for his domestic engagements. By 1943, Gieseking received an average of over 2,000 RM per concert in Germany, while those abroad, by comparison, brought in less than 900 RM. By 1944, this difference widened so that the pay for each performance at home more than tripled that received for his average foreign booking.[4] Yet owing to the reduced quantity of his German appearances, the balance of his earnings made a drastic turn at this time: his soaring German income suddenly dropped by 45%, from 114,000 RM in 1942 to 51,500 RM in 1943, while his income

[2] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8. In his postwar *Meldebogen*, Gieseking himself gave a somewhat lower figure for his total, taxable earnings for 1943, namely 95,271 RM. Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[3] The reader must bear in mind that Kaven's figures are not necessarily always precise. In 1944, for example, Gieseking gave at least six performances in Spain, not just two. Yet Kaven's calculations are the best evidence we have of the numbers and seem accurate enough to draw all conclusions based on them (with the benefit of everything else that has since been learned about Gieseking's concert activities) made in this study.

[4] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4; 8; as before, the 10% of Gieseking's proceeds from record royalties has been subtracted from Kaven's figures in order to give more accurate, if only approximate, average amounts of Gieseking's earnings per performance. Precise information regarding his concerts during the early war-months of 1945 is unknown, although he himself reported his total gross income for that period to be 17,700 RM. Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

from annexed and foreign countries rose by 52%, from 30,000 RM in 1942 to 57,000 RM in 1943.[5] The Nazi bigwigs needed him for their missions abroad.

Table 2:

Gieseking's Wartime Concerts:
Germany Compared to Other European Nations

1939–1945:	1939[6]	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
German Concerts:	17 (53%)	34 (58%)	48 (56%)	57 (66%)	**23 (27%)**	15 (21%)	?
European Concerts:	15 (47%)	25 (42%)	38 (44%)	30 (34%)	**62 (73%)**	55 (79%)	?
Total Concerts:	32	59	86	87	**85**	70	?

SOURCE: Severin Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 25 September 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK 2700, BDC.

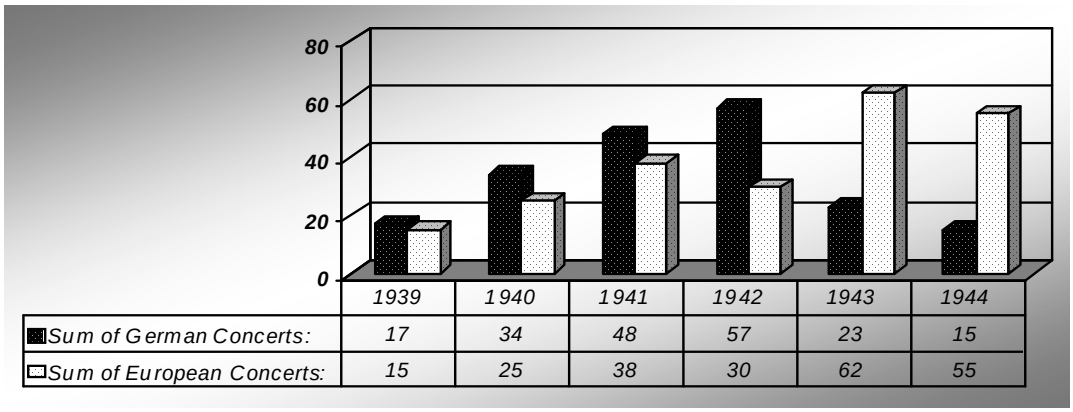
Figure 1 illustrates these numbers again in graphic terms:

[5] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8. We must keep in mind that roughly 10% of Gieseking's total income, as Kaven explained in his report, came from the royalty payments for his many recordings. This amount is included in the sums given here.

[6] Note that figure for 1939 does *not* include Gieseking's many North American concerts given during his highly successful tour there earlier that year, the exact sum of which is unknown. It is also uncertain how many of his German and other European concerts indicated for that year took place before the outbreak of war.

Figure 1:

Gieseking's Wartime Concerts:
Germany vs. Foreign European Nations



	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Sum of German Concerts:	17	34	48	57	23	15
Sum of European Concerts:	15	25	38	30	62	55

SOURCE: Severin Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 25 September 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK 2700, BDC.

Gieseking's foreign concerts in 1943 took place in Belgium (2), Denmark (2), Finland (2), France (2), Hungary (2), Italy (13), the Netherlands (5), Rumania (5), the neutral countries of Portugal (6), Spain (2), and Switzerland (14), as well as the annexed nations of Austria (5) and Czechoslovakia (2).[7] Many years had passed since his last visit to some of these places, not having appeared in Scandinavia since the Weimar era, in Spain since 1936, and in Belgium and France (excluding his engagements in Reich-annexed Alsace-Lorraine in 1942) since 1938. Severin Kaven, in his postwar report on Gieseking, was careful to include his personal explanation for this sudden shift in the locations of the pianist's wartime concertizing: "the Goebbels Office began to use the finer arts as a means of bolstering the shaky foundations of the New Order."[8]

[7] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3–4.

[8] Ibid., 8.

While Gieseking's manager for Europe, Rudolf Goette, later claimed to have maintained control of Gieseking's career during the earlier part of the war, he admitted that the Propaganda Ministry had become increasingly involved in German artists' foreign tours as the fighting developed.[9] Yet Goette also asserted that whenever officials from the German Foreign Office contacted Gieseking, the pianist always referred them to him:

> Further into the war, we private concert agencies had our foreign licenses taken away by the Propaganda Ministry. This meant that while we continued to make the arrangements for artists independently, all of the foreign contracts had to be approved by the Foreign Office for Music [Auslandsstelle für Musik]. We were no longer permitted to schedule foreign concerts directly ourselves. The artists themselves were not affected by this decision. It just created a shift in the work for the concert agencies. The Propaganda Ministry tried in most cases to work directly with the artists. Mr. Gieseking, however, always had the Foreign Office go through my firm.
>
> I would like to emphasize the following fact: Mr. Gieseking gave me orders to continue the usual course of business and in no case to cancel existing contracts if a request came from the officials.[10]

Founded in 1934 as part of the Reich Music Chamber, the Foreign Office for Music had since 1937 functioned as a subordinate section of the Propaganda Ministry's music division, which was headed by Heinz Drewes.[11] The Foreign Office, too, was run by Drewes, along with Reich Music Chamber President Peter Raabe, and Hans

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[9] Goette,"Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 2–3. See also Chapter 5.

[10] "Im weiteren Verlauf des Krieges wurde uns privaten Konzertdirektionen seitens des Propaganda-ministeriums die Auslandskonzessionen entzogen. Das bedeutete, dass wir zwar die Dispositionen für die Künstler weiterhin selbständig trafen, jedoch sämtliche Auslandsabschlüsse über die Auslandsstelle für Musik tätigen mussten. Wir durften nicht mehr direkt mit dem Ausland arbeiten. Die Künstler direkt wurden von dieser Entscheidung nicht getroffen, es handelte sich lediglich um eine Verlagerung der Arbeit der Konzertdirektionen. Das Propagandaministerium versuchte zwar in den meisten Fällen, mit den Künstlern direkt zu arbeiten. Herr Gieseking hat jedoch stets die Auslandsstelle an meine Firma verwiesen. Auf diese Feststellung muss ich besonderen Wert legen. Herr Gieseking hatte mir Auftrag gegeben, den normalen üblichen Geschäftsgang fortzusetzen und keinsfalls bestehende Verträge zu annullieren, wenn eine amtliche Anforderung erfolgte." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 2–3.

[11] Okrassa, *Peter Raabe: Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer*, 316.

Sellschopp, director of the Music Chamber's Office for Concert Activity (Amt für Konzertwesen), and its main purpose was to oversee the performances given by German artists abroad and foreign artists within the Reich.[12] Nina Okrassa has noted that "this task was especially important during the war because Goebbels wished for there to be an increase in music propaganda in the neutral countries."[13] As made clear in this and the previous two chapters, however, Reich officials frequently made use of artists in other foreign nations as well, not merely in those that remained non-belligerent.

Stuttgart, January

Returning to Gieseking's calendar of activities, we begin with his visit to Stuttgart. In January 1943, just one month before Goebbels's declaration of "total war," Gieseking had traveled to the southwestern city to fulfill some orchestral engagements. While there, he also played one of his own published works for flute and piano, either the *Sonatine* or the *Variationen für Flöte oder Violine und Klavier über ein Thema von Grieg*. Much to his surprise, he was criticized after the war for making these Stuttgart appearances. The original source of the allegations is missing and the full details of the incident thus unknown. Judging by Gieseking's response in a letter from late-February 1949 sent to his assistant manager in New York, Edward Snowdon, however, it is clear that some American protesters were outraged by his willingness to play there knowing that a Nazi extermination camp had been run in or near the city. His postwar opponents

[12] Okrassa, *Peter Raabe: Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer*, 316.

[13] "Diese Aufgabe war während des Krieges besonders wichtig, weil Goebbels wünschte, dass in den neutralen Ländern die Musikpropaganda verstärkt würde." Ibid. Near the end of the war, the Foreign Offices for Music and Theater were merged into the Zentrale für Kulturaustausch (Center for Cultural Exchange).

were unremitting in their attacks and used every bit of evidence they could against him, confirmed or unconfirmed. Gieseking claimed to be ignorant of such an encampment. In the letter to Snowdon, we read:

> To this day, I have never heard of an extermination camp in the Stuttgart area. What is supposed to be its name? Stuttgart itself is a large city which had a very active musical life. So I played there, of course, until the concert hall was destroyed by bombing (Gieseking's English).[14]

What most Holocaust historians recognize as death or extermination camps (as opposed to concentration camps) were primarily found in occupied Poland, with smaller ones further east.[15] There were none within Germany, yet Stuttgart did become part of the Sachsenhausen subcamp system. (Had Gieseking misunderstood the common term "external camp" for "extermination camp"?) Additionally, from November 1944 to January 1945 a subcamp of Natzweiler-Struthof was set up at Stuttgart's airport, and other wartime subcamps were established near the city, at Leonberg and Echterdingen for example, both part of the Natzweiler system.[16] The Jews and Nazi enemies of Stuttgart had begun to suffer from the common, progressively inhumane treatment as soon as the Nazis had gained power. Jews from all over Württemberg were detained in the collection camp set up at the city's trade fairgrounds in Killesberg during the war, before being deported to concentration camps such as the one at Riga or Theresienstadt, sometimes being moved further from there. Most died in the concentration camps. When the

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[14] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to "Duke" [Edward Snowdon] and Jean [Snowdon], New York, letter 28 Feb. 1949, DEC (original letter now in the author's possession).

[15] There were also hybrid camps, as in the case of the three-part complex at Auschwitz. In all, there were five principal categories of camps used during WWII. See Davies, *Europe at War*, 324–28.

[16] Manfred Ebener, "Karte VIII: Konzentrationenslager (KZ) in Baden und Württemberg 1933 – 1945," *Kleines Lexikon zur Geschichte in Baden und Württemberg/Südwestdeutschland*, accessed 31 Mar. 2012, http://www.s-line.de/homepages/m-ebener/KarteVIII.html.

German's finally surrendered, a mere twenty-four Jews still lived in Stuttgart.[17] That German artists performed in towns that served either as extermination or deportation centers is another misfortune that cannot be overlooked, as Ernst Klee reminds us in his forward to his invaluable reference work, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*. Those who brought up Gieseking's Stuttgart appearances were right to do so.[18]

When Gieseking addressed the Stuttgart accusations, he was still enraged by the recent, intense protest against him in the U.S., which had led to the cancellation of his planned American tour for 1949 and forced him to return to Europe. His frustration becomes more apparent as he continues, quite sarcastically, in the previously quoted letter to Snowdon:

> Perhaps someone has found [out] that I played with a flutist my composition in Stuttgart at a meeting of a music group of the Hitler Youth, which means that my composition was played for an audience of young people, who had to be in the Hitler Youth at that time, just like my daughters. I played this on Jan. 10, 1943, because I was booked for the Symphony concerts (a pair) on Jan. 10th and 11th. Should I [have] refuse[d] to play my composition? (I know, it was criminal to compose in the first place.) [Gieseking's English][19]

Gieseking had performed in Stuttgart on other occasions, as he made clear, yet he felt no guilt for having concertized in the city and before its Hitler Youth, and he was clearly surprised that his postwar opponents held this against him. He found no reason to make any apologies. We should keep in mind that he claimed not to know about the worst of the Nazi crimes until the final months of the war: "And I <u>really</u> never heard of

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[17] "Concentration Camp Listing," Jewish Virtual Library, accessed 31 Mar. 2012, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/cclist.html; "Mord auf Raten - Juden in Stuttgart ab 1933," *Gegen das Vergessen: Stolpersteine für Stuttgart*, accessed 31 Mar. 2012, http://www.stolpersteine-stuttgart.de/index.php?docid=191.

[18] In Klee's forward, see his brief discussion under the title "Die Kulturschaffenden in den Vernichtungszentren," 9–10.

[19] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to "Duke" [Edward Snowdon] and Jean [Snowdon], New York, letter 28 Feb. 1949, DEC.

Nazi atrocities until February, 1945, when Swiss friends mentioned some facts, but only vaguely. I remember that the investigator [Severin Kaven] became quite angry, because I didn't know about such things. Probably he didn't believe me. I can't help this (emphasis in the original)."[20] Of course, many Germans made similar claims, the honesty of which has always been questioned by others.

Spring Tours of 1943

On 6 March 1943, with "total war" now being fought, Gieseking set off for a sixteen-day tour that included twelve concerts in Germany's Rhine region, Holland, and the cities of Berlin and Copenhagen. Just before the pianist's departure, his friend Ernst Smigelski wrote from Leipzig to ask whether a performance could be given there as well. Gieseking was unable to commit to such an engagement, however, as he already had "much too much" work ahead of him.[21] "Therefore," as he explained in his reply to Smigelski, "I also did not give solo recitals in Dresden and Leipzig last week—after appearing in Prague—although these would have certainly been lucrative."[22]

Scandinavia

At the start of his international career, back during the 1922/23 concert season, Gieseking had carried out his first Scandinavian tour in the countries of Sweden, Finland, and Denmark.[23] His surviving collection of press clippings shows that he gave his initial

[20] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles [Wagner], letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[21] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 5 Mar. 1943, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

[22] "Daher habe ich auch vorige Woche—anschliessend an Prag—die Soloabende in Dresden und Leipzig nicht gemacht, obwohl diese sicher viel eingebracht hätten." Ibid.

[23] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 54.

performances in October and November 1922, followed by further appearances that spring.[24] Still a resident of the northwestern German city of Hanover at that time, these countries were, with the exception of Finland, easy to reach. While Gieseking quickly gained recognition in the Nordic nations, he did not return to any of them regularly, and not since the end of the Weimar era had he been back. In March 1943, however, he headed north to give two concerts in Denmark, and he would play twice in more remote Finland later in the year.[25]

Denmark

A democratic monarchy ruled by King Christian X (1870–1947), Denmark had signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler on 31 May 1939—Norway and Sweden rejected it—and it recognized the Nazi-Soviet Pact of that August. Yet during the early hours of 9 April 1940, the Germans began Operation Weserübung (*Fall Weserübung*) by invading both Denmark and Norway. Although the Norwegian resistance, with the help of Allied troops, continued in places for some two months, Hitler could once again boast a successful Blitz attack. As historian Norman Davies writes, "the Danes and Norwegians woke up to find that the Germans had already taken control of their countries. . . . According to Berlin Radio, the Reich was offering Denmark and Norway 'protection.'"[26] One of the principal reasons behind Nazi Germany's interest in Scandinavia was its

[24] These are found in the GFA, in Gieseking's larger scrapbook (ca. 47 x 31.5 cm, labeled "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art," or "Scrapbook for all types of Newspaper Clippings"), which covers the period of October 1920 to April 1926.

[25] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3, 5–7.

[26] Davies, *Europe at War*, 81.

abundant iron ore and nickel deposits, of which Sweden was richest. These were essential resources for the Reich's military.[27]

The occupation of strategically important Norway had been the Hitler regime's main goal for the April invasion, but the occupation of Denmark, which continued until the Germans' surrender on 5 May 1945, remained vital and beneficial to the Nazis' survival and campaigns. Above all, it allowed passage to and facilitated control of Norway.[28] An atypical situation, until late August 1943 Denmark's government and institutions—including the law courts, police force, and military—continued to function, if at a confined level.[29] The king also retained his throne for now. Yet the occupation included radio and press censorship, as well as the proscription of public protests, and, to be sure, there was ample German violence. This led to internal resistance, including effective strikes, sabotage, and protests—from which Gieseking's appearances would *not* be spared—and a Freedom Council (Frihedsradet) was formed in September 1943. Among other things, the council ran an influential illegal press that included 254 newspapers by 1944, with a total circulation of some eleven million copies per year.[30]

Gieseking's Danish concerts in 1943 took place in Copenhagen on 18 and 19 March. The first event was a concerto performance, the second a solo recital arranged by the Wilhelm Hansen concert agency, which took place at the Store Hall inside the Odd Fellow Mansion (Odd Fellow Palæet).[31] Gieseking's program was as follows:

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[27] Davies, *Europe at War*, 81.

[28] Claus Bjørn, "Denmark," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 293–95.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5; Kehler, ed., *The Piano in Concert*, vol. I, 446.

Mozart:	Sonata in A major, K. 331
Beethoven:	Sonata in E major, op. 109
Schumann:	*Etudes symphoniques*, op. 13
	Intermission
Debussy:	"Pagodes" fom *Estampes*, "Reflets dans l'eau" from *Images* book I, "Poissons d'or" from *Images* book II
Liszt:	*Bénédiction de Dieu dans la solitude*[32]

The agency was currently run by the brothers Asger Wilhelm Hansen (1889–1976) and Svend Wilhelm Hansen (1890–1960), both of whom had taken over the family business, which also included music publishing, in 1923.[33] The Hansens would book subsequent Danish appearances for Gieseking, who would agree to play in Copenhagen again in 1944—despite the risk of a bomb attack by Danish resisters—and again in 1945 for a slightly larger number of concerts.[34]

The Final Wartime Italian Visit, March–April 1943

From 26 March to 7 April, Gieseking concertized in Italy.[35] This would be the last year of the war in which he could appear in the southern Axis nation, for the Allied offensive would begin there on 10 July 1943 with the invasion of Sicily (Operation Husky), followed by Mussolini's fall on the 25th and the Italian forces' truce on 8 September. Meanwhile, until April 1945 the Allied armies—now with the Italian military on their side—continued to fight the Germans and the Italian resistance movement on

[32] Kehler, ed., *The Piano in Concert*, vol. I, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter," 446.

[33] Although the Hansen family sold the businesses in 1988, the agency continues under the name of The Theatre and Concert Management Wilhelm Hansen and the publishing under the name Edition Wilhelm Hansen. Dan Fog, "Hansen" in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed 14 Dec. 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12337.

[34] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3, 5–6.

[35] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 5 Mar. 1943, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

northern Italian soil, where the cities of Milan, Turin, and Venice remained occupied by the Axis enemies until the final weeks of WWII.[36]

As late as January 1945, the German Consulate in Milan informed the Berlin's Foreign Office officials that it would, in effect, still be possible to have German conductors and soloists perform in Milan, Turin, and Venice. Consequently, the Foreign Office notified the Propaganda Ministry, explaining that the engagement of the following nine artists had been requested: conductors Herbert von Karajan, Hermann Abendroth, Karl Elmendorff, Eugen Jochum, and Leopold Ludwig; violinists Wolfgang Schneiderhan and Siegfried Borries; and pianists Conrad Hansen and Gieseking. "Because a wide range of cultural activity continues there, especially in Milan," it was added, "the Foreign Office would be most pleased if a concert tour could be carried out by any of these artists. We would therefore like to know which artists are available for engagements in Italy."[37] In the end, no effort was made to send Gieseking there, and travel difficulties in fact, made this last effort to have Reich musicians appear in the southern country entirely unrealistic. Although there was soon talk of sending the Flemish conductor Hendrik Diels (1901–74), along with the German tenor, Walther Ludwig, to Northern Italy, where the former would lead La Scala's orchestra, the Propaganda Ministry soon had the Foreign Office drop the plan: "Under the current transportation circumstances it is entirely impossible to determine if and when the artists

[36] Mawdsley, *World War II: A New History*, 306–12.

[37] "Im Hinblick darauf, dass besonders in Mailand ein umfangreiches Kulturleben fortbesteht, würde es das Auswärtige Amt sehr begrüssen, wenn eine Konzertreise des einem oder anderen Künstlers zustande käme. Es wird um Mitteilung gebeten, für welche Künstler Termine nach Italien gegeben werden können." Dr. Leis, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, to Amtsrat Klaus, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Abteilung Kultur über Abteilung Ausland, Berlin, Betr.: Deutsche Künstler für Italian, file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin.

might arrive at the place of destination."[38] Moreover, it was explained that Diels, under whom Gieseking played in occupied Belgium and who had by the final war months fled to Berlin, was needed in Reich capital, where he had begun to take on those concerts with the city's main orchestras—events for which the travel challenges had likewise prevented the appearances of invited certain guest conductors. Naturally, such complications only increased as the war progressed.

Occupied Belgium and Paris, April

From Milan and via Holland in mid-April, Gieseking finally set out for occupied Belgium and France (Paris only) to make his first wartime appearances in a combined trip to the two neighboring nations, and, after taking a few days off, he would begin a roughly fourteen-day tour in Portugal and Spain just after Easter (25 April).[39] "The traveling and eternal concertizing is slowly becoming so exhausting that at times I can hardly carry on," he confided to Ernst Smigelski. "For that reason I am presently not accepting a single, not even the most tempting, offer."[40]

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[38] "[B]ei den derzeitigen Verkehrsverhältnissen überhaupt nicht abzusehen ist, ob und wann der Künstler an Ort und Stelle eintreffen könnte." Schnellbrief, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Berlin, to Auswärtiges Amt, Kultur Abteilung, Berlin, 15 Feb. 1945, file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin. See also in the same file, Konsul Dr. Schatz, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, to Musik 3 Italien, Milan, Reply: "Auf die Drahtberichte 148 und 150 von 19. Januar 1945," as well as the Telegram: "Rev Italian 174," Fernschreibestelle des Auswärtigen Amts, Berlin, 20 Jan. 1945.

[39] Konzert-Direktion Dr. Rudolf Goette, Hamburg, to Amtsrat Klaus, RMVP/Abt. Musik, Berlin, 9 Oct. 1942, file: Deutsche Botschaft Paris (hereafter DBP), 1142Z, Musik, Kult 12 Nr 3, 1942–1943, PA/AAB; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 5 Mar. 1943, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig; Dr. Hans Steen, "Walter Gieseking in Lyon geboren: Der berühmte deutsche Pianist erzählt aus seiner Jugend," *Pariser Zeitung*, 14 Apr. 1943.

[40] "Die Reisen und das ewige Konzertieren werden allmählich so aufreibend, dass ich manchmal kaum mehr mitkann. Daher nehme ich z.[ur] Z.[eit] kein einziges, auch nicht das verlockendste Angebot an." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 5 Mar. 1943, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

While Gieseking's 1939 winter tour in Belgium had been stopped by the Brussels Philharmonic Society's Director-General, Marcel Cuvelier, his concerto appearances on 10 and 11 April 1943, in the Philharmonic halls of Antwerp and Brussels respectively, were arranged with the cooperation of Belgian quislings.[41] Owing to the German occupation, Marcel Cuvelier, an anti-Nazi, was now out of the picture, and Gieseking's new contract, made out in November 1942, was signed by a German *Sonderführer*—the musicologist Dr. Eduard Gröninger, who now headed Brussels's radio station and its Philharmonic.[42] As *Sonderführer*, Gröninger oversaw all of occupied Belgium's musical activities.[43]

The Propaganda Ministry had apparently been pushing for Gieseking to make the concert trip, and the arrangements had been underway since at least the fall of 1942. On 9 October that year, Gieseking's agency, the Konzertdirektion Dr. Rudolf Goette, wrote to his contact person at the Ministry in Berlin, Amtsrat Klaus. It explained that it had reserved 8 April for Paris, but that it was still waiting for confirmation from Brussels regarding the intended engagements there. While the letter shows the extent to which Reich officials were interested and indeed involved in Gieseking's appearances, it equally demonstrates that, at this point, the pianist and his manager still exercised at least some control over his career—a freedom that would be eliminated by the fall of 1944, with the creation of the God-gifted lists and the Artists War Service Office. In full the letter reads:

Dear Herr Amtsrat Klaus!
Re. Prof. Walter Gieseking / Paris:

[41] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5.

[42] Ibid., 4–5.

[43] Eduard Gröninger and Robert von Zahn, *Texte zur Alten Musik* (Köln: Dohr, 1991), 17. After the war, Gröninger continued working for radio by becoming a music editor for the Westdeutscher Rundfunk.

For now I have reserved 8 April for Paris, but I would first like to wait for clarification from Brussels and Antwerp before sending you a final confirmation. Prof. Gieseking, of course, cannot make a long trip for a single concert in Paris. The arrangements for Brussels and Antwerp presently stand as follows:

The bureau with the Feldpost number 40 270 (Sonderführer Dr. Gröninger) first offered Brussels for the 11th of April and Antwerp for the 12th. And then Brussels was supposed to be on the 10th and Antwerp on the 12th. Prof. Gieseking asks that Brussels be on the 10th and Antwerp on the 11th since he must make use of each day owing to the extent of his travels.

The arrangements are sometimes made directly with the [venues'] bureaus, at times also by telex through the Reich Propaganda Office in Hamburg. It is very important to me that these bookings are made in context [i.e. with Gieseking's surrounding engagements in mind], and I would therefore be grateful if you would agree to the following terms:

1. a public concert in Paris on 8 April with a fee of 1,500 RM [Reichsmark], plus second-class travel for Herr and Frau Prof. [Anna] Gieseking from Milan to Paris, if possible by aircraft.
2. Brussels on 10 April with [a fee of] 1,500 RM.
3. Antwerp [on April 11th] with [a fee of] 1,500 RM.

Should I hear something from the individual bureaus in the meantime, I will let you know so that no new difficulties arise.

Heil Hitler!

Konzertdirektion
Dr. Rudolf Goette.[44]

Ultimately, Gieseking's preferred dates of 10 and 11 April were agreed on for Belgium, and two concerts followed in Paris.[45] But the German officials seem to have

[44] "Sehr geehrter Herr Amtsrat Klaus!//Betr. Prof. Walter Gieseking/Paris://Ich habe den 8. April für Paris zunächst reserviert, möchte von einer definitiven Bestätigung aber noch bis zur Klärung von Brüssel und Antwerpen absehen. Herr Prof. Gieseking kann ja nicht für ein einzelnes Konzert in Paris eine grosse Reise machen. Die Verhandlungen wegen Brüssel und Antwerpen stehen folgendermassen://Die Dienststelle der Feldpostnummer 40 270 (Sonderführer Dr. Gröninger) bot für Brüssel den 11. und für Antwerpen den 12. April an; dann sollte Brüssel am 10. und Antwerpen am 12. sein. Herr Prof. Gieseking bittet darum, dass Brüssel am 10. und Antwerpen am 11. April sein soll, weil er wegen der Ausdehnung seiner Reisen mit jedem Tag rechnen muss.//Die Verhandlungen laufen manchmal direkt mit der Dienststelle, manchmal auch durch Fernschreiben über das Reichspropagandaamt Hamburg. Es ist für mich sehr wesentlich, dass diese Verhandlungen im Zusammenhang erledigt werden, und ich wäre Ihnen deshalb dankbar, wenn Sie folgende Regelung herbeiführten://1. ein öffentlichliches Konzert in Paris am 8. April mit einem Honorar von RM 1.500,-- zuzüglich Reise II. Klasse für Herrn und Frau Prof. Gieseking von Mailand nach Paris; wenn möglich, Flugzeug.//2. Brüssel am 10. April mit RM 1.500,--//3. Antwerpen mit RM 1.500--.//Sollte ich inzwischen von den einzelnen Dienststellen etwas hören, so werde ich Sie darüber unterrichten, damit keine neue Verwicklung entsteht.//Heil Hitler!//Konzertdirektion//Dr. Rudolf Goette." Konzert-Direktion Dr. Rudolf Goette, Hamburg, to Amtsrat Klaus, RMVP/Abt. Musik, Berlin, 9 Oct. 1942, file: Deutsche Botschaft Paris (hereafter DBP), 1142Z, Musik, Kult 12 Nr 3, 1942–1943, PA/AAB.

placed some pressure on Goette and his client to ensure that the desired French trip would take place. Severin Kaven explained after the war that, at the Propaganda Ministry's insistence, "a clause in each contract [for Antwerp, Brussels, and Paris] stipulated that unless Gieseking played in all three cities the other two contracts were invalid";[46] the French contract, he accurately clarified, was subsequently drawn up in January 1943 and signed by the German Embassy in Paris.[47] While that may have been the final condition, the Goette agency's letter above shows that it—i.e. Goette—had not been afraid to negotiate the contracts' terms initially with the Reich authorities involved. It proves that it was, in fact, he, who first insisted on combining the two nations in one trip, to make the journey worthwhile.

Antwerp, 10 April

Beginning in Antwerp on 10 April, Gieseking performed Brahms's Piano Concerto no. 1 in D Minor, op. 15, with the aforementioned Flemish conductor Hendrik Diels and presumably the Antwerp Philharmonic Orchestra.[48] Diels had founded the orchestra, but had also conducted the city's Royal Flemish Opera since 1931 and served as its General Music Director since 1942.[49] A full-fledged Nazi collaborator, he championed German (in addition to Flemish) repertoire, particularly Wagner's operas,

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[45] [Generalkonsul Wilhelm] Knothe (1883–1963), DBP, to the AAB, 27 April 1943, file: DBP 1142Z, Musik, Kult 12 Nr 3, 1942–1943, PA/AAB.

[46] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5.

[47] Ibid. The contract, discussed further below, is referred to and its date confirmed in DBP to the Konzertdirektion Dr. Rudolf Goette, Hamburg, 2 Jan. 1943, file: DBP 1142Z, Musik, Kult 12 Nr. 3, 1942–1943, PA/AAB.

[48] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter."

[49] Jan Dewilde, "Diels, Hendrik," Studiecentrum voor Vlaamse Muziek, accessed 8 Mar. 2012, http://www.svm.be/content/diels-hendrik?display=biography&language=en.

and he gave performances throughout Germany, frequently leading Reich ensembles that included the Reichssender Köln Orchestra and Berlin Philharmonic.[50] By the last months of the war he had fled to Berlin, where the Germans kept him busy conducting its remaining orchestras, frequently having him fill in for artists who failed to arrive owing to the ever-worsening transportation difficulties.[51] Diels's career clearly flourished during WWII. Consequently, the Allies arrested him in the capital in May 1945, and in 1949, writes Jan Dewilde, "he was sentenced on appeal to three years for cultural collaboration i.e. for conducting concerts for the Duitsch-Vlaamsche Arbeidsgemeenschap (German-Flemish Labor Society) and the Wehrmacht and for his patron membership of the SS-Vlaanderen."[52] As in this instance, non-German artists found guilty of Nazi collaboration after the war often endured harsher punishment than did those who were German.

Wartime Protest: Brussels, 11 April

The following day, 11 April, Gieseking appeared with the Brussels Philharmonic, playing Brahms's Piano Concerto no. 2 in B-flat major, op. 83. This time, the Belgian composer and conductor Theo Dejoncker (also spelled Théo De Joncker, 1894–1964) led the orchestra, and local resisters protested Gieseking's participation. When the pianist arrived in Brussels, there were posters throughout the city describing him as an "envoy of the Nazi propaganda machine," urging concertgoers to boycott his appearance. As a

[50] Jan Dewilde, "Diels, Hendrik," Studiecentrum voor Vlaamse Muziek, accessed 8 Mar. 2012, http://www.svm.be/content/diels-hendrik?display=biography&language=en.

[51] Regarding Diels's late-war activities in Berlin, see [Dr. Max] Schaefer Ruemelin, Fernschreibstelle des Auswärtigen Amts, Italy, to the AAB, 20 Jan. 1945, and RMVP to the AAB, Kult[ur] Abteilung, Schnellbrief, 15 Feb. 1945, both documents are found in the file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, PA/AAB.

[52] Dewilde, "Diels, Hendrik."

result, the concert was not well attended.[53] The opposition could claim at least partial victory.

Severin Kaven concluded from his postwar interrogation that Gieseking had returned to Brussels partly because "he had an old score to settle with Cuvelier."[54] Prior to Gieseking's visit, Cuvelier had informed him that the orchestra there was not the one from 1939: the current ensemble had allegedly been purged, we learn from Kaven, and was guilty of "collaborationist tendencies."[55] Yet Gieseking claimed to have been unaware of the Belgian organizers' and orchestra's political sympathies, something that Kaven felt that the contract alone made self-evident. Gieseking, he concluded, "was obviously not telling the truth."[56]

To be sure, Gieseking blamed Cuvelier for voiding his 1939 winter contract and admitted to Kaven that "I went just the same [in 1943 and 1944], because I didn't like the way Cuvelier acted towards me in 1939," arguing in his defense that Belgium had been a neutral country at the time.[57] In his own postwar testimony, Gieseking's German manager, Rudolf Goette, maintained that, by canceling the pianist's pre-existing contract, the "Belgians"—i.e. Cuvelier—had been the ones to make the "first political move" ("erste politische Massnahme"), while their country was still at peace with Germany.[58] Gieseking would return to both Brussels and Antwerp in 1944.

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[53] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5. Note that, in his Report (p. 5), Kaven draws from a document (presumably now lost) cited as Report: Major Lambert, to 21 Army Group, April 1944 [1943?], "German Control of Music and Theater in Brussels."

[54] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5.

[55] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking" 5.

[56] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5.

[57] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 3.

[58] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 5.

Enforced German Reich Standards

It is worth noting that Reich officials would not let their best artists appear with just anyone. In early 1938, they forbade the eminent German pianist Wilhelm Backhaus from performing with the Vlaamsche Philharmonie under the direction of Arthur Loewenstein, an incident that caused some outcry in Antwerp. As the German General Consul at Antwerp, Dr. Hans Schmidt-Rolke, reiterated to the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin, "we cannot expect our great German artists to perform in a concert led by the crass amateur and Jew Loewenstein. . . ."[59] The local newspaper *Le Matin* initiated some protest against the German officials' interference.[60] But a "very elegant solution" ("une solution forte élégant"[61]) was found: Backhaus played solo pieces, and, after a long pause, Loewenstein led his orchestra—without the pianist's participation. Schmidt-Rolke, wishing avoid any connection of the two performances, referred to Backhaus's program as a separate concert.[62] As for the reception, Antwerp's audiences, with many of the city's Jewish concertgoers present and despite the controversy, received the German pianist "with resounding applause" ("unter grösstem Beifall"), as Schmidt-Rolke happily

[59] "wir es unseren grossen deutschen Künstlern nicht zumuten könnten, in einem unter der Leitung des krassen Dilettanten und Juden Löwenstein stattfindenden Konzert aufzutreten. . . ." Schmidt-Rolke, Antwerp, to the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (hereafter RMVP), Berlin, 16 Mar. 1938, file: Altes Amt, Antwerpen (hereafter AAA) 13/3, Politisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin (hereafter PA/AAB).

[60] "Nous ne sommes pas en Autriche : Pas d'ingérence hitlérienne chez nous !," *Le Matin* (Antwerp), 13 Mar. 1938; "L'ingérence hitlérienne en Belgique !: A propos du concert Wilhelm Backhaus," *Le Matin* (Antwerp), 14 Mar. 1938.

[61] "Les nazis anversois s'entendent avec l'Allemagne pour empêcher le pianiste Backhaus de jouer avec des juifs," *Le Peuple* (Brussels), 16 Mar. 1938.

[62] Schmidt-Rolke, Antwerp, to the RMVP, Berlin, 16 Mar. 1938, file: AAA 13/3, PA/AAB.

reported to Berlin afterward.[63] The review in the daily paper *La Flandre Libérale* confirms this: "The concert was a great success with the public."[64]

Paris, mid-April

During the war, the Germans made less effort to promote their culture in nations and regions that they occupied, and, perhaps surprisingly to some, this included culturally rich—and rightfully proud—France.[65] Nonetheless, a long list of the Reich's more noted intellectuals made appearances there during the war, particularly in Paris. Among the musicians were conductors Clemens Krauss, Eugen Jochum, and Hans von Benda, composer-conductors Werner Egk and Hans Pfitzner, as well as pianists Wilhelm Kempff and Elly Ney.[66] By 1943, it had been over five years since Gieseking himself had last traveled to the neighboring, occupied country (not counting the Reich-annexed area), his former homeland whose contemporary music he so famously championed. Now, during this more advanced period of "total war," German officials were most eager to have him appear in occupied Paris. Thus, from Belgium, he finally returned for his first wartime concerts in the French capital.

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[63] According to Schmidt-Rolke, Backhaus had declined to play sometime before then, but the publicity continued to announce the canceled performance. Schmidt-Rolke did not explain Backhaus's initial reason for calling off the performance. Schmidt-Rolke, Antwerp, to the RMVP, Berlin, 16 Mar. 1938, file: AAA 13/3, PA/AAB.

[64] "Le concert eut un grand succès auprès du public." "Un incident 'raciste' à Anvers," *La Flandre Libérale* (Ghent), 16 Mar. 1938.

[65] See Schwartz, "Musikpolitik in den von Nazi-Deutschland besetzten Gebieten," in *Das "Dritte Reich" und die Musik*, edited by Pascal Huynh, Stiftung Schloss Neuhardenberg, and Cité de la musique (Paris) (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2006), 121. To support this claim, Schwartz refers to the formerly strictly classified events calendars of the German embassies in Italy, France, and Switzerland. The French music program, she concludes, "pales by comparison."

[66] Frank-Rutger Hausmann, "'Auch im Krieg schweigen die Musen nicht': Die 'Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Institute' (DWI) im Zweiten Weltkrieg (1940–1945)," in *Jahrbuch des Historischen Kollegs, 2000*, eds. Lothar Gall, Arnold Esch, and Klaus Hildebrand (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschafts-verlag, 2001), 149.

The extent to which the Propaganda Ministry was pushing for Gieseking's reappearance in France has already been made clear. From the start, it offered to finance the travel costs for both him and Annie and, in the end, stubbornly enforced the visit by otherwise not authorizing the Belgian trip, as stated in the contracts—none of which Kaven later failed to overlook.[67] Equally as interested was the German Embassy in Paris (Deutsche Botschaft Paris). Hoping to increase the number of the pianist's performances—one being clearly insufficient in its view, and there were now dates canceled by two other prominent German musicians, namely pianist Wilhelm Kempff and violinist Georg Kulenkampff[68]—the institution had written to the Goette agency on 2 January 1943:

> Enclosed is the signed contract for Prof. Walter Gieseking's Paris piano recital on 8 April 1943. Should the terms for the subsequent concerts in Brussels and Antwerp mentioned in the addendum prove unsatisfactory, the Embassy would be willing to take on both of these dates for France as well. Furthermore, we would like to request that photographs and written materials be sent for the concert's propagandistic preparation.[69]

While Gieseking, we saw, did appear in Belgium, he must have at least partially satisfied the Embassy's wishes by accepting not one, but two engagements: a solo recital at the Salle Pleyel on 12 April (the final date decided on) and another solo appearance the next

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[67] Deutsch Botschaft, Paris, to the Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, 24 Nov. 1942, file: Deutsche Botschaft Paris, 1142Z, Kult 12 Nr 3, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Berlin; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5.

[68] DBP to the AAB, 24 Nov. 1942, file: DBP 1142Z, Musik, Kult 12 Nr 3, 1942–1943, PA/AAB. The author wishes to thank Professor Dr. Manuela Schwartz for kindly pointing out and sending initial copies of the Foreign Office records (in Berlin) pertaining to Gieseking in occupied Paris, facilitating the further examination of these crucial documents.

[69] "In der Anlage wird der Vertrag für den Pariser Klavierabend Prof. Walter Gieseking am 8. April 1943 unterzeichnet zurückgereicht. Sollten die in den Vertragszusatz für Brüssel und Antwerpen genannten Anschlusskonzerte nicht perfekt werden, wäre die Botschaft bereit, auch diese beiden Termine noch für Frankreich zu übernehmen. Gleichzeitig wird um Übermittlung von Bild- und Textmaterial für die propagandistische Vorbereitung des Konzertes gebeten." DBP to the Konzertdirektion Dr. Rudolf Goette, Hamburg, 2 Jan. 1943, file: DBP 1142Z, Musik, Kult 12 Nr. 3, 1942–1943, PA/AAB.

day at the city's Grosse Oper, i.e. the Palais Garnier.[70] Both concerts sold out, filling the Salle Pleyel's 1,900 seats and the opera house's 2,100.[71] Describing the high public demand for the events, Heinrich Strobel of the German *Pariser Zeitung*, reported the following:

> The announcement of Gieseking's first concert in Paris since the ceasefire was enough to ensure that the immense Salle Pleyel was sold out in only a few days. Not since the days when Karajan appeared in Paris with the Berlin Staatskapelle have we witnessed such storms of enthusiasm and such a tenacious audience, demanding yet another encore—after five had already been heard. . . .
>
> . . . During his second night, at the sold-out Paris Opera, Walter Gieseking had the same triumphant success. . . . Once again, not until Gieseking had offered several encores would the audience leave the hall.[72]

For the first program, Gieseking began with German repertoire—Bach's *Italian Concerto*, Beethoven's Piano Sonata no. 30 (op. 109), and Schumann's *Etudes symphoniques*, op. 13; and concluded with French selections, namely book II of Debussy's *Préludes*. The second recital followed the same pattern—one, of course, that had been common enough among Gieseking's programming for many years prior to Nazi censorship. It first featured Beethoven's Piano Sonata no. 17, op. 31, no. 2 ("Tempest")

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[70] [Generalkonsul Wilhelm] Knothe (1883–1963), DBP, to the AAB, 27 April 1943, file: DBP 1142Z, Musik, Kult 12 Nr 3, 1942–1943, PA/AAB. Note that, in his Report, Kaven incorrectly gives the dates of the concerts as having been 13 and 14 April; see Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 4.

[71] Generalkonsul Wilhelm] Knothe (1883–1963), DBP, to the AAB, 27 April 1943, file: DBP 1142Z, Musik, Kult 12 Nr 3, 1942–1943, PA/AAB.

[72] "Die Ankündigung von Giesekings erstem Pariser Konzert seit dem Waffenstillstand hatte genügt, dass der gewaltige Pleyelsaal nach wenigen Tagen ausverkauft war. Seit den Tagen, als Karajan mit der Berliner Staatskapelle in Paris gastierte, haben wir solche Stürme der Begeisterung, solche Zähigkeit des Publikums, immer noch eine Zugabe zu ertrotzen—und wenn auch fünf schon vorüber waren—nicht mehr erlebt. . . .

. . . Bei seinem zweiten Abend in der ausverkauften Pariser Oper hatte Walter Gieseking den gleichen triumphalen Erfolg. . . . Auch dieses Mal verliess das Publikum erst den Saal, nachdem Gieseking mehrere Stücke zugegeben hatte." Strobel, "Paris bejubelt Walter Gieseking," *Pariser Zeitung*, 15 Apr. 1943.

and Schumann's Sonata no. 1 in F-sharp minor, op. 11, followed by book I of Debussy's *Préludes*.[73]

While Strobel's writing for the German paper was overtly laudatory—as was surely expected of him by the Reich's Embassy and Propaganda Ministry, if not necessarily enforced—French papers too printed praise aplenty. Undeniably, while the city stood under Nazi control, freedom of the press could not exist for any legitimate publishers, therefore essentially eliminating any opportunity for harsh criticism of important guest artists from Germany. The situation notwithstanding, Gieseking, we can be confident, made a genuinely deep impression on his audiences, critics included, as he had consistently done during more peaceful times. In his review for *Comœdia* (Paris), Pierre Leroi, began by reminding his readers of the significance of the artist's long-anticipated reappearance: "The past week has been marked by several piano events of exceptional importance. First, the return, after several years of absence, of Walter Gieseking."[74] Evaluating the "grand pianiste" for *Les Nouveaux Temps* (Paris), Maurice Delannoy confided, "I have a deep admiration for Wilhelm Beckhaus [*sic*], whose heart, it sometimes seems, beats at his fingertips. But in Gieseking I see the most complete of the German virtuosos—the greatest, as far as I am concerned, that I have ever heard."[75] A critic for *l'Atelier* (identified as J. P.) let it be known that the German pianist was

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[73] Strobel, "Paris bejubelt Walter Gieseking," *Pariser Zeitung*, 15 Apr. 1943; A. Michaguine, "Walter Gieseking à Paris," *Paris Midi*, 15 Apr. 1943; Maurice Delannoy, "Un grand pianiste: Walter Gieseking et quelques concerts," *Les Nouveaux Temps* (Paris), 19 Apr. 1943.

[74] "La semaine écoulée a été marquée par quelques événements pianistiques d'importance exceptionnelle. Tout d'abord, la rentrée, après plusieurs années d'absence, de Walter Gieseking." Leroi, "Concerts et Recitals," *Comœdia* (Paris), 17 Apr. 1943.

[75] "J'ai une profonde admiration pour Wilhelm Beckhaus [sic] dont il semble parfois que le cœur batte au bout des doigts. Mais, en Gieseking, je vois le plus complet des virtuoses allemands—le plus grand, pour ma part, que j'aie jamais pu entendre." Delannoy, "Un grand pianiste: Walter Gieseking et quelques concerts," *Les Nouveaux Temps* (Paris), 19 Apr. 1943.

peerless: "There are other great virtuosos. There is Alexandre Braïlowsky, a moving Chopin interpreter. There is Wilhelm Backhaus, the most perfect Beethoven player, and Edwin Fischer, who specializes in Mozart. But there is only one Gieseking."[76]

The Nazi authorities could be most proud of their "indespensible" artist. They knew well that France boasted an outstanding culture, the music scene in Paris ranking among the world's most active and finest, and that French expectations for guest performers could therefore be extraordinarily high.[77] They also recognized that the French were "with regard to our propagandistic cultural activities, especially wary and critically minded. . . ." ("gegenüber unserer kulturpropagandischen Aktivität besonders wach und kritisch").[78] Consequently, the German officials believed that if they had any chance of convincing the French of their "superior" musical culture—an incredibly naïve intention, to be sure—it could only be achieved by having the Reich's star performers appear there, ones that were already "Lieblinge," or favorites, among French audiences.[79] Popular programming would be crucial as well, and these notions only became clearer to Reich propaganda officials over time.[80] Owing to Gieseking's affinity for the music of Debussy and Ravel, he had been an obvious choice for their mission. All this was made clear in a report sent by the German Embassy in Paris to the Foreign Office in Berlin, which concerned the pianist's April engagements in the French capital:

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[76] "Il y a d'autres grands virtuoses. Il y a Alexandre Braïlowsky, émouvant interprète de Chopin. Il y a Wilhelm Backhaus, le plus parfait beethovénien du piano, et Edwin Fischer, qui s'est spécialisé dans Mozart. Il n'y a qu'un Gieseking." J. P., "Walter Gieseking," *l'Atelier* (Paris), 24 Apr. 1943.

[77] Manuela Schwartz, "Musikpolitik und Musikpropaganda im besetzten Frankreich," 65. See also Manuela Schwartz, "Musikpolitik in den von Nazi-Deutschland besetzten Gebieten," 121.

[78] Schwartz, "Musikpolitik und Musikpropaganda im besetzten Frankreich," 65.

[79] Ibid., 68.

[80] Schwartz, "Musikpolitik in den von Nazi-Deutschland besetzten Gebieten," 122.

> Artistic impressions like those that the two Gieseking concerts conveyed, likewise simply and fundamentally surpass this reserved and cautious attitude shown by certain French circles, which has been revealed rather overtly on other occasions. For the Parisian engagements arranged on our part, only the foremost German artists will be employed, also because it seems important to show the French that Germany is rich in artistic personalities that are outstanding and diverse, yet completely untouchable.[81]

As Manuela Schwartz has observed, the Germans hoped that attractive musical events, which functioned particularly well as propaganda on account of their seemingly "apolitical character," would succeed in reaching out to a broader public. "With appearances made by first-class pianists such as Walter Gieseking or free concerts such as those given by the church organist Fritz Heitmann from Berlin, not only could the educated elite become excited about German music and art, but also a wide general audience."[82] Heitmann (1891–1953) was one of the Reich's two most important organists and was placed on the "God-gifted" list in 1944.[83]

Not surprisingly, after Germany's defeat Gieseking's postwar critics continued to include his appearances in wartime Paris in their discussions of his controversial career during the Third Reich. Regarding Gieseking's Parisian concerts, Kaven remarked: "The two concerts were well attended, stressing the Franco-German collaboration. Even the

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[81] "Künstlerische Eindrücke, wie sie die beiden Gieseking-Konzerte vermittelten, überrennen einfach elementar auch diese reservierte und abwartende Haltung gewisser französischer Kreise, die bei anderen Gelegenheiten doch auch schon ziemlich unverhüllt spürbar geworden ist. Für den Pariser Einsatz werden diesseits nur erste deutsche Künstler aber auch aus dem Grunde vorgeschlagen, weil es wichtig erscheint, dem Franzosen vorzudemonstrieren, dass Deutschland reich an überragenden, verschieden gearteten, aber durchaus unantastbaren Künstlerpersönlichkeiten ist." Betreff: "Konzerte Walter Gieseking am 12. und 13. 4. 1943," Knote, Deutsche Botschaft, Paris, to Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, 27 Apr. 1943, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes Bonn, Deutsche Botschaft Paris, Bd. 1142/4; also quoted in Schwartz, "Musikpolitik und Musikpropaganda im besetzten Frankreich," 65.

[82] "Mit Auftritten von erstklassigen Pianisten wie Walter Gieseking oder kostenlosen Konzerten wie jenen des Domorganisten Fritz Heitmann aus Berlin konnte nicht nur die gebildete Elite, sondern auch ein breites Publikum für deutsche Musik und Kunst begeistert werden." Schwartz, "Musikpolitik in den von Nazi-Deutschland besetzten Gebieten," 121.

[83] Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Heitmann, Fritz."

programs bore witness to it, having been printed in both languages, with German coming first."[84] Not stopping there, Kaven also criticized the pianist for allegedly spending time with French colleagues who were likewise accused of Nazi collaboration after the war: "Gieseking admitted that the pianist [Alfred] Cortot and the former director of the opera [i.e. Marcel Samuel-Rousseau of the Opéra national de Paris, from 1941–44] both blacklisted by the French [after the war], kept him steady company."[85] A subsequent document from the U.S. Army's Information Control Division lists another one of Gieseking's "friends in Paris" as having been Jacques Rouché, head of the Opéra national de Paris from 1914 to 1945.[86] Although there is a surviving letter from Cortot to Gieseking from 1944 (discussed in Chapter 8), nothing shows they were ever anything more than acquainted colleagues who held great respect for each other's artistry. In fact, no further evidence of Gieseking's relationship with any of these musicians has been found.

Portugal and Spain, April–May 1943

During the last week of April 1943, Gieseking returned to Lisbon, where he gave six concerts, twice as many as in the previous year.[87] This time he turned the journey into a small Western European tour, lasting approximately two weeks, by also incorporating

[84] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5.

[85] Ibid.; Subject: Walter Gieseking, Alfred Toombs to Colonel Powell, 7 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich.

[86] Colonel J. K. Hills to Major Ali Colombet (French Liaison), 15 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich. The dates of Rouché's tenure as director can be found at "L'Opéra national de Paris: Historique," l'Opéra national de Paris, accessed 1 Mar. 2012, http://www.operadeparis.fr/L_Opera/L_Opera_de_Paris/index.php.

[87] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

ensuing performances in Spain.[88] It began in the Portuguese capital, where, as in the spring of 1942, Gieseking and Annie stayed with the German Minister Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene and wife.

Swiss by birth, Hoyningen-Huene (1895–1963), whom the pianist addressed more informally as "Herr Baron," had joined the German Foreign Office in 1921, and in 1934 he began his tenure in Lisbon as Foreign Minister to Portugal. From Hoyningen-Huene's postwar interrogation report, carried out by Harold C. Vedeler of the U.S. State Department, we learn that he was "a fastidiously groomed gentleman with a finely molded face and an engaging disposition. . . ."[89] Vedeler concluded that during the Third Reich, Hoyningen-Huene had acted as "a man of principle and good intentions who, torn between misgivings of spirit and traditional loyalties, nevertheless carried on his duties under the Nazi regime."[90] During his time in office, the Minister would try to win over the people of Portugal and, in vain, attempt to prove the neglected country's importance to the German Foreign Office. He worked diligently to promote cultural exchange between the two nations and founded the German Cultural Institute in Lisbon in 1943, although since the war had broken out his chief aim had been to ensure that Portugal maintained its neutral status.[91] Still, as late as the fall of 1944, an announcement in *Musik im Kriege* reported the following on his cultural-exchange efforts: "In Lisbon, a Richard Strauss celebration organized by the German Cultural Institute took place in the presence

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[88] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 5 Mar. 1943, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

[89] [U.S.] State Department Special Interrogation Mission, Interrogation of Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, 11 Oct. 1945, p. 2, file: RG165, Box 745, 390/35/15/02, entry P, 179C, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid., 2–3.

of the German Minister of Heyningen-Hühne [*sic*], in which songs and chamber works were performed by Portuguese artists."[92]

In return for Hoyningen-Huene's hospitality, Gieseking gave a private *Hauskonzert* at the Minister's home (as he had probably done in 1942), which was considered important enough to be reported on in Germany by the Reich press. As Gieseking explained afterward, however, the word "Gesellschaft," or society, was mistakenly printed instead of "Gesandtschaft," meaning legation, making the news item "somewhat unclear" ("etwas unklar"), and this would have deprived the minister of proper recognition for carrying out the arrangements.[93]

In an ensuing letter, Hoyningen-Huene mentioned how he and his Portuguese friends often talked about Gieseking's performances, including this *Hauskonzert*. "The 'Heilige Franz' was probably never played more beautifully!"[94] He was referring to the work by Franz Liszt known to English speakers as "St. Francis of Paola Walking on the Waters" (no. 2 from *2 Legendes*, S. 175). This was an old signature piece of Gieseking's from his youth, one he had often played as a military musician during the First World War and during his earliest tours.[95] Hoyningen-Huene felt that the duration of

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[92] "In Lissabon fand in Anwesenheit des deutschen Gesandten von Heyningen-Hühne [*sic*] eine Richard Strauß-Feier des Deutschen Kulturinstituts statt, in der Lieder und kammermusikalische Werke von portugiesischen Künstlern vorgetragen wurden." "Veranstaltungen: Mitteilungen," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1944, 117.

[93] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 24 May 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[94] Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, to Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 June 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[95] In his memoir, Gieseking recalled how as a soldier he was once ordered to report to Lieutenant Colonel Ruppricht, where—to his relief—he was only asked to play piano. Gieseking writes, "I was given some coffee—presumably ersatz—and I was then allowed to play a couple of pieces, I believe the inevitable 'St. Francis' and the *Meistersinger* Overture." ("Ich bekam Kaffee—vermutlich Ersatz—und durfte dann einiges vorspielen, ich glaube, den unvermeidlichen 'Franziskus' und das 'Meistersinger' Vorspiel.") Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 40.

Gieseking's generous private program had been equivalent to "zwei Kisten," or two crates. Therefore, as an "honorarium," he sent the pianist as many crates of a local Burmester wine, a brand hard to come by in Germany. Gieseking was pleased to hear how much the minister and his guests had enjoyed the concert. In thanking his host, especially for the gift, Gieseking humorously remarked how "the fine Burmester wine will have St. Francis of Paola . . . floating rather than walking over the water. . . ."[96]

Hoyningen-Huene also sent Gieseking critiques of the concerts, which had appeared in the Portuguese press. While they now appear to be lost, Gieseking's comments on them make it clear that they were largely praiseful:

> I carefully read over the newspaper clippings and owe it to you that my collection of reviews is now more complete. If I understood the articles correctly, all of the critics seem to have written very positively. Only Mlle. Benoir appears to have made some small criticisms, if I am not mistaken.[97]

Gieseking had never properly learned Portuguese, hence his uncertainty regarding the content of the items.

The stay in Lisbon had been satisfying and successful. Thanking Hoyningen-Huene and his wife for their assistance and friendliness afterward, he wrote, "Owing to your warm hospitality, the days spent in Lisbon—despite being rather work-filled—were once again most pleasant and enjoyable, making it all the more regrettable that such a concert tour can't last any longer. But a tour is naturally no pleasure trip."[98]

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[96] "Der edle Burmester'sche Tropfen lässt—glaube ich—den St. François de Paule über die Wogen schweben, nicht wandeln. . . ." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 11 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[97] "Die Zeitungen habe ich noch mit Interesse durchstudiert und bin Ihnen dankbar, dass nun meine Kritikensammlung vervollständigt ist. Soweit ich die Artikel verstanden habe, scheinen ja alle Kritiker sehr gut geschrieben zu haben, nur Mlle. Benoir scheint so einige kleine Einwendungen gemacht zu haben, wenn ich nicht irre." Ibid.

[98] "Die—immerhin ja ziemlich arbeitsreichen—Tage in Lissabon waren durch Ihre liebenswürdige Gastfreundschaft wieder so angenehm und genussreich gemacht, dass man wirklich sehr bedauert, dass eine

As for Hoyningen-Huene, shortly after the pianist's visit he busily arranged some large-scale events, including two performances of Wagner's *Trisan und Isolde* and four Berlin Philharmonic concerts. Two of the latter took place at Lisbon's enormous coliseum, the Coliseu dos Recreios, before an audience of 10,000. However well-intended the minister's policies may have generally been, these events functioned as propaganda, and he himself boasted to Gieseking afterward how "everything went incredibly well and was a great triumph for the German cause."[99] In fact, it was largely with the help of Hoyningen-Huene that the regime succeeded in sending its illustrious orchestra to Portugal regularly during the war, combined with visits to Spain. The propagandistic motive behind these tours, which took place each year from 1941 through 1944, becomes more conspicuous when one takes into account the orchestra's previous lack of interest in these countries: not since 1908, for instance, had it played in Spain.[100]

From Portugal, Gieseking journeyed to Spain, where he had not played since the eve of the revolution seven years before. Only months after that visit, the nation had fallen under the rule of the dictator General Francisco Franco. The pro-Axis country was still recovering from the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and was now simultaneously striving to stay out of WWII, though not without considerable "non-belligerent"

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solche Konzertreise nicht länger dauert. Aber eine Tournee ist ja keine Vergnügungsreise . . ." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 24 May 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[99] "Alles verlief ausgezeichnet und es war ein grosser Triumph für die deutsche Sache." Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, to Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 June 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[100] Schwartz, "Musikpolitik in den von Nazi-Deutschland besetzten Gebieten," 126n12. Schwartz does not list the year of the orchestra's last visit to Portugal, but it did play there in 1908 under the leadership of Richard Strauss. Before that, it had appeared in both Spain and Portugal in 1901, with Arthur Nikisch conducting. Dietrich Briesemeister, "Das portugiesische Musikwesen," in *Portugal Heute: Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*, eds. Briesemeister and Axel Schönberger (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 1997), 664.

involvement. Franco had signed a Treaty of Friendship with Germany in March 1939, yet the Spanish government, despite being pro-Axis, announced its neutrality at the start of the war. Subsequently, in the wake of Germany's astonishing "blitz" successes, the dictator had jumped on the bandwagon by letting German forces use Spain's strategic ports and landing strips. Like Salazar, however, Franco was unwilling to cooperate too much with Hitler. In spite of some further collaboration with the Germans and offensive support, he made certain that Spain remained at peace, maintaining its non-belligerent status established in June 1940.[101]

Gieseking had been let down and frustrated during his last Spanish tour in 1936, a time when the first signs of the upcoming social revolution, the strikes above all, were already noticeable and the cause of inconveniences for him.[102] His visit in 1943, despite occurring in the middle of WWII, proved to be a more enjoyable experience. Records indicate that he gave merely two public concerts there, in Madrid on 30 April and in Barcelona on 11 May. Admittedly, having eleven free days in between seems like an unusual waste of time on Gieseking's part considering his usual haste and industriousness, but available reviews, as well as Kaven's postwar report, refer only to the two formal engagements.[103] For each appearance, he was presented by Spain's Association of Musical Culture (La Asociación Musical Cultural), which had been founded by Ernesto de Quesada two decades earlier was better known simply as "La

[101] Davies, *Europe at War*, 286–87; I. C. B. Dear, ed., "Spain," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 1033–34.

[102] See Chapter 3.

[103] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3, 7.

Cultural."[104] Quesada's agency had been responsible for arranging the pianist's Mexican bookings in 1935, his visit to Spain in 1936, and it would likewise organize his South American tours after the war.[105]

To make the trip even easier, in each city Gieseking played the same program, one with which he was most familiar. It comprised Bach's *Italian Concerto*, Beethoven's Sonata in E major (op. 109), Schumann's *Fantasie* in C major (op. 17), and the complete first book of *Préludes* by Debussy. Naturally there were also encores in abundance.[106] After the Madrid recital, a critic for a local paper, *ABC*, concluded that "The great German artist [is] undoubtedly the first figure among the continent's pianists. . . ."[107] Following the Barcelona performance, Gieseking was hailed as an "incomparable artist" ("artista incomparable") and "true pianistic genius" ("verdadero genio del piano").[108]

In addition to the two public events, Gieseking may have entertained a private audience at least once while in Spain. Without listing any specific dates (years included), Kaven noted that Gieseking "admitted to playing at the [German] Embassy several times."[109] The Embassy was in Madrid, and while there is no clear evidence that the guest musician appeared there in 1943, it is quite possible he did, and there was certainly time to do so. The week of his visit was an important one for the Embassy, for on 30 April—

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[104] "Barcelona," Información musical, *Ritmo: Revista musical ilustrada*, June–July 1943, 18; "Madrid," Información musical, *Ritmo: Revista musical ilustrada*, June–July 1943, 17; de Quesada Jr., Ernesto. "Ernesto de Quesada: Founder de los Conciertos Daniel," accessed 28 Oct. 2013, http://www.conciertosdaniel.com/Noticias/Ernesto%20De%20Quesada%20Lopez%20Chaves.pdf.

[105] Quesada's agency is referred to in Chapters 3, 10, and 13.

[106] "Madrid," Información musical, *Ritmo: Revista musical ilustrada*, June–July 1943, 17; "Barcelona," Información musical, *Ritmo: Revista musical ilustrada*, June–July 1943, 18.

[107] "El gran artista alemán, sin duda alguna la primera figura del pianismo continental. . . ." R. Sainz de la Maza, "Informaciones musicales: Gieseking, en la Cultural," *ABC* (Madrid), 1 May 1943.

[108] "Barcelona," Información musical, *Ritmo: Revista musical ilustrada*, June–July 1943, 18.

[109] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7.

the day of the Madrid concert—Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff (1884–1952) assumed his duties as Reich Ambassador to Spain, a position he would hold through September 1944.[110] That September (of 1943), Gieseking wrote from Wiesbaden to the Ambassador and his wife, describing his activities since the tour and letting them know that he and his family were faring well despite the war's development—"and, of course, we hope to remain safe, although there is substantial air traffic in this area some nights."[111]

Gieseking and Dieckhoff had, in fact, been acquainted for years. The latter had previously served as German Ambassador in Washington D.C. from May 1937 to November 1938, during which time Gieseking made a special private appearance for him with the distinguished Czech soprano Maria Müller (1898–1958), apparently as her accompanist.[112] After the event, held on Friday, 19 November 1937, one could read in the *Washington Post* how "The German Ambassador and Frau Dieckhoff entertained at their residence, 2929 Massachusetts [A]venue. Frau Maria Muller [*sic*] sang and Walter Gieseking played the piano."[113] Dieckhoff had formerly served as counselor of the German Embassy in Washington D.C. from 1922 through the end of 1926. Since

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[110] Stanley G. Payne, *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 194.

[111] "und wir hoffen ja auch, heil zu bleiben, trotzdem ja manche Nächte reichlich viel Flugverkehr auch in dieser Gegend ist." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff and wife, Madrid, letter, 6 Sept. 1943, lot-tissimo (auction website), accessed 25 Oct. 2013, http://www.lot-tissimo.com/de/i/4449517/gieseking-walter-2-briefe-1943-1944-gieseking-walter-klaviervirtuose-spielte-urauff+-252-hrungen-von. (Note that the website, unfortunately, quotes only excerpts from the letter, which has since been sold; its full examination could prove whether Gieseking gave any private performances during his stay in Spain.)

[112] See Chapter 3. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Gieseking and Müller had previously given a joint performance together at the Embassy in 1933, when Ambassador Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron was still in office.

[113] "Diplomats In Spotlight Of Society: Travels, Entertainments and Foreign Guests Occupy Embassies," *Washington Post*, 20 Nov. 1937. Gieseking mentioned the recital beforehand in a letter home, in which he tells it was to take place in the German Embassy (then located at 1435-41 Massachusetts Avenue, NW in Washington). Since the *Washington Post* reported on the incident just after it had occurred, we can assume that it had the final, correct information. Gieseking's mention of the event is found in Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Oct. 1937, GFA.

Gieseking gave his debut tour in the U.S. during the early months of 1926, he may have met Dieckhoff already at that time. Additionally, Dieckhoff worked for the German Foreign Office in Berlin from 1930 to 1936, which could have also provided ample opportunity for the two men to become personally acquainted.[114]

The reason for Gieseking's renewed interest in Spain is uncertain, but Dieckhoff's new appointment most likely had something to do with it. The latter had arrived in Madrid already in March 1943,[115] and one might speculate that he had requested that the pianist give the concert there, perhaps along with a private recital, during his inaugural week. Despite some recent cooling of the Reich's rapport with Franco and his regime (another explanation for Gieseking's visit?),[116] it was, to be sure, a ceremonious time, one accorded ample pomp and circumstance and thus reported on widely. From the *Litzmannstädter Zeitung* (of Lodz, renamed Litzmannstadt during the German occupation of Poland), we read:

> Ambassador Dr. Dieckhoff presented the Spanish leader, Generalísimo Franco, his letter of credence from the Reich government inside the Royal Palace [of Madrid]. . . .
>
> The German ambassador was picked up at the German Embassy by Franco's *Guardia Mora* [Moorish Guards] and later escorted back. The streets, through which the spectacular procession made its way to the Royal Palace, were decorated with swastika and Spanish flags.[117]

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[114] "Akten der Reichskanzlei. Weimarer Republik (Online Version)" Das Bundesarchiv, s.v. "Dieckhoff, Hans Heinrich," accessed 27 Oct. 2013, http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/1000/adr/adrag/kap1_4/para2_76.html.

[115] Sylvia Taschka, *Diplomat ohne Eigenschaften?: Die Karriere des Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff (1884–1952)*, Transatlantische Historische Studien 25 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006), 219.

[116] Wayne H. Bowen, *Spaniards and Nazi Germany: Collaboration in the New Order* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press: 2000), 160.

[117] "Botschafter Dr. Dieckhoff überreichte dem spanischen Staatschef Generalissimus Franco im königlichen Schloß das Beglaubigungsschreiben der Reichsregierung. . . .Der deutsche Botschafter wurde von der marokkanischen Reitergarde Francos vom deutschen Botschaftsgebäude abgeholt und zurückbegleitet. Die Straßen, durch die sich der eindrucksvolle Zug bis zum königlichen Schloß bewegte,

If the Propaganda Ministry or Foreign Office had pressured Gieseking into journeying to Spain, another probability, any record of this remains to be found. Still, after the war, it would be difficult for Gieseking to refute the charge that engagements such as these, in nations previously absent from his calendar, had served the propagandistic objectives of the Hitler regime. He will return to Spain in precisely one year, while Dieckhoff is still in office, and again in 1945.

Time Off from the Stage

In Gieseking's letter to Hoyningen-Huene of 24 May, he reported on his recently ended concert season. Between 12 May 1942 and 11 May 1943, he had given a total of 112 public performances—in his own words, "enough for one year, no doubt!"[118] Enjoying a break away from the stage, he wrote from Wiesbaden to his friend, the minister:

> As a result [of the many concerts], I am allowing myself some time to relax and for the time being am playing as little as possible for once. At the moment I am primarily busying myself as my own *jardinier-en-chef*, which sometimes causes the passers-by to make comments such as: Herr Meister (sic!), you dare to do such work with your precious fingers . . . or something to that effect.[119]

To be sure, Gieseking found immense pleasure in working in his garden and always spent much of his free time doing so when home. While recently in Paris, he had said in an interview, "When I actually have one or even two weeks free in Wiesbaden, I don't do

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waren mit spanischen und Hakenkreuzfahnen geschmuckt." "Botschafter Dieckhoff in Madrid," *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, 4 May 1943.

[118] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 24 May 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[119] "Daher erlaube ich mir jetzt auch ein Ausspannen und spiele vorläufig mal äusserst wenig. In der Hauptsache bin ich z. Zt. [zur Zeit] mein eigener jardinier-en-chef, wozu manchmal das vorüberwandelnde Publikum Kommentare liefert wie: Herr Meister (sic!), solche Arbeit machen Sie mit ihren kostbaren Fingern . . [.] oder dgl." Ibid.

much of anything. I love my garden and my family and am happy to enjoy some real peace and quiet."[120] His general correspondence shows that he was, in fact, as interested in plants as he was in butterflies and moths. We get a good sense of how seriously he, and apparently Hoyningen-Huene, took botany when the pianist again wrote to the latter that summer:

> Incidentally, may I correct myself: *Mesembrianthemum* is spelled with an "i" not a "y."[121] Such a mistake is inexcusable! For the next trip, I will have to be better prepared botanically; for example, how about *Gazania longiscapa* (I took a runner of this genus from your garden!) or *Calycotome spinosa*?[122] Perhaps I will come across some even more harmonious names—the unfortunate thing is only that one must always use them correctly![123]

Switzerland, Summer 1943

Gieseking continued his vacation in Switzerland, but while also concertizing there. Starting during the second half of July, he was scheduled to make at least nine appearances over approximately two weeks in the neutral country—"quite enough, especially for a 'vacation.'" This formed the bulk of the fourteen performances he gave

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[120] "Wenn ich wirklich einmal eine oder gar zwei Wochen Zeit in Wiesbaden habe, kümmere ich mich um die Umwelt überhaupt nicht. Ich liebe meinen Garten und meine Familie und bin froh, absolute Ruhe zu geniessen." Dr. Hans Steen, "Walter Gieseking in Lyon geboren: Der berühmte deutsche Pianist erzählt aus seiner Jugend," *Pariser Zeitung*, 14 Apr. 1943.

[121] The name *Mesembryanthemum*, meaning "midday flowering," can in fact be spelled either with a "y" or an "i," according to the Oxford English Dictionary. The genus is native to southern Africa and is more commonly called the Fig marigold or Icicle plant.

[122] Also native to southern Africa, the *Gazania longiscapa* is more commonly known as the treasure flower. The *Calycotome spinosa*, native to the western Mediterranean region, is known as the thorny broom or spiny broom.

[123] "Darf ich übrigens mich nebenbei selbst korrigieren: Mesembrianthemum wird nicht my Y, sondern mit i geschrieben. Fatal, dass ich das falsch angegeben habe! Für die nächste Reise muss ich mich botanisch eingehender präparieren, wie wäre es z. B. mit Gazania longiscapa (von dieser Art 'organisierte' ich einen Ausläufer in Ihrem Garten!) oder Calycotome spinosa? Vielleicht finde ich auch noch klangvollere Namen—das Unangenehme ist nur immer, das[s] man diese richtig anwenden muss!" Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 11 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

there all together that year.[124] Among the summer engagements were not merely performances, however, but also a weeklong series of piano classes to be led in Braunwald, in the canton of Glarus.[125]

Due to unanticipated hassles from officials in Germany, Gieseking was unable depart on time and became unusually disconcerted.[126] "After some unsettling and nerve-wracking conditions and difficulties, causing a delay of several days," he wrote to Hoyningen-Huene, "we will set out for Switzerland tomorrow [20 July]."[127] International travel hindrances were common, and in his previous letter to the minister that month, Gieseking had quipped how "one would of course get out of practice, if a trip abroad ever took place without any problems."[128] The details of what had occurred on this most recent occasion are left unexplained, but Gieseking's brief comment suggests that there had been more than mere bureaucratic postponement. He was already late for the classes, which he was scheduled to hold from 18 to 26 July, and he was somewhat fretful about a performance arranged to take place on his delayed day of arrival: "Tomorrow I am

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[124] "[I]st reichlich, besonders für einen 'Ferienaufenthalt'" Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 11 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[125] Since 1 January 2011, Braunwald belongs to the municipality of Glarus Süd.

[126] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 19 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[127] S., F. "Schubertwoche in Braunwald." Berichte aus der Schweiz und dem Ausland. *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 Sept. 1943, 269. "Morgen werden wir nach markerschütternden und nervenzerrüttenden Umständen und Schwierigkeiten, mit einigen Tagen Verspätung die Schweizerreise antreten." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 19 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[128] "[M]an käme ja auch aus der Übung, wenn eine Auslandsreise mal ohne Schwierigkeiten zustande käme!" Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, to Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

already supposed to play in Braunwald, though I hope it can be rescheduled."[129] But he could always rely on his pianistic abilities for essentially any performance and was never one to worry much about being unprepared, despite this remark.

There was more on his mind. In a letter sent the previous week, Gieseking also mentioned to Hoyningen-Huene that, for the first time, he had been officially declared *kriegsverwendungsfähig*, meaning fit for active service, "and because of that I naturally cannot decrease my work."[130] The importance of this cannot be underestimated, for the message from Nazi officials was thus made clear: Gieseking would either continue to comply with Reich regulations and obey any orders from Berlin or face the consequences. That could indeed include going to battle, and the risk therein need not be told. This could have only increased his concerns and perhaps had aggravated his annoyance caused by the travel interference.

It is uncertain whether Gieseking was able to postpone his first concert, as he had desired, but he did arrive safely in Switzerland and could begin his busy itinerary in some welcome peace.

The piano classes he gave were part of the Festival Musikwoche Braunwald, which still takes place today and over the years has featured eminent artists such as the versatile Austrian musician Bernhard Paumgartner (1887–1971), Romanian pianist Clara

[129] "Morgen sollte ich bereits in Braunwald spielen, ich hoffe aber, dass sich dies nachholen lässt." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 19 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[130] "Aber ich bin ja soeben als kv [kriegsverwendungsfähig] befunden und da darf ich doch vor der Arbeit nicht zurückschrecken." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 11 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

Haskil (1895–1960), and German baritone Heinrich Schlusnus (1888–1952).[131] Since the 1920s, Gieseking had occasionally offered piano classes in which he played through repertoire and offered some commentary, as he had most recently done for the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer by supplementing Karl Leimer's own courses on the so-called Leimer-Gieseking method of piano playing.[132] Similarly, he offered six "concerts with commentary" ("Konzerte mit Erläuterungen"), as he himself described it, during the Swiss festival.[133] Leimer was not involved in the Braunwald classes.

A central theme of the festival this year was Franz Schubert's output, but Gieseking covered a wide range of repertoire during his classes without making it a focus. Paumgartner, who held classes on the Lied and Aria, offered a course devoted to the Viennese composer as well, and that was apparently enough Schubert to fulfill the festival organizers' educational wishes.[134] Gieseking was among the numerous musicians who performed Schubert works during the events, however.[135] In a report on his pedagogical contribution afterward, the *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung* wrote the following:

> Gieseking has established no "school," nor instructed students using his "method," for his intensive concert activities leave him with no time for that; until now, he had held no "courses". . . . So in a sense, his Braunwald piano classes were something new for him this year. There were well over a hundred

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[131] Robert Jenny, "75 Jahre jung – Musikwoche Braunwald," Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Braunwald, p. 5, accessed 14 Mar. 2012, http://www.musikwoche.ch/startseite/ueber-uns/geschichte/sidebarContent/02/text_files/file/document/Festschrift.pdf.

[132] It was only after the war that Gieseking began to lead more traditional masterclasses regularly, in which the pupils performed and received his comments and guidance. These were held in 1949 and 1950 at the University of Tucumán's newly founded (1948) Higher Institute of Arts (Universidad Nacional de Tucumán's Instituto Superior de Artes) and more famously from 1947 to 1956 at the newly founded State Conservatory in the Saar, the Staatliches Conservatorium des Saarlandes, now the Hochschule für Musik Saar.

[133] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[134] F. S., "Schubertwoche in Braunwald," 269.

[135] Ibid.

> participants. During six afternoon classes that were usually over two hours long and broadly entitled "Interpretationsfragen der Klaviermusik" [Questions of Interpretation in the Piano Literature], an overview of the development of piano music from Scarlatti to Ravel was given, with Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms, Pfitzner, Reger, Chopin, Liszt, Scriabin and Debussy serving as "stops" along the way. In the simplest manner, often aphoristic to the point of being almost dry, the course instructor spoke about works, composers, interpretation, technical and artistic topics, and aesthetic and psychological issues. . . . If his words prepared the foundation in an instinctively or consciously economical manner, the master demonstrated the range of his pianistic artistry even more generously by offering his audience the most delightful, alluring, and personal selections, all played with complete commitment. In addition, he answered questions asked by the participants, discussing some technical or artistic problems in the process. . . .[136]

What may have interested Gieseking most about the summer teaching position was the location. The village of Braunwald is a picturesque holiday resort area situated high in the Alps, which has retained a steady population of just over three hundred.[137] Since his childhood, he had enjoyed spending time in the mountains, and by giving these classes he could combine more pleasure with work, if only briefly. Such an opportunity would have been even more desirable at this intensified phase of the war owing to Switzerland's neutrality. A few weeks after the Braunwald engagement, Gieseking would

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[136] "Gieseking hat keine 'Schule' begründet, keine Schüler nach seiner 'Methode' ausgebildet, denn seine intensive Konzerttätigkeit ließ ihm hierzu keine Zeit; bis jetzt hatte er auch keine 'Kurse' abgehalten. . . . So war in gewissem Sinne sein diesjähriger Braunwalder Klavierkurs ein Novum. Weit über hundert Teilnehmer hatten sich dafür interessiert. Der Generaltitel 'Interpretationsfragen der Klaviermusik' barg in sechs meist über zweistündigen Kursnachmittagen eine Übersicht über die Entwicklung der Klaviermusik von Scarlatti bis Ravel, mit den 'Stationen' Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms, Pfitzner, Reger, Chopin, Liszt, Skrjabin, Debussy. In der einfachsten, oft aphoristisch und in ihrer Schlichtheit manchmal fast trocken wirkenden Weise sprach der Kursleiter über Werke, Komponisten, ihre Wiedergabe, technische und künstlerische, ästhetische und psychologische Fragen. . . . Hatte das Wort so in instinktiver oder bewußter Ökonomie den Boden bereitet, dann schüttete der Meister um so freigebiger das Füllhorn seiner Klavierkunst aus und musizierte mit voller Hingabe, Köstliches, Fesselndes, Persönlichstes seinen Zuhörern schenkend. Auch wurden Fragen von seiten der Teilnehmer beantwortet und manch technisches oder künstlerisches Problem dabei angeschnitten. . . ." Chz. "Braunwald. Klavierkurs, Walter Gieseking," *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 Oct. 1943, 334.

[137] The steady population in 1941 was 327; that in 2010 was 308. Heinrich Gutersohn, *Geographie der Schweiz in drei Bänden*, Band 2, Teil 2 (Bern: Kümmerly und Frey, Geographischer Verlag, 1964), 304; "01.2 – Bevölkerungsstand und – bewegung," STAT-TAB: Die interaktive Statistikdatenbank, Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, accessed 14 Mar. 2012, http://www.pxweb.bfs.admin.ch/Dialog/Saveshow.asp.

write to his friend, pianist Eduard Erdmann: "I had taken on a performance class there, it was a lot of work, but was particularly enjoyable on account of the attentive participants as well as the beautiful area."[138] To the German Ambassador Hans-Heinrich Dieckhoff in Madrid, he likewise described the stay and in slightly more detail:

> . . . I have had engagements non-stop during the most recent months. Among them was a work-filled, but very enjoyable, course in Switzerland . . . , which took place in connection with a wonderful, weeklong Schubert festival in a splendid, artistic environment. We were pleased that this allowed us all [Gieseking's family] to spend nearly three weeks on holiday in Switzerland. For me, it was a somewhat disrupted vacation, however, because I had to give 9 concerts, including 6 featuring [my own] commentary.[139]

The German pianist would return to Alpine village in the summer of 1944, to participate in the festival once again.

The 1943–44 Concert Season

Gieseking continued to make regular appearances as the fighting persisted, often many more than he wished for. Describing his upcoming 1943–44 engagements, he wrote to Hoyningen-Huene:

> For the next season I am already booked to perform in almost all of Europe's capital cities. We are already scheduling concerts for mid-September now, as

[138] "Ich hatte dort einen Vortragskursus angenommen, viel Arbeit, aber ganz erfreulich, sowohl durch aufmerksame Teilnehmer wie durch schöne Gegend." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Erdmann, Langalligau (Schleswig), postcard, 26 Aug. 1943, Eduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr.: 231, AdKA, Berlin.

[139] ". . . war ich in den letzten Monaten durchaus nicht ohne Beschäftigung. Zu dieser gehörte auch ein recht arbeitsreicher, aber sehr erfreulich verlaufener Kursus in der Schweiz . . . , der in Verbindung mit einer schönen Schubertwoche in schöner künstlerischer Atmosphäre stattfand und die erfreuliche Folge hatte, dass wir alle fast 3 Wochen Ferien in der Schweiz machen konnten. Für mich waren es allerdings etwas gestörte Ferien, weil ich 9 Konzerte, davon 6 mit Erläuterungen, zu spielen hatte." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hans-Heinrich Dieckhoff and wife, Madrid, letter, 6 Sept. 1943, lot-tissimo (website), accessed 25 Oct. 2013, http://www.lot-tissimo.com/de/i/4449517/gieseking-walter-2-briefe-1943-1944-gieseking-walter-klaviervirtuose-spielte-urauff+-252-hrungen-von.

> there was no other good time for Helsinki. Although I will indeed play less often (I hope), the trips will still be numerous and long.[140]

He was also planning to program more (unnamed) contemporary works, "which perhaps will not be received without some discussion . . . ," he confided to his friend, adding, "furthermore, this way I can perhaps offer Lisbon something new musically."[141] Because of both audiences' and venue directors' general apathy toward much contemporary music, Gieseking had for many years largely given up on performing newer works that were less popular.[142] Yet this is another example that proves he never entirely capitulated to the conservative demands of general publics. Regrettably, he gives no further details about the intended program in his letter.

Finland

After having been in Lucerne for a festival concert, Gieseking traveled to Finland the following week, in mid-September 1943.[143] It had been over twenty years since his previous performance there, the last one having taken place in Helsinki during his first Scandinavian tour back in 1922.[144] At that time, the young, up-and-coming virtuoso had just begun to build an international reputation after the years of delay caused by the First

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[140] "Für die nächste Saison habe ich schon fast alle europäischen Hauptstädte festgelegt, es wird gerade schon Mitte September besetzt, weil sich sonst keine gut passende Zeit für Helsinki gefunden hat. Allerdings werde ich weniger oft spielen (hoffentlich), aber die Reisen werden trotzdem zahlreich und lang sein." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 11 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[141] "Für nächsten Winter habe ich vor, etwas mehr zeitgenössische Werke zu bringen, die vielleicht nicht ohne Diskusssion aufgenommen werden. . . . Ausserdem kann ich auf diese Weise vielleicht noch etwas für Lissabon Neues in musikalischer Beziehung vorbringen." Ibid.

[142] See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 62–64. Gieseking's decision to play less modern repertoire was also discussed in Ch. 1 of the current dissertation.

[143] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hans-Heinrich Dieckhoff and wife, Madrid, letter, 6 Sept. 1943, lot-tissimo (website), accessed 25 Oct. 2013, http://www.lot-tissimo.com/de/i/4449517/gieseking-walter-2-briefe-1943-1944-gieseking-walter-klaviervirtuose-spielte-urauff+-252-hrungen-von.

[144] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7.

World War. Yet he and his earlier manager, Arthur Bernstein, must have concluded that journeying to Finland simply was not worth the effort. To be sure, Gieseking had not changed his mind about this, and there is a simple explanation for his wartime visit: "I was asked to go there by the [Reich's] Foreign Office." This he later confided to Severin Kaven.[145] The Berlin officials had requested that he give two concerts in the Nordic country's capital, and he complied.

This political situation in Finland had been turbulent since the early part of the hostilities. After having gallantly defended itself from the Soviets from November 1939 to March 1940, during what become known as the Winter War, Finland, having maintained its independence at a rather high price, had then joined forces with the Germans in June 1941 for their invasion of the U.S.S.R., Operation Barbarossa. This renewed conflict between Finland and the Soviet Union, which lasted until September 1944, is independently referred to as the Continuation War. As Norman Davies clarifies, however, Finland "acted not as a formal German ally or client state, but as a voluntary co-belligerent, fighting, as the Finns put it, 'in parallel.'"[146] The small nation had been forced to cede substantial territory to the Soviets on account of the harsh terms of the Moscow Peace Treaty, which they signed on 12 March 1940. Embittered and fearing additional losses of land and other property, the Finns wished to avoid further Soviet aggression at all costs, above all Soviet occupation.[147] Still, they never went so far as to sign the Axis Powers' Tripartite Pact.

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[145] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 5.

[146] Davies, *Europe at War*, 289.

[147] J. E. O. Screen, "Finland," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 371–72; Olli Vehviläinen, *Finland in the Second World War: Between Germany and Russia* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 77.

When writing to Ambassador Dieckhoff in Madrid just over a week before his flight to Finland, Gieseking had mentioned how the trip would, in effect, be "an 'official assignment,' so to speak, because it is strongly desired that I play something for our allies [i.e. the Finns] in Helsinki. . . ." ("sozusagen auf 'Dienstreise,' denn es wird sehr gewünscht, dass ich den Verbündeten in Helsinki mal was vorspiele. . . .")[148] Clarifying the Nazi officials' motive behind Gieseking's appearances there, Kaven reported that "Finland was beginning to break away from the Reich in 1943, and the Propaganda Ministry thought it expedient to send him there as a sort of artistic ambassador."[149] (Gieseking, we saw, explained that it was the Foreign Office who pushed him to go. Most likely, both the Office and Ministry together insisted he carry out the request, as the two German institutions often worked in partnership regarding such matters.[150])

Indeed, by February 1943, the Germans had lost the Battle of Stalingrad and could no longer offer protection against the Soviets, who, if still far within their own territory, had now begun to advance westward.[151] The Finns had started to search for a way out of the war by initiating talks with the Western Allies and the Soviet Union.[152] By the summer of 1943, the German high command was expecting that Finland might sign a

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[148] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hans-Heinrich Dieckhoff and wife, Madrid, letter, 6 Sept. 1943, lot-tissimo (website), accessed 25 Oct. 2013, http://www.lot-tissimo.com/de/i/4449517/gieseking-walter-2-briefe-1943-1944-gieseking-walter-klaviervirtuose-spielte-urauff+-252-hrungen-von.

[149] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7.

[150] One need only examine the records maintained in the Foreign Office's Political Archive to draw this conclusion. For examples of both the Foreign Office and Propaganda Ministry discussing the arrangements for Gieseking's performances in Paris, for example, see the documentation from October through December 1942 and April 1943 found in the file: Deutsche Botschaft Paris, 1142Z, Kult 12 Nr 3, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin.

[151] For more on the Finnish-German-Soviet situation at this time, see Robert D. Lewallen, *The Winter War: The United States and the Impotence of Power*, Kindle edition (n.p.: Alyssiym, 2010), 90ff.

[152] See Eric Solsten and Sandra W. Meditz, eds., "The Continuation War," *Finland: A Country Study* (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1988), accessed 2 Mar. 2012, http://countrystudies.us/finland/20.htm.

peace agreement with the Soviets.[153] Yet no agreements were reached, and in June 1944 the Soviets began a large-scale offensive that would force Finland to capitulate.[154]

In his postwar report, Kaven admitted that "Very little information could be obtained about Gieseking's appearances in Finland."[155] That is regrettably still the case, though some further particulars could be found. Gieseking mentioned the upcoming arrangements for Helsinki as early as 11 July 1943, in a letter to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene in Lisbon.[156] One of the performances was a solo recital given at the Helsinki Conservatory (Konservatoriossa) on 16 September. The program was as follows:

Scarlatti:	3 Sonatas (unidentified)
Beethoven:	Sonata op. 31, no. 2 ("Tempest")
	[Intermission?]
Schumann:	*Etudes symphoniques*, op. 13
Brahms:	*Intermezzi*, op. 117, no. 2; op. 119 no. 3
Liszt:	*Bénédiction de Dieu dans la solitude*[157]

Nothing is known about the second concert at present.

Gieseking returned to the other three Scandinavian countries in 1944 and to Denmark once more in 1945, but Finland was no longer included in the itineraries.[158] The political situation had reversed. By the autumn of 1944, the Finnish troops were

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[153] Eric Solsten and Sandra W. Meditz, eds., "The Lapland War," *Finland: A Country Study* (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1988), accessed 2 Mar. 2012, http://countrystudies.us/finland/21.htm.

[154] Anthony Upton, "Finnish-Soviet war," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 372–75.

[155] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7.

[156] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 11 July 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 5 Mar. 1943, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

[157] Kehler, ed., *The Piano in Concert*, vol. I, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter," 446. Note that Kehler lists the Scarlatti pieces after the Beethoven sonata, an order that seems most unlikely. Gieseking kept his programs largely chronological, hence the revised order given here by the author.

[158] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

defending themselves from the German forces that had entered the northern part of their country from Norway, a conflict known as the Lapland War (September 1944–April 1945).[159] As the recent victors, the Soviets had in fact demanded that the Finns rid their country of all German troops, and the Finns, despite their scaled-down military, were forced to comply.[160]

When Kaven asked Gieseking whether he could have refused to make the trip in 1943, the latter answered confidently, "Yes, but what for? Finland was our Ally at the time."[161]

Further European Engagements, October

By October of 1943, Annie was no longer accompanying her husband, who had traveled to Vienna after giving concerts in Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and Prague.[162] His next appearances, from 24 through 26 October, would be in Innsbruck, Kitzbühel, and Salzburg, before he returned to Wiesbaden.[163] From Vienna, Gieseking wrote to Annie, "I would just like to let you know that thus far the tour has been on schedule and is going very well."[164] He also found time to hear a number of concerts while in the Austrian capital. His report to his wife is informative, revealing whom he met and associated with, some unforeseen scheduling problems, his concerts and programs, and some insight into the latest wartime destruction and difficulties:

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[159] Davies, *Europe at War*, 289.

[160] Solsten and Meditz, eds., "The Lapland War."

[161] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 5.

[162] Gieseking, Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 22 Oct. 1943, postcard, GFA.

[163] Gieseking, Kitzbühel, to "Butzi" [Jutta Gieseking], Wiesbaden, 24 Oct. 1943, postcard, GFA.

[164] "[I]ch möchte nur melden, dass die Tournee bis jetzt zeitgemäss, aber ganz ordentlich verlaufen ist." Gieseking, Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 22 Oct. 1943, postcard, GFA.

> In Berlin it was sold out. After the concert the alarms sounded briefly while I happened to be eating. At noontime, I was at the Ernsts' place [i.e. Franz Ernst and his wife's home in Berlin].[165] In Leipzig I visited Smigel [Ernst Smigelski], who is as happy as ever. Niemännchen [the Leipzig-based composer Walter Niemann], happened to be in Berlin that day. In Dresden there was nothing going on. [The] concert [was] sold out. In Leipzig I ran into the Strub Quartet at the train station. Max [Strub] knew that [Hans] Pfitzner's home was completely destroyed. Prague: they don't give away much quince. Sch. [the Schneiders] gave me some things, toilet paper, etc. [The] concert [was] also very well attended; [an] enormous hall, essentially all seats [were] bought up. [The] trip yesterday [went] quite well, but I was at the station at 6:30 for the 8:05 train to Prague. There were telegrams here for me from Innsbruck and Kitzbühel, which made me worry that the latter [concert] might be cancelled. The problem has been solved, though. The two cities swapped dates: I will play in Innsbruck on Sunday and Kitzbühel on Monday. Munich is cancelled, so it looks like I will arrive in Wiesbaden around nine in the evening. . . . The programs with [Max] Reger [compositions] are quite difficult, but the Reger works make a considerable difference. I was pleased by my success, especially in Prague where my move up to the Steinway made a tremendous improvement to my performance. Today's concert [in Vienna] is already sold out, even though the hall is significantly larger than the one in Berlin. . . . Love = = [and kisses] etc. to you and the charming daughters. I hope you three are well.
>
> Your Walter.[166]

As an endorser of Grotrian-Steinweg pianos for his European engagements, Gieseking was generally required to play their pianos for all concerts on the continent.

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[165] Franz Ernst was a closer friend of Gieseking's, whom the latter visited regularly when in Berlin. A doctor, he appears to have been the dentist and oral surgeon Franz Ernst (1887–1947). Among his patients was Emmy Göring, actress and second wife of Nazi leader Hermann Göring. See Silke Katharine Riemer, "Karl Schuchardt – Leben und Werk" (Dr. med. dent. diss., Universität Hamburg, 2001), 174, accessed 31 Mar. 2012, http://ediss.sub.uni-hamburg.de/volltexte/2005/2412/; Gieseking, Berlin, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Nov. 1939, GFA.

[166] "In Berlin war es ausverkauft, nach dem Konzert kurzer Alarm, ich hatte aber gegessen, mittags war ich bei Ernst's [Ernst Smigelski]. In Leipzig war ich bei Smigel's, der immer noch vergnügt ist. Niemännchen war gerade an dem Tag in Berlin. In Dresden war nichts los. Konzert ausverkauft[.] In Leipzig traf ich das Strubquartett auf dem Bahnhof, Max wusste, dass Pfitzner's Haus vollständig zerstört ist. Prag: gebt ja nicht zuviel Quitten weg. Sch. [Schneiders] hat mir was mitgegeben, Toilettenpapier u.s.w. Konzert ebenfalls hervorragend besucht, riesengrosser Saal, so gut wie alle Sitzplätze verkauft. Reise gestern ganz gut, aber ich war 6.30 auf der Bahn für den Zug 8.05 ab Prag. Fand hier Telegramme aus Innsbruck und Kitzbühel, wonach letzteres gefährdet erschien, es hat sich aber erledigt, beide Städte vertauschen die Daten, ich spiele Sonntag in Innsbruck und Montag in Kitzbühel. München fällt aus, also komme ich voraussichtlich Mittwoch abends um 9 herum in Wiesbaden an. . . . Die Programme mit Reger sind recht anstrengend, aber das Reger macht relativ viel aus. Besonders in Prag, wo die Steigerung auf dem Steinway ganz gross herauskam, war der Erfolg erfreulich. Das heutige Konzert ist bereits ausverkauft, dabei ist der Saal bedeutend grösser als der in Berlin. . . . Viele Grüsse u.s.w. Dir und den entzückenden Töchtern, hoffentlich seid Ihr 3 gesund. Dein Walter." Gieseking, Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 22 Oct. 1943, postcard, GFA.

For reasons unknown, but perhaps on account of transport problems brought on by the war, he was permitted to play a Steinway on this occasion, doubtless one owned by the Prague hall. Gieseking thought highly of Steinway's more powerful, renowned instruments, but this arrangement remained an exception; he never became a so-called Steinway artist.

Gieseking also found time to enjoy some music making himself while in the Vienna. The evening before his concert, he and one Herr Fineman, the person responsible for arranging his Viennese performance, had heard the acclaimed soprano Erika Rokyta (1899–1985) sing some Lieder and the Schneiderhan Quartet perform some works—"both good concerts" ("beides gute Konzerte").[167] Born in Krakow, Rokyta had made Vienna her home after a sensational debut there in 1933 in a performance of Maher's Symphony no. 8, conducted by Bruno Walter.[168] The Schneiderhan Quartet was led by Wolfgang Schneiderhan (1915–2002), one of Austria's leading violinists of the time. The following day, before his own performance, Gieseking had also sat in on some of Furtwängler's Bruckner rehearsal.[169] He was always impressed by the great conductor's abilities.

The Worsening War Havoc

In the same lengthy postcard to Annie sent from Vienna, Gieseking also commented on the most recent war havoc: "I am assuming that it has been peaceful in

[167] Gieseking, Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 22 Oct. 1943, postcard, GFA. Gieseking notes earlier in the same document that Fineman (he spells this as "Finemann" elsewhere without ever giving his first name) was "responsible for the concert here. . . ." ("Fineman, der ja hier das Konzert macht. . . .").

[168] Aryeh Oron and Manfred Krugman, "Erika Rokyta (Soprano)," Operissimo, accessed 31 March 2012, http://bach-cantatas.com/Bio/Rokyta-Erika.htm.

[169] Gieseking, Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 22 Oct. 1943, postcard, GFA.

Wiesbaden. I hope that the windows have been reinstalled and that you are all well. . . . Hanover must be quite destroyed. Herr v. R. [Consul Hary von Rautenkranz[170]] supposedly knows more about that. . . ."[171] The precise reason for the windows in his home having to be replaced is left unclear, but a recent nearby explosion from a Blockbuster bomb or perhaps splinters from an Allied bomb or German anti-aircraft gunfire had blown them in before his departure.[172] His daughter Jutta remembers an explosion that might have been the one in question:

> Once as I was on my way home from school I ran into someone I knew along the way, and he said, "Jutta, you must hurry home. A bomb was dropped uptown where your family lives." You can imagine how fast I ran. . . . [R]ight next to our home, there was a garden and a Dutchman had a garden house and lived there. The bomb had fallen on it, and the Dutchman was dead. My mother wanted to go into our basement . . . but the air pressure was so strong where the bomb had exploded that she couldn't open the door.[173]

The blast had caused only minor damage to Gieseking's neighboring house, but it must have served as a sobering reminder of how quickly things could come to a tragic end.[174] Gieseking's home would be damaged again in February 1945. No one was safe from the air offensives.

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[170] Consul Hary von Rautenkranz and his wife, Lucy (which Gieseking spells as "Lucie" elsewhere), were acquaintances of Gieseking and Annie's in Vienna.

[171] "Bisher war es ja wohl in Wiesbaden ruhig, hoffentlich sind die Fenster wieder drin und Ihr alle gesund. . . . Hannover muss ja ziemlich weg sein. Herr v. R. [Konsul Hary von Rautenkranz] weiss offenbar Genaueres darüber. . . ." Gieseking, Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 22 Oct. 1943, postcard, GFA.

[172] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

[173] "Einmal kam ich von der Schule, und unterwegs habe ich jemanden getroffen, einen Bekannten, und der sagte, 'Jutta, du musst schnell nach Hause gehen, bei euch oben ist eine Bombe gefallen.' Sie können sich vorstellen, wie ich gerannt bin. . . . [G]egenüber, also praktisch neben uns, . . . da war ein Garten und da hatte ein Holländer ein Gartenhäuschen und wohnte da. Und da ist die Bombe reingefallen und der Holländer war tot. Und meine Mutter, die wollte in den Keller . . . und da wo die Bombe gefallen war, da war der Luftdruck so groß, sie konnte die Tür nicht aufmachen." Ibid.

[174] Ibid. Jutta no longer recalls whether the windows or other parts of the home were damaged.

Despite repeated, mostly small-scale bombings, Wiesbaden received relatively little damage from air raids compared to many cities, and the most destructive attack would not occur until late in the war. Still, the Allies could strike at any time, and Gieseking could have only been constantly concerned about his family's well-being while he was away touring. In a postcard sent on 24 October, merely two days after the aforementioned one sent to Annie, he wrote to Jutta: "Presumably you all had an alarm the day before yesterday. I listened to yesterday's *Wehrmacht* report, which leads me to conclude that something happened in Wiesbaden, too."[175]

Because he had spent so many years in Hanover, Gieseking must have been quite shocked to learn how quickly it was being devastated by the Allied air attacks, hence his reference to this in the above letter sent to Annie from Vienna. Between 1940 and 1945, the city was, in fact, bombed an estimated 125 times. The air-raid sirens sounded almost every day and night at the peak of the offensive, and over ninety percent of the city center was ultimately destroyed. By the end of the war, over six thousand residents of Hanover (not including those off fighting in the *Wehrmacht*) were killed, with countless others left homeless.[176]

As inconceivable as it may seem to many today, the sirens sounded so frequently during WWII that apparently most civilians managed to get used to them rather quickly and were thus able to resume their daily lives as normally as possible. Gieseking, for one,

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[175] "Vermutlich hattet Ihr vorgestern Alarm, ich hörte gestern den Wehrmachtsbericht und da nehme ich an, dass auch in Wiesbaden was los war." Gieseking, Kitzbühel, to "Butzi" [Jutta Gieseking], Wiesbaden, 24 Oct. 1943, postcard, GFA.

[176] Klaus Mlynek and Waldemar R. Röhrbein, eds., *Geschichte der Stadt Hannover: Vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis in die Gegenwart*, Band 2 (Hanover: Schlütersche, 1994), 557; "Industriestadt in der preußischen Provinz," Hannover.de: The Official Website of the City and Region of Hanover, accessed 29 Mar. 2010, http://www.hannover.de/Kultur-Freizeit/Architektur-Geschichte/Stadtgeschichte/Hannovers-Geschichte-in-Zahlen/Industriestadt-in-der-preu%C3%9Fischen-Provinz2.

never expresses any great concern over the alarms. There is, in fact, a somewhat well-known recording of him playing Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto in Berlin, at the German Broadcasting Company (Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft, or RRG), during which time there was apparently an air raid. None of the performers felt there was a need to find shelter, conductor and soloist included, and the recording went uninterrupted. For this especially early, experimental, stereophonic tape recording, possibly from 23 January 1945, Gieseking was accompanied by Arthur Rother (1885–1972) leading the Großes Berliner Rundfunkorchester.[177] Owing to the unusually high quality of this historic sound document, one can hear what is believed to be the artillery being fired outside.[178] Airborne attacks could come unexpectedly at any hour, particularly in Berlin, which endured 363 of them all together from 1940 to 1945.[179] After Warsaw, the city suffered the second highest number of bombing casualties—an estimated 49,000 deaths, 25,000 of which resulted from the single attack made by the U.S. Air Force on 3 February 1945, less than two weeks after Gieseking's recording session there with Rother.[180] Although there was no public audience during the making of the recording, it is astonishing how, in

[177] The uncertain January date is given in Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 14. In his earlier discography, Stephen Lundgren gives "ca. Fall 1944" as the date. See Lundgren, *Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography*, n.p. A commercial CD gives October 1944 as the time of the recording; see Gieseking, *Volume 3, Ludwig van Beethoven*, recorded 1939, 1944, Dante, HPC133, 1998, CD. The main German engineers behind this early technology were Helmut Krüger (1905–96) and Dr. Ludwig Heck (dates unknown), who began to make the first stereo tape recordings for the German Broadcasting Company in 1942 (some sources give 1943). Hundreds were made, yet all but a few were allegedly looted by the Soviets during their occupation of Berlin. Barry Fox, "Their Fuhrer's Voice," *New Scientist*, 25 Sept. 2004, 46; "Audio Recording," Consumer Electronics Association, accessed 31 Mar. 2012, http://ce.org/Press/CEA_Pubs/944/asp.

[178] Gieseking, *Volume 3, Ludwig van Beethoven*, CD. Though one must listen carefully, the sounds of artillery can briefly be detected during the Allegro movement, starting at ca. 2'30" and ca. 5'40."

[179] Frederick Taylor, *Dresden: Tuesday, 13 February 1945*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), 216.

[180] Davies, *Europe at War*, 29 and 299, see table: "Principal bombing targets."

general, both musicians and concertgoers were able to make and enjoy music under such nerve-wracking conditions.

After the war, Gieseking did not visit Berlin for over two years, largely because of the interruption of his career caused by his blacklisting. When he finally did return in early April 1947, he was shocked by what he saw. In a letter to his occasional American pupil Dean Elder, Gieseking wrote, "Last week I was in Berlin for the first time since Jan. '45. The destruction of such a big city is something that's impossible to describe, the sight of this is most painful" (Gieseking's English).[181]

As was common in many nations, in Germany there were routine *Verdunkelungs-übungen*, or practice blackouts, in addition to the alarms. There is a record of one occurring just before, and partly during, a wartime appearance Gieseking made in Freiburg one November (the year is unknown). Nearly all tickets had been sold by the earlier part of the day, and, as was common in such instances, the hall was likely sold out or even overcrowded by the time of the performance. Because of the blackout drill, which was scheduled to take place from 7:00 to 9:00 pm, the concert was delayed. Regardless of how used to these blackouts civilians may have become, the eerie conditions must have made at least some, if not many, feel ill at ease as they sat patiently in the dark, their minds inevitably pondering the horrific bombing that could commence, or recommence, at any moment. Yet German morale remained remarkably high, and music obviously offered a welcome mental escape. Seemingly untroubled, Gieseking began playing that November evening at ca. 8:15 or 8:20.[182]

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[181] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, letter, 16 Apr. 1947, DEC.

[182] Gieseking, Freiburg, to Anni[e], Wiesbaden, postcard, 25 Nov. [no year], GFA.

Myra Hess and the Lunchtime Concerts at London's National Gallery

One cannot discuss music and blackouts during WWII without mentioning the heroic efforts made on the Allies' side by the important English pianist Myra Hess (1890–1965). Already widely successful, Hess achieved even greater fame when she initiated and voluntarily began to help organize and participate in the immensely popular lunchtime concerts held at London's National Gallery starting in October 1939, which to the joy of many persisted throughout the German bombing raids on London and even beyond the war.

On the day of the Polish Invasion, the British government, swiftly taking many precautionary measures to defend itself from German attack, initiated nationwide blackouts.[183] In addition, and unlike the Hitler regime, once war was declared it shut down London's cultural venues, the centrally located National Gallery included, for fear they might be targeted in the event of an air raid.[184] Owing to the resultant "cultural black-out," as it was described by the gallery's director, Kenneth Clark, Hess suggested the idea of converting the empty museum into a concert hall already in September 1939. The idea was approved straight away.[185]

Throughout the war, the National Gallery concerts took place five days a week without interruption, even after being moved to the basement during the German Blitz, which began in the afternoon of 7 September 1940 and continued, mostly in the form of

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[183] Martin J. Brayley and Malcolm McGregor, *The British Home Front 1939–45* (Oxford: Osprey, 2005), 27.

[184] "Myra Hess's Wartime Concerts," the National Gallery, accessed 5 Mar. 2012, http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/myra-hess-concerts/the-myra-hess-concerts. The paintings themselves had been removed from the Gallery to various, secret locations in advance. See "The Gallery in wartime," The National Gallery, accessed 5 Mar. 2012, http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/the-gallery-in-wartime/gallery-in-wartime.

[185] "Myra Hess's Wartime Concerts," the National Gallery, accessed 5 Mar. 2012, http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/myra-hess-concerts/the-myra-hess-concerts.

night attacks, until the summer of 1941.[186] Like the afore-mentioned Gieseking-Rother concert, there were numerous occasions when performances went unstopped during air raids, but with audiences present each time in these instances.[187]

Recognized as one of Britain's leading pianists, Hess's own performances, 146 in all, attracted large audiences.[188] Indeed, her playing was respected by even her most eminent colleagues, Gieseking included. While in Indianapolis during his North American tour in 1934, the German pianist had listened to a broadcast performance over the radio given by Hess in the same city. Impressed on the whole, he wrote to Annie, "at 3:15 p.m. there was an 'evening' recital given by Myra Hess in Indianapolis; she played quite respectably, not very expressively, but really well."[189] Moreover, he sometimes played Hess's solo-piano transcription of J. S. Bach's "Jesus bleibet meine Freude" ("Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring"), from Cantata BWV 147, "Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben," and he had recorded the piece for American Columbia in New York before the war, on 5 April 1939.[190]

Like the Germans, the English spirit remained steadfast throughout WWII, and the threat of *Luftwaffe* bombings was not enough to keep Londoners away from the musical performances given at the National Gallery. In an article from 24 November 1939, Mollie Panter-Downes gave a brief but touching first-hand account of the general

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[186] Olivia Cockett, *Love & War in London: A Woman's Diary, 1939–1942*, ed. Robert W. Malcolmson (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 72n12.

[187] "Myra Hess's Wartime Concerts," the National Gallery, accessed 5 Mar. 2012, http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/myra-hess-concerts/the-myra-hess-concerts.

[188] Christopher Fifield, *Ibbs and Tillett: The Rise and Fall of a Musical Empire* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 240.

[189] "[U]m 3 ¼ war Klavier-"abend" von Myra Hess in Indianapolis, sie spielte recht anständig, nicht sehr ausdrucksvoll, aber ganz gut." Gieseking, New York (stationery misleadingly shows Omaha), to Annie, 6 Mar. 1934, GFA.

[190] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 42.

public's interest in the concerts, which embraced the great German and Austrian repertoire above all despite the circumstances—citizens of the Allied countries, unlike the subjects of the Reich, could listen to music of the enemy nations:[191]

> People pack into them daily, sitting on chairs if they are lucky and on the floor if they are not. Sandwiches can be bought for threepence each, but most of the office workers bring lunch with them and munch dreamily while listening to Bach and Schubert. . . . The applause at the end of the programs is tremendous and moving. People hurry out into Trafalgar Square, shouldering their gas masks and looking all the better for having been lifted for an hour to a plane where boredom and fear seem irrelevant.[192]

The concerts, which also regularly featured the music of Mozart and Brahms and had received financial support from people around the world, including famed musicians Arturo Toscanini and Sergei Rachmaninoff, finally ceased in April 1946, by which time some 750,000 people had attended roughly 1,700 events.[193] Aside from providing well-needed and inexpensive entertainment, they helped many British musicians secure work during those years.[194] In 1941, King Georg VI made Hess a Dame of the British Empire owing to her contribution to British music, a title well earned indeed.[195]

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[191] For more on the National Gallery Concerts repertoire, see "The Music," in "Myra Hess's Wartime Concerts," the National Gallery, accessed 5 Mar. 2012, http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/myra-hess-concerts/the-myra-hess-concerts.

[192] Panter-Downes, *London War Notes 1939–1945*, ed. William Shawn (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1971), 26, quoted in Cockett, *Love & War in London*, 72n12.

[193] See "Myra Hess's Wartime Concerts," the National Gallery, accessed 5 Mar. 2012, http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/myra-hess-concerts/the-myra-hess-concerts.

[194] Ibid.; Fifield, *Ibbs and Tillett*, 240.

[195] Fifield, *Ibbs and Tillett*, 240.

The Gieseking Home during the War

We will recall that Gieseking's Wiesbaden home was large, with approximately fifteen rooms. There was plenty of space and, as a result, he and Annie took in a number of others during the war, though the exact dates of their stays are now uncertain.

To begin with, there was Annie's sister, Else Leimer (née Haake, 1879–1951), and her daughter Ellen Grosse (née Leimer, 1910–98). Else had been the second wife of Gieseking's mentor, Karl Leimer. Like her former husband, she, too, had taught piano at the State Conservatory in Hanover, the main facilities of which were destroyed during the repeated Allied aerial attacks in 1943.[196] Else's apartment there was also bombed, thus she had little choice but to relocate to Wiesbaden and stay with the Giesekings, who generously welcomed her into their home.

Ellen had been living in Berlin with her husband, Heinz Grosse (? –1997), who was now serving in the military, however, and whom British troops ultimately captured at an unknown point. The Grosse's apartment was destroyed during the Berlin bombings, as was their jewelry shop, hence Ellen's like need to find accommodation with the Giesekings.[197]

The new company made the Gieseking residence not only livelier but also more musical. Else continued to give private lessons at the home, and while Ellen was an amateur, she played piano competently.[198] As evidence of their abilities, we need only

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[196] Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien Hannover: Chronik 1999–1897, accessed 23 Apr. 2012, http://www.hmtm-hannover.de/de/hochschule/profil-geschichte-organisation/chronik-der-hmtmh/chronik-1999-1897/.

[197] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interviews by author, 10 Sept. 2008 and 14 Dec. 2010.

[198] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 10 Sept. 2008; Freya Colassis, telephone interview by author, 20 Dec. 2010. See also Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 22.

turn to a postwar letter Jutta sent to her parents on 27 April 1948. We read: "Aunt Else and Ellen are both practicing piano; it is a real treat for the ears. The immortal f-minor [Sonata (Beethoven's "Appassionata")?] sounds as vivacious as ever, and, Else, in a very revolutionary manner, is practicing the "Revolutionary" etude [Chopin's op. 10, no. 12]."[199]

Upon Heinz's release from imprisonment after the war, he would learn that Ellen and Else were safe and staying at the Gieseking home. To their surprise and delight, he showed up unannounced at the doorstep one day. Heinz, too, moved in until he and Ellen found their own apartment. Else, on the other hand, would continue to reside with Walter and the family until her death in November 1951.[200]

During part of the war, some German officers also found accommodation at the Gieseking residence. Jutta remembers them being "awfully polite and mannerly" and that they primarily used a room as nightly quarters, being away during the day. She no longer remembers exactly when they stayed there, but they were apparently gone by early 1945.[201]

In addition, Gieseking and Annie employed a young Czech woman to help with the household for part of the war. She was a forced laborer, or as Germans commonly referred to them, a "Zwangsverschleppte," more literally meaning "a forcibly deported

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[199] "Tante Else und Ellen üben beide Klavier, es ist ein wahrhaftiger Ohrenschmaus. Die unsterbliche f moll erklingt in alter Frische, und Else, sehr revolutionär eingestellt, übt die Revolutionsetüde." Jutta Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Walter and Annie Gieseking, letter, 27 Apr. 1948, GFA.

[200] For Annie's account of Else's death, see Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 27 Nov. 1951, GFA. Else's exact date of birth was 25 October 1879. Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 22. (Note that Braumandl misspells the name as "Elsa.")

[201] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012. That Hajmássy never mentioned the officers when describing the night of the attacks of 2 February 1945 suggest that the officers were no longer making use of the Gieseking home by that point.

person." The Hitler regime frequently used more euphemistic terms to refer to these war victims, namely "Fremdarbeiter" or "Zivilarbeiter," meaning foreign worker or civil worker, respectively.[202] Jutta remembers how miserable and defiant the young woman was: "She was terribly impish and that is no surprise. She had to work for Germans and did not want to. I can still remember how she once took a bag of sugar and dumped it out over the basement steps. That got us all worked up, of course, because we had nothing to eat."[203]

Forced labor is another unfortunate consequence of war, and millions of men, women, and children from nations across Europe were brought to the Greater German Reich, most by compulsion. By the summer of 1944, some 7.8 million foreigners, both civilians and prisoners of war, were working for the Germans—over 24 percent of the total workforce. While the largest number of them came from the Soviet Union (2,406,895) and Poland (1,440,254), fifth on the list was the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, with 177,679 Czech citizens serving as forced laborers.[204] They were primarily employed in agriculture, metallurgy, building, mining, transport, and chemicals, and many perished because of the cruel working and living conditions. Others worked on small farms and in small workshops, or, as in the Gieseking case, in private households:

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[202] Sarah Suchy, *Die Situation der Migranten in Deutschland nach dem 2. Weltkrieg: Displaced Persons und Arbeitsmigranten* (Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag, 2007), 7. As Norman Davies points out, "Even democratic governments felt entitled to use compulsion. So one must be careful in defining the overused term 'slave labour.'" Davies, *Europe at War*, 321.

[203] "Sie war furchtbar frech und das ist auch kein Wunder. Sie musste bei Deutschen arbeiten und wollte nicht. Ich kann mich erinnern, dass die einmal eine Tüte Zucker genommen hat und die auf die Kellertreppe geschmissen hat. Das hat uns alle so aufgeregt, weil wir doch nichts zu essen hatten." Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

[204] Ulrich Herbert, "forced labour," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 379, 384 table 2.

some 200,000 maids came from the Soviet Union alone.[205] They relieved German women, particularly mothers, of domestic chores, and Germans eagerly hired them because they were inexpensive help. Regarding any guilt that may have been felt in doing so, Ulrich Herbert has written: "The employment of foreigners in Germany had by now [1943] become accepted as a fact of wartime life, and in view of their own personal worries, for most Germans the fate of the foreign workers was of precious little interest."[206] That may explain Gieseking and Annie's own attitude toward employing their own Czech servant.

After the liberation of Germany, the forced laborers and POWs together became known as "displaced persons" or DPs. Jutta would soon enter into a lasting relationship with the Hungarian pianist, Imre Hajmássy (1918–2008), himself a DP who initially stayed in the refugee camp set up in Wiesbaden after the war. Imre would become a private pupil of her father's and, because the DPs were better fed after the war than the Germans, he often brought food to his mentor and the family.[207] Jutta and Imre would be happily married from 1950 to Imre's death, and from the marriage Gieseking would live to see two grandchildren, Maria (b. August 1951) and Stefan (b. February 1954).[208]

Finally, Gieseking had usually employed a gardener as well, who came and worked on their large plot of land each morning. Gieseking loved to work in his garden

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[205] Ulrich Herbert, "forced labour," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 383.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Jutta Hajmássy and Freya Colassis, interview by author, Wiesbaden, 8 Oct. 2007. Imre, it should be noted, was present during this interview, but was no longer able to converse freely because he was suffering from Parkinson's Disease.

[208] Gieseking family, telegram, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, 20–21 Aug. 1951, GFA; Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012. A picture of Gieseking at the piano with his granddaughter, whom the family called "Marika" (the Hungarian form of Maria), was often printed and can be found in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, see seventh page of illustrations between pages 64 and 65.

himself, but his busy itinerary made it impossible for him to maintain it all on his own. The gardener also cleaned and loaded the three coal ovens inside the house. Owing to the wartime coal shortages, however, the family had been unable to continue using all of the ovens, leaving most of the house extremely cold during the winter months. Consequently, they no longer needed the gardener, and we will recall that Gieseking mentioned being his own *jardinier-en-chef* in a letter from May to Hoyningen-Huene.[209] "We could heat two rooms, and I took care of the ovens in the mornings," remembers Jutta. "We chopped wood. . . . With my Aunt [Else], I went into the forest. We cut down a thin tree when we ran out of wood. You wouldn't believe how we cold we were."[210]

November Joint-Recitals in Berlin with Eduard Erdmann and Franz Notholt

To return to Gieseking's concertizing, on two consecutive days in November 1943, he fulfilled further engagements in Berlin that were, according to Severin Kaven, "purely party or propaganda inspired."[211]

The first one, on the twentieth, was a recital given before the Foreign Press Association. With regard to the political circumstances of the event, Kaven wrote: "The Berlin recital before the Foreign Press Association is chiefly interesting for its date. Until the end of 1942, the Nazis did not bother much to show foreigners [visiting Germany] the finer side of German culture."[212]

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[209] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 24 May 1943, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[210] "Wir hatten zwei Zimmer zum heizen und da habe ich die Öfen gemacht, morgens. . . . Wir haben Holz gehackt. . . . Mit meiner Tante bin ich in den Wald gegangen. Wir haben einen dünnen Baum gefällt, weil wir kein Holz mehr hatten. Wir haben gefroren, wie nur irgendwas." Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 14 Dec. 2010.

[211] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2.

[212] Ibid.

The recital in question may have been a duo-piano performance Gieseking gave with the pianist Eduard Erdmann (1896–1958) in the Reich capital that month. Erdmann had been his duo partner since the Weimar era, if only for highly infrequent concerts.[213] Few may remember Erdmann today, but he enjoyed a distinguished career as a pianist and to some extent as a composer. Like Gieseking, the Propaganda Ministry considered Erdmann one of the Reich's elite artists and exempted him from military service throughout the entire war. The two revered musicians had begun to plan the recital during the summer.

The repertoire they selected is unidentified with the exception of one curiosity: a Sonatine by the former Hindemith pupil, Harald Genzmer (1909–2007); this had to be the one composed in 1940, published by B. Schott's Söhne in Mainz in 1941. Genzmer enjoyed considerable success during the Reich and was one of the composers placed on

[213] Starting in 1925, Gieseking and Erdmann began to give occasional duo performances of music for two pianos and piano four-hands. Their first such concert took place in Cologne in 1925, presumably in November. The repertoire chosen is uncertain, but Gieseking proposed the following program: "Mozart, Fuge c-moll. Schubert, Grand Duo. Busoni, Improvisation[.] Debussy, En blanc et noir. Strawinsky, Klein Stücke. Schubert, 3 (oder mehr?) Märsche." On 13 November 1928, they gave a recital in Berlin's Bachsaal that was arranged by the local concert agency, Konzert-Direktion Hans Alder. The works performed were listed as follows: "J. S. Bach Duetto für 2 Klaviere, F. Schubert, Divertissement à la hongroise op. 54, Cl. Debussy, 6 Epigraphes antiques (Antike Inschriften), Max Reger, Variationen und Fuge über ein Thema von Beethoven, op. 86." For the two-piano compositions, each pianist had to play the instrument he endorsed—Gieseking a Grotrian-Steinweg, Erdmann a Bechstein. Commenting on that already on 13 October 1925, Gieseking lightheartedly wrote to Erdmann, "but don't drown me out." ("Sie dürfen mich dann nur nicht totschlagen."); Bechstein must have made more powerful pianos. For the four-hand works (on one piano), the instrument they used is uncertain, but a photograph shows Gieseking playing the upper part on one such occasion. Further correspondence shows that they gave duo-recitals in 1929, 1931, 1943, and possibly in 1926 and 1927 as well. Gieseking, [Hanover], to Erdmann, Cologne, postcard, 13 Oct. 1925, Eduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr. 231, AdKA, Berlin; Gieseking, Hanover, to Erdmann, Cologne, postcard, 31 Oct. 1925, Erduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr. 231, AdKA Berlin; "Konzert an zwei Klavieren im Bachsaal," program, Eduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr.: 448, AdKA, Berlin; "Eduard Erdmann und Walter Gieseking am Flügel," photo by Gudenberg, Eduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr. 125, AdKA, Berlin; "Walter Gieseking an Eduard Erdmann," Personenkorrespondenz, 1925–43, Eduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr. 231, AdKA, Berlin.

the "God-gifted" list in 1944.[214] We can be sure that, like the two pianists' former programs, this one also contained works by mainstream composers such as Mozart, Schubert, Busoni, or Reger. Owing to the Hitler regime's new relaxation of the censorship rules on French music issued that same month, on 3 November,[215] perhaps there was even a last-minute addition of a work such as Debussy's *En blanc et noir*, three pieces for two pianos, or the *Six épigraphes antiques* for piano four-hands—repertoire they had played together in the past at Gieseking's suggestion (at least in the case of *En blanc et noir*).[216]

It was, of course, not at all surprising that the two musicians included a work as unknown as the Genzmer piece, considering their strong personal interest in new music—despite Gieseking's reduced efforts to perform such works publicly since the 1930s. Erdmann's own compositions were, in fact, modern enough to be banned by the Nazi regime, whose censorship policies also caused him to drop much of his contemporary repertoire and focus on the German classics.[217] While planning the recital, Gieseking sent

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[214] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Genzmer, Harald." Because of his activities during the Third Reich, notes Prieberg, Genzmer was blacklisted by the U.S. Military Government in 1945, and his works were banned from radio broadcast in the Soviet occupation zone until August 1947.

[215] Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 375. The modification of the censorship policy was also included in the discussion of Nazi-censored repertoire in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

[216] Gieseking and Erdmann had played Debussy's *En blanc et noir* (composed and published in 1915) in Cologne in 1925, presumably in November. During another recital, given on 13 November 1928, they programmed Debussy's *Six épigraphes antiques*. This is the composer's recomposed version of his *Chanson de Bilitis* (1900–01), written to accompany the reciting of poems by Louÿs; the four-hand set was completed in 1914 and published in 1915. Gieseking, Hanover, to Erdmann, Cologne, postcard, 31 Oct. 1925, Erduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr. 231, AdKA Berlin; "Konzert an zwei Klavieren im Bachsaal," program, Eduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr.: 448, AdKA, Berlin; François Lesure and Roy Howat, "Debussy, Claude," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music07353 (accessed 23 Mar. 2012).

[217] Erdmann was an unusual case in that the Hitler regime regarded him as one of its leading pianists—placing him on its "God-gifted" list in September 1944—while simultaneously viewing him as a "degenerate" composer. After the war, Erdman would resume promoting Nazi-banned works for the occupying Allied governments. Between 25 April and 3 May 1946, for example (while Gieseking was blacklisted), he gave a "Special Cycle" (Sonderzyklus) of four recitals in Wuppertal, then in the British

the following message to his colleague on 13 July, after having spoken with one Dr. Boettcher [*sic*?], presumably the notorious Nazi musicologist Dr. Wolfgang Boetticher:[218]

> Dear Erdmann,
>
> As suggested by Dr. Boettcher, I am sending you the Sonatine by Genzmer, which we are supposed to play in Berlin this November. I am hopeful that you find the piece worth performing, too—I think it is enjoyable. I also hope that you and your dear family are doing well—we wish you a pleasant summer.
>
> Best wishes
>
> Your
>
> Walter Gieseking[219]

Unfortunately, Erdmann's replies to Gieseking have been lost. We do have the latter's follow-up correspondence in the form of a postcard, however, sent the following month:

> Dear Erdmann!
>
> Your friendly lines and the Genzmer Sonata got here when we were in Switzerland. . . . I should have written back a long time ago, but since I completely agree with your suggestions [regarding the program], my reply is of

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occupied zone, featuring "Contemporary works and others that were not performed during the last 12 Years" ("Zeitgenössische und in den letzten 12 Jahren nicht aufgeführte Werke"). Composers represented were Mendelssohn, Berg, Schoenberg, Krenek, Schulhoff, Toch, Alkan, Schnabel, Dukas, Strawinsky, Hindemith, Willner, Mihaud, and Castenuovo-Tedesco. See Calendar: "Gesamt-Planung: März/April 1946," Konzertgesellschaft Wuppertal, Abt.: 504, Nr. 72, Zg.: 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW. For a discussion of Erdmann's career during the Third Reich, see Franko Schmidt, "Als Pianist gefeiert, als Komponist verstummt: der Hamburger Hochschullehrer Eduard Erdmann," in *Zündende Lieder – Verbannte Musik: Folgen des Nazifaschismus für Hamburger Musiker und Musikerinnen*, ed. Peter Petersen and the Arbeitsgruppe Exilmusik am Musikwissenschaftlichen Institut der Universität Hamburg (Hamburg: VSA Verlag, 1995), 80–94. For more on Erdmann and the "God-gifted" lists, see Chapter 8 of this dissertation.

[218] Among other things, Wolfgang Boetticher (1914–2002) was a co-author of the infamous, Nazi *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, and he accompanied the regime's principal racial theorist, Alfred Rosenberg, to Krakow and Warsaw, where they confiscated valuable musical property that included manuscripts of Chopin's from the Chopin Institute. Boetticher also participated in the pillaging of Jewish possessions in Paris, among them items belonging to the eminent Polish-Jewish harpsichordist and pianist Wanda Landowska (1879–1959). Landowska had safely fled, first to southern France, then to the U.S., but, like many, had been forced to leave much behind. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Boetticher, Wolfgang."

[219] "Lieber Erdmann, auf Veranlassung von Dr. Boettcher schicke ich Dir die Sonatine von Genzmer, die wir nächsten November zusammen in Berlin spielen sollen. Hoffentlich findest Du auch das Stück aufführungswert – ich finde es angenehm. Ich hoffe auch, dass es Dir und Deiner lb. Familie gut geht – wir wünschen Euch einen angenehmen Sommer. Herzlich grüssend[,] Dein Walter Gieseking[.]" Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Erdmann, [n.p.], letter, 13 July 1943, Erduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr. 231, AdKA Berlin.

> no consequence. I look forward to our concert and send greetings on behalf of my home to yours.
>
> Your
>
> Walter Gieseking[220]

The event may have had a propagandistic function—assuming that the performance with Erdmann was indeed the one Gieseking gave on 20 November—but their audience was in for a treat, having the opportunity to hear the two noted pianists join forces for what was a rare, and doubtless memorable, event. The celebrated pianist Claudio Arrau later recalled one of the earlier Gieseking-Erdmann recitals: "Once I heard Erdmann and Gieseking play a four-hand recital. It was so *funny*—both fellows, you know, were giants, with big hands and long arms. And they both started snorting and making other incredible noises—particularly in Schubert, because they were so excited. It was beautiful playing. But people were actually tittering a little bit."[221]

The second November recital, given on the twenty-first, featured the baritone Franz Notholt (1893–1959). Gieseking accompanied the singer for a complete performance of Franz Schubert's ever-popular song cycle, *Die Winterreise*. Regarding the political circumstances of this event, Kaven noted, "the 21 November 1943 concert in Berlin speaks for itself," indicated further that it was sponsored by the city's Gau

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[220] "Lieber Erdmann! Deine freundlichen Zeilen und die Genzmer-Sonata kamen nach hier zurück, als wir in der Schweiz waren. . . . Immerhin hätte ich Dir schon längst antworten sollen, aber da ich mit Deinen Vorschlägen restlos einverstanden bin, ist ja meine Antwort nicht entscheidend. Ich freue mich auf unser Konzert und bin mit herzlichen Grüssen von Haus zu Haus Dein Walter Gieseking[.]" Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Herrn Prof. Eduard Erdmann, Langalligau (Schleswig), postcard, 26 Aug 1943, Erduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr. 231, AdKA Berlin.

[221] Joseph Horowitz and Claudio Arrau, *Conversations with Arrau* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982; reprint, *Arrau on Music and Performance* (New York: Dover, 1999), 89 (page citation is to the reprint edition).

headquarters.[222] The publicized purpose of the event was to celebrate the 115th anniversary of Schubert's death.[223]

Gieseking and his old colleague Notholt had first performed together at the start of their professional careers. Upon completing his military service away from the Front in WWI and being promoted to *Unteroffizier*, or non-commissioned officer, Gieseking was discharged during the German Revolution of 1918–19 by the Soldier's Council (*Soldatenrat*) on 1 December 1918.[224] He then immediately returned to Hanover, from the Island of Borkum, to begin performing as a concert pianist for the first time—not as a student and not as a military musician. He and Notholt, who had also served in the war, joined forces immediately, which Gieseking later fondly recalled in his memoir:

> Meanwhile, I had a lot of work to do again, so that I had already performed fifteen times by March 1919. I mostly just accompanied, however. A young singer who came to see me upon being transferred to Hanover became one of my most frequent collaborative partners. It was the baritone Franz Notholt. His voice was not too big, but only rarely have I encountered someone with such a musical and poetic understanding for the songs he interpreted. The chamber music concerts with him consisted of exquisite repertoire for voice and piano. We had already begun these joint performances in 1918 with a Schubert recital in Hanover. The program: the *Wanderer-Fantasie* and *Die schöne Müllerin.* Later on, we primarily performed works by Hugo Wolf as well as the peculiar Emil Mattiesen and other worthy songs. From this grew a lasting friendship.[225]

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[222] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–3.

[223] Richard S. Hill, "Concert Life in Berlin Season 1943-44," *Notes*, Second Series, vol. 1, no. 3 (June 1944): 13.

[224] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 43.

[225] "Inzwischen hatte ich wieder schön zu arbeiten, so daß ich im März 1919 schon fünfzehnmal auftrat, meist allerdings nur als Begleiter. Ein junger Sänger, der mich aufsuchte, als er nach Hannover versetzt worden war, wurde einer meiner häufigsten Partner bei Konzerten. Es war der Bariton Franz Notholt, dessen Stimme nicht sehr groß war, der aber für die von ihm interpretierten Lieder musikalisch und dichterisch ein so volles Verständnis hatte, wie es mir nur sehr selten wieder begegnet ist. Die Konzerte mit ihm mit erlesenen Programmen waren Kammermusik von Gesang und Klavier. Wir begannen die gemeinsamen Konzerte mit einem Schubert-Abend in Hannover bereits 1918. Program: Wanderer-Fantasie und Die schöne Müllerin. Später musizierten wir hauptsächlich Hugo Wolf, sowie den eigenartigen Emil Mattiesen und andere wertvolle Lieder; es erwuchs daraus eine dauernde Freundschaft." Ibid., 44–45.

Their collaboration indeed continued, as Gieseking further recollected:

> In the winter of 1919–20, I was often active also as an accompanist. With the *Bläser-Kammermusikvereinigung* [Wind-Chamber Music Association] I played in provinces and with Franz Notholt gave song recitals in many places. Even though these engagements did not pay too well, I had work, and it was enough to support my mother and me.[226]

The early reviews of their recitals were positive, though not without criticism, and they show that the two young artists appeared in cities such as Hanover, Oldenburg (Notholt's hometown), and Hamburg.[227] From a critique of their all-Schubert performance given in the latter city in early September 1919, we read:

> Mr. Notholt's performance showed him to be a most serious singer, with a pleasingly developed taste. His strength lies in declamation and in the declaimed Lied, an area in which Schubert indeed achieved extraordinarily significant results. For the purely melodic and sung Lieder of Schubert's, however, neither his voice nor his performance were satisfactory. . . . Supporting the singer at the piano was Mr. Walter Gieseking, a pianist who in Schubert's "Wanderer" Fantasy proved to be technically well equipped, whose clean and clear playing aroused interest.[228]

Notholt had been an active opera singer for many years, and there is no record of Gieseking and him having performed together since the early Weimar era. Thus their wartime Schubert recital, aside from its apparent political function, probably served as a onetime reunion event for them. A primitive recording of the concert survives, although it

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[226] "Auch im Winter 1919/20 war ich viel als Begleiter beschäftigt. Mit der Bläser-Kammermusikvereinigung spielte ich in Provinzorten, und Franz Notholt gab vielerorts Liederabende. – Wenn diese Engagements auch keine großen Honorare einbrachten, ich hatte zu tun und konnte mit meiner Mutter davon leben." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 46.

[227] A small number of clippings of their recitals can be found in Gieseking's earliest scrapbook of clippings maintained in the GFA: (33 x 28 cm, covering Nov. 1917–Aug. 1919, with loose articles inside that continue until July 1920).

[228] "Herr Notholt bewährte sich in seinem Programm als Sänger von durchaus ernsthafter Richtung und erfreulich entwickeltem Geschmack. Seine Stärke liegt in der Deklamation und im deklamierten Lied, ein Gebiet, auf dem ja Schubert außerordentlich Bedeutendes geleistet hat. Für die reinen Melodie- und Singlieder Schubert[s] reicht indessen weder das Organ noch der Vortrag des Sängers aus. . . . Am Flügel unterstützte Herr Walter Gieseking den Sänger, ein Klavierspieler, der in Schuberts Wanderer-Phantasie als technisch wohlgerüsteter, sauber und klar gestaltender Pianist Interesse erregte." F. Pf. "Schubert-Abend von Franz Notholt," Theater und Musik, *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 9 Sept. 1919, clipping found in the smaller scrapbook (33 x 28 cm, Nov. 1917–Aug. 1919), GFA.

has yet to be commercially released (conceivably because of the relatively poor sonic quality), and the enthusiastic applause at the end shows that it was superbly received. Other than the postwar studio recordings of Mozart songs and his own *21 Kinderlieder*, which he made with Elisabeth Schwarzkopf in mid-April 1955, it is the only known sound documentation of Gieseking accompanying a singer.[229] Perhaps the complete recording with Notholt will be issued someday.[230]

Spiel um ein Kinderlied

Throughout the month of November, Gieseking spent time composing another work for piano four-hands that he titled *Spiel um ein Kinderlied*, or, in English, *Play on a Children's Song*.[231] He was obviously inspired by the duo recital with Erdmann. An appropriately delightful composition, it is a set of seven variations based on the much-beloved French children's song "Ah! Vous dirai-je, maman," known in the English-speaking world as "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star." The war would hinder the publication of Gieseking's new work until 1948, when it was finally brought out by Johannes Oertel

[229] The sessions with Schwarzkopf are listed in Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 36.

[230] At present, three selections from the recital, "Die Krähe," "Der Wegweiser" and "Der Leiermann," have been uploaded to Youtube by Notholt's nephew, Erich Notholt. He did so in 2009 "as an homage to my uncle, Franz Notholt, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his death this year." Notholt presumably maintains his late uncle's copy of the recording. For Notholt's uploaded Youtube videos, see "Die Krähe," Youtube, accessed 4 May 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tIlgm8AJCKg&feature=relmfu; "Winterreise: Der Wegweiser, Youtube, accessed 4 May 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I57F8zehzS0; "Winterreise: Der Leiermann," Youtube, accessed 4 May 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-X5Fr_ZHMWc. Another rare copy of the full performance is preserved by the International Piano Archives at Maryland (IPAM); see Gieseking, Walter, and baritone Franz Notholt. *Schubert. Die Winterreise*. Private and unissued live tape recording (7-inch reel), 21 Nov. 1943. IPAM, College Park, Maryland.

[231] Gieseking's surviving manuscripts show that he had begun to write the piece by 2 November 1943, finishing it on 27 November.

in Berlin.[232] Aside from the piano-duo repertoire he had learned for the concert with Erdmann, Gieseking had perhaps also been inspired by Mozart's variations on the ubiquitous theme, the *Zwölf Variationen*, K. 265, an exceptionally charming work for solo piano that remains popular to this day. Gieseking would, in fact, record the piece for Columbia Records in August 1953, as part of his series of Mozart's complete output for solo piano (recorded 1953–1954).[233] Like Mozart's variations, Gieseking set his in the key of C major as well.

Despite its own merits, Gieseking's piece has never gained much attention, although this is nothing too uncommon for the less practical, though unjustly neglected, piano-duo literature. He completed the composition on 27 November, just one week after his recent recital with Erdmann. They could therefore not have performed it. An unreleased recording from Berlin survives of Gieseking playing it with an unnamed pianist, however, who was most likely Erdmann. If so, we have precious documentation not only of the composer participating in a reading of his work, but also the only known recording of what was surely one of the great duo partnerships of that part of the century. The precise date of the recording is unidentified, but is listed as a late-war document from "ca. 1944" by Gieseking discographers Gray and Quonten. It was perhaps made closer to their recital and the work's completion in November 1943.[234]

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[232] Gieseking, *Spiel um ein Kinderlied* (Berlin: Johannes Oertel, 1948). For more on the publication of the work, see Excursus IV, "Gieseking's Published Compositions during the Third Reich and Postwar Period."

[233] For a complete listing of the Mozart recordings see Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 28–34.

[234] Ibid., 13. For a recent commercial recording of *Spiel um ein Kinderlied*, see Karen Haid, *The Music of Walter Gieseking*, recorded 2000, Nimbus Records, NI5696, 2001, CD.

Cologne, December 1943

Wherever Gieseking toured, he was billed and recognized as one of the world's foremost pianists, and for many—if not most—Germans, so proud of their musical heritage, he could simply do no wrong. Among his last concerts in 1943 was a morning recital given in Cologne in December. The program included three of the great German piano masterworks: Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata, Schumann's *Kreisleriana*, and Schubert's Sonata in B-flat Major, D. 960. Afterward, the *Kölnische Zeitung* printed the following exultant review:

> Who is it that can begin a piano recital with Beethoven's so-called "Moonlight" Sonata in such an unusual manner and with the first sounds send his listeners immediately into the deepest thought? None other than Walter Gieseking, the poet and wonderful sound artist [*Klangkünstler*] of the piano. The Allegretto appears soft and delicate, and even during the sweeping Presto is the powerful passion not mere empty virtuosity, but rather expression from within. After playing Schumann's F-sharp Minor Sonata for us last year, this time Gieseking offered a reading of his beloved *Kreisleriana*, the aroused Hofmannesque fantasy of which he contrasts so vividly against the sentimentality. How the Romantic atmosphere was called forth in the finest shades of sound; how the melody lines were brought out! Gieseking's Schubert-playing during the composer's last Sonata, in B-flat major and from the year 1828, is also pure emotion, yet subdued and conceptualized in form. The suspended sentiments cannot be expressed more softly and delicately. We can only admire how this musical mastery commands a perfect modus operandi that is able to bring forth the subtlest nuances with unfailing accuracy even during *pianissimo* playing. Gieseking plays with his fingers, but naturally also with the entire hand and its weight, and only seldom, during *forte* passages, with the whole arm. All technical matters being of secondary importance, however, it is his individual sound ideal [*Klangsinn*] that determines musical and stylistic decisions. The listeners in the packed hall were thankful for the magical morning, which was part of the *Meisterkonzert* series organized by the West German Concert Agency (Westdeutsche Konzertdirektion).[235]

[235] "Wer ist es, der ein Klavierkonzert mit der sogenannten Mondschein-Sonate von Beethoven auf so ungewöhnliche Weise beginnen darf und der die Hörer gleich mit den ersten Klängen in die stillste Versenkung hinüberbegleitet? Kein anderer als Walter Gieseking, der Poet und wunderbare Klangkünstler am Klavier. Leicht und zart erscheint das Allegretto, und noch im rauschenden Presto ist die gewaltige Leidenschaft nicht blendende Virtuosität, vielmehr nach innen gewandter Ausdruck. Nachdem uns Gieseking im vorigen Jahre die Fis-Moll-Sonate von Schumann gespielt hatte, formte er jetzt, wie schon oft, die Fantasien seiner geliebten Kreisleriana, deren erregte Hoffmannsche Phantastik er kontrastreich

There are multiple recordings of Gieseking playing Beethoven's "Moonlight" Sonata and Schumann's *Kreisleriana*, which testify to his affinity for these pieces.[236] And while there is no known sound document of him performing the Schubert Sonata in B-flat, ample recordings—both from the studio and live—survive of him interpreting other works of the Viennese composer: e.g. the Sonata in A-Major, D. 664, Sonata in G Major, D. 894, the *Impromptus*, op. 90 and 142; *Klavierstücke*, D. 946; and *Moments musicaux*, D. 780.[237] In each case, Gieseking's playing is objective yet inspired, well suited to Schubert's music. In addition, he prepared an edition of the *Impromptus* and *Moments musicaux*, as noted earlier, which is still readily available and sheds further light on his interpretive approach to these popular works.[238] It remained his sole excursion into the field of music editing.

Conclusion

In the course of 1943, Germany, more desperate to win the losing conflict it had begun, had turned to "total war." Increasing numbers of Reich citizens therefore had to

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gegen die Schwärmerei absetzt. Wie ist die romantische Stimmung in feinsten Klangstufungen eingefangen, wie ist das Melodische in den Stimmen herausgehoben! Ganz Gefühle, aber gebändigt und vergeistigt in der Form ist auch Giesekings Schubertspiel in der letzten B-Dur-Sonate aus dem Sonatenwerk des Jahres 1828. Weicher und zarter kann man nicht diese schwebenden Empfindungen nachzeichnen. Man bewundert, wie diese musikalische Meisterschaft über ein vollendetes Organ verfügt, das fähig ist, noch im Pianissimo die äußerste Nuancierung mit unfehlbarer Sicherheit hervorzubringen. Gieseking spielt mit den Fingern, aber ausdrücklich auch mit der ganzen Hand und ihrem Gewicht und nur selten, im Forte, mit dem aktiven Armschlag. Über allem Technischen waltet musikalisch und stilistisch bestimmend sein einzigartiger Klangsinn. Die Hörer des dicht besetzten Saales, es war in einem Meisterkonzert der Westdeutschen Konzertdirektion, dankten für die verzauberte Morgenstunde." "Konzerte in Köln," *Kölnische Zeitung*, 7 Dec. 1943, included in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[236] See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 44 and 61.

[237] For a comprehensive list of Gieseking's Schubert recordings, including unissued radio performances, see Gray and Quonten, Discography, 60. Note that the aforementioned, private Gieseking-Notholt *Winterreise* recording is not listed.

[238] Schubert, *Impromptus*, *Moments musicaux*, ed. Walter Gieseking (Munich: Henle, 1976). The edition first appeared in 1948.

support the Nazis' war cause, often by going to battle or working in factories that supplied Germany and its war machine with needed materials. Yet the arts continued to flourish, and the propaganda authorities only intensified their cultural missions abroad. The regime had declared Gieseking to be *kriegsverwendungsfähig*, fit for active service, and he therefore felt more pressure than ever to keep busy concertizing, increasingly playing at the behest of officials in order to avoid conscription. Partly as a consequence, he had enjoyed his most successful year of all twelve of the Third Reich period, but because of these developments he was now concertizing more outside of Germany. In 1942, he had played in seven foreign and annexed nations; in 1943 the number nearly doubled, reaching thirteen.[239] This shift of interest on the regime's part would endure until the war's end, and Gieseking's guilt of collaboration would escalate as he complied with the requests of Nazi officials. For the great German pianist, the coming year would be almost as busy and almost as profitable.

[239] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3–4. This does not take into account the Alsace region performances in 1942, which Kaven includes independently in his list of foreign countries.

Excursus IV:

Gieseking's Published Compositions during the Third Reich and Postwar Period

While it is generally less known, Gieseking composed sporadically throughout his life. And though, for him, composition would always remain a "Nebenbeschäftigung," or recreational activity, he could on occasion become most inspired and enthusiastic when writing new works, as his correspondence makes clear.[1] He periodically performed his own creations, and a small selection of his output was made available by three Berlin publishers, Adolph Fürstner, the Paragon-Musik-Verlag, and, later, Johannes Oertel, as well as London's Boosey & Hawkes. Other early pieces appeared in a few Hanover publications with Adolph Fürstner's permission. (Lists of his complete published and selected unpublished works are included as Appendix 4A and B.)[2]

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[1] On 17 June 1950, Dr. Friedrich Busch, director of the Hanover Stadtbibliothek, wrote Gieseking to ask whether he might send the institution some of his compositions. Gieseking humbly replied, "Although I view my own work as a composer to be merely a recreational activity, I would be happy to send you one or two 'erste Niederschriften' [first drafts] of my compositions." ("Obwohl ich mein Komponieren nur durchaus als Nebenbeschäftigung betrachte und meinen Werken keine wesentliche Bedeutung beilege, würde ich Ihnen gern eine oder zwei 'erste Niederschriften' von meinen Kompositionen zur Verfügung stellen.") The Stadtbibliothek in Hanover, which possesses the original letter, has no record of ever having received any of Gieseking's manuscripts. The sole work by Gieseking in the library's catalog is the published cabaret Lied "Die Dame von besserer Qualität" (Adolph Fürstner, 1928). Gieseking makes it clear in the same letter that he first wished to know the library director's name (whose signature was illegible) before directly sending him any of his compositions. Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to the Director of the Stadtbibliothek Hannover [Dr. Friedrich Busch], letter, 21 June 1950, Stadtbibliothek Hannover, Niedersächsisches Schriftumsarchiv; Detlef Kasten of the Stadtbibliothek Hannover, Niedersächsisches Schriftumsarchiv, letter to author, 8 Oct. 2007.

[2] Gieseking's compositions continue to be issued on commercial CDs, and occasional Youtube uploads of recent performances by various musicians further demonstrate his output's continued, if relatively minor, popularity. Among the latest recordings of note are two that include Gieseking's complete published chamber music, namely *Walter Gieseking: Musique de chamber, vol. 1*, recorded 2007, Les Ménestrels/LM001, 2010, CD and *Walter Gieseking: Musique de chamber, vol. 2*, recorded 2007 and 2010, Les Ménestrels/LM002, 2011, CD. Moreover, the present author produced a commercial disc that features twenty-two of the pianist's unpublished works, as well as the published but neglected *Kleine Musik für drei*

Gieseking's *Kinderlieder*, 1934–35

During his American tour in 1934—possibly to some extent as an escape from the unanticipated frustration he felt by the California protests against his appearances—Gieseking eagerly worked in his spare time on a collection of *Kinderlieder*, or children's songs, settings of poems by Paula (1862–1918) and Richard Dehmel (1863–1920). After acquiring a copy of the Dehmels' verses, he began to compose the Lieder on New Year's Eve, approximately two weeks before departing for New York.[3] Unusually inspired by the texts, he continued to set further selections while at sea aboard the RMS *Olympic*.[4] Afterward, he expressed his enthusiasm to Annie in several letters. While in Atlanta on 15 February, for example, he wrote:

> At 9 o'clock the reporters were there, afterward I once again got back to composing(!) as there was a grand piano at the hotel. It was actually sent there for Frau Jeritza [a singer], but she then checked into a different room. Because of this I was able to write down another Lied this morning, the details of which I am still not entirely pleased with, however. This is the fifth Lied that I have written during this tour.[5]

The finished product would be a group of twenty-one well-crafted, delightful songs, which he dedicated to his two young daughters, Jutta and Freya.[6] By all accounts, Gieseking was a loving, devoted, and proud father, thus, this homage comes as no

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Violinen. See *Walter Gieseking: The Rediscovered Compositions: Lieder, Piano Works, Chamber Music*, recorded 2009–10, Centaur Records/CRC 3215, 2012, CD.

[3] The autograph copy of "Der Reitersmann," from the *21 Kinderlieder* (maintained in the Gieseking Family Archive) shows that he composed the song from 31 December 1933 to 1 January 1934; Gieseking, aboard the RMS *Olympic*, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 16 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[4] Gieseking, aboard the RMS *Olympic*, to Annie, [Hanover], letter, 16 Jan. 1934, GFA.

[5] "Um 9 waren die Reporter da, danach beschäftigte ich mich wieder mal mit Komponieren(!), da ein Flügel hier im Hotel war, der eigentlich Frau Jeritza geschickt wurde, die aber ein anderes Zimmer bezogen hatte. Auf diese Weise konnte ich heute morgen ein weiteres Lied aufschreiben, das mir aber noch nicht ganz gefällt in Einzelheiten. Dies ist das fünfte Lied, das ich auf dieser Tournee aufgeschrieben habe." Gieseking, Atlanta, to Annie, Hanover, letter, 15 Feb. 1934, GFA.

[6] Gieseking, *21 Kinderlieder* (Berlin: C. G. Röder [private printing], n.d. [ca. late 1930s]).

surprise. Sometime after completing the collection in the fall of 1935, he became interested in having it published.[7] He had not had any works brought out since 1928, when he rather uncharacteristically composed two cabaret songs, collaborating with artist-poet Kurt Schwitters and Kate T. Steinitz.[8] Now, two years into the National Socialists' rule, finding a firm willing to take on the *Kinderlieder* would prove difficult, though, owing to the regime's increasingly hostile suppression of Jewish music publishers and publications in Germany.

Music Publishing during the Third Reich: An Overview

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Germany became home to the largest number of music publishers in the world, and a significant share of the firms were Jewish-owned.[9] Because of the harsh policies carried out by the Nazi regime, however, a mere twenty-seven Jewish-run publishing companies (not merely music publishers) were

[7] While Gieseking composed most of the twenty-one songs in 1934, as indicated throughout the manuscripts, "Hänsel und Gretel" dates from August 1935 and seems to have been the last one finished.

[8] Gieseking composed both cabaret songs in December 1927, though for separate festivals. (They were thus printed separately in January 1928; see Appendix 4A.) He set "Der Zinnoberschlager" ("The Cinnabar Festival Theme Song," text by Kurt Schwitters) on 27 December 1927 for the *Zinnoberfest* (Cinnabar Festival), which took place in Hanover's Konzerthaus an der Goethe-Brücke on 7 January 1928. He wrote "Die Dame von besserer Qualität" ("The Lady of Better Quality," text by Käte [later Kate] Steinitz and Kurt Schwitters) on 15 November 1928 for the revue *Mit Hilfe der Technik* (*With the Help of Technology*), which was part of the Fest der Technik (Festival of Technology) held in Hanover's Stadthalle on 8 December that year. Kate Trauman Steinitz remembers the festivals and Gieseking's collaboration as composer in her book, *Kurt Schwitters: A Portrait from Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 54–60. For more information on the festivals also see Dirk Böttcher et al., *Hannoversches biographisches Lexikon: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Hanover: Schlütersche, 2002), s.v. Kate Trauman (Käte Steinitz née Trautmann); note that this source incorrectly gives the date of the Fest der Technik as having been 20 December.

[9] Erik Levi, "The German-Jewish Contribution to Musical Life in Britain," in *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, ed. Werner Eugen Mosse. Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, 48 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1991), 293. Similarly, in Austria, there were purportedly a sheer three publishers that were non-Jewish prior to the *Anschluß* in the spring of 1938. Kater, *Different Drummers*, 43.

still operating in Germany by 1937.[10] By the start of 1939, all businesses owned or managed by German Jews would be liquidated or expropriated. Yet countless smaller Jewish enterprises were forced to shut down already during 1933 and 1934 because of public boycotts and sustained violence.[11] Among the music publishers affected at that early stage were the Drei Masken Verlag and Gieseking's own publisher, the Adolph Fürstner company, both located in Berlin.[12] (Otto Fürstner [1886–1958], who had taken over his father Adolph's [1833–1908] firm in 1911, had already emigrated to England in 1933 in order to escape the Nazis.[13]) Within three years of Hitler's rise to power, the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 had purged the Third Reich of all but seventeen "non-Aryan" music publishers.[14] By that point, only Germany's largest, most prestigious Jewish-owned music publishing companies were allowed to stay in operation because of their important role in the nation's export commerce; among them were the companies C. F. Peters and Ernst Eulenburg.[15] This "tolerance" continued until the anti-Semitic decrees of

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[10] Leonidas E. Hill, "The Nazi Attach on 'Un-German' Literature, 1933–1945," in *The Holocaust and the Book: Destruction and Preservation*, ed. Jonathan Rose, Studies in Print and the History of the Book (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 28.

[11] Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 156; Thacker, *Joseph Goebbels*, 146–47.

[12] Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 257, n. 17.

[13] Fürstner became the sole proprietor of the firm after his mother's death in 1922. While Christoph Hust gives the year 1935 as the year of Fürstner's emigration, all other sources give 1933. The accuracy of the latter date is supported by the copyright information found in certain published scores. See, for example, Richard Strauss, *Die ägyptische Helena: Oper in zwei Aufzügen*, op. 75, libretto by Hugo von Hofmannsthal (London: Fürstner Ltd.; Berlin-Grunewald: Johannes Oertel, 1933). Christoph Hust, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., s.v. "Fürstner"; Theodor Wohnhaas, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., "Fürstner"; Wohnhaas's article first appeared in D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie eds., *Music Printing and Publishing*, The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), see s.v. "Fürstner."

[14] Despite this small number, as Kim H. Kowalke has observed, Goebbel's Propaganda Ministry was somehow ill at ease with the situation and consequently ensured that the German media avoided the topic. Kowalke, "Dancing with the Devil: Publishing Modern Music in the Third Reich," *Modernism/Modernity* 8, no. 1 (Jan. 2001): 5.

[15] The extent to which Jewish music publishers succeeded in operating independently of the influence of Nazi control is not clear. To give an example of their concern for Nazi policy, however, Erik Levi has written, "Examination of the material published by Eulenburg and Peters between 1933 and 1939

1938 led to the confiscation of the remaining Jewish businesses and other property, an objective that the National Socialists had realized by the following year.[16]

The Agreement between Adolph Fürstner and Johannes Oertel

In the 1920s, Gieseking managed to have a handful of pieces brought out by Fürstner, the publisher of many of Richard Strauss's operas and other works since the 1890s.[17] At the time of his migration to London in 1933, Otto Fürstner established Fürstner Ltd. and leased the German publication rights owned by his company to the Johannes Oertel firm of Berlin.[18] All of Gieseking's subsequently published compositions, just six in all, would therefore bear the Oertel name. Theoretically, upon completing the *Kinderlieder* in 1935, Gieseking should have been able to have the set published by Fürstner, through the Johannes Oertel firm within Germany. That was not to be.

The Publication of the *21 Kinderlieder*, mid- to late-1930s

There is no record of correspondence between Gieseking and any publishers pertaining to the Lieder, but the firms appear to have been either uninterested or even reluctant to publish the songs, presumably because of the Nazis' attitude toward texts by Jewish authors; the co-author of the poems, Paula Dehmel (née Oppenheimer), was

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suggests that both companies managed to retain their specialisms and avoided printing music that could have caused controversy with the authorities." Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 156–57.

[16] Ibid, 156. See also Irene Lawford-Hinrichsen, *Music Publishing and Patronage: C F Peters, 1800 to the Holocaust* (Kenton, UK: Edition Press, 2000), 248–49.

[17] For more on Strauss's relationship with the Fürstner firm, see Barbara A. Petersen, *Ton und Wort: The Lieder of Richard Strauss*, Studies in Musicology, no. 15 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 2–5.

[18] Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 157, 257 (n. 17); Theodor Wohnhaas, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., "Fürstner."

Jewish.[19] Furthermore, her brother, Franz Oppenheimer (1864–1943), a well-known political economist and sociologist, was seen as a Nazi enemy and forced to flee Germany, ultimately immigrating to the U.S., where he spent his last years. Franz saw his writings banned by the regime, and two of his publications were included in the infamous Nazi book burning: *Die soziale Frage und der Sozialismus: eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit der marxistischen Theorie* (Social Problems and Socialism: A Critical Analysis of Marxist Theory) and *Das Grundgesetz der marxistischen Gesellschaft* (The Basic Principles of a Marxian Society).[20] Indeed, Gieseking's daughter Jutta maintains that no publisher was willing to print her father's *21 Kinderlieder* upon their completion.[21]

This certainly had nothing to do with the quality of the music, as the songs are among Gieseking's finest works. In fact, the year before his death, he would record the entire set at EMI's Abbey Road Studios with none other than the legendary soprano

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[19] Already during the early 1930s, Nazi officials had fundamentally managed to prohibit the music of Jewish composers. While the regime's response toward musical settings of Jewish texts was somewhat inconsistent, it was clearly opposed to their use in "Aryan" compositions. A well-known example of both the regime's inconsistent attitude and intolerance occurred in 1935, when after allowing Richard Strauss's new opera *Die schweigsame Frau* (The Silent Woman) to be premiered at Dresden on 24 June 1935, it banned the work after merely four performances although the Nazi officials knew that the content itself was not controversial. The libretto had been written by Jewish writer Stefan Zweig, based freely on the Renaissance dramatist Ben Jonson's *Epicoene: Or, the Silent Woman*. Having caused a political scandal, the whole ordeal led Goebbels to insist on Strauss's resignation as president of the Reich Music Chamber two weeks later. As part of its de-judification of music, the regime famously had Jewish opera librettos of popular works replaced by "Aryan" texts or, in other cases—when the writer was deemed too vital, as in the case of Da Ponte—at least substituted with an "Aryan" translation or re-translation. For more on music and Jewish texts during the NS-era see Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 74–81. Albrecht Riethmüller, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., s.v. "Zweig, Stefan"; Richard Evidon and Tamara Levitz, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., s.v. "Zweig, Stefan."

[20] Oppenheimer lost his small fortune, and the Nazis imprisoned his son for some time as well. He fled to the U.S. with his daughter, where he taught at U.C. Berkeley. "F. Oppenheimer, a Sociologist, 79," *New York Times*, 1 Oct. 1943; "Nazi Refugee Educator Here; German Sociologist to Do Research Work at California University," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 Aug. 1940; "Fighting the Fires of Hate: America and the Nazi Book Burnings: Franz Oppenheimer," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed 18 Mar. 2011, http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/bookburning/author_detail.php?content=bboppenh.xml.

[21] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 53.

Elisabeth Schwarzkopf (1915–2006) on 14 April 1955.[22] And later, in 1986, the celebrated mezzo-soprano Christa Ludwig agreed to sing the whole cycle at a memorial concert being planned by former Gieseking pupil John Corrigan in New York for the thirtieth anniversary of his mentor's death, an event that was nonetheless cancelled owing to the insufficient funding raised.[23]

But rather than throw in the towel, Gieseking circumvented the problem by arranging for the collection to be printed privately by the Leipzig engraving firm C. G. (Carl Gottlieb) Röder. A highly reputable business, Röder had become a joint-stock company in 1930 and worked with music publishers worldwide, including Breitkopf & Härtel, Eulenberg, Schlesinger, and Siegel und Simrock.[24] It had previously engraved and printed two sets of piano pieces Gieseking had published in Berlin by Adolph Fürstner, namely the *Ausgewählte Lieder*, six piano transcriptions of songs by Richard Strauss, in 1923, and the *Drei Tanzimprovisationen* in 1926. Starting in 1937, Röder would again be involved in the production of at least five of Gieseking's final six publications through Fürstner and Johannes Oertel (see Table 3 at the end of this excursus).[25]

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[22] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 36. Gieseking and Schwarzkopf were in the process of recording lieder for an upcoming album devoted to songs by Mozart. At the time of writing, the complete *Kinderlieder* have yet to be recorded commercially by any other artists. Only an obscure German LP contains twelve of the songs; see *Walter Gieseking als Komponist*, performed by Heinz-Jürgen Demitz, Erdmuthe Boehr, and Christa-Maria Hartmann, [recorded 1982–83?], Ursina Motette (Wiesbaden), [1983?], LP.

[23] The memorial concert is discussed in Corrigan's correspondence with Gieseking's daughter Jutta Hajmássy; see Corrigan, New York, to Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Sep. 1985, GFA; Corrigan, New York, to Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 24 Nov. 1986, GFA; Corrigan, New York, to Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 June 1987, GFA.

[24] During World War II the company building endured heavy damage and afterward became nationalized, henceforth known as "Röderdruck" until it was bought by the Leipzig publishing firm Offizin Andersen Nexö in 1975. Hans-Martin Plesske, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., s.v. "Röder, Carl Gottlieb"; Axel Beer, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., s.v. "Röder, Carl Gottlieb."

[25] The C. G. Röder company would perform the engraving and printing for Gieseking's *Sonatine für Flöte und Klavier* (1937) and *Variationen für Flöte oder Violine und Klavier über ein Thema von Grieg*

Gieseking gave his song collection the straightforward title *21 Kinderlieder für Singstimme und Klavier nach Gedichten von Paula und Richard Dehmel* (21 Children's Songs for Voice and Piano on Poems by Paula and Richard Dehmel).[26] The word "Privatdruck" (Private Printing) appears clearly, in large letters on the lower part of the cover, followed by the ownership information "Weitergabe nur mit Genehmigung des Komponisten gestattet" (Private copy, further distribution only with the composer's permission").[27] While the number of copies Röder made of the *21 Kinderlieder* was not disclosed, the scarcity of the score today suggests that it was indeed a small number.[28] The means by which Gieseking disseminated the collection is likewise unknown.[29]

(1938). Starting in 1941, the Hermann Löffler company printed three of Gieseking's four final published works, the exception being the *Serenade* in A major (1943), printed by Röder. Although the Röder premises endured substantial damage during the war, the company survived and carried out the engraving for Gieseking's final two works published in 1948. While no engraver was listed for Gieseking's only two wartime publications, *the Kleine Musik für drei Violinen* (1941) and *Serenade* (1943), the Röder firm had in all probability prepared the plates for those works as well. The wartime damage to the Röder company is mentioned in Hans-Martin Plesske, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., s.v. "Röder, Carl Gottlieb."

[26] Gieseking, *21 Kinderlieder* (Berlin: C. G. Röder, private printing, n.d. [ca. late 1930s]).

[27] The autograph copy shows that this information, penciled in by hand, was added by an editor (presumably from the Röder firm). The word "Privatdruck" was also underlined twice on the autograph for emphasis. Compare Gieseking, *21 Kinderlieder* (Berlin: C. G. Röder, private printing, n.d. [late 1930s]) with Gieseking, "21 Kinderlieder," fair copy, 1935, GFA.

[28] At the time of writing, a WorldCat search failed to locate any copies of the Röder printing. One is preserved by the Library of Congress in Washington D.C., however, and Gieseking's personal copy survives in the GFA.

[29] It was not until 1998 that the Schott publishing company at Mainz "re-published" the song collection, making it commercially available worldwide for the first time. The quality of the printing is, nonetheless, not as high as the original Röder copy. Walter Gieseking, *21 Kinderlieder: für Singstimme und Klavier, nach Gedichten von Paula und Richard Dehmel* (Mainz: Schott, 1998).

The Fürstner–Oertel Publications

Gieseking continued to compose, and starting with the *Sonatine* for flute and piano in 1937, he had six works brought out by the Johannes Oertel firm.[30] These were to be his final publications, though they represent but a portion of the music he drafted and completed. Fürstner was initially given credit on the title pages, but this information was continuously modified until his name vanished. As shown in Table 3 below, with the publication of the *Sonatine für Flöte und Klavier* in 1937 and *Variationen für Flöte oder Violine und Klavier über ein Thema von Grieg* in 1938, Fürstner was still listed as the "Verlag und Eigentum für alle Länder," or publisher and copyright holder for all countries, and Oertel was given as the *Inhaber*, or owner.[31] For the *Kleine Musik für drei Violinen* of 1941, Oertel was described as the "publisher and copyrighter holder for all countries," although Fürstner was also named a copyright holder. Finally, starting in 1943, with the publication of the *Serenade in A-Dur* and the two subsquent works, the Oertel firm was indicated as the sole proprietor, with no mention of Fürstner.

Fürstner and Gieseking Remain in Contact, 1939

Otto Fürstner remained in contact with Gieseking after fleeing to England. In March 1939, for example, he wrote to the pianist-composer about the latter's most recent publication, the *Variationen für Flöte oder Violine und Klavier über ein Thema von Grieg* from 1938. Gieseking reported to Annie, "Fürstner is delighted by the success of

[30] The *Sonatine* has since become Gieseking's most performed and recorded work. The increasing number of amateur performances uploaded to Youtube in recent years (as a quick search will reveal) are evidence of its enduring popularity. Commercial recordings of the piece can be accessed via the Naxos Records website.

[31] Fürstner had to gain permission from C. F. Peters for the publication of the *Variationen über ein Thema von Grieg* because the later company held the rights to the original Grieg work on which Gieseking based the composition, namely the "Arietta" from the *Lyriske Smaastykker* [Lyric Pieces], op. 12, no. 1.

my Variations [for Flute or Violin and Piano on a Theme by Grieg], which were, in fact, partly played over a Munich radio station. Why partly: the ensemble made cuts and left out the difficult variations!"[32] Gieseking's music is, indeed, often highly virtuosic.

Fürstner Sells the Rights to Works during WWII

Despite his agreement with the Johannes Oertel company, Fürstner's business would not be protected from the goings on within the Third Reich for too long. During the early 1940s, the Fürstner firm was removed from the German trade register.[33] Consequently, Otto Fürstner had no choice but to sell to the Schott company the rights to works by numerous, lucrative composers such as Palestrina and, to Boosey & Hawkes in 1943, selections by Richard Strauss and Hans Pfitzner.[34] Presumably, Otto Fürstner was no longer receiving payment from the Oertel company at this point and had therefore found himself in a financially desperate situation. Also in 1943, Boosey & Hawkes gained through Fürstner the rights "for all countries except Germany, Danzig, Italy, Portugal and the U.S.S.R." to Gieseking's *Ausgewählte Lieder*, six piano transcriptions of songs by Richard Strauss, which the Fürstner firm had originally published in 1923.[35]

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[32] "Fürstner freut sich über den Erfolg der Variationen [über ein Thema von Grieg], die ja teilweise auch im Münchner Sender gespielt wurden. Teilweise: die Bande hat Sprünge gemacht und die schweren Variationen ausgelassen!" Gieseking, New York, to Annie, [Wiesbaden], letter, 19 Mar. 1939, GFA.

[33] Theodor Wohnhaas, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., "Fürstner."

[34] The rights of works by Strauss and Pfitzner (and possibly Gieseking) were signed over to Boosey & Hawkes on 1 January 1943. Christoph Hust, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., s.v. "Fürstner"; Winfried Jacobs, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., s.v. "Boosey & Hawkes."

[35] Richard Strauss, *Ausgewählte Lieder/Selected Songs/Mélodies Choisies*, transcribed by Walter Gieseking, reprint (London: Boosey & Hawkes: 1943). At least two other scores of Gieseking's, the early Quintet in B-Dur (originally published in 1922) and the "Tempo di Charleston" from his *Drei Tanzimprovisationen* (*Three Dance Improvisations*, originally published in 1926), were likewise subsequently reprinted by Boosey & Hawkes. See Appendix 4A.

Only in 1950 did Fürstner regain ownership of some of those lost rights.[36] As for Gieseking, while he continued to compose on occasion into the 1950s, after 1948 he would have no further works published during his own lifetime.

[36] After his death, in 1958, Ursula Fürstner retained the rights to the remaining works owned by Fürstner Ltd. until her passing in 1986. At that point, the rights were bought by the Schott company at Mainz. Theodor Wohnhaas, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., "Fürstner"; Christoph Hust, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed., s.v. "Fürstner."

Table 3:

Gieseking's Published Compositions from 1937 to 1948

Title:	**Sonatine für Flöte und Klavier [composed ca. 1935–?]**
Copyright information:	Verlag und Eigentum für alle Länder/Adolph Fürstner Berlin W35/ (Inhaber Johannes Oertel)/Aufführungsrecht vorbehalten/Copyright 1937 by Adolph Fürstner
Printing information:	Stich und Druck C. G. Röder A.-G., Leipzig
Title:	**Variationen für Flöte oder Violine und Klavier über ein Thema von Grieg [composed ?]**
Copyright information:	Verlag und Eigentum für all Länder/Adolpf Fürstner Berlin W35/—Inhaber Johannes Oertel—Mit Genehmigung des Originalverlegers C. F. Peters, Leipzig/Aufführungsrecht Vorbehalten/Copyright 1938 by Adolph Fürstner
Printing information:	Stich und Druck C. G. Röder A.-G., Leipzig
Title:	**Kleine Musik für drei Violinen, ed. Max Strub [completed 1940]**
Copyright information:	Copyright information: "Verlag und Eigentum für alle Länder/Johannes Oertel, Berlin-Grunewald/Aufführungsrecht vorbehalten/Copyright 1941 by Adolph Fürstner
Printing information:	Druck: Hermann Löffler Berlin; [Stich: ?]
Title:	**Serenade in A-Dur für Streichquartett (2 Violinen, Bratsche und Cello), ed. Max Strub [composed 17–23 July 1940]**
Copyright information:	Verlag und Eigentum für alle Länder/Johannes Oertel, Berlin-Grunewald/Aufführungsrecht vorbehalten/Copyright 1943 by Johannes Oertel
Printing information:	Druck: C. G. Röder, Leipzig; [Stich?]
Title:	**Konzert-Sonatine für Violoncello und Klavier [composed 1942]**
Copyright information:	Verlag und Eigentum für alle Länder/Johannes Oertel, Berlin-Grunewald/Aufführungsrecht vorbehalten/Copyright 1948 by Johannes Oertel
Printing information:	Druck: Hermann Löffler, Berlin; Stich von C. G. Röder, Leipzig
Title:	**Spiel um ein Kinderlied für Klavier zu 4 Händen [composed Nov. 1943]**
Copyright information:	Verlag und Eigentum für alle Länder/ Johannes Oertel, Berlin-Grunewald/Aufführungsrecht vorbehalten/Copyright 1948 by Johannes Oertel
Printing information:	Druck: Hermann Löffler, Berlin; Stich von C. G. Röder, Leipzig

Chapter 8:

World War II, Part Four, 1944–45: The Final War Years

The year 1944 would be another outstanding time for Gieseking—after 1943, his second best year of the entire Third Reich period. The number of his engagements in foreign and annexed nations, which had reached a high of 62 in 1943, would add up to the only slightly lower sum of 55 in 1944.[1] Roughly 79% of his concert activity would therefore occur abroad, a rise of 6% from the previous year, as was shown in Table 2 and Figure 1 of Chapter 7. In all, his foreign performances in 1944 would take place in Belgium (2), Denmark (2), France (3, including one appearance in the Reich-annexed Alsace region), Hungary (3), the Netherlands (4), Norway (2), Portugal (7), Spain (at least 6), Sweden (3), Switzerland (20), and Turkey (7).[2] These were his first and only visits to Norway, Sweden, and Turkey during the entire National Socialist era.

On the other hand, Gieseking would give his smallest number of wartime concerts within Germany this year, merely 15 in total.[3] The amount of his domestic appearances had rapidly begun to decline since peaking at 57 in 1942. Despite the significant reduction, his German commitments for 1944 still earned him 41,500 RM—i.e. 46.1% of his combined gross income that year (90,000 RM).[4] Because his engagements at home

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[1] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3–4.

[2] Ibid. The number of Spanish performances, a figure higher than the mere two listed by Kaven, is verified further below in this chapter.

[3] Kaven was unable to determine the number of Gieseking's wartime engagements for 1945, but it was small owing to the situation and defeat of Germany. His earnings during the 1945 months prior to V-E Day amounted to 17,700 RM (gross income). Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[4] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

were much higher paid—by this point having peaked at an average of roughly 2,500 RM per concert as opposed to the ca. 800 RM received, on average, for each foreign appearance—his increased efforts to perform outside of Germany since 1943 can largely, if not entirely, be explained by the pressure to do so placed on him by Nazi officials, and Severin Kaven, we will recall, did not fail to draw this conclusion during his investigation after the war.[5] In a postwar letter to his American Assistant Manager, Edward Snowdon, Gieseking allegedly gave the following information in his own defense with regard to his profits made during the Third Reich:

> As an opportunist, I could have made much more money, but I tried as much as possible to keep distanced and free from all official influences. All concerts in Germany were better paid, but it was good to get into peaceful countries even if there was less money to earn with these concerts. I kept entirely from asking for subsidies which Berlin certainly would have paid.[6]

Of course, by that point Gieseking was desperately trying to save his reputation so that he could resume his career in the United States. That he never received subsidies from the Berlin officials is not true, for his foreign tours always had to be approved by Reich officials there during the war, and we have seen how they sponsored the costs of various trips arranged for propaganda purposes.

A Second and Final Visit to Occupied Belgium and Paris, January

As in the previous year, Gieseking again made a combined trip to the occupied nations of Belgium and France, this time first playing in Brussels on 24 January and

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[5] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4, 8. Note that, as before, the 10% of Gieseking's earnings received in the form of record royalties has been subtracted from Kaven's figures in order to give more accurate, if only approximate, average amounts of Gieseking's earnings per engagement. Kaven's conclusion regarding the Nazis' desire to have Gieseking play more frequently in foreign nations was mentioned early in Chapter 7.

[6] Gieseking, quoted in Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 8.

Antwerp the next day, with two subsequent solo recitals to follow in Paris on the 26th and 27th.[7] The arrangements for the renewed visit—doubtless hurried owing to the recent successes—were already being discussed by the early summer of 1943. Although Gieseking's manager, Rudolf Goette, was still negotiating the trip, officials at the German Embassy in Paris were once again hoping to extend the pianist's French itinerary. In a communication to the German Foreign Office in Berlin, Generalkonsul Wilhelm Knothe wrote from the Embassy on 29 June:

> The Konzertdirektion Goette, Hamburg, has arranged for Professor Walter Gieseking to give concerts here on the 26th and 27th [of January 1944], provided that Antwerp and Brussels take on the 24th and 25th of January.
>
> Please contact Goette to see if the latter two dates can instead likewise be made available for France, for, in addition to Paris, concerts by Walter Gieseking are strongly desired in Marseille and Lyon.[8]

There is a simple explanation for how the officials in Paris could try to "steal" the Belgian dates so easily on this occasion and have the pianist all for themselves: unlike the Parisian engagements, which were once more backed by the German Embassy with the travel costs paid for by the Propaganda Ministry,[9] this time those being booked in Belgium were *not* sponsored by German officialdom, but rather an unidentified Flemish manager.[10]

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[7] For mention of the combined visit to France and Belgium see Gerlach, DBP, to Kult. Pol. K., AAB, 29 June 1943 and AAB to the DBP, Abschrift (copy of message from the RMfVP, Berlin), 15 Dec. 1943—both documents in file: DBP 1.113X, Musikwesen, Kult. 12 Nr. 3, PA/AAB.

[8] "Die Konzertdirektion Goette, Hamburg, hat als Termin für Konzerte von Professor Walter Gieseking hierher den 26. und 27. Januar aufgegeben, vorausgesetzt, dass Antwerpen und Brüssel den 24. und 25. Januar nehmen. Es wird gebeten, bei Goette zu erreichen, dass auch die beiden letztgenannten Termine für Frankreich zur Verfügung gestellt werden, da ausser in Paris Konzerte von Walter Gieseking in Marseille und Lyon dringendst erwünscht sind." Knothe, DBP, to AAB, Telegram (sent by Garlach), 29 June 1943, file: DBP 1.113X, Musikwesen, Kult. 12 Nr. 3, PA/AAB.

[9] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5.

[10] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking, Pianist," 5.

Several years later, in 1948, Gieseking's American assistant manager, Edward Snowdon, would give conflicting information, maintaining that the bookings were, unaware to Gieseking, in fact supported by the Reich: "He [Gieseking] arrived in Brussels in 1944 for an orchestral concert, and only learned on the day of his arrival that the orchestra was German sponsored—too late to cancel or feign sickness."[11] Had Snowdon erred, and meant to refer to the 1943 visit? And how does this explain his client's acceptance of the previous year's terms, not to mention the subsequent engagements in Paris, clearly given under the auspices of the Hitler regime, and all other instances in which the Reich institutions were involved in the arrangements with the support of local quislings? We can essentially dismiss Snowdon's testimony in this instance, and in general, we must be careful when considering his arguments. Having not represented Gieseking during the war, he had not gathered any such information until regular communication with the pianist was resumed during the postwar years; that was, of course, when Snowdon was busy struggling to defend his famous, controversial client from the fierce protest that the latter had begun to face in the U.S. and elsewhere. Gieseking, we can be sure, was well aware of the changes that had been brought upon Belgium's music institutions since the German occupation, something he had learned firsthand during the preparations for his first visit in 1943.

In a communication from 15 Dec. 1943, sent by the German Foreign Office in Berlin to the German Embassy in Paris, the following information regarding the new arrangements was provided:

> According to the Konzert-Direktion [Dr. Rudolf] Goette, Prof. Walter Gieseking has already offered to perform in Paris on 26 and 27 January 1944. On 25

[11] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 7.

> January, Prof. Gieseking is playing in Antwerp, so that a piano recital can be given in Paris on the 26th, possibly followed by an orchestral concert on the 27th. As for the fees, the artist asks for 2,000 RM per concert and 50% of the net profits.[12]

Gieseking's earnings, presumably the same for each of the cities, had risen. In 1943, we will do well to remember, they totaled 1,500 RM per appearance, and there was no mention of pocketing half the profits as was now the case.

In Paris, Gieseking was scheduled to give just one concert on 26 January, but as had happened there in 1943, the overwhelming public demand for seats resulted in a second performance the following day. Embassy officials had expected that to be the case all along, as Generalkonsul Knothe clarified in his subsequent report sent to the Foreign Office in Berlin:

> In order to intensify the propagandistic effect of Gieseking's appearance in Paris, merely a single concert had been announced for 26 January, but the Saal Pleyel had been reserved for the next evening from the start. Because the first concert was sold out within 48 hours of the start of advance ticket sales, the announcement of the second recital therefore made a particularly strong impression.[13]

The second recital was originally intended to be a concerto performance, given with the Paris Conservatoire's Orchestra under the direction of Charles Münch.[14]

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[12] "Prof. Walter Gieseking soll einer Nachricht der Konzert-Direktion Goette zufolge den 26. und 27. Januar 1944 bereits unmittelbar in Paris angeboten haben. Am 25. Januar spielt Prof. Gieseking noch in Antwerpen, so dass am 26. ein Klavierabend in Paris stattfinden könnte, am 27. evtl. auch ein Orchesterkonzert. Als Honorar nennt der Künstler RM 2.000.— je Konzert und 50 % vom Reingewinn." AAB to the DBP, 15 Dec. 1943, file: DBP 1.113X, Musikwesen, Kult. 12 Nr. 3, PA/AAB.

[13] "Um die propagandistische Auswirkung des Auftretens Giesekings in Paris zu intensivieren, war anfangs nur ein Konzert fur den 26. Januar angekündigt, der Pleyel-Saal jedoch von vornherein auch für den nächsten Abend belegt worden. Die Tatsache, dass das erste Konzert 48 Stunden nach Eröffnung des Vorverkaufes ausverkauft war, gab daher der Ankündigung des zweiten Abends gleich besonderen Nachdruck." Report: Betrifft: Konzerte Professor Walter Gieseking in Paris am 26. und 27. Januar [19]44," Knothe, Deutsche Botschaft Paris, to the Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, 18 Feb. 1944, file: DBP 1.113X, Musikwesen, Kult. 12 Nr. 3, PA/AAB.

[14] See Knothe, DBP, to AAB, telegram, 10 Jan. 1944 and Knothe, DBP, to AAB, telegram, 30 Dec. 1943, both documents found in file: DBP 1.113X, Musikwesen, Kult. 12 Nr. 3, PA/AAB.

Reporting on the German pianist's "grand success" ("grandiosen Erfolg"), the German Embassy could send the following information to the Foreign Office:

> The hall, which can seat over 2,000 persons, was filled to the podium on both nights. The artist received a storm of applause from the enthusiastic audience, especially the second night, forcing him to play encores for over half an hour.
>
> For both evenings, Gieseking had selected programs comprising German Classical and Romantic-era works (Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Liszt) and Modern French compositions (Debussy, Ravel). It was once again noticeable that the French public recognizes and celebrates Walter Gieseking as the best performer of French Impressionist repertoire. Nevertheless, it was interesting to see the artist earn heartfelt, rapturous applause for his masterful playing of Schumann's "Davidsbündler dances" [op. 6].
>
> The public and the press once again hailed Gieseking as the artist whose technical and tonal control is unmatched today. . . . Gieseking can be described as the most respected pianist in France at present.[15]

As in 1943, the reviews were indeed exceedingly positive. Writing for the paper *Je suis partout*, Emile Vuillermoz decided the German artist's resources were simply superhuman: "The sorcerer Walter Gieseking just came through Paris. Poorly informed people will tell you that Gieseking is a pianist: do not believe it. He is a sorcerer!"[16] A critic for *Paris-Midi* was likewise ecstatic:

> There are many talented musicians in the world, but those whom we can call unforgettable are the exceptions; Walter Gieseking is one of them. After hearing

[15] "Der über 2000 Personen fassende Saal war an beiden Abenden bis aufs Podium hinauf besetzt. Die begeisterte Zuhörerschaft feierte den Künstler stürmisch und zwang ihn vor allem nach den zweiten Abend über länger als eine halbe Stunde zu Zugaben.//Gieseking hatte für beide Abende Programme aus deutscher Klassik und Romantik (Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Liszt) und französischer Moderne (Debussy, Ravel) zusammengestellt. Es war auch diesmal wieder spürbar, dass das französischer Publikum in Walter Gieseking den besten Interpreten des französischen Impressionismus erkennt und feiert. Gleichwohl war es aufschlussreich, dass der Künstler durch seine meisterhafte Wiedergabe der Schumannschen 'Davidsbündler-Tänze' spontanen begeisterten Beifall [erntete(?)].//Publikum und Presse würdigten auch diesmal wieder Gieseking als denjenigen Künstler, dessen pianistisches und klangliches Können heute unerreicht ist. . . . Gieseking darf heute als der in Frankreich am stärksten geschätzte Pianist bezeichnet werden." Report: Betrifft: Konzerte Professor Walter Gieseking in Paris am 26. und 27. Januar [19]44," Knothe, Deutsche Botschaft Paris, to the Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, 18 Feb. 1944, file: DBP 1.113X, Musikwesen, Kult. 12 Nr. 3, PA/AAB.

[16] "Le sorcier Walter Gieseking vient de traverser Paris. Des gens mal renseignés vous diront que Gieseking est un pianiste: n'en croyez rien. C'est un sorcier !" Emile Vuillermoz, "La sorcellerie de Gieseking," La Musique, *Je suis partout*, 4 Feb. 1944.

> him but once, you can never forget his sonorous but velvety tone, his brilliant but amply gentle technique, and his exceptional, captivating, and embracing touch. . . .[17]

While the same individual had been enthralled by much of the program—"Scarlatti under his fingers becomes a glimmering jewel. . ."[18]—the French works had clearly made greatest impression: "but the miracle, the truth, occurs when listening to him play Debussy and Ravel," we read.

> I have always heard the works of these two French geniuses performed by pianists, known and unknown, in a purely cerebral manner. Gieseking, without altering the musical line whatsoever, adds his poetic, romantic soul. We are moved, troubled, transported while listening to this great international pianist.[19]

Naturally, the Reich media did not fail to report on the latest Parisian musical triumph. From one write-up, we read:

> Walter Gieseking gave two piano recitals in Paris, which took place in the Salle Pleyel and earned the German pianist great success. Although only a single concert had been arranged, Gieseking decided to give a second one with a new program since the demand for tickets could hardly be met. Works by Bach, Beethoven, and Schumann as well as some French pieces thrilled the listeners, who ultimately broke out in tumultuous applause as the German artist concluded with a brilliant performance of Liszt's "St. Francis of Paola Walking on the Waters."[20]

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[17] "Il y a beaucoup d'instrumentistes de talent dans le monde, mais ceux de qui l'on peut dire qu'ils sont inoubliables sont des exceptions; Walter Gieseking est parmi eux. Il suffit de l'avoir entendu une fois pour ne plus jamais oublier ses attaques sonores mais veloutées, sa technique brillante mais pleine de douceur, et son toucher exceptionnel, captivant, enveloppant." A. Michaguine, "Walter Gieseking," *Paris-Midi*, 6 Feb. 1944.

[18] "Scarlatti sous ses doigts devient un bijou qui émerveille. . . ." Ibid.

[19] "mais le miracle, le vrai, se produit en l'écoutant jouer Debussy et Ravel.//J'ai toujours entendu exécuter les œuvres de ces deux génies français par les grands et les petits pianistes d'une manière purement cérébrale ; Gieseking, ne changeant nullement la ligne musicale, y ajoute son âme poétique, romanesque. On est ému, troublé, transporté en écoutant ce grand pianiste international." Ibid.

[20] "Walter Gieseking gab zwei Klavierabende in Paris, die sich im Pleyel-Saal zu großen Erfolgen für den deutschen Pianisten gestalteten. Obwohl nur ein einziges Konzert vorgesehen war, entschloß sich Gieseking zu einem zweiten mit neuem Programm, da die Nachfrage nach Karten kaum zu befriedigen war. Werke von Bach, Beethoven und Schumann sowie einige französische Stücke begeisterten die Hörer, die schließlich in tumultuarischen Beifall ausbrachen, als der deutsche Künstler mit Liszt[s] 'Heiligem Franziskus auf den Wogen' bravourös schloß." "Gieseking in Paris gefeiert," unidentified clipping found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

While recognizing Gieseking's obvious, immense popularity among the French, we must remember that any strong-willed anti-Germans were unlikely to have been in attendance for either performance. And the "tumultuous applause" of those who did attend, despite their enthusiasm, was certainly not a sign of their, or occupied France's, unconditional acceptance of German culture. Many French concertgoers were, nevertheless, evidently willing to ignore the political circumstances of these and other concerts in order to hear eminent German artists, particularly for one who had grown up in France and built a reputation playing French music—details widely known about Gieseking.

Somewhat curiously, while the German write-up above explained that French works were heard, only the French composers were not named. We will recall that Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry had relaxed its restrictions on French music in early November 1943.[21] German officials had perhaps even requested some French pieces on this occasion. Yet it would seem that the Reich press was either unwilling or not allowed to print details regarding the French repertoire, perhaps to avoid creating renewed interest in such works. It remained enemy music, after all, and was therefore still censored, if no longer fully banned. In fact, when *Musik im Kriege* ran the same review cited above shortly thereafter in its February/March edition, it only printed the first two sentences, thus avoiding the information about the composers altogether.[22]

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[21] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 47; Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 375. The relaxation of the ban on French music was also discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

[22] See "Zeitspiegel: Veranstaltungen," *Musik im Kriege*, Feb./Mar. 1944, 236.

Alfred Cortot

One figure who regretted not being able to attend the Salle Pleyel recital was the famous Franco-Swiss pianist and conductor, Alfred Cortot (1877–1962). Then a resident of the Parisian suburb Neuilly-sur-Seine, Cortot sent Gieseking a letter on 27 January, the day of the second concert, explaining his present ill health. The letter in full reads:

> Dear Friend,
>
> I truly regret not being able to greet and applaud you during your visit to Paris, but the doctor has ordered me to stay indoors, having found me the victim of a flu to which I am forced to give attention if I myself want to be in a condition to play at [the Salle] Pleyel on Sunday! Mr. [Charles] Kiesgen will tell you how sorry I am that this illness will deprive me of such a wonderful musical pleasure![23] Believe me, dear friend, I will be among your admirers in thought, and please accept my best wishes.
>
> Alfred Cortot[24]

When the uproar began that preceded Gieseking's U.S. return scheduled for January 1949, his appearances in occupied France and alleged friendship with Cortot were among the many charges of Nazi sympathy and collaboration brought up against him. Cortot himself was accused of Nazi collaboration and consequently blacklisted by the French.[25] In Delbert Clark's *New York Times* article of 8 February 1948, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934," which largely initiated the Gieseking protest in

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[23] A distinguished concert agent, Kiesgen, who was originally from England, ran the Bureau International de Concerts from his Paris office. Among his many famous clients were cellist Pablo Casals, composer-pianist Francis Poulenc, conductor Charles Munch, and pianists Dinu Lipatti and Cortot. He had obviously been involved in handling the arrangements for Gieseking's current appearances in the French capital. Carl B. Schmidt, *Entrancing Muse: A Documented Biography of Francis Poulenc* (Hillsdale: NY: Pendragon Press, 2001), 212.

[24] "[C]her Ami, Je suis bien au regret de ne pouvoir vous saluer et vous applaudir au cour de votre passage à Paris, mais je suis tenu de garder la chambre par ordre du médecin, me trouvant victime d'une grippe à laquelle je suis forcé d'accorder attention si je veux moi même être eu état de jouer Dimanche chez Pleyel! M. Kiesgen vous dira combien je suis désolé de cet empêchement qui me prive d'une belle joie musicale! Croyez, je vous prie, cher Ami que je serai par la pensée au nombre de vos admirateurs et recevez l'expression de mes sincères sentiments[.] Alfred Cortot." The author would like to thank Dr. Barbara Haggh-Huglo and Michel Huglo for transcribing the letter and helping with the translation. Alfred Cortot, Neuilly-s.-Seine, to Monsieur Walther Gieseking, [Paris], letter, 27 Jan. 1944, GFA.

[25] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 4.

postwar America, we read, "While in France, he [Gieseking] was a close associate of Cortot."[26]

Clark's article prompted Gieseking to offer his own explanations to the many charges made against him in it, which he sent in the form of a letter that same month to his American manager, Charles Wagner. Wagner, his assistant Edward Snowdon, and Gieseking's American lawyer, Meyer Kurz, were all struggling to defend their client at the time during the postwar upheaval. With regard to his eminent colleague, Gieseking replied:

> The article says that I was closely associated with Alfred Cortot while in France [which] is another piece of misinformation. I had lunch with Cortot, who could not come to my concerts, but I would never miss an opportunity of meeting [with] this very great artist or listening to his playing. This has nothing to do with politics (Gieseking's English).[27]

While obviously acquainted with one another, and despite Cortot's use of "ami" in his letter to Gieseking—incidentally, the only one found in the latter's *Nachlass*—the two pianists could not have been anything more than mere acquaintances. A lack of mention of Cortot in Gieseking's unpublished private correspondence further supports this claim, and what is more, Cortot was Gieseking's senior by more than eighteen years. Regardless, we can be confident that, throughout the war, Gieseking had not foreseen any negative consequences when associating or performing with any of his fellow musicians, in France or anywhere else for that matter. But, as we have seen, his American opponents made use of all evidence against him.

By the end of 1944, the Allies will have liberated both Paris and the Belgian cities, though with intense fighting continuing on the Western Front. Thus, there would

[26] Clark, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934."

[27] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, New York, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

be no further concerts for Gieseking in either France or Belgium for the remainder of the war, with one exception: he would still make a "last-minute" return to the annexed Alsace region in August.

The "Propaganda Battle" in Turkey, early February

Shortly after returning home from Paris in January 1944, Gieseking began a series of seven concerts in Turkey on 8 February, a tour that was sponsored not only by the Foreign Office in Berlin but also by none other than the German Ambassador Franz von Papen.[28] Not without difficulty and controversy, Turkey maintained neutrality until the final months of the war, and on 18 June 1941 it had signed a Treaty of Territorial Integrity and Friendship with Germany.[29] Gieseking had never concertized in the republic before, but the Reich's Foreign Office insisted on sending him there in 1944 because of the latest political developments.[30] Although the allied forces had been pushing for more support from Turkey and negotiating its entry into the war, there had been a recent break in their talks. (With Hitler's defeat imminent, Turkey would ultimately declare war on Germany in late February 1945, but merely to ensure its place among the founding members of the United Nations; it did not engage in battle.[31]) As von Papen recalled in his postwar memoir, "On 3 February [1944], the British military delegations left

[28] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter"; Franz von Papen, *Der Wahrheit eine Gasse* (Munich: Paul List Verlag, 1952), 592; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[29] William Hale, "Turkey," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 1026–27.

[30] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 5.

[31] William Hale, "Turkey," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 1026–27.

Turkey. . . . The Anglo-Turkish relations came to a halt."[32] The Turkish government had become increasingly concerned about Soviet expansion, given the ever-growing number of Russian forces in neighboring nations. On the other hand, as part of their efforts to win over the Turks, the Nazis continued to bolster their propaganda campaign in the neutral country. By March 1944, over two hundred German agents were working there to publicize peace negotiations with Turkey and to turn public opinion against the Allied powers.[33] As always, music was part of the agenda, and, as in many other instances, Gieseking was deemed ideal for the mission.

Gieseking's appearances in Ankara included one at the German Embassy and another in the ballroom of the Ankara Palas Hotel. Recalling the pianist's recital given before the German cabinet and invited Turkish officials, von Papen wrote, "On 8 February, we had the pleasure of receiving the Turkish government and many friends for a concert given by the famous pianist Gieseking."[34] The event also included a buffet, and Papen's invited "friends" were, to be more precise, largely, if not entirely, members of the "non-Ally diplomatic colony."[35]

The pianist's Turkish visit was big foreign music news, and both the Reich and foreign press followed the events accordingly. One unidentified German newspaper printed the following brief report on the initial performance:

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[32] "Am 3. Februar verließen die militärischen Delegationen der Engländer die Türkei. . . . Die britisch-türkischen Beziehungen waren am Gefrierpunkt angelangt." Von Papen, *Der Wahrheit eine Gasse*, 592.

[33] Kurd Albu, "Germans Exert Influence in Turkey," *Christian Science Monitor*, 1 Mar. 1944, 7; Davies, *Europe at War*, 287–88.

[34] "Am 8. Februar hatten wir das Vergnügen, die türkische Regierung und viele Freunde zu einem Konzert des berühmten Pianisten Gieseking bei uns zu sehen." Von Papen, *Der Wahrheit eine Gasse*, 592.

[35] Ira A. Hirschmann, *Life Line to a Promised Land* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1946), 140–41.

> As a prelude to a series of piano concerts that Walter Gieseking is giving in Istanbul and Ankara, the German master pianist played to great acclaim at an evening reception held at the German General Consulate in Istanbul. The program included works by Beethoven, Chopin, Scarlatti, Debussy, Richard Strauss, and Liszt.[36]

This first program may seem conspicuously international, but, to repeat, Nazi officials had eased up on the censorship of French music by this time, and as we have seen, Chopin had always been permitted if played by regime-approved artists. Still, like all Reich musicians, Gieseking was expected to promote German repertoire above all, and the concert programs and press reviews show that he repeatedly complied. In Turkey, he gave further recitals at the German Embassy in Ankara as well as the German Consulate in Istanbul.[37] Describing the propagandistic achievement of the pianist's tour, the Nazi journal *Musik im Kriege* published the following write-up:

> The pianist Walter Gieseking was in the Turkish capital for the first time. With three concerts, he won a great personal success for his exceptional artistry. At the same time, the events served as an impressive exhibition of German music par excellence, which on account of these genuine master concerts became a highlight of the young cultural scene of the Turkish capital.[38]

Von Papen and the propaganda officials must have been rubbing their hands with glee in view of their success. The Allies and other western critics, on the other hand, were piqued and struck back.

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[36] "Als Auftakt einer Reihe von Klavierkonzerten, die Walter Gieseking in Istanbul und Ankara gibt, spielte der mit großem Beifall gefeierte deutsche Meisterpianist im Rahmen eines Abendempfangs beim deutschen Generalkonsul in Istanbul Werke von Beethoven, Chopin, Scarlatti, Debussy, Richard Strauß, und Liszt." "Walter Gieseking konzertiert in der Türkei," (title of publication unidentified), 12 Feb. 1944, clipping found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[37] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8 and 11 (see note "**").

[38] "Der Pianist Walter Gieseking trat zum ersten Male in der türkischen Hauptstadt auf. Mit drei Konzerten errang er einen großen persönlichen Erfolg für sein überragendes Künstlertum. Die Veranstaltungen gestalteten sich zugleich zu einer eindrucksvollen Kundgebung für die deutsche Musik schlechthin, die mit diesen wahren Meisterkonzerten einen Höhepunkt in dem jungen Kunstleben der türkischen Hauptstadt bildete." "Veranstaltungen," Zeitspiegel, *Musik im Kriege*, Feb./Mar. 1944, 237.

Ira Hirschmann, who served as a U.S. representative in Turkey during the latter part of the war and, above all, helped European refugees flee to safety, arrived in Ankara just one week after Gieseking's first performance there. Recalling the sensation it had caused, he wrote, "This affair, at which Walter Gieseking, the Nazi pianist, was the sole performer, was the talk of Ankara."[39] Indeed, within the larger ongoing propaganda battle between the Axis and Allied powers, Gieseking's Turkish engagements initiated a brief cultural competition. Not to be outdone by the Germans, Hirschmann, who also organized musical events for the Western powers in Turkey, planned a special chamber-music concert and dinner—"my own joust with von Papen."[40] On the invitations sent out were the program and title, "New Friends of Music, Ankara Chapter."[41]

"I was resolved to make this the event of the season," Hirschmann remembered.[42] To outclass von Papen's buffet, he even hired a gourmet chef and had Dulcie Steinhardt, "a past mistress in protocol," properly seat the invited diplomats and Turkish officials.[43] For the music itself, Hirschmann recruited violinist Gilbert Back, formerly of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (a slap in the face to the Germans, no doubt), and three less-accomplished Turkish musicians. [44] The ensemble bravely chose for its program Mozart's Quartet in B major and Beethoven's Quartet in B-flat, but Back had some trouble disciplining his Turkish partners, who were "not prepared for the demands."[45] Hirschmann described their work habits with humor, making a generalization that would

[39] Hirschmann, *Life Line to a Promised Land*, 140–41.

[40] Ibid., 140.

[41] Hirschmann, *Caution to the Winds* (New York: David McKay Co., 1962), 150.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Hirschmann, *Life Line to a Promised Land*, 140–41; Hirschmann, *Caution to the Winds*, 150.

be politically incorrect today: “We could never tell how long the rehearsals would last. Turkish musicians are not very energetic fellows. In the midst of a rehearsal it was not uncommon for one musician suddenly to stop playing, quietly fold up his music stand, and walk away. However, on the night of the concert they played like angels.”[46]

Proud of the results, Hirschmann later boasted, “It was a diplomatic triumph and an artistic tour de force.”[47] Elsewhere he recalled, “The musicale I staged two months later is said to have overshadowed the effort of the devil-diplomat [von Papen].”[48] The Germans, who naturally had not attended, would have surely disagreed. Hirschmann’s and the musicians’ feat was noble and clearly well-appreciated, but such amateur music-making simply could not have come anywhere close to equaling Gieseking’s artistry.

Additional performances of Gieseking’s, arguably the most politically motivated and propagandistic of the entire tour, were given in rural locations owing to a series of natural disasters. Throughout the war, and just prior to his visit, Turkey had suffered from repeated seismic activity. It had had experienced a series of five devastating earthquakes along the North Anatolian fault between 1939 and 1944, all with a magnitude of 7.3 to 7.8. The combined number of fatalities reached an estimated 44,590, and more tremors were still to come. The most recent two had struck in the mid-north, in the vicinity of Ladik and Tosya on 26 November 1943 and near Bolu and Gerede, just slightly further

[46] Hirschmann, *Life Line to a Promised Land*, 141.

[47] Hirschmann, *Caution to the Winds*, 150.

[48] Hirschmann, *Life Line to a Promised Land*, 141.

west, on 1 February 1944. The casualties were projected at 4,000 and 2,790, respectively.[49]

Von Papen took advantage of what was a dire situation for many Turks, and arranged for Gieseking to perform in some of the destroyed areas in the northwestern region. Much of the proceeds from the small tour went to charity, and a grand benefit concert featuring the visiting pianist was held for the victims. Of course, von Papen was doubtless chiefly interested in the propaganda function of the events, and he made sure that the recital reached out to the largest possible audience by being broadcast over the radio.[50]

Back in the U.S., both large and small newspapers reported on the latest propaganda competition in Turkey and Gieseking's tour. While the articles may have been few in number, not since Erika Mann's protest of February 1942 had Gieseking come under such attack in America. Dr. Kurd Albu, a former legal counselor to the Turkish Government, was outraged by the pianist's rural concerts in particular. In an article published in the *Christian Science Monitor*, he wrote, "Professor Gieseking is now making a propaganda tour throughout the districts damaged by the recent earthquakes, although the Turkish peasants have not the smallest notion or interest for European music."[51]

Another American reporter responsible for the coverage was Trudi McCullough. Although she was based in New York, McCullough's articles were published in various

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[49] "Historic World Earthquakes," U.S. Geological Survey, accessed 7 Mar. 2012, http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/world/historical_country.php#turkey; "Earthquakes in Turkey," All About Turkey, accessed 7 Mar. 2012, http://www.allaboutturkey.com/deprem.htm.

[50] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 5; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[51] Albu, "Germans Exert Influence in Turkey," *Christian Science Monitor*, 1 Mar. 1944, 7.

midwestern and southern U.S. papers and in at least two at a time. Thus, her views of the events reached out to a fairly wide range of Americans. In one such report published at the end of April 1944, she began her discussion of the Nazis' cultural propaganda efforts in Turkey by criticizing Gieseking's recent activities there:

> Neutral countries are the battle theaters of this war. Courtship rather than conquest is the game.
>
> Last February Germany sent her greatest—and one of the world's greatest—pianists, Walter Gieseking, to Ankara. The promotion job was begun a month in advance, Gieseking's reception was "ecstatic, almost worshipful."
>
> The U.S. didn't counter by sending Horowitz, Schnabel, or Rubinstein for there is no attack and counter attack in the fine arts war. Both allies and axis pursue independent programs.[52]

McCullough was obviously unaware of Hirschmann's chamber-music event. Yet she goes on to describe another competitive Allied concert that followed shortly thereafter:

> But three weeks later, the effect Gieseking made was dented by two young and handsome American girls whose appearance in Ankara had been previously scheduled. They were mezzo soprano Edwina Eustis, of the New Opera company, and accompanist Marion Carley, of the CBS Symphony orchestra.
>
> Their charm and ability delighted the Turkish press and audience. Their reception as recorded in press clippings . . . documented OWI [Office of War Information] Ankara's report: "I have seldom seen such genuine pleasure on the faces of a Turkish audience . . . not the worshipful attitude given to Gieseking, but real appreciation for good artists." Radio Ankara . . . let the broadcast run five minutes over the allotted hour because applause had lengthened the program that much.[53]

A contralto, Eustis (later Edwina Eustis Dick, 1908–97) enjoyed a fine career, and during a two-and-a-half year wartime tour, she gave over 1,000 performances for the United Service Organizations in support of the U.S. Armed Forces.[54] She had clearly been a success on this occasion in Turkey, most probably more so than had been Hirschmann's

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[52] Trudi McCullough, "War of Fine Arts Pleases Turkish Folk," *Abilene (Tex.) Reporter News*, 30 Apr. 1944.

[53] Ibid.

[54] "Edwina Eustis Dick: Contralto Who Cared," Who's Who in Ridgefield CT, accessed 7 Mar. 2012, http://jackfsanders.tripod.com/A-F.htm.

chamber-music soirée, at least from a musical point of view. Yet once again the Allies had clearly failed to outshine von Papen and the Germans. Despite her own reasonable fame as an opera star, Eustis, too, was not the celebrity that Gieseking was. Unlike Hirschmann, McCullough admitted that much.

In a subsequent article from 17 September 1944, McCullough once again addressed the ongoing "propaganda battle" between the Germans and the Allies. Looking back at Gieseking's Turkish tour, she now drew some rather spectacular conclusions:

> The Nazis are not always so obvious. They use the Media of philanthropy and culture subtly. In Turkey during the 1943 typhus scare, the German press attaché had thousands of units of vaccine flown from Berlin to Ankara and distributed it to Turkish journalists and their families. To combat reports of Nazi bestialities, they sent famed pianist Walter Gieseking to the same place as a suggestion that culture and Germanism were synonymous.[55]

While Nazi officials may very well have wished for Gieseking's Turkish engagements to distract the public's attention from Nazi crimes, there is no hard evidence that such was a main objective, as McCullough implied. Of course, such reporting on the pianist's activities could have only further tainted his reputation in the U.S., and the Turkish tour continued to be brought up in the American media for some time. In mid-August 1945, for example, both the *San Mateo (California) Times* and the *Port Arthur (Texas) News* ran the following write-up about it:

> Gieseking, the noted German pianist, was an intimate of Von Papen. Last year, in Ankara, Gieseking gave a recital under the sponsorship of Von Papen and the Nazi embassy. . . . Now, however, the pianist has become contrite and vows that

[55] Trudi McCullough, "Latest Score in Psychological Warfare Shows Allies Now Even," *Abilene (Tex.) Reporter News*, 17 Sept. 1944. The article also appeared the same day as "Partial Box Score: Germans Routed From Lead In War's Propaganda Battle," *Jefferson City (Mo.) Sunday News and Tribune*, 17 Sept. 1944.

> he always has been a good boy. The Swiss believe him, and he has received asylum rights in Switzerland.[56]

That this overtly sensationalist article appeared in small U.S. papers at all demonstrates just how popular Gieseking had remained in America despite his physical absence since 1939. The media must have felt that any news on the pianist was worth printing, and evidently no effort was made to ensure factual accuracy. That he was "intimate" with von Papen is, of course, another exaggeration. On the other hand, there is some evidence—albeit from over one year later—that the Swiss had indeed "forgiven" him and offered him asylum rights. In a letter to his pupil Dean Elder from 14 November 1946, he wrote, "I don't know if it will be possible to travel to Switzerland next year. I have been invited to stay there, I think also that I could make new recordings there, but the peace treaty must be signed first, I suppose."[57] Despite this offer and Gieseking's optimism, he never resided in Switzerland.

This Turkish tour became another one of the many activities on Gieseking's wartime record for which he was subsequently criticized. Turning to Severin Kaven's postwar interrogation transcript, we read:

> Q. [Kaven] You never played in Turkey before, but then you gave 7 consecutive concerts there in 1944. You also played at receptions in the [German] Embassy [in Ankara] and the Consulate General [in Istanbul]?
> A. [Gieseking] The Foreign Office was most insistent. They asked me so many times that I couldn't possibly refuse. The Propaganda Ministry still owes me money for the tour. A large part of the receipts went for charity.
> Q. Mr. Gieseking, how far may an artist go in his concessions to an existing political order without endangering his integrity?
> A. I don't follow you.[58]

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[56] "Music Dept.," *San Mateo (Calif.) Times*, 11 Aug. 1945; "Music Dept.," *Port Arthur (Tex.) News*, 12 Aug. 1945.

[57] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, [Switzerland?], letter, 14 Nov. 1946, DEC.

[58] Kavin, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 5.

In his subsequent report, Kaven noted that Gieseking had twice given two performances on the same day and that "An American newspaperwoman, who was there [in Turkey] at the time, tells the story that Gieseking's tour was a cleverly designed publicity affair, with Ambassador von Papen in full view at the concerts."[59] A clever publicity stunt it was indeed, and while we can be confident that von Papen was present at some of the performances, it seems rather unlikely that he, as well as the American reporter, would have attended all seven, particularly those in remote locations.

More than two years later, after it was announced that Gieseking was planning to return to the U.S. for a tour in 1949, *New York Times* correspondent Delbert Clark did not fail to include mention of the Turkish tour in his highly critical "Review of Gieseking's Record since 1934."[60] Clark had read Kaven's interrogation transcript and report, and he included a summary of the information in his article. Disgruntled over its publication, Gieseking, in fact, explained to Charles Wagner that "This article repeats only the charges [of Kaven's] raised in 1945."[61] Under the bold subtitle "Propaganda Tour," Clark wrote: "He [Gieseking] played seven consecutive recitals in Turkey in 1944, when the Allies were pressing Turkey to get into the war although he had never played in that country. 'The Propaganda Ministry was most insistent,' he said in explanation."[62]

Much of the information in Clark's report, including that on the Turkish tour, was repeated by other U.S. journalists who began to cover the Gieseking controversy, which, as we will see, ultimately became what was almost certainly the biggest postwar scandal

[59] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[60] Clark, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934."

[61] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, New York, letter 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[62] Clark, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934."

of all pertaining to a German pianist.[63] In Gieseking's defense, his assistant manager, Edward Snowdon, provided the following argument in his pamphlet, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" which he privately printed and circulated that same year:

> That the Propaganda Ministry put pressure on him in at least one instance he [Gieseking] admitted when he told United States investigators [i.e. Severin Kaven] that they [the Ministry officials] were "most insistent" he should appear in Turkey. Just how, one wonders, could he have said "no" to an "insistent" totalitarian state at war. Gieseking had declined requests from Berlin to go to Turkey each year from 1939 to 1944 [*sic*]. Engagements were finally arranged with the radio station in Ankara and with the symphony orchestra. Since there was no concert hall in Ankara a private recital for the diplomatic corps was arranged at the Palace Hotel.[64]

While Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry and the Foreign Office may have been trying to send Gieseking to Turkey since 1939, no records of this have been found. We have seen how Gieseking's German manager, Rudolf Goette, was no longer fully in control of his client's foreign concerts during the war. In his postwar testimony submitted to the British Information Control Unit in Hamburg, Goette explained that the Propaganda Ministry phoned him about the Turkish tour, just as they did for the visits to Norway and Finland, ordering him to keep Gieseking's itinerary free for the relevant dates in February 1944.[65] We need no further proof that the regime was behind the concert trip and using the pianist for political purposes. Edward Snowdon, nonetheless, asserted that it was only during the

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[63] The American controversy is covered in the postwar chapters, particularly Chapters 11 and 13. Two examples of subsequent reviews that repeated Clark's charges regarding Gieseking's Turkish tour include Paul Hume, "Gieseking's Engagement is Canceled," *Washington Post*, 18 Apr. 1948 and Howard Taubman, "Gieseking Agrees to Quit U.S. Without Giving Concert Here: Pianist, Accused as Aide to Nazis, in Custody—Pickets Hail 'Victory,'" *New York Times*, 25 Jan. 1949. For a much later repeat of Clark's charge on Gieseking in Turkey see, David Ewen, *Musicians Since 1900: Performers in Concert and Opera* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1978), 293. The vast amount of media coverage on the controversy surrounding Gieseking's postwar American career, as well as the wealth of archival records on the topic, are enough to support the claim that the "Gieseking Case" may have been the biggest such scandal in postwar America.

[64] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 7. Regarding the "sic," Gieseking obviously did not decline a request from Berlin in 1944. Snowdon must have intended to give the year "1943" there.

[65] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 4.

Turkish tour and the Brussels visit of 1944 that Gieseking performed under the aegis of Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry.[66] This simply was not true.

Gieseking would revisit Turkey in 1951, where, according to one German news report, he made three appearances in Istanbul.[67] As before the war, however, the country remained unimportant for his career.[68] Was his intent to make amends?

Switzerland, mid-February

After the Turkish tour and still in February, Gieseking traveled further to Switzerland. He gave more concerts than ever in the neutral country in 1944, twenty in all. One of his appearances was made with the Swiss conductor and composer, Volkmar Andreae (1879–1962), who led the concerts of the Tonhalle Orchestra in Zurich from 1906 to 1949.[69] The concert presumably took place at the Tonhalle concert hall. The German press, always quick to announce the "triumphs" of Reich artists, continued to follow the acclaimed pianist's activities in foreign nations. Regarding Gieseking's current Swiss visit, an unidentified German paper announced the following:

> Following his success in Turkey, Walter Gieseking is now giving a series of concerts in Switzerland. A symphony concert in Zurich became a great musical event, when Gieseking performed Beethoven's G-major Piano Concerto under the direction of Volkmar Andreae.[70]

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[66] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 7.

[67] "Walter Gieseking und Peter Anders wieder in Deutschland," (title of publication unidentified), 20 Apr. 1951, clipping found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[68] There is no record of any further appearances in Turkey after 1951.

[69] Peter Ross and Erik Levi, "Andreae Volkmar," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00881 (accessed 9 Feb. 2012).

[70] "Walter Gieseking gibt gegenwärtig nach seinen Erfolgen in der Türkei eine Reihe von Konzerten in der Schweiz. Zu einem großen musikalischen Ereignis wurde ein Symphoniekonzert in Zürich, wo Gieseking unter Leitung von Volkmar Andr[e]ae das G-Dur und [*sic*] Klavierkonzert von Beethoven spielte." "Gieseking in der Schweiz," (title of publication unidentified), 12 Feb. 1944, clipping found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

The German media likewise eagerly reported on the German repertoire itself that was played both in and outside of the Reich, whether it concerned the great composers, as in this case, or lesser-known figures. Of course, the combination of the best German artists with the finest German masterpieces was, as far as the Reich press was concerned, a musical experience without equal.

Scandinavia, March

Gieseking had given four concerts in the Scandinavian countries of Denmark and Finland in 1943, his first since the Weimar era. Now, one year later, he began a brief but slightly extended Scandinavian tour, once again in March. This time he journeyed to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, excluding only Finland. The political status of each nation was unchanged: Denmark and Norway remained occupied by the Germans, while Sweden preserved its neutrality.

Gieseking began by giving two concerts in Copenhagen, appearances not made without some risk. As in the case of his recital in 1943, the Wilhelm Hansen agency arranged his engagements that same year. Prior to the end of that season, however, one of the Hansen brothers wrote Gieseking explaining that the concert should be canceled. The reason: Danish patriots might bomb the concert hall should the pianist appear.[71] Gieseking ignored the potential danger, and the performances took place without any destructive occurrences. Security measures must have been taken.

During his postwar interrogation, Gieseking was asked about the violent incidents of 29 August 1943, when the Danes began to defend themselves more than ever against

[71] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 4.

the Nazi occupiers. This had included the demolition of railways and factories serving the Germans, among other targets.[72] "During the month of August sabotage against German installations had reached its peak," writes Leo Goldberger, "ending in general strikes by the Danes. The Germans reacted violently by introducing a curfew, the seizing of hostages, and establishing a reign of terror."[73] The Danish government had declined an ultimatum issued by the Germans on 28 August. In response, the occupiers instituted a state of emergency, arrested influential personages, detained the Danish army, and went after Danish Jews.[74] It was at this point that the Danish government and king stepped down, and the Germans took charge of all domestic affairs.[75] Gieseking explained to Kaven that he had merely "heard there was trouble."[76] The questioning continued as follows:

> Q. [Kaven] You were not wanted there [in Copenhagen]. Why did you go?
> A. [Gieseking] Why shouldn't I?
> Q. Were you forced to play in Denmark?
> A. No.[77]

A number of Gieseking's wartime concerts in Denmark, including ones that would take place in 1945, were orchestral performances. These were given with the orchestra belonging to the State Broadcasting Company (Statsradiofonien), which had been placed under the control of the Hitler regime within a few hours of the Germans'

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[72] Leo Goldberger, ed., *The Rescue of the Danish Jews: Moral Courage Under Stress* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), xiii.

[73] Jørgen Hæstrup, "The Danish Jews and the German Occupation," in *The Rescue of the Danish Jews: Moral Courage Under Stress*, ed. Leo Goldberger (New York: New York University Press, 1987), 4.

[74] Ibid.; Claus Bjørn, "Denmark," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 294.

[75] Claus Bjørn, "Denmark," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 293–95.

[76] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 4.

[77] Ibid.

invasion of Denmark on 9 April 1940.[78] According to Hans Skaarup, a later producer for the Danish Broadcasting Cooperation, "the radio director F. E. Jensen and the radio board tried to keep as much of the radio administration as possible on Danish hands. . . . [but] the real head of Radio Denmark was now Dr. Joseph Goebbels. . . ."[79] The German radio commissioner, one Dr. Lohman (sometimes spelled Lohmann), began to serve as the company's Nazi direct boss, however, and some Danish quislings were employed to help run things according to Nazi policy and taste.[80] Nazi censorship greatly affected the firm's programming: "degenerate" music and that of enemy nations was banned, while regime-approved works and programs as well as Hitler's full speeches were broadcast.[81] Skaarup explains the takeover:

> Immediately the day after the occupation the Danish tone changed. A German military censor moved into the radio-house. It was his duty to monitor the programmes so that nothing would conflict with German interests. As soon as the 12th of April, a civil censor came from the short wave radio station in Berlin. The Danish National Radio was now a part of the German cultural front and the programmes were forced to promote Danish-German understanding.[82]

Owing to these changes, many more Danes began tuning into the BBC, which in addition to free programming also transmitted news reports in Danish.[83]

During the occupation, it was Lohman who accommodated Gieseking at his home when the latter appeared in Copenhagen.[84] The pianist found his host to be kind and

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[78] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 6; Hans Skaarup, "Denmark: Censorship on Music during the German Occupation," found under Speeches, *Freemuse: Freedom of Musical Expression*, accessed 3 June 2012, http://www.freemuse.org/sw26774.asp. Skaarup gave the speech at the first Freemuse World Conference in 1998.

[79] Skaarup, "Denmark."

[80] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 6; Skaarup, "Denmark."

[81] Skaarup, "Denmark."

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

apparently saw no wrong in associating with him.[85] Unsurprisingly, Kaven criticized Gieseking during the postwar investigation for his affiliation with the "radio dictator" (as Skaarup referred to Lohman) and the *Statsradiofonien*:[86]

> Q [Kaven]. While in Copenhagen, you were most of the time with Dr. Lohmann . . . ?
> A [Gieseking]. Lohmann was a very nice man.
> Q. He is under arrest in Denmark. Incidentally, most of your fees came from the Broadcasting Company. The same Lohmann, I understand, arranged a reception in your honor and wanted all his Danish employees to attend it. They all refused to accept the invitation, except the quislings?
> A. I didn't know about it. Very few Danes were at the party.
> Q. The Danes didn't like you. How did you feel about it?
> A. Nobody likes a loser. I was glad to be out for a while from Germany.[87]

Gieseking's remark "Nobody likes a loser" is particularly puzzling. Was he referring to the fact that Germany was losing the war? Or was he perhaps now suddenly admitting that his decision to perform in Denmark was wrong?

While Gieseking was in Copenhagen, Lohman seized the opportunity to have the pianist record certain compositions by Debussy and Ravel.[88] We have seen that the Reich had relaxed its restrictions on performing censored French music in November 1943. Recording it, on the other hand, remained off limits and presumably any records sales thereof as well.[89] Lohman must have intended to play these new recordings over the air, which was perhaps permitted in Denmark. Less likely, they were made merely for his private use. They were never issued commercially and are unaccounted for in the

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[84] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 6; Skaarup, "Denmark." It is uncertain whether "Lohman" or "Lohmann" is the correct spelling.

[85] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 4.

[86] Skaarup, "Denmark."

[87] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 4.

[88] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 6.

[89] Ibid. We will recall Reich Music Chamber President Peter Raabe's announcement from March 1942 regarding the proscription of recordings featuring so-called enemy music, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Gieseking discographies. Their limited purpose notwithstanding, Gieseking must have been thrilled to finally have the chance to make recordings of the music he had championed since his early career. Perhaps they will turn up someday.

From Copenhagen, Gieseking traveled to Oslo to give two concerts. To repeat, Norway, along with Denmark, had begun to be occupied by the Germans in April 1940, and it would not be liberated until the time of V-E Day. German Reichskommissar Josef Terboven (1898–1945) forced the Norwegian king, Haakon VII (1872–1957), and his cabinet into exile in London, and in 1942 he arranged for Vidkun Quisling (1887–1945) to lead as minister president the Norwegian collaborationist government known as the Quisling regime.[90] A believer in Hitler, Quisling had enjoyed ties with the Nazis since late Weimar years; he had established Norway's pro-German, fascist party, the Nasjonal Samling, or National Gathering, and would cooperate fully with Hitler and his men.[91] He would be executed for treason after the war's end.

These were Gieseking's first ever appearances in Norway, and they were criticized by Kaven as being "purely German affairs"—"Even the programs are in German."[92] A short but repulsively propagandistic report on the first recital appeared in *Musik im Kriege*:

> To mark the tenth anniversary of the German-Norwegian Society (Norsk-Tysk Selskap), a week of concerts began in Oslo, which opened with a concert tonight given by Walter Gieseking. The press confirmed the truly unique enthusiasm that Gieseking received from the audience. *Aftenposten* writes that Gieseking was celebrated like a prince in the kingdom of art in Oslo. The concert

[90] Davies, *Europe at War*, 304.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 6.

> was attended by several ministers and many eminent representatives of the Norwegian cultural life.[93]

As always, such influenced reporting fails to give us a completely trustworthy evaluation of either the performance or the reception. To be sure, however, the Reich government was proud of its star pianist and his latest service to the German cause abroad, and such praiseful announcements continued to mislead many of the Reich's more gullible or brainwashed citizens.

Gieseking argued that he had "played there [in Oslo] for the Germans"; yet as Kaven pointed out, the second performance took place at the University Hall and, as stated in the above review, it was underwritten by the German-Norwegian Society—a quisling organization.[94] While their effectiveness varied, boycotts had been organized, and many Norwegians would not hear a German artist.[95] In his own defense, Gieseking explained: "One could never tell who was right. Before the concert, some of my former pupils came to see me and apologized for boycotting my performance."[96] The pupils must have been past participants of the summer classes he led in Germany with Karl Leimer for the *Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer* (German Music Institute for Foreigners).[97] When Kaven brought up the Nazi executions of Norwegian patriots that had been taking

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[93] "Anläßlich des zehnjährigen Bestehens der Deutsch-Norwegischen Gesellschaft (Norsk-Tysk Selskap) begann in Oslo eine Konzertwoche, die mit einem Konzertabend von Walter Gieseking eingeleitet wurde. Die Presse bestätigt die wahrhaft einmalige Begeisterung, die Gieseking beim Publikum hervorrief. "Aftenposten" schreibt, Gieseking sei in Oslo wie ein Fürst im Reiche der Kunst gefeiert worden. Dem Konzert wohnten mehrere Minister und viele hervorragende Vertreter des norwegischen Kulturlebens bei." "Zeitspiegel: Veranstaltungen," *Musik im Kriege*, Apr./May. 1944, 36.

[94] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 4.

[95] For more on the Norwegian boycotts, see Martin Moll, "Zwischen Weimarer Klassik und nordischem Mythos: NS-Kulturpropaganda in Norwegen (1940–1945)," in *Kultur–Propaganda–Öffentlichkeit: Intentionen deutscher Besatzungspolitik und Reaktionen auf die Okkupation*, eds. Wolfgang Benz, Gerhard Otto, and Anabella Weismann, Nationalsozialistische Besatzungspolitik in Europa 1939–1945, Bd. 5 (Berlin: Metropol, 1998), 189–223, especially 214–15 and 222.

[96] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 4.

[97] The *Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer* was discussed in detail in Excursus I.

place, Gieseking claimed to have been unsure of the murders. “I had been hearing all kinds of rumors, but never pay [*sic*] much attention to them,” he said. “There are very few reliable people in the world.”[98] The media of various countries was indeed reporting on the resistance throughout the war, and grim accounts of the mistreatment and deportation of Norwegian Jews were included.[99]

After his Oslo engagements, Gieseking traveled further to Sweden to give three concerts.[100] Unlike the other Scandinavian nations, Sweden had maintained its neutral status throughout the war. This was achieved partly by cooperating with Germany, allowing usage of its railway system for the transportation of German troops and armaments to and from Norway for much of the war, for example.[101] Most importantly, however, Germany received more than half of its iron ore imports from Sweden, resources necessary to continue the war.[102] Describing the Swedes’ anxious wartime situation, Norman Davies writes: “From June 1940 the country was totally surrounded by German-controlled or pro-German neighbors: the link to the outside world via northern Norway was cut, and there was little room for maneuver. As a result, Stockholm bought its neutrality at the cost of selling its iron ore exclusively to Germany.”[103] Thus, Swedish neutrality persevered, as did cultural exchange between the two nations.

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[98] Kaven, “Interrogation of Walter Gieseking,” 4.

[99] For a relatively early article on the murders of Norwegian patriots, see “Executions in Norway: Nine More Yesterday: Nazi Terror at Trondheim,” *Manchester Guardian*, 9 Oct. 1942. For a report on the deportation of 1,000 Norwegian Jews, see “Brutality to Jews in Norway: Swedish Bishops’ Protest,” *The Times*, 4 Dec. 1942, reprinted in Frank Bajohr and Dieter Pohl, *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis: die Deutschen, die NS-Führung und die Alliierten* (Munich: Beck, 2006), 99.

[100] Kaven, “Report on Walter Gieseking,” 6.

[101] Thomas Munch-Petersen, “Sweden,” in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 1092–94.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Davies, *Europe at War*, 287.

Gieseking had not been to Sweden since the Weimar era. As was certainly the case for his other initial Scandinavian wartime concerts, many of the younger audience members would have known him merely through his records owing to his long absence. On the other hand, older concertgoers surely had not forgotten Gieseking's earlier visits, for Swedish critics and audiences had already recognized him as a leading pianist then. After his first concert in Stockholm's Musical Academy on 2 October 1922—at the beginning of his international career and at which time he was already billed as famed pianists Ferruccio Busoni's and Eugen d'Albert's equal—the city's daily newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* proclaimed: "Walter Gieseking is one of the most interesting personalities of our time. A superb pianist, a true artist, a musical poet and painter, a—one can safely say—cultural phenomenon."[104] During the second half of the same season, the *Social-Demokraten*, also of Stockholm, acknowledged that "Gieseking proved to be a divinely gifted pianist."[105]

Gieseking had returned to Sweden after those first appearances, in 1929 for instance, but now, in 1944, so late in the war, he reappeared there for the first time since Germany had come under Hitler's rule—and not without significant public resistance.[106] Although Sweden had terminated the 1940 transit agreement with the Germans in 1943, Hitler's army was preoccupied with its losing fight against the Allies. No longer could it

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[104] "Walter Gieseking är en av samtidens intressantaste personligheter. En överdådig pianist, en verklig konstnär, en musikalisk poet och målare, en—man kan lugnt säga det—kulturföreteelse." W.S., "Teater och musik," *Svenska Dagbladet* (Stockholm), 3 Oct. 1922, copy found, translated into German, in Gieseking's large scrapbook (ca. 47 x 31.5 cm) labeled "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art" ("Scrapbook for all types of Newspaper Clippings") in the GFA.

[105] "Gieseking visade sig vara en gudabenådad pianist." "Giesekings konsert," *Social-Demokraten* (Stockholm), 16 Feb. 1923, copy found, translated into German, in the "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art," GFA.

[106] A postcard Annie sent to her mother, Anna Haake, from Sweden, mentions Walter's 1929 Swedish tour. See Annie Gieseking, Stockholm, to Anna Haake, Wiesbaden, postcard, 11 Oct. 1929, GFA.

consider taking action against the Nordic nation: Sweden had continued to build its military considerably, whereas the *Wehrmacht* had endured great losses and was now in retreat.[107] Thus, by the time of Gieseking's current visit, the "neutral" Swedes were in a position to speak out and take measures against Nazi Germany's visiting artists. And that is exactly what they did.

Just prior to the pianist's arrival in Sweden, while he was in still Copenhagen, Swedish newspapers had initiated a campaign that targeted all Reich artists. One of those advocating the boycott was Karl Gerhard (1891–1964), a native of Stockholm who had enjoyed success as an actor, writer, and theater director. And among those singled out by Gerhard were Furtwängler and Gieseking.[108] "They [the protesters] wrote in effect that every German artist has a propagandistic value," Gieseking later recalled, adding, "The Swedish Foreign Minister made furthermore some disparaging remarks about German art in general, whereupon Berlin sent out an order [to German artists, ordering them] to cancel all Swedish contracts."[109] Yet Gieseking rather insolently refused to give in to the demands of his Swedish opponents as well as the official order from Berlin. "This was too much for me," he told Kaven. "I wired Berlin and they granted me the permission to appear in Sweden."[110] Gieseking, in fact, managed to play and "with great success"

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[107] Thomas Munch-Petersen, "Sweden," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 1092–94.

[108] Nycop, "Det Eviga Förflutna," *Se* (Stockholm), no. 35, 1944, "Paul Seiler's Zarah – Leander – Archiv," accessed 19 Jan. 2012, http//www.zarahleander.de/archiv/437.html.

[109] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 4–5.

[110] Ibid., 4–5. Note, that in Kaven's report he gives the incorrect year of 1943 for Gieseking's Swedish visit, rather than 1944—the correct year in which he also visited Norway.

according to Sweden's wartime Minister of Foreign Affairs, Christian Günther.[111] But Günther was obviously not pleased by this, for he soon issued an entry ban on all German cultural personalities, making it impossible for the Reich to continue that aspect of its propaganda campaign in his nation.[112] Gieseking was accordingly unable to return to Sweden for the remainder of the war. He and the Reich officials must have finally got the message that Germans were not wanted there. His Scandinavian visits in general were now finished with just one exception: he would travel back to Denmark in 1945.

Kaven felt strongly that the pianist's Swedish engagements "throw an interesting light on his personality."[113] He proceeded:

> They prove that he [Gieseking] was a man without tact who couldn't or wouldn't take a hint. They likewise underline the fact that he was a man without understanding or sympathy for the rare expressions of protest against Nazi tyranny, which now and then emerged from the few remaining neutral European countries. In addition, they show that Gieseking was quite an influential man in the artistic world of Nazi Germany—one who could not be pushed around at will.[114]

Kaven further believed there was much more to the story regarding the protest against the pianist's Swedish concerts, speculating that a detailed examination of the confrontation might expose new pertinent information.[115]

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[111] [Franz] Schattenfroh (head of the Foreign Office's Cultural Policy Division), on behalf of Dr. Schatz), Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, to the Deutsche Gesandtschaft, Stockholm, 29 Sept. 1944, Kult Pol K 3894/44, file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin.

[112] [Franz] Schattenfroh (head of the Foreign Office's Cultural Policy Division), on behalf of Dr. Schatz), Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, to the Deutsche Gesandtschaft, Stockholm, 29 Sept. 1944, Kult Pol K 3894/44, file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin.

[113] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 6.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid.

The War Merit Cross

Gieseking had been representing the Reich at an increased level during its growing struggle. Between February and March of 1944 alone he had given concerts in neutral Turkey, Switzerland, and Sweden, as well as occupied Belgium, France, Denmark, and Norway. The Nazi officialdom was pleased and proud of his work. On 22 March, Gieseking received a letter from Hans Hinkel of the Reich Culture Chamber, notifying him that he had earned the *Kriegsverdienstkreuz II. Klasse ohne Schwerter* (War Merit Cross, 2nd Class without Swords):

> Dear esteemed Herr Professor!
>
> I have the honorable duty of informing you on behalf of the President of the Reich Culture Chamber, our Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels, that on 30 January 1944 the Führer awarded you the War Merit Cross, Second Class, without swords.
>
> I am pleased to be able to present this medal and certificate to you and send you the heartiest congratulations on behalf of the Reich Chamber of Culture.
>
> Heil Hitler!
>
> (Hinkel)
> Ministerial Director[116]

While the award appears to be a high distinction—Michael Kater referred to it as a "bonus" for Gieseking—Fred Prieberg tells us that it was rather commonly given out: "The KVK [*Kriegsverdienstkreuz*] was not a 'bonus' for artists, but rather routinely bestowed upon hundreds of thousands of persons, not least even on all of the SS men of the grueling Kommando 99 detachment responsible for the mass murder at the

[116] "Sehr geehrter Herr Professor! Ich habe den ehrenvollen Auftrag des Präsidenten der Reichskulturkammer, unseres Herrn Reichsministers Dr. Goebbels, Sie davon zu benachrichtigen, daß Ihnen der Führer zum 30. Januar 1944 das Kriegsverdienstkreuz II. Klasse ohne Schwerter verliehen hat. Ich freue mich, Ihnen diesen Orden und die Besitzurkunde überreichen zu können, und spreche Ihnen zu dieser Auszeichnung die herzlichsten Glückwünsche der Reichskulturkammer aus. Heil Hitler! (Hinkel) Ministerialdirektor[.]" Hans Hinkel to Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Mar. 1944, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

Buchenwald concentration camp."[117] Furthermore, although the decoration was granted in Hitler's name, there is no evidence that Gieseking personally met him on this occasion either. Hinkel's letter makes it clear that it was he, and not Hitler, who physically presented the award to the pianist. This was perhaps unceremoniously done, when Gieseking was able to stop by the Reich Culture Chamber during his next visit to Berlin.

Regardless of its true prestige, Gieseking was newly decorated. He continued concertizing and, when requests came from Berlin, he dutifully fulfilled them.

Spain and Portugal, late April– early May

As in the previous year, Gieseking made appearances in both Spain and Portugal in 1944, once more from the end of April to early May.[118] He gave an increased number of concerts in the two countries this time, his wartime maximum in each instance, and now first traveled to Spain.

With Mussolini's fall in July 1943, the Spanish government had begun to improve its relationship with the Allies, so that by May 1944, with Germany's defeat more assured, they would reach an agreement: in exchange for oil and other materials, Spain reduced much of its tungsten shipments to Germany, surrendered Italian ships, shut down the German consulate in Tangier, and forced out many German spies.[119] Despite the

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[117] Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 70; note that Kater translates the award name as the "Martial Order of Merit." "[D]as KVK [war] keine 'Extrabelohnung' für Künstler . . ., sondern Routine für Hunderttausende, nicht zuletzt sogar noch für alle SS-Männer des mit Massenmord befaßten strapaziösen Kommandos 99 im KZ Buchenwald." Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter," see 2218.

[118] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[119] I. C. B. Dear, ed., "Spain," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 1033–34.

continued decline in diplomatic relations, the cultural exchange between Germany and Spain persisted.

Gieseking played on at least six occasions in Spain during the new visit, beginning in Madrid, followed by Barcelona, the northernmost cities of Santander, Bilbao, and San Sebastián, and, at the trip's close, Barcelona again.[120] The Madrid recital probably took place on 23 April at the latest and was given for the Musical Culture Association as in the previous year. Gieseking played works by Beethoven, Brahms, Debussy, Liszt, and—not forgetting his whereabouts—Albéniz and Scarlatti. He seldom programmed the music of Albeniz, who had lived in Madrid, and the Italian-born composer, Domenico Scarlatti (b. 1685), we will do well to remember, had likewise spent much of his career in the Spanish capital, from 1733 to his death in 1757, while employed by the royal family. Afterward, one could read about Gieseking's "brilliant concert" in the local paper *Hoja del Lunes*, whose critic recognized the artist as "the foremost master of the difficult art of piano playing" ("el más destacado profesor en el difícil arte del piano"). "If Gieseking's Beethoven was admirable," the review continued, "the same heights were reached in his Brahms, Debussy, Liszt, Albeniz, and Scarlatti. The audience no longer knew how to express its admiration and enthusiasm." Gieseking exited the stage to a standing ovation.[121]

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[120] A., "Brillante concierto de Gieseking en la Cultural: Gieseking, en la Asociación de Cultura Musical," *Hoja del Lunes* (Madrid), 24 Apr. 1944. Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, to Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW. Note that Severin Kaven could only find record of two performances in Spain this year, as he made clear in his report. See Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3, 7.

[121] "Si estuvo admirable Gieseking en Beethoven, a la misma altura llegó con Brahms, con Debussy, con Listz [*sic*], con Albéniz y con Scarlatti. El público no sabía ya cómo expresar su admiración y su entusiasmo." A., "Brillante concierto de Gieseking en la Cultural: Gieseking, en la Asociación de Cultura Musical," *Hoja del Lunes* (Madrid), 24 Apr. 1944.

It is also possible that, while in Madrid, Gieseking gave a performance at the German Embassy, where Hans Dieckhoff was still in office as Reich Ambassador to Spain. We will recall that, when being interrogated by Kaven after the war, he acknowledged that he had played at the Embassy several times during the war, and a letter to Dieckhoff from 6 June 1944 proves that the two men had intermingled during the visit.[122]

Describing Gieseking's recital at Santander's Filarmónica on 1 May, another Spanish critic was at a loss for words: "All that is said in praise of this great pianist must be insufficient. His wonderful execution, interpretation, and sound could not be more perfect. It is without affectedness and of the most elegant simplicity. The room full of people, risen to his feet, cheered this superb pianist with boundless enthusiasm, asking for a repeat visit soon." The program this time had featured music of Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, Debussy, and Liszt.[123]

Spain would be one of the few foreign nations to which Gieseking would return for a string of concerts in 1945.

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[122] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 7; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff and wife, Madrid, letter, 6 June 1944, lot-tissimo (auction website), accessed 25 Oct. 2013, http://www.lot-tissimo.com/de/i/4449517/gieseking-walter-2-briefe-1943-1944-gieseking-walter-klaviervirtuose-spielte-urauff+-252-hrungen-von. (Note that the website makes available only excerpts from the letter, which has since been sold; its full content could confirm whether the suspected recital at the embassy did occur.

[123] "Todo cuanto se diga en elogio de este gran pianista será pequeño ante la realidad. Es maravilloso de ejecución, de interpretación, de sonido; no es posible mayor perfección. Sin alardes y con una sencillez elegantísima. La sala, llena de público, puesto de pie, aclamó a este excelentísimo pianista con gran entusiasmo, pidiendo que se repita pronto su visita." "Santander," Información musical, *Ritmo: Revista musical ilustrada*, June–July 1944, 19. For reviews of Gieseking's performances in Bilbao and San Sebastián during the same tour see R. I., "Bilbao," Información musical, *Ritmo: Revista musical ilustrada*, May 1944, 13 and L. M., "San Sebastian," *Ritmo*, Información musical, *Ritmo: Revista musical ilustrada*, May 1944, 14–15.

Traveling on to Portugal, Gieseking there filled no fewer than seven more engagements.[124] Similar to Spain's actions, Portugal's dictator, Salazar, had further increased cooperation with the Allies and stopped supplying all of its crucial tungsten to Germany in the summer of 1944, thus damaging Portuguese-German relations.[125] In addition, Gieseking's friend and contact in Lisbon, Minister Hoyningen-Huene, would be recalled to Berlin in September, having lost the trust of Nazi officials, and his replacement, SS-Officer Gustav Adolph von Halem, was probably busy with diplomatic matters deemed more important than concerts at that critical hour.[126] It is therefore no surprise that in 1945, Gieseking would not combine a visit to Portugal upon journeying to Spain, which he had already suspected might be the case months in advance. Questioning the worsening wartime conditions, he had written to Hoyningen-Huene on 6 June 1944: "Whether it will be possible to travel to Portugal again next winter? We should like to hope so and, in general, want to stay optimistic enough so that we may look forward to another wonderful trip to Iberia during the next season, too."[127] Gieseking must have been happy to fulfill at least the Spanish half of the tour.

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[124] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3, 7. Kaven gives seven as his count.

[125] Davies, *Europe at War*, 286.

[126] [U.S.] State Department Special Interrogation Mission, Interrogation of Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, 11 Oct. 1945, p. 8, NARA II, College Park, MD, RG165, Box 745, 390/35/15/02, entry P, 179C.

[127] "Ob es nächsten Winter möglich sein wird, nach Portugal zu reisen? Wir wollen es hoffen und wollen überhaupt optimistisch genug sein, um zu erwarten, dass auch die nächste Saison wieder die schöne Reise nach Iberien bringen wird. . . ." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

Wartime Transportation

The most common means of transportation for Gieseking's European tours had always been the train—for "nearly four fifths of my travels" ("Fast vier Fünftel des Reisens"), he estimated in an interview given while in Paris in April 1943.[128] By the time of his concerts in Portugal and Spain in 1944, however, he had begun to journey partly by car, taking flights for the longer distances, to Portugal and back to Germany from Spain for example, combined with train travel. While the automobile was still a modern luxury, its use had become a necessity to some degree owing to the war's development, with all its danger and the destruction and disruption of rail lines. Naturally, air travel, too, was made riskier because of the intensifying air raids. When Gieseking and Annie were flying back to Stuttgart from Barcelona at the conclusion of the recent Spanish-Portuguese trip, the pilot had to take a number of "precautionary detours" ("Vorsichts-Umwegen") and make a stopover in Nîmes, France, "until the air became clearer, etc." ("bis die Luft reiner war, u.s.w.")[129] The perils of the war were surely, and understandably, partly the reason for the pianist's personal desire to give fewer concerts at this point. Though he never admitted as much, he did express complaint, as in the aforementioned interview

[128] Dr. Hans Steen, "Walter Gieseking in Lyon geboren: Der berühmte deutsche Pianist erzählt aus seiner Jugend," *Pariser Zeitung*, 14 Apr. 1943.

[129] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff and wife, Madrid, letter, 6 June 1944, lot-tissimo (auction website), accessed 25 Oct. 2013, http://www.lot-tissimo.com/de/i/4449517/gieseking-walter-2-briefe-1943-1944-gieseking-walter-klaviervirtuose-spielte-urauff+-252-hrungen-von. (Note that the website quotes only an excerpt from the letter to Dieckhoff, which has since been sold. In it, Gieseking makes it clear that he and Annie took a flight back to Stuttgart.)

carried out in Paris: "These trips are extremely taxing for me, and you cannot imagine how much I am looking forward to being home again in two days."[130]

Although he often found his itineraries too hectic, Gieseking at least seems to have enjoyed riding in automobiles tremendously. He made this rather clear when writing to Hoyningen-Huene after the latest visit to Portugal: "The concerts in Northern Spain that followed were despite the pleasant and rather comfortable trip by car nonetheless quite exhausting. After finishing the engagements in Santander, Bilbao, San Sebastián, and Barcelona again, from 10:00 p.m. to 12:45 a.m., I myself was finished!"[131]

Upon resuming his career after the war, Gieseking will purchase his own motor vehicle to use for many of his European engagements and even for his final American visit. In each instance, his younger daughter, Freya, having received her license, will serve as her father's personal "driver" (as she lightheartedly begins to refer to herself).[132]

Hungary, May

After a short break at home in Wiesbaden, Gieseking set out for his third wartime visit to Hungary in May 1944. While Hungary had been an Axis power, Hitler had commanded his troops to occupy the nation as recently as 19 March, initiating what was codenamed Operation Margarethe. The Germans had learned that Hungary was

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[130] "Diese Reisen heute sind für mich eine sehr schwere Belastung und Sie glauben nicht, wie ich mich freue, in zwei Tagen wieder daheim zu sein." Dr. Hans Steen, "Walter Gieseking in Lyon geboren: Der berühmte deutsche Pianist erzählt aus seiner Jugend," *Pariser Zeitung*, 14 Apr. 1943.

[131] "Die Konzerte in Nordspanien, die noch folgten, waren trotz der schönen und ziemlich bequemen Reise im Auto doch sehr anstrengend, ich war, nachdem ich noch Santander, Bilbao, San Sebastian und nochmal von 22 bis 0.45 Uhr Barcelona erledigt hatte, selbst erledigt!" Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, to Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[132] The touring by car with Freya driving is well documented in the family correspondence in the GFA and is discussed further in Chapter 14.

negotiating a cease-fire with the Western Allies, and had therefore taken action to prevent it.[133] The Hitler regime promptly appointed a puppet government, headed by the pro-German Döme Sztójay (1883–1946), which with the SS's assistance began the collection and deportation of Hungarian Jews and Roma.[134] By July over 430,000 of these latest Nazi victims had arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau, with a few thousand more sent to Bergen-Belsen and elsewhere.[135] The extent to which Gieseking was aware of the current goings-on in Hungary is uncertain, but he must have learned something about the ghettos and deportations as well as the strong resistance that had begun to emerge since the occupation.[136] Thus, this is yet another instance in which his timing, amid these tragic months, makes his visit highly controversial.

Prior to the departure, Gieseking, and presumably Annie, were surprised when they received their new passports on time "with all the necessary embellishments" ("mit allen notwendigen Verschönerungen"), allowing them to arrive in Budapest on schedule. "It was a miracle," he told Hoyningen-Huene afterward.[137] They had surely taken a plane for this lengthier distance.

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[133] Martyn Rady, "Ferenc Szálasi, 'Hungarism and the Arrow Cross," in *In the Shadow of Hitler: Personalities of the Right in Central and Eastern Europe*, eds. Rebecca Haynes and Martyn Rady (New York: I.B. Tauris; New York: Distributed by Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 269.

[134] Ian Armour, "Hungary," in Dear and Foot, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, 551.

[135] Kinga Frojimovics, "The special characteristics of the Holocaust in Hungary, 1938–45," in *The Routledge History of the Holocaust*, ed. Jonathan C. Friedman (New York: Routledge, 2011), 257; Doris L. Bergen, *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 223.

[136] The ghettoization had begun on 16 April 1944. Frojimovics, "The special characteristics of the Holocaust in Hungary," 256.

[137] "[D]ann geschah ein Wunder." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

The details of Gieseking's Hungarian engagements remain to be uncovered, but the success of the short stay in the capital led to its extension by a few days to allow for an additional concert as well as a radio recording for broadcast purposes.[138] The Propaganda Ministry or Foreign Office may very well have been behind the latter because of its ability to reach out to the masses. Severin Kaven noted that Gieseking gave three concerts during the visit, but it is uncertain if this included the added activity.[139] In any case, the Hungarian trip turned out slightly more eventful than originally planned. And while it was a worrisome time for those in the capital, Gieseking and Annie felt relatively at ease: "we were not really disturbed by the alarms," he subsequently relayed to Ambassador Dieckhoff in Madrid. "Everyone else in Budapest is quite nervous, always fearing there will be severe air raids. We are more accustomed to the situation. . . ."[140]

It was to be Gieseking's last one there during the war, however. In late January 1945, members of Hungary's newly established provisional government succeeded in joining the Allies and declaring war on Germany.[141] This came near the end of the Siege of Budapest, in which the Soviets, assisted by Romanian troops, gained control of the city after much bloodshed, the final German and Hungarian forces surrendering to the Red

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[138] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff and wife, Madrid, letter, 6 June 1944, lot-tissimo (auction website), accessed 25 Oct. 2013, http://www.lot-tissimo.com/de/i/4449517/gieseking-walter-2-briefe-1943-1944-gieseking-walter-klaviervirtuose-spielte-urauff+-252-hrungen-von.

[139] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[140] "wir . . . wurden auch nicht nennenswert durch Alarme gestört. In Budapest ist man sonst ziemlich nervös und befürchtet gleich immer schlimme Luftangriffe. Da sind wir besser trainiert. . . ." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff and wife, Madrid, letter, 6 June 1944, lot-tissimo (auction website), accessed 25 Oct. 2013, http://www.lot-tissimo.com/de/i/4449517/gieseking-walter-2-briefe-1943-1944-gieseking-walter-klaviervirtuose-spielte-urauff+-252-hrungen-von.

[141] The "Armistice Agreement with Hungary," signed at Moscow on 20 January, has been made available online by the Yale Law School's Lillian Goldman Law Library as part of its Avalon Project; see http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/hungary.asp#1 (accessed 6 May 2012).

Army on 13 February. Having entered Hungary in September 1944, the Soviets had started to execute ethnic Germans and German nationals, among others, beginning the deportation of thousands of both men and women to the U.S.S.R. in December to carry out forced labor.[142] Rather surprisingly, Gieseking's many postwar opponents essentially overlooked his Hungarian visit of 1944. Even Severin Kaven, who was otherwise so meticulous and reproachful, failed to include any detailed or harsh criticism related to its unfortunate circumstances.

From Budapest, Gieseking returned to Wiesbaden, where he hoped to enjoy another break from concertizing. "Since then I have been able to stay home, with little desire to work more," he wrote to Hoyningen-Huene on 6 June.[143] To his dismay, however, further bookings were already being made, and to the German minister he confided, "Yet there is already the threat of more [concerts], and the struggle to work out the dates for the next season is underway."[144] It is unclear just how many of these engagements were being requested by the Berlin officials.

Richard Hill on Gieseking's 1943–44 Season

In a report from June titled "Concert Life in Berlin Season 1943–44," Richard Hill drew from reports published in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (*DAZ*) to give a summary of a selection of Gieseking's activities during the recently concluded concert

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[142] László Borhi, *Hungary in the Cold War, 1945–1956: Between the United States and the Soviet Union* (New York: Central European University Press, 2004), 55. A detailed examination of the deportation of Hungary's ethnic Germans is found in Ulrich Merten, *Forgotten Voices: The Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern Europe after World War II* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2012), 173–206.

[143] "[S]eitdem konnte ich aber zu hause bleiben und verspüre auch sehr wenig Verlangen nach weiterer Arbeit." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[144] "Aber es droht schon wieder Verschiedenes und die Balgerei um die Daten der nächsten Saison ist in vollem Gange." Ibid.

season. As Hill explained, the *DAZ*, while printed in Berlin, was among many foreign newspapers that continued to be made available in the U.S. "with almost perfect regularity in spite of the war and with rather greater dispatch than in peacetimes because of the needs of war."[145] With regard to Gieseking, Hill wrote:

> Gieseking accompanied Franz Notholt in a complete performance of the "Winterreise" on Nov. 21 to commemorate the 115th anniversary of Schubert's death.[146] Around the same period he gave a piano recital at the *Auslandspresseklub*, long since taken away from the foreign reporters and made into an office and meeting place for Nazi officials. Two dispatches from Ankara on Feb. 18th [3:4][147] and 20th [4:2] report tremendous ovations for his six concerts in Turkey. Apparently, there is no coolness between Gieseking and the Nazis; they trust him sufficiently to permit him to avoid the bombs by touring neutral countries. In an unpaged supplement [of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*] issued on April 30th, he is reported to have given a concert to wild applause in Madrid. On May 5th [3:4], a dispatch from Portugal describes a concert before a very select group of notables, who were guests of the German ambassador and the Baroness von Hoyningen-Huene, "in den Räumen des weissen Hauses" ["in the rooms of the white house"] in Lisbon. The same evening he gave a public recital in the San Carlos theater [the Teatro Nacional de São Carlos, the Lisbon opera house], and later headed north for Porto. . . .[148]

It had indeed been a busy season for Gieseking, and Hill's article is another wartime example of American criticism pertaining to the pianist's career under the regime. Yet Hill was apparently unaware of the full extent to which Gieseking's performances in neutral nations served the regime's propaganda missions, as in the case of the Turkish tour in particular.

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[145] Richard S. Hill, "Concert Life in Berlin Season 1943-44," 13.

[146] This recital was discussed in Chapter 7.

[147] In each case here, the bracketed information refers to the page number and column of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, for which Hill give the date in each case.

[148] Richard S. Hill, "Concert Life in Berlin Season 1943-44," 31–33.

The Reich's Final Summer, 1944

As the war pressed on, there was still plenty of concert activity within the Reich. Among Gieseking's more eminent colleagues who were able to continue performing full time were the pianists Elly Ney, Wilhelm Kempff, Frida Kwast-Hodapp, Friedrich Wührer, Cor de Groot, Adrian Aeschbacher, Sigfrid Grundeis, Conrad Hansen, and Edwin Fischer. One of the musicians Gieseking respected most, Fischer had moved from Berlin back to his homeland of Switzerland in 1942, but continued to return to Germany to give concerts, sometimes with his own chamber orchestra.[149] The composer Walter Niemann, though not a pianist of the highest caliber, kept extremely busy too, performing his own music for solo piano and with orchestra.[150]

One of Gieseking's summer performances of 1944 was of Pfitzner's Piano Concerto in E-flat, op. 31—by now a Reich-era warhorse—which he played "in a perfect manner" ("in vollendeter Wiedergabe") with Albert Bittner leading the Hamburg Radio Symphony Orchestra (Hamburger Rundfunkorchester).[151] Bittner had been newly appointed as conductor of Hamburg's Staatsoper, and his style was described as being

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[149] Consequently, unlike the rest of these pianists, Fischer seems to have escaped any trouble after the war from the occupying Allied Military Governments. The others listed above were all suspected of having collaborated with the regime afterward and until cleared could not make any public performances, a restriction that lasted no longer than until March 1947, however. From that point on, all concert pianists were apparently cleared, for only composers (e.g. Richard Strauss and Carl Orff) remained banned from giving public performances owing to their alleged ability "to exert influence in the forming of public opinion." Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 53–4. For late wartime reviews of Fischer playing with his chamber orchestra in Germany see "Zeitspiegel: Veranstaltungen," *Musik im Kriege*, Juni/Juli 1944, 77 and Dorothea Zschunke, "Konzerte: Potsdam," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1944, 110–11.

[150] For an impressive list of Niemann's engagements in various *Gaue*, also sponsored in part by the Nazi Strength-Through-Joy organization, see "Zeitspiegel: Veranstaltungen," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1944, 118. While Niemann would live until 1953, his entire output vanished virtually overnight from the concert repertoire after the war, and Gieseking, too, seems to have lost interest in it by then.

[151] H. Weiher-Waege, "Konzerte: Hamburg," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1944, 107–8.

"clear and balanced . . . with tamed artistic temperament and a strong sense of warmness."[152]

Gieseking's Less-Illustrious Colleagues

Still active in the Reich during the summer of 1944 were a number of lesser-known concert pianists as well, among them Eva Horner, Magda Rusy, Herta Thatje, Gertrud Trenktrog, Willy Hülser, Georg von Vasarhely, Frederic Ogouse, and Hans-Erich Riebensahm. None would enjoy success anything near that of the Reich's elite, yet they had all become increasingly needed now that so many musicians had emigrated, been imprisoned or killed, or put to work for the war effort. Because their concerts were often simply mentioned in the diminished Reich media without any thorough evaluation, however, it is impossible to gain any idea of how well most of these musicians played. We can be confident that the quality varied considerably, though most were doubtless at least competent at their craft. Writing for *Musik im Kriege*, H. Weiher-Waege noted the following in a review on the Hamburg scene: "Among the vast flood of piano recitals given, which made varying impressions, notable were at least Elly Ney with the last four Beethoven Sonatas, Gieseking with Reger's *Bach Variations*, and Hans Erich Riebensahm with the complete Beethoven Sonatas; of the Hamburg pianists, Ferry Gebhardt and Detlef Kraus deserve mention."[153] Unfavorable reviews of Reich artists

[152] This appraisal of Bittner's qualities as conductor was from the same review that included Gieseking's Pfitzner concert, but was of a separate performance Bittner had recently given of works by Schubert and Brahms while leading the Hamburg Philharmonic. The original read, "Der neue Dirigent der Staatsoper Albert Bittner stellte sich in einem Sonderkonzert der Philharmoniker mit Schubert und Brahms als klare und ausgeglichene Dirigentenpersönlichkeit von gebändigtem künstlerischem Temperament und starker Empfindungswärme vor." Weiher-Waege, "Konzerte: Hamburg," 107–8.

[153] "Aus der unübersehbaren Flut der Klavierabende mit mehr oder minder starken Eindrücken seien wenigstens Elly Ney mit den vier letzten Beethovensonaten, Gieseking mit den Bachvariationen von

were difficult to impossible to find in the German press at this time for obvious reasons, but while Weiher-Waege did little more than name the last two young artists, their playing, if not remarkable, could not have been subpar. Both went on to have fine careers, Kraus (1919–2008) in particular. He had studied under Wilhelm Kempff and made his Reich debut at age sixteen with both books of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*—an impressive undertaking for any pianist.[154]

A small stir was created in Hamburg and Regensburg in the summer of 1944 when another younger German, Hans Erich Riebensahm (1906–?), performed the aforementioned complete Beethoven Piano Sonata cycle in six evenings.[155] (We will recall that in the winter of 1915–16, near the end of his studies under Leimer in Hanover, Gieseking had played from memory a virtually complete cycle, likewise in six recitals, excluding only the two small-scale Sonatas of op. 49.[156]) Originally from Königsberg, Riebensahm was a former pupil of the legendary Beethoven interpreter Artur Schnabel (1882–1951), who, as a Jew accused of being a "Kulturbolschewist," had wisely left Berlin in 1933.[157] Reviewing Riebensahms's performances in Regensburg, Franz Zöllner wrote for *Musik im Kriege*, "His faithful [*werkgetreue*], spiritualized way of playing

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Reger, Hans Erich Riebensahm mit sämtlichen Beethovensonaten hervorgehoben, von Hamburger Pianisten Ferry Gebhardt und Detlef Kraus genannt." Weiher-Waege, "Konzerte: Hamburg," 107–8.

[154] "Detlef Kraus verstorben," Klassik.com, accessed 23 Feb. 2012, http://magazin.klassik.com/news/teaser.cfm?ID=5641. For more on Kraus, see Hans-Peter Range, *Die Konzertpianisten der Gegenwart: Ein Musikliebhaber berichtet über Konzertmilieu und 150 Klavier-Virtuosen* (Lahr/Schwarzwald: M. Schauenburg, 1964), s.v. "Kraus, Detlef."

[155] Weiher-Waege, "Konzerte: Hamburg," 107–8.

[156] See Introduction.

[157] That Riebensahm studied with Schnabel is mentioned in "Kreativ, intellektuell, virtuos und charismatisch: Zum Tod des Pianisten Robert-Alexander Bohnke," *Neue Musikzeitung*, 21 Jan. 2010, accessed 15 Feb. 2012, http://www.nmz.de/artikel/kreativ-intellektuell-virtuos-und-charismatisch. Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Schnabel, Artur."

made a deep impression."[158] Naturally, there would be no mention of Schnabel in the write-ups, although Riebensahm was clearly following the tradition of his famous mentor.[159]

Further Reich concert life existed in the form of student performances. This would have also included those pupils who came from abroad to study, often by participating in masterclasses such as those that Gieseking, Karl Leimer, and other colleagues of theirs led as part of the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer. Many participants must have performed or at least partaken in shared recitals during their studies. In addition, there were those concerts given by members of the Hitler Youth's music division and pupils of Gau music schools and other institutions.[160]

The Gau Student Directorate for Danzig-West Prussia (Gaustudentenführung Danzig-Westpreußen), to give one example, organized a series of summer concerts in 1944, in part given under the title "Studenten musizieren," or "Students Make Music." Not only did students from the local Gau music school (Gaumusikschule) perform, but also others enrolled in the medical academy (Medizinische Akademie) and trade school (Technische Hochschule). Some of the doctors, too, took part, and the concerts included a range of chamber and orchestral music at various venues. For one event, which featured the Danzig State Theater's orchestra, a pupil from the Gau music school, Igor

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[158] "Seine werkgetreue, durchgeistigte Art der Wiedergabe beeindruckte tief." Zöllner, "Konzerte: Regensburg," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1944, 111–12.

[159] While Riebensahm would not go on to have a major career, he enjoyed success as a performer and pedagogue. In 1949, he began to teach at the Staatliche Hochschule für Musik und Bildene Kunst in Berlin. Werner Kaspert, "Musik und Musiker im Bergischen Land," Bergischer Geschichtsverein, Rehine-Berg, p. 6, accessed 15 Feb. 2012, http://archiv.bgv-rhein-berg.de/files/1970-2-S76-82.pdf.

[160] There were many Hitler Youth musicians, who in part played in ensembles of varying size such as choirs and orchestras. In addition to performing Nazi songs and other purely political repertoire, often for Nazi Party functions, they played standard concert literature during public concerts and events and over Reich radio stations as well. Michael H. Kater, *Hitler Youth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 32–33.

Tschitschagow, played the solo part for a performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto in D minor, K. 466. During another one of the recitals, violinist Bernhard Leßman of Berlin and pianist Ella Mertins of Danzig presented a program of German works, including the premiere of Walter Draeger's (1888–1976) suite from 1937, *Kleines Lehrbuch der Zoologie* (A Concise Textbook on Zoology) for violin and reduced orchestra. Such concerts provided serious music-making for Reich audiences.[161]

Two Final Wartime Lieder, May–June 1944

During the earlier part of summer 1944, Gieseking once again found inspiration to compose two more art songs, his only other finished wartime Lieder. Like the two from 1940, they are inspired and well-crafted works, yet they, too, were never published. One is a setting of an anonymous poem, "Ich geh' in dir," which, somewhat freely, translates as "I walk with you." While the largely completed draft is undated, the dates of the surrounding, unrelated sketches on the same page show that the song was composed sometime between 20 February 1944 and May 1944. At the conclusion of the fair copy, however, Gieseking inscribes the more precise dates: "Mai–June 1944."[162]

The second Lied, written at the same time ("Mai–Juni 1944"), is "Löwenzahn," or "Dandelion," a setting of one of the popular Austrian poet Karl Heinrich Waggerl's (1897–1973) many *Blumenverse* or flower poems. As we have seen, Gieseking maintained a passion for botany, something frequently made clear in his correspondence, and he could have only felt somewhat indebted to the dandelion: the plant's nutritious leaves, we will recall, were helping provide necessary nourishment for him and his

[161] "Zeitspiegel: Studentische Kulturarbeit in Danzig," *Musik im Kriege*, Aug./Sept. 1944, 116.

[162] The manuscripts are maintained in Gieseking's *Nachlass* in the GFA.

family during the difficult times of the war.[163] The colorful, modern harmonies of Gieseking's setting of the Waggerl text are strikingly beautiful and would have surely pleased the poet.[164]

The source of the text is an interesting, wartime rarity itself. It appeared as a thinly combined collection of twelve poems *Vergißmeinnicht* (*Forget-Me-Not*, after the Myosotis flower), which Waggerl had prepared and privately printed in 1944. Probably made from rationed paper, the booklet is dedicated to the poet's wife, Dita, on the occasion of her birthday.[165] A mere 100 copies were made, "6 of them from old *Schöpfpapier*" (mold-made paper), and Gieseking somehow got his hands on one. The themes vary from more flower verses, such as "Hungerblümchen" ("Whitlowgrass") and "Taubnessel" ("Deadnettle"), to topics such as "Die Winde" ("The Winds"), "Der Dichter" ("The Poet"), and "Kleine Fliegen" ("Small Flies")—over half of which appeared in no other publication. Of particular interest is a handwritten note in Waggerl's hand from that spring in which twenty-five persons are listed, all of whom presumably received a personal copy of the collection.[166] While these include friends of the poet's, among them the painter Ernst Huber; his publisher, Anton Kippenberg; and even Waggerl's mistresses, "B. K." and "G. L.;" also listed are high-ranking Nazi officials and representatives of cultural institutions, e.g. Gauhauptmann Albert Reitter and the art

[163] See Chapter 6.

[164] Both "Ich geh' in dir" and "Löwenzahn" are included on the recent CD, produced by the author, *Walter Gieseking: The Rediscovered Compositions*.

[165] Having worked as a book designer, Waggerl had the skills to prepare the collection himself. The dedication reads, "Ditalein zum Geburtstag 1944 gewidmet." A copy of the collection is preserved in the Waggerl-Haus Archive in Wagrain (near Salzburg). The author thanks the eminent Waggerl scholar, Prof. Mag. Dr. Karl Müller of the Universität Salzburg for his helpful assistance pertaining to the Waggerl text and booklet. Professor Müller is the author of *Karl Heinrich Waggerl: eine Biographie mit Bildern, Texten und Dokumenten* (Salzburg: O. Müller, 1997).

[166] The note is preserved in the Waggerl-Archive in Wagrain near Salzburg. Karl Müller, e-mail message to author, 9 Nov. 2011.

thieves SS-Führer Kai (Kajetan) Mühlmann and gallery owner Friedrich Welz. Gieseking is not on the list.[167]

Why Waggerl catered to the officials needs little explanation. He served as chairman of the Nazi Reich Chamber of Culture at Salzburg, and at the same time he contributed a main essay to the Hitler Youth Anthology *Kulturempfinden und Entartung* (*Cultural Sensitivity and Degeneration*). His theme: "In Praise of Kitsch in Literature."[168] This appeared on the occasion of the annual "Culture Days of the Hitler Youth" in Salzburg in 1944, during the time of the NS-regimes so-called "*Endkampf*" (final battle).[169] Admittedly, Gieseking may have known nothing about Waggerl's political interests.

While Gieseking would compose no further Lieder during the war, on 6 November 1950, just one day after turning age 55, he would spontaneously set three more brief verses from Waggerl's then newly published collection, *Heiteres Herbarium* (Humorous Herbarium).[170] The pianist probably received the volume as a birthday gift, and he selected "Der Schierling" (The Hemlock), "Die Distel" (The Thistle), and "Das Läusekraut" (The Lousewort).[171] Although one must combine the drafts to complete the songs, they can be viewed as completed works and therefore considered his final finished

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[167] Karl Müller, e-mail message to author, 9 Nov. 2011.

[168] Karl Heinrich Waggerl, "Lob des Kitsches in der Literatur," in *Kulturempfinden und Entartung*. Salzburger Kulturtage der Hitlerjugend 1944. Waggerl's essay was republished in an edited form after 1945 on several occasions. See for example Waggerl, "Über den Kitsch," in *Berichte und Informationen* (Salzburg), 21 Mar. 1947.

[169] Karl Müller, e-mail message to author, 9 Nov. 2011. The German title of the festival was *Salzburger Kulturtage der Hitlerjugend 1944*.

[170] Waggerl, *Heiteres Herbarium: Blumen und Verse* (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1950).

[171] Waggerl returned to the "dandelion" theme by including a second, new "Löwenzahn" poem in *Heiteres Herbarium: Blumen und Verse*, and he would do so again in his *Begegnung mit dem Löwenzahn* (Munich: Obst- und Gartenbauverlag, [1965]).

compositions. The verses are quite amusing, and Gieseking captured Waggerl's wit brilliantly. Like his setting of "Löwenzahn" and the other wartime Lieder, they were nonetheless left unpublished.

Braunwald Classes and Karl Leimer's Death, July

In the summer of 1944, Gieseking journeyed back to Braunwald, Switzerland, to lead piano classes advertised as "Musical Vacation Courses" (Musikalische Ferienkurse), as he had done the previous year.[172] This was a commitment that he enjoyed tremendously owing to the scenic, peaceful Alpine location, and this time he brought along Annie and their two daughters, Jutta and Freya.[173] This year's Festival Musikwoche Braunwald ran from 17 to 31 July, and Gieseking gave six classes between 25 July and the final day.[174]

On 19 July, one week before the teaching engagement began, Gieseking's former mentor and erstwhile brother-in-law, Karl Leimer, died at age 86 in Wiesbaden.[175] Gieseking had been very close to Leimer for nearly thirty-three years, since the beginning of his studies in Hanover in November 1911.[176] He must have been deeply upset by the news. The weeklong getaway in Braunwald may have been a welcome distraction, easing his grief some, but at the same time the classroom setting must have reminded him of the

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[172] "IX. Musikalische Ferienkurse Braunwald 1944," Nachrichten aus der Schweiz: Sommer-Veranstaltungen, *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 June 1944, 260.

[173] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

[174] "IX. Musikalische Ferienkurse Braunwald 1944," 260; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

[175] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 31.

[176] Gieseking describes auditioning for Leimer in his memoirs. See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 23.

courses he had taught over the years in conjunction with Leimer for the Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer.[177]

The festival's main course this summer was on the topic of the Romantic composers Schumann, Brahms, and Hugo Wolf, and it was again led by Bernhard Paumgartner, along with conductor Paul Kletzki and several other musicians. Gieseking's classes were one of three *Sonderkurse*, or special courses, the other two being Kletzki's on "Problems in Conducting" (Probleme des Dirigierens) and Paumgartner's "Lied and Aria Course" (Lied- und Arienkurs).[178] Auditors were to register for the courses at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Braunwald, based in Zurich.[179] The broad range of literature Gieseking demonstrated and discussed—similar to what he had done in 1943—included works from three, possibly four, centuries, this time including sonatas by "[Domenico] Scarlatti, [Pietro Domenico] Paradisi, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven etc. through Liszt and maybe some modern composers. . . ."[180] It was in such situations that the great pianist could make use of his innate abilities best, and the participants must have been astounded by his staggering memory and sight-reading skills as he played through one composition after another.

In a letter that Gieseking allegedly wrote to his American assistant manager, Edward Snowdon, just after his blacklisting in the fall of 1945, he claimed that Nazi

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[177] Leimer is remembered today for having been Gieseking's principal teacher and for two of his method books that have been translated into several languages and remain available worldwide: *Modernes Klavierspiel nach Leimer-Gieseking* (1931) and *Rhythmik, Dynamik, Pedal und andere Probleme des Klavierspiels nach Leimer-Gieseking* (1938). More on Leimer's methods is found in Excursus I, "Karl Leimer and The Deutsche Musikinstitut für Ausländer Courses, 1935–1944" and Excursus III, "Karl Leimer's Professor Title."

[178] "IX. Musikalische Ferienkurse Braunwald 1944," 260.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene, Lisbon, letter, 6 June 1944, Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316, HLW.

victims and opponents attended his Braunwald piano classes and that Nazi-censored composers were addressed:

> [T]here were in the audience Polish-Jewish refugees and a prominent Italian anti-Fascist [unidentified]. I answered questions about Mendelssohn, Schonburg [*sic*], and Hindemuth [*sic*].[181]

We can believe that Gieseking discussed the music of the above Nazi-banned composers, yet it is not made clear whether he actually performed any of their works in Braunwald—they were not listed in the aforementioned announcement in the *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung*. What is more, not all of the Polish-Jewish refugees were happy to see the German artist in Braunwald, in particular the festival participant Paul Kletzki (born Pawel Klecki, 1900–73), a Polish-born conductor and composer.[182]

After completing studies in Warsaw, Kletzki attended further courses in Berlin starting in 1921, where he then settled. Owing to his Jewish heritage, he fled Germany in 1933, going to Italy until 1937 and the U.S.S.R. from 1937 to 1938, before permanently moving to Switzerland in 1939.[183] Kletzki was angered by Gieseking's involvement in the Braunwald festival, and after the war he enjoyed a bit of revenge when he spoke to American officials of the Information Control Division about the pianist. In a dispatch on Gieseking from 7 December 1945, Chief of Intelligence, Alfred Toombs, summarized Kletzki's allegations as follows:

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[181] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6. We have no reason to believe that Gieseking did not write such a letter, as this account seems plausible enough. The misspellings, it should be noted, were certainly not Gieseking's own, but rather the result of a careless typist who prepared Snowdon's pamphlet in which the excerpt appeared.

[182] Robert Jenny, "75 Jahre jung – Musikwoche Braunwald," Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Braunwald, p. 9, accessed 14 Mar. 2012, http://www.musikwoche.ch/startseite/ueber-uns/geschichte/sidebarContent/02/text_files/file/document/Festschrift.pdf.

[183] Noël Goodwin, "Kletzki, Paul," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15147 (accessed 14 Mar. 2012); "Paul Kletzki," Naxos.com, accessed 14 Mar. 2012, http://www.naxos.com/person/Paul_Kletzki_26103/26103.htm.

> The Polish conductor, Paul Kletzki, recently interrogated in Paris where he gave several concerts, described Gieseking as a thorough Nazi in spirit. In Braunwald, Switzerland, which had a school for advanced students with famous musicians holding classes in various subjects, Gieseking during the war behaved in a most obnoxious manner and was regarded by his non-German colleagues as a supporter of the Hitler regime. Such instances can be multiplied manifold inside or outside Germany.[184]

Gieseking had been blacklisted merely some two months before Toombs's dispatch, and Kletzki's derogatory testimony—presumably made during Severin Kaven's investigation—could have only helped influence the American Military Government in its decision to do so.[185] Now the Information Control Division officials were reusing Kletzki's statement in their above-described attempt to prevent the French Military Government from employing Gieseking within their occupied zone.[186] Of course, it would be informative to know just what he meant by "most obnoxious" behavior, if those were in fact his exact words.

If there was tension between Kletzki and Gieseking, there is no known mention of it on the latter's part. Gieseking enjoyed his time with pupils and his family in peaceful, scenic Braunwald. At one point, he gave an informal performance of a chamber work for kicks, probably the "Kreutzer" Sonata, on his second instrument: the violin. He had played the violin since his youth—his father, Wilhelm, who played several instruments as an amateur, made sure of this—and during his studies and military service during WWI, he was in the string section of the student orchestra as well as various bands and

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[184] Subject: Walter Gieseking, Alfred Toombs to Colonel Powell, 7 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur: 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich.

[185] Kaven, who, like Kletzki, was a Polish emigrant originally from Łódź, was probably the person who had carried out the conductor's questioning.

[186] As previously explained, it was Toombs's gathered information on Gieseking's past that was submitted internally to one Colonel Powell, before Colonel J. K. Hills, also of the Information Control Division, included the information in a letter of 15 December to Major Ali Colombet of the French Liaison.

ensembles.[187] Yet Walter never became an accomplished violinist. In his memoirs, he admitted as much, while simultaneously describing his natural abilities as a young pianist:

> He [Wilhelm] thought it useful to have a command of more than one instrument, and for that reason I was given violin lessons. But the natural ease with which I accomplished everything at the piano deserted me almost entirely when playing the violin. I therefore never managed to master the technique, the discomforts of which were considerable for me. In any case, I made only slow progress as a violinist in spite of lessons, while at the piano I advanced rapidly without instruction.[188]

On account of Walter's apparent lack of talent as a string player (he could also play the viola), he unsurprisingly made no sincere effort to maintain those skills once his career as a pianist took off after World War I.[189] A propos the Braunwald "performance," Jutta still recalls how "he scratched away terribly!"[190] Gieseking was simply having a good time, and everyone present must have had a good laugh.

Gieseking had always wished to have a home in Switzerland some day, and the thought of emigrating there during the war may have crossed his mind on occasion. Yet as he testified after Germany's surrender, during Hitler's rule he had his family's well-being to consider and was unwilling to risk losing his fortune, which the Nazis would have certainly seized had he fled. What he did do, though, was to continue his travel to

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[187] See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 23, 35–36, 38–39. Wilhelm's musical abilities, as well as Walter's training and experiences as a violinist, were described at the start of Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[188] "Dagegen hielt er [Wilhelm] es für nützlich, mehr als ein Instrument zu beherrschen, und ließ mir daher Violinstunden geben. Die mühelose Leichtigkeit, mit der mir alles auf dem Klavier gelang, verließ mich jedoch bei der Geige fast ganz, und es gelang mir nie, die für mein Gefühl erheblichen Unbequemlichkeiten der Violintechnik zu meistern. Jedenfalls machte ich im Geigenspiel trotz des Unterrichts nur langsam Fortschritte, am Klavier ging es dagegen ohne Unterweisung schnell vorwärts." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 14.

[189] In his autobiographical sketch, Gieseking described playing the viola in the orchestra as a student in Hanover and subsequently in military bands, when he served as a military musician during the First World War. See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 23, 34–35.

[190] Jutta Hajmássy and Freya Colassis née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, 8 Oct. 2007.

the neutral nation as frequently as possible, substantially more often than to any other land.

Access to Uncensored News Reports

Amidst the fun and joy of being in Braunwald, Jutta has maintained that it was during this particular trip that the family read uncensored newspapers for the first time, among them the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, only then realizing the full extent to which the German papers had been printing propaganda that covered and distorted the truth.[191] Elsewhere she is indirectly quoted as having asserted that while her father was so taken aback by the reports, proposing the family defect, her mother was against abandoning their parents, regardless of the war's outcome.[192] In a more recent conversation, however, Jutta said that her father did not wish to remain in Switzerland at that point.[193] Furthermore, of the parents, only Gieseking's father, Wilhelm, was still alive by that point. His mother, Martha (née Bethke), had died back in 1925. Annie's mother, Anna Haake, had passed away at the age of 84, Jutta remembers, while visiting the Gieseking home in Wiesbaden sometime around 6 December 1937. Annie's father was already dead.[194]

During Gieseking's postwar interrogation in September 1945, he gave a different description of this revelation: "It was in Switzerland during the early part of 1945 that I

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[191] Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

[192] Jutta is indirectly quoted by Arbiter Records Director Allen Evans in Jutta Hajmássy, "A Chronology of Walter Gieseking's Life," included in the liner notes for *Gieseking: Private Family Archival Recordings, 1924–1945*, Arbiter Records 122, 2000, CD. The chronology is also available online through Arbiter Records' website: http://www.arbiterrecords.com/notes/122notes.html (accessed 7 May 2012).

[193] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Oct. 2012.

[194] Ibid.; Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 146.

had heard [for] the first time about atrocities. Even then we didn't believe."[195] This statement suggests that he, in fact, did not wish to defect and that he still naively disregarded the reports, even at this late stage. Recalling the same interrogation over two years later, Gieseking similarly wrote to Charles Wagner, "I really never heard of Nazi atrocities until February, 1945, when Swiss friends mentioned some facts, but only vaguely. I remember the investigator [Severin Kaven] became quite angry, because I didn't know about such things. Probably he didn't believe me. I can't help this" (Gieseking's English).[196]

According to Hans Dieter Schäfer, until 1939 it had been possible to purchase at German newspaper stands and cafes "almost all foreign papers," excluding only those that were communist. "In larger cities," Schäfer adds, "there were kiosks that mainly specialized in American and English newspapers and magazines."[197] With the outbreak of war, the Nazis had put a sudden end to that. From Zurich in late March 1941, Gieseking wrote to Richard Pohlman in the U.S.: "Up to now, I've received [at home in Wiesbaden] Musical America fairly regularly, so I've heard a bit about musical things in N.Y. – but my favorite magazine 'The New Yorker' doesn't arrive any more" (Gieseking's English).[198] Enemy publications that covered politics, the *New Yorker* among them, were naturally forbidden throughout the hostilities, hence the cancelled subscription service.

Aside from word of mouth, there were still other ways for Germans to receive outside information at home, through foreign radio broadcasts, for instance, such as those

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[195] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 6.

[196] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, New York, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[197] "In größeren Städten gab es Händler, die vor allem auf amerikanische und englische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften spezialisiert waren." Schäfer, *Das gespaltene Bewußtsein*, 127.

[198] Gieseking, Zurich, to Pohlman, New York, letter, 27 Mar. 1941, DEC.

transmitted in German by the BBC.[199] While tuning into such news stations may have been the easiest method of obtaining uncensored reports, Hitler had naturally made listening to any foreign broadcasts illegal. In fact, this had become Reich policy as of 1 September 1939, at the start of the Polish Invasion, and was announced in the German press the following day. Any violators risked being sent to prison. Those accused of spreading foreign news reports could be sentenced to death.[200] "Every word that the enemy sends over is naturally a lie and intended to harm the German Volk. . . . At a time when the German Volk stands united behind its Führer, only one thing matters in Germany: The word of the Führer."[201] So read the propaganda. Nazi police began to make arrests right away, and Gieseking may have therefore chosen not to listen to these broadcasts to avoid putting himself and his family in any further danger.[202] Of course, he would have been able to access a variety of foreign news coverage as he continued his international career in Europe throughout the hostilities, particularly in neutral Switzerland where he appeared numerous times each season.

Owing to the circumstances, it is feasible that, until the summer of 1944, Gieseking's daughters had not learned the truth about the war and Nazi violence and were

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[199] For articles pertaining to both the BBC's wartime and postwar broadcasts to Germany, see Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove, eds., *"Stimme der Wahrheit": German—Language Broadcasting by the BBC*, The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies 5 (New York: Rodopi, 2003). For information on Germans listening to foreign broadcasts, including those of the BBC, see in Hillenbrand, *Underground Humour in Nazi Germany*, 174–77.

[200] "Das Abhören ausländischer Sender ist verboten!: Verordnung über außerordentliche Rundfunkmaßnahmen," *Völkischer Beobachter*, Berlin edition, 2 Sept. 1939.

[201] "Jedes Wort, das der Gegner herübersendet, ist selbstverständlich verlogen und dazu bestimmt, dem deutschen Volke Schaden zuzufügen. . . . In einer Zeit, in der das deutsche Volk sich einmütig hinter seinen Führer stellt, gilt in Deutschland auch nur eines: Das Wort des Führers." Ibid.

[202] A report from 9 October 1939 gives information on persons arrested in the Third Reich for "acts of treason, especially for spreading news of atrocities and listening to foreign radio stations" ("staatsfeindlichen Verhaltens, insbesondere wegen Verbreitung von Greuelnachrichten und Abhörens ausländischer Sender"). "Der Führer darf das gar nicht wissen," *Der Spiegel*, 12 Dec. 1965, accessed 20 June 2011, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-46275329.html.

therefore shocked by what they read. There is no record of either of them having traveled abroad with their parents during the war until this point—Reich officials may not have previously allowed this for fear that Gieseking might flee with his family—thus their own exposure to uncensored foreign news coverage would have been hindered. It is also conceivable that German parents, Gieseking and Annie among them, chose not to discuss reports and rumors of Nazi crimes with their teenage daughters.

Gieseking, on the other hand, would have had access to the free foreign press throughout the NS-era, including the duration of the war. He had, after all, performed in Switzerland more than in any other foreign land since the fighting began. It therefore seems rather implausible that, until the summer of 1944 or February 1945—a late date in either case—he and Annie had been in the dark about the Nazi crimes and other matters already being reported. We know from Gieseking's private correspondence that he had avidly read American papers and magazines throughout his earlier U.S. tours, and he was never merely looking for reviews of his concerts. His command of foreign languages allowed him to read in French (his second native tongue), Italian (a third childhood language), English, Spanish, and, as made clear by his correspondence and clipping collections, he could get the gist of writings in Dutch, Portuguese, and other languages.[203] His linguistic abilities, in fact, enabled him to conduct masterclasses in German, French, English, and Spanish.[204] His interest in foreign reports could have only grown as a result

[203] In his memoirs, Gieseking recalled speaking German, French, and Italian daily as boy living in southern France: "At home, of course, we spoke German, in our daily dealings with society, French. During our frequent excursions over the nearby border, I learned some Italian. I also developed some knowledge of the local dialect, which I have, nevertheless, now completely forgotten." ("Zu Haus sprachen wir natürlich deutsch, im täglichen Umgang mit der Umwelt französisch; bei häufigen Ausflügen über die nahe Grenze lernte ich etwas Italienisch. Dazu kam eine Kenntnis des lokalen Dialekts, den ich aber wieder ganz vergessen habe." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 15.

[204] Elder, "Study with Gieseking," 8.

of the Nazis' censorship policies. Why would he have made no effort to obtain foreign news when traveling during the war, particularly wherever the press reported freely, as in the case of Switzerland?

Naturally, we must keep in mind that the fuller extent of the Nazi atrocities was not brought to light until after the war, and countless Germans pleaded ignorance in their defense. Yet we may rightfully question such claims, particularly when the person in question traveled regularly outside of the Reich, as did Gieseking.

The Zürcher Konzertwochen, 9–19 August

Right after the Braunwald classes, the third annual *Zürcher Konzertwochen* took place, and the featured soloist for all four of the orchestral performances was Gieseking. The *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung* noted how during this time the pianist once again proved to be "a very special favorite among Zurich's fans of the arts" ("ein ganz besonderer Liebling der kunstbegeisterten Zürcher").[205]

Each concert was dedicated to one or two composers. The first one, devoted to Beethoven, was conducted by Volkmar Andreae, with Gieseking playing the "Emperor" Concerto. A critic for the *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung* found the pianist's performance "magnificent in the structural development, well-formed, clear and polished and with a healthy, joyful rhythm" ("großartig im Aufbau, plastisch, klar und geschliffen und mit gesundem, freudigem Rhythmus").[206]

[205] H. Sp., "Konzertberichte: Zürich," Berichte aus der Schweiz und dem Ausland, *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 Sept. 1944, 333–34.

[206] Ibid.

Charles Munch was supposed to conduct the second concert, on 12 August and featuring works by Ravel and Debussy, but had to cancel owing to travel difficulties. Andreae therefore took his place, making some changes to the program necessary. Gieseking helped by agreeing to perform some solo repertoire, thereby including an unusual solo part to the orchestral evening. In place of Ravel's orchestral suite *Le Tombeau de Couperin*, he played a selection of the composer's solo piano works, which "mind you, found in Gieseking the predestined interpreter" ("in Gieseking allerdings auch den berufenen Interpreten fanden"), as the *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung* noted.[207] The audience must have been overjoyed to have the opportunity to hear the famed interpreter of the French impressionists unaccompanied as well, and as planned, Gieseking also played Debussy's *Fantaisie* for piano and orchestra that evening. Because the Nazis had become more lenient toward French music, he was presumably taking no risk by performing the repertoire in neutral Switzerland.[208]

The third concert, held on 16 August, was devoted to Mozart, and, as announced, Andreae conducted once more. Our *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung* critic reported:

> Gieseking, who as a Mozart interpreter has so often enchanted his listeners, played the complex and interesting solo part to the Piano Concerto in F major, K. 459, which, at least in the opening Allegro movement, is unusually experimental. Technically, he performed with his usual, sublime touch admirably again, yet also with a sense of purity and simple beauty that is probably without equal.[209]

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[207] H. Sp., "Konzertberichte: Zürich."

[208] See the discussion of Nazi-censored repertoire in Ch. 5.

[209] "Gieseking, der als Mozert-Interpret seine Hörer schon so oft verzaubert hatte, spielte den reichbedachten und interessanten Solopart des wenigstens im ersten Allegro ungewöhnlich freizügigen Klavierkonzerts in F-dur K. V. 459, mit der ihm eigenen sublimen Anschlagskunst technisch wieder bewundernswert, aber auch mit einer Reinheit und schlichten Schönheit des Empfindens, der wohl nichts Ähnliches gegenübergestellt werden kann." H. Sp., "Konzertberichte: Zürich," 333–34.

The next day, Gieseking played a solo program for Radio Zürich, which featured two Scarlatti Sonatas (K. 380 and 427), Mozart's Sonata in D major (K. 576), Debussy's "Reflets dans l'eau" and "Poissons d'or" from *Images* series 1 and 2 respectively, and Ravel's "Ondine" from *Gaspard de la nuit*. A surviving recording was subsequently released commercially on LP and more recently as a CD.[210] It is the sole wartime sound document available in which Gieseking plays the music of the two French composers.

On 19 August, the fourth and final evening of the *Zürcher Konzertwochen*, Carl Schuricht led the orchestra for a concert devoted to music of Richard Strauss. The Tonhalle Orchestra began with a performance of *Also sprach Zarathustra* and concluded with *Till Eulenspiegel*. "In between, Gieseking masterfully played the 'Burleske,'" a piece he often programmed, "with overwhelming power and unheard of momentum."[211]

The Alsace with the Berlin Philharmonic, 30 August

On 30 August 1944, only five days after the liberation of Paris, Gieseking returned to the annexed Alsace region for a single engagement in Strasbourg, where he had last played two recitals in 1942. This time he was the featured soloist in a concert given by the visiting Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.[212] We will recall that he had already performed twice in Nazi-controlled France this year, namely in Paris in January, and there were plans for still further engagements. Nazi propagandist Karl Epting, who directed the German Institute in the French capital and was affiliated with the German

[210] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 14; Lundgren, *Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography*, n.p. (found under "Walter Gieseking: Broadcast Transcriptions 1930-1956").

[211] "Dazwischen meisterte Gieseking mit überschäumender Kraft und unerhörtem Schwung die 'Burleske.'" H. Sp., "Konzertberichte: Zürich," 333–34.

[212] Kaven, "Report of Walter Gieseking," 7.

Embassy, was just one person hoping to book Gieseking and other prominent German artists, including pianist Wilhelm Kempff and soprano Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, for the upcoming 1944/45 Parisian season. But the Allies' hard-earned victories in France would ensure that these plans would not be realized.[213] The 1944 concerts were Gieseking's last appearances in French territory for the remainder of the war in Europe.

The God-gifted Lists and the Artists' War Service Office, September 1944

As the fighting progressed and especially after "total war" was declared, musicians working under the Nazi regime had become increasingly less in control of their own careers, and significantly fewer had been allowed to continue working in their field at all. Most were being forced to serve the regime in other ways instead, by going to battle, for example, or, as we have seen, by working in armaments production.[214] In the late summer of 1944, with less than a year left until the Reich's capitulation, Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry began to assemble its final and most selective list of artists still deemed indispensable to Nazi culture and the German cause. Furthermore, it created a new department to take charge of these artists' activities. Only those figures and ensembles on the new list were further freed from military service. Yet while they continued performing, the Propaganda Ministry officials now enjoyed the full control of nearly all of their careers.

On 26 August, Goebbels wrote in his diary: "We are putting together a so-called 'God-gifted list' ['Gottbegnadetenliste'] of about 300 to 400 really excellent artists of

[213] Allan Mitchell, *Nazi Paris: The History of an Occupation, 1940–44* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 124.

[214] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 175.

lasting fame who will be exempted from front and labor service. These artists are being recruited from all areas of our cultural life."[215] Ultimately, a thirty-six-page document was prepared, containing not merely "some 300 to 400" artists names, but rather a total of 1,041; this did not include others working in factories or in broadcasting who were engaged on an hourly basis when needed for cultural purposes, usually by working for the Reich's radio and film industry, making occasional appearances at military hospitals and in the munitions plants.[216]

Like the "unabkömmlich" lists of 1939, which had granted military exemption to the considerably larger sum of approximately 12,000 "indispensable" Reich citizens, a variety of artists were again chosen for the God-gifted list: writers, visual artists (sculptors, painters, graphic designers, architects), actors, filmmakers, and musicians. Included in the "musicians" category were composers, conductors, pianists, violinists, cellists, organists, string quartets, concert- and opera singers.[217] Naturally, the Propaganda Ministry placed only the crème de la crème on its God-gifted list, but it was divided into two subgroups: a "Special List" (A. Sonderliste) and a second one containing "All the others" (B. Alle übrigen).[218]

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[215] "Wir stellen eine sogenannte 'Gottbegnadetenliste' auf, von etwa 300 bis 400 wirklich hervorragenden, über die Zeit hinaus wirkenden Künstlern, die von Front- und Arbeitsdienst freigestellt werden sollen. Diese Künstler rekrutieren sich aus allen Sparten unseres Kulturlebens." Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, Teil 2., Diktate 1941–1945, vol. 13, Juli–Sept. 1944, ed. Elka Fröhlich (Munich: Sauer, 1998), 333.

[216] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 173–74; Vossler, *Propaganda in die eigene Truppe*, 360n11. There was, in fact, a *Rundfunkliste*, or broadcasting list, which comprised individual names as well as "Kulturorchester" (Cultural Orchestras), "Grosse Rundfunkorchester" (Large Broadcast Orchestras), and "Unterhaltungsorchester" (Entertainment Orchestras). See "II. B. Rundfunk–Liste" and "III. Orchester und Kapellen" of the "Gottbegnadeten-Liste," file: Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich.

[217] Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, 7. For a published extract of the "list of the gifted," see Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 176–78.

[218] Vossler, *Propaganda in die eigene Truppe*, 359n3.

Those viewed as an "überragendes nationales Kapital," or extraordinary national asset, were placed on the *Sonderliste* and could continue their careers independent of the Ministry. This top selection of "Unersetzliche Künstler," or irreplaceable artists, consisted of a mere twenty-five persons in all: 4 sculptors, 4 painters, 4 architects, 6 writers, 3 musicians—composers Hans Pfitzner and Richard Strauss and conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler—and a group of four thespians was added. Neither Gieseking nor any other star instrumentalist was included.[219]

Although the remaining "God-gifted" artists on the second, more extensive B sublist were likewise spared conscription, Hans Hinkel of the Propaganda Ministry and Reich Culture Chamber made it clear that, excluding those on the *Sonderliste*, "all artists exempted from armament work or military duties and permitted to remain active in their field, will be obligated to carry out war service."[220] This second class of elite figures, Gieseking among them, would therefore be expected to perform for radio broadcasts and any other events when asked, all of which would be organized by the Propaganda Ministry.[221]

The musicians category comprised 72 individuals, 3 quartet groups, and all members of the top 9 orchestras, among them the Berlin Philharmonic, Prussian Staatskapelle Berlin, Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Sächsische Staatskapelle Dresden,

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[219] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 173; see also Vossler, *Propaganda in die eigene Truppe*, 359n3, 361n13.

[220] "Alle Künstler, die von der Rüstungsarbeit bezw. von der Wehrpflicht freigestellt werden und noch in ihrem Beruf tätig sein dürfen, werden kriegsdienstverpflichtet." "Betr: Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle," Hans Hinkel, Berlin, to Reichsminister [Joseph Goebbels], Berlin, 11 Sept. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich. Hinkel was since June 1944 head of the Propaganda Ministry's Film Department as well as Vice President of the Reich Culture Chamber. Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Hinkel, Hans."

[221] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 173; "Betr: Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle," Hans Hinkel, Berlin, to Reichsminister [Goebbels], Berlin, 11 Sept. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich.

Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, and Bavarian Staatskapelle Munich.[222] Aside from these privileged orchestras, however, some less-important ensembles did continue to provide entertainment: 4 radio orchestras, 3 light orchestras, and 14 dance bands.[223]

Regarding the individuals on the God-gifted list, some of the fifteen conductors selected were Hermann Abendroth, Karl Böhm, Eugen Jochum, Herbert von Karajan, Hans Knappertsbusch, Clemens Krauss, and Carl Schuricht, all of whom Gieseking performed under during his career.[224] A mere seventeen pianists were chosen, listed in semi-alphabetical order as follows, without indicating importance or rank:

Hans Beltz [1897–1977]
Hermann Drews [1899–?]
Eduard Erdmann [1896–1958]
Walter Gieseking [1895–1956]
Elly Ney [1882–1968]
Siegfried [also Sigfrid] Grundeis [1900–53]
Wilhelm Kempff [1895–1991]
Else C. Kraus [1899–1978]
Conrad Hansen [1906–2002]
Gerhard Puchelt [1913–87]
Fri[e]da Kwast-Hodapp [1880–1949]
Michael Raucheisen [1889–1984]
Rosl Schmidt [also Schmid, 1911–78]
Li Stadelmann [1900–93]
Winfried Wolf [1900–82]
Friedrich Wührer [1900–75]
[Subsequently added:] Walter Rummel [1887–1953] [225]

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[222] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 175–78. Note that Rathkolb gives the number of individual musicians as being seventy-seven (p. 175), which conflicts with the numbers found in the "Gottbegnadeten-Liste" he includes on page 176.

[223] Vossler, *Propaganda in die eigene Truppe*, 359n3.

[224] "Gottbegnadeten-Liste," file: Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich.

[225] The typed list of "Gottbegnadeten" artists had originally included only sixteen pianists, but Walter Rummel's name was penciled in at the very bottom of that section. Though a German-born British national and subsequently an American subject, Rummel had just taken on German citizenship on 31 August 1944. As a result, the Reich Music Chamber had requested that Goebbels now place Rummel on the list of "unabkommlich" ("indispensable") artists to ensure his exemption from military service. The minister obviously complied, but added the pianist to the new "Gottbegnadeten-Liste" since the "uk" lists,

It is worth noting that Hans Erich Riebensahm was not selected, despite his recent, well-received performances of the complete Beethoven Piano Sonatas—something that even the Reich's most active Beethoven keyboard specialist, Elly Ney, apparently never managed to pull off. Ney was one of the regime's most prominent and loyal artists, however, and that obviously mattered more to Nazi officials.

In September, the Propaganda Ministry decided that a new bureau was also to be created at once: the Artists' War Service Office (Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle), which would be located within the Reich Culture Chamber.[226] It was divided into three branches: Sparte Funk (Radio Branch), Sparte Film (Film Branch), Sparte Konzerte und sonstige Veranstaltungen (Concert Branch and other events).[227] As president of the Culture Chamber, Goebbels would oversee the new office.[228] The person who had proposed and subsequently directed the Artists' War Service Office, however, was Ministerial Director (Ministerialdirigent) Dr. Rainer Schlösser, who also held the position of Reich Chief Dramaturge (Reichsdramaturg).[229]

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which had first been created in 1939, were now obsolete. "Gottbegnadeten-Liste," file: Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich. For information pertaining to Rummel's citizenships, see Timbrell, *Prince of Virtuosos*, 9, 137, 139n22.

[226] "Betr: Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle," Hans Hinkel, Berlin, to Reichsminister [Goebbels], Berlin, 11 Sept. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich. The Reich Culture Chamber was located at Schlüterstrasse 45 in Berlin.

[227] Ibid.

[228] Jörg Echternkamp, "At War, Abroad, and at Home: The Essential Features of German Society in the Second World War," in Blank, Ralk, Jörg Echternkamp, Karola Fings, Jürgen Förster, Winfried Heinemann, Tobias Jersak, Armin Nolzen, and Christopher Rass, *Germany and the Second World War* (Vol. IX/I of *German Wartime Society 1939–1945: Politicization, Disintegration, and the Struggle for Survival*), Derry Cook-Radmore, trans. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 13.

[229] Schlösser had also been President of the Theater Chamber under Goebbels from 1935 to 1938 and also served as Reichskultursenator. "Betrifft: Künstlereinsatz," Dr. [Rainer] Schlösser, Berlin, to Minister [Joseph Goebbels, Berlin], 7 Sept. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2**,** IfZ, Munich; London, ed. *Theater under the Nazis*, 11; Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Schlösser, Rainer."

Unlike those on the *Sonderliste*, all remaining God-gifted artists were informed that, from this point forward, the Artists' War Service Office would be the sole institution in charge of arranging public concerts and similar events.[230] (The Propaganda Ministry in general, as well as the Foreign Office, would nonetheless remain involved in the artists' activities, as we will learn.) If the artists wished to continue their careers within Germany, they now had no choice but to agree to these terms and accordingly represent the Reich. Those selected received official documentation certifying their new status, which they were to sign and return to the local employment office (Arbeitsamt). It read:

> In his capacity as president of the Reich Chamber of Culture, Herr Reich Minister [Goebbels] has exempted you from military service and labor on the basis of your artistic accomplishments. . . .
>
> This exemption, given in recognition of your outstanding artistic ability, was granted under the implicit condition that you unreservedly provide absolute artistic assistance. . . . I ask that you consider this letter to be your call to duty for the Artists' War [Service] Office led by me [Rainer Schlösser], which is part of the measures established pursuant to the entrance of total war.[231]

According to the *Tarifordnung* (pay scale), the God-gifted artists were to receive anywhere from 500 RM to 4,000 RM per month for their work, paid by the new Artists' War Service Office. Gieseking, like the soprano Maria Müller (with whom he had performed in the past) and baritone Heinrich Schlusnus, counted among those chosen to

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[230] Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 174. In his proposal to Goebbels for the Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle, Schlösser was adamant about the office becoming solely in charge of arranging concerts and artistic events. This created some dispute between the office and officials of the "Kraft durch Freude" (Strength Through Joy) organization, which was run by the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front). It is uncertain just how fully in control of the God-gifted artists' careers the Artists' War Service Office remained. See "Betrifft: Künstlereinsatz," Dr. [Rainer] Schlösser, Berlin, to Minister [Goebbels, Berlin], 7 Sept. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich.

[231] "Herr Reichsminister [Goebbels hat] Sie in seiner Eigenschaft als Präsident der Reichskulturkammer auf Grund Ihrer künstlerischen Leistung vom Wehrmacht- und Arbeitseinsatz freigestellt. . . . Diese Freistellung, die in Würdigung Ihrer besonderen künstlerischen Fähigkeiten ausgesprochen wurde, geschah unter der selbstverständlichen Voraussetzung, daß Sie sich vorbehaltlos einer umfassenden künstlerischen Betreuung zur Verfügung stellen. . . . Ich bitte, dieses Schreiben im Sinne der Maßnahmen des totalen Kriegseinsatzes als Ihre Dienstverpflichtung für die von mir geleitete Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle aufzufassen." Quoted in Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet*, 174.

earn the maximum salary.[232] Of course, having earned over 100,000 RM in 1942 and 1943 and over 80,000 RM annually since 1938, this was a substantial pay cut for the famed pianist.[233] Other major artists, too, must have consequently earned less. Nonetheless, at this time they were all undoubtedly more concerned about staying active professionally and avoiding conscription or other duties than they were about any unfavorable financial matters.

Less than three months later, on 2 December, Schlösser reported to Goebbels on the Artists' War Service Office's initial activity. There was but one real problem: because significantly fewer performers were available since the creation of the scaled-down God-gifted list, Schlösser pointed out how the bureau would have to resort to the backup artists working in the armament industry.[234] Despite this handicap, Schlösser had apparently been achieving his aim. He makes no mention of Gieseking, but to demonstrate the success of the new office, he referred to the activities of Elly Ney in southern Germany and Austria. Ney had evidently been most eager to comply with Schlösser's requests, providing him with plenty to boast of to the Reich Minister:

> To give an example of the enthusiastic involvement of some of the artists, I wish to refer to the pianist Frau Prof. Elly Ney. She has fulfilled 36 engagements in the period from 6 October to 14 November. . . . When she was not away traveling, she played nearly every day in her hometown Tutzing for workers, wounded, nurses of the NSF [NS-Frauenschaft, of Nazi Women's Group] and of the DRK [Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, or German Red Cross]. On 22 October she made three

[232] "Betr: Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle," Hans Hinkel, Berlin, to Reichsminister [Goebbels], Berlin, 11 Sept. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich.

[233] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[234] "Betr.: Tätigkeit der Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle," Dr. [Rainer] Schlösser, Berlin, to Minister [Goebbels], 2 Dec. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich.

> appearances in one day, namely in the morning for the Hitler Youth, in the afternoon for the wounded, and in the evening before a public audience.[235]

Schlösser goes on to list each of Ney's thirty-six appearances, which also included concerts at a *Luftwaffe* school, a recreation center, spas, and before German youth at an Adolf Hitler School and Reich Youth Leadership organization. Furthermore, Ney had completed some radio recording sessions, which would have also been used for propaganda purposes.[236] While she gave mostly solo recitals during this period, she made occasional orchestral appearances and performed chamber music with a colleague, above all with cellist Ludwig Hoelscher, with whom she had formed a trio in 1932 and with whom Gieseking himself would begin to play after the war.[237] Ney is generally recognized as having been an ardent Nazi, hence her enthusiastic cooperation. No other Reich pianist, and perhaps few artists at all, promoted the Nazi cause with such dedication, and it is therefore not surprising that Schlösser proudly referred to Ney's activities as an example.

It is uncertain as to how many of the God-gifted artists remained active until the Reich's defeat, but at this point they were all fully supporting the Nazi agenda. As Ernst Klee has written: "Goebbels viewed art as a weapon that was meant to demonstrate the superiority of the Aryan race. The 'God-gifted,' like the less gifted, functioned as Nazi

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[235] "Als Beispiel für die Einsatzfreudigkeit einiger Künstler verweise ich auf die Arbeit der Pianistin Frau Prof. Elly Ney. Sie hat in der Zeit vom 6. Oktober bis 14. November 36 Veranstaltungen bestritten. . . . Wenn sie nicht auf Reisen war, spielte sie fast täglich in ihren Heim in Tutzing für Arbeiter, Verwundete, NSF- und DRK-Schwestern. Am 22. Oktober trat sie zum Beispiel 3 mal am Tage, und zwar vormittags für die NJ, nachmittags für Verwundete und abends in einem öffentlichen Konzert auf." "Betr.: Tätigkeit der Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle," Dr. [Rainer] Schlösser, Berlin, to Minister [Goebbels], 2 Dec. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2**,** IfZ, Munich.

[236] Ibid.

[237] Ney and Hoelscher had met in 1929. For the trio they recruited violinist Wilhelm Stroß, and they began their first tour together on 15 January 1932. Elly Ney, *Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen: Mein Leben aus der Musik*, 3d ed. (Aschaffenburg: Paul Pattloch, 1957), 160–61. Gieseking and Hoelscher's chamber music performances are mentioned briefly in Chapter 9 of this dissertation.

cultural propaganda (a few under the pressure of the circumstances). They were—whether they wanted to be or not—advertisers of the regime."[238] Artistic independence and freedom had been completely eradicated as the Reich began its demise.

Gieseking's Engagements under the Artists' War Service Office

As during the previous years, there is no complete record of Gieseking's performances from this point on, but all of them would have now been given under the auspices of the Artists' War Service Office. Two subsequent engagements were listed in Kaven's postwar interrogation report owing to their political circumstances. On 8 November 1944, the pianist gave a recital near Dresden at the *Luftwaffe* school for the National Socialist Leadership Officers (Nationalsozialistische Führungsoffiziere, or NSFOs), "a training academy for political party commissars," as Kaven described it.[239] Robert L. Quinett writes that the purpose of the NSFOs was "to make Nazi fanatics out of the politically apathetic German soldiers so they would fight to the death for the Führer."[240]

On 20 November, Gieseking again performed solo, this time at the Ordensburg, Krossinsee.[241] Originally referring to medieval fortresses, during the Nazi era the term "Ordensburg" was also used to denote each of the four schools where carefully selected

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[238] "Kunst war in den Augen von Goebbels eine Waffe, die die Überlegenheit der arischen Rasse demonstrieren sollte. Die 'Gottbegnadeten' wie die weniger Begnadeten bedienten diese NS-Kulturpropaganda (einige wenige unter dem Zwang der Verhältnisse). Sie waren—ob sie wollten oder nicht—Werbeträger des Regimes." Klee, *Kulturlexikon des Dritten Reiches*, 7.

[239] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2.

[240] Robert L. Quinett, "The German Army Confronts the NSFO," *Journal of Contemporary History* 13, no. 1 (Jan. 1978): 53.

[241] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

young men were trained over several years to become future NS leaders.[242] Compared to the controversial concerts Gieseking had given prior to these, for the "Strength through Joy" organization and the Winter Relief campaign for example, Kaven later argued that these two engagements were "of much greater significance," both of which, he claimed, Gieseking had played without charge.[243] "Only persons known for their faithful allegiance to the Nazi cause, and in the case of artists . . . were considered the embodiment of German art, were permitted to perform before the students."[244] Kaven acknowledged that regulations regarding the invitation of artists for such performances had eased somewhat by November 1944. Still, he maintained that "the recital of a world-famous pianist could be considered a good morale builder on its own merits," adding, "Gieseking should have known better than to play for the 'cream' of Nazi youth."[245]

When Gieseking was later cross-examined in his Wiesbaden home by Kaven, he was asked why he had played for committed Nazi organizations such as the NSFO Luftwaffe school and the Ordensburg in Krossinsee. In answering, he referred to these new requirements of the Artists' War Service Office, though without naming it. These concerts were given "in [the] line of duty," he argued, adding, "I wasn't drafted into the army, after September 1, 1944, on condition that I do my duty whenever called upon." Unconvinced, Kaven replied, "Mr. Gieseking, you are 50 years old. How many people of

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[242] Eugen Kogen, "The Training of the Nazi Elite," in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*, eds. Frank Robert Chalk and Kurt Johnassohn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 330.

[243] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[244] Ibid.

[245] Ibid.

your age and standing were drafted into the army?"[246] In a letter Gieseking later wrote to Charles Wagner on 19 February 1948, he commented further on this point:

> A very important fact which is always overlooked is my obligation to full military service from the first day of the war! If I had refused to play, I would have been drafted immediately to the Wehrmacht (Army). From September 1st, 1944, I was even drafted for obligatory civil service and had orders to obey when I played at the Ordensburg and for military organizations. A refusal could have been punished with death (Gieseking's English).[247]

During September and October 1944, half a million Germans were, in fact, conscripted into the army and other defense forces, including boys between the ages of 14 and 18 and men between the ages of 50 and 60.[248] Gieseking, who had been trained as a soldier during the First World War, turned 49 in October 1944. He was absolutely a suitable recruit for the desperate German forces, who, if for nothing else, could have used him for the new *Deutscher Volkssturm*.

The *Volkssturm*, literally meaning "Storm of the People," was a "People's Army," a national militia or home guard assembled by the Nazi Party. It was secretly established on Hitler's orders in late September 1944, shortly after the creation of the Artists' War Service Office, and officially announced on 18 October.[249] Males between the ages of sixteen to sixty were eligible for conscription, although, as in the *Wehrmacht*, thousands of even younger boys and older men became involved and died in the fighting.[250] The average aged *Volkssturmmann* was 52, slightly older than Gieseking, and like him, many

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[246] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 6.

[247] Gieseking, Saarbrücken, to Charles [Wagner], New York, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[248] Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 1087; Davies, *Europe at War*, 374.

[249] Earl R. Beck, *Under the Bombs: The German Home Front, 1942–1945* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1986), 160–61.

[250] Ibid., 161; Davies, *Europe at War*, 374.

of them had served in the previous world war.[251] By November, the Propaganda Ministry decided that those artists who had been placed on the "God-gifted" list and thereby made exempt from military service would now have to fulfill *Volkssturm* duties. Not even the Reich's "irreplaceable" figures on the elite *Sonderliste*—Furtwängler included—were to be spared.[252] Commenting on this final step later, Viktor Reimann wrote, "If Hitler was going to have to die, then who in Germany still counted as an 'extraordinary national asset'"?[253]

Shortly thereafter, in a letter from 25 November 1944, Reich Music Chamber President Peter Raabe submitted an appeal to Goebbels to have the ruling reversed. His main reason, or perhaps excuse, for this was so that the Reich's greatest artists might avoid harming their technical skills.[254] Despite his high position, Raabe's efforts were proved futile. The Propaganda Ministry's Cultural Department (Abteilung Kultur) replied to him in the State Secretary's name; this was presumably Staatssekretär I, Otto Dietrich (1897–1952), who had replaced Walter Funk in January 1938.[255] From the draft copy, we read:[256]

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[251] Beck, *Under the Bombs*, 160.

[252] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Goebbels, (Paul) Joseph," see 2565–66.

[253] "Wenn Hitler sterben mußte, wer war dann noch in Deutschland 'überragendes nationales Kapital?'" Reimann, *Dr. Joseph Goebbels* (Vienna: Molden, 1971), 218.

[254] See "Betr.: Volkssturmpflicht der abgeschirmten Künstler," Abteilung Kultur, Verf. ORR [Oberrregierungsrat Fritz] von Borries, to Staatssekretär [Otto Dietrich], gez. i.V. Dr. Lang, Berlin, 30 Nov. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich. The draft letter prepared by von Borries, simply headed "Entwurf" (likewise dated 30 Nov. 1944) is maintained with this letter to Dietrich in the same file.

[255] Dietrich's promotion was announced on 26 November 1937, but went into effect on 15 January 1938. Consequently, sources give both years as the start of his term as Staatssekretär and Pressechef (Chief Press Officer of the Propaganda Ministry. Paul Bruppacher, *Adolf Hitler und die Geschichte der NSDAP: Eine Chronik: Teil 1, 1889 bis 1937* (Noderstedt: Books on Demand, 2009), 517.

[256] The Kultur Abteilung, like the Artists' War Service Office, was led by Rainer Schlösser.

> You [Raabe] should . . . be reassured in knowing that Herr Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels shares this concern entirely.
>
> Still, I see no way to comply with your request and exempt those elite artists protected by the *Sonderlisten* [i.e. the God-gifted list] from their *Volkssturm* duties. In the German Reich's fight for survival, every German man must take part, if need be, and also armed with a weapon.[257]

Although the specific term "Sonderlisten" was used, Raabe must have referred to the general "God-gifted list" in his plea, for we saw that not a single instrumentalist was included in the most-selective sub-list, the *Sonderliste*, but instead only Strauss, Pfitzner, and Furtwängler. The Propaganda Ministry's reply further emphasized that any such exemption would be unfair to those musicians serving in the *Wehrmacht* and working in the factories. Moreover, it was pointed out that the "not too extensive" ("nicht sehr umfangreich") *Volkssturm* duties posed no threat of harming the instrumentalists' technical abilities.[258] In other words, the performers' precious hands were safe. They just needed to survive and hope not to end up in an enemy camp or prison.

While more artists must have had to serve as a result, this ultimately did not apply to all of them. The most illustrious personages, Furtwängler and Gieseking among them, never carried out military service during the war, despite Goebbels and the Ministry's decision. In Furtwängler's case, however, it should be noted that, just before being arrested in January 1945, he would flee to Switzerland from Vienna.[259] The other, less fortunate, hitherto protected musicians must have been surprised to learn of their

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[257] "Sie dürfen . . . überzeugt sein, dass Herr Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels diese Sorge durchaus teilt. Trotzdem sehe ich jedoch keine Möglichkeit, Ihrem Wunsch zu entsprechen und die durch die Sonderlisten abgeschirmten Spitzenkünstler von der Volkssturmpflicht zu befreien. In dem Lebenskampf des Deutschen Reichs muss sich jeder deutsche Mann, wenn es nottut, auch mit der Waffe in der Hand einsetzen." "Entwurf," [von Borries to Staatssekretär Dietrich, draft of reply sent same day to Peter Raabe, 30 Nov. 1944, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich].

[258] Ibid.

[259] James Ellis and David Cairns, "Furtwängler, Wilhelm," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40052 (accessed 8 Mar. 2012).

conscription into the new *Volkssturm*, and Gieseking, too, we can be sure, became more concerned than ever about what the immediate future might hold for him.

One eminent figure whose *Volkssturm* duties were reviewed by the Berlin Officials was the Dutch-born conductor Paul van Kempen (1893–1955). Having become a German citizen in the eventful year of 1933, Kempen achieved much acclaim as conductor of the Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra (1934–42), subsequently succeeding Herbert von Karajan as Kapellmeister at Aachen (1942–44).[260] It is unclear whether Kempen made the request for a review himself or whether a Nazi official, perhaps Raabe, had done so, hoping to see the artist stay active musically for any number of reasons. In any case, in a letter from 1 March 1945 addressed to State Secretary of the Propaganda Ministry (presumably Otto Dietrich again), we read the following:

> As the measures for total war were taken in the autumn of last year, there was no opportunity and no reason to treat van Kempen differently from the other excellent music directors employed by such outstanding venues as those in Breslau, Düsseldorf, and others, who could not be exempted from service.
>
> I do not find it justifiable to make an exception for van Kempen since the other music directors of the aforementioned musical theaters, e.g. [Herbert] Albert at Breslau, [Hugo] Balzer at Düsseldorf, etc., who are now serving in the Wehrmacht or working in armaments production, would perceive this as severely unfair. I therefore ask you to refrain from taking any special measures to exempt van Kempen from the *Volkssturm* service, especially since there is no set field of activity in his case.[261]

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[260] Charles Barber, "Kempen, Paul van," in *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14872 (accessed 17 Apr. 2012).

[261] "Bei den Massnahmen für den Totalen Krieg im Herbst des vergangenen Jahres bestand keine Möglichkeit und keine Veranlassung, van Kempen anders zu behandeln als die übrigen ausgezeichneten musikalischen Oberleiter so hervorragender Bühnen wie Breslau, Düsseldorf u.a., die nicht abgeschirmt werden konnten. Eine Ausnahmeregelung für van Kempen halte ich nicht für vertretbar, da sie von den musikalischen Oberleitern der erwähnten Bühnen wie z.B. Albert-Breslau, Balzer-Düsseldorf usw., die sich im Wehrmachts- oder Rüstungseinsatz befinden, als schwere Benachteiligung empfunden werden müsste. Ich bitte deshalb, von besonderen Massnahmen für van Kempen zwecks Befreiung vom Volkssturmdienst abzusehen, zumal für ihn kein festes Tätigkeitsfeld vorhanden ist." "Betr.: Paul van Kempen," Abteilung Kultur, Verf. ORR [Oberrregierungsrat Fritz] von Borries, to Staatssekretär [Otto Dietrich], Berlin, 1 Mar. 1945, Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2, IfZ, Munich.

Herbert Albert (1903–73) had not become the general music director of the Breslau opera until 1944. Hugo Balzer (1894–1985) had been the general music director in Düsseldorf since 1933. Because van Kempen, Albert, and Balzer did not make it onto the God-gifted list, they had been forced to leave their posts and start fulfilling the military duties in the fall of 1944. Van Kempen and Balzer were, incidentally, both slightly older than Gieseking.

With the last winter of the war nearing, most Germans surely realized that the Axis Powers could no longer win. This was doubtless a worrying thought for those new draftees dressed in uniform and certainly something that Gieseking, too, would have kept in mind when receiving any orders to perform from the Berlin officials. As he rather bluntly wrote in a postwar letter of defense to his American manager, Charles Wagner, after coming under attack from American anti-Nazi protest groups:

> It is also definitely my opinion that piano-playing is a far more decent occupation th[a]n shoot[ing] other people! I am proud that I came through two wars, in both of which I was liable to military duty, without having to shoot at someone! But perhaps I would not have been blacklisted if the Nazis had put me into their Army and if I had shot perhaps a hundred Allied boys? (Gieseking's English).[262]

Of course, had Gieseking been forced to fight in either war, maybe he would have been the one to fall first. He had no real combat experience. He was fortunate to have served during World War I as a military musician away from the front, in Hanover and on the island of Borkum, despite being trained as a stretcher-bearer, like other artists.[263]

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[262] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[263] For Gieseking's account of his experiences during the First World War, see Gieseking *So wurde ich Pianist*, 29–43.

Goebbels Listens to Gieseking over the Radio

From 1924 until his suicide on 1 May 1945, Joseph Goebbels kept a comprehensive diary that has only recently been published in its complete form—twenty-nine volumes in all—and serves as a major primary source for the documentation of the events of the Third Reich.[264] Having taken piano lessons in his youth and maintained a passion for music throughout his life, Goebbels discusses music and musicians frequently, and there is much to learn about his contact with and opinion of artists such as Wilhelm Furtwängler, Herbert von Karajan, Beniamino Gigli, and many others. In the entry from 9 October 1944, the Reich Minister described how he had listened to some Beethoven performances over the radio and included was Gieseking's reading of the popular "Appassionata" Piano Sonata, op. 57.[265] While this may have been the pianist's commercial recording made for American Columbia in February 1939, owing to the regime's restrictions on records produced by companies of enemy nations it is likely that a live or pre-recorded German broadcast performance was aired instead. Just two months earlier, for example, Gieseking had given a broadcast performance of the same sonata in Baden-Baden, of which a recording survived.[266] In any case, Goebbels was deeply moved by what he heard and momentarily found some escape from Germany's—and his own—hopeless situation:

> During the day I manage to work in peace out in Lanke [Brandenburg]. During lunch I pay mother a visit, who, thank God, is healthy and feeling fresh. In the afternoon I am able to listen to the radio broadcast of some of Beethoven's music;

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[264] Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*. For a recent study in English on Goebbels that has drawn from the complete diaries, see Thacker, *Joseph Goebbels*.

[265] Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, 64.

[266] The Baden-Baden performance has yet to be issued commercially. For a listing of the recording as well as the 1939 American Columbia disc and one subsequent CD reissue, see Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 11, 13.

> Gieseking gives a perfectly structured performance of the ["]Appassionata["], Peter Anders sings the song cycle "An die ferne Geliebte," the Stroß Quartet plays a Beethoven string quartet. How distant and foreign this beautiful world appears! I have already silently bid it a final farewell. The concerns and burdens placed upon us by the war are so heavy that one can hardly manage to show any understanding for the nicer things in life anymore.[267]

Gieseking would later assert the following in his defense: "During this terrible war, I felt it was my duty as an artist to make as many people as possible forget their sorrows and their difficulties, at least for the two hours of a concert."[268] He probably had not considered that this would also apply to one of the most pitiless Nazi authorities of all.

Unfulfilled Vienna Engagements: Travel Conditions Worsen, October 1944

There were also some unfulfilled engagements from the fall of 1944 that deserve mention. In October, within just two months of having been named a God-gifted artist, Gieseking was scheduled to make some appearances in Vienna. Because of the war and destruction, however, he was not able to leave Wiesbaden. Quite distressed, he described his predicament in detail in a letter to Helmut Grohe, whom the Propaganda Ministry had appointed as its musical consultant for the Artists' War Service Office. The correspondence is unusually explanatory and apologetic: Gieseking obviously felt it necessary to explain his absence for fear of getting into trouble with Nazi officials. This remarkably telling, unpublished letter of 20 October deserves to be quoted in full:

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[267] "Den Tag über finde ich draußen in Lanke etwas Ruhe zum Arbeiten. Ich mache mittags bei Mutter einen Besuch, die Gott sei Dank gesund und frisch ist. Nachmittags kann ich die Rundfunkübertragung Beethovenscher Musik anhören; Gieseking spielt formvollendet die Appassionata, Peter Anders singt den Liederzyklus 'An die ferne Geliebte', das Stroß-Quartett spielt ein Beethovenschens Streichquartett. Wie fern und fremd einem doch diese schöne Welt vorkommt! Man hat innerlich von ihr schon gänzl[i]ch Abschied genommen. Die Sorgen und Belastungen des Krieges drücken so schwer auf einen, daß man für die schöneren Seiten des Lebens kaum noch ein Verständnis aufbringt." Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, 64. As were all of Goebbels's entries from 1941 to 1945, this text was dictated to an aid.

[268] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6.

Dear Mr. Grohe!

Much to my regret, I had to wire you and [those in] Vienna yesterday afternoon to inform you that it was impossible for me to depart. I hope that my telegram could be sent quickly, and that the planned concerts in Vienna and other engagements can be rescheduled. Unfortunately, I have no choice but to believe that it will be rather impossible to travel from here [Wiesbaden] with any amount of reliability so long as the enemies retain their current magnitude of air superiority. Allow me to describe my attempt to set forward: on the 18th, around 9:30 am, I received the telegram from Amtsrat Klaus [Gieseking's chief contact at the Propaganda Ministry], according to whom a *Dienstreisebescheinigung* [business trip pass] would be ready for me to pick up at the Propaganda Office in Frankfurt on the morning of the 18th.[269] Since I am uncertain whether this office is presently in Frankfurt, and it could not be contacted by telephone, this information was of little use. I went to the local police, where an officer out of courtesy, although he knew that he was not responsible for business trips of Reich Music Chamber members, issued me a travel pass. This undertaking, which was interrupted by two air-raid alarms, took four hours; I therefore could no longer leave that afternoon. Incidentally, I could not have made the train during the alarm as I live 45 minutes from the station, and at present there are no buses running! For that reason, I have to use a pushcart to transport my luggage to the train station! The evening train via Mainz would have also been impossible to catch because of an alarm. Furthermore, the railroad connection to Mainz is disrupted and one has to walk for 30 minutes. With luggage [this is] also impossible. After bombs fell overnight again without any air-raid warnings or alarms, which caused much damage in some parts of the city, I managed to reach the station on time yesterday. Just as the train to Frankfurt was about to depart, the alarms sounded and there was an attack, which among other things disrupted the route to Frankfurt. After waiting at the station for 6 hours, I realized that I would not be able to reach the train to Vienna in Frankfurt; thereupon, I sent the news by telegraph. The train travel to Frankfurt and to Mainz is currently completely out of service, no one knows for how long. If I have been correctly informed, the tracks are also being repeatedly damaged anew, and it is completely impossible to receive any reliable news. I therefore do not know how I am supposed to travel. – I must also once again point out that it is absolutely necessary that I receive a Permanent Travel Permit for me and for my wife. Whenever I am supposed to begin a tour, I have to be granted permission from one of the offices responsible for my activities, and that means that I first have to have to be allowed to purchase a ticket!! Without having to rely on the complaisance of an officer who is not responsible for that! I cannot retrieve anything from Frankfurt. There are so few trains traveling there, [and] even when the railway line is intact, it takes one a full day to go there if the alarms do not

[269] We will recall that Amtsrat Klaus assisted Gieseking with his concerts in foreign countries. Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

hinder the journey.[270] The night before, for example, we had three full alarms, but since we all now sleep in the basement, it is not so bad. But the situation is not exactly ideal for music-making.

Best regards,

Yours Sincerely,

[signed] Walter Gieseking[271] (Emphasis in the original)

That the regime continued to enforce live entertainment at this point, regardless of any continued propaganda intent or other purposes, may seem rather absurd. Yet Goebbels and his Propaganda Ministry undoubtedly realized that, in such hard times, the

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[270] Under normal conditions, the train ride from Wiesbaden to Frankfurt at that time took only twenty-nine minutes with the express train (D-Zug) and fifty-five minutes with the regular passenger train (Personenzug). The author thanks the Historical Railway Society of Frankfurt (Verein Historische Eisenbahn Frankfurt e.V.) for kindly providing this information.

[271] "Sehr geehrter Herr Grohe! Mit lebhaftem Bedauern war ich gestern nachmittag genötigt, Ihnen und nach Wien zu drahten, daß meine Abreise unmöglich war. Ich hoffe, daß meine Telegramme schnell befördert werden konnten und daß sich die in Wien geplanten Konzerte an anderen Terminen nachholen lassen. Leider muss ich ja glauben, daß es kaum möglich sein wird, mit einiger Zuverlässigkeit von hier aus abzureisen, solange die Luftüberlegenheit der Feinde das jetzige Ausmaß hat. Ich berichte über meinen Abreiseversuch: am 18. gegen ½ 10 Uhr erhielt ich das Telegramm von Amtsrat Klaus, wonach eine 'Dienstreisebescheinigung' für mich beim Propagandaamt Frankfurt abzuholen wäre am 18. morgens. Da mir nicht bekannt ist, ob dieses Amt z.Zt. überhaupt in Frankfurt ist und Frankfurt telefonisch nicht erreichbar war, nützte mir diese Nachricht nicht viel. Ich begab mich auf die hiesige Polizei, wo mir ein Beamter aus Gefälligkeit, obwohl er wusste, daß er für Berufsreisen von Reichskulturkammermitgliedern nicht zuständig war, die Reiseerlaubnis nach Wien ausstellte. Für diese Besorgung, die von 2 Alarmen unterbrochen wurde, benötigte ich 4 Stunden, konnte aber auch nachmittags nicht mehr abreisen. Übrigens wäre ich im Alarm nicht zur Bahn gekommen, ich wohne 45 Min. vom Bahnhof entfernt und es fährt z.Zt. kein Autobus! Ich muss daher mit einem Handkarren meinen Koffer zur Bahn fahren! Der Abendzug über Mainz wäre wegen Alarm wieder nicht erreichbar gewesen, außerdem ist die Bahnverbindung nach Mainz unterbrochen und man muss ½ Std. zu Fuß gehen, mit Gepäck auch unmöglich. Nachdem nachts dann wiederum Bomben fielen ohne Luftwarnung oder Alarm, die in manchen Stadtteilen allerhand Schäden verursachten, konnte ich gestern rechtzeitig zur Bahn. Als der Zug nach Frankfurt abfahren sollte, kam Alarm und ein Angriff, der u.a. die Strecke nach Frankfurt unterbrach. Nachdem ich 6 Std. auf dem Bahnhof gewartet hatte, musste ich einsehen, daß der Zug nach Wien in Frankfurt nicht mehr zu erreichen war und daraufhin telegrafierte ich ab. Der Zugverkehr nach Frankfurt und nach Mainz ist z.Zt. vollständig unterbrochen, auf wie lange, weiß niemand zu sagen. Wenn ich recht unterrichtet bin, werden die Strecken auch immer von Neuem beschädigt und es ist vollkommen unmöglich, irgendeine zuverlässige Auskunkft zu bekommen. Ich weiß daher nicht, wie ich meine Reisen machen soll. – Ich muß auch nochmals auf die unbedingte Notwendigkeit einer Dauer-Reise-Erlaubnis, gültig für mich selbst und für meine Frau hinweisen. Wenn ich auf Tournée gehen soll, muß mir von einer der für meine Tätigkeit zuständigen Stellen diese Tätigkeit ermöglicht werden und dies bedeutet, daß ich zunächst mal in der Lage sein muß, mir eine Fahrkarte kaufen zu dürfen!! Ohne von den Gefälligkeiten eines nicht zuständigen Beamten abhängig zu sein! In Frankfurt kann ich nichts abholen, es gibt so wenig Züge dorthin, selbst wenn die Strecke intakt ist, daß eine Fahrt dorthin einen vollen Tag beansprucht, wenn nicht Alarme die Reise verhindern. Vorige Nacht hatten wir beispielsweise 3 Mal Vollalarm, da wir aber jetzt alle im Keller schlafen, ist das nicht so schlimm. Aber die Musik wird dadurch nicht gerade gefördert. Mit besten Empfehlungen[,] Ihr ergebener gez. Walter Gieseking[.]" Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to [Helmut] Grohe, typed copy ("Abschrift") of original letter from 20 Oct. 1944, GFA.

arts were needed as a distraction for the people more than ever. As impossible as the travel conditions sound, we can be confident that Gieseking was, in fact, doing all he could to meet the Ministry's requests so that he would not have to serve in the *Volkssturm*, hence the distraught tone of the letter. Regarding the travel difficulties, Gieseking's manager, Rudolf Goette, would include the following comment in his early postwar testimony to the British Military Government officials:

> It was certainly no fun for Mr. Gieseking to play in the German cities that were under constant bombardment. He had to travel while standing in unheated trains, carry his own baggage, sleep in train station concourses, and he was, after all, 50-years old—and he was surely not in a desperate financial situation. The amount of his earnings interested him very little.[272]

Car travel, too, was often encumbered by this time. In December of 1945, the American diplomat and spymaster Allen W. Dulles noted during a meeting on Germany's occupation at the Council of Foreign Relations how "the road between Frankfurt and Wiesbaden is so full of holes that is almost impossible to drive over it, and one cannot cross the Main [River] between those two places because all of the bridges are down."[273]

After Gieseking's death and long after the war, Helmut Grohe visited Susanne Brockhaus in September 1973 to discuss some correspondence between Wilhelm Furtwängler and the composer Hans Pfitzner. Susanne, or "Brocki," as she was called by her friends, was the wife of Hans Brockhaus, who, with their son, Eberhard, ran the F.A. Brockhaus publishing company; the Brockhauses became close friends of the Gieseking family after relocating to Wiesbaden—in order to evade the Soviets—shortly after

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[272] "Es ist für Herrn Gieseking bestimmt kein Vergnügen gewesen, in den deutschen Städten zu spielen, die ständig unter Bombenangriffen lagen. Er hat als immerhin 50-jähriger die Reisen stehend in ungeheizten Zügen machen müssen, sein Gepäck selber getragen, in Bahnhofshallen übernachtet—und nötig hatte er das bestimmt nicht; die Höhe der Einnahme interessierte ihn herzlich wenig." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 6.

[273] Quoted in William C. Martel, *Victory in War: Foundations of Modern Strategy*, rev. ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 193.

Germany's capitulation.[274] (Before placing Leipzig in the Soviets' hands, the U.S. Military Government had invited certain publishers there who had *not* worked closely with the Nazi regime, F.A. Brockhaus among them, to open "branches" in the newly established American zone.[275]) Upon parting, Grohe was introduced to Gieseking's daughter Freya, which inspired him to reflect on her father's wartime career.[276] Shortly thereafter, he sent copies of Gieseking's above-quoted late-war letter to Susanne for her to give to Freya and her sister, Jutta. In Grohe's attached correspondence, dated 12 September 1973, he recalled Gieseking's complicated situation during the later war period:

> Esteemed, dear Mrs. Brockhaus!
>
> Impressed by the joyful surprise encounter with you and the Gieseking daughter [Freya], I remembered that I had the enclosed documents, which I pulled and copied for the two ladies. (The original [letter] was unfortunately kept in the office files!) It should be explained that after Goebbels declared "total war" in 1943, only the prominent artists [*Künstler-Prominenz*] were kept exempt from serving at the front or in the industry. The first-rate artists were placed on a list [i.e. the God-gifted list of 1944]. So that they were kept busy, the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin created a so-called "Künstler-Einsatzstelle" [i.e. the Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle or Artists' War Service Office]. I was retrieved from Munich to become its musical consultant ([though] without [having any] authority). I was probably recommended by Furtwängler, who for similar reasons had arranged for me to go to Berlin for several months already in 1942. Incidentally, they [the Propaganda Ministry officials] knew about my relationship with many artists, and they also knew that "commanding" them would prove rather futile.
>
> Gieseking's letter [of 10 Oct. 1944] is shocking, not only because of what was expected of such a great artist at that time but also because of what the poor, bombed-out cities and their residents had to endure then. (I personally lost my apartment in Berlin along with many valuable belongings!) As made clear in the letter, when things were beyond my control, "St. Bureaucracy" worked hard to make matters even more difficult. Had it been within my power, I would have

[274] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Oct. 2012.

[275] *Encyclopedia of Business*, 2d ed., s.v. "Bibliographisches Institut & F.A. Brockhaus AG," (by Gerald E. Brennan), accessed 12 Mar. 2013, http://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history/Be-C/Bibliographisches-Institut-F-A-Brockhaus-AG.html.

[276] Susanne Brockhaus, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 24 Sept. 1973, GFA.

gladly given Gieseking and his wife permanent travel permits. But it was useless to try to fight against these authorities.[277]

Upon receiving the Gieseking and Grohe correspondence, Susanne Brockhaus sent copies to Jutta. In an included letter she wrote: "[P]erhaps, for you it will serve as another piece of memorabilia of your papa and, for future generations, as a lesson of how difficult the circumstances could become for artists [during the war]."[278] That Grohe mentions losing his apartment and "many valuable belongings," of course, is a rather insensitive remark to make considering the millions of lives that were taken throughout the hostilities. Yet the letters further illustrate and confirm the high expectations and demands placed on Germany's final round of elite musicians: in return for their exemption from *Volkssturm* conscription and other duties, the officials of the Propaganda Ministry and its Artists' War Service Office expected its God-gifted artists to fulfill all requests at all costs. Gieseking's letter reveals how gravely concerned he was about the consequences of not being able to follow orders and journey to Vienna. Furthermore, if

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[277] "Verehrte, liebe Frau Brockhaus! Unter dem Eindruck der mich freudig überraschenden Begegnung bei Ihnen mit der Gieseking-Tochter, fiel mir der Besitz des [b]eiliegenden Dokuments ein, das ich heraussuchte und für Sie und die beiden Damen abschrieb. (Das Original verblieb damals leider bei den amtlichen Akten!) Zur Erklärung sei mitgeteilt, daß nach Ausrufung des 'totalen Kriegs' durch Goebbels im Jahr 1943 nur die Künstler-Prominenz vom Dienst an der Front oder in der Fabrik befreit wurde. Die erstrangigen Künstler wurden in einer Liste geführt. Damit sie beschäftigt wurden, wurde in Berlin beim Propaganda-Ministerium eine sogen. 'Künstler-Einsatzstelle['] errichtet, als deren musikalischer Fachberater (ohne Machtbefugnisse) ich von München dorthin geholt wurde. Mich hatte wahrscheinlich dafür Furtwängler empfohlen, der mich aus ähnlichen Gründen bereits 1942 für einige Monate nach Berlin holen ließ. Man wusste im übrigen von meinen Beziehungen zu vielen Künstlern und man wusste auch, daß bei diesen mit "Kommandierung" nicht viel zu erreichen war. Giesekings Brief ist wahrhaft erschütternd, sowohl durch das, was einem so großen Künstler damals zugemutet wurde, als auch durch das, was die armen bombardierten Städte und ihre Bewohner damals auszuhalten hatten. (Ich selbst verlor in Berlin meine Wohnung mit vielen wertvollen Dingen!) Wie sehr außerhalb meines 'Machtbereichs' auch noch St. Bürokratius sich befleissigte, die Schwierigkeiten zu erhöhen, geht auch deutlich aus dem Brief hervor. Wäre es in meiner Macht gestanden, so hätte [ich] liebend gern dem Ehepaar Gieseking jeden Ausweis verschafft. Aber gegen diese Mächte kämpfte man vergebens." Helmut Grohe, Munich, to Susanne Brockhaus, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Sept. 1973, GFA.

[278] "[V]ielleicht ist er zu dem, was Ihr von Papa aufbewahrt, Euch eine Erinnerung und für künftige Generationen eine Lehre, unter wie schweren Umständen das künstlerische Leben ermöglicht werden konnte." Susanne Brockhaus, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 24 Sept. 1973, GFA.

Grohe was being sincere, his letter is a good example of how only the highest authorities could exercise any real power, for neither his relatively important position nor Gieseking's high status was enough to obtain a permanent travel permit for the pianist and his wife.

1945

By 1945, the Western Allies and Soviet forces were finally closing in on the Reich, liberating Nazi-occupied nations such as France and Belgium as they proceeded. Other countries were joining them by switching sides, as Italy and Romania had done. The once seemingly invincible German military was struggling in its battle and running out of reserves. During these final months of the war, the intense Allied air offensives continued to cause the unprecedented destruction of Germany's cities, simultaneously undermining the morale of its people as intended. In February, Gieseking's hometown of Wiesbaden would suffer its worst bombing. The end of the Thousand Year Reich was coming much sooner than Hitler and his men had planned, and everyone must have known it by now.

We saw that by the fall of 1944, the number of Reich artists still exempt from military service and other required duties had been reduced to just over seventy individuals, along with the members of three string quartets and nine leading orchestras. All others, having been called to duty, could give only occasional performances at most. It is uncertain just how many were able to remain active during the last wartime months of 1945, but the number could have only grown smaller. It would seem that German culture had all but ended. Yet, in spite of the Reich's hopeless situation, some concerts

continued to take place until the ceasefire. Gieseking made an unknown number of appearances within his homeland during the first of these months, but as a Reich artist, the final wartime difficulties and politics made it impossible for him to perform in most foreign nations. His European concerts outside of Germany, merely eighteen in all, were thus limited to just three countries: Switzerland (8), Denmark (5), and Spain (5).[279]

Final Reich Broadcast Performances

Gieseking was once again in Berlin at the beginning of 1945. During the visit he gave at least two broadcast performances, on 22 and 23 January, and recordings of these events have survived. The repertoire included Bach's English Suite no. 6; five selections from Grieg's *Lyric Pieces*; Schubert's Piano Sonata in A major, D. 664, and the rondo movement from Piano Sonata D major, D. 850; as well as Schumann's *Fantasie*, op. 17 (movements 1 and 3); *Kreisleriana*, op. 16; and *Symphonic Etudes*, op. 13. Furthermore, there is the earlier-mentioned stereophonic recording of him playing Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto, apparently during an air raid on 23 January (if the uncertain date is correct), with Arthur Rother leading the Großes Berliner Rundfunkorchester.[280] All but the Grieg performances have since been issued commercially.[281] It is quite possible that further radio recordings Gieseking made throughout the Third Reich will surface.

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[279] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

[280] We will recall from Chapter 7 that the date of the Beethoven performance is disputed. While 23 January 1945 is given in the more reliable Gray and Quonten discography, that a solo recital is listed under the same date suggests that it may not be correct after all. Although possible, is unlikely that Gieseking would have given two full performances on the same day. See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 14.

[281] All the recordings are listed in Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 14. The Bach English Suite as well as Schumann's *Kreisleriana* and a postwar performance of his *Davidsbündlertänze*, op. 6, were issued without authorization by the Urania firm after the war, which led to a lawsuit filed by the artist in 1954, and have subsequently been re-released. The lawsuit is discussed in

Compulsory Performances in Switzerland, 31 January–8 February

After the Berlin visit, Gieseking made more Swiss appearances. The tour was completely organized and backed by Reich officials. From the Foreign Office in Berlin, Gieseking received his orders in a letter that served as an "Urgency Authorization." It read as follows:

> This is to confirm that, in the company of your wife, Frau Anna Marie Gieseking (born Haake), you will undertake a concert tour in Switzerland in the period from 25 January to 15 February 1945, by order of the Foreign Office and with the permission of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. You will visit the cities of Berne, Basel, Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne and Neufchatel [*sic*] and Solothurn. For this purpose, you must carry along in your luggage the sheet music (scores, orchestral and solo parts), as well as the necessary formal attire.
>
> You will want to show this letter at the border controls.[282]

On the subsequent page, the desired programs for five of the cities were outlined as follows, and here we find further instances in which the Reich authorities deemed the French music of Debussy and Ravel desirable:

1.) 31 January Lausanne
Bach Schumann Debussy

2.) 1 February Zurich
Precise program for solo piano recital

3.) 3 February Solothurn
Piano solo, duration of 35–40 minutes, following orchestral concert.

Chapter 14. The reissue on compact disc is *Walter Gieseking, Piano*, [recorded 1945 and ca. 1947], Urania ULS 5155-CD Legacy Series, 1988.

[282] "Hiermit wird Ihnen bestätigt, dass Sie in Begleitung Ihrer Gattin, Frau Anna Marie Gieseking, geb. Haake, im Auftrage des Auswärtigen Amts und mit Genehmigung des Reichsministeriums für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda innerhalb der Zeit vom 25. Januar bis 15. Februar 1945 eine Konzertreise nach der Schweiz unternehmen. Sie werden die Städte Bern, Basel, Zürich, Genf, Lausanne, Neufchâtel [sic] und Solothurn besuchen. Sie müssen zu diesem Zweck Notenmaterial (Partituren, Orchester- und Solostimmen), sowie die nötige Gesellschaftskleidung in Koffern mit sich führen. Dieses Schreiben wollen Sie, bitte, zur Vorlage bei Grenzkontrollen verwenden." Dr. Schatz, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, to Herrn Professor Walter Gieseking, Wiesbaden, 15 Jan. 1945, Kult Pol K 80/45, file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin.

4.) 7 February Geneva
Solo recital program

5.) 8 February Neuchâtel
Solo recital program, preferably with Schumann's F-sharp minor Sonata as well as [selections by] Debussy and Ravel.[283]

Gieseking's manager, Goette, was by this time presumably no longer consulted at all, and one wonders if the pianist himself had any say in these arrangements. He probably did not.

Following Gieseking's initial solo recital in Lausanne, one Swiss critic writing for the *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung* was dissatisfied by part of both the program and the performance, though she raved about his readings of the French works. "It is disconcerting to find that a musician of his stature can program a work as falsely religious and ridiculously theatrical as the second 'Legend' by Liszt," she asserted;

> even when rescued by Gieseking, St Francis of Liszt will never learn to walk on the equally shallow waters. The Sonata op. 31, no. 2 of Beethoven could have been better rendered had the pianist not exaggerated the speed and slowness of the three movements so much. The interpretation of Schumann's "Etudes symphoniques" was very beautiful until midway . . . but a player piano that functions well but too fast could also massacre the second half in such a manner. On the other hand, there were the two composers that no pianist interprets better than Gieseking: Debussy and Mozart. What grace, what transparency, what

[283] "1.) 31. Januar Lausanne
Bach Schumann Debussy
2.) 1. Februar Zürich
Genaues Programm für Klavier-Abend
3.) 3. Februar Solothurn
Klavier-Soli[,] Dauer 35 – 40 Minuten[,] anschließend an Symphonie-Konzert.
4.) 7. Februar Genf
Programm für Klavier-Abend
5.) 8. Februar Neuchâtel
Programm für Klavier-Abend; wenn möglich, mit
Schumann fis-moll Sonate, außerdem Debussy und Ravel."

Source: "Programme für die Konzerte in der Schweiz," page 2 of Dr. Schatz, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, to Herrn Professor Walter Gieseking, Wiesbaden, 15 Jan. 1945, Kult Pol K 80/45, file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin.

> flexibility and what poetry the great artist employed there! No wonder the audience's unbridled enthusiasm led to one encore after another![284]

Gieseking's final appearance, in Neuchâtel on 9 February, was arranged in part through the Société de musique, and, as the Berlin officials had requested, Schumann's F-sharp minor Sonata and works by Debussy and Ravel were played. According to a Swiss critic, Gieseking's performance was

> moving, splendid. The program included Schumann (Sonata in F-sharp minor), Mozart (Sonata in D, K. 576), Ravel and Debussy, in which the great pianist played as stunningly as usual. Probably everything presented by this brilliant artist is marvelous: he is one of the most authentic poets of the piano, and the French-speaking Swiss and the French themselves are always amazed when they hear Gieseking perform Debussy in particular.[285]

The Allied Bombings of Wiesbaden

The Swiss visit was going well, and keeping Walter and Annie safe. But back home all was not so quiet. As part of the Allies' air offensive, bombers had targeted Gieseking's hometown of Wiesbaden repeatedly, if in general not as intensely as other cities. Consequently, those in the household had begun to sleep in the basement, as Gieseking explained in his abovementioned letter to Helmut Grohe from October 1944.

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[284] "Il est déroutant de constater qu'un musicien de sa valeur puisse mettre au programme une œuvre aussi faussement religieuse et ridiculement théâtrale que la deuxième 'Légende' de Liszt; même secouru par Gieseking, Saint François de Liszt n'apprendra jamais à marcher sur des flots aussi creux. La sonate opus 31, No. 2 de Beethoven aurait mieux rendu si le pianiste avait moins exagéré la rapidité et la lenteur des trois mouvements. L'interprétation des 'Etudes Symphoniques' de Schumann a été très belle jusqu'à mi-chemin . . . mais pour massacrer la deuxième partie de pareille façon, un piano électrique marchant bien mais trop vite suffirait. Voilà par contre deux compositeurs qu'aucun pianiste n'interprète mieux que Gieseking: Mozart et Debussy. Quelle grâce, quelle transparence, quelle souplesse et quelle poésie le grand artiste y a mis! Rien d'étonnant à ce que les auditeurs déchaînés d'enthousiasme aient réclamé un 'bis' après l'autre!" Ao., "Konzertberichte: Lausanne," Berichte aus der Schweiz und dem Ausland, *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 Mar. 1945, 99.

[285] "Walther Gieseking, qui fut émouvant, splendide. Au programme, Schumann (Sonate en fa dièse mineur), Mozart (Sonate en ré (Kœchel 576), Ravel et Debussy, où le grand pianiste se montra, comme de coutume, éblouissant. Tout, sans doute, est merveilleux chez ce génial artiste: un des plus authentiques poètes du piano, mais Romands et Français eux-mêmes sont toujours sidérés en entendant Gieseking jouer Debussy en particulier. Ch. S., "Konzertberichte: Neuchâtel," Berichte aus der Schweiz und dem Ausland, *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 Apr. 1945, 135.

This was, of course, common during the war, as families needed to take shelter during the air strikes. More recently, his daughter Jutta has described such evenings, and how she and her sister sometimes defiantly stayed upstairs, perhaps when her parents were out or away on tour:

> We kept mattresses in the basement. We had to keep it arranged that way because we had to get up [some] three times a night when the air-raid alarms went off. We [still] slept upstairs, surely because it was more comfortable, but when the air-raid sirens sounded we went down to the basement. Sometimes we didn't, though, because we thought "Oh, why bother, nothing is going to happen to us" or perhaps we [Jutta and Freya] did so simply because we were young.[286]

The Germans used three types of *Fliegeralarme*, or air-raid warnings, each easily recognizable by its distinct sound. Three repeated fixed tones signified an *öffentliche Luftwarnung* or *Voralarm*, meaning public air warning, and indicated that everyone should take shelter. When this occurred during the day, children such as Gieseking's, who lived further away from their schools, were sent home. (The schools were inevitably also struck, and Jutta remembers how hers, an all-girl institution, was "a pile of rubble" ["ein Steinhaufen"] by the end of the war, having received a number of direct hits during the bombings.)[287] The *Vollalarm*, or full alarm, a rising and falling howl that could continue for several hours, warned that a large number of enemy planes had entered within a hundred kilometers of the city. The *Entwarnung* or all-clear signal, a high, sustained pitch, meant that the enemy planes were now in retreat.[288] Once the all-clear

[286] "Wir hatten noch Matratzen im Keller, wir haben uns überhaupt im Keller einrichten müssen, weil wir die Nacht dreimal aufgestanden sind, wenn es Fliegeralarm gab. Wir haben uns oben ins Bett gelegt, wohl weil das bequemer war, und wenn es Fliegeralarm gab, dann sind wir runtergegangen in den Keller, manchmal auch nicht, weil wir waren schon so 'Ach, Gott, es passiert uns nichts' oder eben weil man so jung war." Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 14 Dec. 2010.

[287] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

[288] "Fliegeralarm," Lexikon: Zweiter Weltkrieg, accessed 28 Apr. 2012, http://www.lexikon-zweiter-weltkrieg.de/Fliegeralarm.

signals were sounded, recalls Jutta, she and others would sometimes go outside and watch the bombers as they flew off in the distance despite the risk: "They could have turned around and dropped a few more bombs."[289]

Indeed, the air-raid warnings became so common that they soon no longer caused the family much anxiety. "We were so used to always having to get out of bed," Jutta remembers. "I was not worried that I could be killed within the next hour. If I had been, I wouldn't be sitting here today. I would have lost my mind."[290] She was one of the many German youths who had completed a course in *Luftschutz*, or air-raid protection, in which she had been required to sleep in her school in the city center sometimes and, among other things, learn how to extinguish incendiary bombs.[291] A compulsory year for all single German women had been introduced in 1938, requiring them to complete twelve months of training in domestic service, soldier care, harvest aid, communications, or air-raid protection.[292] The training may have helped her gain courage, though perhaps many civilians managed to cast much of their fear of the attacks aside over time, Gieseking included. As a father and husband, however, he must have been considerably concerned at more dangerous moments, if not for his own sake, at least on account of his family.

The attacks on Wiesbaden culminated in February 1945. On the first day that month a Blockbuster bomb exploded at the nearby Neroberg, a 245-meter Taunus foothill, shattering the windows of the Gieseking home. The family promptly installed

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[289] "Die hätten auch umdrehen und . . . noch ein paar Bomben abwerfen können." Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

[290] "Wir waren so gewohnt, dass wir immer aus dem Bett mussten. . . . Ich hatte keine Angst, dass ich jetzt in der nächsten Stunde tot sein werde. Dann würde ich heute hier nicht mehr sitzen, dann wäre ich übergeschnappt." Ibid.

[291] Ibid. Hajmássy still maintains the course certificate she received upon completing the training.

[292] "Der Bund Deutscher Mädel (BDM): 1933–39," LeMO, accessed 29 Apr. 2012, http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/nazi/innenpolitik/bdm/index.html.

cardboard to substitute for the glass, above all to keep out the cold and snow.[293] (We saw how their windows already had to be replaced in October 1943.[294]) This incident may have been a bit too close for comfort, yet it was but a prelude of what was about to come.

On the following night of 2–3 February, starting at approximately midnight, the city underwent its severest bombing, one that would henceforth be known to the locals as the "Terror-Angriff," or Terror Attack.[295] It occurred a mere eleven days before the devastating Dresden air raids and just over three months before the Germans surrendered. Gieseking was in Switzerland, carrying out the engagements described above, and Annie was with him. Their daughters, Jutta and Freya, however, along with Else Leimer and her daughter, Ellen Grosse, both of whom would continue to live with the Gieseking family into the postwar period, were at the Wiesbaden home when the Allies struck.[296] Jutta recollects how they lay on the mattresses in the basement, covering themselves merely with blankets as they listened to the bombs fall for nearly an hour without interruption:[297]

> I was with my sister [Freya], my aunt [Else Leimer], my cousin [Ellen Grosse]. . . . All four of us were in the basement on the night of 2 February, and that was not a real basement. The house was built so that one corner of it was underground, but the other side was designed so that one had to walk up but a small number of steps to reach the garden. And we listened for *fifty* minutes to how the bombs came crashing down. Afterward we all cried, and our whole bodies trembled as if someone were striking us. . . . I was so angry. . . . I looked

[293] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

[294] See Chapter 7.

[295] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

[296] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 14 Dec. 2010; Freya Colassis née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 20 Dec. 2010.

[297] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012. Jörg Friedrich confirms that the bombing lasted for just over fifty minutes that night. See Friedrich, *The Fire: The Bombing of Germany, 1940-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 237.

> toward the city, and there was only fire. All you could see was fire when we came out of the basement. . . .[298]

Wiesbaden had a population of approximately 170,000.[299] The "Terror Attack" left some 570 people dead and another 28,000 homeless.[300] While houses on Gieseking's street, Wilhelminen Straße, were set ablaze, his home was spared.[301] Jörg Friedrich has recently written that the Royal Air Force (RAF) had sent 495 of its Avro Lancasters to drop some "27,000 incendiaries and thirty-nine high-explosive bombs" on Wiesbaden that night. Describing the damage caused, he continues:

> A large fire spread out across the city center, destroying the city hall, the magnificent Lyceum I, the *Kavalierhaus*, the fountain and theater colonnade, the *Paulinenschlösschen* (the residence of Duchess Pauline of Nassau), and the English-Hessian royal residence 'Victoria.' Twelve hundred and seventy tons of munitions put a somber end to everything that had been part of the amusing meeting place for nineteenth-century society, leaving nothing but the shadows of a thousand hosts who were killed.[302]

When Gieseking and Annie learned of the attack, they must have been terrified and feared the worst. Gieseking had German officials send a telegram to the Foreign Office's Cultural Division, part of which read: "Professor Giesking [*sic*], who [is] very worried by the news of the air raid on Wiesbaden, asks that information regarding the

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[298] "Ich war mit meiner Schwester [Freya], meiner Tante [Else Leimer], meiner Kusine [Ellen Grosse née Leimer]. . . . Wir waren zu viert im Keller in der Nacht vom 2. Februar und das war kein richtiger Keller. Das Haus war ja so gebaut . . . eine Ecke war wirklich unter der Erde, aber die andere war so, dass man nur eine kleine Treppe hochgehen musste und dann stand man schon im Garten. Und wir haben *fünfzig* Minuten . . . angehört, wie die Bomben runtergekracht sind. Nachher haben wir alle geheult und am ganzen Leib gezittert als wenn uns jemand schlagen würde. . . . Ich war so voller Wut. . . . Ich habe runtergeguckt auf die Stadt, da war nur Feuer. Da hat man nur Feuer gesehen, wie wir dann aus dem Keller rauskamen." Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 14 Dec. 2010.

[299] Friedrich, *The Fire*, 237.

[300] "Geschichte Wiesbadens 1848 bis 1945," Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden (city website), accessed 28 Apr. 2012, http://www.wiesbaden.de/kultur/stadtgeschichte/chronologie/1848-1945.php.

[301] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

[302] Friedrich, *The Fire*, 237.

well-being of his family be sent here if possible."[303] The pianist's home phone number and address were given, but a handwritten note on the telegram shows there was "no phone connection with Wiesbaden."[304] When they had someone in or near Wiesbaden check on the family is uncertain, but Gieseking must have remained a nervous wreck until he received the comforting news that his family his children and other loved ones living in the house had all survived.

The RAF had also bombarded the cities of Karlsruhe, Mannheim, Magdeburg, and Wanne-Eichel that same night, subsequently reporting a loss of merely twenty-five planes.[305] The foreign press reports showed that nearly 4,200 Allied planes in all had flown over the Reich that day.[306] Although the main objective had been to disrupt the German communication systems, the attacks destroyed more than 2,000 railway cars, hit scores of locomotives, and severed railway tracks in numerous areas. Furthermore, many of the trains targeted were transporting troops and military equipment.[307] Across the Atlantic, the *New York Times* printed the following information on the Allies' latest success:

> More than 1,200 Royal Air Force heavy bombers last night blasted the German cities of Wiesbaden and Karlsruhe and synthetic oil works at Wanne-Eickel in the Ruhr following crippling tactical attacks in daylight by nearly 3,000 planes on German reinforcement routes to the eastern front. . . .

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[303] Telegram, [German Consulate?], Zurich, to Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, 4 Feb. 1945, file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin.

[304] "Keine Telefonverbindung mit Wiesbaden." Telegram, [German Consulate?], Zurich, to Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, 4 Feb. 1945, file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin.

[305] Sydney Gruson, "3,000-Ton Blow Hits Berlin In Steady Bombing of Reich," *New York Times*, 4 Feb. 1945.

[306] "4,200 Planes Smash At Reich Rails, Oil," *New York Times*, 3 Feb. 1945.

[307] Ibid.

> The attacks on Wiesbaden and Karlsruhe seemed a continuation of blows against German supply or withdrawal routes in the middle Rhine Valley adjacent to the Alsatian front. . . . Wiesbaden is an important junction to the north.[308]

While it was mentioned that German troops were in targets hit, particularly those in trains, nothing was said about the tremendous suffering and loss of civilian lives. Of course, they, too, were the Allies' enemy.

If Jutta and the others had no longer feared possible attacks, they understandably did so now. She describes how the events continued to unfold through the day after the heavy offensive:

> The next evening we were all afraid. "Now the next air raid will come," [we thought]. So we packed some things on the sled and went through the snow, into the forest, to an equestrian farm. My aunt sat in her wheelchair and slept, and I think I slept on the floor. . . . There were people there already. I can still see and hear the woman when she first saw the four of us. "O mein Gott!" she said, as she clasped her hands together, "Now them too. We don't have any space left." But we didn't want to stay in the city any longer.[309]

Jutta and the others were allowed to stay at the safely secluded estate, but because it was so overcrowded, they were forced to sleep on the dreadfully cold floor. The next day Else therefore decided they should all return home, "although we had no heat or anything, but at least a bed" ("obwohl wir keine Heizung mehr hatten und nichts, aber wenigstens ein Bett"), remembers Freya.[310] They had evidently quickly regained sufficient courage.

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[308] "4,200 Planes Smash At Reich Rails, Oil," *New York Times*, 3 Feb. 1945. Note that Magdeburg was not mentioned in the article.

[309] "Und am nächsten Abend haben wir . . . Angst gehabt, 'Jetzt kommt der nächste Angriff,' [dachten wir], da haben wir uns auf den Schlitten . . . ein paar Sachen gepackt und sind durch den Schnee [gegangen], in den Wald, und in einen Reiterhof. Und da hat meine Tante im Lehnstuhl gesessen und geschlafen und ich, glaube ich, auf dem Boden. . . . Ich höre und sehe die Frau noch, . . . wie sie uns gesehen hat, wir kamen zu vier[t], da hat sie gesagt, . . . 'O mein Gott!' [und] hat die Hände zusammen-geschlagen, 'Jetzt die auch noch. Wir haben doch keinen Platz mehr.' Aber wir wollten nicht mehr in der Stadt bleiben." Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 14 Dec. 2010.

[310] Freya Colassis née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 20 Dec. 2010.

At around noon the following day, the Allies did continue their attacks, but Wiesbaden was spared. Berlin was once again the main target, and Gieseking was lucky to have been in Switzerland rather than the Reich capital at the time. The U.S. Eighth Air Force dropped some 3,000 tons of bombs on the city—making it the most intense assault on Berlin thus far—as the Russian offensive closed in from a mere forty miles to the east.[311] Despite the present break in attacks at Wiesbaden, at least one more *Angriff* would follow there on 9 March. The bombing of 2–3 February, however, by far remained the heaviest strike carried out on the city for the duration of the war.[312]

Compared to many other municipalities—Gieseking and Annie's former hometown of Hanover included—Wiesbaden would survive the fighting relatively intact, in spite of the repeated bombings. Many of the more beautiful and important buildings, such as the opera house and *Kurhaus*, remained standing.[313] As a result, when the Americans created the state of Greater Hesse (later condensed to "Hesse") on 19 September that year, they would choose Wiesbaden to be the capital.[314] In a letter to a German friend in Leipzig two years later, Gieseking could thus report positively on how he and most of the city's inhabitants had made out during the hostilities: "We gradually realized that we had gotten through the ordeal relatively well. Indeed, Wiesbaden came out of everything quite unscathed, for when one sees and hears what happened elsewhere

[311] Sydney Gruson, "3,000-Ton Blow Hits Berlin In Steady Bombing of Reich," *New York Times*, 4 Feb. 1945.

[312] Friedrich, *The Fire*, 237.

[313] Anni P. Baker, *Wiesbaden and the Americans, 1945–2003: the social, economic, and political impact of the U.S. Forces in Wiesbaden* (Wiesbaden: Magistrat der Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden, Kulturamt-Stadtarchiv, 2004), 56.

[314] Ibid., 40.

. . . !”[315] With regard to the February “Terror Attack,” however, Jutta recalls how for several decades many in Wiesbaden congratulated each other on its anniversary each year for having lived to tell the tale.[316] For the residents of Wiesbaden, it was the climax of the war and a night they would never forget.

Gieseking’s Father Dies

On 4 February, with the partly pulverized city of Wiesbaden still in smoke, the Gieseking family experienced another hardship when Walter’s father, Wilhelm, died there, two weeks before turning age seventy-six.[317] Jutta does not remember his death being connected to the bombings, though she recalls there being broken glass in his bed from the blown-in windows. Her father, she explains, had to finish his engagements in Switzerland and could therefore not come home right away. Had Reich authorities insisted he first give the concerts? It is certainly possible considering the control they had over his career at this late date. Annie had, on the other hand, been able to return to Wiesbaden at once, upon learning of the devastating air raid.[318]

Gieseking had spent endless hours with his father growing up, collecting butterflies with him much of the year, and he received his only general schooling from

[315] “Wir haben ja allmählich begriffen, dass wir auch relativ gut aus der Sache herausgekommen sind. Wiesbaden ist ja ziemlich gut davongekommen, denn wenn man sieht und hört, wie es anderswo war . . !” Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 5 Mar. 1943, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

[316] Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012. Incidentally, Hajmássy would give birth to her son Stefan, Gieseking’s second grandchild, on 2 February 1954, giving the family a reason to celebrate the otherwise infamous day from that point forward.

[317] Wilhelm’s full name, again, was Karl Dietrich Wilhelm Gieseking, and he had been born in Lahde, a village in northwest Germany, on 19 Feb. 1869. See Chapter 1.

[318] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

him.[319] Wilhelm, we will recall, was also an amateur musician who played several instruments.[320] He had encouraged and guided his gifted son's musical activities until the latter began his studies under Karl Leimer at age sixteen, which he also arranged.[321] Because Wilhelm had lived in Wiesbaden since the start of the Weimar era, he had maintained a close relationship with his son for most of Gieseking's life. Although Gieseking had been even more attached to his mother, Martha (née Bethke), she had died at the much earlier age of fifty-five in July 1925.[322] When Eduard Erdmann's mother passed away some four years later, Gieseking wrote to his colleague and friend: "I am terribly sorry to have learned that you have lost your dear mother. This occurrence surely marks an immense turning point in everyone's life, as I unfortunately had to find out for myself some years ago."[323] There is no known documentation of Gieseking's reaction to his father's death, yet it could have only made the arduous circumstances brought on by the war even more trying. Wilhelm was buried in Wiesbaden's South Cemetery (Südfriedhof), but the grave has since expired and the plot has been reused.[324]

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[319] Gieseking includes discussion of his father throughout his autobiographical sketch. See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 9–26, 30, 32, 37, 52–53.

[320] See Chapter 1.

[321] See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 11, 13–15, 17–23; Jutta Hajmássy and Freya Colassis, interview by author, Wiesbaden, 8 Oct. 2007.

[322] See Chapter 1; see also Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 33.

[323] "[E]s tut mir sehr leid, zu erfahren, dass Du Deine liebe Mutter verloren hast. Dies Ereignis ist wohl immer eine grosse Veränderung im Leben eines Menschen, wie ich ja leider vor einigen Jahren selbst erfahren musste." Gieseking, Baden-Baden, to Eduard Erdmann, n. p., letter, 13 June 1929, Eduard Erdmann Archiv, Lauf. Nr.: 231, AdKA, Berlin.

[324] Reusing graves has been practiced in Germany for some two hundred years, where the rental costs for a plot today ranges between $900 and $5,000 for every twenty-year period. "Recycling graves in Germany, *PRI's The World*, accessed 21 Apr. 2012, http://www.theworld.org/2010/08/recycling-graves-in-germany/.

Scandinavia

If German artists were never genuinely welcome guests in the Scandinavian countries, the disapproval of their appearances there had naturally only strengthened by 1945. Norway remained occupied by the Germans, but Soviet troops had begun to enter through the north, initiating the withdrawal of German forces. Still, Gieseking could have appeared in Oslo—before a largely pro-Nazi audience, as before—but did not. Sweden had sustained its neutrality, yet, as the pianist had experienced during his visit in 1944, its many German opponents, including the foreign minister, were aggressively protesting the appearance of Reich artists. The Berlin officials had wanted Gieseking and all other German artists to call off their engagements there in 1944, and they definitely were not going to attempt to send him there now. As for Finland, having lost the battle against the Soviets, its military was now busy fighting the Germans on its northern soil in the recently begun Lapland War. The conflict would endure until April. Thus, in 1945 Gieseking returned only to Denmark to give five performances—slightly more than the mere two he gave in both 1943 and 1944.[325] The exact dates of the concerts have not been determined, but they could only have taken place prior to the Americans' occupation of Wiesbaden at the end of March. That Gieseking traveled to no other Scandinavian countries during the final months of the European war must explain the increased number of engagements.

After Germany's capitulation, Kaven would argue that Gieseking's wartime Scandinavian concerts were "all propagandistic" and for the most part "provocative in

[325] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

character, serving the purpose of the Nazi rulers and their quisling hirelings."[326] Kaven continued:

> The native populations, exercising tact and restraint, warned Gieseking that, as much as they admired his art, they did not want any part of him as an emissary of Hitler's Reich. Gieseking, however, paid no attention to these warnings, and as long as the [German] Foreign Music Department was able to find him sponsors or pay the difference from the Propaganda Ministry funds, he continued to play there.[327]

Further, Final Swiss Engagements

At this point in the war, Gieseking's concertizing was extremely confined. Shortly after completing the first January-February engagements in Switzerland, however, he either returned there or extended his stay to concertize further, as the Berlin officials had planned by the start of the year. We will do well to remember that Severin Kaven determined that Gieseking had given at least eight concerts in the neutral country in the final Reich months of 1945, a figure verified by the Foreign Office records.[328]

In late-February, Gieseking appeared in Bern for two performances, at least one of which he gave under the conductor Luc Balmer (1898–1996). Because Balmer began the evening with Igor Stravinsky's still radical *Le Sacre du Printemps*, a critic for the *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung* rightfully could not understand why the soloist had been engaged to perform Beethoven's earlier, more classical C-major Piano Concerto during the same concert:

> It was probably a stylistic mistake to combine with this opus Walter Gieseking, the highly cultivated pianist, for the rest of the program, but even more so to have

[326] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 5.

[327] Ibid.

[328] See Schnellbrief, Dr. Leis, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, to Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Abteilung Kultur – über Abteilung Ausland, Betr.: Professor Walter Gieseking, file: Kult Pol K, Musik 1943–45, R 66.964b, Poltisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin.

> him play Beethoven's C-major Concerto, which does not challenge him at all, and the posthumous Rondo in B-flat major, a completely trivial piece. Despite all the cultural value and Gieseking's solid pianism, one had to regret the selection of works, and it can only be hoped that next time his qualities will be used not merely as an attractant for the audience but also utilized to the fullest.[329]

Incidentally, in March the same critic—obviously still irritated by the same concert—would quip how Gieseking had "traveled to Bern for a bagatelle" ("für eine Bagatelle nach Bern kam").[330] Gieseking, in fact, seldom programmed the C-major Piano Concerto, usually offering the later and more popular Concerto No. 4 in G major or No. 5 in E-flat major, the "Emperor"—largely a consequence of the public demand, no doubt. Nonetheless, there are two sets of commercial discs (78s that have since been reissued) of him playing the Concerto in C major.[331]

Despite the occasional criticism, Gieseking was one of the most beloved and respected pianists playing in Switzerland during the war, to which the reviews also testify. During these months, his orchestral and solo performances in Solothurn were described as "artistic highlights" ("künstlerische Höhepunkte") for the entire concert

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[329] "Ein Stilfehler war es wohl, mit diesem Opus im übrigen Programm Walter Gieseking[s], diesen höchstkultivierten Pianisten, zu verknüpfen, noch mehr aber, ihn das für seine Potenzen ganz unwesentliche Konzert in C-dur von Beethoven sowie dessen nachgelassenes Rondo in B-dur, eine völlig belanglose Sache, spielen zu lassen. Trotz aller Kultur und pianistischen Sicherheit Giesekings mußte diese Stückauswahl bedauert werden, und so bleibt zu hoffen, daß seine Qualitäten ein andermal nicht bloß als Lockmittel für das Publikum eingesetzt, sondern dann auch voll ausgenützt werden." K. J., "Konzertberichte: Bern," Berichte aus der Schweiz und dem Ausland, *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 Mar. 1945, 92.

[330] K. J., "Konzertberichte: Bern," Berichte aus der Schweiz und dem Ausland, *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 Apr. 1945, 129.

[331] The earliest, pre-war commercial recording dates from April 1937, and Gieseking performs the work under the direction of Hans Rosbaud (1895–1962) with members of the Staatskapelle Berlin. The other is a postwar recording from mid-October 1948, in which London's Philharmonia Orchestra is led by Rafael Kubelík (1914–96). Moreover, there are two subsequent broadcast recordings that survive, though to date neither has been issued commercially. In the earlier one, from 17 December 1948, Gieseking is accompanied by Victor Desarzens (1908–86) and the Orchestre de Chamber de Lausanne. The other recording originates from 27 December 1950 and features Winfried Zillig (1905–63) guiding the Sinfonie-Orchester des Hessischen Rundfunks. Both commercial recordings of the concerto have since been reissued as compact discs. For a listing of all of the original recordings and reissues see Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 8, 18, 19, 24.

season.[332] His appearances in the other cities were probably viewed similarly by many of the locals.[333] That he was German apparently bothered few Swiss concertgoers, although many may not have realized the full extent of the Hitler regime's interest and involvement of the pianist's visit. Upon being blacklisted by the Allied powers after the war, Gieseking's career there was necessarily interrupted, but the Swiss would eagerly welcome him back as soon he was able to resume his international career. As far as can be gathered, no outcry ever arose against his appearances there, either during or after Hitler's rule.

The End of Gieseking's Wartime Career

The final known documentation of Gieseking's wartime career is a recording of a Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft radio broadcast from 15 March 1945 of the concluding "Presto" movement from Beethoven's Violin Sonata no. 9 in A major, op. 47, better known as the "Kreutzer" Sonata.[334] For the performance, the pianist was joined by the outstanding young German violinist Gerhard Taschner (1922–76), who was likewise on the God-gifted list.[335] This marked the beginning of a partnership, for the two musicians would begin to play chamber music together regularly during the early postwar years,

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[332] Yi., "Konzertberichte: Solothurn," Berichte aus der Schweiz und dem Ausland, *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 Apr. 1945, 133–34.

[333] For further, brief mention of Gieseking's Genevan performance, see W. T., "Konzertberichte: Genève," Berichte aus der Schweiz und dem Ausland, *Schweizeriche Musikzeitung: Revue Musicale Suisse*, 1 Apr. 1945, 134.

[334] *Gerhard Taschner spielt Franck & Beethoven*, recorded 1947, 1951, 1945, Bayer DaCapo/BR 200 053 CD, 2000, CD. Note that, in their Gieseking discography, Gray and Quonten incorrectly give the radio station as having been *Sender Freies Berlin*, which was not founded until nearly a decade after the war. See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 15.

[335] Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Taschner, Gerhard."

when they formed a trio with cellist Ludwig Hoelscher.[336] Although by the late 1940s, after his blacklisting from October 1945 to January 1947, Gieseking will have resumed his international career as a solo artist and found little time for further chamber music performances, there is a recording of him playing the complete "Kreutzer" Sonata with Taschner on 14 December 1951, on that occasion for the regional broadcasting company Südwestfunk.[337] Gieseking's high opinion of his colleague's abilities is made clear in an early postwar letter he wrote to his pupil Dean Elder: "I think I've told you about Gerhard Taschner, the former concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic, who lives now in Rüdesheim and certainly is one of the best violinists alive with his [mere] 24 years of age!" (Gieseking's English).[338] Taschner had, in fact, become the Berlin orchestra's second concertmaster at the astonishingly early age of eighteen—with Furtwängler still conducting—and soon became the first concertmaster.[339] Furtwängler had, of course, lost many of his best musicians on account of the "Aryanization" of the orchestra, which led to the discovery and hiring of the young violinist.[340] That Taschner is largely forgotten

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[336] When all three musicians were temporarily prohibited from performing publicly by the Allied Military Governments after the war, as was the situation for most of the German artists who had remained active during the Third Reich, one way they were able to continue their craft was by playing for the rather elite private soirées held by the vintner Carl Jung in Rüdesheim. It was during this time that they formed their chamber group: Trio Gieseking-Taschner-Hoelscher. The postwar music-making in Rüdesheim is discussed in Chapter 9.

[337] The recording has since been commercially released on the disc containing the 1945 excerpt, *Gerhard Taschner spielt Franck & Beethoven*, CD.

[338] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n. p., letter, 14 Nov. 1946, DEC.

[339] Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master*, 244; Lothar Schütz, "Gerhard Taschner im Dritten Reich: Politische und militärische Schocktherapien für einen 'Gottbegnadeten,' in Gerstberger, ed. *Der legendäre Geiger Gerhard Taschner*, 45. Others have given Taschner's age at the time of the appointment as having been 18, also erroneously claiming he initially held the position of first concert master. See, for example, Harald Eggebrecht, *Die großen Geiger: Kreisler, Heifetz, Oistrach, Mutter, Hahn & Co.* (Munich: Piper, 2000), 422.

[340] Burkhard Braach, "Der vergessene Geiger," *Die Zeit*, 30 May 1997, accessed 17 Apr. 2012, http://www.zeit.de/1997/23/Der_vergessene_Geiger.

today has much to do with his early retirement from the public stage, negligible discography, and relatively short life. His untimely death came at age 54.[341]

Wiesbaden's Liberation, 28–29 March 1945

Just two weeks after Gieseking and Taschner's performance, during 28–29 March, the Americans were able to take over the pianist's hometown of Wiesbaden without any resistance.[342] The *Los Angeles Times* reported how as the British and Americans closed in on the Ruhr and Lieutenant General George S. Patton's 3rd Army advanced eastward, "[b]ig German cities were falling one after another. . . . The capture of Frankfurt, Mannheim and Wiesbaden was announced and other German bastions such as Hanover, Kassel and Leipzig were menaced."[343] Gieseking's wartime career had come to an end.

Upon occupying buildings and houses, the American soldiers initially made use of Gieseking's large home. They spent the nights there, allowing the Gieseking family to return only during the daytime hours.[344] Jutta describes the moment when they arrived:

> Then one day the tanks came. Five tanks crashed into our door and knocked over our apple tree. They kicked us all out of the house. . . . But that wasn't so bad. That's the way it was then, right? . . . They [the American soldiers] were actually nice to us. They weren't like the Russians . . . who raped all the women; they were known for that. . . . So they [the Americans] came and climbed out of their tanks and probably had their rifles in their hands. But I think they feared us more than we them. Then they said: "Come out of the house. *We're* staying here tonight!" [They] threw us out on the street. And so my aunt [Else Leimer] and

[341] For a recent biography on Taschner, see Klaus Weiler, *Gerhard Taschner—das vergessene Genie: eine Biographie* (Augsburg: Wissner, 2004). Another recent, multi-author volume on Taschner is Gerstberger, ed. *Der legendäre Geiger Gerhard Taschner*.

[342] Baker, *Wiesbaden and the Americans*, 21.

[343] "1st Army Streaks 55 Miles Across Germany to Seal Off Ruhr Area," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 Mar. 1945.

[344] Jutta Hajmássy, interview by author, 19 Apr. 2012.

> cousin [Ellen Grosse] . . . went next door, where the wife of a minister lived and everything was okay. I went with my sister to a friend who lived at 15 Galilei street. . . . Her father was a doctor, and we stayed with them. The next morning we went back home, and I made a strange soup with meadow flowers in it. An American Soldier stood next to me with his rifle and said, "Oh, what a terrible meal!" . . . Then they [the soldiers] retrieved the mattresses [from the basement] and I remember how, up in my bedroom, one of them laid down a mattress, and we then tried to have a conversation. My English was even worse than it is now, though. I only knew a little English from school.[345]

The soldiers occupied the Gieseking home for no more than several days in the end. Because of its bad condition—dripping water from the flat, leaky roof, for example, had to be caught in cans scattered around the house—they soon left and found quarters elsewhere.[346] Jutta remembers there being a Polish soldier from Łódź (renamed Litzmannstadt by the Nazis during Poland's occupation) who stood guard outside the house. Once while she was talking to him through the kitchen door, his rifle accidentally went off, creating yet another hole through the ceiling.[347]

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[345] "Und dann einmal kamen die Panzer, fünf Panzer haben die Tür kaputtgefahren, haben den Apfelbaum schiefgefahren und [die Soldaten] haben uns aus dem Haus rausgeschmissen. Es ist ja nicht schlimm. Das waren ja alles Tatsachen, nicht wahr? . . . Die waren auch nett. Die waren nicht so wie die Russen. Die Russen haben nämlich alle Frauen vergewaltigt, die waren dafür bekannt. . . . Also, da kamen sie [die Amerikaner] und stiegen aus ihren Tanks aus und haben wohl das Gewehr in der Hand gehabt. Aber ich glaube, die hatten vor uns mehr Angst, als wir vor denen. Und dann haben sie gesagt, 'Raus, aus dem Haus; hier übernachten wir!' [Sie] haben uns auf die Straße gesetzt. Und dann sind meine Tante und meine Kusine . . . daneben, da wohnte die Frau von einem Pfarrer in dem Haus, das war in Ordnung und da sind die hingegangen. . . . Ich bin mit meiner Schwester zu meiner Freundin in die Galileistraße gegangen, . . . Nr. 15. . . . Da wohnte meine Freundin, ihr Vater war Arzt und sind wir dann geblieben. Am nächsten Morgen sind wir dann zurück[gegangen] und ich habe irgend eine komische Suppe gekocht mit so Wiesenblumen drinnen und so, und da stand ein Amerikaner, ein Soldat neben mir mit dem Gewehr und hat noch gesagt, 'Ach, was für ein schreckliches Essen!' . . . Und dann haben die [die Soldaten] die Matratzen [aus dem Keller] geholt und ich kann mich noch erinnern, . . . oben in meinem Schlafzimmer . . . hatte sich einer eine Matratze hingelegt und dann haben wir versucht, uns zu unterhalten. . . ich konnte nur noch schlechter Englisch als jetzt, nur ein bisschen Schulenglisch." Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 14 Dec. 2012.

[346] Jutta Hajmássy, interview by author, Wiesbaden, Germany, 22 Oct. 2007.

[347] Jutta Hajmássy, interview by author, 14 Dec. 2012.

Germany Surrenders

One month after the occupation of Wiesbaden, the hostilities came to a quick end. On 25 April the U.S. Army and the Red Army met near Torgau along the Elbe River, and the Soviet troops finally surrounded Berlin that same day, leading to its capitulation ten days later. On 30 April, Hitler committed suicide after naming Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz (1891–1980) his successor. Unlike Hitler, Dönitz had no interest in fighting to the end, recognizing and accepting Germany's defeat.[348] On 4 May, British Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery accepted at Lüneburg Heath the unconditional surrender of the German forces in northwest Germany, Denmark, and Holland. On 7 May, German General Alfred Jodl signed the complete unconditional military surrender papers, representing the German High Command at General Dwight D. Eisenhower's headquarters in Reims, while the German Field Marshall Wilhelm Keitel signed the instrument of surrender on 9 May at the Soviets' new headquarters in Berlin.[349] Despite these surrenders, some fighting continued, between the Germans and Soviets in Prague for example, and Dönitz was not captured until 22 May.[350] The war in Asia would continue until the fall, concluding with Japan's signing of the surrender documents aboard the USS *Missouri* on 2 September. Yet Hitler's empire was finished, and the war in Europe was in essence over. The great musical life of Germany had come to a halt. Many of its grand concert venues lay in ruin. Many of its great artists were either dead, living in exile, or, as in Gieseking's case, soon to be banned from public activity. Music

[348] Russell Hart, Robert O'Neill, and Stephen Hart, eds., *World War II: Northwest Europe 1944–45* (New York: Rosen, 2010), 83.

[349] Schreiber, *Der Zweite Weltkrieg*, 113; Davies, *Europe at War*, 129.

[350] Davies, *Europe at War*, 129–30.

had played an important, political role throughout the Third Reich. Those who played along would soon have to answer for their contribution.

Conclusion

As the war in Europe finally concluded, Gieseking found himself suddenly out of paid work, "very ill" ("schwer krank"), and like millions of others, often hungry.[351] His future was uncertain. Severin Kaven's military report does not list the pianist's earnings for these last engagements prior to Germany's defeat, but Gieseking himself recorded the amount as having been 17,700 RM in his postwar *Meldebogen*.[352] To be sure, this was a substantial sum for the few months he worked (presumably from January until late March only), yet he would have to make do with this fraction of his annual income. We saw that he had earned an estimated 90,000 RM during the previous, full year.[353] While we have no complete documentation of his concert itinerary for this period, his earnings confirm that he had stayed relatively active until the arrival of the Allied forces in Wiesbaden, just over a month prior to Germany's surrender.

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[351] Jutta Hajmássy, "1. Tabellarischer Lebenslauf," in Peter Seidle, ed., "Walter Gieseking Ausstellung im Schloß vor Husum, 20. – 27. August 1994," [exhibition booklet], ergänzte Ausgabe, (Karlsruhe: Opus, E.: 1994), 5. In the annotations to her father's memoir, Hajmássy also wrote, "He witnessed the end of the war in Wiesbaden, where he fell ill." ("Das Ende des Krieges erlebte er in Wiesbaden, wo er erkrankte."). See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 71. While Gieseking would begin to perform for the Occupying Forces almost without delay, he was never paid, receiving at most some food for his services. He continued to give private, unpaid performances after being blacklisted by the U.S. Military Government in October 1945. Such details are made clear in many postwar letters, the most important one being a list Gieseking made, presumably for his American managers, Charles Wagner and Edward Snowdon. At the top of the document Gieseking stated clearly, "For *none* of these dates did I receive a fee, only sometimes some food packages" (emphasis in original). See Gieseking, "List of concerts which I played for Americans and other Allied [Forces]," photocopy of original, handwritten, one-page document, 31 Jan. 1949, DEC.

[352] Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[353] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

In all, over sixty million people were killed because of the war, the Soviet Union's casualties alone amounting to some twenty-five million. German war deaths reached an estimated seven million.[354] Gieseking and his family had survived, and he was one of the relatively few German artists who managed to continue their career without being called to duty. He had remained one of the Third Reich's most prominent and active musicians throughout its existence, but only by complying with the Nazi regime's rules and wishes too willingly. He would now have to pay the price for his compliance.

[354] Schreiber, *Der Zweite Weltkrieg*, 119–20.

Excursus V:

A Summary of Gieseking's Performances and Earnings During the National Socialist Period

Performances in Germany, 1935 to 1944

In his postwar investigation report for the U.S. Military Government, Severin Kaven included a summary of Gieseking's performances from 1935 to 1944. Figure 2 (below) shows the number of concerts given within Germany each of these years, the sum of which was 331.[1] During the prewar years, the total of his German appearances fluctuated between 19 (in 1937) and 45 (in 1938) annually. With his last North American tour taking place in early 1939, before WWII, Gieseking made up for these lost engagements by increasing both his German and European concertizing once the conflict commenced.

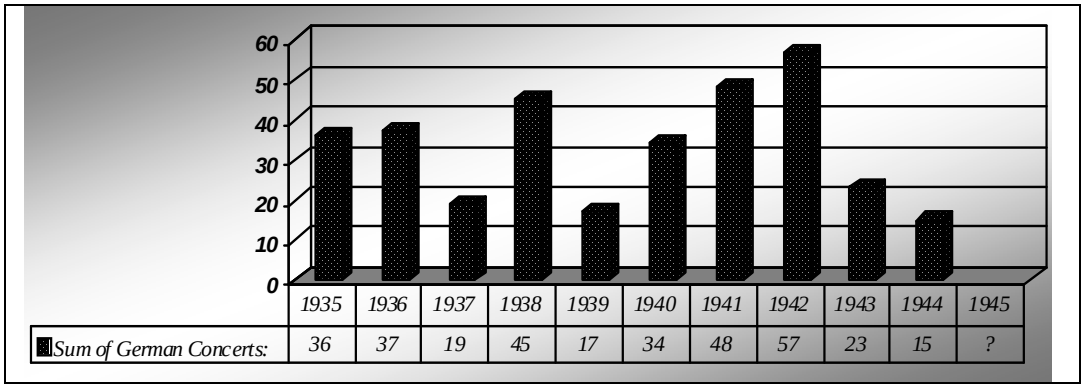
During the hostilities, his domestic performances rose steadily in number from 1939 through 1942 (from 17 to 57 per annum), though they plummeted by over 50% (down to 23) in 1943, the year "total war" was declared, dropping to just 15 in 1944.

[1] While Kaven does not give any sources for his data, he most likely received these figures from Gieseking's German manager, Dr. Rudolf Goette. Kaven had recently (shortly prior to 21 September 1945) met with Goette in Hamburg to ascertain information pertaining to Gieseking's record under the Hitler regime. The table's accuracy cannot be confirmed, and there is no evidence of Gieseking having seen or verified the numbers given. Yet we may trust that they are accurate enough, if not entirely exact, to be used for our purposes. Gieseking had continued to work with his Jewish manager Arthur Bernstein until the latter immigrated to the U.S. in the late 1930s, which would explain why Kaven was unable to ascertain the number of concerts Gieseking had given in 1933 and 1934. Bernstein was still alive, but for reasons unknown, Kaven failed to contact him during his investigation of Gieseking's records. Gieseking's private correspondence shows that 1933 and 1934 were, as usual, busy years for him. He first toured the U.S. during the first quarter of each year and continued touring back in Europe afterward. While it is unclear as to why the number of engagements in 1945 could not be determined, by that point all performances had to be arranged by the Artists' War Service Office (Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle); since the fall of 1944, concert managers such as Goette had been prohibited from booking their clients' appearances. Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," [p. 1]. The Künstler-Kriegseinsatzstelle was discussed in Chapter 8.

Kaven had little doubt that this was on account of the sustained bombing of the Reich's cities.[2] While the ultimate figure for Gieseking's commitments in Germany during final war period of 1945 is unknown, his earnings for 1945 (discussed with the *Meldebogen* further below) prove that he nonetheless stayed active until the arrival of the Allied forces that March, even with the hindrances brought on by the warfare and destruction.

Figure 2:

Gieseking's Concerts in Germany from 1935 to 1944



SOURCE: Severin Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 25 September 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

Performances in Foreign Nations, 1935 to 1944

According to Kaven, Gieseking gave performances in 14 foreign and 4 annexed European nations during the years 1935–1945, 352 concerts in all (see Table 4 below):[3]

[2] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2.

[3] Ibid., 3–4. Note that Kaven counts the Alsace region as one of the four annexed nations and he does not include Gieseking's annual concert trips to Britain from 1935 to 1939; the pianist's earnings in England, however, are shown in Table 5 below and presumably also in Table 6.

Table 4:

Gieseking's Concerts in Foreign and Annexed Nations of Europe from 1935 to 1945

Foreign Nations:	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Total
Switzerland	4	12	6	9	3	3	14	10	14	20	8	**103**
Italy	-	12	2	16	8	2	9	2	13	-	-	**64**
Holland	3	11	1	8	2	11	6	3	5	4	-	**54**
Denmark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	**9**
Norway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	**2**
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	**3**
Finland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	**2**
France	1	2	2	4	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	**13**
Belgium	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	**8**
Portugal	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	7	-	**18**
Spain	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	**12**
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	**7**
Hungary	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	3	-	**7**
Rumania	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	5	-	-	**12**
Total:	***8***	***43***	***11***	***41***	***13***	***20***	***33***	***18***	***55***	***54***	***18***	***314***
Annexed Nations:	**1935**	**1936**	**1937**	**1938**	**1939**	**1940**	**1941**	**1942**	**1943**	**1944**	**1945**	**Total**
Poland	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	**3**
Czechoslovakia	-	-	1	1	1	-	2	3	2	-	-	**10**
Austria	-	2	-	1	1	5	2	4	5	-	-	**20**
Alsace	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	**5**
Total:	***0***	***3***	***1***	***2***	***2***	***5***	***5***	***12***	***7***	***1***	***0***	***38***
Combined total:	**8**	**46**	**12**	**43**	**15**	**25**	**38**	**30**	**62**	**55**	**18**	**352**

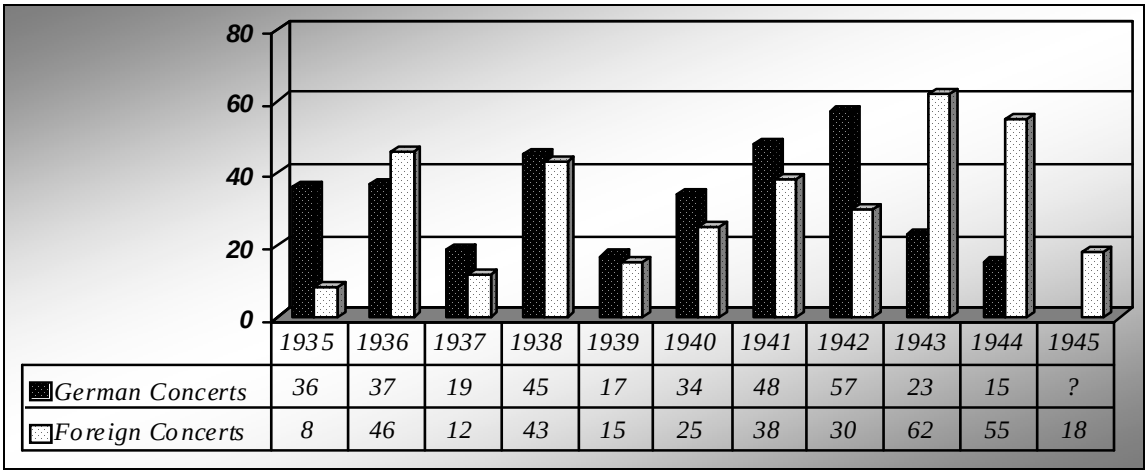
SOURCE: Severin Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 25 September 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

The quantity of these engagements abroad increased steadily from 1939 to 1941, rising from 15 to 38, and they reached a crest in 1943 and 1944, totaling 62 and 55 respectively, 117 combined. This last figure approaches the collective sum of performances Gieseking

gave outside of Germany for the four-year period from 1939 to 1942 and the war months of 1945, namely 126. Such statistics, of course, did not work in his favor afterward, when the U.S. Military Government reviewed his record under the regime. Kaven in particular was certain that the pianist's appearances had functioned in part as Reich propaganda. Figure 3 illustrates these numbers once more in graphic terms (the data from Figure 2 are included for easier comparison):

Figure 3:

The German Concerts vs. Those Abroad in Europe, 1935–1945



	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
German Concerts	36	37	19	45	17	34	48	57	23	15	?
Foreign Concerts	8	46	12	43	15	25	38	30	62	55	18

SOURCE: Severin Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 25 September 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

Gieseking's Earnings (Gross Income) during the National Socialist Era

Gieseking's German manager, Rudolf Goette, maintained that, in the mid-1930s his client "earned significantly less . . . per concert than before 1933."[4] Goette did not clarify whether he was referring merely to engagements within Germany or also to those

[4] "Herr Gieseking verdiente damals [1934/1935] sehr viel weniger pro Konzert als vor 1933." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," [p. 1].

abroad. Gieseking's annual profits, despite any initial pay decreases per appearance, nonetheless remained high and would even reach an apogee at the war's climax. Furthermore, while his standard win per *foreign* booking during the Third Reich varied considerably—ranging anywhere between an average of some 538 RM, as in 1936, and 1,350 RM, as in 1935—his *German* appearances, with only two apparent exceptions (the years 1936 and 1941), became increasingly more lucrative. In 1935, he generally took home under 700 RM for a performance in Germany. By early 1944, the gain from his domestic activities could exceed that of his foreign concerts more than threefold, his German fees having reached, on average, some 2,500 RM per event, with those outside the Reich by then generally falling under 800 RM.[5]

In 1935, 1937, and 1939, a sizeable portion of Gieseking's gross income came from his extended North American tours, as had been the case since his first concert trip there in 1926.[6] (Such visits would once again prove most remunerative upon his return each season from 1954 through 1956). By the time of the war's outbreak, he had already completed the highly profitable U.S. tour in early 1939, which, combined with his collected record royalties there (roughly 10% of his total receipts) brought in some 50,000 RM. Thus, his gross income that year was virtually unaffected by the first belligerence.[7] Only his Belgium contract for the fall of 1939 had been annulled, for which

[5] While it is impossible to give exact amounts and averages for Gieseking's earnings, these figures are based on the reliable, in necessarily approximate and incomplete, information provided in Severin Kaven's, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2–4, 8.

[6] While Gieseking primarily toured within U.S. during his North American visits, he regularly gave a small number of concerts in Canada, and in 1935 he also included a series of performances in Mexico (see Chapter 2), where he would return in 1954. Although, his gross income earned in the latter two countries is not given, it is possible that those amounts were simply factored into his earnings listed under "U.S.A." in Table 5 (below).

[7] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

he probably found a solution by simply scheduling additional European concerts that season. It was his most gainful year yet.[8]

Gieseking's gross income remained relatively stable during first part of the war, through 1941, staying in the vicinity of his 1938 and 1939 earnings. (The reader is referred to Table 5 below.) To repeat, this was largely achieved by increasing the frequency of his German bookings for the duration of the hostilities, since he could not travel to England, Canada, and, most significantly, the United States. He had habitually compensated in this manner during those seasons when he did not visit North America, as in 1938 for instance, when he more than doubled his previous year's returns from German commitments. After a rise of 9,000 RM from 1940 to 1941, his gross income (again, with his record royalties factored in) peaked in 1942 at a remarkable 144,000 RM—approximately 41,500 of which came from his German takings, with 48,500 gained from the other European countries. The year 1943 his second best: his payments totaled a notable 108,500 RM—57,000 of which resulted from his foreign profits, his most ever.

With regard to Gieseking's generally escalating winnings, his American assistant manager, Edward Snowdon, noted how "the years 1935 to 1942 . . . were years in which his international fame was growing by leaps and bounds, and they were years in which his fees, as well as all other artists' fees, were rapidly increasing."[9] According to Kaven, it was in 1943 and 1944 that Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry intensified the role of the arts in strengthening Hitler's New Order.[10] This, Kaven believed, largely explained Gieseking's highest—six-digit—annual gross pay during this phase of the fighting. He

[8] The canceled contract was discussed in Chapter 5.

[9] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 8.

[10] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

also clarified that Gieseking's wartime *net* income benefited from fewer deductions, noting how, in the past, the U.S. subtractions for managerial fees, advertising, travel, and accommodation had added up to some 25 to 30% of the pianist's gross takings, while in Europe never more than approximately 15%.[11] In face of the worsening late-war circumstances for Germans, Gieseking's total gross proceeds for 1944 (90,000 RM) dropped to just below what it had been in 1939 and 1941 (see Table 5 below). While that year's earnings were his lowest since 1940 (84,000 RM), they still formed a considerable sum, which was only slightly less than that of 1941 (93,000 RM). Kaven did not calculate the receipts for 1945, but Gieseking, as we will see, gave an amount in his *Meldebogen*.

Table 5:

Gieseking's Gross Income from 1935 to 1944
(In German Reichsmarks)[12]

Year	Germany	U.S.A.	England	European Countries	Total
1935	27,500	37,500	7,500	12,000	84,500
1936	24,500	--	7,000	27,500	59,000
1937	20,000	32,000	7,000	13,000	72,000
1938	51,500	--	5,500	29,500	86,500
1939	26,500	50,000	2,000	14,000	92,500
1940	53,000	--	--	31,000	84,000
1941	66,000	--	--	27,000	93,000
1942	114,000	--	--	30,000	144,000
1943	51,500	--	--	57,000	108,500
1944	41,500	--	--	48,500	90,000

SOURCE: Severin Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 25 September 1945, p. 8, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[11] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8.

[12] Kaven indicated in his report, the table's source, that the figures given for Gieseking's annual gross earnings derive from both concert fees and royalty payments from record sales, of which the latter amounted to approximately 10% of the total amounts. Ibid.

Income and Total Wealth Information given in the *Meldebogen*

When filling out the required postwar *Meldebogen* (questionnaire) of 5 March 1946, which Gieseking did on 24 April, he had to give his gross income, designated as "total taxable earnings," as well as his "total taxable wealth" for the years 1932, 1934, 1938, 1943, and 1945.[13] (Refer to Table 6 below.) The figures he gave do *not* match those found in Kaven's report for the years doubled, namely 1938 and 1943. In each case, Gieseking listed a lower amount, 76,000 RM and 95,271 RM respectively (cf. Tables 5 and 6). Regarding his income and wealth, he declared his 1932 gain, for the U.S. and Europe, to have been 41,000 RM, with his estimated assets at 127,300 RM. For his European proceeds in 1943, he gave the sum of 95,271 RM, which brought his total worth to 322,000 RM. For 1945, he recorded his income as having been merely 17,000 RM, with his total wealth still at 322,000. There is no tally for the reduced number of concerts he gave in Germany during the final war months that year, but his appearances made in other European nations—by that time restricted to just Switzerland, Denmark, and Portugal—decreased to only 18.[14] Note that, for the prewar years, Gieseking must have included England in his calculations for Europe, which Kaven listed separately (as was shown in Table 5 above):

[13] Gieseking, "Meldebogen." The *Meldebogen* is discussed further in Chapter 9.

[14] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3.

Table 6:

Gieseking's Gross Income for Selected Years from 1932 to 1945
(In German Reichsmarks, as indicated in his *Meldebogen*)[15]

	Places Toured	Taxable Total Earnings	Taxable Total Worth
1932	Europe and U.S.	41,000	127,300
1934	Europe and U.S.	63,000	150,000
1938	Europe and U.S.	76,000	234,000
1943	Europe	95,271	322,000
1945	Europe	17,700	322,000

SOURCE: Meldebogen: Walter Gieseking," 24 Apr. 1946, 520, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

Gieseking and Edward Snowdon on his Earnings during the Third Reich

We will recall that Gieseking, in denying the postwar charge of having been a Nazi opportunist, maintained that he could have amplified his earnings significantly had he fully complied with the regime and made even more appearances within Germany.[16] The fees at home were higher, he admitted. Yet he argued that he had preferred to play in "peaceful" nations despite the financial drawback. Furthermore, he claimed to have refrained from demanding available subventions from Berlin officials for his foreign engagements.[17] He was, of course, desperate to prove he had exercised independence from Nazi officialdom, for he had become the subject of widespread disapproval in the U.S. by that time. After the *Nation* joined in the postwar campaign to stop his American

[15] Gieseking list the source of this income as being merely "Konzertreisen" (concert tours), without mentioning any earnings from record royalties. While it is possible that latter payments are nonetheless included, this must remain uncertain.

[16] See Chapter 8.

[17] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case," 8.

appearances planned for 1949, Edward Snowdon made the following argument in his client's defense in a reply to the popular magazine's editor, Harold C. Field:

> You commit a non-sequitur when you attribute Gieseking's rising income to conformity with Nazi regulations. Nothing in the world could have stopped Gieseking's income from soaring in the years you mentioned ["from 84,500 marks in 1935 to 144,000 in marks in 1942"[18]]. Fees for all artists everywhere jumped in those years and Gieseking, more than any other artist, experienced a growth in international reclame. Had he been [i.e. resided] anywhere but in Germany, where, by the way, his income was limited by law, the increase in his earnings would have made the amount you mention seem paltry indeed.[19]

Snowdon's testimony relating to Gieseking's German profit limitations clearly conflicts with the evidence we have seen (from Kaven's investigation) as well as the latter's own admittance of the monetary advantages that existed domestically, within the Reich. As to the mentioned income restrictions enforced by Nazi law, the only known example of this began in the fall of 1944, when the Propaganda Ministry formed the Artists' War Service Office, thereupon restricting the newly selected God-gifted artists' earnings from anywhere between 500 to 4,000 RM per month. Gieseking, we saw, was chosen to receive the maximum amount.[20] Nevertheless, this resulted in a huge cut in his wages, for by that point the receipts from only two of his concerts had exceeded the monthly sum now enforced. Had he emigrated before World War II, in particular to the U.S., he doubtless would have enjoyed much greater affluence, in addition to being spared the many postwar hardships. But Gieseking's years as a Reich artist were, in all, prosperous ones.

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[18] See "Walter Gieseking's American Manager," *Nation*, 4 Dec. 1948, 617–18.

[19] Edward W. Snowdon, New York, to [Harold C. Field], New York, 7 Dec. 1948, "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[20] See Chapter 8.

Part III: The Postwar Years

Introduction to the Postwar Chapters

Walter Gieseking's postwar career is as eventful as his time during the Third Reich and is, for better or worse, equally affected by political circumstances. He remained one of the most popular musicians of his time, but, to be sure, he also became one of the most controversial and debated artists of the era, if not of all modern classical music history. On account of his continued, eminent career during the Third Reich, the occupying forces would soon blacklist him, though like many of his colleagues, he would find ample opportunity to stay active, at least privately. As did the Reich administration, the Allied Military Governments took a particular interest in Gieseking, recognizing him as Germany's preeminent pianist.

Subsequent to his clearance, he succeeded in resuming his international career swiftly in venues that were geographically more spread out than ever before, making him a genuine global sensation. Yet fierce and widespread public protests arose against his appearances in the United States, Canada, Australia, the Territory of Hawaii, and various South American nations, in each case as a consequence of his widely discussed and publicized cooperation with the Nazi regime. The opposition proved influential and untiring, lasting through 1953, and the consequences would bring Gieseking much grief and substantial financial loss. Only by combining a comprehensive examination of the dissent in each of these nations, particularly that in the U.S., can we more fully complete the present study and gain a better understanding of the many political intricacies that dominated our subject's career for such a protracted time.

Primary Sources for the Postwar-Period Chapters

In investigating the widespread public dissent that arose against Gieseking, many private records of the numerous organizations and individuals that involved themselves were consulted: e.g. those once belonging to the American Veterans Committee, Boston Jewish Community Relations Council, Minnesota Jewish Community Relations Council, and Frank Farrell of the *New York World Telegram*. Other essential primary sources cited include documents from the FBI, made available through a Freedom of Information Act request; the U.S. Government's State and Justice Departments, preserved at the National Archives and Records Administration; and the American Civil Liberties Union records, now at Princeton University's Mudd Manuscript Library. Additional information was drawn from the Gieseking subject file (1948) of the J. B. Matthews papers at Duke University's Rare Book, Manuscript, & Special Collections Library as well as that of the Howard M. Jones, George G. Kirstein, and Carey McWilliams papers at Harvard University's Houghton Library. Pertinent German government sources were collected from the Bundesarchiv, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Wiesbaden, the Landesarchiv Saarbrücken, and the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich. (The exact locations of all of the above records are given below in the Bibliography.)

As in the previous chapters of this dissertation, the worldwide media coverage of the events described likewise proved essential to this part of the study. Countless items were available online, chiefly through Proquest, Newspaper Archive, and Trove of the National Library of Australia. Yet hundreds of indispensable clippings viewed were from Gieseking's personal collection in his *Nachlass* in Wiesbaden and clipping files preserved by several archives and libraries. Of the latter, the most important were those

kept at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich (the Gieseking clippings folder, "Pressesammlung"), the International Piano Archives at Maryland (particularly the Gieseking scrapbook found in the Harry L. Anderson Collection, which covers the years 1921 to 1961), and the Washington *Evening Star* clip files of the *Washington Star* morgue at the Martin Luther King Public Library in Washington D.C. Furthermore, the Dean Elder Collection contained a folder of clippings (now in the author's possession) formerly belonging to Gieseking's American managers, Charles Wagner and Edward Snowdon. Smaller groups of articles from a range of periodicals, mostly newspapers, were located in files listed above, those of the FBI and the German Bundesarchiv for instance.

As prior to WWII, Gieseking's private correspondence from the postwar years is again profuse and, as before, largely served as a basis for this component. While most of it survives in his *Nachlass*, key letters are also part of the Dean Elder Collection, with further items located in various collections at institutions such as the library of the Hochschule für Musik und Theater "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy" in Leipzig and the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach am Neckar.[1] Crucial correspondence is likewise included in the various government records listed above.

Finally, invaluable to the following chapters were, once more, my own continued correspondence and interviews (in person and via telephone) with Gieseking's daughters, Jutta Hajmássy and Freya Colassis, as well as those with his former pupils Dean Elder and Stewart Gordon.

[1] The letters in the Elder Collection are also in the author's possession, though most of Gieseking's communications are copies, the exact location of the originals now usually being unknown.

Chapter 9:

The Postwar Consequences: Gieseking's Blacklisting and Clearance, 1945–1947

Facing the Consequences in Occupied Germany

The war in Europe had ended, and Germany lay largely in ruins. The defeated nation was soon divided into four zones of occupation, with Berlin in four further sectors, controlled by the Americans, British, French, and the Soviets. Without delay, the occupying military governments began the denazification (*Entnazifizierung*), re-education, and re-democratization of Germany. The occupation would last until 1949, at which point the three Western zones became the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany, and the Soviet-controlled eastern zone became the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany, officially established that October.

As part of their agenda, the occupying forces began to purge what remained of Nazi culture. Largely on account of Joseph Goebbels and his Propaganda Ministry, music had played a significant role throughout the Third Reich's existence, taking on a political function both domestically and abroad. Many artists had continued their careers under Hitler's regime, and many of those who could, did so until the end of the war in Europe. The same figures had often served as propaganda agents when concertizing not only in the Reich, but also in annexed, occupied and neutral nations, in many instances playing for important Nazi functions. The Allies were well aware of this and swiftly began to investigate further and take action. Those musicians who had played ball with the Nazis

now had to face the consequences for their compliance and actions. Walter Gieseking stood out among them.

Gieseking had chosen to remain in Germany throughout the National Socialist era. He had performed throughout the Greater Reich and the erstwhile Axis nations of Italy, Hungary, and Romania, in Reich-annexed territories such as the Alsace region and Sudetenland, in neutral countries such as Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey, and in occupied lands such as Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Norway, and Poland. In each of these nations, his appearances—regardless of what his own intentions may have been—had often fulfilled the aims of Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry and the German Foreign Office. And as we learned, the same institutions had arranged an increasing number of his foreign engagements during the Third Reich until they fully controlled his professional activities. Nazi officials had known from the start that few classical artists in the world enjoyed Gieseking's level of international success and for that reason sanctioned and sponsored his career until their downfall.

The Americans, we saw, had occupied the pianist's hometown of Wiesbaden in late March of 1945, and it remained in their hands during the occupation. As part of the American zone, the U.S. Military Government created the state of Greater Hesse (Groß-Hessen), declared on 19 September 1945, largely from what had been the Prussian province of Hesse-Nassau and the Volksstaat Hessen; the name was officially shortened to Hesse (Hessen) on 4 December 1946. Wiesbaden was pronounced the state capital on

12 October 1945.[1] Consequently, Gieseking would have to answer to the U.S. Military Government during the period of denazification.

The American officials recognized him as "the greatest living German pianist," and they would soon have him investigated carefully by Severin Kaven.[2] To make things more difficult for him, it was the Americans who, among all the Allies, took the toughest stance against the Germans as part of their combined efforts to denazify and reeducate the former Reich. Yet neither Gieseking nor his colleagues must have realized how seriously the Allied governments would initially pursue the punishment of German artists. The politics surrounding the pianist's career during this period is fascinating and complicated. The purpose here will be to examine his blacklisting and clearance, as well as his activities during this time.[3]

The Postwar Investigation of Gieseking's Record

Before World War II, Gieseking had enjoyed his greatest financial success in the United States. He and his managers therefore viewed it as a priority that he resume his career there as quickly as possible after the war's end. That would prove more difficult than they could have ever anticipated owing to the U.S. Military Government's initially resolute attitude. Shortly after Germany's defeat, the American media, even in remote regions of the country, began to include coverage of the Military Government's

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[1] *Die Zeit: Das Lexikon* (Hamburg: Zeitverlag Gerd Bucerius, 2005), s.v. "Hessen"; "Zeittafel Hessen," Historische Gesellschaft Eschborn e.V., accessed 16 May 2012, http://www.historische-eschborn.de/berichte/Hessen/Hessen_wird_60/Zeittafel_Hessen/zeittafel_hessen.html.

[2] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2.

[3] Although Gieseking's blacklisting has been discussed briefly by David Monod, there is much more to tell. See Monod, *Settling Scores*, particularly pages 156–59.

investigation of Gieseking's record. One such announcement from 31 July 1945 printed in the *Racine Journal Times*, a Wisconsin publication, reads:

> Occupation authorities check the record today of Walter Gieseking, one of the world's foremost pianists, to determine how he behaved under the Nazi regime. Gieseking . . . already has played for American soldiers and was received enthusiastically. However, military government officials were investigating his close friendship with Adolf Hitler and other high Nazis.[4]

Gieseking was, it can easily be argued, guilty of Nazi collaboration. Much of what began to be printed about his life during the Third Reich period, however, contained exaggerations, unfounded information, and falsehoods. Although Hitler had heard him play once, and they may have been introduced at some point, we know that there was never a "close friendship" between them, for example. As Gieseking remarked, "one doesn't know a person after having seen him less than two minutes! (Gieseking's English)."[5] According to his European manager Rudolf Goette, he was in fact asked to play for Hitler at the Reich Chancellery "at least on three occasions" ("dreimal mindestens"), but managed to decline each time: "He is probably the only one among the most famous artists who never took up this invitation. It would have been easy to arrange such concerts!"[6] Yet the public could not determine truth from fabrication, and such reporting contributed to the tarnishing of Gieseking's international reputation and fueled his postwar opponents.

The U.S. Army's Information Control Division (ICD), which until August had been the Psychological Warfare Division, had Severin Kaven conduct the investigation of

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[4] "Checking on Record of Pianist Gieseking," *Racine (Wisc.) Journal Times*, 31 July 1945.

[5] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], New York, letter, 28 Feb. 1949, DEC.

[6] "Er ist wohl der einzige unter den berühmtesten Künstlern, der dieser Einladung niemals Folge leistete. Es wäre ein Leichtes gewesen, solche Konzerte einzurichten!" Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 3.

Gieseking's past. (Some results of this we have already considered in previous chapters.) ICD was in charge of the re-democratization and denazification of postwar Germany in the American zone. Its Intelligence Section was therefore responsible for investigating musicians and expanding the Psychological Warfare Division's white, grey, and black lists, a subject to which we will return. Kaven had interrogated Gieseking at his Wiesbaden home on 21 September 1945 and questioned others, both Germans and non-Germans, who had been involved in the pianist's career, most importantly Goette.[7] It is unclear why Kaven failed to contact the Bernsteins. After having served as Gieseking's manager since the early Weimar era, Arthur Bernstein, along with his wife, we saw, had emigrated from Hitler's Reich—with some help from the pianist—to the United States in 1939; there the elderly couple joined their son Hans.[8] The Jewish family's testimony with regard to Gieseking would have been most pertinent.

We have seen just how critical Kaven was during the investigation. In his subsequent report, he recognized that Gieseking was "never politically active," yet he was unforgiving in his conclusion:

> [T]he extent of his [Gieseking's] collaboration could only be measured by his support of party-arranged musical events inside Germany, his social and professional activities by virtue of his position and standing, and his acquiescence in becoming a tool for Nazi propaganda aims in neutral and conquered countries.[9]

He may have found Gieseking to be politically passive, but he determined that the pianist had all too eagerly played along with the regime's rules, wishes, and demands. In his concluding summary of "Gieseking the Man," he classified him as "an opportunist who in time became reconciled to the Nazi regime, because it offered him the possibility of

[7] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," [1].

[8] The Bernsteins' emigration was discussed in Chapter 4.

[9] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," [1].

making money and appearing in numerous concerts before an applauding public. . . ."[10]

Kaven continued:

> Gieseking was no moral coward, and like millions of Germans he accepted Hitler because he believed in him. There is no proof that he ever wavered in his allegiance to the Nazi government. . . . [He] was an integral part of Nazi musical life long before the war started, and this only became more pronounced during the crucial war years of the conflict.[11]

Just days after Kaven's report was submitted, and while the U.S. Military Government was in the process of reaching its verdict over the cases of Gieseking and Furtwängler, Edward P. Morgan, foreign correspondent of the *Evening Star* (Washington D.C.) and the *Chicago Daily News* reported the following:

> Some sour notes in the political records of two world-famous German musicians are causing acute headaches for the American Military Government authorities in Germany.
>
> The artists involved are Wilhelm Furtwängler, the symphony conductor, and Walter Gieseking, the pianist.
>
> The question is how much they "fraternized" with the Nazis and how much that should inhibit exercise of their unquestioned artistic talents. . . .
>
> Mr. Gieseking's case is also an involved one. This master interpreter of Debussy, who has made more than one lucrative and triumphal tour of the United States, chose to live in Germany right to the end. . . .
>
> One source said Mr. Gieseking finally admitted to more than casual contact with the Nazis, for whom he played numerous times, and that as a result he might not be permitted to make further public appearances of any kind.[12]

Initial Postwar Activity and Living Conditions

Initially—and as the investigation was being carried out—the Allied occupiers were making use of the star performer. By the time Hitler rose to power in 1933, Gieseking had of course long since established himself as one of the world's leading

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 10–11.

[12] Morgan, "Allies Troubled by War Records Of 2 Famed German Musicians," *Evening Star* (Washington D. C.), 29 Sept. 1945.

pianists. It is therefore no surprise that the Allies promptly began to engage him for private events, often benefit concerts, the month after Germany's surrender.[13] As Michael Kater has noted, "as Goebbels had needed them, musicians, like other artists, were again needed in all the occupational zones (which vied with each other for their services); the musicians took advantage of this situation."[14]

The press in the United States did not fail to point out Gieseking's continued appearances. Turning to Edward P. Morgan's report in the *Evening Star* once again, we read, "The Americans have forbidden his playing to German audiences, but he has given at least two concerts for officers and enlisted men of the Military Government. It was reported that a third concert, scheduled recently in Bad Homburg, was canceled."[15] Gieseking had, in fact, performed for the European Civil Affairs Division in Bad Homburg on 13 July and 9 August.[16] Had its members hoped to hear him yet again?

A surviving, handwritten "List of concerts which I played for Americans and other Allied [Forces]," which Gieseking prepared on 1 January 1949 for his American managers Charles Wagner and Edward Snowdon, indicates the occasions when he

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[13] According to a letter sent from the U.S. State Department to the Danish Embassy in Washington D.C. some four years later, Gieseking also subsequently gave benefit concerts in France and Great Britain. These could have only taken place after he was cleared from the blacklist, however. U.S. Department of State to the Danish Embassy, Washington D.C., 17 Nov. 1949, RG 59, decimal file 1945–49, 862.4038/10-2449 CS/M, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[14] Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 276–77. According to Delbert Clark, the military governments in all of the Allied zones likewise made use of "top-ranking German administrators, economists and other experts, even when their political record was bad so long as they had not been members of a 'criminal' organization." Clark, "Nazi Artists left to German Courts," *New York Times*, 2 Feb. 1947.

[15] Morgan, "Allies Troubled by War Records of 2 Famed German Musicians," *Evening Star* (Washington D.C.), 29 Sept. 1945.

[16] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

appeared before the occupying forces between 17 June 1945 and 15 June 1948.[17] He includes the dates and venues, a general description of the audiences, and any form of compensation. Although incomplete, it shows that he first gave ten performances between 17 June and 30 September 1945.[18] These took place in the towns of Bad Nauheim, Darmstadt, and Wiesbaden, and, again, Bad Homburg (vor der Höhe)—all in the American zone—as well as in the towns of Arnsberg and Iserlohn within the British zone. Some of these audiences were made up of the 305th Signal Operation Battalion, the European Civil Affairs Division, the Battle Cloud Special Service, and other Allied officers and troops.[19] In an earlier letter to Charles Wagner, Gieseking explained that, between June and October of 1945, he had given no less than twelve recitals for the U.S. Army alone.[20]

According to the Constance Herreshoff of the *San Diego Union*, it was Richard C. Flye who organized Gieseking's postwar performances for the American troops. "Flye, a combat engineer in the last war," we read, "remained in Europe after the end of hostilities as a recreation officer. In that capacity he managed the many concerts Gieseking played for American troops in Europe." It was likewise the pianist's "friend" Flye who, at his

[17] A photocopy of the one-page list is part of the Dean Elder Collection (now in the author's possession). Gieseking prepared the list so that his American managers could use the information in his defense at the time of his attempted American return in January 1949. The point was probably to prove that all four occupying powers had, from the end of the war, been eager to enjoy Gieseking's services as a musician.

[18] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[19] Ibid.

[20] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, typed copy, DEC.

home in San Diego, hosted a reception honoring Gieseking's return there on 14 February 1955; Flye was at that time on the local State College's music faculty.[21]

Gieseking may have been keeping somewhat busy, but he had to volunteer his services. As he later recalled, "for none of these dates did I receive a fee, only sometimes some food packages."[22] Occasionally he received but a partial meal. For the concert he gave at Omaha Auditorium in Darmstadt, to give one example, he was served "2 fried eggs!"[23] The Allied forces must have figured that he was in no position to decline any of their requests and were therefore not necessarily going to reward him well at this early point of the occupation. Access to enough victuals remained a primary concern for Gieseking at this time.

The postwar conditions had been trying for Europeans, particularly for those who had lost loved ones and/or their homes and fortunes, and the lack of provisions had made life difficult for all those in Germany. The winters had been harsh, and the farmers' work had been hampered by the war; furthermore, transportation and shipping were severely hindered because of the war damage.[24] The displaced persons had to be provided for as well, and all foreigners living in the occupied zones who had been victims of the Nazi regime came first.[25] Making adequate nourishment available, necessarily by the continued rationing of food items, must have been one of the military governments' biggest challenges. We will recall that the average daily calorie intake for Germans had

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[21] Constance Herreshoff, "A Virtuoso's Human Side," *San Diego Union*, 27 Feb. 1955; see also "Concert Pianist Honored, *San Diego Union*, 15 Feb. 1955.

[22] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[23] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[24] Richard L. Merritt, *Democracy Imposed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 262.

[25] Ibid.

declined from 3,113 (in 1936) to 2,010 calories (by early 1945); the numbers would now drop substantially over the next two years, by still more than some 50 percent for many (as described below).[26]

In December 1945, during the first postwar winter and just three months after Gieseking's blacklisting, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported on the pianist's present situation. This must have been surprising to many American readers on account of his fame:

> Despite the report that he had been forced to do manual labor, Gieseking today is simply marking time at his hillside mansion in the outskirts of Wiesbaden, where he and his wife and their two daughters spend virtually all the daylight hours huddled in the small kitchen, the only room in which heat is permitted. The combination of bitter weather and fuel shortage makes it impossible for him to use the piano, he commented, so he "can do nothing at all."[27]

While he was idler than ever and experiencing difficult times, Gieseking was, of course, not simply sitting in his kitchen all day, as many American readers may have now believed. Yet as in the war, and despite his previous wealth and many connections, he was still unable to provide his family with a satisfactory amount of food, and the lack of heat and other comforts certainly made his daily life hard. What is more, still living with him and his family were the retired nurse, Helena Rittgerodt, or "Schwester Lena," Annie's sister Else Leimer, the latter's daughter Ellen, and, following his release from a British prison, Ellen's husband, Heinz Grosse. Still others were offered meals at the home. On 5 June 1946, Gieseking mentioned the following in a letter to Edward

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[26] See Chapter 6. These figures were for "normal" citizens. Those doing hard labor received, or were at least promised, supplementary portions. Benz, *Geschichte des Dritten Reiches*, 277.

[27] "French Accept German Pianist Barred by U.S.," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 Dec. 1945. This information was also reported in *Musical America*, see "Gieseking Allowed to Give Concerts in French Zone," *Musical America*, 25 Dec. 1945.

Snowdon, or "Duke" as he was called: "Our house is well-filled now with relatives and children from neighbors without [a] home, but we are happy to be still in our own place, even if the roof leaks in at least thirty-seven different spots" (Gieseking's English).[28]

There were indeed many mouths to feed, and Gieseking's daughter Jutta recalls how, while at the table, her mother would encourage her and her sister, Freya, to eat more without feeling guilty. "I'm not hungry at all!" she would tell them.[29] Jutta also recounts how her father, longing for a decent meal, would sometimes sit for hours reading cookbooks—although he never cooked.[30]

Once word had gotten out about the family's situation, though, friends, acquaintances, pupils, fans, and others—even members of the Allied forces—had begun to assist them by hand-delivering or mailing packages of foodstuffs, clothing, and other items that were hard to come by.[31] This must have helped considerably, but it remained a trying period for the family, as it did for most Germans and countless other Europeans. In the aforementioned letter to Snowdon, Gieseking also wrote the following: "My wife has rather too much work with the household but it is quite impossible to hire help, because it is too difficult to feed a servant. And most of the hired people accept a job only if it gives them more than the normal share of 'eats.' As we have no connections to the black market, we keep to ourselves and share the work (Gieseking's English)."[32] Snowdon had offered to send Gieseking some seeds for his garden. The latter was thankful, but let him

[28] Gieseking, to "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 5 June 1946, copy from the DEC.

[29] "Ich habe überhaupt keinen Hunger!" Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, Germany, 22 Oct. 2007.

[30] Jutta Hajmássy, interview by author, Wiesbaden, Germany, 13 Oct. 2009.

[31] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 14 Dec. 2010; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 28 Aug. 1947, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

[32] Gieseking, to "Duke" [Edward Snowdon, letter, 5 June 1946, copy in the DEC.

know that "for this season they'll probably arrive too late. And the garden is full—let's hope that something nourishing grows out of the seeds (Gieseking's English)."[33]

A few months later, on 14 November 1946, Gieseking again described the situation at home in a letter to Dean Elder. Little had changed:

> The summer has gone too quickly, now the cold season is causing us many inconveniences. We have only a small stove in one room, in which Mrs. [Else] Leimer is also giving her piano lessons—the room next to the one where we had the stove last winter. So I do not practice at all—and anyway, there's no hurry about preparing programs and I've found out that it is possible to repeat pieces in having "pupils" study them. By the time they are through with the composition, it sticks anew in my memory and concerning my fingers, I hope for the best. . . (Gieseking's English).[34]

In 1947, Germany underwent a dry spell that limited the food supply drastically more. The calorie intake for Germans in 1946 and 1947—less than one third of what it had been in 1936 for some—had reached a low point: 1,330 in the US zone, 1,083 in the Soviet zone, 1,050 in the British zone, and 900 in the French zone.[35] Germans in the British and American zones had begun to protest, holding signs, which among other things read, "We demand bread!" ("Wir fordern Brot!").[36] But as before, Gieseking continued to receive ample aid from others, alleviating the circumstances for him and his family considerably. In late-August 1947, he was therefore able to confide to his friend Ernst Smigelski in Leipzig, "Otherwise, we are living off *Liebesgabenpakete* [i.e. donated provisions], for the dry spell this year has made the food situation even worse

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, letter, 14 Nov. 1946, DEC.

[35] These figures were, again, for "normal" citizens, with those carrying out hard labor supposedly receiving additional food portions. Benz, *Geschichte des Dritten Reiches*, 277.

[36] "Eine dünne Scheibe: Brotkorb von zwei Seiten," *Der Spiegel*, 17 May 1947, 1, accessed 16 May 2012, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41122483.html.

than it already was. But so far we made out quite well."[37] Like anyone who was lucky enough to receive such support, the Giesekings appreciated it tremendously.[38] Their situation would further improve that year, as we will see, for Walter began to travel regularly to the French zone. Despite having the lowest average calorie figures of the three Western zones, he could obtain additional food and other needed goods during his visits there.

By the summer of 1948, supplies were becoming more available in all of occupied Germany, though much of it was still too costly for most German consumers. On 10 July that same year, Jutta could report to her father: "We made jam once again, gooseberry and [red or black] current. In general, you can now buy anything. Vegetables are free, even bean coffee! But everything is [otherwise] too expensive. We'll keep saving and hope that we will have enough during the coming months."[39]

Meanwhile, that blacklisted German artists continued to perform before Allied troops was quickly recognized as a problem by certain members of the U.S. Military Government, and some action had consequently already been taken to prevent this. A. (Arnold) Kunrad Kvam, who had been in charge of the Music and Theater Control in the western half of the American Zone, later recalled this predicament in a letter concerning

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[37] "Im übrigen leben wir von Liebesgabenpaketen, da die diesjährige Trockenheit die Ernährungslage ja noch schwieriger machte, als sie schon war." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 28 Aug. 1947, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

[38] For a published account of a pupil providing Gieseking with food after the war, see Marian Filar and Charles Patterson, *From Buchenwald to Carnegie Hall* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 144–45. Numerous unpublished letters from Gieseking (e.g. from 5 June 1945, 7 June 1946, 14 Nov. 1946, 5 Feb. 1947, and 16 Apr. 1947) found in the Dean Elder Collection (in the present author's possession) mention food and packages received.

[39] "Marmelade haben wir auch noch mal eingekocht, Stachelbeeren und Johannesbeeren. Im übrigen gibt es jetzt alles zu kaufen. Gemüse ist frei, sogar schon der Bohnenkaffee! Aber es ist alles zu teuer. Wir sparen weiter fest und hoffen, daß wir mit den Monaten rumkommen." Jutta Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Walter Gieseking [Rio de Janeiro], letter, 10 July 1948, GFA.

Gieseking to American Veterans Committee Chairman Leon Goldstein, one of the pianist's staunchest postwar opponents in the U.S.:

> The problem of Gieseking came up immediately. You may be interested to know that it took our office until September 1, 1945, to push through a directive preventing Gieseking and other German artists placed on our black list from appearing in concerts for troops.[40]

Gieseking had indeed continued to play for the occupying forces since Germany's defeat, although he was not yet blacklisted on 1 September.

The Consequences: Blacklisted

Most of the opportunities Gieseking had been enjoying thus far proved to be short lived, for in October his performances for the Allies were almost entirely brought to an end. There is no further evidence of the directive described by Kvam, and Gieseking did, in fact, remain active before British troops in September.[41] As a result of Kaven's investigation, on the other hand, U.S. Military Government officials, those of the Information Control Division, chose to place the pianist on the blacklist (no. 2) of 10 October 1945.[42] Like all others blacklisted, Gieseking would subsequently have his case reviewed and, if necessary, be tried. Until then, he was prohibited from performing publicly, and the American forces began to do without his volunteer work for the duration of his blacklisting. Furtwängler, too, was blacklisted, thus two of the most celebrated German giants of music were now almost entirely silenced. As the

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[40] A. Kunrad Kvam to Leon Goldstein, letter, Apr. 1948, "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[41] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[42] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," 14 Mar. 1946, PR/ISC Group, Control Commission for Germany, Main HQ, Bünde, BAOR, to HQ 1 Corps District, PR/ISC Branch, Mil. Gov., file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA; see also "Subject: Political Screening and Denazification of Walter Gieseking," Theo E. Hall, Chief of Public Safety Branch, to Eric G. Gration, [Office of the Secretary General, Berlin], 22 Apr. 1948, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 1948/139/2/AG (microfiche), IfZ, Munich.

Tagesspiegel, a daily paper started in the American sector in September 1945 (initially under the required license of the U.S. Military Government[43]) noted the following month with regard to the denazification procedures: "Measures should be enacted which will affect the celebrity no less than the small chorus singer."[44]

Some later information pertaining to Shepard Stone (1908–90) sheds light on the intricacies behind the decision to blacklist Gieseking. Formerly of the *New York Times*, Stone served in the U.S. Army from 1942 to 1946, ultimately as chief of Intelligence at the headquarters in the American zone, at Wiesbaden, before returning to the *New York Times* upon his discharge.[45] When, in 1948, he spoke with the assistant editor of the *Nation*, Jerry Tallmer, who along with the magazine's staff had joined those protesting Gieseking's planned U.S. tour for 1949, Stone claimed to have carried out the pianist's blacklisting "all by himself."[46] He further maintained that Gieseking had been a special case on account of his fame, and that the purpose of his blacklisting had therefore partly been to serve as an example to others. After his talk with Stone, Tallmer wrote:

> Stone says that the question for him [Gieseking] is ideologic[al]. G. [Gieseking], Stone says, absolutely played ball with the Nazis, while keeping as detached as possible from active politics. He could have said No, and didn't. Again, it was a

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[43] Amy Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West German from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 20–21.

[44] Gerhard Grindel, "Parteibuch und Kunst," *Tagesspiegel*, 8 Nov. 1945. Along with other papers of occupied Germany, the *Tagesspiegel* would support Gieseking during his protested 1949 U.S. entry, condemning the actions taken against him. See "German Papers Decry Rebuff to Gieseking," *Evening Star* (Washington D.C.) 26 Jan. 1949.

[45] J[erry] T[allmer], "Memo on Walter Gieseking," n.d. [1948], to F. K. [Freda Kirchweg], H. F. [Harold C. Field], R. B. [Robert Bendiner], et al., "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA; "Biography," Guide to the Papers of Shepard Stone, 1925–1990, Finding Aids for Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College Library, accessed 16 May 2012, http://ead.dartmouth.edu/html/ml99_biohist.html.

[46] J[erry] T[allmer], "Memo on Walter Gieseking," n.d. [1948], to F. K. [Freda Kirchweg], H. F. [Harold C. Field], R. B. [Robert Bendiner], et al., "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA. The *Nation*'s involvement with the Gieseking protest in postwar America was previously discussed in Chapter 5, Excursus II.

> matter of guts. "Why," Stone asks, "should we have gone to all that trouble of trying to de-Nazify some little jerk down the line, and let this big shot artist get away with it? You can imagine the example it sets." Still, Stone says, Intelligence recognized that G. was a great artist, and that people wanted to hear him play. So Stone wanted to allow it, within some very rigid limits, especially with severe limits on the income that would accrue from the concerts. Stone also says that his personal inclination is against having G. come to America to play.[47]

Stone's precise role in the process was not explained. We can say with certainty, however, that Kaven's investigation was most influential in those proceedings, even if Stone ultimately took over somehow and saw to it that Gieseking was added to the blacklist.

Regarding the Military Government's verdict, it was concluded that Gieseking had "acted as a cultural agent of the Propaganda Ministry" for having conceded to at least some of the organization's wishes.[48] Kaven criticized him for having done so even before the war, when it was still possible to decline their requests: "up to 1938, any artist of renown was perfectly free to say no, without endangering his standing or security."[49] Kaven also referred to Furtwängler's well-known early resistance as an example.[50] As the Political Intelligence Department (German-Austrian Division) subsequently noted, the

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[47] J[erry] T[allmer], "Memo on Walter Gieseking," n.d. [1948], to F. K. [Freda Kirchweg], H. F. [Harold C. Field], R. B. [Robert Bendiner], et al., "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[48] "Gieseking," extract from PID German, Austrian Intelligence, Reorganization of Publicity and Cultural Media in all Zones of Germany, no. 2, 19 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[49] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2.

[50] While Furtwängler's relationship with the Nazi regime remains controversial, most scholars agree that he stood up to the regime during the initial years, e.g. when he famously defended Hindemith's music in a public (printed) dispute with Goebbels in 1934. On the other hand, many, including the U.S. Military Government, as Kaven states, felt he "later became reconciled with the regime." Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 2. Several biographies on Furtwängler examine his relationship with the Nazi regime: John Ardoin, *The Furtwängler Record* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994); Daniel Gillis, *Furtwängler and America* (New York: Manyland Books, 1970); Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*; and Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master*. Earlier German sources include Curt Riess's *Furtwängler: Musik und Politik* and that written by Furtwängler's personal assistant: Berta Geissmar, *Musik im Schatten der Politik*.

American officials held the opinion that "Gieseking rather than playing for the Nazis should have withdrawn from musical life."[51] Had he stopped concertizing within the Reich, he may have felt compelled to flee his homeland, something that probably could have been arranged easily. He was, after all, an international celebrity, who prior to the war had earned most of his income abroad. Switzerland, for one, would have doubtless granted him residency, and before the hostilities, the U.S. as well. His many friends and connections would have surely facilitated his emigration, too. And his critics certainly realized this. But as we have seen, Gieseking expressed concern for his family and was reluctant to lose any great part of his earned wealth. These were legitimate excuses at the time when he reached his decision to stay, when no one could have foreseen the extent of Germany's grim future under Hitler's rule.

The American Press Announces Gieseking's Blacklisting

Gieseking's blacklisting was announced to the press on 16 October, and American newspapers across the country, including the *Daily Boston Globe*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *Baltimore Sun*, and even small-town papers such as the *Titusville (Pennsylvania) Herald* and the *Lubbock (Texas) Morning Avalanche* ran the Associated Press statement the following day. It read: "Walter Gieseking, concert pianist, has been barred from giving public performances in the American zone of occupation because he permitted himself to be used as a 'cultural agent' by the Nazis, American headquarters

[51] "Gieseking," extract from PID German, Austrian Intelligence, Reorganization of Publicity and Cultural Media in all Zones of Germany, no. 2, 19 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

said today."[52] Claudia Cassidy of the widely read *Chicago Daily Tribune* regretted learning of the news, as she made clear in her more personal report:

> Music and politics make sad bedfellows. Walter Gieseking, the German who probably plays Debussy better than any other pianist in the world, has been barred from performing in the United States zone of German occupation on grounds that "he permitted himself to be used as a cultural agent of the nazi propaganda ministry in neutral and conquered countries." Gieseking, who at Hitler's invitation appeared at a reception honoring Mussolini in 1937, was declared to have been "a firm believer in Hitler who never wavered in his allegiance to Hitler and the nazi system." His concerts were "considered highly useful to the nazi cause by Goebbels' office." They used to be highly useful to music's cause, and it's sad to lose them.[53]

Cassidy (1900–1996) was notorious for her biting reviews, earning her the nickname "Acidy Cassidy," but she was a great fan of Gieseking's.[54] She would support him in her writings throughout the postwar controversy in the U.S. that was still to come.

A subsequent article in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* (not by Cassidy) quoted Gieseking directly on the blacklisting, "I have never been told firsthand about the blacklist. . . . I know of it only thru others and the published list. For myself, I do nothing. I leave everything to my friends."[55] The last part of the quote is vague, but Gieseking must have meant that contacts were trying to help him out of the situation, which was indeed the case. "Although he admittedly profited from numerous appearances inside and outside Germany during the [N]azi era and acknowledged to officials that he realized his

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[52] "Nazi Pianist Barred," *Daily Boston Globe*, 17 Oct. 1945; "Pianist Is Barred," *Atlanta Constitution*, 17 Oct. 1945; "German Pianist Barred," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 17 Oct. 1945; Claudia Cassidy, "On the Aisle: Blackstone to Shubert Fold, Gieseking Barred in U. S. Zone, Toscanini Tale," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 17 Oct. 1945; "Concert Pianist Banned," *Titusville (Pa.) Herald*, 18 Oct. 1945; "Pianist is Barred," *Lubbock (Tex.) Morning Avalanche*, 17 Oct. 1945.

[53] Claudia Cassidy, "On the Aisle: Blackstone to Shubert Fold, Gieseking Barred in U. S. Zone, Toscanini Tale," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 17 Oct. 1945.

[54] For a biographical sketch of Cassidy, see "Inventory of the Claudia Cassidy Papers, 1880s-1996, bulk 1930-1985," Roger and Julie Baskes Department of Special Collections, Newberry Library, Chicago, online finding aid, accessed on 16 May 2012, http://mms.newberry.org/html/cassidy.html.

[55] "French Accept German Pianist Barred by U.S.," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 Dec. 1945.

fame in the musical world was utilized for propaganda purposes," the article added, "neither his property nor his bank account has been touched. . . ."[56] Among the punishments issued during the denazification hearings was the confiscation of property, but as we saw, in Gieseking's case some American soldiers had made use of his home for only several days on account of its deteriorating condition. In 1950, on the other hand, the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Alien Property would seize his three American insurance policies, each of which he had taken out years before WWII.[57]

Denazification

The blacklisting of German musicians was part of the *Entnazifizierung*, or denazification process, carried out by the four occupying powers. The American Military Governement stated its chief objective (that shared by each of the Allied occupiers) in its ensuing Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism of 5 March 1946:

> To liberate our people from National Socialism and Militarism and to secure a lasting base for German democratic national life in peace with the world, all those who have actively supported the National Socialist tyranny, or are guilty of having violated the principles of justice and humanity, or of having selfishly exploited the conditions thus created, shall be excluded from influence in public, economic and *cultural* life and shall be bound to make reparations (emphasis added).[58]

Indeed, essentially all artists who had in any way promoted German culture during Hitler's rule had to answer to the occupying forces.

Already during the war, at Yalta on 11 February 1945, the "Big Three" powers—the U.K., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—had agreed on what would serve as the

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[56] Ibid.

[57] This is the topic of Excursus VI.

[58] U.S. Military Government, *Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism*, article 1, paragraph 1, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 1948/138/5/AG (microfiche), IfZ, Munich.

foundation of the denazification policy: 1) "to destroy German militarism and Nazism," 2) to "wipe out the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions," and 3) to "remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people."[59] All four occupying governments, the American, British, Russian, and French, were ultimately involved in Germany's denazification, though they each followed different strategies.[60] The Americans, to repeat, specifically those of the Information Control Division, were the most thorough and severest. As David Monod writes, "ICD became the most ardent force of denazification in the American zone, and it purged German culture and the media of all those it thought had joined, believed in, sympathized with, or profited from the Nazi party."[61] The other Allied governments were, by comparison, "so much more superficial, disorganized and haphazard," observed John Herz.[62] The Soviets naturally had a much different agenda, as the Russian zone became a socialist satellite of the Soviet Union, namely the German Democratic Republic.[63]

Although the three Western Allies, particularly the Americans and the British, made an effort to comply with each other's denazification policies and procedures, they, too, often shared differences of opinion—as in Gieseking's case. Inevitably, there were

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[59] These provisions were given in the "Joint Report of the Crimea Conference," and were subsequently expanded at the Tripartite Conference at Potsdam, included in the "Joint Report," also known as the "Potsdam Agreement" or "Berlin Protocol" from Aug. 2, 1945. See Elmer Plischke, "Denazification Law and Procedure," *American Journal of International Law* 41, no. 4 (Oct. 1947): 808.

[60] We will see examples of this below, particularly when we examine the early, individual efforts made by the French and British to see Gieseking cleared by the U.S. Military Government.

[61] Monod, *Settling Scores*, 34.

[62] John H. Herz, "The Fiasco of denazification in Germany," *Political Science Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (Dec. 1948): 569n3; see also Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 45.

[63] For more on each nation's involvement in the German denazification, see Chapter Two "Denazification" in Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 39–73.

conflicts both within and between all of the occupying governments throughout the denazification process. Undeterred, the Americans "were determined to reform all aspects of civilian life in Germany, and were not disposed to argue the finer points of individual cases," writes Toby Thacker.[64]

Yet the denazification process remained problematic from the beginning and was therefore often ridiculed, and the initial blacklists were far from complete.[65] Despite the many challenges, which officials of all the occupying zones encountered during this daunting, years-long project, the American Military Government at first stayed steadfast in its mission to rid Germany (and Austria) of its Nazi past. The U.S. Army's Information Control Division continued to evaluate artists who had been active in the Third Reich, extending the blacklists significantly while trying to improve the denazification process and its overall efficiency.

In addition to thousands of lesser-known artists, many celebrated figures saw their professional careers suddenly brought to a halt (excluding private engagements) because of the blacklistings and subsequent screenings: Aside from Gieseking, there were Karl Böhm, Wolfgang Fortner, Herbert von Karajan, Wilhelm Kempff, Clemens Krauss, Elly

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[64] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 45. Thacker has described a "consistent pattern" regarding the discussions concerning music that were held in the Four-Power Information Directorate: "The agenda was set by the Americans, who could usually count on support from the British, reluctant acquiescence from the French, and, after much quibbling, some kind of formal Soviet agreement. All sides jealously guarded their exclusive jurisdiction in their own Zones, and were often unwilling to reveal too clearly what policies they were pursuing there. . . . Under a veneer of diplomatic courtesy, each occupier went its own way, following first and foremost its own interests in the area of Germany it controlled." Ibid., 41.

[65] For a contemporary source of the problems that developed during Germany's denazification, see Herz, "The Fiasco of Denazification in Germany." For a more recent, brief evaluation of the denazification difficulties, see David Kaufmann, "The Nazi legacy: coming to terms with the past," in Peter James, *Modern Germany: Politics, Society and Culture*, ed. Peter James (New York: Routledge, 2002), 125–27. For a more thorough recent reexamination of the denazification, see Chapter 4: Denazification and its Effects, 1945–1955 in Michael R. Hayse, *Recasting West German Elites: Higher Civil Servants, Business Leaders, and Physicians in Hesse between Nazism and Democracy, 1945–1955* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 140–208.

Ney, Hans Pfitzner, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, Richard Strauss, and, again, Wilhelm Furtwängler, to name but a few of the pianist's best-known colleagues.[66] In fact, the numbers of those blacklisted continued to increase so that by September 1946 nearly all of the musicians residing in the American Zone—according to Virgil Thomson over ninety-nine percent—were officially prohibited from performing.[67] This was the peak of the Nazi purge, however, which proved to be relatively fleeting. By the end of the year, the situation already began to grow increasingly lax so that by March 1947 only approximately thirty composers—Strauss, Orff, and Wolfgang Fortner among them—were on the new, significantly shortened black and grey lists; this was because of their alleged ability "to exert influence in the forming of public opinion."[68]

As Toby Thacker has recently demonstrated, ICD's denazification procedures concerning musicians occurred in four phases, from the first weeks after the war until October 1948, when they finally and grudgingly deserted their grand endeavor—as ordered by the U.S. Military Government.[69] The "political vetting" of musicians, as it was called, suddenly ceased entirely.[70]

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[66] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 51–52.

[67] Thomson, "German Culture and Army Rule," *New York Herald Tribune* (Paris Edition), 22 Sept. 1946, also cited in Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 52.

[68] Quoted in Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 53–4.

[69] Ibid., 47, 54. Regarding the phases, other historians divide the denazification proceedings differently. John Herz, for example, refers to six stages of the development. See Herz, "The Fiasco of Denazification in Germany," 569–94. Already by 27 March 1948 the Denazification trials, excluding those involving major offenders, "were virtually ended today," reported Delbert Clark. Clark, "Clay Ends Trials For Lesser Nazis," *New York Times*, 28 Mar. 1948. On 4 May, Clark further reported, "Approximately 375,000 denazification cases were disposed of in the United States zone in April, and only 28,065 remain to stand trial, the Military Government announced today." Clark, "28,065 Cases Left For Trial As Nazis," *New York Times*, 5 May 1948.

[70] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 54.

Gieseking's blacklisting in October 1945 occurred during the second, more strengthened, phase of denazification, which, most notably, produced the first "Black, Grey, and White lists for Information Control Purposes" for the American Zone.[71] ICD compiled the lists, which were initially further divided into five categories:

1) Category "A" (White): People politically suitable for leading positions in their field according to available information.
2) Category "B" (White): Suitable for probation.
3) Category "C" (Gray): Not to be employed in policy making or creative capacity, executive position, or as personal officer. If employment of a "C" personality seems necessary, special application should be made to ICD, USFET [U.S. Forces, European Theater].
4) Category "D" (Black): Not to be employed.
5) Category "E" (Black): Not to be employed, dangerous to security, liable to arrest.[72]

In August 1946, an extended blacklist comprising almost two hundred pages was issued. "Of some 10,000 people working in 'Film, Theater, and Music' now listed by the ICD," writes Thacker, "only four musicians were in the category 'White A'"—the careers of all others were, for now, either partly or completely hindered.[73] Presumably all blacklisted musicians would have fallen under Category "D," as it is highly unlikely that any would have been considered a security risk. The sub-categories of the White ("A" and "B") and Black ("D" and "E") were subsequently abandoned, however, while the Grey list was divided into an "acceptable" and "unacceptable" category.[74]

The third phase began with the introduction of the Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism, introduced on 5 March 1946 and signed by the

[71] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 48–49.

[72] "Subject: Political Screening of Artists," Nov. 1945, RG 260, Records of U.S. Occupation Headquarters, WWII, U.S. Forces Austria, U.S. Allied Command Austria Section, Information Services Branch, Theater and Music Section General Records, 1945–50, nos. 7–21, box 2, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[73] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 52.

[74] Ibid., 49.

minister presidents of the German states in the American zone and General Lucius D. Clay. The law's main purpose was made evident by its title: to liberate the German people once and for all from Nazism and Militarism. This was considered "an indispensable prerequisite to political, economic and cultural reconstruction" in the former Reich.[75] The law had four main objectives:

1) to provide just and effective procedures for judging every individual according to the degree of his responsibility for the wrongs committed by the Nazi regime;
2) to impose upon those found responsible definite sanctions designed to eliminate their influence in the community and to bar them from public office and positions of responsibility in important private undertakings;
3) to provide opportunities for rehabilitation through probation for lesser offenders; and
4) to remove disqualifications from exonerated persons and from followers (nominal Nazis) who have paid their fines and against whom no employment sanctions have been invoked.[76]

Spruchkammern

Henceforth, political screenings were to be carried out on an individual basis. As the Law for Liberation made clear, "the individual shall be judged by a just consideration of his individual responsibility and his actual conduct taken as a whole."[77] This brought about what became the most important change in the denazification process, namely the creation of the German tribunals known as *Spruchkammern*. Describing these "lay institutions," Michael Hayse writes: "In the tribunals, three or more lay judges familiar with the local situation, one of whom acted as a chairperson, passed judgment on defendants. Prosecutors, commonly with little or no legal training, prepared and argued

[75] U.S. Military Government, *Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism*, article 1, paragraph 1.

[76] Ibid., chapter I, article 2, M. G. anno.

[77] Ibid., chapter I, article 2, paragraph 1.

the cases."[78] Germans deemed anti-Nazi or who had demonstrated some kind of resistance were now largely the ones who would be doing the judging.[79] Local mayors appointed the judges, who nonetheless then had to be approved by the Military Governments.[80] Regarding this change in denazification policy, the Law for Liberation stated the following:

> American Military Government has now decided that the German people may share the responsibility for liberation from National Socialism and Militarism in all fields. The discharge of the task thus entrusted to the German people will be accomplished by this Law. . . .[81]

By the summer of 1946, the *Spruchkammer* trials were underway, and as David Monod has pointed out, the German courts soon cleared many figures that had been blacklisted by the Americans.[82] Yet countless cases had been delayed and the German people were running out of patience, causing the Military Government to step in and help.[83] In spite of the new role played by Germans in political screenings, the American Military Government, for now, also continued to maintain the power to overrule any decision made by either the *Spruchkammnern* or by the German scrutiny committees known as *Prüfungsausschüsse*, which the U.S. Military Government had created.[84] In

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[78] Hayse, *Recasting West German Elites*, 151–152. Hayse also describes the duties of the *Spruchkammern*.

[79] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 50; Boyd L. Dastrup, *Crusade in Nuremberg: Military Occupation, 1945–1949*, Contributions in Military Studies 47 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 36.

[80] Plischke, "Denazification Law and Procedure," 816.

[81] U.S. Military Government, *Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism*, paragraph 5, [p. 1].

[82] Monod, *Settling Scores*, 6.

[83] William E. Griffith, "Denazification in the United States Zone of Germany," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 267 (Jan. 1950): 71.

[84] Plischke, "Denazification Law and Procedure," 816; Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 50–1. In general, the U.S. Military Government was pleased with the work of the *Prüfungsausschüsse*. On 25 October 1946, Benno D. Frank concluded, "Pruefungsausschuesse have already been established in Wuerttemberg-Baden and Greater Hesse and have proved to be very effective." Benno D. Frank,

cases when the Americans disagreed with a particular artist's clearance, they issued a *Spielverbot* (performance ban), for which there was no given expiration date.[85] Although Gieseking was prohibited from performing publicly while blacklisted, he never received such a ban.[86]

By early 1947, it was announced that all cases cleared (excluding those in Berlin) were no longer subject to review by the American Military Government, a decision that did not escape criticism.[87] One of both Gieseking's and the American Military Government's most outspoken postwar critics, reporter Delbert Clark of the *New York Times*, wrote the following in an article from 2 February:

> The cases of artists, actors and musicians cleared by German denazification tribunals are no longer subject to review by United States authorities, according to an order recently issued by Lieut. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, deputy military governor.
>
> This means that the individual's political philosophy or the extent to which he gave support to the Hitler regime will not count against him if he is

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"Professional competences of licensees and registrants," 25 Oct. 1946, file: RG 260 OMGUS, Educational and Cultural Relations Division, Cultural Affairs Branch, Music and Theater, box: 238: French Matters through German Licensing Committees, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[85] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 50–51.

[86] Friedrich Michael later recalled how once while visiting Gieseking at his home, the pianist himself pointed out during a conversation regarding the blacklisting that he never officially received a performance ban. Michael, "Giesekings Haus: In Memoriam," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 Jan. 1970. Jutta Hajmássy, too, has emphasized this during personal conversations about her father with the author.

[87] Clark, "Nazi Artists Left to German Courts." Berlin was exempt from the change of policy because of the four-power rule there, requiring the approval of the Allied Kommandatura. The four-power Kommandatura was responsible for the Greater Berlin Area's Inter-Allied Administration, governing the city on a quadripartite basis until the Soviets quit attending the meetings in June 1948. At that point, the Kommandatura continued to function as a tripartite *de facto*. The Kommandatura's Cultural Affairs Committee also had its own denazification subcommittee to advise it on cases and proceedings, which was located in Berlin's British sector, and the subcommittee's secretariat was part of the Intelligence Section of the British Information Services Control (ISC). Elmer Plischke, "Government and Politics of Berlin," *Information Bulletin* (Jan. 1952), 2–3, accessed 11 Feb. 2011, http://images.library.wisc.edu/History/EFacs/GerRecon/omg1952Jan/reference/history.omg1952jan.plischkegoverment.pdf; Eli E. Nobleman, "Quadripartite Military Government Organization and Operations in Germany," *The American Journal of International Law* 41, no. 3 (July 1947): 654–55; Roger Smithson, "Furtwängler's Silent Years: 1945–47," *Société Wilhelm Furtwängler*, accessed 5 Apr. 2010, http://www.furtwangler.net/doc/45-47en.rtf.

> cleared by a German court within the relatively narrow limits of the law for liberation.
>
> The order opens the way for such men as Werner Kraus, the actor; Walter Gieseking, the pianist, and many others who openly supported the Nazis to resume public activity so far as the United States zone is concerned. . . .
>
> . . . the Germans, who proceed in a leisurely fashion, display an unstrained quality of mercy, and pile up a big backlog of untried cases in expectation of further amnesties.[88]

Clark was obviously unaware that Gieseking had been officially cleared only days before his article went to print.

Regarding the difficulties encountered during this third phase of denazification, Thacker has written more recently:

> This law [the Law for Liberation] restricted nominal Nazis to 'ordinary labor', and the Americans found themselves caught up in torturous judgments as to which musicians fell into this category. . . . *Spruchkammern* were slow to deal with the thousands of cases presented in each locality, and the Americans carried on with their own exclusionary processes, frequently overriding German decisions. By this time musicians were caught up in a 'paper war'; to perform in public they had to satisfy potentially several different branches of US Military Government, to complete a *Fragebogen* [questionnaire] and appear before a *Spruchkammer* if they had any Nazi Party connections.[89]

The *Meldebogen*

The *Fragebogen* (questionnaire), which the Americans had already begun to use in 1944, consisted of six pages. Its replacement, the two-page *Meldebogen* (literally "registration form" but merely a shortened questionnaire), which Gieseking completed on 24 April 1946, had just been introduced in March as part of the Law for Liberation.[90] The document's full title was, in fact, given as Registration Form in Accordance with the Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism of 5 March 1946 (Meldebogen auf

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[88] Clark, "Nazi Artists Left To German Courts."

[89] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 50.

[90] Gieseking, "Meldebogen"; Hayse, *Recasting West German Elites*, 198n52.

Grund des Gesetzes zur Befreiung von Nationalsozialismus und Militärismus vom 5. 3. 1946). The new law required all Germans eighteen and older fill out the questionnaire.[91] Among other things, one was required to list any personal political engagement and military service fulfilled during the Nazis' rule, any memberships held in Nazi organizations, any awards or decorations received, and one's financial history and work-related information for the years 1932 through 1945.

As of October 1949, Gieseking's home state of Hesse alone had received 3,222,922 *Meldebogen*.[92] Louisa McClintock has described some of the problems pertaining to the form and denazification:

> The questionnaire had been designed only to determine party membership and did not take into account the extent to which the party had penetrated everyday life. People often joined the Nazi Party not because of strong political convictions but for more mundane, practical reasons, such as employment. Writers, painters, musicians, and actors could only engage in their professions by affiliating themselves [often as non-members] with Nazi cultural organizations. . . . The need to differentiate between active and nominal Nazis was obvious—it was clearly impractical . . . to punish everyone who had been a Nazi.[93]

McClintock makes a good point, and the U.S. Military Government must have come to a similar conclusion, for the importance of party membership was reconsidered under the Law for Liberation of March 1946. The law stated that henceforth "external criteria, such as membership of the NSDAP, any of its formations or other organizations, shall not be decisive by themselves alone for the degree of responsibility under this

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[91] Dastrup, *Crusade in Nuremberg*, 36.

[92] "Report on the Abwicklung of the Hessian Ministry for Political Liberation," from the Ministerium for politische Befreiung to the Minister President of Hesse, 27 Oct. 1949, HHW 502/919, cited in Hayse, *Recasting West German Elites*, 198n54.

[93] Louisa McClintock, "Facing the Awful Truth: Germany Confronts the Past, Again," *Problems of Post-Communism* 52 (Nov./Dec. 2005): 34.

Law."[94] Nazi Party membership naturally continued to count against someone, but now more emphasis was placed on *all* of a person's past actions under Hitler's regime. A cardholder who had demonstrated some form of resistance to the Nazi government would likely be exonerated. On the other hand, non-membership was not enough to clear anyone.[95] Gieseking, to repeat, was found to have never joined the NSDAP.

Performing for the French while Blacklisted

The Gieseking case caused much discord both between and within the occupying Military Governments. After blacklisting the pianist, the U.S. military officials were initially most adamant in their decision to ban him from giving public performances and playing before American troops. On the other hand, the French—eager to see the acclaimed pianist back on the stage, prominently promoting French masterworks—disagreed with the Americans' resolution. They therefore never placed any restrictions on him. The French, explains Thacker, were "more concerned with the promotion of their own music, and with building good relationships in Germany, than in the punishment of individuals . . . whose transgressions were perhaps deemed minor."[96] Referring to the period of his blacklisting, Gieseking himself later clarified to his American manager, Charles Wagner, how "even during this time . . . I was frequently invited for private

[94] U.S. Military Government, *Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism*, chapter I, article 2, paragraph 2.

[95] U.S. Military Government, *Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism*, chapter I, article 2, paragraph 2.

[96] Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 67.

performances by the French and also, once or twice, by the ETO [European Theater of Operations] Military Intelligence Officers" (Gieseking's English).[97]

In fact, the month following Gieseking's blacklisting, members of the French Liaison obstinately requested permission from the Americans to engage the pianist in the French zone.[98] Outraged by this, Information Control sent the French officials a summary of Gieseking's wartime record based on the Kaven report, adding further disparaging comments, particularly in relation to those events that had taken place in Nazi-controlled France. From this we read:

> Gieseking, during the cross-examination, made a sneering remark that "Paris during the occupation was regarded by the Germans as the friendliest city in Europe." This was a most malicious generalization, especially when referred to the years 1943 and 1944, at the time Gieseking gave his concerts in Paris. Paris, like Brussels, Oslo or Copenhagen, had many sincere music-loving people who absented themselves from Gieseking's concerts. Furthermore, there were other ways of playing in Paris, but Gieseking chose to go there as an emissary of the Propaganda Ministry.[99]

In addition, Gieseking's previous postwar engagements for American troops were referred to condescendingly, apparently to warn the French of the pianist's suspected motive:

> It is commonly known that he [Gieseking] gave concerts to our troops during the summer months [of 1945], when our intelligence section was in a period of organization. He was very clever to volunteer his services without remuneration and we have reason to suspect that he followed a careful plan with a view to resuming his concert activities in America.[100]

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[97] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charles L. Wagner, New York, letter, 31 Jan. 1949, photocopy from the DEC; Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[98] The document sent by the French appears to be lost, but it is described in the reply sent by the American officials. See "Subject: Walter Gieseking," Colonel J. K. Hills, U.S. Information Control Division, to Major Ali Colombet, French Liaison, 15 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid. A draft report in response to the French Liaison's request was first prepared on 7 December by Chief of Intelligence at U.S. Headquarters, Alfred Toombs. On 15 December, Colonel J. K.

Naturally, Rudolf Goette gave a different explanation for the circumstances of his client's wartime engagements in France:

> Mr. Gieseking has been accused of giving performances that were arranged by Dr. Hersig of the Deutsches Kulturamt [German Office for Cultural Affairs] in Paris during France's occupation. I received the first privately arranged invitation from the French concert agency Valmalète, which cooperated with the Kulturamt in planning these concerts. Owing to the loss of my foreign license, all of the later arrangements concerning foreign engagements were, in fact, made by [German] officials. We continued to do our best to maintain the private nature of our business arrangements [until then]. . . . Gieseking had always played in Paris; he was, of course, recognized there as the best interpreter of the French Impressionists' works.[101]

Yet, like Kaven, others from Information Control were convinced that Gieseking was guilty of Nazi collaboration. The Americans made it clear to the French that they would stick to their decision: "the evidence in this case has been thoroughly reviewed and weighed, and no change can be made in Gieseking's status."[102] Along with the rundown on the pianist's history sent to French Liaison Officer Ali Colombet, Colonel J. K. Hills of the ICD enclosed a copy of the Kaven's interrogation transcript from 21 September 1945 (referred to throughout this dissertation).[103] Should the summary not be enough to convince the French of Gieseking's culpability, Hills and his American colleagues must

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Hills sent a revised version of it to Major Ali Colombet of the French Liaison. For Toombs's draft, see "Subject: Walter Gieseking," Alfred Toombs, to Colonel [Cliff R.] Powell, 7 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich.

[101] "Es wird Herrn Gieseking vorgeworfen, dass er durch Dr. Hersig (Deutsches Kulturamt in Paris) während der Besetzung Frankreichs in Paris gespielt habe. Die erste privat gehaltene Einladung erhielt ich von der französischen Konzertdirektion Valmalète, die diese Konzerte in Verbindung mit dem Kulturamt bearbeitete. Durch Verlust meiner Auslandskonzession wurden ja später alle Verhandlungen mit dem Ausland auf amtlichen Wegen erledigt. Wir waren stets bemüht, den privaten Charakter unserer Verhandlungen beizubehalten. . . . In Paris hat Gieseking seit jeher gespielt, galt er dort doch als der beste Interpret der französischen Impressionisten." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 5.

[102] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," Colonel J. K. Hills, U.S. Information Control Division, to Major Ali Colombet, French Liaison, 15 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich.

[103] Ibid. The remarks regarding Gieseking and the French were first given in the American report from Chief of Intelligence Alfred Toombs to Colonel Cliff Powell; see "Subject: Walter Gieseking," Alfred Toombs, to Colonel [Cliff R.] Powell, 7 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich.

have thought, the transcript would be. It was not. Gieseking would remain blacklisted for over a year, but the French continued to engage him recurrently.

A letter from 10 December 1945 shows that Gieseking had recently performed in the French zone and had now received a second invitation from one Herr Zwissler. This was surely the conductor Karl Maria Zwissler (1900–84), who held the position of *Generalmusikdirektor* (General Music Director) at Mainz from 1936 to 1967.[104] Zwissler, too, had been blacklisted by the American Military Government, but he had continued to work in Mainz. And despite having become a member of the Nazi party on 1 January 1942, the Americans were hoping to have him to serve as *Generalmusikdirektor* in their zone as well, namely in Wiesbaden, though not until he had been cleared by a *Spruchkammer*.[105] In his reply to Zwissler's invitation, Gieseking wrote:

> I was somewhat greatly surprised to receive your invitation, but if you feel that the people of Mainz will not be opposed to hear me again so soon—well, I accept. Pick up should be as it was the last time, and I hope that the hall is somewhat heated! Otherwise one's fingers protest. . . .
>
> . . . I am prepared to stay there [in Mainz] for lunch on Sunday, if my, or rather our, meals can be provided somewhere without too much difficulty. My family (wife and daughters) would like to be present that Sunday, but the three ladies can naturally bring something [cold to eat] with them. Keeping the work in mind, I prefer to have warm vegetables. On Saturday, we can, of course, decide whether it will be better for us to return home. We still have [temporary] travel passes.[106]

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[104] "Das Orchester//Orchestergeschichte," Philharmonisches Staatsorchester Mainz website, accessed 16 Jan. 2011, http://www.orchester-mainz.de/index.php?id=143.

[105] Further information regarding Zwissler's *Spruchkammer* hearing has not been found, but he never became a General Music Director in Wiesbaden. In 1946, however, he began to lead the Pfalzorchester and to serve as director of the Landesregierung's Amt für Theater und Musik. In 1950 and 1951, he did serve as guest conductor for the Hessian Staatstheater in Wiesbaden. Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Zwissler, Karl (Carl) Maria."

[106] "Ihre Einladung kommt etwas sehr überraschend, aber wenn Sie meinen, dass die Mainzer nichts dagegen haben, mich schon wieder zu hören—also ich nehme an. Abholung wieder wie voriges Mal und hoffentlich ist der Saal einigermassen geheizt! Sonst streiken nämlich die Finger . . . Sonntag–Mittag bin ich bereit, dortzubleiben, wenn meine bzw. unsere Verpflegung irgendwo ohne allzugrosse Schwierigkeiten möglich ist. Die Familie (Frau u. Töchter) möchte nämlich gerade am Sonntag gern dabei sein, doch können sich die 3 Damen auch etwas mitnehmen. Ich ziehe allerdings, mit Rücksicht auf die

Gieseking was invited, presumably as arranged by Zwissler, to the French zone to perform only days later at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Arts) in Mainz on 15, 16, and 17 December 1945.[107] One of these appearances was the solo recital that he described in his above reply to Zwissler. On that occasion, he played Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E major (op. 109), Schumann's Fantasy in C major (op. 17), six Debussy Preludes, and Scriabin's Sonata no. 4 in F-sharp major, op. 30.[108]

The program of 16 December was unusually varied and featured Gieseking, violinist Günther Kehr, and narrator Karl Ernst Esser. Gieseking and Kehr played Brahms's A-major Sonata, op. 100, which was followed by some words by Fritz Boerckel, president of the Rheinische Kultur-Gesellschaft (Rhine Cultural Society). Gieseking then performed Debussy's "La Cathédrale engloutie" and Ravel's "Alborada del gracioso," around which Esser read poems by Rainer Maria Rilke. To conclude the concert, Gieseking and Kehr played Franck's Sonata in A-major.[109] As the December programs demonstrate, composers who had been off limits during the Nazi era were now going to be performed regularly—in this case Debussy, Ravel, and Scriabin. The details of the third program are unknown.

Arbeit, ein warmes Gemüse vor. Sonnabend können wir ja entscheiden, ob es besser ist, nach Hause zu fahren. Pass haben wir noch." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to [Karl-Maria] Zwissler, Mainz, letter, 10 Dec. 1945, GFA.

[107] Concert program: "Städtische Konzerte Mainz . . . Walter Gieseking (Klavier)," Hörsaal der Kunstgewerbeschule, 15–17 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA; "Program zur akademischen Morgenfeier," Rheinische Kultur-Gesellschaft Mainz, Hörsaal der Kunstgewerbeschule Mainz am Pulverturm, 16 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[108] Gieseking lists the proposed program in his letter to Zwissler. Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to [Karl-Maria] Zwissler, Mainz, letter, 10 Dec. 1945, GFA. Concert program: "Städtische Konzerte Mainz . . . Walter Gieseking (Klavier)," Hörsaal der Kunstgewerbeschule, 15–17 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[109] "Program zur akademischen Morgenfeier," Rheinische Kultur-Gesellschaft Mainz, Hörsaal der Kunstgewerbeschule Mainz am Pulverturm, 16 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

The Americans' aforementioned message to the French Liaison, insisting that Gieseking's blacklisting be recognized, dates from the 15 December and therefore probably did not reach the French officials until after these performances had been given.[110] Yet even if it had arrived sooner, the French in all probability would have still allowed the concerts to take place—as they had been doing since September.[111] As David Monod has explained, "in the French zone proper, they tended, at least until the fall of 1946, to officially accept the American blacklist, even if they rarely enforced it."[112] They had clearly not been too concerned about Gieseking's blacklisting and were not going to wait for the Americans to clear him.

The French would continue to help Gieseking resume his international career. As Pamela Potter writes, "the French did not adhere to the strict classifications of guilt and innocence, preferring instead to judge each case on its own merits."[113] In general, they had engaged themselves in a more lenient and speedier denazification process than that of the Americans and by the end of 1947 had amnestied all "followers" (*Mitläufer*) and party members, excluding only those who had once held office.[114]

Reporting on the pianist's blacklisting on 19 December, just days after the most recent performances in Mainz, the Political Intelligence Department's German-Austrian Division noted that the ruling to ban Gieseking "from any performance in the U.S. zone . . . has caused some surprise." Further, it referred to his personal response to the

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[110] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," Colonel J. K. Hills, U.S. Information Control Division, to Major Ali Colombet, French Liaison, 15 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich.

[111] To repeat, Gieseking indicated on his *Meldebogen* that he assisted the French Military Government at Mainz and Bingen am Rhein during September 1945 to January 1946. Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[112] Monod, *Settling Scores*, 69.

[113] Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 245.

[114] Ibid., 245–46.

American Military Government's resolution: "Gieseking, who appeared on the concert platform in the U.S. zone in July and August and who was reported as having given at least one concert in the British zone in September . . . is stated to have described the decision to bar him from playing as 'unfair and unjust.'"[115]

Gieseking and the British

Regarding the British occupiers, Gieseking had indeed played for them as well, and not merely in September. By the end of 1945, he had made quite a few appearances in the British occupied zone. In September, he accepted a concert invitation from the District Administrator (*Landrat*) of Arnsberg, a region of North Rhine–Westphalia, and he also performed (possibly as part of the same invitation) in the towns of Schwerte, Iserlohn, and Hagen, as well as in Hohenlimburg, a borough of Hagen. English soldiers were in the audience. In fact, Gieseking noted that his concerts on 12 September in Arnsberg and 30 September in Iserlohn were given specifically "for British Troops."[116] In October, he gave further concerts in Hagen, Godesberg, Bochum, and Arnsberg, all in the British zone.[117]

By October, the British Army Welfare Service wished to have Gieseking tour in the British zone's 1st Corps District. Their intention was to have him raise money for British troops, and in order to cover all costs, they also aimed to have German civilians in

[115] "GIESEKING[.] Extract from PID German, Austrian Intelligence, Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in all Zones of Germany, no. 2," 19 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[116] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[117] Goette, "Ergänzung zum Bericht über Walter Gieseking."

the audience.[118] Consequently, the British General Staff Intelligence (GSI) did an initial background check on the pianist, but owing to his fame decided that Information Services Control (ISC) should be consulted.[119] On 9 November, one Major Huijsman, an American liaison officer of the American zone, reported back to GSI from the ISC Branch, explaining that Gieseking was now on the U.S. zone's blacklist; enclosed was a report on the pianist's activities during the Third Reich.[120] On 29 November, another liaison officer of the ISC Branch, a Major Sherwood, followed up by sending GSI additional information, including a copy of Severin Kaven's recent investigation report on Gieseking from late September.[121] As a result, the Welfare Service would not be able to engage the artist for the tour. (Though it would have renewed hopes for employing him soon enough.)

In a message from 18 December (1945), ISC's British Intelligence Section wrote one Captain Wallich at Berlin's Information Control Unit (ICU) requesting all available information on Gieseking, which was "required urgently" for a meeting scheduled on 22 December.[122] Wallich was not informed of the Americans' investigation of the pianist and sent back a favorable, though partly incorrect, report:

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[118] Memo: "Captain Shannon's call on Ent Sec 3 Dec 45 – 1200 hrs.," 3 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[119] Memo: "Captain Shannon's call on Ent Sec 3 Dec 45 – 1200 hrs.," 3 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[120] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," [one Major Huijsman] ISC Branch, U.S. Zone Liaison Officer, to Headquarters, British Army on the Rhine, BAOR (Attention – GSI(b)), 9 Nov. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA; see also "Walter Gieseking," [memo/six-point summary on Gieseking's status, etc. since October 1945, one page, from ca. December 1945], file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[121] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," ISC Branch Liaison Officer [one Major Sherwood], to GSI(b), main headquarters, British Army on the Rhine, 29 Nov. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA; see also "Walter Gieseking," [memo/six-point summary on Gieseking's status, etc. since October 1945, one page, from ca. December 1945], file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[122] Message sent from Intelligence Section, ISC Buende, to Captain Wallice, ICU Berlin, 18 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

> This man [Gieseking] was a member of *Musikkammer* [i.e. the Reich Music Chamber] where there is no evidence of his Nazi Party membership or affiliations. He was permitted to perform in front to [*sic*] [Allied] troops. He had no correspondence whatever with Hinkel[,] which is a point in favour with a man of his reputation in the musical world. Musicians and members of the department for music here consider him politically uncompromised and reserved in his dealings with members of the party. His teacher was Leimer, believed to have been a half Jew. Pianist Eduard Erdmann last heard of at Lang[b]alligau in Schleswig is said to have known him well and to be prepared to speak politically in his favour.[123]

Regarding Wallich's factual errors, first we have seen that some correspondence does survive between Hinkel and Gieseking from 1933 and 1944.[124] As to Leimer, many allegedly felt that he looked "Jewish" during his younger years, thus earning him the nickname "der schöne Isaac"—the handsome Isaac. Some therefore came to believe that he had Jewish blood. According to Gieseking's daughter Jutta, who was also Leimer's niece, this was not true.[125]

Eduard Erdmann and Gieseking had been well acquainted for years, and we will recall that they had even given four-hand piano performances on occasion. There is no record of any testimony on Erdmann's part, however. Erdmann, too, had remained a resident of Germany during Hitler's regime. He had joined the Nazi party in 1937, and, to repeat, was placed on the Artists' War Service Office's "God-gifted list" of late 1944.[126] But he had also shown some resistance before the war. After experiencing the Nazis' harsh treatment of his Jewish colleagues in 1935, he had stepped down from his teaching position in Cologne and resettled in Langballigau, in Northern Germany on the

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[123] Message sent from Captain Wallice, ICU Berlin, to Intelligence Section, ISC Buende, n.d. [Dec. 1945], file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA. Note that proper capitalization and punctuation has been added to the text by the author.

[124] The correspondence between Hinkel and Gieseking was discussed in Chapters 1 and 8 and is found in the Bundesarchiv's Gieseking records (file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA).

[125] Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, telephone interview by author, 10 Sept. 2008.

[126] Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Erdmann, Eduard."

Flensburger Förde. Furthermore, his own modern compositions, as previously described, had remained banned by the regime and, although he continued to perform in Germany, he had to follow certain constraints with regard to censored repertoire.[127] His action in 1935 and "degenerate" status with the regime alone may have been enough to exonerate him after the war, and the occupying forces had begun to engage him without delay for concerts featuring formerly Nazi-banned music, as a part of their mission to reeducate Germany. In April and May 1946, for example, Erdmann was hired to give a special series of four recitals in Wuppertal, in the British zone, in which he performed only "contemporary works not played in the last twelve years"—that is, throughout Hitler's rule. Programmed were works by Mendelssohn, Berg, Schönberg, Krenek, Schulhoff, Toch, Alkan, Schnabel, Dukas, Stravinsky, Hindemith, Willner, Milhaud, and Castenuovo-Tedesco.[128] One wonders why he did not include any of his own pieces.

Possibly on the same day of Wallich's aforementioned reply, the British received an extract from German-Austrian Intelligence, dated 19 December 1945, which gave a more disparaging summary of Gieseking's record; the first part was apparently somewhat based on unfounded information, however, stating that he had played before Hitler and Mussolini during the latter's 1937 German visit, for instance. The attention that Gieseking's case was already receiving in the media, something the Military Governments probably wished to avoid, was also described.[129]

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[127] Volker Scherliess, "Erdmann, Eduard," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed.; Klaus Jungk, "Erdmann, Eduard," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44906 (accessed 18 May 2012).

[128] Calendar: "Gesamt-Planung: März/April 1946," Konzertgesellschaft Wuppertal, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

[129] "GIESEKING[.] Extract from PID German, Austrian Intelligence, Reorganisation of Publicity and Cultural Media in all Zones of Germany, no. 2," 19 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

The American Press Reports on Gieseking's Continued Engagements

Back in the United States, the American press had meanwhile learned of the blacklisted pianist's continued activity. After receiving a dispatch quoting him that December, for example, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported on the French's continued engagement of their beloved performer: "Walter Gieseking, top ranking German concert pianist, whose name heads the blacklist of musicians and artists forbidden to follow their former pursuits in the American zone because of his alleged cooperation with the nazi regime, still is welcomed for concerts in the French occupied area, he disclosed today."[130] It was further noted that Gieseking was, in fact, scheduled to perform the following Sunday, 16 December, in Mainz "under auspices which he described vaguely as 'some French-German cultural interchange—I'm not sure just what it is.'"[131] As we saw, Gieseking would actually give three concerts in Mainz, from 15 to 17 December. Regarding his services for the British, the article explained the following:

> Invitations to the British zone for similar appearances reputedly have been withdrawn since authorities there learned of the ban on his activities in the American area, although he obtained a food card at the local labor office on the ground that he was giving concerts before audiences in the British and French zones. Passes for such trips were issued to him by the German police in Wiesbaden.
>
> Confirmation of his status with the British Rhine army has not been possible because of communication difficulties, but a British liaison officer here said he was confident it would be impossible for Gieseking to obtain permission from military authorities in the Rhine army area to enter there and that none had been obtained in the past two months.[132]

The press was naturally unaware of the British officials' persistent interest in Gieseking.

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[130] "French Accept German Pianist Barred by U.S.," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 Dec. 1945. The same dispatch was sent to the *New York Times*, although the paper did not print an article based on the information. *Musical America*, on the other hand, did later that month, see "Gieseking Allowed to Give Concerts in French Zone," *Musical America*, 25 Dec. 1945.

[131] "French Accept German Pianist Barred by U.S.," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 Dec. 1945.

[132] Ibid.

According to Gieseking, he had indeed given his last performances before the Allies just over two months before that: on 12 and 30 September, for British troops in Arnsberg and Iserlohn respectively. There may have been some performances during that time for the French, though, as would be the case in but a few days (see above), or for the Military Intelligence Service Officers of the European Theater of Operations.[133] Yet, as indicated above, another document shows that he gave still other concerts in September, through October, in such places as Hohenlimburg, Schwerte, and Hagen as well, each in the British zone. British officials in Hamburg wondered how, as a blacklisted artist, Gieseking had received some of his recent travel permits. Rudolf Goette claimed to know nothing about the arrangements.[134]

Goette and Gieseking Appeal to the British

On 29 December 1945, Goette wrote to British Military Government officials in Hamburg, requesting permission for Gieseking to perform with the Philharmonic (presumably the city's Philharmonisches Staatsorchester) on the 23 and 25 March 1946 and to give a solo recital on 27 March.[135] As proof that his client had been allowed to give performances for the French recently, Goette enclosed two programs of the aforementioned Mainz recitals from mid-December.[136] A few days later, on 4 January, Gieseking submitted an affidavit ("Eidesstattliche Erklärung"), presumably to the British.

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[133] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[134] "Konferenz am 11. Januar 1946 zwischen Mr. Leiser [of the ICU at Hamburg] und Dr. Goette; Betr.: Pianist Gieseking," Hamburg, 11 Jan. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[135] Rudolf Goette, Hamburg, to the Militär-Regierung [British Military Government], Hamburg, letter, 29 Dec. 1945, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[136] Gieseking does not list the concerts in his *Meldebogen*, but he also omits most of the other appearances he had given in the British zone. Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

In it he declared that he had not been member of the NSDAP or held any political office, and that his manager, Goette, had declined multiple requests for him to play for Hitler at the Reich Chancellery (*Reichskanzlei*). He verified a few other points that he would soon enough reaffirm in his *Meldebogen*, submitted in April (more on this below).[137]

On 11 January, Goette met with F. A. Leiser of the British Information Control Unit in Hamburg to discuss the Gieseking matter further.[138] Naturally, Goette regretted the blacklisting, particularly since, as manager, he himself had been largely responsible for booking the pianist's engagements throughout most of the Third Reich's existence. Above all, he disapproved of how all musicians being blacklisted, Gieseking included, were not first given a proper hearing. He laid out his many arguments in a report, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," ("Overview of Walter Gieseking's Activities since 1933") and supplement, "Ergänzung zum Bericht über Walter Gieseking" ("Supplement to the Report on Walter Gieseking")—both dated 11 January 1946 as well.[139] From the report, we read:

> Gieseking was placed on the blacklist by the Americans in November [*sic*]. The ban on professional activity has become a common punishment, a punishment without trial. A prosecutor is present, yet there is no defense with someone recording the proceedings and no neutral judge. There is no law that Gieseking has broken. In the end, it is, of course, a Nazi custom to sentence someone without a fair trial. Listening to many broadcasts from America, I have heard that they specifically want to avoid doing things the way the National Socialists did.

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[137] Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[138] "Konferenz am 11. Januar 1946 zwischen Mr. Leiser [of the ICU at Hamburg] und Dr. Goette; Betr.: Pianist Gieseking," Hamburg, 11 Jan. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[139] Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933"; Goette, "Ergänzung zum Bericht über Walter Gieseking." A summary of Goette's arguments and those of the U.S. Military Government against Gieseking are given under "Dr. Rudolf Goette's Defence of Gieseking" in the British report: "Walter Gieseking," 22 Jan. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

> These programs were entitled "America calls out to Germany." It seems to me that America is retracting its call.[140]

Goette explained that since the capitulation, Gieseking had played nine times for American officers and troops in August (1945) and three times during the same month in Mainz, in the French zone.[141] Doubtless to Goette's and Gieseking's dismay, the British Military Government (i.e. the British Public Relations and Information Services Control Group, Control Commission for Germany, British Element), then blacklisted the pianist ("under ISC 2043") on 17 January 1946 "in order to conform with the U.S. Blacklist (No. 2) of 10 October 1945."[142]

Further Concerts for the French and the British Reaction

In the meantime, the French continued to act independently and engaged Gieseking just three days after the British had placed him on their blacklist. (Admittedly, they were probably unaware of the latters' latest resolution). They hired the famed pianist to give a morning solo recital in the town of Bingen am Rhein on 20 January 1946, as part of the inauguration event for the newly founded Kunst- und Kulturgemeinschaft (Art and Cultural Community).[143] Gieseking played German works in the first half, selections

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[140] "Gieseking wurde im November [*sic*] von den Amerikanern auf die Schwarze Liste gesetzt. Das Verbot der Berufsausübung stellt eine reguläre Bestrafung dar. Eine Bestrafung ohne Gerichtsverfahren; zwar ist ein Ankläger da, doch keine Verteidigung mit Protokollführung; kein neutraler Richter. Es gibt kein Gesetz, gegen das Gieseking verstossen hat. Letzten Endes ist es doch ein nationalsozialistischer Brauch, wenn ohne gesetzliche Handhabe verurteilt wird. In vielen Sendungen aus Amerika hörte ich, dass man es gerade nicht so machen wolle, wie die Nationalsozialisten. Diese Sendungen nannten sich: 'Amerika ruft Deutschland.' Mir scheint: Amerika widerruft." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 6.

[141] Goette, "Ergänzung zum Bericht über Walter Gieseking."

[142] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," 14 Mar. 1946, PR/ISC Group, Control Commission for Germany, Main HQ, Bünde, BAOR, to HQ 1 Corps District, PR/ISC Branch, Mil. Gov., file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[143] Concert program: "Gründungs-Veranstaltung der Kunst- und Kulturgemeinschaft," Bingen am Rhein, 20 Jan. 1946, GFA.

by Beethoven and Schumann, and French pieces during the second half, compositions by Debussy and Ravel. He concluded with Chopin's Barcarolle, op. 60. A note at the bottom of the program read: "The Art and Cultural Community of Bingen wishes to bring the citizens of Bingen joy, stimulation, and entertainment through first-class concerts and other artistic and cultural events."[144] The French did not stop there. By early February, Gieseking had begun to tour the French zone, giving both solo recitals and chamber music concerts with the cellist Ludwig Hoelscher. Hoelscher was likewise on the U.S. blacklist.[145]

The British inevitably learned of these goings-on.[146] As a result, the British Army Welfare Service immediately revived its interest in Gieseking, determined that it, too, should be able to engage him for its proposed series of benefit concerts in the British zone.[147] (This forgiving attitude taken toward Gieseking is less surprising when we consider that, in general, the British Military Government was even more lax than the French occupiers with regard to the political screenings being carried out.[148])

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[144] "Die Kunst- und Kulturgemeinschaft Bingen will den Binger Bürgern Freude, Anregung und Unterhaltung bringen durch musikalische und sonstige künstlerische und kulturelle Darbietungen ersten Ranges." Concert program: "Gründungs-Veranstaltung der Kunst- und Kulturgemeinschaft," Bingen am Rhein, 20 Jan. 1946, GFA.

[145] "Extract: Progress Report No. 29, for week ending 9 Feb 46," 9 Feb. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[146] Ibid.

[147] "Subject: Live Entertainment," Lieut. General [signed name illegible], Comd. Corps District, Iserlohn, to PR/ISC/Group, Main HQ, Control Commission for Germany (BE), B[ü]nde, BAOR, 6 Mar. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[148] Naturally, the military governments' attitude taken toward each case varied. Yet as Pamela Potter has pointed out: "Statistics show that about 10 percent of all cases tried in Germany's British zone were relegated to category IV (followers) and almost 60 percent to category V (exonerated). In the American and French zones, by contrast, approximately 50 percent ended up in category IV and no more than 2 percent in category V. Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 245; originally cited in Volker R. Berghahn, *Modern Germany: Society, Economy and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Table 47, p. 307. To give just one other example of the disagreement between the military governments, the British Forces in Austria were by May 1946 willing to allow Furtwängler's return to the stage, while the French forces there objected, determined that the conductor should first be

Certain British military officials further pursued Gieseking's current standing. In a report from 22 January (perhaps prepared without knowledge of the pianist's latest French-zone activity in Bingen), we discover that his case was, in fact, still "pending further instructions."[149] Some questioned Severin Kaven's motives apropos his investigation of Gieseking in 1945, consequently expressing their disapproval of the American Military Government's resultant and influential decision to bar the artist from public performance. The same British authorities may have therefore now accepted Goette's and Gieseking's most recent testimonies from January (assuming the ICU personnel at Hamburg had passed on the information to them) as added evidence in support of Gieseking's innocence. In a communication from 24 February 1946, in any case, P. J. A. Eade of the Iserlohn headquarters wrote, "It is reiterated that GSI this Corps District [No. 1] had no objection to his appearance on the concert platform and that they considered the American [i.e. Kaven's] report on his activities as biased."[150]

On 6 March, the British officers at Iserlohn once more contacted the Bünde headquarters to ask whether Gieseking could participate in the British Army Welfare Service's re-proposed benefit events. Ostensibly still uncertain as to whether the pianist was blacklisted, they reiterated their own judgment: "NO SECURITY OBJECTION to

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cleared by German authorities. "Subject: Control of Leading Artists," 23 May 1946, Stanley J. Grogan, Acting Chief, ISB, to Deputy Commanding General, file: RG 260: Records of U.S. Occupation Headquarters, WWII, U.S. Forces Austria, U.S. Allied Command Austria (USACA) Section, Information Services Branch, Theater and Music Section, General Records, 1945–50, nos. 7–21, box 2, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[149] Report: "Walter Gieseking," 22 Jan. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[150] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," P. J. A. Eade, HQ, 1 Corps District, Iserlohn, to ADAWS, 24 Feb. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

this man (emphasis in the original)."[151] The answer received from one Captain Sely of the Control Commission was less sympathetic: "The . . . artist [Gieseking] is on the U.S. Black List, and I am informed by the US member of the De-Nazification Sub-Committee that he is likely so to remain."[152] Forced to adhere to the Americans' decision, those at Iserlohn reluctantly forbade the pianist's employment once again. Their efforts, along with those made by Goette and Gieseking, had proved futile. Although the pianist's case remained "under investigation" (at least through mid-March), he was kept on the American and British blacklists for many more months, further banned from any official concertizing in their zones.[153] Excluding his engagements for the French and occasional appearances before the European Theater of Operations, he gave no other performances in front of the occupying forces for the duration his blacklisting. But, to be sure, playing before such audiences would then subsequently resume without delay, so that Gieseking could later argue that he gave "a lot more concerts for Allied soldiers than I did [during the Third Reich] for Germans."[154]

Hausmusik Concerts

While public appearances remained off limits for blacklisted artists, Gieseking participated regularly in private *Hausmusik* concerts even though they, too, were

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[151] "Subject: Live Entertainment," Lieut. General [signed name illegible], Comd. Corps District, Iserlohn, to PR/ISC/Group, Main HQ, Control Commission for Germany (BE [British Element]), B[ü]nde, BAOR, 6 Mar. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[152] "Subject: - Personnel Vetting," Capt. Sely, Berlin, to Int. Sec., ISC Branch, Bünde, 19 Mar. 1946, file: Gieseking, RKK 2700, BDC.

[153] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," 14 Mar. 1946, PR/ISC Group, Control Commission for Germany, Main HQ, Bünde, BAOR, to HQ 1 Corps District, PR/ISC Branch, Mil. Gov., file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[154] "German Pianist Asked Out of US As Concert Nears," *Logansport (Ind.) Press*, 25 Jan. 1949.

officially prohibited for those without a license.[155] Not only did this allow him and countless others to stay active musically, but it also helped them continue to obtain as "payment" extra foodstuffs and other goods that were lacking in Germany and therefore rationed during the difficult postwar period. (We will recall Gieseking's "List of concerts which I played for Americans and other Allied [Forces]," in which he noted having received food packages and meals as compensation also prior to his blacklisting.[156])

Gieseking's neighbor and friend Friedrich Michael remembered often observing the blacklisted pianist unload from a car trunk produce from the Rhine region, which he had received for taking part in some music-making among friends in the French zone at Mainz.[157] Most frequently, Gieseking visited Carl Jung, a wealthy vintner and amateur musician who frequently held private soirées at his residence, Schloss Boosenburg, in Rüdesheim on the Rhine. Rüdesheim lay within the American zone, and important connections with U.S. and German officials were made at such intimate gatherings and events, particularly those held by Jung. And as we will soon see, these contacts appear to have helped Gieseking (and doubtless others) obtain his clearance.

The Recordings of Blacklisted Musicians

Meanwhile the general public continued to hear blacklisted figures in another way: the recordings of these musicians had continued to receive airplay and be used for other events. During a meeting held in late September 1946, U.S. and British Military

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[155] "Betr.: Registrierung von Künstlern und Musikern," *Bekanntmachungen des Military Governments, des Landratsamtes und der Stadt Weilburg*, no. 22, 19 Mar. 1946, pp. 1–2, file: RG 260: OMGUS, Hesse, Theater and Music Section, Correspondence and other records, 1946–49, box 728, NARA, College Park, MD.

[156] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[157] Friedrich Michael, "Giesekings Haus: In memoriam," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 Jan. 1970.

Government officials therefore brought up the permissibility of music and plays featuring these artists in the occupied zones, discussing broadcast and stage performances that made use of gramophone records or, of course, any live readings. (We saw how Erika Mann's *New York Times* article from February 1942 had called for the boycotting of German musicians' discs, sparking a similar debate among American readers.[158]) The officials determined at the assembly that it was acceptable to use blacklisted artists' recordings, provided that they were given no unwarranted publicity.[159] It is doubtful, however, whether such advertising was consequently monitored and controlled within the zones, for the military governments were much too busy with greater concerns of Germany's denazification and re-democratization. Even if the marketing had been restricted, it would have returned to normal once the musicians were cleared and given their performance licenses, and within the next months many artists—Gieseking included—would begin to regain their right to perform. The discussion of recordings continued in the American press for some time, though. In April 1947, for example, sound archivist David Hall suggested in a *New York Times* article that "All royalties, present or future, from . . . phonograph records of [German artists who held office or collaborated with the Nazis] should be turned over to a fund to aid musicians who suffered under fascism."[160]

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[158] See Chapter 6.

[159] "Summary of Meeting between American and British ICD, OMGUS, and HQ ISC Theater and Music Officers and their respective Intelligence Section representatives, 30 Sept. [19]46 at Lancaster House," file: RG 260 OMGUS, Education and Cultural Relations Division/Cultural Affairs Branch, box 243: British Theatre & Music, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[160] David Hall, "Reader Suggests Way to Solve Problem of Artists affected by Politics," *New York Times*, 6 Apr. 1947.

The Clearance

Gieseking's *Meldebogen*

Gieseking filled out a *Meldebogen* on 24 April 1946, six months after his blacklisting had gone into effect, and thereby initiated the slow clearance procedure.[161] In addition to wanting to resume his career, he needed to continue receiving food rationing cards, and this was now possible only after handing in the questionnaire; the Hessian Government had made this a requirement in order to ensure a maximum number of *Meldebogen* submissions.[162] We will recall that, in March 1946, the Law for Liberation was passed and Germany's denazification thus largely placed in the hands of local German tribunals known as *Spruchkammern*. Presumably owing to the pianist's high status, the U.S. Military Government would request that the Wiesbaden *Spruchkammer* expedite the litigation in this instance, designating Gieseking as "Priority-Case No. 21."[163] He would, nonetheless, remain blacklisted for the remainder of the year.

On his *Meldebogen*, Gieseking provided the following information: (1) he had *never* been a Nazi party member, which was subsequently confirmed; (2) like all famous German musicians (at least, those selected by the regime) he had been declared "indispensable" ("uk-gestellt" or *unabkömmlich*) and was therefore freed from military service; (3) according to Nazi law, he had automatically become a member of the Reich Music Chamber, but he had held no special title or office; (4) he was uncertain as to whether he had been a member of the National Socialists People's Welfare organization

[161] Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[162] Hayse, *Recasting West German Elites*, 152; McClintock, "Facing the Awful Truth," 34.

[163] The date of the request is not indicated. There is merely a stamped date (17 January 1947) made at the time his official clearance was processed. Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

(*Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt*), but he had made monthly contributions of 3 RM;[164] (5) he had donated to the Winter Relief (*Winterhilfe*) campaign repeatedly—the wealthier had no choice since this was monitored—but was not sure of the total amount given.[165]

As required, Gieseking listed his total earnings and wealth for the years 1932, 1934, 1938, 1943, and 1945, all based on his European and pre-war North American tours.[166] With regard to awards received from the regime, he acknowledged that in 1937 officials had bestowed the title of "Professor" on him in Hitler's name. He failed to mention, however, that on 30 January 1944, he was decorated with the War Merit Cross, 2nd Class without Swords, likewise in the name of the Führer.[167] Further, Gieseking pointed out that the British Military Government at Arnsberg (in September 1945) and the French Military Government in Mainz and Bingen (from September 1945 through January 1946) had permitted him to perform. In his concluding comments, he wrote: "Because contradictory newspaper articles about me have appeared, which neither the [U.S.] Military Government or any other official office has ever discussed with me <u>at all</u>,

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[164] While the Volkswohlfahrt was a welfare organization, it was strongly pro-Nazi, stipulating, for example, that "degenerates" receive no assistance and "worthless" persons be killed. By 1943, its large membership had grown to over seventeen million. Timothy W. Mason, *Social Policy in the Third Reich: The Working Class and the National Community*, ed. Jane Caplan (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993; repr., New York: Berg, 1997), 280; Young-Sun Hong, *Welfare, Modernity, and the Weimar State, 1919–1933* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 230.

[165] Contributions to the *Winterhilfe* campaign were essentially enforced. Historian Christopher Ailsby wrote: "Collections are made by SA men on the streets, and though most people give voluntarily and a great deal of work is carried out, the threat of violence is used to back up donations." One's contributions were also carefully observed. Author Robert John O'Neill, for instance, tells the story of how the wife of Major Fritz von Broich was reported to Nazi officials after giving only 0.40 RM to a *Winterhilfe* collection in October 1935. Ailsby, *The Third Reich Day by Day* (St.Paul: MBI Publishing Co., 2001), 50; O'Neill, *The German Army and the Nazi Party, 1933–1939* (New York: James H. Heineman, 1967), 182.

[166] Gieseking, "Meldebogen." The financial information for his career during the Third Reich was discussed in further detail in the preceding chapters here.

[167] Gieseking's "Professor" title was discussed in Chapter 3, the War Merit Cross in Chapter 8.

I have given the information under number 12 [regarding his performances for the British and French Military Governments] with the reservation that I later explain this more fully."[168]

Hessian Minister President Dr. Karl Geiler

Gieseking argued that he was innocent and hoped to see himself cleared soon. "I am an artist," he had maintained, "all I want is to be able to play the piano."[169] Still, like all others in his situation, he realized that he could use some help. He therefore turned to the music-loving, American-appointed Hessian Minister President Dr. Karl Geiler (1878–1953), who had recently become an acquaintance.[170] Geiler's wife was Jewish, and the Nazis had dismissed him from his position as professor of law at the University of Heidelberg, at which point he managed to practice law privately in Mannheim.[171] He was a "liberal conservative," but was now a member of no political party.[172]

On 30 May 1946, Gieseking sent a letter to Geiler, volunteering his services as pianist. After having just spent a whole month in the Nerotal Clinic, he was feeling well enough to play again.[173] In a subsequent letter to his pupil Dean Elder, he described his

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[168] "Da über mich widersprechende Zeitungsnachrichten erschienen sind, über die ich aber keinerlei Mitteilung von der Militärregierung oder sonsteiner amtlichen Stelle erhielt, mache ich Angaben unter 12 unter dem Vorbehalt späterer Ergänzung." Gieseking, "Meldebogen."

[169] Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 6.

[170] Geiler was appointed minister president on 16 October 1945. Barbara Fait, "Supervised Democratization: American Occupation and German Politics," in *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1968: A Handbook*, vol.1, ed. Detlef Junker, Publications of the German Historical Institute (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 60.

[171] James F. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine: Reeducation and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 169.

[172] Fait, "Supervised Democratization," 60.

[173] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Minister President [Karl Geiler], Wiesbaden, 30 May 1946, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

ailment with a touch of humor: "I got stomach trouble (ulcer) and as there was danger of perforation I had to keep very quiet and shall be on a diet for about 6 to 8 weeks. I can't even play a forte on the piano (this seems paradoxical, doesn't it?) [Gieseking's English]."[174] But Gieseking seemed quite desperate to perform, and, although he expressed his wish to help out during this difficult time for his nation, he was undoubtedly hoping that such unpaid services might speed up his clearance. To Geiler he wrote:

> I just saw the announcement you co-signed for a property and cash fundraiser, which is supposed to take place from 1 to 10 June. I must tell you how much I regret not being able to give a series of concerts for this good cause, which would surely bring in a substantial sum. I have heard rumors more than once that the Americans have expressed an interest in having me give several performances on a volunteer basis. I do not know how much these rumors reflect the officials' intentions, but I would like to make it clear that I am, in any case, willing to play a number of concerts for a good cause, e.g. in Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, etc., without demanding any fees.
>
> Maybe it's much too early to weigh that possibility. Presumably at least the *Spruchkammer* judges will have first had to consider my *Meldebogen*. . . . But since I did not learn during my illness whether perhaps any changes occurred that might have lifted my performance ban for such work,[175] I don't want to pass up the chance to express how much it would please me to be able to practice my art for the aforementioned announcement and help relieve those in need.[176]

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[174] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 7 June 1946, DEC.

[175] Gieseking is referring to his blacklisting. To repeat, he never received an actual performance ban (*Spielverbot*), but those on any of the Allies' blacklists could not perform without special permission.

[176] "Nun erreichte mich eben ein von Ihnen mitunterzeichneter Aufruf zu einer Sachwert- und Geldsammlung, die vom 1. bis 10. Juni stattfinden soll. Da muss ich Ihnen sagen, wie sehr ich es bedauere, dass ich nicht für diesen guten Zweck eine Reihe von Konzerten geben kann, die bestimmt einen erheblichen Betrag einbringen würden. Nun habe ich ja mehrfach Andeutungen gehört, dass von amerikanischer Seite gewünscht würde, ich solle eine gewisse Anzahl von Konzerten ohne Entgelt spielen. Ich weiss ja nicht, wie weit diese Andeutungen die offiziellen Ansichten wiedergeben, aber ich möchte für alle Fälle erklären, dass ich jederzeit bereit bin, für einen guten Zweck eine Anzahl von Konzerten zu spielen, z. B. in Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, u.s.w. ohne dafür Honorar zu beanspruchen. Vielleicht ist es ja noch viel zu früh, an diese Möglichkeit zu denken. Vermutlich müsste zumindest erst die Spruchkammer meinen Meldebogen beurteilt haben . . . , aber da ich während meiner Krankheit nicht erfahren habe, ob vielleicht Änderungen eingetreten sind, die eine Aufhebung meines Spielverbotes in den Bereich des Möglichkeit gerückt haben, möchte ich nicht versäumen, im Zusammenhang mit dem erwähnten Aufruf darauf hinzuweisen, wie sehr es mich freuen würde, wenn ich durch Ausübung meiner Kunst zur Linderung der Not beitragen könnte." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ministerpräsident Hesse Karl

On account of his blacklisted status, Gieseking was not allowed to participate in the benefit concerts, and he gave none of the rumored concerts for the Americans.[177]

Carl Jung's Soirées in Rüdesheim

Gieseking and Geiler knew each other from the aforementioned musical soirées frequently held at the vintner Carl Jung's grand residence, Schloss Boosenburg, in Rüdesheim on the Rhine, not far from Wiesbaden. Gieseking had quickly become one of the musicians who performed there the most since Germany's defeat, and Geiler was one of Jung's most frequent guests.[178] We can be confident that they had begun to discuss Gieseking's situation during the gatherings.

Incidentally, Jung had studied organ, piano, and cello, the instrument he seems to have played most, as well as counterpoint under Johannes Brahms's friend Julius Otto Grimm (1827–1903).[179] He had already begun to host such gatherings in Lorch on the Rhine prior to the First World War, and these took place more frequently than ever during the immediate post-WWII years.[180] The reason for this was largely because 1) numerous concert halls had been destroyed during the Second World War, which limited

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Geiler, Wiesbaden, 30 May 1946, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

[177] Gieseking's "List of concerts" from 31 January 1949 (in the DEC) confirms this.

[178] Jung had inherited the vineyard and brandy distillery from his father, and was the first to produce alcohol-free wine, for which he held a patent. The only known detailed, eyewitness account of the musical gatherings held at Jung's place is given by Ursula Jung in "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner: Ein Beitrag zu seiner Rüdesheimer Zeit von Februar 1946 bis August 1950," 257–437. Because Gieseking took part in the soirées regularly after the war, both as soloist and chamber musician, Jung's narrative serves as a crucial primary source for the examination of his postwar career.

[179] Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 259.

[180] Ibid.

the possibilities for public concerts, and 2) several of the musicians who participated were now on the blacklist and thus banned from performing publicly.[181]

Private house concerts were, to repeat, officially prohibited for those blacklisted artists, too. Nevertheless, the musical gatherings at Jung's place, which officials knew about and even attended, were never stopped, just as other musical evenings continued to take place at homes elsewhere. Ursula Jung, Carl's daughter-in-law, more recently remembered the widespread soirées in occupied Germany at this time:

> The public concert life gradually began to be newly re-established. Many musicians were not allowed to participate until they had received a performance license following their so-called "denazification." Thus, it was our good fortune that concerts were being held in large homes everywhere in order to satisfy the people's intellectual appetite during the difficult postwar period.[182]

Starting in February 1946, Gieseking began to play repeatedly at Carl Jung's residence, taking part in private concert series such as the "Musiktage in Schloß Boosenburg" ("Music Days at Castle Boosenburg").[183] Above all, he performed chamber music in an ensemble that was founded as a result of Jung's soirées and became known simply as the Gieseking-Taschner-Hoelscher Trio.[184] His only trio ever, Gieseking's partners were the younger violinist Gerhard Taschner (1922–76) and, again, cellist Ludwig Hoelscher (1907–96). As two of Germany's leading instrumentalists, both men

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[181] Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 259; regarding the ban from public performances, see especially pages 329–330. In the same publication (Walter Gerstberger, ed. *Der legendäre Geiger Gerhard Taschner*), see Stefan Lang's interview with Taschner's wife: "Gespräch mit Gerda Nette-Taschner," 135, 138.

[182] "Das öffentliche Konzertleben begann sich nur sehr allmählich neu zu gestalten. Für viele Musiker war die Teilnahme daran nicht möglich, bevor die erwähnte sogenannte 'Entnazifizierung' zur Spielerlaubnis geführt hatte. So war es ein wahres Glück, daß sich allerorts große Häuser für Konzerte öffneten, um den geistigen Hunger der Menschen in der schweren Nachkriegszeit zu stillen." Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 329.

[183] Ibid., 260.

` [184] Ibid., 261.

had, like Gieseking, been placed on the Nazis' God-gifted list.[185] Consequently, they were hoping, in vain, for a chance to leave Germany as soon as possible, as Gieseking explained in a letter from June 1946: "Both these good musicians put about their only hope in South America or South Africa and are planning to take the first opportunity to emigrate—it looks unfortunately like the only way for a good artist to find a field of worth-while activity (Gieseking's English)."[186] But he knew there was little chance that such a break would come anytime too soon for his colleagues: "all these plans are what you may call 'Castles in Spain,' or as we say in German, *Luftschlosser* (Castles in the air). . . . [Gieseking's English]."[187]

In her account of the informal gatherings organized by her father-in-law, Ursula Jung recalled the trio's first concerts:

> After the cellist [Hoelscher] and pianist [Gieseking] played only solo or duo works during the first five concerts, three fascinating days of music followed in which piano trios by Brahms and Schubert were played. Furthermore, Gerhard Taschner and Walter Gieseking premiered the Violin Sonata by [Wolfgang] Fortner to the great pleasure of the composer, who had just written the work in 1945.[188]

Ursula Jung further notes that one of the regular visitors was none other than Minister President Geiler. Images of the Jungs' guestbook, in fact, frequently show Geiler's signature, along with his often "poetic" entries.[189] Following a concert Taschner had

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[185] Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Taschner, Gerhard" and "Hoelscher, Ludwig."

[186] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 5 June 1946, copy from the DEC.

[187] Ibid.

[188] "Nachdem Cellist und Pianist in den ersten fünf Konzerten nur Solo- oder Duowerke gespielt hatten, folgten nun drei faszinierende Musiktage, in denen Klaviertrios von Brahms und Schubert erklangen, Gerhard Taschner und Walter Gieseking aber auch die Violinsonata von [Wolfgang] Fortner *uraufführten*, zur großen Freude des Komponisten, der das Opus erst 1945 geschrieben hatte." Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 261.

[189] Selected pages of the guest book are reproduced in Ursula Jung's account; see ibid. 304–05.

given at Rüdesheim's Neues Theater on 2 November 1946 (pianist Heinrich Schacker accompanied him), Gieseking played some works for a small group of guests that assembled afterward at Carl Jung's place.[190] Among them were Geiler and the pianist Elly Ney. Upon signing the guestbook, the minister president wrote: "God is within us! Therein lies our hope. After a perfect Taschner recital, followed by performances by Gieseking and in the presence of Elly Ney [signed] Karl Geiler."[191] Below Geiler's entry, Ney in turn inscribed: "A joy, once again to meet master of the keys Gieseking. And our most esteemed music enthusiast and inspirational artistic mentor, Prof. Dr. Karl Geiler, stimulating, encouraging!"[192] For a description of Geiler's involvement in these musical get-togethers, we again turn to Ursula Jung:

> At that time, a circle of regular visitors had more or less formed: one often finds the same names in the guestbook—for instance, that of the first Minister President of (then) Greater Hesse, Prof. Dr. Karl Geiler, repeatedly from the time of the piano trio recital on 24 February 1946. His official residence was on Bierstadter Street [in Wiesbaden]. A liaison officer of the United States Military Government also had his office there: Samuel Wahrhaftig, whose "right hand," Ingrid Luce, was a former cello student of Ludwig Hoelscher. This friend of the family allowed Dr. Carl Jung to invite those mentioned regularly to the concerts in Rüdesheim. Between the host and Prof. Geiler developed a cordial relationship, about which we know much from the correspondence between the two. It ends with the death of Karl Geiler in September 1953.[193]

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[190] For a reprint of Taschner's program, also see Ursula Jung's account: Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 282.

[191] "Der Gott ist in uns! Darin liegt auch unsere Hoffnung. Nach einem vollendeten Taschnerkonzert mit Gieseking'schen Nachklängen und in Anwesenheit von Elly Ney [gez.] Karl Geiler." Ibid.

[192] "Freude, Meister der Tasten Gieseking wieder zu begegnen. Und unser allverehrter Musikbegeisterter und Begeisternder Künstlervater Prof. Dr. Karl Geiler, anregend, anfeuernd!" Ibid., 282–83.

[193] "Damals hatte sich so etwas wie ein regulärer Besucherkreis zusammengefunden: Man liest im Gästebuch oft dieselben Namen—so immer wieder seit dem Klavier-trio-Abend am 24. Februar 1946 den des ersten Ministerpräsidenten von (damals) Groß-Hessen, Prof. Dr. Karl Geiler, dessen Amtsitz das Haus in der Bierstadter Straße war. Dort hatte auch der Verbindungsoffizier der Amerikanischen Militärregierung sein Büro: Samuel Wahrhaftig, dessen "rechte Hand" Ingrid Luce, eine ehemalige Cello-Schülerin von Ludwig Hoelscher, war. Dieser Freund des Hauses veranlaßte Dr. Carl Jung, die Genannten regelmäßig zu den Konzerten nach Rüdesheim einzuladen. Zwischen dem Hausherrn und Prof. Geiler

In spite of their social contact, the correspondence between Gieseking and Geiler is formal and serious. Gieseking had apparently recognized the gravity of his situation. Still, this formality is somewhat striking, for Geiler was not only on friendly terms with Gieseking and other musicians who played at Jung's, but surely a fan of theirs as well. It is therefore no surprise that he would try his best to help Hesse's celebrated pianist return to the stage.

In a letter of 4 June 1946, Geiler asked one Professor Noack from the Hessen Ministry to speak either to Captain William Dubensky, Hesse's music chief, or to one Captain Teidelbaum before Whitsunday, 9 June, about Gieseking's latest offer to give concerts without remuneration. Geiler found the pianist's proposal "sehr gut" and hoped that this would encourage the American officials to have him cleared.[194] Noack had someone else from the Ministry, Heinz Guradze, speak to Dubensky, which proved useless. Geiler was subsequently informed, or rather reminded, that "permission to perform cannot be given to Herr Gieseking, charity causes included, until Herr Gieseking has been cleared by the *Spruchkammer*."[195] Until then, the pianist's status would remain unchanged.

A letter Gieseking sent the next day to his assistant manager in New York, Edward Snowdon, shows how frustrated he was by all that had happened to him, in

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entwickelte sich eine freundschaftliche Verbindung, über die wir vieles wissen aus einem Briefwechsel der beiden, der mit dem Tode von Karl Geiler im September 1953 endet." Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 286–87. A study of the correspondence would doubtless prove illuminating, but unfortunately lay outside the scope of this dissertation. Its whereabouts are not indicated, but a large part of Geiler's *Nachlass*, covering the years 1945–1952, is preserved by the Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Wiesbaden.

[194] [Ministerpräsident Hesse Karl Geiler] to Professor [Ulrich] Noack, 4 June 1946, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

[195] "Nach Rücksprache mit Cpt. Dubensky kann eine Erlaubnis zum Spielen für Herrn Gieseking auch zu Wohlfahrtszwecken nicht stattgegeben werden, solange Herr Gieseking nicht durch die Spruchkammer befreit wurde." Heinz Guradze to Ministerpräsident Geiler, 13 June 1946, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

particular the blacklisting. Furthermore, his recurrent health problems, which he repeatedly mentions in his correspondence, only made matters more trying. We read:

> I am sure that there will and must be a change in this situation some day, but sometimes I fear that this change will come too late.
>
> I am certainly trying to be patient, but the injustice is too great in this case as that a sense of humor could help! If I should be offered a position as a teacher in some foreign country that would give a sufficient guarantee for myself and my family to live, even on a very modest scale, I would certainly accept it. When I feel better again, I am going to inquire if my French birth-place still gives me some possibility of adopting French citizenship. (I'm afraid it doesn't anymore.) The French officers I've met were all so extremely nice and so anxious to help me that it was really wonderful. Unfortunately, they are not in a position to do anything, which the "big boss" [i.e. the U.S. Military Government] doesn't like! (Gieseking's English)[196]

The French would in fact come to Gieseking's aid by the autumn of 1947 by offering him a position at the newly founded State Conservatory, the Staatliches Conservatorium des Saarlandes, now the Hochschule für Musik Saar, and, along with the post, Saar residency and Saar passports for him and his family.[197]

Eight days later, on 13 June 1946, Geiler wrote to inform Gieseking of the American's decision. Dubensky was not willing to make any exceptions to hasten the legal process:

> [T]he American military government, to my regret, insists that you not be given a license for public performance, even for charitable events, so long as you have not been tried [by a *Spruchkammer*]. I will discuss the matter again with Capt. Dubensky myself, but I fear that I, too, will not be able to have them reach any other decision. I therefore suggest that you consider initiating the proceedings yourself as soon as possible, in which case I would be happy to support you with a letter of testimony.[198]

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[196] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 5 June 1946, copy from the DEC.

[197] It would take several years before Gieseking successfully acquired the passports, however. We will return to Gieseking's relationship with the French briefly in the Postlude.

[198] "[D]ie amerikanische Militär-Regierung [steht] zu meinem Bedauern auf dem Standpunkt, dass eine Lizenz zum öffentlichen Auftreten auch zu Wohlfahrtszwecken Ihnen nicht gegeben werden kann, solange nicht das Spruchverfahren bei Ihnen durchgeführt ist. Ich selbst werde die Angelegenheit noch einmal mit Cpt. Dubensky besprechen, fürchte aber, dass ich auch persönlich keine andere Entscheidung

Gieseking wrote back to Geiler less than a week later to thank the minister president for the effort he had made, confessing that he had not actually expected the Americans to let him play. "But I at least wanted to express my willingness to perform for a good cause," he added.[199] Moreover, he asked Geiler for advice with regard to the *Spruchkammer* proceedings:

> I already heard from another source that the results of proceedings would affect the classification of artists. Therefore I am naturally most eager to come before the *Spruchkammer* as soon as possible. But I do not know how I can arrange this. Because I was not a member of the Nazi Party, this will probably never happen automatically. Might I need to file suit against myself? May I ask that you advise me in this important matter? Perhaps one of the gentlemen from your Ministry might be willing to receive me sometime for a brief talk, or can you tell me whom I should turn to?[200]

Gieseking could not have been serious about suing himself; he was only uncertain about how to initiate the proceedings on his own, as Geiler had recommended he do. He also explained to the minister president that he was feeling much better and more or less fit to perform once more. He expressed his desire to take part in Carl Jung's gatherings again,

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erzielen kann. Ich gebe daher zur Erwägung, ob Sie nicht schnellstens selbst das Spruchverfahren einleiten wollen, wobei ich gern bereit bin, Sie durch ein Zeugnis meinerseits dabei zu unterstützen." Ministerpräsident Geiler to Walter Gieseking, letter, 21 June 1946, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

[199] "[D]och wollte ich meine Bereitwilligkeit, für einen guten Zweck tätig zu sein, nicht verschweigen." Walter Gieseking to Ministerpräsident Geiler, 26 June 1946, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

[200] "Ich hörte auch bereits von anderer Seite, dass die Durchführung des Spruchverfahrens Einfluss auf die Klassifizierung der Künstler haben wird. Daher liegt mir natürlich sehr daran, möglichst bald vor die Spruchkammer zu kommen. Doch weiss ich gar nicht, wie ich dies veranlassen kann. Als Nicht-Pg. [non-Party member] werde ich doch vermutlich gar nicht automatisch drankommen, sondern müsste mich wohl selbst verklagen? Dürfte ich Sie bitten, mir in dieser wichtigen Angelegenheit zu raten? Vielleicht könnte einer der Herren Ihres Ministeriums mich mal zu einer kurzen Unterredung empfangen oder können Sie mir mitteilen lassen, wohin ich mich zu wenden habe?" Ibid.

adding how "a couple of sonatas with [the violinist Gerhard] Taschner will no doubt be most enjoyable after the long pause!"[201]

Captain William Dubensky

Weeks later, on 18 July, Dubensky met with Gieseking for further questioning. The previous resolution remained in effect: the American Military Government would continue to ban the pianist from performing as he waited for a *Spruchkammer* ruling. The Government now agreed, however, that cases like Gieseking's would first be reviewed by a German *Prüfungsausschuss* (the previously mentioned scrutiny committees created by the U.S. Military Government throughout its zone especially for such proceedings) and that it would generally recognize the committee's decision.[202] Indeed, American officials did retain the right to overrule any verdicts reached by a *Prüfungsausschuss*, but Dubensky had promised Gieseking during their "thorough discussion" ("ausführliche Besprechung") on 18 July that he would acknowledge the outcome.[203] Although he had refused to help the pianist just one month earlier—denying him a license even for charity engagements—he had apparently now decided to assist him.

While the exact reason for Dubensky's change of stance is unknown, the July talk had clearly gone well for the pianist. Like Geiler, however, Dubensky, whom Carl Jung described as a "musically highly educated man," had by the latter part of 1947 likewise

[201] "Ein paar Sonaten mit [dem Geiger Gerhard] Taschner wären gewiss ganz bekömmlich nach der langen Pause!" Walter Gieseking to Ministerpräsident Geiler, 26 June 1946, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

[202] "Aktennotiz," 19 July 1946, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW.

[203] "Notiz für Herrn Ministerpräsidenten," 13 June 1946, file: Abt. 504, Nr. 72, Zg. 33/1970, Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, HHW. Regarding the *Prüfungsausschüsse*, see Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 50–51.

become a frequent guest at the musical soirées held at Jung's Rüdesheim mansion.[204] Dubensky had even once hoped to become a violinist, but suffered a bullet injury to the hand late in the war.[205] It is possible that he had attended earlier concerts in Rüdesheim, prior to Gieseking's clearance, in which case he would have met the pianist and heard him play. Such encounters with Gieseking and his family, friends, and colleagues could have easily affected Dubensky's opinion of him and may partly help explain his apparent change of attitude.[206]

As David Monod has recently demonstrated, Dubensky would largely be responsible for Gieseking's clearance in the end.[207] Dubensky wished to keep his promise, writes Monod, and was thus determined to have Gieseking cleared to ensure that the Americans would not reject the German *Spruchkammer* decision; apparently, Dubensky had also given his word on this to Karl Holl, the Hessian music *Referent* who, like other officials, wished to engage Gieseking for a benefit concert.[208] Holl, too, attended concerts at Carl Jung's, and like Geiler and perhaps Dubensky, he might have become personally acquainted with the pianist and his artistry this way.[209]

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[204] Jung briefly discusses Dubensky in a letter to the pianist Branka Musulin, in which he explains Dubensky's willingness to help arrange for her to visit and perform in the American zone. Geiler, too, was willing to help Musulin. Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 320.

[205] Monod, *Settling Scores*, 38–39.

[206] A page from Jung's guest book dated 29 October 1947 shows Dubensky's signature, which simply reads "William P. Dubensky U.S.A." As only a limited number of pages from the book are reproduced in Jung's article, though, it has not been possible to do a complete check for Dubensky's signatures and confirm the earliest dates of his visits. Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 305.

[207] Monod, *Settling Scores*, 155–59.

[208] Monod, *Settling Scores*, 158. A letter from Carl Jung to the pianist Branka Musulin from mid-August 1947 shows that Holl's position was by then "Ministerial-Dirigent für Kulturangelegenheiten beim Staatsministerium in Wiesbaden" (Undersecretary of Cultural Affairs at the Ministry of State in Wiesbaden). Carl Jung, [Rüdesheim], to Musulin, Dresden, 26 Aug. 1947, reprinted in Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 318–19.

[209] Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 320. As in the case of Dubensky, it can only be confirmed that Holl had visited one of Jung's soirées by August 1947 (Geiler, too, was present), by which

Finally, over one year after his blacklisting, Gieseking was now optimistic that the decision might soon be reversed. In a letter to Dean Elder from 14 November 1946, he wrote the following:

> My situation hasn't changed much, but there is some hope for a clearing-up in the next [*sic*] future. Several weeks ago, I received private information about the reasons given for the blacklisting and I had also the opportunity of replying to certain accusations. It looks now as if the whole situation is going to be cleared soon, but I think it wiser to wait for a definite decision instead of cultivating too soon a big hope. After so much publicity as has been given to Furtwängler and myself, it seems to be necessary to give again the public a detailed description of all the reasons which make the de-blacklisting possible or necessary—and to prepare all this seems to require lots of time (Gieseking's English).[210]

The information Gieseking received pertaining to his blacklisting is unidentified, and there is no record of any "detailed description" he may have written, but he was right about the coming clearance.

At the first joint meeting of the U.S. and British Theater and Music Officers and the U.S. and British Intelligence on 18 December 1946—the point of which was "to discuss dubious cases of prominent artists on the U.S. or British blacklist"—Dubensky was indeed able to convince all officers present (eight persons in all) that Gieseking should be removed from the forthcoming revised blacklist.[211] Gieseking quickly learned that he was finally to be cleared, and naturally he was thrilled by the news. His description to Dean Elder only days later shows his relief and excitement:

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time Gieseking had been cleared. But, again, it is possible that Holl had attended earlier gatherings. In any case, it is clear that the officials who played a vital role in the denazification process were enjoying themselves in the company of the German musicians after work. Incidentally, Holl, like Dubensky and Geiler soon enough, had assured Carl Jung that he could be of use to Branka Musulin in her efforts to travel to the American zone to give concerts, that he could offer her plenty of performance opportunities. Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 318–20.

[210] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, letter, 14 Nov. 1946, copy from DEC.

[211] "Minutes of the First Joint Meeting of the U.S., British Theater, and Music Officers and the U.S.–British Intelligence," 18 Dec. 1946, file: RG 260 OMGUS, Education and Cultural Relations Division/Cultural Affairs Branch, box 243: British Theatre & Music, NARA II, College Park, MD. The meeting took place at the Information Control building (OMGUS).

> Last week I was told that high-up (among what the GI's [*sic*] call the brass hats, I think) it had been decided to remove my name from the ominous "black list." When you receive this letter, this will probably have been published in the newspapers and perhaps I shall already have given my first concert as a "re-born" pianist—though I'll have to wait still several weeks before the publication and the actual date of the "white-washing" has occurred. I suppose that I can consider myself lucky that I don't have to go through a public trial like the one Furtwängler just had in Berlin. But as it has been officially confirmed that I have not been a Nazi, a further discussion is unnecessary. I can only say that I shall be glad to forget the whole thing, if I can. Therefore let's talk of more pleasant things. In the last time [i.e. recently], I have received many letters from France Belgium, Holland and other countries, also from managers there, and all containing more or less of an invitation to come back. I've also been told that the London B.B.C. wants a concert soon—this is something I shall certainly do with pleasure! Let's hope the new Year will bring this and other enjoyable events! (Gieseking's English)[212]

The following month, the Hessian Ministry for Political Liberation proclaimed that, in accordance to the Law for Liberation, Gieseking had not been a Nazi party member and was therefore not required to appear before a *Spruchkammer*.[213] This ruling was *not* in accordance with the Law for Liberation, however. After it had gone into effect in March 1946, we saw that even NSDAP membership was no longer necessarily "decisive" in the judgment process.[214] Gieseking's *Meldebogen* was nonetheless stamped

[212] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, letter, 27 Dec. 1946, copy from DEC.

[213] Gieseking, "Meldebogen"; see also David Monod, *Settling Scores*, 159. There was later some confusion—even within the U.S. Military Government—as to whether Gieseking had to appear before a *Spruchkammer*. When Gieseking applied for a U.S. visa in 1948 and his record was reviewed, even officials mistakenly assumed the pianist had been cleared by a *Spruchkammer* process. Examples of this are found in "Memorandum to Chief of Staff/Subject: Walter Gieseking," Eric G. Gration, Office of the Secretary General, Berlin, 23 Apr. 1948, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 1948/139/2/AG (microfiche), IfZ, Munich; also "Subject: Political Screening and Denazification of Walter Gieseking," Theo E. Hall, Chief of Public Safety Branch, to Eric G. Gration, [Office of the Secretary General, Berlin], 22 Apr. 1948, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 1948/139/2/AG (microfiche), IfZ, Munich. In an Outgoing Message sent to Washington by OMGUS, also from April 1948, however, we read: "No Spruchkammer case against Gieseking therefore entirely clear throughout Germany. No license or registration needed." Cable: "Outgoing Message," Arthur P. Nesbit, OMGUS, to Dept. Of the Army for CSCAD RO Washington, Apr. 1948, file: RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 1948/139/2/AG (microfiche), IfZ, Munich.

[214] Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism, chapter I, article 2, paragraph 2.

"not subject to the Law [for Liberation]" ("vom Gesetz nicht betroffen") on 18 January 1947, and he was officially removed from the updated blacklist issued on 31 January.[215]

As the Gieseking decision was reached, a U.S. officer, one Mr. Schuler, asked that the information regarding Gieseking's clearance not be released until the revised blacklist of 31 January had been printed.[216] The verdict soon became public anyway. According to one paper, it was none other than Dubensky himself who shortly after the clearance announced to the press that "as Gieseking was never a member of the NSDAP and is therefore not subject to the Law of Liberation, he will not be tried before a *Spruchkammer*."[217] News of Gieseking's clearance also reached the U.S. quickly. The *Christian Science Monitor*, for example, reported from Hamburg, where it learned of Gieseking's clearance through the British-controlled German News Service. "The announcement said Herr Gieseking never had been a member of the Nazi Party," the paper similarly declared, "and therefore was not affected by 'purge' laws."[218]

The Clearance Later Explained

When Gieseking's records were later reviewed in the spring of 1948 as part of his application process for a U.S. visa, his clearance was explained in more detail by Theo E. Hall, chief of the American Military Government's Public Safety Branch:

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[215] Gieseking, "Meldebogen"; "Minutes of the First Joint Meeting of the U.S., British Theater, and Music Officers and the U.S.–British Intelligence," 18 Dec. 1946, file: RG 260 OMGUS, Education and Cultural Relations Division/Cultural Affairs Branch, box 243: British Theatre & Music, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[216] "Minutes of the First Joint Meeting of the U.S., British Theater, and Music Officers and the U.S.–British Intelligence," 18 Dec. 1946, file: RG 260 OMGUS, Education and Cultural Relations Division/Cultural Affairs Branch, box 243: British Theatre & Music, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[217] See "Gieseking kann wieder Spielen," *Die Neue Zeitung*, 27 Jan. 1947, found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[218] "German Musician Cleared of Suspicion," *Christian Science Monitor*, 25 Jan. 1947.

> This decision, though it appears to conflict with the conclusions of ICD, complies with the requirements of the Law for Liberation since . . . Gieseking was not guilty of any formal political affiliations or specific political activities and his possible sympathy with the Nazi regime or support of its purposes through his professional talents cannot be defined in terms of solid, factual evidence or instances as outlined in the provisions of the law. No specific acts with the single and essential purpose of furthering or supporting Nazism can be charged against Gieseking. The excuse of devotion to his art and the obligations devolving upon a man of his professional prominence is always available.[219]

Surprisingly, during the U.S. and British officials' joint meeting in December 1946, Dubensky had used Severin Kaven's highly critical Interrogation Report from 25 September 1945 "as a basis to clear Mr. Gieseking from the various accusations mentioned in this report."[220] There had been some disagreement, however, for the meeting minutes show that the verdict was not reached until after "considerable discussion."[221] In another report, the British expressed their discontent over the results of the denazification process in the American Zone in general, singling out the Gieseking case in doing so:

> Intelligence cooperation and intervention [with Theater and Music officers] do not always work smoothly. The basic American denazification procedure has given rise to anomalies, and one result is that clearances still leave room for doubt and discrimination. . . .
>
> The case of Gieseking was discussed in Wiesbaden, a propos of the above [i.e. occasional "breakdown" between the Theater & Music officers and the Intelligence Section]. In the opinion of Theater & Music Officers this was

[219] "Subject: Political Screening and Denazification of Walter Gieseking," Theo E. Hall, Chief of Public Safety Branch, to Eric G. Gration, [Office of the Secretary General, Berlin], 22 Apr. 1948, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 1948/139/2/AG (microfiche), IfZ, Munich.

[220] See section 2 of Minutes of the First Joint Meeting of the U.S., British Theater, and Music Officers and the U.S.–British Intelligence," 18 Dec. 1946, file: RG 260 OMGUS, Education and Cultural Relations Division/Cultural Affairs Branch, box 243: British Theatre & Music, NARA II, College Park, MD. Note that Kaven's text is referred to in the Minutes as "the Intelligence Report," with its date incorrectly given as 25 September 194*6*, rather than 1945.

[221] Ibid.

> typically one in which the evidence was not in question, but could be variously interpreted especially in technical, musical aspects (emphasis in the original).[222]

All differences of opinion notwithstanding, the Gieseking case was closed. It would soon enough be brought up again, however, when the pianist's plans for an American tour for 1949 were announced. After he was publicly attacked by the *Nation* in an article from 4 December that year, for instance, Edward Snowdon made the following argument in his client's defense a few days later in an unpublished letter addressed to the magazine's staff:

> As to the blacklisting, Gieseking was condemned first and investigated later – hardly a procedure in the best traditions of democratic justice. He was never shown nor given a chance to refute the findings of the informal investigations. Like the "New York Times" article of last February, you have jumped to the same mistaken conclusion when you attribute Gieseking's clearance to a "general relaxation of denazification criteria in 1947." He was finally given a chance to see the charges and answer them in the Fall of 1946, not 1947 as your editorial states, and after that his clearance came promptly.[223]

While the *Nation* claimed to be addressing the Gieseking issue objectively, it was not. Its executive editor, Harold C. Field, had assigned the story to his assistant, Jerry Tallmer. In a private memo sent from Tallmer to Field, he frankly expressed his personal opinion of the artist:

> I think someone ought to have shot Gieseking while the time was ripe a few years ago. Like a lot of other Nazis and quasi-Nazis[.] But once having survived, I think

[222] "Report on a Visit to the American zone by Head, Theatre & Music Section, PR/ISC Group, Berlin," n.d. [Dec. 1946], file: RG 260 OMGUS, Education and Cultural Relations Division/Cultural Affairs Branch, box 243: British Theatre & Music, NARA II, College Park, MD. In this document, it is made clear that there had been a "proposed fusion of the [American and British] zones," and that the two military governments were now aiming for an "alignment of methods." The officers therefore would have necessarily been making an extra effort to come to an agreement in regard to each blacklisting case.

[223] Edward W. Snowdon, New York, to Harold C. Field, [New York], 7 Dec. 1948, "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

> his talent must be accepted for whatever it may be while his person is regarded with cold distaste.[224]

Ultimately, the Gieseking matter received incredibly widespread media coverage, and essentially everyone who commented on the case took sides.[225]

Conclusion

In all, Gieseking was blacklisted for fourteen months, officially from 10 October 1945 to 31 January 1947. Although he argued for his innocence while finding ways to keep at least partly busy, the punishment prevented him from returning to the stage during a most trying period for all Germans. Furthermore, much of what the foreign press had begun to report, particularly that of the U.S., caused him to become a highly controversial topic of discussion. A great deal of what he would have to endure during the postwar years because of his questioned past surely caused him much grief, and he would not see the end of it until about three years before his unexpected death. Gieseking was paying the price for having been, in his critics' eyes, too obedient during the Nazis' rule. Some today may find that his blacklisting was penalty enough, while others will surely conclude that he was let off the hook all too easily. If one of the Reich's most prominent artists was found innocent without having to appear before a *Spruchkammer*, how effective was the denazification process going to be?

Had Gieseking been tried before the Wiesbaden *Spruchkammer*, it is rather unlikely that he would have been found guilty. His record, one could argue, was

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[224] J[erry] T[allmer], "Memo on Walter Gieseking," n.d. [1948], to F. K. [Freda Kirchweg], H. F. [Harold C. Field], R. B. [Robert Bendiner], et al., "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[225] The postwar controversy regarding the Gieseking case in the U.S. in particular is covered in detail in Chapters 11 and 13.

considerably less damning than those of others such as the pianist Elly Ney, who is generally recognized as having been a committed "fanatical" Nazi.[226] It is, for the same reason, not so surprising that Dubensky succeeded in convincing those at the meeting to clear the pianist. What is more, while the American Military Government was strict and determined at the start of this Nazi purge, it was already becoming more lenient by the end of 1946.[227] Regardless of what the *Spruchkammer* may have decided, the political screening of German musicians was already coming to a close. Gieseking would have therefore soon been able to resume his career even if he had been tried and found culpable. By March 1947, just two months after his clearance, all blacklisted performers had been exculpated and, despite other, ongoing postwar difficulties, were free to recommence their professions without any restrictions.

[226] For an overview of Ney's activities under the Nazi regime, see Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Ney, Elly" and Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 30–33.

[227] See Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 52–3.

Chapter 10:

The Postwar Comeback: Initial Public Engagements in the Occupied Zones of Germany and Abroad

The American Zone

Now that Gieseking had been taken off the American Military Government's blacklist at the close of January 1947, he wasted no time in resuming his career. And each of the occupying forces wasted little time in engaging him. In a letter from 14 April 1947, the pianist's American assistant manager, Edward Snowdon, explained that not only had his client been cleared by officials of Wiesbaden and the U.S. military, but also by the British and French Armies' intelligence branches in occupied Germany.[1] Although there is no record of the French having ever placed Gieseking on a blacklist of their own, this confirms that his clearance had been recognized by each of the Western Allies as well as the new German government. As increasing numbers of German artists were being vindicated, the Allies shifted their focus on how to include them in their postwar agendas. In April, the American Military Government officials in Berlin wrote:

> The reorientation of German cultural life is an important part of the War Department's policy toward present day Germany. No factor can be healthier or more stabilizing than a vital readjustment of the theatre and music world enabling new plays and music, particularly American, to be presented freely and according to the finest tradition."[2]

[1] Snowdon, New York, to Dean Elder, Moscow (Idaho), letter, 14 Apr. 1947, DEC.

[2] "Subject: Travel orders for prominent artists," John Bitter, OMGUS, Berlin Sector, ISC, to Chief of Branch, 8 Apr. 1947, file: RG 260 OMGUS, Educational and Cultural Relations Division, Cultural Affairs Branch, Music and Theater, box: 238: French Matters through German Licensing Committees, NARA II, College Park, MD.

It was in the American zone, where Gieseking continued to reside, that he gave his first string of "comeback" performances. Despite having given numerous private concerts during the past fifteen months, at times before the Allied military governments, only now could he return to making public appearances without any restraints. The initial concert took place on 1 February 1947, the day after his clearance had become official. The venue was Wiesbaden's immense and historic *Kurhaus*, which the Americans had converted into the American Red Cross Eagle Club and the numerous facilities of which included a music hall. It was announced that the "World Famous Pianist Walter Gieseking," as he was billed on the program, would be giving a recital. For the momentous occasion, he played the following works, evidently before an all-American audience:[3]

> Beethoven, "Waldstein" Sonata, op. 53
> Schubert, *Impromptu* in A-flat, op. 90 or 142
> Brahms, Rhapsody in G minor, op. 79 no. 2
> Mendelssohn, Rondo capriccioso, op. 14
> Chopin, Ballade in A-flat major, op. 47
> (Interval)
> Cyril Scott, "Lotusland," op. 47, no. 1, and "Danse Negre," op. 58, no. 5
> Debussy, "La cathédrale engloutie" and "Golliwogg's Cake-Walk"
> Ravel, *Jeux d'eau*
> Rachmaninoff, two (unnamed) Preludes
> Liszt, *St. François de Paule marchant sur les flots*[4]

The next day, Gieseking was the featured soloist in a Sunday afternoon orchestral concert broadcast by Radio Frankfurt (Hessischer Rundfunk); Frankfurt, too, lay within the American zone. The performance was given before a public audience, as was

[3] Concert program: "American Red Cross Eagle Club Presents the World Famous Pianist Walter Gieseking," Wiesbaden, 1 Feb. 1947, DEC.

[4] Ibid.

common.[5] Accompanied by Kurt Schröder leading the Hessischer Rundfunk Orchestra (then also officially called the Radio-Sinfonie-Orchester Frankfurt), the famed pianist played two works: Mozart's Piano Concerto in C major (K. 467) and de Falla's *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*.[6]

On 4 February, Gieseking gave a second solo recital at the *Kurhaus*, but on this occasion before both Americans and Germans. The program was completely different from that of 1 February and featured works by Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Debussy, and Scriabin.[7] "As the hall was much too small," wrote Gieseking to his American pupil Dean Elder, "I am repeating the same concert next Sunday [9 February] in a larger hall (in the movie theater on Wilhelmstrasse [Wilhelm Street, also in Wiesbaden]) (Gieseking's English)."[8] As before, the cleared pianist was immediately in high demand. In the same letter, he described the sudden, renewed interest in him, which was more than he could presently handle:

> Every [piece of] mail brings a small deluge of requests for concert dates and it is simply frightening to see how many concerts I shall be obliged—to refuse! Unfortunately, we have a rather cold winter and this makes the situation more difficult, also in the concert field. This, and my doctor's [Hans Kirchner's] advice not to work too hard right now, are the reasons why I accept for the next time [i.e. near future] only concerts around Wiesbaden in places where I can go by car in one, or two hours. This will keep me pretty busy, because there [are] also a great

[5] The surviving programs from a number of Gieseking's postwar broadcast performances show that they took place before audiences. Programs examined were found in Gieseking's *Nachlass* as well as the Dean Elder Collection (in the author's possession).

[6] Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 316; Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 15.

[7] Concert program: "Klavierkonzert Walter Gieseking," Städtische Kur- und Bäderverwaltung, Wiesbaden, 9 Feb. 1947, DEC. A copy of the program from 4 February has not been found, but as explained right below, the program of 9 February was identical.

[8] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, [n.p.], letter, 5 Feb. 1947, DEC.

> number of invitations from Americans to consider. The quiet lift [i.e. clearance] of the "verboten" pianist is over now (Gieseking's English).[9]

On 9 February, Gieseking repeated the *Kurhaus* program from nine days earlier, as planned.[10]

Military Government officials, too, were among all those eager to hear the pianist again, and they even did so privately. On 6 February, for instance, Gieseking had given a recital at the home of James R. Newman (1902–64), the U.S. Military Government Director for Hesse—Gieseking's home state—and on 11 April he would perform at British General Sir Brian Hubert Robertson's (1896–1974) residence in Berlin.[11] On 19 March, he played for a charity event held at Wiesbaden's Officers' Wives' Club, whose hundreds of members, writes Donna Alvah, included "wives of American and allied officers, wives of government civilian employees, teachers, and women officers stationed in Wiesbaden."[12] On 31 March and 1 April, the pianist gave joint recitals before Allied audiences, presumably all or mostly American, at Frankfurt's Little Theater.[13] There were other, probably numerous, examples of such private performances, and military officials fervently attended his public engagements as well. After playing Schumann's Piano

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[9] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, [n.p.], letter, 5 Feb. 1947, DEC.

[10] Concert program: "Klavierkonzert Walter Gieseking," Städtische Kur- und Bäderverwaltung, Wiesbaden, 9 Feb. 1947, DEC.

[11] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[12] Ibid.; Alvah, *Unofficial Ambassadors: American Military Families Overseas and the Cold War, 1946–1965* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 144. At one point the club counted some 800 members, Alvah further explains, whose charity work in part aided a boys' orphanage and home for the elderly.

[13] Gieseking, "List of concerts." Gieseking gives no further information related to the joint concert on these two dates, but a program from 31 October 1947 shows that he shared a recital that afternoon with two Americans: Mrs. Franzetta Durant, soprano, and her accompanist, Sgt. James Keller. The event took place at Frankfurt's Community High School, and, in the middle of the performance, "Presentations" were given by the class president and class secretary. Program: Community High School, Frankfurt Germany, Presenting Mr. Walter Gieseking (Pianist) and Mrs. Franzetta Durant (Soprano), Sgt. James Keller (Accompanist), 31 Oct. 1947, DEC.

Concerto in A minor, op. 54, in a benefit concert for the Red Cross in Frankfurt on 20 April, Gieseking mentioned to his American managers, Charles L. Wagner and Edward W. Snowdon, how "the general [Lieutenant General Clarence R. Huebner (1888–1972) of the U.S. Army] and his family were in the front row again."[14] Huebner had gone back to Germany in the fall of 1946 to serve as Chief of Staff of the U.S. forces in the European theater, and spent his last three months there, in 1949, as the acting commander-in-chief of the European command.[15] After such a horrific war and the new, daily challenges brought on by the occupation, Allied military personnel must have felt especially entitled to some high-quality entertainment, and many of the same Americans were undoubtedly experiencing the arts in the Old World for the first time.

Gieseking had quickly made a successful comeback in the American zone. He then began to make his public reappearances in other parts of Germany, where he played for members of the other occupying forces. A concert on 1 March, given in Bingen in the French zone, for example, took place at the French Officers' Club. Performances before the British and Soviets were soon arranged.

The Return to Berlin: April 1947

The following month, in early April 1947, Gieseking traveled to Berlin to give seven concerts in seven days: three with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, two solo

[14] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC.

[15] Clarence Huebner Biography, *U.S. Department of Defense, Office of Public Information*, see Steven Flaig, "Clarence R. Huebner: An American Military Story of Achievement" (MS thesis, University of North Texas, 2006), 111, accessed 18 Aug. 2011, University of North Texas Digital Library. As discussed in Chapter 11 of this dissertation, Huebner would write a letter of support for Gieseking, which the latter's North American manager, Charles Wagner, showed to the American press in 1948, when his client's planned 1949 tour had begun to be protested by certain U.S. citizens and organizations such as the American Veterans Committee.

recitals, a chamber-music performance with violinist Gerhard Taschner, and the "'at home'-recital," as he described it, at British General Sir Brian Hubert Robertson's quarters.[16] In spite of the pianist's clearance, the Cultural Affairs Committee of the Allied Kommandatura in Berlin had still been required to sanction his engagements there, which it apparently did without objection.[17] Most of his appearances were made at the radio station Berliner Rundfunk (often referred to by its original name, Radio Berlin), where he also carried out some recording sessions. "Enough for one week, isn't it?" he quipped in a letter to Dean Elder after the busy Berlin visit.[18]

Berliner Rundfunk

Soviet-controlled Berliner Rundfunk, from which the Soviet Military Administration had already begun to broadcast in May 1945, was actually located within the British sector, in the Charlottenburg district.[19] The station operated from the Haus des Rundfunks building, which had previously been home to the Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft (Reich Broadcasting Corporation). Aware that this was Berlin's most powerful radio station, generated by 100,000 watts, the Soviets had been quick to take it

[16] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC.

[17] "Memo: Walter Gieseking. Ref. Telephone Conversation: Int. Dir. Herford-Sely, 25 Feb. [19]48]," [handwritten, double-sided document; from 25 Feb. 1948(?)], file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

[18] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 16 Apr. 1947, DEC.

[19] Andrea Czepek, Melanie Hellwig, and Eva Nowak, "Pre-Conditions for Press Freedom in Germany," in *Press Freedom and Pluralism in Europe: Concepts and Conditions*, eds. Czepek, Hellwig, and Nowak (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 245; concert program: "Gieseking Klavierabend," Berliner Rundfunk, Berlin, 9 Apr. 1947, GFA; Heiner Stahl, "Mediascape and Soundsape: Two Landscapes of Modernity in Cold War Berlin," in *Berlin: Divided City, 1945–1989*, eds. Philip Broadbent and Sabine Hake (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 57.

over upon their costly siege of the city despite the structural damage it had endured.[20] In response, the Americans insisted that it be controlled by all four occupying powers, which the Soviets rejected; the Americans then declined the counteroffer of a mere one-hour weekly slot that would be censored by the Soviets.[21] In the end, the Americans reacted by setting up their own station, RIAS (Rundfunk im Amerikanischen Sektor, or Radio in the American Sector), which provided news, music, and entertainment programs for seven hours daily.[22] Not to be outdone, the Americans made sure that, by 1947, it was likewise operating with a 100,000-watt transmitter.[23] As early as May 1950, Gieseking began to give a number of performances for RIAS as well, many of which were recorded and posthumously released on commercial discs.[24]

The Initial Concert, 5 April

Gieseking's initial Berlin concert, his first postwar public engagement in the divided city, was a broadcast performance for the Soviet-run radio station. It took place

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[20] By comparison, after the war, Radio Frankfurt in the American zone, whose original transmitter had been destroyed, initially resumed broadcasting programs with a mere one-kilowatt transmitter, which was gradually increased to 20 and then 60 kilowatts. Allied Forces, Supreme Headquarters, Psychological Warfare Division, *The Psychological Warfare Division, Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, An Account of Its Operations in the Western European Campaign, 1944 - 1945* (Bad Homburg: 1945), 100.

[21] Richard Reeves, *Daring Young Men: the Heroism and Triumph of the Berlin Airlift, June 1948* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010), 188–89.

[22] Alvin A. Snyder, *Warriors of Disinformation: American Propaganda, Soviet Lies, and the Winning of the Cold War: An Insider's Account* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1995), 127. During the Berlin blockade (June 1948–May 1949), RIAS began to broadcast twenty-four hours a day as a means of reassuring the Germans that the Western Allies would remain in the city. Patrick Morley, *"This is the American Forces Network": the Anglo-American Battle of the Air in World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2001), 134.

[23] John Martin Leslie, "Legal and Diplomatic Control of International Propaganda" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1955), 65.

[24] Gieseking also performed for RIAS on 23 and 24 May 1950, 29 September 1955, and 1 and 2 October 1955, for example, and there may have been still further performances given for the radio station. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 22, 37–38.

on 5 April 1947, the evening of his arrival, and was part of a Brahms festival that continued from 16 March to 13 April, honoring the fiftieth anniversary of the composer's death. For the occasion, Gieseking appeared as soloist with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra led by the up-and-coming Romanian conductor Sergiu Celibidache (1912–96).[25] He was impressed by his younger colleague's abilities and described him afterward as "an excellent musician and an interesting personality."[26] "Don't get scared by his name," he joked to his American managers, Wagner and Snowdon, "he'll become famous just the same."[27] Together they played Brahms's B-flat Piano Concerto, three times in all, and Gieseking could subsequently boast that each performance had "sold out to the limit." (Gieseking's English in each of the above quotations.)[28]

Back in High Demand Among the Berliners

The Berliners were overjoyed to have the popular pianist back. Tickets for the event had been bought up quickly in advance, so that the *New York Times* could report on 25 March how "standing room only remained today for the first reappearance in Berlin of Walter Gieseking, Germany's top ranking pianist. . . ."[29] The demand for his concerts in Berlin, and certainly elsewhere, was, in fact, so high that tickets were even selling for 200 to 300 marks on the black market.[30] Legitimate seat prices at this time, no doubt largely because of the trying postwar situation, could be quite inexpensive. On 4 March, for

[25] "Gieseking, Pianist, will play in Berlin," *New York Times*, 26 Mar. 1947.

[26] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 16 Apr. 1947, DEC.

[27] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC.

[28] Ibid.

[29] "Gieseking, Pianist, will play in Berlin," *New York Times*, 26 Mar. 1947.

[30] Ibid.

instance, Gieseking had given another public broadcast recital back in the American zone for Radio Frankfurt, in its large hall (großer Sendesaal). The works programmed were by Bach, Schubert, Chopin, Debussy, and Ravel—a typical, full-length Gieseking program. General admission was a mere twenty pfennigs.[31] To give two slightly later and somewhat more expensive examples of ticket costs, entrance to a recital he gave at the Städtische Konzertzentrale in Heidelberg on 5 April 1949 ranged between 1.50 and 5.00 D-marks. A recital that took place in the same venue on 15 November 1951 cost 1.00 to 5.00 D-marks per person.[32]

Difficulties Traveling to Berlin

Owing to the postwar difficulties of civilian travel in Germany—especially with regard to Berlin, now isolated within the eastern Soviet zone—Gieseking's delayed arrival in the wartorn city *nearly* prevented his initial reappearance from happening.[33] Later that month, he explained the hectic journey there to Wagner and Snowdon:

> First we missed the French train for which we had tickets, all information [we had] received turned out to be wrong. But we got to Berlin thanks to American friends who were really helpful. We started with a car at 5 AM[,] changed cars at the British-Russian zone border, where a car from . . . Berlin Radio [i.e. Berliner Rundfunk] was waiting, and arrived in Berlin at 5 PM. The concert was at 6, but I rehearsed with the Philharmonic Orchestra in the meantime (Gieseking's English).[34]

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[31] Concert program: "Klavierabend Walter Gieseking," 4 Mar. 1947, Radio Frankfurt, GFA.

[32] Concert program: "Walter Gieseking," Städtische Konzertzentrale, Heidelberg, 5 Apr. 1949, GFA; Concert program: "Klavier-Abend: Prof. Walter Gieseking," Städtische Konzertzentrale, Heidelberg, 15 Nov. 1951, GFA.

[33] "Subject: Travel orders for prominent artists," John Bitter, OMGUS, Berlin Sector, ISC, to Chief of Branch, 8 Apr. 1947, file: RG 260 OMGUS, Educational and Cultural Relations Division, Cultural Affairs Branch, Music and Theater, box: 238: French Matters through German Licensing Committees, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[34] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC.

American Information Control officials in Berlin recognized the transportation predicament: "It is exceedingly difficult for Germans to move to or from this city, which has played a leading part in the cultural restoration of Germany."[35] In addition to late arrivals, this problem concerned the performers' conditions after one- to two-day journeys—often undertaken while standing. Surely, it was for the musicians a great challenge to perform well under these strenuous circumstances, particularly on the day of their arrival. The solution proposed by Information Control was to allow up to six artists per day to travel on U.S. Military trains, with prior permission from the Cultural Affairs Committee or Allied Kommandatura. All three other occupying governments had already begun to assist artists this way.[36]

Travel hindrances persisted nonetheless, so that Gieseking would again arrive late when returning to Berlin in September.[37] The ordeal that ensued on that occasion made U.S. headlines. The pianist's hotel booking was consequently cancelled, and despite being a "guest of the American community for several concerts"—starting with a charity performance before Allied spectators—U.S. military authorities refused him accommodation: "Geiseking [*sic*] . . . and his wife were summarily ejected from an American billet . . . by Military Government officials," reported the *New York Times*.[38]

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[35] "Subject: Travel orders for prominent artists," John Bitter, OMGUS, Berlin Sector, ISC, to Chief of Branch, 8 Apr. 1947, file: RG 260 OMGUS, Educational and Cultural Relations Division, Cultural Affairs Branch, Music and Theater, box: 238: French Matters through German Licensing Committees, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[36] Ibid.

[37] "U.S. Berlin Officials Oust German Pianist," *New York Times*, 13 Sept. 1947.

[38] Ibid.

Ultimately, Brigadier General and Chief of Staff Charles K. Gailey Jr., came to the pianist's rescue, arranging for the Giesekings to take lodging in his personal billet.[39]

Interzonal Travel

Adding to the transportation difficulties within Germany, all interzonal travel had become restricted in 1946 before the domestic borders were temporarily closed by July that year.[40] Yet plans for the formation of the so-called British-American "Bizone" voided all travel restrictions between the two western zones on 23 July 1946.[41] As of 29 October 1946, one was required to obtain an Interzonal Pass (*Interzonenpass*) in order to visit the other occupation sectors or zones.[42] This was, in fact, merely a single-use travel permit valid for only up to thirty days. It could be extended for an additional fifteen days in imperative situations; it could *not* be used for international travel.[43] In a letter from 20 July 1948, Annie mentioned to Walter, who was currently concertizing in South America, that the Interzonal Passes she and both daughters had would expire on 31 July; the three

[39] "U.S. Berlin Officials Oust German Pianist," *New York Times*, 13 Sept. 1947.

[40] Patrick Major, *Behind the Berlin Wall: East Germany and the frontiers of Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 89.

[41] The decision to lift the travel restrictions was approved by General Joseph T. McNarney, the Commanding General of the U.S. Forces European Theater. While General Lucius D. Clay and the U.S. Military Government wished to extend that policy to the French and Soviets at once, McNarney warned Washington that it would "nullify our efforts to . . . prevent departure of German Scientists and important Technicians from US Zone." John Gimbel, *Science, Technology, and Reparations: Exploitation and Plunder in Postwar Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 47.

[42] Gordon L. Rottman, *The Berlin Wall and the Intra-German Border, 1961–1989* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2008), 11.

[43] This information was given in Directive no. 49, Article I, no. 2, issued by the Allied Control Council on 23 April 1947, "Pässe für einmalige Reisen können unter den nachstehenden Bedingungen ohne vorherige Einwilligung der Besatzungsbehörde der zu besuchenden Zonen erteilt werden. Die Geltungsdauer eines Passes darf 30 Tage nich überschreiten, jedoch kann in Fällen dringender Not von den Behörden der besuchten Zonen eine 15tägige Verlängerung bewilligt werden." Quoted in Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 318.

of them were presently in Saarbrücken.[44] The following month, on 24 August 1948, travel restrictions between the French zone and the Bizone were lifted in preparation for the "Trizone."[45] It was not until 14 November 1953 that the Western powers formally abandoned the travel permit, however. While the Soviets agreed to let in those entering from the west, East Germans were still required to gain special permission to cross over into the neighboring zones.[46] The East German government did not officially close the East-West border until 16 May 1952, with the Berlin Wall emerging in 1961, but interzonal passage was from the start much more difficult for residents of the Soviet-occupied area.[47]

The Subsequent Six Berlin Performances

To return to Gieseking's Brahms concerto performance, it was repeated twice the next day, 6 April, first apparently at Berliner Rundfunk, and again in the British sector that night, though *not* at the Soviet station. Probably referring to the evening event, the pianist later listed an appearance before British troops on that date, which happened to be Easter Sunday; the British, we can be sure, would have chosen a venue under their own control for such an occasion.[48] The daytime repeat concert was not originally announced,

[44] Jutta and Annie Gieseking, Saarbrücken, to Walter Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, letter, 20 July 1948, GFA.

[45] Frank Roy Willis, *The French in Germany, 1945–1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 62.

[46] Alan Axelrod, *The Real History of the Cold War: A New Look at the Past* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 2009), 227–28

[47] Ibid.

[48] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

at least not by the *New York Times*, but Gieseking afterward related to his American managers that he had played the same Brahms Piano Concerto "3 times in 2 days."[49]

On 8 April, Gieseking again appeared at Berliner Rundfunk to provide a solo recital. The *New York Times* had explained that the repertoire was to include works by Bach, Schubert, and Debussy. If that had been the original plan, it changed. The final, more modern program comprised Bach's *Italian Concerto* (BWV 971), Schubert's B-flat Sonata (D. 960), some Debussy Préludes, Ravel's "Ondine" from *Gaspard de la nuit* and "La vallée des cloches" and "Alborada del gracioso" from *Miroirs*, and unsurprisingly music by a Russian master, namely Alexander Scriabin. The concert was concluded with two of the Slavic composer's Piano Sonatas: no. 7 ("White Mass," op. 64) and no. 9 ("Black Mass," op. 68).[50]

A "repeat performance" followed the next evening, but with a "more conventional" program, as Gieseking described it.[51] It, too, took place at Berliner Rundfunk, and this time he played selections by Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Debussy, Ravel, and again Scriabin—so "conventional" it was not; on this occasion, he finished with the latter's Sonata no. 4 in F-sharp major, op. 30.[52]

Two days later, he joined forces with Gerhard Taschner to give a chamber music recital broadcast live by the same station, for which the two musicians performed

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[49] "Gieseking, Pianist, Will Play in Berlin," *New York Times*, 26 Mar. 1947; Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC.

[50] "Gieseking, Pianist, Will Play in Berlin," *New York Times*, 26 Mar. 1947; Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 15. Gray and Quonten do not list any works by Bach, Schubert, and Debussy, but their listings are often incomplete, as in the case of the program that followed on 9 April 1947, and it would have been unusual for Gieseking to program works merely by Ravel and Scriabin.

[51] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 16 Apr. 1947, DEC.

[52] Concert program: "Gieseking Klavierabend," Berliner Rundfunk, Berlin, 9 Apr. 1947, GFA.

Brahms's Violin Sonata in D-minor, op. 108, and Franck's Violin Sonata in A major, possibly beginning the program with Beethoven's "Kreutzer" Sonata, op. 47.[53]

The final, private recital Gieseking that gave at the home of General Robertson, also in the British zone, occurred the next day, on 11 April.[54]

The Reception of the Berliner Audiences and Press

Gieseking's Berlin comeback proved a great success, as the public and critics alike received him with tremendous fervor. "The audience[,] especially at the recitals," he boasted shortly thereafter to his American managers, "acted as if [it had] never heard piano-playing before." "The criticisms in the 'free' newspapers are much better than what the 'controlled press' wrote during the last 'thousand' years (Gieseking's English)," he added, referring to the former Nazi-censored media.[55]

Allied military officials in Berlin were pleased to have the opportunity to meet with the famous musician privately. He further remarked to Wagner and Snowdon how, while there, "we also had dinner at the house of the second-highest British officer in Germany, awfully nice people. It was a very international affair, this playing in Berlin[,] and very enjoyable" (Gieseking's English).[56]

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[53] "Gieseking, Pianist, Will Play in Berlin," *New York Times*, 26 Mar. 1947. Note that the *New York Times* article incorrectly lists the Brahms's Violin Sonata as being in the key of D-flat major. Additionally, in their discography, Mike Gray and René Quonten do not indicate that the "Kreutzer" Sonata was performed on 10 April, which suggests that the piece may have been dropped. A recording of Gieseking and Taschner playing the work on 15 March 1945 (third movement only) and 14 December 1951 does exist, however. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 15, 45.

[54] Gieseking, "List of concerts." There is no record of the repertoire programmed during this recital.

[55] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC.

[56] Gieseking does not name the officer mentioned. Ibid.

The Soviets' Postwar Attitude Toward Gieseking

The Soviets' Original Reluctance

The Soviets' interest in Gieseking merits further comment. After the war, those administering Berliner Rundfunk had initially been disinclined to play the pianist's recordings over the air because of his compliance with the Hitler regime's censorship policies. In response to a listener's question received in late 1945, inquiring into why Richard Wagner's music was being broadcast so infrequently, the unwavering station bluntly responded on 12 December: "We are concerned in the first place with the work of an artist [rather than a composer]. Of course, if a man, like the pianist GIESEKING, refused to play the wonderful piano concerto by the Russian composer Tschaikowski, then we have no place for his work in the Germany of to-day" (emphasis in original). This was reported by the British radio monitors, who, as a means of gathering intelligence, closely followed the Soviet's programming and typed up daily monitor digests for the British headquarters at Bünde.[57] The station's bitter Soviet staff had, nevertheless, obviously forgiven Gieseking by the time of his first Berlin engagements, over one year later, hence the arrangement of his performances on their premises. Regarding their disinclination to air too much Wagner, this unquestionably had to do with the Nazis' well-known reverence for the composer and the propagandistic function his music had taken on throughout the Third Reich. The listener who posed the question should have realized this.

[57] "Monitoring Digest of Radio Berlin," no. 182, Information Services Control Branch, Control Commision, Bünde, 12 Dec. 1945, copy found in file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

The Soviet Masterclass Offer

Gieseking had attracted the attention of the Soviet occupiers even before his clearance. By November 1946, six months prior to his Berlin return, they had asked him to take on a masterclass at a newly-founded music school in their occupied zone (the location is unidentified), which for reasons left unclear he did not accept.[58] He almost certainly was not interested in commuting or relocating to eastern Germany, though, and probably felt he would benefit little from the post. At that point, he was also confident that he would be removed from the blacklist before long: "It looks as if the whole situation is going to be cleared soon," he informed Dean Elder that same month (Gieseking's English).[59] Surely he had much greater hopes for the very near future.

Art with Politics Mixed Yet Again: Fulfilling Soviet Requests

The Soviets' interest in the pianist did not stop with the masterclass offer. By the time of his Berlin sojourn in April, Gieseking found himself once again programming Russian music, along with other previously Nazi-banned repertoire, at the request of the Soviets themselves. This explains the three Scriabin sonatas he played during his Berliner Rundfunk engagements. Only days after his Berlin trip, he wrote to Elder, "the Russians were especially interested in the Scriabin Sonatas I had on my programs, especially the 'crazy' nr. 9 and 7 . . ." (Gieseking's English).[60] Now that increasing numbers of German artists were being cleared, the occupying forces could make use of them freely to boost the promotion of their native cultures within the former Reich—in particular all that had

[58] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 14 Nov. 1946, DEC.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, New York, letter, 16 Apr. 1947, DEC.

previously fallen under Nazi censorship. This was viewed as a valuable part of the re-education of Germany, and the Soviets had become eager to have Gieseking play significant Russian repertoire, arrangements that continued recurrently throughout the year.[61] That he had earned his reputation primarily as a foremost exponent of French and German masterworks mattered none.

Of course, Gieseking saw the irrationality in having to make amends for having propagated music for the Nazis by now propagating music for the Allied victors. Despite their benign democratic intentions, the Allies were likewise mixing art with politics. Commenting on this to Elder, Gieseking wryly noted:

> I'm afraid that in another 10 or 12 years I may have to reply to the questions of a CIC-agent [Counterintelligence Corps] from I-don't-know-what-nation: why did you play Scriabin on Apr. 8, 1947 in Berlin? The fact that I like these sonatas (the public mostly doesn't) is probably not [going to be] a sufficient excuse then . . . The Russian music officers gave me a big package of Russian music (more to be expected) and a few bottles of liquor as a farewell present and in June I shall play in Berlin Tschaikowsky's old war-horse [the Piano Concerto in B-flat minor] and Rachmaninoff['s] D minor [i.e. the Third Piano Concerto] and I don't know what else (Gieseking's English).[62]

One senses that Gieseking was, all the same, delightfully surprised by the Soviets' requests, above all by the newfound opportunity to play Scriabin's often less-accessible compositions. The public demand for these works had surely been limited in the past. Yet since the start of his professional career, he had occasionally performed a selection of Scriabin's output, not to mention a modest variety of other Russian literature that comprised pieces by Rachmaninoff, later including the Second and Third Piano Concertos, and Tchaikovsky's ever-popular Piano Concerto no. 1 in B-flat major, op. 23.

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[61] Gieseking's private correspondence found in the Dean Elder Collection (now in the author's possession) provides important documentation of how the Allied Governments vied for the pianist's services after the war.

[62] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, New York, letter, 16 Apr. 1947, DEC.

Additionally, he had made piano rolls (at an unidentified date in the 1920s) of two works he rarely, if ever, programmed: Anton Rubinstein's Portrait in F-sharp major ("Rêve Angélique," op. 10 no. 22, from *Kamennïy-ostrov* [*Rocky Island*] and Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*.[63] An early recital he gave in Zurich on 21 September 1921, organized by the Jecklin piano firm, featured Scriabin's Sonata no. 5, op. 53.[64] A modern program that followed on 15 November, given at Leipzig's Städtisches Kaufhaus, included the same sonata, along with works by Max Reger and Walter Niemann.[65] On 2 or 3 December 1922 in Munich, he played Scriabin's "White Mass" Sonata no. 7, op. 64, and *Vers la flamme*, op. 72.[66] Another program from that time contained these two works as well as the composer's "Black Mass" Sonata no. 9, op. 68.[67] Among Gieseking's collection of manuscripts in Wiesbaden is his own handwritten copy of *Vers la flamme*. The composition was first published in 1914, and judging by Gieseking's writing, he

[63] The Rubinstein roll is listed in Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 64. The rolls of the Mussorgsky work (part one: 58875; part two: 58876) were issued by the Triphonola firm and are listed online at the Reproducing Piano Roll Foundation, accessed 12 Dec. 2009, http://www.rprf.org/Rollography.html.

[64] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 53.

[65] Concert program: "Klavier-Abend Walter Gieseking," Städtisches Kaufhaus, Leipzig, 15 Nov. 1921, GFA.

[66] Clipping title unidentified, *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, 3 Dec. 1922; a copy is found in the GFA, in Gieseking's larger scrapbook (ca. 47 x 31.5 cm, labeled "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art," or "Scrapbook for all types of Newspaper Clippings"), which covers the period of October 1920 to April 1926.

[67] Other works on the program were three pieces by Castelnuovo-Tedesco, one of which was *Cipressi* op. 17 (1920), and Arnold Schoenberg's *Sechs kleine Klavierstücke*, op. 19—played twice—possibly, as the *Volkswille* critic concluded, "to facilitate the public's understanding of the work" ("wohl um für diesen ein besseres Verständnis zu erzielen"). To conclude, Gieseking offered Hindemith's new, percussive Suite "1922" op. 26, which he had introduced to the Hanoverian public just days before as part of a Schoenberg–Hindemith recital. This was bold programming for the time. Both recitals were arranged by the Kestner-Gesellschaft and at least the latter took place in the Beethovensaal in Hanover's Stadthalle. Hanover was still Gieseking's hometown, and the concertgoers there had watched him develop into a mature artist. Many must have been quite surprised by what he was now playing, and indeed, as he later recalled, "many listeners were shocked." "Klavierabend Walter Gieseking im Beethovensaal der Stadthalle zu Hannover," *Volkswille*, n.d. (a copy of the clipping, presumably from early December 1922, is found in the GFA, see "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art"); Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 54–55.

made the reproduction while a student in Hanover around that time.[68] He must have just discovered the composer's music, and 1914 was incidentally the same year in which he gave his first performance of a Debussy piece—*Reflets dans l'eau*.[69]

Indeed, Gieseking thought highly of Scriabin's music. Dean Elder recalls how, during the postwar masterclasses held at Saarbrücken, his mentor said on more than one occasion, "I would trade all of Chopin's music for one piece of Scriabin's."[70] In subsequent years, Gieseking programmed the composer's works only irregularly, but nonetheless kept them in his repertoire for the remainder of his career. On account of his postwar "favors" for the Soviets—and favors they often were—a number of broadcast recordings from 1947 survive that document his otherwise unrecorded performances of a considerable quantity of Scriabin's oeuvre for piano, encompassing the *4 Morceaux*, op. 51; *Deux poèmes*, op. 32; selected préludes (e.g. two from *Quatre preludes*, op. 22); and four Sonatas, nos. 3, 5, 7 and 9 (opp. 23, 53, 64, and 68). From 1955 and 1956 are also readings of the complete *Vingt quatre preludes*, op. 11, and, again, op. 15 no. 4 of the *Cinq préludes*. Most of these performances have since been issued commercially.[71] On 14 September 1947, Gieseking gave an all-Scriabin recital—probably his first and only one ever—at the Russian House of Culture in Berlin.[72] While in London on 18 October, just

[68] It is unclear whether Gieseking reproduced the entire work, as he did in other instances (e.g. for several of the Préludes by Debussy), but only the first page of his Scriabin copy survives.

[69] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 28.

[70] Elder, email message to author, 12 Nov. 2012.

[71] For further details see Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 61–62.

[72] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

days before his death, he unknowingly bade the composer farewell, as it were, by making a recording of his *Prélude*, op. 15 no. 4.[73]

Postwar Radio Performances and Recordings

As he had done for much of his career, Gieseking had resumed giving broadcast performances—many, if not most, of which were recorded—for numerous radio networks right after his clearance, first in the American zone (recall his aired appearance under Kurt Schröder in Frankfurt on 2 February 1947), but soon enough in each of Germany's occupied zones and sectors. Broadcasting was the most efficient way to reach out to the widest possibly audience, of course, and the Allied occupiers eagerly promoted it, especially owing to the role of music in their efforts to re-democratize Germany. It was inevitable that that Gieseking, as an immensely popular recording artist who had routinely played for radio stations, would quickly recommence such work. And the extent to which he did so was remarkable, making his efforts from both before and during the war pale by comparison. The above-listed Scriabin performances were but a small portion of the ultimate, impressive results.

While in Berlin in April, he recorded at Berliner Rundfunk works by Bach, Castelnuevo-Tedesco, Debussy, Mendelssohn (presumably at the same station), Ravel, and Scriabin, not counting his performance with Gerhard Taschner. Upon returning to Frankfurt, he recorded three Scarlatti Sonatas (K. 33, 356, 380) and three Beethoven Piano Sonatas (opp. 57, 109, 111) for Hessischer Rundfunk on 17 April.[74] That June he

[73] This is from the *Cinq preludes* of 1895–96. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 39, 61.

[74] Ibid., 15–16.

also gave a recorded broadcast performance of the American composer Walter Piston's (1894–1976) *Concertino* for piano and chamber orchestra (composed 1937), with Kurt Schröder once again conducting, this time leading Hessischer Rundfunk's own *Kammerorchester*.[75]

Gieseking's postwar broadcast recordings made for radio stations such as Hessischer Rundfunk and RIAS (Rundfunk im Amerikanischen Sektor) in West Berlin are indeed plentiful and significant. Of particular importance, however, are his documented performances made between 26 April 1949 and 12 July 1951—during no fewer than twenty-five recording sessions in all—at the then popular Radio Saarbrücken (renamed Saarländischer Rundfunk in 1957), which had been founded in 1946.[76] After becoming part of the French zone at the end of WWII, Saarland remained under French administration as the short-lived Saar Protectorate from 1947 to 1956. The French, too, naturally desired the pianist's services for their broadcast endeavors, and it was those in charge of the Saarbrücken station who succeeded in having Gieseking agree to the grandest of such plans.

The Saarbrücken recordings comprise Beethoven's complete, thirty-two Piano Sonatas (save op. 54), works by Debussy, ample Schumann, and Mozart's Sonata in A

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[75] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 15. Note: Gieseking discographers have thus far, with uncertainty, suspected the date of the performance to have been sometime in April 1947. In a letter to his American managers from 22 April, however, the pianist wrote, "I just accepted to play the piano part in the Concertino by the U.S. composer Walter Piston in June, when Frankfurt makes a series of contemporary music concerts (Gieseking's English)." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC. Another point deserves clarification: In his summary of Gieseking's clearance, David Monod has written, "Gieseking may have eased [Captain William] Dubensky's conscience when he expressed his willingness to play any number of free concerts and even to learn the piano part in Walter Piston's *Concertino*." Monod was correct to point out Dubensky's efforts to see Gieseking cleared and the pianist's willingness to volunteer his services (as discussed in Chapter 9 of this dissertation), but Gieseking had evidently *not* agreed to play the Piston work until now, April 1947, months after his clearance. See Monod, *Settling Scores*, 158.

[76] Stefan Fricke, "Saarbrücken," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed.

major, K. 331.[77] Perhaps most noteworthy, though, is the documentation of J. S. Bach's (1685–1750) output. On the occasion of the composer's bicentennial year, 1950, Gieseking recorded the larger part of Bach's solo keyboard works between 24 January and 5 June—astoundingly in a mere seven sessions. Included were the following compositions:

> *Capriccioso on the Departure of his Beloved Brother*, BWV 992
> *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue* in D minor, BWV 903
> *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, books I and II, BWV 846–893
> *Italian Concerto*, BWV 971
> *Partitas*, 1–6, BWV 825–830
> *Partita* in B minor, BWV 831
> *English Suites*, nos. 2–4, 6, BWV 807–809, 811
> *French Suites*, nos. 2, 5, BWV 813, 816
> *Inventions*, 1–15, BWV 772–786
> *Sinfonias* 1–15, BWV 787–801
> *Fantasie* in C minor, BWV 906
> *Fantasie and Fugue* in A minor, BWV 944
> Toccata in C minor, BWV 911
> Selected *kleine Präludien*: BWV 924, 925, 927, 928, 933, 935–938, 999[78]

Gieseking had never habitually programmed most of these pieces, but even in his youth—before his studies in Hanover—he "knew and played at that time most of Bach's [keyboard] works" ("kannte und spielte damals das meiste von Bach"). Additionally, he had already learned "probably the complete Beethoven, Schumann and Chopin, some Schubert, also some Mendelssohn. . . ." ("wohl den ganzen Beethoven, Schumann und

[77] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 19–26; further details are found in Lundgren, *Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography*, n.p. (refer to the section titled "Walter Gieseking: Broadcast Transcriptions 1930-1956").

[78] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 21–23. Although Gieseking included the three-part Invention, *Sinfonia* no. 6 in E major, it was for reasons unknown never released with the complete set that became commercially available. Dean Elder, who was present during the recording session, recently remarked, "I do remember . . . his recording the E major [Three-part] Invention, which was very fast and clean. I too wondered why it wasn't included in the issued Inventions. Perhaps the tape was faulty or the person who transferred the Inventions omitted it unknowingly." Elder, email message to author, 15 Nov. 2012.

Chopin, einigen Schubert, auch Mendelssohn. . . .)[79] Consequently, his ability to perform such a vast amount of repertoire, as heard in the Bach recordings, demonstrates his pianistic prowess perhaps better than any other sonic documentation. Never afraid to take risks, he often chooses breakneck tempi, and some inevitable mishaps and unsteady passages notwithstanding, the outcome is extraordinary.

The recording sessions in Saarbrücken usually took place in the evenings, after Gieseking had led masterclasses most of the day at the Conservatorium. He enjoyed having his pupils there at the station as an audience, and some would turn pages for him when necessary.[80] One young American present at the time was Stewart Gordon (b. 1930). After witnessing his mentor read through book one of Bach's *The Well-Tempered Clavier* on 7 March 1950, Gordon, amazed, wrote the following in his chronicle:

> At the radio station I heard the miracle. The recording of the whole first volume of preludes and fugues . . . fantastic. Gieseking was reading them and some of them were a little unsure in his mind (though never did it show in his playing) and so he took them at a slower tempo than he takes some of his Bach . . . But that made it just perfect!
>
> Gieseking tends to race the Bach he knows so well. And this at the slower tempo was really beautiful Bach playing . . . wonderful and clear . . . well, there is no superlative too great for this recording . . . and made after teaching all day . . .
>
> He is still the supreme master if ever there was one. [. . .] All of the students attended and enjoyed every minute of the whole performance.[81]

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[79] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 18.

[80] Dean Elder, unedited interview for the Canadian Broadcasting Company, Sept. 1970, "Les mercredis de la musique" series, [interviewer unidentified], REQ 101283, tapes 3, 4, 5 (7-inch reels), IPAM, College Park, MD.

[81] The ellipses *not* within brackets are found in the original text. Gordon, "The Saarbrücken Story: Memoirs of piano classes with Walter Gieseking[,] 1949-50," part VI, unpublished (photocopy in author's possession), p. 4. The author thanks Dr. Gordon, for kindly providing him with a copy of his unpublished chronicle. A unique and hitherto unknown account, his text gives a candid impression of both Gieseking the man and teacher. It also offers a behind-the-scenes look at the young pupils and their relationships with one another and with Gieseking. Cited here for the first time, it is a primary source of major importance and comprises ninety-nine typed pages. Gordon remains active as a pianist and editor and is currently serving on the faculty of the University of Southern California's Thornton School of Music.

Less than a month later, on 5 April, Gordon watched his mentor play through all twenty-four preludes and fugues from book two of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, once more in a single sitting. Awed anew, this time Gordon inscribed, "I heard Gieseking do a very excellent and staggering job on the Preludes and Fugues, (all of them) in the second book, after a day of teaching too!!!! [F]antastic . . . ."[82]

It is our good fortune that the Radio Saarbrücken recordings have since been issued commercially and without any subsequent editing. That Gieseking otherwise left behind very little of Bach's music during official recording sessions for record firms and died in the process of recording all of the Beethoven Piano Sonatas, only amplifies the historical importance of these Saarbrücken treasures.

Gieseking continued to record relentlessly until his death, for numerous broadcasting companies in and outside of Germany and, soon enough, also for record firms, EMI (Electrical & Musical Industries) of London above all. Most of his discs for the prestigious British label—the complete, published solo keyboard works of Debussy, Mozart, and Ravel among them, as well as a Mozart *Lieder* album with Elisabeth Schwarzkopf—were made at its famous Abbey Road Studios, where he worked with the legendary producer Walter Legge, Schwarzkopf's husband as of October 1953.[83] Although most of Gieseking's recordings preceded the advent of stereo technology, their quantity and individuality have doubtless ensured him immortality. He and Legge enjoyed a cordial relationship. Remembering the pianist nearly five years after his death,

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[82] The ellipses are found in the original text. Gordon, "The Saarbrücken Story," part VII, p. 2.

[83] The recordings issued by EMI initially appeared on the (U.K.) Columbia label and the American Columbia label. After its American affiliate, American Columbia, left EMI in 1953, however, the latter issued the recordings manufactured in the U.S. on its newly established Angel label. Gieseking's first recordings on the Angel label were recorded on 1 August 1953. For further details related to Gieseking's recordings (works, date, place, and label), refer to Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie."

the producer recalled, "I knew him intimately for a dozen years, and I could even say that we were close friends."[84]

Further Concerts in the French and British Zones

To return to Gieseking's concertizing in Germany's occupied zones, like the Americans and Soviets, the British and French were thrilled to have him back on stage. On 16 April 1947, he sent the following good news, apart from that of high taxes, to Dean Elder:

> [T]he other day in Baden-Baden I played a nice recital: only Debussy and Ravel (and Poulenc, *Mouvements perpétuels*). This recital and a performance of the Emperor [Concerto by Beethoven] were my "rentré en Allemagne," as the French announced it. They were awfully nice, but in fact the musicians of all [of the occupying] nations are. . . . Next week I visit northern Germany [i.e. the British zone in the north-west], May is also well-filled with dates, even if the receipts go to 85% for taxes (Gieseking's English).[85]

The pianist's British-zone visit brought him to Hanover, Hamburg, and other towns.[86] On 24 April, for instance, he gave a private recital at one Brigadier General Crowley's residence in Minden, an area with which Gieseking was well familiar.[87] At the start of his music studies, he and his mother had lived with his father's parents, Carl (1842–1915) and Wilhelmina (1844–1921) Gieseking, in the village Lahde, just outside of Minden; he no doubt always enjoyed returning to the area, and we can be sure that he and the general engaged in pleasant conversation about Minden and the surrounding

[84] Legge, London, to Dean Elder, New York, letter, 27 July 1961, DEC.

[85] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 16 Apr. 1947, DEC.

[86] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC.

[87] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

region.[88] Three days later, on 27 April, Gieseking gave a solo performance in the town of Celle, in Lower Saxony, for the Royal Air Force's 84 Group. This was a "paid public concert," he noted, with a "partly German" audience.[89]

High Taxes and Further Difficulties

On 22 April, Gieseking had reported with some humor to Wagner and Snowdon on the insatiable demand for his appearances: "People won't let me do my gardening, they keep on asking for concerts. . . ." "It is so difficult to avoid concerts," he added, "I've played over 30 times since Feb. 1st and there are 7 or 8 more performances coming this month" (Gieseking's English)."[90] Yet due to the incredibly high proportion of his fees being levied, he and Goette had for now decided to pursue philanthropic events especially:

> Every possibility of playing for charity instead [of] for taxes is sought intensely by myself and my manager. A very nice idea was a recital sponsored by the Community Officers Wives Club. I played gratis, of course, but over $700 were in the box office (net profit) for which the German Youth is helped. Anyway it's more natural to be busy than to hide in blackness (Gieseking's English).[91]

By February of the following year, he could pride himself on the number of benefit engagements he had fulfilled and the money raised in so doing:

> Since February 1947, I have played about 15 great concerts for Americans exclusively, without receiving a single cent (or a mark) for these performances. I played at least a dozen recitals for the American Army from June to October 1945, also without a fee. . . . In Wiesbaden alone, my playing has earned several

[88] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 21–25.

[89] Gieseking, "List of concerts."

[90] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC.

[91] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 16 Apr. 1947, DEC.

> thousand dollars for charitable institutions, such as the March of Dimes, and others.[92]

This period was not without other unremitting difficulties for Gieseking, and the restart of his career soon proved more challenging than expected. Despite his relatively busy schedule after resuming his concert activity in February, he continued to struggle to make ends meet, and food remained in short supply. He was therefore delighted to receive victuals sent by friends and pupils. On 16 April, for example, he wrote to Elder, "Thank you very much for your letter of March 16th and the beautiful ham, which arrived about a week ago and has reached already its ultimate destination, giving pleasure and causing benefit all along its way! . . . And we are grateful to our American friends who help us so nicely and so kindly."[93] While Gieseking would not have eaten any meat products himself, he was naturally happy to receive them for the sake of his family.

By late August, the pianist explained in a letter to his friend Ernst Smigelski in Leipzig how, for the time being, he had begun to decline most distant offers, making only occasional appearances in more remote German cities such as Berlin:

> I already undertook some concert tours. Unfortunately, the taxes make any further work pointless, which is why I am now only giving benefit concerts. These are mostly here in the area, and I am usually picked up by car. This already keeps me rather busy. Otherwise, we are subsisting on CARE packages, for the dry spell this year has made the food situation even worse than it already was. But so far we have made out quite well. Next month I will play in Berlin again. Regrettably, I don't have time to travel to Leipzig.[94]

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[92] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, typed copy, DEC.

[93] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 16 Apr. 1947, DEC.

[94] "Ich war ja schon auf einigen Konzertreisen, leider machen die Steuern ja weitere Arbeit überflüssig, daher spiele ich nur Wohltätigkeitskonzerte, meist hier in der Nähe, wo ich per Auto abgeholt werde. Schon damit ist man reichlich besetzt. Im übrigen leben wir von Liebesgabenpaketen, da die diesjährige Trockenheit die Ernährungslage ja noch schwieriger machte, als sie schon war. Es geht uns aber soweit ganz gut. Nächsten Monat spiele ich mal wieder in Berlin, leider habe ich keine Zeit nach Leipzig zu fahren." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 28 Aug. 1947, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

Such were the difficulties for Germans during the early postwar years. Gieseking was fortunate to receive the help of others, particularly of American friends, acquaintances, and pupils, and there are many other accounts of this that could be described. The challenges notwithstanding, he would soon enough reclaim his status as one of the world's leading pianists by appearing abroad once again, and indeed classical concertgoers around the globe simply could not wait to hear him after such a prolonged hiatus. Most nations soon began to welcome him back with open arms, so that approximately one year after his clearance, on 19 February 1948, he could proudly write the following to his American manager, Charles Wagner:

> All the countries in which I played during the war (as the article falsely states "sent there by the Propaganda Ministry"), . . . Holland, Italy, France, Belgium, Hungary, Austria, Rumania, Finland (and also neutral Sweden, Switzerland and Portugal) have asked now for my return. I have no information from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Denmark & Norway, so I can believe that there is no interest in these countries for my visit, at this moment, but I must say that I hardly ever played in Poland and Norway. Anyway, the vast majority of countries want me back. . . . (Gieseking's English)[95]

The only nations he had concertized in during WWII that he did not mention here were Spain and Turkey.

Regarding Gieseking's international postwar career, a look at his renewed activities in France, England, and the U.S. will show how greatly the receptions he received varied in the Western Allied nations upon his return to each one. (Despite the Russians' interest in him and his postwar appearances in Berlin's Soviet sector, he never

[95] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, New York, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, typed copy, DEC. The article, to which Gieseking refers, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934," had been published just eleven days earlier (on 8 Feb. 1948) by *New York Times* correspondent Delbert Clark. Clark claimed that Gieseking had cooperated fully with the Nazi regime, and the item played an important role in stirring up the Gieseking controversy in the U.S. See Clark, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934."

traveled to the Soviet Union.[96]) Additionally, a closer look at his tours in Australia, the Territory of Hawaii, Canada, and certain South American lands will further demonstrate the extent to which he remained highly controversial for some years to come. Visits to still other countries will be described to a lesser degree. Let us now turn to postwar France.

Gieseking's Postwar French Career

While Italy appears to have been the first foreign nation to invite Gieseking back to concertize after the war, offering him "10–20 concerts with the Rome orchestra next September [1947]," there is no evidence that the tour took place. He was interested in the offer, but the travel limitations would have been responsible for the "decline."[97] France, we may therefore conclude, was the first foreign country in which he appeared after the Reich's downfall.

Like the other occupying forces, France remained eager to promote its culture within Germany during the latter's democratization and reeducation, and it wished to engage the best artists to carry out its aims. The French Military Government, as we saw, had employed Gieseking repeatedly in its occupied zone during his U.S. and British

[96] As late as 6 October 1955, Gieseking mentioned to his daughter Jutta that the Goette agency had received offers from Prague and Russia. Had he lived longer, it is possible that he would have eventually arranged for a trip to the Soviet Union, but his already busy schedule was probably the reason why he never managed to visit any part of it. The potential fees perhaps could not compare with those he was earning in western nations. His letter to Jutta certainly suggests that the pay being offered by the Soviets was, compared to that in Prague, nothing too alluring. Gieseking, Hamburg, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Oct. 1955, GFA.

[97] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Charlie [Charles Wagner] and "Duke" [Edward Snowdon], letter, 22 Apr. 1947, typed copy, DEC.

blacklisting.[98] In view of that, as well as the pianist's special relationship with France and certain French music, it is no surprise to find that, after his clearance, he returned to the neighboring nation before any others.

In spite of Gieseking's wartime activities in occupied France and the annexed Alsace region, neither French officials nor the French public showed any hard feelings toward him, receiving him as warmly as ever. This will not always be the case in other countries. But the French remained so personally interested in the artist that they would continue to play an active role in assisting him in the reestablishment of his postwar career, helping him however they could and honoring him on multiple occasions.

International Travel Difficulties

In the aforementioned letter from August 1947 to Ernst Smigelski, Gieseking further wrote, "I will also probably play in Paris this year. By the way, the Americans [i.e. the American Military Government officials] are trying to procure an *Auslandspass* [a permit for traveling abroad] for me. Other countries have made offers; next April I hope to play in South America."[99] It was indeed difficult for all Germans—even after being cleared—to gain permission for foreign travel during the first postwar years, hence Gieseking's mention of the *Auslandspass* and the Americans' assistance in obtaining it

[98] Similarly, owing to a lack of noted conductors available after the war, French Military Government officials had made efforts to recruit some figures still on the American blacklists as well, Wilhelm Furtwängler for instance—again, much to the disapproval of American Military Government members. Thacker, *Music after Hitler*, 66.

[99] "Ich werde auch wohl noch dies[es] Jahr in Paris spielen. Übrigens bemühen sich die Amerikaner auch um meinen Auslandspass. Viele Länder machten Offerten, nächsten April hoffe ich in Südamerika zu spielen." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 28 Aug. 1947, Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 28 Aug. 1947, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

for him.[100] A more permanent solution to the problem, though an impossible one for most of the occupied nation's citizens, was the acquisition of a genuine foreign passport, and an opportunity came Gieseking's way in the form of a teaching position.

The Soviets, we saw, had been the first to offer him work as a teacher in a masterclass setting shortly before his exoneration, but he declined. Almost one year later, at the end of August 1947, he was asked to lead piano classes at the State Conservatory at Saarbrücken (Staatliches Konservatorium Saarbrücken).[101] This was a more enticing offer, especially because of the continued struggles since his clearance. This proposition he happily accepted.

The Saarbrücken Position and its Perks

Upon Germany's occupation, the city of Saarbrücken, belonging to the Saar region, initially fell under French administration. And the French zone conveniently neighbored Gieseking's home state of Hesse, occupied by the Americans. The French considered the Saar area crucial to their postwar cultural agenda. Yet they announced its de facto autonomy (while keeping it under their economic control) on 16 February 1946, at which time it became officially recognized as the relatively short-lived Saar Protectorate (through 1956); consequently, it was freed from the jurisdiction of the Allied Control Council and was now no longer part of the French zone.[102]

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[100] In a letter from Carl Jung to Branka Musulin, Jung discusses the travel difficulties artists faced and explains the existing possibilities. Carl Jung, [Rüdesheim,] to Branka Musulin, Dresden, 26 Aug. 1947, quoted in Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 318–19.

[101] Ibid., 319.

[102] Ian Bickerton, *The Illusion of Victory: The True Costs of War* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2011), 158; Heinz Jaeger, *Vom Krieg zum Frieden: Sechs Deutsche Jahre; 1944–1949* (Schwalmtal: Phil + Creative, 2000), 119; Michael A. Sutton, *France and the Construction of Europe, 1944 – 2007: The Geopolitical Imperative* (New York: Berghan Books, 2007), 35.

Because of his renown as an interpreter of modern French keyboard music, Gieseking must have been the first pianist on the French officials' list in many instances, and as before, his French background perhaps gave them further reason to justify their decision to help him resume his career in their occupied zone and in France proper. Gieseking accepted the conservatory position and was able to claim Saar residency and apply for Saar citizenship, perks offered as part of the agreement; consequently, he was promised Saar passports for himself and his family, which would facilitate international travel.[103]

Walter and his wife applied for the passports at once, and French officials probably had their applications expedited. Yet the French Military Government issued Annie a Temporary Travel Document "in lieu of passport" on 9 December 1947, which was valid for one year; Walter was presumably granted one the same day.[104] While acquiring the documents indeed would prove to be a difficult process, dragging on for several years even with the bureaucratic support Gieseking had begun to receive from numerous French officials, he nonetheless found himself benefiting at once from the teaching position, having regular access to the Saar.[105] Above all, he and his family were able to acquire food and goods still scarce in the American zone. By 1948 (perhaps as early as 1947), the pianist had become personally acquainted with both the French high

[103] Carl Jung, [Rüdesheim,] to Branka Musulin, Dresden, 26 Aug. 1947, quoted in Ursula Jung, "Der Geiger Gerhard Taschner," 319.

[104] Anna ["Annie"] Maria Gieseking, Temporary Travel Document (Saar), no. 31980, [French] Military Government for Germany, valid from 9 Dec. 1947–8 Dec. 1948, GFA. Gieseking's Temporary Travel Document could not be found.

[105] Gieseking and his family discuss the passports in several pieces of correspondence. See Annie Gieseking, Saarbrücken, to Walter Gieseking, [n.p.], letter, 26 July 1948, GFA; Jutta Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Walter Gieseking, [Rio de Janeiro], letter, 1 Aug. 1948, GFA; Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Walter Gieseking, [Buenos Aires], letter, 25 Aug. 1948, GFA; Gieseking, Tucumán, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Oct. 1949, GFA; Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Oct. 1949, GFA; and Gieseking, Lyon, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Nov. 1948, GFA.

commissioner of the Saar, Gilbert Grandval (1904–81) and its first prime minister, Johannes Hoffmann (1890–1967). Grandval administered, and thereby strongly influenced, the development of the Protectorate's cultural policies and activities; he served as Military Governor (1945–47), High Commissioner (1948–52), and Ambassador (1952–55).[106] After meeting with one Monsieur Robichez, who worked for Grandval, Gieseking sent promising news to Annie:

> I spoke to M[onsieur] Robichez in Saarbrücken, who assured me that the entire family will receive very useful papers. The prime minister (Herr Hoffmann) thinks that a villa should be available in 2–3 months; the French want to find one sooner. But the house is, of course, not so important; the papers are more interesting. You all (our daughters and you) could surely purchase a lot of things here, so the money would be well spent and at least that would give pleasure to our daughters. The food situation in France has improved; bread is usually free, and, of course, there had already been enough food. Our daughters wanted some gloves, but I don't know their sizes![107]

Hoffmann, who aimed to make Saarland a sovereign nation—a vision that caused immense disagreement among the German-speaking inhabitants and the French—was apparently helping to find the Giesekings a home.[108] This would never materialize, however, and the family always stayed at a hotel when in Saarbrücken.

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[106] Bronson Long, "De-Prussianizing the Saar: Lessons from the Second World War and the French Path to European Integration," in *France and Its Spaces of War: Experience, Memory, Image*, eds. Patricia M. E. Lorcin and Daniel Brewer (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 89.

[107] "Ich habe Mr. Robichez in Saarbrücken gesprochen und auch noch von ihm die Zusicherung bekommen, dass die ganze Familie sehr nützliche Papiere bekommt. Der Ministerpräsident (Herr Hoffmann) meinte, in 2-3 Monaten würde sich eine Villa finden, die Franzosen wollen es schneller schaffen. Aber das Haus ist ja nicht so wichtig, die Papiere sind interessanter. Ihr alle (die Töchter und Du) könntet Euch hier bestimmt allerhand kaufen, womit Geld untergebracht wäre und zumindest den Töchtern ein Vergnügen bereitet wäre. Die Ernährung hat sich in Frankreich noch gebessert, Brot ist meist ganz frei und überhaupt hat es ja früher schon gereicht. . . . Die Töchter wollten ja Handschuhe haben, nun weiss ich die Grössen nicht!" Gieseking, Lyon, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Nov. 1948, GFA. Robichez (without a first name) is listed as a colleague "Mitarbeiter" of Grandval's in Heribert Schwan, "Der Rundfunk als Instrument der Politik im Saarland 1945–1955" *Beiträge zur Medientheorie und Kommunikationsforschung*, no. 11 (Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1974), 74.

[108] Long, "De-Prussianizing the Saar," 92.

The Saar Protectorate and Gieseking's Interest in Saarland's Independence

Aware that the Saar region might become a self-governing state, Gieseking explained to his friend Smigelski how this had influenced his decision to teach at Saarbrücken. "The soon-to-be-independent Saarland has great plans, much of which I find quite agreeable," he wrote, adding, "for that reason I accepted."[109] It would later *not* become autonomous, of course, as he had hoped. The majority of the Saar population identified itself as German and was opposed to both French rule and Saar sovereignty. The plebiscite of 23 October 1955 therefore resulted in the inhabitants rejecting the European Statute proposed by France and the Federal Republic of Germany, voting in favor of becoming a state of West Germany. Saarland was officially recognized as a German state on 1 January 1957, less than three months after Gieseking's death.[110]

The Staatliches Conservatorium in Saarbrücken

Saarbrücken's Conservatorium had just begun to be established and was directed by Erich-Paul Stekel (1898–1978). Having immigrated to France during the National Socialist era and becoming a naturalized French citizen, Stekel also participated in conservatory concerts by leading the student orchestra. With a recommendation from Alma Mahler (the composer Gustav Mahler's widow), he had become principal conductor of the Deutsches Landestheater in Prague in 1923, which was directed by

[109] "Das demnächst selbständige Saarländchen hat grosse Pläne, vieles daran ist recht sympathisch, daher habe ich angenommen." Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 28 Aug. 1947, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

[110] "History: The Origin of Saarland," Staatskanzlei, Saarland Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, Saarland, accessed 1 Dec. 2010, http://www.saarland.de/15241.htm.

Alexander Zemlinsky, and he had led orchestras in Vienna, and several French cities.[111] Stekel was looking to hire acclaimed faculty to attract students from around the world.[112] And he must have been overjoyed to have recruited Gieseking. The eminent pianist was officially scheduled to begin teaching at the Conservatorium in October 1947.[113] He began to give classes even sooner, though, as he related to Smigelski on 28 August: "I travel to Saarbrücken 2–3 times a month, and therefore am looking to own a car."[114] Gieseking was, in fact, already even entertaining the thought of moving to Saarbrücken by this time, for he also mentioned that he was "keeping the house [in Wiesbaden] for now."[115]

The instruction in Saarbrücken was given under the title "classes de perfectionnement" and eventually offered three to four days a month in a converted, sprawling villa set on a hillside. Instruction usually began at ten in the morning and could continue until nine o'clock at night. Entrance was naturally competitive, and students from around the world applied and participated.[116] Dean Elder had first met and played

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[111] Michel Cullin and Primavera Driessen Gruber, eds., *Douce France?: Musik-Exil in Frankreich: 1933– 1945* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2008), 342–44.

[112] Gordon, "The Saarbrücken Story," part XII, p. 13.

[113] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Ernst Smigelski, Leipzig, letter, 28 Aug. 1947, NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3, HfMuT Bibliothek/Archiv Leipzig.

[114] "[I]ch fahre 2 – 3 Mal monatlich nach Saarbrücken, suche dafür ein Auto." Ibid.

[115] "Die Wohnung behalten wir vorläufig. . . ." Ibid.

[116] Dean Elder, "Study with Gieseking," 8; Stewart Gordon, email message to author, 1 Dec. 2010; Stewart Gordon, "The Saarbrücken Story," part IV, p. 4. Elder later wrote four articles for *Clavier* magazine that pertain to his studies with Gieseking in Saarbrücken, all of which were reprinted in Elder, *Pianists at Play: Interviews, Master Lessons, and Technical Regimes* (Evanston: The Instrumental Co., 1982). The articles include "Study with Gieseking" (pp. 8–12), "The Performer's Corner: Advice from Master Lessons of Walter Gieseking" (pp. 224–27), "Study with Gieseking: Posthumous Lesson on Debussy's 'Sarabande' from *Pour le piano*" (pp. 245–47) and "According to Gieseking: A Master Lesson on 'La Vallee des Cloches'" (pp. 248–55). Elder also authored a lengthy chapter on Gieseking's highly praised approach to pedaling, as was taught during the classes. See Elder, "Gieseking's Pedaling in Debussy and Ravel," in Joseph Banowetz, *The Pianist's Guide to Pedaling* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 230–87.

for Gieseking in Wiesbaden in 1945, while serving in the U.S. Air Force, attached to the War Crimes Branch. Subsequent to his discharge, Elder and his wife Carolyn, both as Fulbright fellows, became part of the Saarbrücken group starting in 1949.[117] Elder later recalled the class setting:

> Every year there were eleven or twelve principal performers, former pupils of such well-known teachers as Arrau, Bauer, Casadesus, Cortot, Fischer, Kempff, Rosina Lhevinne, Marguerite Long, Yves Nat, Carl Seeman, and Carlo Zecchi. Gieseking's linguistic abilities enabled him to conduct the classes in German, French, English, and Spanish. . . . The large classroom contained two grand pianos—a Bechstein (later changed for a Steinway) and a Bluethner.[118]

There were sometimes more than twelve persons in attendance. In a letter of 6 November 1951, Gieseking mentioned fourteen pupils, and on 3 December his count was seventeen, some auditors included.[119] Stewart Gordon, a Saarbrücken participant from 1949 to 1950, observed how "each [pianist] played very, very well, on a professional level. None was certainly a copy of Gieseking. Each played with excellent taste, good technique, etc."[120]

While Gieseking is not remembered as much for being a pedagogue, his success as a mentor is noteworthy, and through his many pupils, his pianistic approach and interpretive ideas live on to this day. Some, such as Gordon and Elder, are still teaching piano, passing on many ideas they learned during their studies in Saarbrücken. Looking back at the lessons sixty years later, Gordon more recently reflected on Gieseking as educator:

> I think Gieseking enjoyed teaching, but, at first, he was intimidated by the fact that he didn't know how to tell students to solve technical difficulties. He had such a "natural" technique that he never had to solve many of the problems of

[117] Dean Elder, unedited interview for the Canadian Broadcasting Company, Sept. 1970.

[118] Elder, "Study with Gieseking," 8.

[119] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 6 Nov. 1951, GFA; Gieseking, Lyon, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 3 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[120] Gordon, "The Saarbrücken Story," part VIII, p. 7.

> tensions, using wrong fingering, or approaching the instrument in some way that was not physically helpful. As a result, he felt he didn't know what to tell students to do, and he often commented openly to that effect in lessons. I think probably he got better at it as time went on, because he enjoyed working with gifted students and genuinely wanted to help them improve. He had little interest in the traditional technical material such as Czerny, Bergmuller etc. and rightfully so, not only because he never had to practice that stuff, but because it was not very interesting musically. He would make comments like "Well, sometimes people say practicing Czerny helps, but I really don't know if you should try that or not." Fortunately I had (and still have) keen analytical observation, so I was able to learn a lot about his physical approach to the piano and technical problems by just watching and later trying to figure out what he was doing and why it worked.[121]

While exceedingly part-time, Gieseking's position at Saarbrücken was his first year-round teaching post. It was also the only one that ever became permanent. He enjoyed the work there, probably more than he had first anticipated, and only once did he later consider resigning. After boasting about a recital his pupils had just given together in July 1951, he expressed to his daughter Jutta his dissatisfaction over some apparently racial conflicts among the conservatory's faculty members:

> It was an impressive [student] concert, yet no "officials" were there, no minister or anyone like that, because Herr Stekel was fired! However, he is still protesting, but he won't be able to change anything. Because nobody can say why he was dismissed, despite all the small-town gossip, I rather think that they are all nationalists who want to get rid of the "Jews and French." If the political situation continues there, then I think the outlook is bleak—I won't have any desire to work there any more either.[122]

After all that Gieseking had been through since Germany's defeat, he was no doubt going to be extra careful not to become involved in such a disagreement.

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[121] Gordon, email message to author, 1 Dec. 2010.

[122] "Es war ein imponierendes Konzert, doch war 'offiziell' niemand da, kein Minister oder dgl. denn Herr Stekel ist gekündigt! Allerdings protestiert er noch, aber er wird sich wohl nicht halten können. Da niemand sagen kann, trotz allem Kleinstadt-Tratsch, was man ihm vorwirft, glaube ich fast, dass es nur nationalistische Leute sind, die den 'Juden und Franzosen' herausekeln wollen. Wenn diese politische Richtung sich dort durchsetzt, sehe ich schwarz—habe dann auch keine Lust, weiter dort zu arbeiten." Gieseking, Saarbrücken, to Jutta Hajmássy, Montevideo, letter, 12 July 1951, GFA.

He kept the job in the end. In all, he led the classes during the last nine years of his life, and there were no political grounds for him to continue doing so for so long. And he surely did not teach for the pay, for as he once admitted to his American pupil Hugh McGinnis, "Every time I come here I lose thousands of dollars."[123] But that never seemed to bother him, and only holidays or his tours occasionally interrupted the otherwise regular visits to Saarbrücken.[124] His pupils genuinely meant much to him during his late career, and he was proud of their pianistic skills and progress. While in South America in 1948, he became acquainted with the young American pianist William Kapell (1922–53), then aged twenty-five, and the nineteen-year-old Bulgarian-born, Palestinian pianist Sigi (Sigismond) Weissenberg (later billed using his first name as Alexis Weissenberg [1929–2012]), who was by this time temporarily residing in the U.S. These were two of the most outstanding artists of their generation. Yet afterward Gieseking wrote to Jutta, "I must have already mentioned that Kapell and 'Sigi' made me realize that my pupils, in fact, play very well, even if they are not technically as astonishing. Both Imre and Filar play with much more emotion."[125] While Imre Hajmássy, Jutta's future husband, and Marian Filar studied with Gieseking in Wiesbaden and were never a part of the Saarbrücken group, his comment seems to reflect his opinion of his pupils in general.

It must be added that, since the war's end, Gieseking had also begun to accept a select number of private pupils, who, most notably, would go on to include Jörg Demus,

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[123] Hugh McGinnis, liner notes for Walter Gieseking, *Brahms Concerto no. 1, D minor, op. 15*, conducted by Hans Rosbaud, recorded with the Südwestfunk Sinfonieorchester (Baden-Baden), 17 Mar. 1953, International Piano Library (IPL) 504, ca. 1971, LP.

[124] Gieseking, "Gespräch mit Walter Gieseking," interview by Heinz Dützmann, [Saarland], ? Sept. 1954, tape, Archivnummer 00 2622005, Stiftung Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv (DRA), Abteilung Sammlungen und Informationsvermittlung, Wiesbaden, Germany; transcribed by author.

[125] "Ich schrieb wohl schon, dass ich an Kapell und diesem 'Sigi,' bemerkt habe, dass meine Schüler doch sehr gut spielen, wenn sie auch technisch nicht so erstaunlich sind. Sowohl Imre wie Filar spielen viel ausdrucksvoller." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Jutta Gieseking, letter, 12 Aug. 1948, GFA.

Werner Haas, Karl-Heinz Schlüter, Mary Louise Boehm, and Peter Schmalfuss. Demus distinguished himself as both a solo and collaborative pianist and made many highly acclaimed recordings. Like Gieseking, Haas became recognized as an eminent interpreter of French music and recorded many works for Philips Records. Schlüter took the top prize awarded (2nd place; 150,000 lire) in 1951 during the second, prestigious Busoni competition, the Concorso Pianistico Internationale Ferruccio Busoni; fifty contestants had represented a dozen nations, and among the eminent judges were Arturo Benedetti-Michelangeli, Paul Baumgartner, Friedrich Wührer, and Carlo Zecchi.[126] Schlüter went on to play under leading conductors such as Hermann Abendroth and Fritz Lehmann. Boehm did well as a collaborative pianist with her husband, the Dutch violinist Kees Kooper, and Schmalfuss had considerable success as a concert pianist, teacher, and recording artist. Still other pupils, many from the Saarbrücken masterclasses included, built excellent careers as pianists and educators, if none achieved the lofty level of fame that Gieseking had enjoyed. Few classical musicians have. As a pedagogue, he was without question more important than is generally recognized.

Two days after Gieseking's death, Saarland's Minister of Culture and Education, Egon Reinert, sent a condolence letter to the pianist's two daughters. In it, he spoke of the important role that Gieseking, as Saarland's "greatest artist and teacher," had played as a mentor at the conservatory:

> When, in 1947, your father happily announced his willingness to take on a teaching position for the first time in his long career as an artist and agreed to lead the piano masterclasses, he set the stage for the newly established State Conservatory, his work proving to be of unique importance in its development. Young pianists from around the world completed their training under his good-

[126] No first-place prize had been awarded in 1950 either. "Der zweite Busoni-Wettbewerb," Musica-Umschau, *Musika*, 5. Jahrgang (1951), 42.

> hearted, fatherly and artistically outstanding guidance. With the utmost diligence, he performed his duties throughout the years, despite his ever-growing and time-consuming performance engagements. His unusual charisma as a person and artist influenced and enriched the spirit of the teachers at the conservatory, to whom he was also always a helpful friend and colleague.[127]

During an interview for Saarland Radio in 1954, the reporter Heinz Dützmann remarked how Gieseking had become a "Saarländer," to which the pianist replied: "There is hardly another city in the world that I visit so often and regularly as Saarbrücken."[128] Later he began to refer to the municipality rather lightheartedly as his "Heimat," or home.[129] To be sure, it had become dear to him, and he had actually begun to indicate it from the start as his official place of residence, using the conservatory address.[130] Wiesbaden, however, remained his de facto hometown for the rest of his life.

Regarding the Saar passports, both of Gieseking's daughters believe that their parents did ultimately receive the documents, which are now lost. Though she can no longer remember when, Freya is certain that she, too, must have obtained one, for she recalls being able to vote during the referendum held on 23 October 1955.[131] Having married in 1950, Jutta was never issued one. Upon Gieseking's death, the German embassy in Rome received condolence letters from, among others, Under-Secretary for

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[127] "Als sich Ihr Herr Vater im Jahre 1947 freudigen Herzens bereit erklärte, zum ersten Male in seiner langen, künstlerischen Laufbahn einen Lehrauftrag anzunehmen und die Leitung einer Klavier-Meisterklasse zu übernehmen, wurde dem eben gegründeten Staatlichen Konservatorium die Grundlage gelegt, die für dessen Entwicklung von einzigartiger Bedeutung war. Junge Pianisten aus der ganzen Welt vollendeten unter seiner väterlich gütigen und künstlerisch überragenden Führung Ihre Ausbildung. Mit äusserster Gewissenhaftigkeit erfüllte er trotz wachsender und zeitraubender Konzertverpflichtungen durch all die Jahre die übernommene Aufgabe. Seine ungewöhnliche menschliche und künstlerische Ausstrahlung bestimmte und bereicherte den Geist der Lehrer am Konservatorium, denen er gleichwohl stets hilfsbereiter Freund und Kamarad war." Egon Reinert, Saarbrücken, to Jutta Hajmássy and Freya Gieseking, letter, 27 Oct. 1956, GFA.

[128] "In kaum einer Stadt in der Welt [bin ich] so oft und so regelmässig als in Saarbrücken." Gieseking, "Gespräch mit Walter Gieseking," transcribed by author.

[129] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Montevideo, letter, 9 Oct. 1951, GFA.

[130] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 14 Dec. 2010.

[131] Freya Colassis, telephone interview by author, 20 Dec. 2010.

Foreign Affairs Giuseppe Brusasca and Allesandro Bustini, President of the Accademia Nazionale Santa Cecilia, of which Gieseking was a member. The embassy noted in a report to the Foreign Office at Bonn how "the telegram indicates that . . . Gieseking, who—to our knowledge—during the last few years had a French passport—is still considered German here [in Italy]."[132] The message from the embassy to the Bonn office was apparently that Germany, in case there had been any doubt over the matter, should recognize and honor Gieseking as a German citizen.

The Return Concert in Mainland France, December 1947

In spite of his new position in Saarbrücken and continued activities in Germany's French zone, Gieseking's postwar public return to the French mainland did not take place until 21 December 1947, during a concerto performance conducted by Paul Paray as part of the "Concerts Colonne" series in Paris. This was almost a full year after his postwar clearance from the Americans' blacklist that January. On the program were works by Mozart, Schumann, and Liszt—no French compositions, but that made no difference to the public. "Walter Gieseking experienced at his reappearance in Paris one of the most exceptional triumphs an artist can hope for," observed a critic from the weekly *Aux Écoutes du monde*.

> From Mozart to Liszt, from harmonious ingenuity to passionate virtuosity, everything was so miraculously in its place and blessed with such a rare poetry that these pages, certainly well known, seemed to come out of a fountain of youth.

[132] "Aus diesen Telegrammen geht hervor, daß der Pianist Walter Gieseking, der—soweit hier bekannt ist—in den letzten Jahren einen französischen Pass hatte—hier nach wie vor als Deutscher gilt." Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Rome, to the Auswärtiges Amt, Bonn, Subject: "Teilnahme zum Tode Walter Giesekings," copy preserved in the GFA.

> Gieseking's secret is, above all, the simplicity and liberty in the use of rich colors, which the pianist draws from the black and white instrument.[133]

Bernard Gavoty, who wrote under the pseudonym "Clarendon" for *Le Figaro* was equally generous in his praise: "who today, can play Mozart like Gieseking does? . . . who knows as well how to stir his audience to breathless emotion and how to make his listeners happy and joyous?"[134] Gavoty (1906–80) would, incidentally, provide some of the texts for a series of short, illustrated biographies (roughly 30 pages each) on prominent musicians entitled Great Concert Artists. Gieseking was the subject of one such volume (published 1955), which featured photography—the only component that is said to have pleased the pianist—by Roger Hauert.[135]

Immediately following the Paris event, Gieseking's postwar French manager, André Puglia—soon to become his "world manager"[136]—sent a cablegram to Charles Wagner in New York, informing him of the good news. Puglia described the performance as an "overwhelming success," adding that "endless ovations interrupting the program forced Gieseking to play encores."[137] The concert was repeated the following Sunday. This all must have come as a great relief to Wagner.

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[133] *Aux Écoutes du monde* (Paris), 23 Dec. 1947, [title of article and author unidentified], cited by Charles L. Wagner and Edward W. Snowdon in "What the Paris papers are saying about Gieseking," copy preserved in "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[134] Clarendon [Bernard Gavoty], [title of article unidentified], *Le Figaro* (Paris), 23 Dec. 1947, cited by Charles L. Wagner and Edward W. Snowdon in "What the Paris papers are saying about Gieseking," copy preserved in "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA. For more on Gieseking's return concert in Paris see "Gieseking in Paris," *Die Neue Zeitung*, 19 Jan. 1948.

[135] Gavoty and Hauert, *Walter Gieseking*. The series also appeared in French under the title Les Grands Interprètes; Dean Elder, personal note to author, July 2011.

[136] "Gieseking is Let In by M'Carran Law: German Pianist Will Play Here April 22—Excluded in 1949 for Alleged Pro-Nazism," *New York Times*, 3 Apr. 1953.

[137] André Puglia to Charles L. Wagner, cablegram, Paris, 22 Dec. 1947, "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

When Gieseking's first postwar, public *solo* recital in France took place at the Palais de Chaillot the next month, on 17 January 1948, over one thousand people were reportedly turned away from the box office.[138] After this occasion, Marc Pincherle of the *Paris-presse* wrote, "a Gieseking recital opens to us a tone-world which is different from the one presented by most pianists, and far more mysterious. It is impossible to imagine a more complete identification with the composition than he gives."[139]

During his first postwar *tour* in mainland France another month later (preceded only by a few isolated appearances made there since the December concerts), Gieseking wrote the following in a lengthy letter to Wagner on 19 February:

> Dear C. L. [Charles Ludwig Wagner] My French tour started last night here in Nancy (University town in Eastern France) where I had never played before. I had a big and most appreciative audience, just as enthusiastic as at Paris (noisy they were, of course, only after my playing). The programs hadn't arrived, so I had to announce my numbers, which I did in my "poifect" French—they seemed to like this. Anyway, it was a most enjoyable evening. Lyon, my birthplace, where I play tomorrow for the first time in my life(!) is said to be sold out. The director of the Conservatory there invited us for a reception after the concert. You see, everywhere people are so nice and friendly, and just the NY Times is so nasty. . . . Am enclosing some of the Paris reviews in literal translation (Gieseking's English).[140]

Gieseking must have been ecstatic, above all because he had now officially resumed his international career. What is more, he had made his official French comeback apparently without any resistance from protest groups whatsoever. This would not always be the case in other countries.

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[138] Ewen, ed., *Musicians since 1900*, 294.

[139] Pincherle, [title of article unidentified], *Paris-presse*, 20 Jan. 1948, cited by Charles L. Wagner and Edward W. Snowdon in "What the Paris papers are saying about Gieseking," copy preserved in "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[140] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, New York, letter, 19 Feb. 1948, postscript from 23 February, typed copy, DEC.

The French Continue to Honor Gieseking, 1952–54

The French were proud to have the distinguished pianist back on their stages, and they would continue to honor him long after his military clearance, even bestowing upon him its highest decoration: the Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur. It is divided into five categories, and Gieseking was named a *Chevalier*, or Knight. French President Vincent Auriol had announced the decision in 1952, and the large certificate (50 x 38 cm.) that the pianist subsequently received, signed by Auriol in Paris, is dated 10 September that same year; Gieseking's engagements, nonetheless, delayed the formal conferral for over a year, until 12 December 1953.[141] Fittingly, the ceremony took place during a concert he gave in Saarbrücken, where the artist had by then been leading his monthly masterclasses for six years. The certificate was accordingly presented to "M. Walter Gieseking, de nationalité sarroise, Professeur au Conservatoire de Sarrebruck."[142] The *Saarbrücker Zeitung* ran a front-page description of the grand event:

> At the end of a piano recital, which Walter Gieseking gave on the occasion of what has become a traditional ceremony given by the French Ambassador Gilbert Grandval in honor of Saarland's Constitution Day, the Ambassador of the French Republic bestowed upon the maestro the insignia of a Knight of the Legion of Honor, which had already been awarded in October [*sic*]. Ambassador Grandval paid tribute to Walter Gieseking as the inimitable intermediary and interpreter of the great French and German masters Beethoven, Ravel, Liszt, and Debussy, before his numerous guests from Saarland's politics, economics, and culture. The conferment and Gieseking's few but so especially heartfelt words of gratitude were accompanied by the guests' continuous applause, which

[141] Reference to the 1952 announcement is made in "Pianist Gieseking Gets French Legion of Honor," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 14 Dec. 1953 and "French Honor Gieseking," *Hartford Courant*, 14 Dec. 1953. Certificate: "Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur," presented to Walter Gieseking, Paris, 10 Sept. 1952, GFA.

[142] Certificate: "Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur," presented to Walter Gieseking, Paris, 10 Sept. 1952, GFA.

demonstrated just how much the audience recognized this distinction as being a well-deserved acknowledgment.[143]

A year later, on 2 December 1954, the Académie du Disque Français granted Gieseking their most prestigious award for recordings, the *Grand Prix du Disque*, in Paris. Gieseking was in the process of recording the complete piano works of Debussy for British Columbia, and he received the prize in the instrumental soloist category for his Columbia discs of the French composer's Préludes. Once more the artist was recognized as a citizen of the Saar: the certificate was similarly presented to "M. Walter Gieseking, pianiste, de nationalité sarroise."[144]

Gieseking recorded the two complete books of Debussy's Préludes twice, each time at London's Abbey Road Studios. Although he had made discs of the complete second book of the Préludes for (American) Columbia Records on 21 February 1939, the first set of both books for British Columbia was produced during 22–24 September 1951.[145] (In the U.S., the recordings appeared on the Angel Records label, which had been a trademark of British Columbia since 1898.) On 15 and 16 August 1953, he made

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[143] "Zum Abschluß eines Klavierkonzerts, das Walter Gieseking anläßlich des traditionell gewordenen Empfangs des französischen Botschafters Gilbert Grandval zu Ehren des saarländischen Verfassungstages gab, überreichte der Botschafter der Französischen Republik dem Meister die schon im Oktober verliehenen Insignien eines Ritters der Ehrenlegion. Botschafter Grandval feierte vor seinen zahlreichen Gästen aus Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur des Saarlandes Walter Gieseking als den einzigartigen Mittler und Interpreten der großen französischen und deutschen Meister Beethoven, Ravel, Liszt und Debussy. Die Verleihung und die wenigen, aber so besonders herzlichen Dankesworte Giesekings wurden von den Gästen mit anhaltendem Beifall begleitet und bewiesen, wie sehr die andächtige Zuhörerschaft diese Ehrung als eine besonders verdiente Anerkennung betrachtete." "Prof. Gieseking Ritter der Ehrenlegion," *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, 14 Dec. 1953, clipping also included in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[144] Certificate: Académie du Disque Français, *Grand Prix du Disque*, presented to Walter Gieseking, Paris, 2 Dec. 1954, GFA. For an announcement of the prize, see Is Horowitz, "Major and Minor . . .," Liner Notes, *Billboard*, 1 Jan. 1955, 12.

[145] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 10, 26, 49.

his second recording of book I of the Préludes.[146] The following day, he relayed to Jutta and Imre, her husband by then, how "Debussy is, of course, more difficult to record properly!"[147] He was comparing the music to certain variation sets that he was simultaneously committing to disc as part of his Mozart project, the virtually entire solo keyboard works, which was the producer Walter Legge's idea more than his own.[148] So difficult a task, however, the Debussy pieces were not, as Gieseking went on to tell Jutta and Imre:

> Nonetheless, I have finished re-recording the 12 Préludes of book I in 1½ days. These are for the U.S.A., for the new Columbia firm there. To do this again is actually nonsensical because the discs from 1951 are nearly just as good. The grand piano is better this time, but there is no great difference. Aside from the Préludes, I've have recorded the 6 *Images*, 3 *Estampes*, and a whole list of earlier works of Debussy's, as well as 2 Brahms *Intermezzi*, the earlier takes of which I didn't think were good enough. I'm working hard. . . .[149]

He received the Grand Prix du Disque award for his albums of both books of Préludes, yet he had not made his *new* records of the second set of twelve; that he did on 9–10 December 1954, amidst documenting Debussy's complete Etudes (a dozen pieces, likewise divided into two books)—one week *after* officially receiving the French prize.

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[146] The recording dates can be found in Walter Gieseking, *Debussy: The Complete Works for Piano*, recorded 1951–55, EMI Classics 7243 5 65855 2 2, 1995, 4 CDs.

[147] "Debussy ist doch schwerer, richtig aufzunehmen!" Gieseking, London, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Aug. 1953, GFA.

[148] Gieseking was surprised that Legge, during their meeting on 16 August 1953, insisted he record some of the less-played variations by Mozart—the "drabest" ("ödesten") of the composer's works in the pianist's opinion—merely for the sake of being complete. Gieseking had purposely excluded them until then. He confided to Jutta and Imre, however, that "These shouldn't be too much work." ("Diese werden wohl nicht viel Arbeit machen.") Ibid.

[149] "Immerhin habe ich in 1 ½ Tagen die 12 Préludes I. Band wieder fertig gekriegt. Diese sind nur für U.S.A., für die neue "Columbia" dort, eigentlich ein Blödsinn, diese Wiederholung, weil die Aufnahmen von 1951, fast genau so gut sind. Der Flügel jetzt ist besser, aber so riesig ist der Unterschied nicht. Ausser den Préludes habe ich die 6 Images, 3 Estampes und eine ganze Reihe früher Debussy's eingespielt, ebenso 2 Brahms-Intermezzi, die ich von früher nicht gut genug fand. Es wird tüchtig gearbeitet. . . [G]estern, habe ich vormittags eingespielt und war dann den Rest des Tages bei Legge. Der hat so viel Bücher im Haus, dass man in ein paar Wochen nicht annähernd damit fertig wird." Ibid. Alas, Gieseking's new takes of the two Brahms *Intermezzi*, op. 116 no. 5 and op. 118 no. 4, also remained unissued. See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 31.

Perhaps the committee had recognized his 1951 discs for the second book. In addition to these studio recordings, there are surviving radio performances of Gieseking playing the complete Préludes as well as selections, which are available on various record labels.[150]

Meanwhile South America, summer 1948

By April 1948, it was already announced that Gieseking's U.S. managers were planning his North American return tour for the early part of 1949.[151] They rightfully deemed an earlier visit too risky on account of the feared protest that might ensue upon their client's appearance. Meanwhile, probably as a temporary replacement for North America above all, Gieseking traveled to South America for the first time in the summer of 1948.

José Schraml was the pianist's manager for South America. Originally from Bavaria, Schraml's first name was really Josef (possibly spelled Joseph). Since 1920, he had worked for Ernesto de Quesada, the important impresario for Mexico and Central and South America who headed the Conciertos Daniel agency. Quesada, we will recall, had arranged Gieseking's Mexican tour in 1935. By the 1950s, he was a leading representative for all of South America, and he managed tours for a large number of the world's most prominent classical artists: guitarist Andrés Segovia, pianists Artur Rubinstein and José Iturbi, violinists Jascha Heifetz and Yehudi Menuhin, and cellists

[150] For a complete list of Gieseking's Debussy recordings, along with the dates, see Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 47–50. For information regarding Columbia Records, British Columbia and Angel Records, see "Columbia Records in Foreign Shuffle," *New York Times*, 28 Apr. 1953.

[151] "AVC Units Protest Tour By Gieseking: Veterans Picket C. L. Wagner Office to Oppose Projected Concerts by German," *New York Times*, 20 Apr. 1948.

Pablo Casals and Gaspar Cassadó, to name but some.[152] Naturally, Quesada had many others working for him, including Schraml, whom he had first appointed as his representative for Buenos Aires back in 1920.[153] Schraml and Quesada had an agreement vis-à-vis Gieseking's 1948 tour in South America, as they presumably did for each of the pianist's subsequent visits there as well.[154]

Many artists, from Germany and other part of wartorn Europe in particular, were eagerly performing throughout much of the booming southern continent. Gieseking heard and met up with many leading figures during his visits there, among them soprano Kirsten Flagstad (1895–1962), bass-baritone Hans Hotter (1909–2003), the conductors Erich Kleiber (1890–1956) and Clemens Krauss (1893–1954), and, as previously mentioned, the two young outstanding piano virtuosos Sigi Weissenberg and William Kapell.[155] "No celebrity wants to have much to do with Europe anymore!" Gieseking commented to his wife.[156] Incidentally, Kapell attended his concerts and Weissenberg even gave him a lift to a cocktail party; they were doubtless eager to meet and hear the veteran master pianist perform, and presumably cared little about his questioned past.[157] Kapell and Weissenberg both established themselves as major figures, though Kapell,

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[152] Altamira, *El major ventrílocuo del Mundo*, 234; *The 1959 Musical Courier Directory*, 159, issue 2, 246.

[153] Ricardo Rondón, "Ernesto De Quesada," online essay, p. 4, accessed 2 Feb. 2011, http://www.hispaniaclasica.com/Noticias/EDQ%20English%20w-image.pdf.

[154] Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 18 Jan. 2011; Ricardo Rondón, "Ernesto De Quesada," online essay, p. 4, accessed 2 Feb. 2011, http://www.hispaniaclasica.com/Noticias/EDQ%20 English%20w-image.pdf.; Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[155] Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 July 1948, GFA; Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, letter, 1 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[156] "Kein Prominenter will mehr viel mit Europa zu tun haben!" Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[157] Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 July 1948, GFA; Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Aug. 1948, GFA; Margalit Fox, "Alexis Weissenberg, Pianist of Fire and Ice, Dies at 82," *New York Times*, 9 Jan. 2012.

one of America's most promising new star musicians, would tragically die in a plane crash in 1953 at the young age of thirty-one, upon returning from an Australian tour.[158]

Gieseking's popularity in South America became immediately apparent. By 22 July he could send home excellent news: "In Brazil I will have played 15 times by the end of the month. They say that it's been a long time since anyone received such good reviews, etc." Commenting on his U.S. absence, which continued to annoy him, he added, "That makes me resent the unfriendly North Americans even more than before!"[159]

The South American visit was, to be sure, a grand success. Later that year, Gieseking's American assistant manager, Edward Snowdon, boasted how his client had "broke[n] all existing box-office records in South America this summer. . . ."[160] Yet there had also been some public dissent expressed over the pianist's appearances. An unidentified Jewish organization had spoken out against him, and by the end of the tour, he noted that "another Jewish committee contacted [José] Schraml about me. The same people want to protest against [Wilhelm] Kempff, who Schraml's competitor wants to bring here. I learned this today through Schraml, who told me how sorry he was that I was already leaving for Europe."[161] Gieseking and Schraml had presumably not taken the

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[158] Kapell's death received nationwide media coverage in the U.S. For two examples of front-page coverage see "Famed Pianist Among 19 Dead in Plane Crash: Tragedy 25 Miles from S.F.," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 Oct. 1953 and "U.S. Pianist Kapell Killed In California Fog Crash: Noted Musician Is Only American Aboard DC-6 Ending Transpacific Flight," *Washington Post*, 30 Oct. 1953.

[159] "In Brasilien werde ich bis Monatsende 15 Mal gespielt haben, es soll lange nicht vorgekommen sein, dass einer so gute Kritiken gehabt hat, u.s.w. Da stehe ich den unfreundlichen Nordamerikanern noch viel skeptischer gegenüber als früher!" Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 July 1948, GFA.

[160] Edward W. Snowdon, New York, to [Harold C. Field], New York, 7 Dec. 1948, "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[161] "Dagegen hat sich bei Schraml noch wieder ein jüdisches Komitee nach mir erkundigt, dieselben Leute wollen auch gegen [Wilhelm] Kempff protestieren, den [José] Schraml's Konkurrent

threats seriously, but they would learn in the coming year that the protesters were most resolute. There is no record to show that the mentioned Jewish committee took further action against Gieseking's appearances in South America this season, but there will be much clamor in a few countries there when he returns in 1949.

In addition to the musical opportunities on the continent, there were investment prospects there to consider. Already by August, Gieseking had been advised to purchase property, causing him to ask his family for their opinion: "What do you all think of this: I've been told that I should buy some land here, a square kilometer or so, someplace where it's cheap. If a city is later built there, they say, my descendents will be rich people!—Right, if."[162] He evidently decided against this.

The Postwar Return to England, October 1948

Upon concluding the South American tour, Gieseking journeyed back to Saarbrücken briefly to give more of the monthly masterclasses.[163] During the visit, Radio Saarbrücken also interviewed him and "the entire conservatory."[164] His mind, however, was surely on his next stop: England. Not since 1937 had he played there. Since VE-Day, he had, of course, given numerous concerts before British officials and troops and in Germany's British zone. But how would he, the great German pianist, be received in

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herbringen will. Dies erfuhr ich heute von Schraml, der mir wieder vorjammerte, wie schade es wäre, dass ich jetzt nach Europa zurückreisste." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[162] "Wie findet Ihr das: es wird mir geraten, hier Land zu kaufen, irgendwo billig so'n Quadratkilometer oder dgl. Wenn dann später dort eine Stadt ist, sind meine Nachkommen reiche Leute, sagt man! – Ja, wenn." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[163] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[164] Gieseking, London, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1948, GFA.

England proper, particularly in London, which had endured so much damage and suffering during the horrific air raids of Hermann Göring's *Luftwaffe*?

Gieseking and his manager, André Puglia, traveled to Paris on 7 October, partly to pick up the visas for England, and they flew to London two days later. After an eleven-year absence, Gieseking was finally able to make his return in the English capital on 10 and 11 October 1948, nearly ten months after his French reappearance. The location was none other than Covent Garden's Royal Opera House. Describing the first concert, a solo recital that included Mozart's Sonata in A major (K. 331), Beethoven's "Waldstein" Sonata (op. 53), and selections by Debussy and Ravel, the pianist wrote to his family: "I played here yesterday at Covent Garden (a really big theater); it was not packed, actually only the cheap seats up top were filled well, but the venue is large and the people were quite lively (4 encores)."[165] Reviewing the performance for the *Musical Courier*, Arthur Notcutt wrote, "he displayed his amazing skill, depth of feeling and execution. Perhaps the highlight of the evening was in music of the French school, Debussy and Ravel, and it is doubtful if there has ever been a more able exponent of this music, which requires exceptional delicacy of touch and the finest shades of expression."[166]

That the concert was not so well attended surely had more to do with the difficulties of the postwar period than with Gieseking's history, for there is no record of any public objection having arisen over his English appearances, and he made no mention of any such opposition in his correspondence. Describing the availability of commodities

[165] "Ich habe gestern hier im Covent Garden (recht grosses Theater) gespielt, voll war es nicht, eigentlich nur oben auf den billigen Plätzen gut besucht, aber das Haus ist gross und die Leute waren recht lebhaft (4 Zugaben)." Gieseking, London, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1948, GFA; Arthur Notcutt, "Music Fare Runs the Gamut of Variety as Season Progresses," *Musical Courier*, 15 Nov. 1948, 8.

[166] Notcutt, "Music Fare Runs the Gamut," 8.

in London, on the other hand, he observed, "there is hardly any meat available, but one doesn't go hungry. Much is terribly expensive. Newspapers are 'rationed'; at the hotel, there were no more available by 9 a.m. I therefore still have not been able to read my reviews."[167] Being a strict vegetarian, Gieseking perhaps had an easier time finding meatless dishes for once.

The visit was short but busy. On the second night, 11 October, the guest artist performed the Brahms B-flat Piano Concerto and Schumann Concerto with the Philharmonia Orchestra, under the baton of Dutch conductor Willem van Otterloo (1907–78). This was part of the New Era Society concerts.[168] Although van Otterloo thereby made his English debut, according to Notcutt, "It was Gieseking . . . whom the audience really came to hear."[169] "[H]e gave interpretations that in my hearing, have not been surpassed. Gieseking is a great artist and in the royal line of pianists. He was widely acclaimed by both press and public."[170] The *London News-Chronicle* also praised Gieseking's performance: "to hear this great pianist again is to realize that he has lost nothing of his impetuousness. Indeed that quality has become even greater."[171]

No private engagements seem to have been on the itinerary. Before the war, Gieseking had usually visited the Fentons in England, for whom he gave private concerts.

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[167] "Fleisch gibt es ungefähr überhaupt nicht, aber gehungert wird nicht. Vieles ist furchtbar teuer. Zeitungen sind "rationiert", im Hotel gab es um 9 keine mehr, daher habe ich meine Kritiken noch nicht lesen können." Gieseking, London, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1948, GFA.

[168] Notcutt, "Music Fare Runs the Gamut," 8.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Ibid.

[171] *London News-Chronicle*, 12 Oct. 1948, quoted in Charles Wagner, "Newsprint is Scarce in London but Not Superlatives for Walter Gieseking," private publicity printing, copy preserved in "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

He learned during the 1948 visit, however, that the couple had died and that their daughter had committed suicide.[172]

The following morning, the pianist traveled to Liverpool to play Beethoven's Piano Concerto no. 1 in C major, op. 15. It had been some time since he had last programmed the work, "which I have quite forgotten how to play" ("das ich ziemlich vergessen habe").[173] As usual, there was but one rehearsal, at two o'clock, and the performance took place that same evening. Yet Gieseking always managed to relearn works after only the most limited amount of practice, a fact confirmed many times in his private correspondence as well as by many eyewitness accounts. We can be certain that this concert, too, was a success.

Abbey Road Studios

For the first time since 31 January 1937, Gieseking now also resumed making commercial records for EMI at its famous Abbey Road Studios. He must have been both delighted and relieved to recommence working in the studio after such a long, unwanted interruption. On 13 and 16 October, he recorded the aforementioned Beethoven Concerto for the second time, on this occasion with the Philharmonia led by the Czech conductor Rafael Kubelik (1914–96).[174] The sessions took place from ten until one o'clock each

[172] Gieseking, London, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1948, GFA.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Gieseking had recorded the concerto with the Berlin *Staatsoper* orchestra under Hans Rosbaud on 28 April 1937. Additionally, he can be heard as soloist in two surviving radio performances of the work. The first one dates from 17 December 1948 and features Victor Desarzens (1908–86) conducting the Orchestra de chambre de Lausanne. The second one, from 27 December 1950, includes Winfried Zillig (1905–63) and the Hessischer Rundfunk Sinfonie Orchester. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 42.

day, continuing from two-thirty until five-thirty in the afternoon.[175] On 14, 15, and 16 October (always during the same hours), he recorded solo repertoire as well: Beethoven's "Für Elise" Bagatelle and the Sonata op. 26 during the first session; six of Grieg's *Lyric Pieces* during the second session; and Debussy's *Images* books I and II (complete), *Danse* (originally published as *Tarantelle styrienne*), and "La plus que lente" during the final session.[176] He disliked recording in the afternoon, after having done so in the morning, and therefore complained about it in a letter sent home: "I find these afternoon hours very unsuitable. One should first be able to take a break, of course, and only then, sometime in the early evening, resume playing."[177]

Gieseking also gave two broadcast performances on 14 and 15 October. He let his family know, so that they could listen at home via shortwave radio; they were, in fact, often able to hear his broadcast concerts this way as he toured Europe.[178] The first radio program featured works by Debussy, the second one music of Bach and Ravel. After completing the final recording session on 16 October, he flew to Copenhagen the next day.[179]

Following his British visit, it was advertised on some concert programs that Gieseking had become "the first European pianist invited to perform in England after

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[175] Gieseking, London, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1948, GFA.

[176] Ibid. The *Lyric Pieces* included opp. 19, no. 2; 43, no. 1; 43 no. 3; 43, no. 4; 43, no. 6; and 65, no. 6. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 18.

[177] "Ich finde diese Nachmittagsstunden sehr unpassend, man müsste sich doch erst ausruhen können und dann etwa gegen Abend wieder spielen." Gieseking, London, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1948, GFA.

[178] The first performance was broadcast at 9.25 p.m. over two shortwave stations (514,6 m and 203,5 m), the second, from 10:00 to 10:45 pm, over one station (342,1 m). Ibid.

[179] Ibid.

World War II.[180] (Admittedly, this seems far-fetched considering that the hostilities in Europe had ended over three years ago.) Several emigrants who attended his return concerts there were "deeply touched" and upon approaching him, explained how they had heard him in Berlin in the past.[181] Later that month, British concert manager Wilfrid van Wyck reported to Charles Wagner in the U.S. that Walter had "scored an overwhelming success with press and public alike. . . ." Wyck further consoled Wagner and his American associates by adding:

> Mr. Gieseking's visit was not disturbed by any political repercussions, and, in fact the whole tour, short though it was, was the greatest possible success.
>
> The press was unanimous in acclaiming Gieseking as one of the greatest pianists, if not the greatest pianist, of the present day.[182]

By February 1950, Gieseking had returned for his third annual guest performance in London.[183] Under Walter Goehr leading the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, he played one evening Mozart's Piano Concerto no. 21 in C major, K. 503, and Beethoven's Piano Concerto no. 4 in G major, op. 48. An unidentified German periodical reported: "The audience's applause for the German guest resulted in an unusually high number of enthusiastic ovations for London."[184] With tremendous success each year until his death,

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[180] This can be read on the program for the recital he gave in Los Angeles on 12 February 1955, a copy of which can be found in the Gieseking file from the Harry Anderson Collection maintained by IPAM. The claim was also repeated by the press: see "Gieseking will Play Recital Here," *Los Angeles Times*, 31 Jan. 1954.

[181] Gieseking, London, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1948, GFA.

[182] Although Wyck had been responsible for presenting Gieseking in England, Gieseking makes no mention of him in the correspondence with his family. Wilfrid van Wyck to Charles L. Wagner, London, letter 27 Oct. 1948, reproduced in Wagner, "Newsprint is Scarce in London but Not Superlatives for Walter Gieseking," private publicity printing, copy preserved in "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[183] "Gieseking in London," 15(?) Febr. 1950, clipping preserved in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[184] "Der Beifall des Publikums für den deutschen Gast steigerte sich hierbei bis zu einer in London ungewöhnlichen Höhe begeisterter Ovationen." Ibid.

Gieseking would continue to concertize and record in England, also combining a visit to Edinburgh, Scotland on at least on more occasion, as in early 1950.[185]

Conclusion

Gieseking's postwar comebacks in Europe may have been largely unprofitable on account of the enormously high taxes deducted from his earnings, but his appearances thus far had won him great acclaim and gone without incident. The only other significant annoyance was that caused by the general travel difficulties in consequence of Germany's occupation and the large-scale wartime destruction. His audiences, including numerous officials and military government personnel, were delighted to hear the legendary artist live once again, or, in other cases, for the first time. Gieseking must have found great solace in having resumed his international career to great acclaim as before and, above all, under more peaceful circumstances. Better times were indeed underway. Yet trouble was approaching for the pianist, more than he could have ever imagined. It begins with his entry into the United States.

[185] Gieseking, Saarbrücken, to Jutta Hajmássy and Freya Gieseking, Wiesbaden, postcard, 25 Jan. 1950, GFA.

Chapter 11:

The Gieseking Affair: Postwar America's Reception of a German Pianist

Three months after Gieseking's first postwar English return, he arrived in New York in January 1949 for his long-anticipated American comeback. Unlike the French and British, some Americans were not so welcoming. The pianist's decision to remain in Germany throughout Hitler's rule had caused some powerful and vocal groups of U.S. citizens to begin labeling him a Nazi sympathizer and collaborator.

Even before the fighting had commenced, we will recall, there had been the protest in California against some of his appearances there in 1934.[1] Years later, there had allegedly also been "serious talks" of boycotting his Town Hall recital in New York City during his last tour there in 1939, yet no such action was taken and no information regarding those involved is known.[2] Then came Erika Mann's *New York Times* wartime article from February 1942, in which she objected to the broadcasting of "enemy music," pointing out Gieseking and his recordings in particular.[3] And at a later stage of the hostilities, the American media had begun to report more frequently on the

[1] The California uproar was discussed in Chapter 2.

[2] "Subject: Walter Gieseking," Colonel J. K. Hills, U.S. Information Control Division, to Major Ali Colombet, French Liaison, 15 Dec. 1945, RG 260 OMGUS, Signatur 5/269-1/7, IfZ, Munich. Referring to the talks, the year of Gieseking's last U.S. tour is incorrectly given as 1938; we will recall that he canceled his North American concert trip that year, however. The referred to Town Hall recital must have been one he gave there in 1939.

[3] "Eeika Iann [*sic*], "Erika Mann Protests," *New York Times*, 15 Feb. 1942. The discussion of Mann's letter is found in Chapter 6.

propagandistic aspects of his controversial activities, referring to the tour in Turkey in 1944, for example.[4]

Since the Reich's defeat, the American press had continued to follow the German pianist's career. It had reported on his blacklisting and, as we saw, his continued engagements during that time, as well as his clearance. Commenting on his status in March 1947, just before his Berlin return, the *New York Times* explained to its readership that Gieseking had until recently "been banned from giving concerts in the American zone of occupation on the basis of his record of performances under Nazi auspices during the Hitler regime and the munificence of fees he had collected from these programs."[5]

Before the war, Gieseking was earning more money in the U.S. than anywhere else. His takings there in 1939, to repeat, were 50,000 RM—nearly twice the amount of his German proceeds (26,500 RM) and over half of his total gross income of 92,500 RM for the entire year.[6] The other European nations were significantly less important for him monetarily. He was therefore most eager to resume concertizing in America, and he was well aware that the majority of concertgoers were likewise eager to have him back.

As a result of his questioned past, however, Gieseking's planned return recital at Carnegie Hall on 24 January 1949—after an absence of nearly ten years—gave rise to fierce protest. It had begun almost a year in advance and was covered closely by the media, big and small, across the United States and abroad. Probably more than any other German musician, he was singled out by American protest groups. The U.S. Military

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[4] As discussed in Chapter 8.

[5] "Gieseking, Pianist, will play in Berlin," *New York Times*, 26 Mar. 1947.

[6] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 8. Again, according to Kaven, Gieseking earned ninety percent of the total amount by giving concerts, while the remaining ten percent came from record royalties. Also, the earnings from concerts given in Canada, though few in number, may have been factored into this sum for the U.S.

Government in Germany had, of course, cleared him by January 1947, and a U.S. consul had even issued him a visa for the tour. Yet upon arriving in New York, Immigration Officials decide to detain him, while the Justice Department orders an investigation of his record. Many Americans find the decision unwarranted, and the Gieseking affair causes great, nationwide dispute.

A closer look at the opposition he encountered in the postwar U.S. is a crucial part of his biography, demonstrating how the political aspects of his career reached a summit and, over four years later, finally came to a close. Simultaneously, the circumstances of his postwar American career provide us with a clearer understanding of both the conflicted U.S. policy toward a German musician and the divided feelings of the American public on the subject of Germans with a contentious history.

The Beginning of the Gieseking Affair

Following Gieseking's removal from the blacklist, certain U.S. citizens continued to speak out against him, and the rate at which they did would soon enough begin to escalate enormously. While wishing to schedule a North American return tour for him without much more delay, the pianist's manager in New York, Charles Wagner, and his associate, Edward Snowdon, wisely chose not to do so at once.

Naturally, Wagner had already been thinking about Gieseking's return long before WWII had ended. In a letter that appeared in *Time* on 10 July 1944, when it was rather clear to most observers that the Third Reich's days were numbered, he defended the pianist from recent accusations of Nazi sympathies printed in the magazine the previous month:

> Mr. Gieseking never has been active in politics or political events. . . [H]e has been singularly free of any Nazi taint. In fact, he has been living in Switzerland, having gone there shortly after the war started. He is completely without guile or prejudice. He is devoted to his family and his music and such things as a valuable collection of butterflies.[7]

Gieseking had, of course, never lived in Switzerland, having merely giving brief concert tours there. Wagner must have fabricated this detail with the hope of saving his client's reputation, assuming Americans would never learn the truth. To be sure, he was also thinking about his own pocketbook: Gieseking's North American tours earned him considerable profits.

Meanwhile, nearly three years later, Wagner and Snowdon were now both having to defend Gieseking at an increasing rate from the mounting attacks being made against him in the U.S.—despite his continued absence from the nation. In a frank and illuminating letter to Dean Elder from 14 April 1947, Snowdon explained the sensitive situation regarding Gieseking's dormant American career and the caution he and Wagner were taking:

> We [Snowdon and Wagner] have been conducting a rather passive campaign to restore Gieseking's position throughout the states. The papers are loath to come out with many stories of his clearance and removal from the blacklist because it is the other sort of story that sells papers and commands readers for them. There is a clique of professional Nazi-haters here which is continually stirring up the issue of returning foreign artists. Unfortunately, they are in some pretty powerful positions so their flag-waving pronouncements find outlet in the press. Wherever any attack is made on Gieseking, we strike back to get his name taken out of the realm of those artists who actually did have a Nazi taint on them. Last week, for example, some chap put Gieseking's name alongside the names [Tito] Schipa, [Beniamino] Gigli, Cortot and others, and I have found it wise to call him on this and point out again that Gieseking has been cleared not only by our Army authorities but also by his townspeople and by intelligence branches of the French and British Armies. It is a little too early to launch an aggressive publicity campaign in his behalf. After all, he will still be an enemy alien until the German

[7] Charles Wagner, "Gieseking," Letters, *Time*, 10 July 1944, accessed 13 May 2008, http://www.time.com.time/printout/0,8816,791454,00.html.

> peace treaty is signed, and there is no hope of his appearing publicly in America until the Fall of '48 at [the] earliest. At the earliest possible moment we intend to start out a skillfully planned series of releases to build his name up again, but until the time is ripe we shall continue to fight any defamation of his name, to spread his merits by word of mouth and personal letters. Whatever you can do to help will most certainly be appreciated.[8]

Regarding the mentioned peace treaty, German officials never signed one with any nation immediately following the Second World War, unlike after World War I, when defeated Germany reluctantly endorsed the Treaty of Versailles. Not until September 1990 was the Treaty on the Final Settlement negotiated and signed (in Moscow) by the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, and the four former Occupying powers. This was necessary for the subsequent reunification of the two German states on 3 November that same year, but it also served as a much deferred, formal peace settlement. After forty-five years, the provisional terms of the Potsdam Agreement of August 1945 were at last finalized.

The "chap" to whom Snowdon referred in his above communication, the one who had most recently criticized Gieseking, was David Hall, a *New York Times* reader who had his letter published by the newspaper on 6 April 1947.[9] As Erika Mann had done over five years earlier, Hall brought up the question of what Americans should do with regard to the recordings of "'enemy' or collaborationist' artists." His suggested solution:

> I should like to see established under the United Nations a commission whose business it would be to pass on the future careers of all artists who were in any way associated with fascism or collaboration in Europe. . . ."
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> . . . Artists . . . who have in one way or another proved themselves to be opportunistic, irresponsible, or just plain foolish, should be made to do public penance for their acts. A sentence should be imposed upon them by the U. N. Commission under the terms of which they could resume their public careers only

[8] Snowdon, New York, to Dean Elder, Moscow (Idaho), letter, 14 Apr. 1947, DEC.

[9] David Hall, "Reader Suggests Way to Solve Problem of Artists Affected by Politics," *New York Times*, 6 Apr. 1947.

> by turning over all performance fees and record royalties for a certain number of years to . . . [a] fund to aid musicians who have suffered under fascism and nazism.[10]

For those artists who had held any kind of political office, Hall felt their career should be ended entirely, with their complete royalties henceforth paid into the mentioned fund.[11] Snowdon must have replied directly to Hall, for there was no publication on his part in the *New York Times*. Perhaps the paper would not print his argument, as it indubitably sided with the opposition.

All earlier debate over Gieseking's career notwithstanding, the "Gieseking affair," as it was often referred to in the press—the peak of the American protest against the pianist—really begins with the publication of *New York Times* correspondent Delbert Clark's article from 8 February 1948 titled "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934." And the ever-growing controversy does not reach a climax until approximately one year later.[12]

To the U.S. Military Government's surprise and frustration, Clark had gained access to Severin Kaven's investigation records on Gieseking from 1945 sometime after their submission, along with the Reich Chamber Music file on the pianist.[13] Drawing from this information, which had led to the pianist's blacklisting, Clark claimed that Gieseking had cooperated fully with the Nazi regime:

> Under the auspices of the Ministry of Propaganda (all his concerts were arranged by Goebbels' staff), he [Gieseking] played in the German Legation at The Hague in 1934 right after the blood purge. He gave many concerts for the "Strength

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[10] Hall, "Reader Suggests Way to Solve Problem of Artists Affected by Politics."

[11] Ibid.

[12] For one example of the press referring to "The Gieseking Affair," see "The Gieseking Affair," *Washington Evening Star*, 28 Jan. 1949; Clark, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934."

[13] "Memo: Walter Gieseking. Ref. Telephone Conversation: Int. Dir. Herford-Sely, 25 Feb. [19]48]," [handwritten, double-sided document; from 25 Feb. 1948(?)], file: Gieseking, RKK, BDC, BA.

> Through Joy" organization and for the Winter Relief. In 1940 he played for the Nazi Students Union in Munich. [In 1944] he played for two Nazi organizations which were never permitted to be exposed to any but the most politically unobjectionable visitors. . . .[14]

The announced U.S. reappearances of German musicians increasingly received nationwide coverage by the media, and Gieseking's planned visit would ultimately cause an unequaled storm of protest.[15] The highly charged postwar atmosphere was underscored by the revelations that had come to light after WWII, the atrocities of the Holocaust. There had also been the intense United Nations debates in New York in 1947 over the establishment of Israel. And just two days before the pianist's arrival, the press had announced Wilhelm Furtwängler's decision not to pursue the position as guest conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra because of American opposition.[16] Furtwängler had incited much outcry and even received death threats from U.S. protestors.[17] Furthermore, countless Americans were presently feeling unusually patriotic, for on 20 January President Harry S. Truman's inauguration—despite his upset victory over Thomas E. Dewey—was celebrated in an unusually festive manner, also being the first one ever televised. "[A]s many as ten million viewers watched the ceremony," writes Matthew Algeo, "more than had witnessed all previous inaugurals

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[14] Clark, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934."

[15] Frequent articles and letters discussing the return of Gieseking and other German musicians appeared in papers such as the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *L. A. Times*, and Washington *Evening Star*, as well as magazines such as *Life*, the *Nation*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *Variety*.

[16] Numerous *New York Times* and *Chicago Daily Tribune* articles printed between December 1948 and January 1949 discuss the Furtwängler incident, often mentioning Gieseking as well. In the *New York Times*, see: "Conductor says 'Yes,' Chicago, 'No.'" *New York Times*, 16 Dec. 1948; "Musicians' Ban on Furtwaengler Ends his Chicago Contract for '49," *New York Times*, 6 Jan. 1949; "Menuhin Defends Furtwaengler, Asks Chicago to Fulfill Contract," *New York Times*, 13 Jan. 1949; "Vienna Philharmonic Aids Furtwaengler," *New York Times*, 15 Jan. 1949; "Petrillo For Ban on Furtwaengler," *New York Times*, 18 Jan. 1949; "Dr. Furtwaengler Drops Chicago Bid," *New York Times*, 20 Jan. 1949. For in-depth studies of Furtwängler's case, see Gillis, *Furtwängler and America*; Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*; and Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master*.

[17] Gillis, *Furtwängler and America*, 100–01.

combined."[18] In fact, never before had such a mass of people, in any part of the world, been able to observe a particular event.[19] It was clearly a bad time for a highly controversial German artist to try to recommence his career in America.

Edward Snowdon, and Gieseking's Jewish attorneys, Irving and Meyer Kurz, who ran the Kurz & Kurz law firm in New York and likewise worked for Charles Wagner,[20] continued to defend Gieseking, in the press whenever possible.[21] Meyer Kurz first wrote a letter to the *New York Times* in response to the "rather biased" accusations made against the pianist by Delbert Clark in his article from 8 February 1948. Kurz's own summary of his client's record is not entirely accurate, however. We read, for example:

> It is not true that Gieseking's engagements outside of Germany during the war years were booked by the Propaganda Ministry, as your correspondent [Clark] suggests. For the most part Gieseking was left free to play where he pleased and all his engagements were booked by the same personal manager [Rudolf Goette] through whom he had booked European concerts prior to the war.[22]

Of course, we know that some of Gieseking's appearances, the wartime tour in Turkey for example, did function as Nazi propaganda, and by the end of the fighting he could *only* give performances arranged by the Ministry's new Artists' War Service Office.[23] Kurz may or may not have known the true circumstances of the pianist's career under the

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[18] Algeo, *Harry Truman's Excellent Adventure: The True Story of a Great American Road Trip* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2009), 157. See also Harry MacArthur, "Video Experts Make History In First Inaugural Telecast," *Washington Evening Star*, 21 Jan. 1949.

[19] Brian Burns, *Harry S. Truman: His Life and Times* (Kansas City, Mo.: Kansas City Star Books, 2003), 185.

[20] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[21] Articles and letters disputing Gieseking's career and U.S. return written by editors, columnists, readers, and Snowdon and Kurz, for example, can be found in numerous editions of the *New York Times* and the *Nation* published during December 1948 and January 1949. The editors of the *Nation* were against Gieseking's return and became particularly involved in the Gieseking matter. Their private correspondence and other items regarding Gieseking can be found in "Walter Gieseking" subject file, HL, Cambridge, MA.

[22] Meyer Kurz, "Gieseking, Pro and Con," From the Mail Pouch, *New York Times*, 29 Feb. 1948.

[23] See Chapter 8.

Hitler regime, particularly those during the final stage of the hostilities, stating more or less merely what Gieseking, and perhaps Wagner and Snowdon, had told him. Furthermore, he was merely doing his job as attorney, and may have therefore also chosen to neglect certain truths. He concluded his piece on a personal note: "As Gieseking's friend, attorney and admirer since his first American tour [in 1926], I can testify that he was never politically minded, and that during the many years of my contacts with him before the war, at no time did he say or do anything that in the remotest way suggested any sympathy with or approval of the Hitler regime."[24]

In an attempt to stop the "one-sided, slanderous impression" being created of the pianist, Edward Snowdon circulated a privately printed, eleven-page pamphlet he prepared entitled "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case.'"[25] In it, he argued that Gieseking's "only crime . . . is that he played the piano in Europe while that continent was under the Nazi heel" (a statement also made by Kurz in the aforementioned letter).[26] Snowdon likewise did his best to rebut many of the recent allegations, chiefly that Gieseking had been a Nazi party member, collaborator, opportunist, and sympathizer and had served as a "tool" of the Propaganda Ministry, shown "racial and national discrimination in his programs," ignored the atrocities, played for Hitler and Mussolini, and been the Führer's "favorite" pianist.[27]

Additionally, Snowdon quoted Gieseking's correspondence addressed to him and Wagner, in which their client defended himself. To the charge that he was "in sympathy

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[24] Meyer Kurz, "Gieseking, Pro and Con," From the Mail Pouch, *New York Times*, 29 Feb. 1948.

[25] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 3. Incidentally, Clark's *New York Times* article of 8 February 1948, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934," is referred to in the pamphlet (see p. 3), though Snowdon does not identify the author.

[26] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 10.

[27] Ibid., 5–9.

with Hitler and the 'new order,'" for instance, Gieseking responded in a letter from 23 December 1945: "This (belief in Hitler) is so silly that it would only make me laugh if it wasn't so stupid and insulting to me."[28] Yet during his postwar interrogation with Severin Kaven, we will recall how the pianist—at least, according to the transcript—had confessed to having believed in Hitler's early false, benign promises, also that there would be no war.[29] Gieseking now asserted that he had been misunderstood during the cross-examination, however, as he explained in a letter to Snowdon from February 1948, which was likewise cited in the latter's pamphlet:

> I remember distinctly that, when I talked with the investigator [Kaven], I did not excuse and justify Hitlerism from my own viewpoint, I mentioned only the German viewpoint. I may have said that the unity of Europe was most desirable (this is what I have always believed) but this was not [the same as] believing in Hitler's plans or approving of these. Anyway, I never approve or excuse any war.[30]

By the time of Gieseking's planned return to the U.S., Snowdon inevitably found himself arguing that his client was often being misquoted by the press and "a few musical personalities," who aimed to demonstrate that the pianist had retained a pro-Hitler stance throughout the NS-era.[31]

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[28] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6. Additional quotes of Gieseking's included in the pamphlet were quoted in previous chapters. While some of the original correspondence (partly in the form of typed duplicates) between Gieseking and his American managers, Wagner and Snowdon, survives in the Dean Elder collection (now in the author's possession), this original letter from 23 December 1945 is lost.

[29] Gieseking's initial impression of Hitler and his regime was discussed in Chapter 1. Also see Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," [p. 1].

[30] Snowdon quoted this passage in the pamphlet with some minor improvements of Gieseking's English, adding words in places: "When I talked to the investigator, I distinctly remember that I did not excuse or justify Hitlerism from my own point of view. I mentioned this might be the German viewpoint, though I did not endorse it. Similarly, I may have said that the unity of Europe was most desirable (this is what I have always believed), but this is quite different from believing in Hitler's plans of conquest or approving of them. In any case, I never approve or excuse war." Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 7.

[31] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6.

Snowdon, we learned earlier, stated that while Gieseking had given nearly 200 concerts outside of Germany during WWII (Kaven had counted a higher number), 180 of them, or 92%, were arranged by Gieseking's manager, Rudolf Goette—not by Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry or other Nazi offices.[32] And the other engagements, he rather vaguely added, were mostly "private social affairs at the homes of people for whom he had played many times."[33] "No one has ever denied that Gieseking performed within and outside of Germany during the war years or that he gave some performances under official auspices," Snowdon further contended, "but the investigations have shown that he resisted Nazi pressures and played as few such engagements as possible."[34] The regime, of course, had been much more involved in Gieseking's career than Snowdon was letting on, particularly later in the war, when his client was essentially placed under the control of the Nazis' Artists' War Service Office. Snowdon must have known or suspected this, although Gieseking may have withheld details. The American opposition, in any case, would buy little if any of Snowdon's arguments.

Wagner's North American Tour Arrangements for Early 1949

As soon as the news spread in April 1948 that Wagner was planning Gieseking's U.S. return tour for the early part of the following year, public dissent arose at once. Among the important dates, were appearances with the National Symphony Orchestra (NSO) in Washington and a recital at New York's Carnegie Hall. On 17 April, however, the manager of the NSO, J. E. Mutch, announced the cancellation of the engagement in

[32] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6–7; Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," 3–4.

[33] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6–7.

[34] Ibid., 5.

the nation's capital. "This cleared up a question which had been bothering a number of Washingtonians who wondered who would conduct for Gieseking if he came here," wrote Paul Hume of the *Washington Post*. The NSO's principal conductor, Hans Kindler, had declared that he would never again accompany the pianist.[35]

Two days later, members of the American Veterans Committee demonstrated outside of Wagner's office at 511 Fifth Avenue in New York City.[36] On the placards could be read messages referring to Gieseking as "Hitler's Musical Educator," and Wagner as "New Management For Nazi Artists!" "We Fought Them! Wagner Imports Them!" read another slogan.[37] In addition, they handed out a thousand reprinted copies of Delbert Clark's aforementioned *New York Times* article from February, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934."[38] Thousands more were mailed out around the country.[39] Wagner was naturally angered. "I don't believe a word of the articles in the *Times*," he asserted in his client's defense. "Gieseking is one of the finest characters I've ever met, and I've known him since 1925. He is thoroughly Americanized."[40] He showed the reporters present, and perhaps some demonstrators, a letter written by Lieutenant General C. [Clarence] R. Huebner, Chief of Staff of the European Command

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[35] "Nazi Overtone: Gieseking's Engagement Is Canceled," *Washington Post*, 18 Apr. 1948.

[36] "AVC Units Protest Tour By Gieseking: Veterans Picket C. L. Wagner Office to Oppose Projected Concerts by German," *New York Times*, 20 Apr. 1948.

[37] Ibid; "Vets Picket to Stop U.S. Tour Of Once-Banned German Pianist," *PM (New York City)*, 20 Apr. 1948.

[38] "Vets Picket to Stop U.S. Tour Of Once-Banned German Pianist," *PM (New York City)*, 20 Apr. 1948.

[39] Report on Recent Activities, Musicians Chapter, American Veterans Committee, 27 Apr. 1948, file: "Gieseking, Walter (Nazi pianist), 1944–1953," American Veterans Committee records, MS2144, Series 1, Subseries 1: General, 1946–2000, box 7, folder 5, Gelman Library, George Washington University, Washington D.C. (file hereafter given as "Gieseking, Walter (Nazi pianist), 1944–1953," AVC records, GL, Washington D.C.)

[40] "Vets Picket to Stop U.S. Tour Of Once-Banned German Pianist," *PM (New York City)*, 20 Apr. 1948.

Headquarters, which read: "I personally never miss an opportunity to hear Gieseking play. He is one of the most wonderful pianists I have ever heard. I am sure that America will enjoy him as much as we here in Germany and the French enjoy him."[41] We will recall how Gieseking mentioned Huebner and his family attending his concerts, seated in the first row.[42] Wagner had obviously been preparing for the public outcry, and Huebner, too, clearly anticipated some disagreement.

It is uncertain, whether Wagner then discussed canceling the Carnegie Hall concert or any others in the U.S.'s more illustrious venues—lest they create too much of a stir—but when Gieseking learned of the latest planned itinerary in August, he considered declining the entire projected tour, deeming it insufficient and wholly unsatisfactory.[43] Before the war, Wagner had organized extended North American tours for his famous client that included major cities, major concert halls, and major orchestras, primarily in the United States. For Gieseking's return tour in 1949, however, he had evidently decided to play it safe by arranging mostly some rather low-key appearances in Canada, Cuba, (two orchestral concerts in Havana arranged through Ernesto de Quesada), and a few small U.S. towns.[44]

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[41] "Vets Picket to Stop U.S. Tour Of Once-Banned German Pianist," *PM (New York City)*, 20 Apr. 1948.

[42] See Chapter 10.

[43] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Aug. 1948, GFA; Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[44] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Aug. 1948, GFA.

Walter and Annie's Resentment over the American Situation and Wagner's Improved Tour

The resentment Gieseking presently felt concerning the United States is made obvious in a letter sent home to Annie from South America: "All I can say is that I couldn't care less about the U.S.A. The concertizing here is in every way much more pleasant. There are also no stupid reporters here, and the audiences are welcoming and enormous. I've also made this clear in a letter to Charles Wagner."[45] Wagner could not have been pleased by this reaction, but he also could not have been too surprised. Already in February, after the publication of Clark's *New York Times* piece, Gieseking had made his feelings clear to his manager: "The article . . . is really nasty and contains a lot of deliberate misinformation. I wonder who wants to keep me away from the U.S.? People should not take such great pains on this account, because I can assure you that I shall not come if I feel that I'm not wanted, and I shall certainly not go to a country where I can expect to be insulted. . . ."[46] Referring then to Kurz's forthcoming reply (of 29 February) in his defense, he added, "I hope that the N. Y. Times will print it. Otherwise, you [Wagner] better stop booking, because I really don't want to intrude. And, if my enemies fight with lies, as they do in this case, it would be too dirty a business (Gieseking's English)."[47]

Gieseking now further maintained to Annie how concertizing outside of America would easily produce higher earnings: "I can clarify to Wagner that I am able to earn

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[45] "Man kann höchstens sagen, die U.S.A. können mir gestohlen bleiben. Das Konzertieren hier ist in jeder Beziehung viel angenehmer. Es gibt hier auch keine blöden Reporter, das Publikum ist gut und enorm gross. Ich habe auch entsprechend an Charles Wagner geschrieben." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[46] Gieseking, Paris, to Charles Wagner, [New York], letter, 19 Feb. 1948, DEC.

[47] Ibid.

more in Italy and Portugal than his entire tour will bring in, because in the U.S. I also have to pay taxes."[48] What is more, unlike audiences in the United States, the South Americans appreciated the opportunity to hear guest artists, he grudgingly, if unfairly, confided to daughter Jutta:

> Here in South America one certainly can't play all too frequently, for one already plays in the capital cities so often. But I can most certainly give concerts here even more regularly, which are useful. Moreover, the people here express their gratitude all but officially for coming here and playing for them—in the U.S. they all think that the artist should thank them because he is allowed to earn money there![49]

His anger over the state of affairs in the U.S. was clear.

Annie was likewise displeased with Wagner's arrangements for the 1949 North American tour, hence her advice to her husband: "You should not travel to the U.S.A. I feel that if Wagner hasn't managed to put together a first-class tour, then you don't need to agree to it. He is no doubt worried that there'll be outcry in the states where you're well known. I think it's more important that you wait. You know that you can earn money anywhere."[50] Annie had not yet received Walter's correspondence in which he mentioned the financial advantages apropos Italy and Portugal.

His wife was, of course, right about Wagner's concerns. It was on account of the probable, continued public protests that he doubtless still feared booking a well-

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[48] "[I]ch kann Wagner vorrechnen, dass ich in Italian und Portugal mehr verdienen kann, als seine ganze Tournee einbringt, weil ich in den U.S.[A.] auch Steuern zahlen muss." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[49] "Hier in Südamerika darf man gewiss nicht allzuoft spielen, weil man ja schon in den Hauptstädten so oft spielt, aber ich kann hier bestimmt noch öfter Konzerte machen, die nützlich sind. Ausserdem bedanken sich hier die Leute beinahe offiziell, dass man herkommt und ihnen was vorspielt—in den U.S.[A.] denken sie nur, dass der Künstler sich bedanken muss, weil er dort verdienen darf!" Ibid.

[50] "Du solltest U.S.A. nicht machen, ich finde, wenn Wagner keine erstklassige Tournee zusammengekriegt hat, dann brauchst Du sie nicht anzunehmen, er hat wohl doch Angst, daß es Krach gibt in den Städten, wo Du bekannt bist, ich finde es auch richtiger, Du wartest noch, Du kannst ja überall Geld verdienen." Annie, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, Buenos Aires, letter, 25 Aug. 1948, GFA.

publicized concert trip for Gieseking that season that would, as in the past, include numerous dates at America's leading metropolitan halls. On the other hand, by the fall of 1948 Wagner was trying to convince his client to move permanently with his family to the U.S., promising him that the financial rewards would be colossal: "Over the next ten years I would earn a million dollars, etc.," Gieseking reported back to Annie, relaying what Wagner had assured him.[51] The message he was receiving from his manager was thus contradictory, yet he was well aware of his controversial status among certain Americans.

By August of 1948, while still touring South America, Gieseking had begun to weigh a tempting alternative to Wagner's disappointing plans. Quesada wished to arrange additional appearances for him in Cuba (Havana), Puerto Rico or Venezuela, Mexico, possibly Panama, Guatemala, and other countries. To make the offer even more enticing, the engagements could commence almost immediately, starting in September, so that Gieseking might also include further South American appearances in Chile and Peru directly afterward.[52] The subsequent North American tour that Wagner was planning would not be necessary.

In the end, Wagner must have improved, or at least extended, the North American itinerary, perhaps rather last minute, doubtless because of Gieseking's threats to cancel the entire tour. His client was obviously now pleased with the arrangements, however, for he agreed to them despite the ever-growing public dissent in the U.S. He rejected Quesada's latest proposal, and returned to Europe at the beginning of September. He was

[51] "[I]n den nächsten 10 Jahren würde ich eine Million (!!??) Dollars verdienen, u.s.w." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Sept. 1948, GFA.

[52] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Aug. 1948, GFA.

scheduled to make his U.S. reappearance in early 1949, starting with a sold-out concert in New York on 24 January. The venue would, in fact, be Carnegie Hall. In all, 37 or 38 concerts were planned for North America, 25 of them in United States.[53]

The 1949 Carnegie Hall Recital

In early January 1949, Gieseking again led the masterclasses in Saarbrücken before traveling to Paris, where he gave a sold-out performance of Brahms's Concerto in B-flat major as part of the French capital's popular and prestigious Concert Colonne series. The event took place in an overfilled Théâtre du Châtelet, and Gaston Poulet (1892–1974) conducted.[54] The soloist was tremendously pleased with the concert—"Maestro . . . Poulet's conducting is simply terrific—it [was] a wonderfully joyful experience."[55] This provided Gieseking some distraction from his current concern over his U.S. visa: he had learned on 7 January, merely one week before his North American tour was to begin, that Washington still needed a further document before his entry could be permitted.[56]

After some rather nerve-racking difficulties and delay, the visa was issued, and two days later Gieseking received word from his New York managers that "everything was o.k."[57] In the meantime, the first concert on the itinerary, in an unnamed small town,

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[53] "Gieseking Gets the Gate," *Life*, 7 Feb. 1949, 44; "German Pianist Arrives," *New York Times*, 23 Jan. 1949; the sum of thirty-eight is given in "Concert Tour canceled by Gieseking," *Los Angeles Daily News*, 25 Jan. 1949.

[54] Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte: Stürmische Hinflug – Proteste – Rückkehr aus eigenem Entschluß," *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 1 Feb. 1949; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 72.

[55] "Meister . . . Poulet dirigiert einfach großartig – es ist ein wunderbar erfreuliches Musizieren!" Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] "[A]lles sei OK. . . ." Ibid.

would have to be rescheduled because of the holdup. As a precautionary measure, his management cancelled the whole first week of engagements. The tour would now begin with the most imperative performance: his recital at Carnegie Hall on 24 January.[58]

Following a short trip back home to Wiesbaden, Gieseking returned to Paris, where he and his manager, Puglia, picked up the visa at once. After a Parisian *déjeuner*, he finally boarded a plane bound for New York. Yet there was still more delay, first caused by engine trouble, making a return to Paris and inspection necessary, then by an Atlantic storm, forcing the pilot to take a much longer, alternate route.[59] At last, Gieseking arrived at New York's Idlewild Airport (the John F. Kennedy International Airport since 1963) on Saturday, 22 January, two days before his opening recital. It had been nearly ten years since his last trip to the U.S., where he had given eleven tours between 1926 and the early part of 1939.[60] He was rightfully anxious about the visit, fearing there would be protest. During the flight he had written the following to his family—his two daughters having meanwhile become young adults:

> Wagner has sent the [American] consulate [in Paris] announcements of the concert <u>every</u> <u>day</u>, always adding that it's "sold out." In the Paris edition of the N[ew] Y[ork] Herald-Tribune, a letter was sent in, one which nonetheless mainly discusses "Wilhelm" [Furtwängler], a long text that the newspaper reprinted fully and in which the protesters have been criticized ruthlessly. I am not mentioned in it, but the consul was careful to bring it to my attention. . . . In N.Y., Charlie [Wagner] and Duke [Snowdon] will probably pick me up. I hope there won't be too much excitement; I am quite exhausted. But until the concert there are still 48 hours. By then I should be ready for the "big fight."[61]

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[58] Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 72.

[59] Ibid. (Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 73.)

[60] Ibid.

[61] "Wagner hat <u>jeden</u> Tag an das [Amerikanische] Konsulat [in Paris] Ankündigungen des Konzertes geschickt, immer mit dem Zusatz 'sold out.' In der Pariser N.Y. Herald-Tribune war ein Eingesandt, dass allerdings hauptsächlich von 'Wilhelm' [Furtwängler] handelt, ein langer Brief, den die

Upon landing, Gieseking proceeded through customs without any difficulties before being cornered by the press, all of which he afterward described:

> The friendly immigration officer, as a matter of formality, inquires only about the financial guarantees of my stay. I refer him to my manager [Wagner], as I still do not know the details of my tour. There are no problems; I am allowed to pass through, where two eager journalists seize me at once. A detailed interview begins. The questions are frequently aimed at discovering a small brownish stain [i.e. Nazi taint] still remaining from the "1000 years" somewhere in my soul, which was so often and so thoroughly searched and investigated. But the questions can not be evaded; the answers must be clear and intelligible. The conversation is much more serious than a typical American interview. There is none of the usual joking, though it ends up being an open and trusting exchange of views.[62]

Gieseking received friendly telegrams and letters from supportive American fans, but Wagner explained to him that the opposition was planning to picket before Carnegie Hall's entrance.[63] This, of course, came as no surprise to him and probably to few others aware of the situation. Saturday evening, Sunday, and the first half of Monday, nonetheless, passed quickly and calmly—at least for him.[64] But the opponents were meanwhile hard at work, most notably Walter Winchell (1897–1972), the infamous, Jewish gossip columnist and broadcaster.

Zeitung ganz abdruckt, und wo die Protestierenden fürchterlich scharf kritisiert werden. Ich werde nicht drin erwähnt, aber der Konsul machte mich extra drauf aufmerksam. . . . In N.Y. werden mich ja wohl Charlie [Wagner] u. Duke [Snowdon] abholen, hoffentlich ist nicht noch ein grosser Betrieb, ich bin ziemlich erledigt. Aber bis zum Konzert sind ja noch 48 Stunden Zeit, bis dahin werde ich wohl für den 'grossen Kampf' bereit sein." Gieseking, aboard airplane to New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Jan. 1949, GFA.

[62] "Der Einwanderungsbeamte, korrekt und freundlich, fragt nur nach den finanziellen Garantien für meinen Aufenthalt. Ich verweise ihn an meinen Manager, da mir die Einzelheiten meiner Tournée noch nicht bekannt sind. Es ist gut, ich darf an Land, wo mich sofort zwei eifrige Journalisten beschlagnahmen. Ein ausführliches Interview beginnt, die Fragen sind vielfach darauf gerichtet, noch irgendwo ein aus den 1000 Jahren stammendes bräunliches Fleckchen auf meiner Seele zu entdecken, die doch schon so oft und so gründlich abgesucht und durchleuchtet wurde. Aber ausweichen gibt es nicht, klar und deutlich müssen die Antworten sein. Das Gespräch ist viel ernster als das übliche amerikanische Interview, die sonst so beliebten Witze bleiben weg, aber es ergibt sich ein offener, vertrauensvoller Meinungsaustausch." Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 73–74.

[63] Ibid. (Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 74.)

[64] Ibid.

Walter Winchell

From New York, Winchell hosted a fifteen-minute radio program that aired every Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon and reached an estimated thirty-eight million listeners. It had become the most popular broadcast in the U.S., making him incredibly influential.[65] On 23 January, he began his show by asking his audience to do him a personal favor. He announced that there would be the preliminary hearing at Immigration Services at Columbus Circle at 11 a.m. the next morning (the correct time seems to have been 10 a.m.) concerning the "Nazi" pianist Walter "Geißekin." (Winchell, like many others who joined in the protests, could not correctly pronounce or spell the musician's surname.)[66] Gieseking, he explained, had just recently entered the U.S. He then called on Americans to demonstrate before the office building in as large a number as possible and to let the Immigration officials know that they disapproved of the pianist's entry.[67] At that point, Winchell added some drama to the story—something for which he was famous—asserting that in the city's port, the coffins of five hundred American troops killed in the war had just arrived simultaneously with Gieseking. (This may or may not

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[65] Bob Thomas, *Winchell* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), 181.

[66] Hans Habe, "Warum Gieseking in den USA nicht auftreten durfte" (unidentified German newspaper; date unknown [presumably late-January or February 1949]), clipping found in the Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich. Habe quotes Winchell, but has translated the speech into German, thus the present author has paraphrased the quoted material to avoid retranslating any of it back into English. Winchell's speech is also discussed in Hans Habe, "Amerikas 'Unversöhnliche': Der Fall Gieseking," *Die Weltwoche*, 11 Feb. 1949, 1–3 and Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 58. Although it has not been confirmed, a copy of the transcript might be found among Winchell's papers: see "Walter Winchell Papers, 1920–67," box 24, folders 18–26, Kaiser Frozen, 2 Jan. 1949–27 Feb. 1949, Billy Rose Theater Collection, New York Public Library. Note: the radio broadcasts are available only on microfilm. It is also possible that Winchell commented on Gieseking's return in April 1953, in which case the transcript should be found in Box 31, Folders 1–17, Gruen Watch Company, 4 Jan.–26 April 26, 1953.

[67] Hans Habe, "Warum Gieseking in den USA nicht auftreten durfte" (unidentified German newspaper; date unknown [presumably late-January or February 1949]), clipping found in the Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich. Winchell's effort to encourage Americans to participate is also referred to in "More about Gieseking," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Mar. 1949.

have been true.)[68] These soldiers, he explained, had been killed by the pianist's friends and like-minded compatriots. Winchell declared that he was making the announcement so that war veterans could take action.[69] Later that night, he made another radio announcement, in which he once more attacked Gieseking and encouraged listeners to protest:[70]

> Another dirty Nazi has now joined the list of former collaborators trying to enter this country. His name is Walter Gieseking—one of Hitler's personal pets, who expects to play a concert at Carnegie Hall tonight.
>
> To the press he made such a pretty speech you would never think he had been coached unless you heard it. "I was never a real Nazi," he said with a straight face.
>
> This is a man who never made any secret of his pro-Nazi leanings when Hitler was winning. He applied for membership in various Nazi organizations. He stood for everything Hitler stood for.
>
> This so-and-so comes here in direct opposition to the Department of Immigration, which posted lookouts all over the world where we have consuls and embassies to keep him out of the country. As late as 1948 it sent a confidential letter branding him a Nazi to a certain member of Congress. I have the letter in my possession. But somebody in Washington got him in.[71]

"Winchell," wrote Mildred Norton of the *Los Angeles Daily News*, "urged immediate public pressure to support the Department of Immigration's stand and pleaded with all

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[68] Although Winchell had a reputation for distorting the truth and even telling lies—something that was frequently discussed—and there was no report of the arrival of any corpses in the *New York Times*, it is indeed possible that the coffins had arrived that day. Just days before Gieseking's arrival, the *Evening Star* newspaper in Washington D.C. reported that there were "2,012 [dead servicemen from WWII combat] recently returned to this country from the Pacific area," which had been announced by the U.S. Army. "18 D.C. Area War Dead Returned by Army from Pacific Graves," *Washington Evening Star*, 18 Jan. 1949.

[69] Habe, "Warum Gieseking in den USA nicht auftreten durfte."

[70] While Winchell says that the concert was scheduled to take place "tonight," Mildred Norton, who printed part of the speech in her column for the *Los Angeles Daily News*, makes it clear that he had broadcasted the announcement the night before. Perhaps Norton, whose column was printed on the day of the concert, had edited Winchell's announcement, changing "tomorrow night" to "tonight." Mildred Norton, "Mildred Norton," *Los Angeles Daily News*, 24 Jan. 1949; a copy of the Norton article, and others by her cited below, can be found in the Gieseking folders of the Harry Anderson Collection, IPAM, University of Maryland.

[71] Walter Winchell, quoted ibid.

war veterans in and around New York City to be present and 'protest for every God Star Family.'"[72]

Winchell's remarks were sensationalist, filled with unsubstantiated information and fabrications. Gieseking was never Hitler's "personal pet," for example, and there were never any "lookouts" posted to keep him out of any countries. Furthermore, Winchell may have been bluffing about the "confidential" letter from the Immigration Bureau. No copy of such a document has been found, and it was never mentioned elsewhere.[73]

Concurrently, back in Germany there prevailed an air of tense excitement. Gieseking's family and even the residents of his hometown were tremendously worried about the potential protest. Jutta described the local atmosphere on the day of the planned recital as follows:

> Today is the much-anticipated Monday, and not only is your family excited, guests included, but so is practically all of Wiesbaden. No matter whom you chance to meet, everyone is awfully provoked. When I go shopping, I need twice as much time because everybody asks me questions. They're discussing everything. . . . I have never seen anything like it! You've surely never received so much publicity, my dear Papa. The radio and newspapers are reporting on the latest developments. Feli just called and read me your interview in *Stars and Stripes*.[74] She's keeping her fingers crossed for you.[75] It's quite amusing. People grumble as if they were one-hundred-percent Nazis; well, you can imagine whom they are complaining about![76] But, in any case, everyone is on your side! . . . We

[72] Norton, "Mildred Norton," *Los Angeles Daily News*, 24 Jan. 1949.

[73] There was one William Gieseking, alias Wilhelm Gieseking (born in Hartum, Germany in 1883), for whom the FBI had placed a lookout notice in 1942. This was done through the Immigration and Naturalization Service. It is possible that Winchell received information regarding the lookout and confused the two Giesekings. L. Levin, FBI Report: "William, Gieseking, alias Wilhelm Gieseking," New York, file 100-17292, 24 June 1942; this document is found in pianist Walter Gieseking's FBI records: FBI file 100, sub. 117462, FBI Freedom of Information Act file (No. 1089063-000, released 21 Sept. 2007, U.S. Department of Justice), Subject: Walter Wilhelm Gieseking (Gieseking's FBI records hereafter cited as "Gieseking FBI FOIA file").

[74] *Stars and Stripes* is still printed by the U.S. government abroad.

[75] Jutta wrote this one sentence in English, incorrectly as "She crosses the fingers for you."

[76] Jutta was surely referring to the largely Jewish protest groups.

> were thinking that maybe the two parties [i.e. Gieseking's supporters and his opponents] will exchange blows in the hall, making sparks fly, and you can proudly walk through the middle. . . .[77]

In the same letter, Gieseking's younger, eighteen-year-old daughter, Freya, mentioned how "the whole class and all of the teachers are really keeping their fingers crossed for you today."[78] One nearly gets the impression that for many Germans in Wiesbaden, the war had not ended.

Snowdon and Gieseking Meet with Immigration Officials

By Monday afternoon, Gieseking had tried out the piano at Carnegie Hall, had lunch with his old friend and piano technician, Richard Pohlman, and returned to his hotel to rest before the widely anticipated event.[79] There seemed to be no reason for concern. Because three performances were to take place in Canada soon, Snowdon, in the interim, paid a visit to the city's Immigration and Naturalization Bureau, where he spoke with W. Frank Watkins, director of the New York district, about the pianist's reentry from the neighboring country.[80]

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[77] "Heute ist dieser bewußte Montag, und nicht nur Deine Familie nebst Anhang, sondern ungefähr ganz Wiesbaden ist in Aufregung. Ganz egal, wen man trifft, alle sind in tiefster sittlicher Entrüstung. Wenn ich einkaufen gehe, brauche ich doppelte Zeit, weil ich allen Rede und Antwort stehen muß. Alles debattiert. . . . ich habe sowas noch nicht gesehen! So 'ne große Propaganda hast Du bestimmt noch nie gehabt, Papachen. Radio und Zeitungen bringen die neuesten Neuigkeiten. Feli hat mich eben angerufen und hat mir Dein Interview mit 'Stars and Stripes' vorgelesen. [Diese Zeitung wird immer noch von der amerikanischen Regierung im Ausland gedruckt.] She crosses the fingers for you. Man kann sich amüsieren, die Leute schimpfen, als wären sie hundertprozentige Nazis; na, auf wen sie schimpfen, kannst Du Dir wohl vorstellen! Aber auf alle Fälle sind alle auf Deiner Seite! [. . .] Wir haben schon gedacht, vielleicht prügeln sich die beiden Parteien im Saal, daß die Fetzen fliegen, und Du gehst stolz ab durch die Mitte. . . ." Jutta Gieseking, Annie Gieseking, Freya Gieseking and Imre Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter to Gieseking, New York, 24 Jan. 1949, GFA.

[78] "[D]ie ganze Klasse und alle Lehrer halten Dir furchtbar für heute den Daumen." Ibid.

[79] Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 74.

[80] Charles L. Wagner and Edward W. Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts Leading up to the Departure of Walter Gieseking from the U.S.A.," unpublished report, file: ACLU II collection, box 825,

Gieseking had been issued a twelve-month visa by the American consulate in Paris, though according to his managers, only "after lengthy investigation and the arrival . . . of clearances from [U.S. officials] in Frankfurt-am-Main and Berlin."[81] Additionally, the U.S. State Department had received consent from the Department of Justice regarding his initial entry before the visa was granted.[82] Just one day before Gieseking's arrival, the State Department's press officer, Michael J. McDermott, had even announced that, in spite of the intensifying controversy, the pianist's record was clean of anything that might necessitate his exclusion under existing statutes.[83] Yet Snowdon now learned from Watkins that Gieseking had "technically . . . never been admitted into the country." This came as a troubling surprise. The time was now 4:45 p.m.; the concert was set to begin at 8:30 p.m.[84]

Sometime that afternoon, Gieseking and his managers, to their astonishment, also read reports that he had entered the United States merely "on parole."[85] According to Watkins, this was because "someone questioned his [Gieseking's] right to enter [the U.S.]," making an investigation of his record necessary and putting immigration

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folder 6, "Immigration: Gieseking, Walter, 1949," Public Policy Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton N.J. (file hereafter referred to as "Immigration: Gieseking, Walter, 1949," ACLU Records, SGMML)

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

[83] "Gieseking To Play Here: German Pianist Will Get a Visa Despite Protests on Leanings," *New York Times*, 22 Jan. 1949.

[84] Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts"; Concert program: Gieseking: Carnegie Hall, 24 Jan. 1949, DEC.

[85] Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts."

authorities in charge of the matter.[86] That "someone" may have been Representative Arthur G. Klein.

Protest groups, including two New York congressmen, had led the Justice Department to order the investigation. These were Klein (1904–68), a democrat, and Emanuel Celler (1888–1981), who served as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the state's 15th congressional district. Klein made considerable effort to stop the pianist and even sent a telegram to Attorney General Tom Clark, requesting that there be a check for any FBI files "to ascertain if there is any extant proof of illegal or improper activities by Gieseking in former years."[87]

From the Immigration Bureau, Snowdon meanwhile contacted his client, for the Immigration officials wished to question the latter at once. Furthermore, "the Justice Department in Washington had ordered his [Gieseking's] detention to prevent his concert," as Snowdon recounted afterward.[88]

A taxi got Gieseking to the Bureau by 5:00. "Then I learn the shocking news, 3½ hours before the concert," he would recall.[89] Describing the situation he now found himself in, he continued:

> Some organizations have protested my entry with support from two of New York's congressmen, and the Justice Department in Washington has ordered an investigation. Until it is closed, I am to be detained in quarantine on Ellis Island. My manager and a lawyer [Irving or Meyer Kurz], whom we call immediately,

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[86] "Immigration Officials Put Walter Gieseking, Pianist, on Parole," *Washington Evening Star*, 24 Jan. 1949.

[87] See "Klein says Dr. Kindler Opposes Gieseking Tour," *Washington Evening Star*, 24 Jan. 1949; "Memorandum" from D.M. Ladd to FBI Director [J. Edgar Hoover], 25 Jan. 1949, Gieseking FBI FOIA file. Also see "The Gieseking Affair," *Newsweek*, 7 Feb. 1949, 21–22; Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 57.

[88] Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts."

[89] "Nun erfahre ich das Erstaunliche, 3½ Stunden vor Konzertbeginn. . . ." Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 75.

> protest at once everywhere they can and demand an immediate hearing and ruling with reference to the concert that is still on for that evening. We are told that it's impossible. My case can be heard the next morning at the earliest, but even then it will probably take four to six weeks before they will be able to reach a verdict. Until then, the immigration authorities are to keep me in custody![90]

The Preliminary Hearing

The papers that afternoon referred to a hearing, doubtless the one that had been carried out against Gieseking at the Immigration offices at 70 Columbus Avenue ten o'clock that morning, which Walter Winchell had mentioned in his radio announcement the previous night.[91] The pianist's managers, however, argued that neither "Mr. Gieseking nor any representative had been notified of this hearing, nor invited to attend" (emphasis in the original).[92] Snowdon at once discovered that the Immigration authorities who had involved themselves in the inquest were actually still in session. This included W. W. Wiggins, chief of the Bureau's Investigation Section at the Central Office in Washington.[93] Wiggins, who led the inquiry, had traveled to New York for this.[94] "These

[90] "Einige Organisationen hätten, mit Unterstützung von zwei New Yorker Kongreßmitgliedern, gegen meine Einreise Protest erhoben, und das Justizdepartement in Washington habe eine Untersuchung angeordnet, bis zu deren Abschluß ich nach der Quarantänestation Ellis Island verbracht werden solle. Mein Manager und ein sofort herbeigerufener Rechtsanwalt protestieren sofort bei allen erreichbaren Stellen und verlangen sofortige Verhandlung und Entscheidung unter Hinweis auf das heutige Konzert. Dies sei unmöglich, wird erwidert, frühestens am nächsten Morgen könne verhandelt werden, aber auch dann würde es wohl 4 bis 6 Wochen dauern, bevor eine Entscheidung getroffen wird. Solange müßte ich im Gewahrsam der Einwanderungsbehörden bleiben!" Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 75.

[91] Howard Taubman, "Gieseking Agrees to Quit U.S. Without Giving Concert Here: Pianist, Accused as Aide to Nazis, in Custody—Pickets Hail 'Victory,'" *New York Times*, 25 Jan. 1949; Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts."

[92] Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts."

[93] Ibid.

[94] Taubman, "Gieseking Agrees to Quit U.S.."

officials . . . could and should have granted him [Gieseking] a hearing then and there," Snowdon complained, "but this was refused."[95]

Writing for the *New York Times*, Howard Taubman, who must have been in attendance, described that morning's proceedings in an article that appeared the following day; this seems to have been the only account of the hearing that was printed:

> At this time representatives of various organizations . . . presented their case against him [Gieseking]. It was understood that among the items offered in evidence were letters in which he had applied in 1933 for admittance into the Militant League for German Culture [Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur], a Nazi party auxiliary.
>
> Other charges voiced at this hearing included one that he had tried to persuade at least one anti-Nazi conductor in this country to soft-pedal his antagonism against Adolph Hitler in the period before the war.
>
> Still other charges were that he had played before Hitler and other leading Nazi officials, that he had gone to Turkey on a cultural mission for the Nazis at the critical period when the Germans and the Allies were competing for Turkish support and that he had followed the Nazi cultural line by dropping the composers of enemy countries from his programs.[96]

While nothing else can be found concerning the charge regarding the conductor, which is never mentioned elsewhere, the letters to which Taubman refers are those that Delbert Clark had included in his *New York Times* article, "Gieseking Letters: They Reveal His Efforts To Join Nazi Group," published just two weeks earlier, on 9 January. These include the correspondence between Gieseking and Hans Hinkel from 1933.[97] The other accusations were surely based on Clark's earlier item from February 1948, "A Review of Gieseking's Record Since 1934."[98]

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[95] Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts."; See also Edward W. Snowdon, "Embers of Gieseking Incident Growing," *Passaic (N.J.) Herald News*, 13 Feb. 1949.

[96] Taubman, "Gieseking Agrees to Quit U.S."

[97] The Gieseking-Hinkel letters were discussed in Chapter 1.

[98] This influential article, too, we saw (above), was published in the *New York Times*.

"New Evidence" and Further Wrangling with Washington

Certainly aware of Gieseking's postwar clearance and present U.S. visa, the Justice Department claimed it had acquired new evidence against him that morning, which would remain confidential, nevertheless, as it "involved national security."[99] It was allegedly presented during the early hearing, the outcome of which, along with some further charges made in Washington, was enough to convince Argyle Mackey of Immigration Services in the capital to propose there be the full hearing—with the four- to six-week wait for the verdict—which Gieseking understandably declined.[100] The rejection of the requested second hearing, of course, denied him and his representatives the opportunity to dispute the purported evidence. Despite repeated requests, they were never shown this information.[101]

It was only after "considerable wrangling and threats on Mr. Snowdon's part to carry the matter to the President [Harry Truman]" that Watkins let him speak to Argyle Mackey in Washington, who was said to have also been accountable for Gieseking's detainment. And it was Mackey who then "turned thumbs down" on the request for the prolongation of Gieseking's parole until midnight, so that the Carnegie Hall recital might still be given. Mackey would have nothing of it: "There will be no concert tonight!" he uttered repeatedly.[102]

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[99] "More about Gieseking," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Mar. 1949; Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts."

[100] "More about Gieseking"; Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts"; Taubman, "Gieseking Agrees to Quit U.S."; Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 75.

[101] Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts."

[102] Ibid.

Recognizing his no-win situation, Gieseking "voluntarily" chose to call off the entire North American concert trip and leave the U.S. without delay.[103] Again, we turn to the pianist:

> Since it is now certain that I cannot perform that evening, I explain that I want to cancel the tour and take the first plane back to Europe. This request is reported to Washington by phone, where it is apparently approved. Since the next return flight is not until the following morning, however, they still plan to deport me to Ellis Island. There are further telephone conversations. In the meantime, the [Carnegie Hall] concert is canceled. Finally, I am given permission to spend the night in my hotel under the supervision of two detectives, on the condition that I do not give any interviews for the newspapers.[104]

It was, in fact, only after another hour of quarreling over the matter with the Immigration officials that Gieseking's request to leave the country was granted and only under the following four conditions, to be more precise:

1. No concert
2. No publicity until Mr. Gieseking's plane had left the U.S.A.
3. Gieseking to be held under guard
4. A "pro-forma" hearing to be held before Mr. Gieseking's departure so that an exclusion order without prejudice might be written against him.[105]

These provisos indeed rendered it impossible for the pianist to speak directly to the American press about his situation, depriving him of the opportunity to defend himself. (Yet he will succeed in articulating a few uncomplimentary words to a large group of reporters at the time of his departure, making his indignation quite clear.)

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[103] Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts"; "German Pianist Arrives," *New York Times*, 23 Jan. 1949; Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 75; "Music: Conflict," *Time*, 7 Feb. 1949, 7; [FBI] Office Memorandum, D. M. Ladd to [FBI] Director [J. Edgar Hoover], 25 Jan. 1949, Gieseking FBI FOIA file.

[104] "Als nun feststeht, daß ich am Abend nicht auftreten kann, erkläre ich, auf die Tournée verzichten und mit dem nächsten Flugzeug zurückreisen zu wollen. Dieser Antrag wird nach Washington telephoniert und offenbar genehmigt. Da aber erst am nächsten Morgen ein Flugzeug verkehrt, bleibt die Überführung nach Ellis Island beschlossen. Erneute Telephongespräche—inzwischen ist das Konzert abgesagt—, endlich wird mir erlaubt, die Nach unter Aufsicht von zwei Detektiven in meinem Hotel zu verbringen, unter der Bedingung, daß ich den Zeitungen keine Interviews gebe." Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 75.

[105] Quoted in Wagner and Snowdon, "A Running Account of the Facts."

FBI Assistant Director D. M. Ladd reported to the Bureau's director, J. Edgar Hoover, the next day on the Gieseking matter, explaining that (1) Deputy Attorney General Peyton Ford of the Justice Department had canceled the Carnegie Hall concert because of the protests, (2) that Immigration officials had informed the State Department there was new evidence proving Gieseking was a Nazi although it was "not in hand," but rather in possession of the McCormack-Dickstein Committee, and (3) they could not obtain the information because it required Congressional clearance.[106] The substantiation was purportedly included in a dossier on the pianist. Because the McCormack-Dickstein Committee was active only from 1934–35 (long before the current clamor), such a file would have presumably been created by the committee's successor, the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Its records are now in the National Archives, but all inquires and searches have failed to uncover any trace of a Gieseking file.[107]

The *New York Star*, nonetheless, reported on the supposed dossier, quoting James H. Sheldon of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League as having said, "the record will prove that Gieseking joined Nazi organizations of his own free will, rather than unwillingly, as

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[106] [FBI] Office Memorandum, D. M. Ladd to [FBI] Director [J. Edgar Hoover], 25 Jan. 1949, Gieseking FBI FOIA file.

[107] Many records of the U.S. Congress were originally stored in the U.S. Capitol as well as the Library of Congress, but have since been transferred to the National Archives. The Center for Legislative Archives' finding aid shows no record of a Gieseking file in the McCormack-Dickstein Committee papers, now part of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) records at the National Archives. Likewise, a perusal of the extensive HUAC files and reference name folders, as well as multiple searches at the Library of Congress, failed to uncover anything on the pianist. It is, of course, possible that the file was never declassified for release to the public or that it is lost. For more information on the Committee's activities see "Guide to the Records of the U.S. House of Representatives at the National Archives, 1789–1989 (Record Group 233)," Chapter 22, "Records of the Select Committees of the House of Representatives," accessed 19 Aug. 2009, http://www.archives.gov/legislative/guide/house/chapter-22-select-propaganda.html. For information regarding the National Archives' McCormack-Dickstein Committee documents see "Guide to the Records of the U.S. House of Representatives at the National Archives, 1789-1989 (Record Group 233)" National Archives, Legislative Branch: http://www.archives.gov/legislative/guide/house/chapter-22-select-propaganda.html. The author wishes to thank Rodney A. Ross of the Center for Legislative Archives (National Archives) and Patrick Kerwin (Manuscript Reference Librarian, Library of Congress) for their helpful assistance with regard to the McCormack-Dickstein Committee.

the pianist claims."[108] Sheldon could have only been referring to the Hinkel-Gieseking correspondence from 1933, which, as we saw, Taubman referred to in his account of the preliminary hearing, confirming it were used as corroboration. After having been recently made public by Delbert Clark in his *New York Times* piece "Gieseking Letters: They Reveal His Efforts To Join Nazi Group" (printed 9 January 1949), Winchell, too, had brought up the documents in his broadcast announcement the night before the recital date.[109] By now, of course, the papers hardly contained "confidential" information, and they certainly did not "involve national security." No evidence would have.

The Scene Before Carnegie Hall

On their way back to Gieseking's hotel, the pianist and the two detectives now supervising him then drove past Carnegie Hall, where as many as some 5,000 people had gathered according to at least one, perhaps excessive, estimate.[110] The sell-out number of ticket holders came to 2,760, the hall's seating capacity; with the picketers—"several hundred" of them according to one source—press, and onlookers, the sum certainly totaled over 4,000.[111] To be sure, the scene was large and anything but peaceful. The

[108] "Gieseking's Admission to be Weighed Today," *New York Star*, 24 Jan. 1949 (clipping also found in the Gieseking FBI FOIA file).

[109] Regarding Winchell's radio announcement (discussed above), in which he claimed Gieseking had tried to join "various Nazi organizations," see the quotation found in Mildred Norton, *Los Angeles Daily News*, 24 Jan. 1949.

[110] Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 75–6; "Seized for Hearing, Gieseking Agrees to Leave U.S. Today," *Washington Evening Star*, 25 Jan. 1949.

[111] "Gieseking Gets the Gate," *Life*, 44. Taubman, "Gieseking Agrees to Quit U.S."; the count given by *Time* was 200. "Music: Conflict," *Time*, 7.

controversial artist witnessed the crowd of demonstrators, blaring anti-Gieseking slogans from a sound truck. Police officers even had to break up several brawls.[112]

Among those protesting were members of the American Veterans Committee, Jewish War Veterans, American Jewish Congress, American Legion, Anti-Defamation League, Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, the Musicians Club of the American Labor Party, and the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.[113] Smaller organizations participating included the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, Jewish Gold Star Mothers, and the Committee for the Negro in the Arts.[114] Gieseking described the spectacle shortly afterward:

> My name—which was after all not unknown—is hardly once spelled correctly on the placards. They contain some unbelievable messages: "Walter Plays Tonight—Will Ilse Play Saturday?" (They are referring to Ilse Koch, who had been commander at the concentration camp Buchenwald!) "G*eisen*king, Hitler and Göring's Friend," (Yet not once had I even seen Hermann from a distance!). And "G*eis*king Will Play a Funeral Dirge for 6,000,000 Jews," I read as we drive by [italics added].[115]

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[112] "Gieseking Quits U.S.; Says He'll Find More Freedom in France," *Washington Evening Star*, 25 Jan. 1949; "Seized for Hearing, Gieseking Agrees to Leave U.S. Today," *Washington Evening Star*, 25 Jan. 1949.

[113] "Seized, Reich Pianist to Leave U.S.," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 25 Jan. 1949; "German Pianist Arrives," *New York Times*, 23 Jan. 1949; "Gieseking Flies Home, Bitter at U.S. Exclusion: Foes Jubilant, Friends Angry over Ban," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 Jan. 1949; "More about Gieseking," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Mar. 1949; A. Abbot Rosen "Gieseking's Politics," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Feb. 1949; Jean O'Reilly, "Gieseking's Communist Enemies," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Mar. 1949; "Gieseking Will Leave U.S. Cancels Waterbury Concert," *Hartford Courant*, 25 Jan. 1949.

[114] "Jews Picket Against Pianist," *Canadian Jewish Review*, 26 Jan. 1949.

[115] Gieseking's use of the historical present tense for this entry has been retained in the translation. "Die Plakate, auf denen mein doch immerhin nicht unbekannter Name kaum einmal in richtiger Schreibweise vorkommt, sind teilweise unglaublichen Inhalts. 'Heute spielt Walter, wird nächsten Sonnabend Ilse auftreten?' (Gemeint ist Ilse Koch, die Buchenwald-Kommandeuse!) 'G*eisen*king, der Freund Hitlers und Görings' (dabei habe ich Hermann noch nicht einmal von weitem gesehen!). 'G*eis*king spielt die Trauermusik für 6 Millionen Juden,' lese ich im Vorbeifahren." Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 75–6; see also "Gieseking Flies Home, Bitter at U.S. Exclusion," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 Jan. 1949.

Another placard, also with his name wrongly written, read "Hitler and G*eis*king Both Played the Same Tune (emphasis added)."[116] An additional one referring to Ilse Koch displayed the message, "Orders Taken for Lampshades[,] see Walter inside." A photo of it appeared in *Life*'s coverage of the incident, which explained that "the sign referred to . . . Koch's notorious lampshades of human skin."[117] While observing the scene must have been somewhat disconcerting, the two detectives ironically afforded him some consolation: "My guards look at the demonstrators rather skeptically. We have not yet arrived at the hotel, and already I no longer feel under arrest at all, but rather protected by friendly, honest men. After a short time they companionably start calling me "Walter," and I begin using "Mac" or "Captain."[118] Later that night, the men dined together, and the following morning Gieseking will treat them to breakfast.[119]

That some demonstrators were not concertgoers, and therefore may have never heard of the pianist before the protests were organized, may explain the misspellings of his name. According to Dean Elder, certain picketers were likewise unable to say his former mentor's surname correctly. Having stood in line before Carnegie Hall that evening, Elder recently recalled the rowdy event: "I was outside C. H. [Carnegie Hall] hoping to attend that first return recital which was canceled. The people protesting were

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[116] "Gieseking Quits U.S.; Says He'll Find More Freedom in France," *Washington Evening Star*, 25 Jan. 1949, see the accompanying photograph with the caption, "New York. Jewish Vets Picket Gieseking Concert," which adds the note: "Mr. Gieseking's name has been misspelled on the placard."

[117] See the caption "Outside Carnegie Hall" in "Gieseking Gets the Gate," *Life*, 46.

[118] "Meine Wächter werfen recht kritische Blicke auf die Demonstranten. Wir sind noch nicht im Hotel angekommen, da fühle ich mich schon keineswegs mehr verhaftet, sondern von sympathischen, ehrlichen Männern gut beschützt. Nach kurzer Zeit nennen mich die beiden freundschaftlich 'Walter,' und ich sage 'Mac' oder "Captain." Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 76.

[119] Ibid. (Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 76–77.)

hired protesters. One spat at me and pronounced G.'s [Gieseking's] name as Geyseking. They didn't even know who he was."[120]

The U.S. Justice Department Announces the Cancellation of the Concert

At 7:00 P.M. the Justice Department finally made it known to the public that the concert, scheduled to start at 8:30, was canceled and that Gieseking would return to Europe the next day. A 10:00 A.M. flight with Air France had already been booked. Happy with the outcome, the demonstrators began to celebrate their victory, and at 8:00 Sidney Stein, commander of the Jewish War Veterans, led the protesters, bystanders and, oddly enough, even some ticket holders as they sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." Some of the thwarted artist's opponents felt his decision to leave to be "confession of guilt."[121]

Because Gieseking was not permitted to speak to the media about the events that had unfolded since his arrival, an effort was made to keep him out of the public eye until his parting. This failed. The press promptly found him, as did others. Gieseking writes:

> The telephone rings constantly, many friends come by, reporters and photographers crowd around, and I constantly receive countless declarations of friendship by letter, by telephone, by telegram, and in person. More journalists appear in the meantime; the bustle is incredible. I keep my promise; no newspaper gets any information save my plan to fly back the next morning. I do let them photograph me, however. Finally I say that my daughters will be delighted to see me again so soon. "What are the girls' names?" and "How old are they?" are the next questions. I give all of the newspaper journalists a beaming smile—"keep smiling!"[122]

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[120] Elder, email message to author, 30 Sept. 2007.

[121] Gieseking is Let In by M'Carran Law," *New York Times*, 3 Apr. 1953; Taubman, "Gieseking Agrees to Quit U.S."; "Pianist Agrees to Leave U.S.," *Washington Times-Herald*, 25 Jan. 1949.

[122] "Das Telephon läutet ununterbrochen, viele Freunde kommen, Reporter und Photographen drängen sich ein, zahllose Freundschaftskundgebungen, brieflich, telephonisch, telegraphisch, persönlich, kommen ununterbrochen an, dazwischen wieder Journalisten, es ist ein toller Betrieb. Ich halte mein Versprechen, keine Zeitung erhält andere Auskunft als die, daß ich morgen früh abfliege. Doch lass ich mich photographieren. Schließlich sage ich, daß sich meine Töchter sehr freuen werden, mich so schnell

After a late but quiet dinner, his "guards" assist him once again by clearing out the last of the reporters—at 2 a.m. Gieseking could finally get some rest, but as he admitted, "of course, I do not sleep well, for I have experienced so many unusual things during these last hours. . . ."[123] The morning papers, with ample, front-page coverage of the story, naturally accompanied by pictures of the much-discussed musician, had already been on the stands before midnight.[124]

The Pro Forma Interrogation and Departure

The next morning, Gieseking; the two detectives; one of his attorneys, Irving Kurz; and, although he doesn't mention them, perhaps one or both of his American managers, Charles Wagner and Edward Snowdon, made their way to the airport. There a pro-forma interrogation awaited the pianist:

> I am put under oath, and they then inform me that there are protests against my stay in the U.S. I am aware of this. If my appeal requires that witnesses be subpoenaed, I will not be able to leave the country. I forgo such an appeal. They show me some extremely tendentious newspaper articles, and I am able to say that I am familiar with them, and that they have been described by American officials in Germany as being misleading because they are based on incomplete information. . . . Another "document" is so insignificant that the chief negotiator himself rejects it. There are still some other articles. I have no further comments, and the hearing is concluded.[125]

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wiederzusehen. Wie heißen die Mädchen, wie alt sind sie, prasseln sofort die Fragen. Ich zeige allen Zeitungsleuten ein strahlendes Lächeln—keep smiling!" Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 76.

[123] "Doch aus dem Schlaf wird nicht viel, die letzten Stunden brachten doch reichlich viel Ungewohntes . . ." Ibid.

[124] Ibid.

[125] "[I]ch werde vereidigt, dann wird mir mitgeteilt, daß Proteste gegen meinen Aufenthalt in den US vorlägen. Dies ist mir ja bekannt. Wenn ein Einspruch von mir die Vorladung von Zeugen notwendig machen sollte, könne ich nicht abreisen. Ich verzichte auf solchen Einspruch. Einige sehr tendenziöse Zeitungsartikel werden mir gezeigt. Ich kann sagen, daß ich diese Artikel kenne und daß sie von zuständigen amerikanischen Stellen in Deutschland als irreführend bezeichnet worden sind, weil sie auf unvollständigen Informationen beruhen. . . . Ein weiteres 'Dokument' ist so unbedeutend, daß der

Gieseking, accompanied by the detectives, then made his way to the runway, where he encountered one last excited and noisy group of reporters and photographers. "At least twenty-five cameras are pointed at me, and a fireworks display of flashes goes off. Then questions are shouted out at me from all sides, and I am supposed to respond!"[126] He continues:

> To the first journalist who bombards me, I say, "I feel like crying out 'Vive la France!'" Astonished, he asks why. "Because I am traveling there, and there reigns true freedom," I reply. Dumbfounded he asks, "Do we not have freedom here?" I don't answer the question.
>
> Another person calls out through the flashes, "Mr. Gieseking, are you sorry you can't earn any American dollars?"
>
> I answer: "In Europe I can also earn money!"
>
> "As much as in the USA?" he asks.
>
> "Perhaps not as much, but enough," I shout out to him.
>
> "When will you come back?" someone asks.
>
> "Because this is the first country where I wasn't welcomed as an artist expects to be, it'll probably be a long time," I say, and to that I add, "Since so many countries are waiting for my visit, I think I will go where the people are friendly."
>
> "But the hall was in fact sold out here!" [the person replies.]
>
> "I believe that the majority of the American public wishes to hear me, but when an impolite minority [of citizens] has such influence I am not interested," I say, "No Sir, not me!"
>
> The photographers' frenzied snapshooting keeps me from boarding the plane for a long time. Again and again I have to wave good-bye, wave my hat, and let my scarf flutter in the wind. Finally, the captain becomes impatient and commands boarding and take-off.[127]

Verhandlungsführer es selbst ablehnt. Noch einige Artikel liegen vor, ich verzichte auf weitere Bemerkungen, die Verhandlung ist beendet." Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 77.

[126] "Mindestens 25 Objektive sind auf mich gerichtet, ein Feuerwerk von Blitzlichtern geht los, von allen Seiten werden mir Fragen zugeschrieen, ich soll mich äußern!" Ibid. (Reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 77–78.)

[127] "Dem ersten Journalisten, der mich bestürmt, sage ich: 'Ich hätte Lust, "Vive la France" zu rufen.' Erstaunt fragt er, warum? 'Weil ich dorthin reise und dort wirkliche Freiheit herrscht,' erwidere ich. Verduzt fragt er: 'Haben wir die hier nicht?' Die Antwort bleibe ich schuldig. – Ein andere ruft durch die Blitzlichter: 'Mr. Gieseking, tut es Ihnen nicht leid, keine amerikanischen Dollars verdienen zu können?' Ich antworte: 'In Europa kann ich auch Geld verdienen!' 'Ebensoviel wie in USA?' fragt er wieder. 'Vielleicht nicht so viel, aber genug' rufe ich ihm zu. – Wann werden Sie wiederkommen, werde ich gefragt. 'Da dies das erste Land ist, wo man mich nicht so empfangen hat, wie ein Künstler es wohl erwarten kann, dürfte dies nicht sobald der Fall sein,' sage ich und füge noch hinzu: 'Es warten so viele

Before entering the Paris-bound aircraft, another importunate reporter asked him how it felt to be exiting the country so soon. "It's not fit to print," was the pianist's retort according to *Life*.[128] Quotes from this departing dialogue could be read in numerous papers and magazines afterward. As Gieseking climbed aboard the plane, the French pilot remarked with a smile, "I actually thought that the war had been over for some years now."[129]

Thus ended the spectacle and Gieseking, bereft of his long-anticipated tour, must have now been looking forward to returning to a more peaceful Europe. The defeated pianist described his thoughts during his long flight home:

> Weighed down with a couple of kilograms of New York morning newspapers, I am on an Air France plane. Never have I been so famous as I am today; my picture is in every newspaper, in most cases on the front page! There are also photos of the demonstration, the fights, multi-column articles . . . and yet somehow it would still be nicer to be able to play the piano in peace, somewhat less noticed.[130]

Having been denied the right to defend himself to the press sufficiently beforehand, he made it a point to do so upon returning to Europe, namely by publishing an article in the *Frankfurter Neue Presse*. His own draft title ideas were "My

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Länder auf meinen Besuch, da werde ich dorthin gehen, wo man freundlich ist.' 'Aber hier war der Saal doch ausverkauft!' 'Ich glaube gern, daß die Mehrheit des amerikanischen Publikums mich zu hören wünscht, aber wenn eine unhöfliche Minderheit solchen Einfluß hat, bin ich nicht zu sprechen. No sir, not me!' – Lange Zeit hält mich das wilde Geknipse der Photographen davon ab, das Flugzeug zu besteigen, immer wieder soll ich winken, den Hut schwenken, meinen Schal wehen lassen. – Schließlich wird der Flugkommandant energisch und befiehlt Einsteigen und Abflug." Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 78.

[128] "Gieseking Gets the Gate," *Life*, 46.

[129] "Ich dachte eigentlich, daß der Krieg seit einigen Jahren beendet wäre." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 79. (Note: this quote, at the end of Gieseking's account of the American incident, was not included in Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte.")

[130] "Mit ein paar Kilogramm New Yorker Morgenzeitungen beladen, bin ich in der Air-France-Maschine. Noch nie bin ich so berühmt gewesen wie heute, in allen Zeitungen mein Bild, fast überall auf der *Front Page*, der ersten Seite! Dazu Photos der Demonstration, der Prügeleien, spaltenlange Artikel . . . und doch wäre es schöner, etwas weniger beachtet, ungestört Klavier spielen zu können." Gieseking, "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte"; reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 78–79.

Reencounter with New York" ("Mein Wiedersehen mit New York") and "My Weekend in New York" ("Mein Weekend in New York"), but perhaps at the editor's suggestion, the piece was ultimately appeared as "Why I did not Play in America: Stormy Flight – Protests – My Decision to Return" ("Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielt: Stürmische Hinflug – Proteste – Rückkehr aus eigenem Entschluß").[131] This allowed Gieseking to describe and comment on the course of events freely, if not necessarily to the American public. Although the text, or an excerpt, may have appeared in at least one U.S. newspaper, none of the mainstream media ran it.[132] With only slight modifications, the same article was included in the pianist's autobiographical sketch, published in German in 1963, years after his death.[133] (Extracts from that account have been quoted above on numerous occasions.)

Source of the Protests

FBI Assistant Director Daniel M. Ladd noted in a memorandum from 25 January 1949 (the day after the cancelled Carnegie Hall concert) that the protest movement against Gieseking's appearance had been initiated by three parties: Walter Winchell, the Society for the Prevention of World War III, and the Anti-Nazi League.[134] This is

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[131] Gieseking, "Mein Wiedersehen mit New York – oder: Mein Weekend in New York," typescript, [Jan.] 1949, GFA, first published as "Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte: Stürmische Hinflug – Proteste – Rückkehr aus eigenem Entschluß," *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 1 Feb. 1949. The article subsequently appeared in at least one other German newspaper; see "Warum ich nicht spielte," clipping from unidentified newspaper, 3 Feb. 1949, preserved in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich. Since Gieseking never typed, the original typescript in the GFA was presumably copied from his handwritten text., now lost.

[132] According to Dean Elder, the article appeared (was cited?) in a Missouri newspaper, though it has not been identified by the author. Elder, Unedited interview for the Canadian Broadcasting Company.

[133] See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 72–79.

[134] [FBI] Office Memorandum, D. M. Ladd to [FBI] Director [J. Edgar Hoover], 25 Jan. 1949, Gieseking FBI FOIA file.

incorrect. The records of the American Veterans Committee (AVC) clearly show that it was the organization responsible for leading the Anti-Nazi protests aimed at Germans trying to enter the U.S. after the war.[135] After it was all over, Chairman of the AVC's Musicians Chapter wrote to thank the Committee's National office for its support, boasting therein how "All organizations know that AVC originated the publicity and the protests on Gieseking's record."[136] Yet Winchell's popular and notoriously inflated journalism, particularly during his radio broadcasts, had indeed played a significant role in the protest by encouraging Americans to get involved and express their disapproval of Gieseking's entry and, above all, by instigating the picketing before Carnegie Hall, which was afterwards reportedly led by leaders of the Jewish War Veterans.[137] Angered by both Winchell's vigorous involvement in the Gieseking matter and the U.S. Government's actions, the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, a paper that steadfastly supported Gieseking, afterward announced its view of the occurrences:

> What happened, of course, is not at all obscure. Walter Winchell, whose ignorance is as profound as his taste is bad, set up a hue and cry against Gieseking. Whether Winchell excited the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish War Veterans and the Anti-Defamation league, or whether they excited him we do not know; and it is, of course, possible tho not likely that all four were acting independently. At any rate, the administration which had previously granted a visa to Gieseking fell into panic of fear at the sight of so many votes and, in a star chamber proceeding, ordered Gieseking arrested.[138]

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[135] The American Veterans Committee records are maintained at George Washington University's Gelman Library in Washington D.C. The postwar materials related to Gieseking are found in file: "Gieseking, Walter (Nazi pianist), 1944–1953," AVC records, GL, Washington D.C.

[136] Goldstein, New York, to Joseph A. Clorety Jr., Washington D.C., letter, 7 Feb. 1949, file: "Gieseking, Walter (Nazi pianist), 1944–1953," AVC records, GL, Washington D.C.

[137] "Gieseking Flies Home, Bitter at U.S. Exclusion: Foes Jubilant, Friends Angry over Ban," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 Jan. 1949; "More about Gieseking," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Mar. 1949; "Gieseking, Wagner Suits Follow Long Mgt. Splitup; Bad Timing on 1st Tour?" *Variety*, 25 May 1953, 76; Thomas, *Winchell*, 181.

[138] "More About Gieseking," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 22 Feb. 1949.

Another American who expressed his fury over Winchell and the rest of the opposing side was Milton Mayer. In his essay from March 1949, "The Wheel of Hate," Mayer called Winchell "the spokesman-in-chief of the blood-drinkers."[139] "The blood-drinkers didn't care whether the American people agreed with them or not," he continued,

> They did not want democracy; they wanted German blood to drink. . . .
>
> The doctrine in the counterprogrom against Furtwaengler and Gieseking combines the pernicious fallacy of collective guilt—the fallacy on which the Nazis slaughtered the Jews—with pernicious infantilism of revenge. When the unspeakable bestiality of the Nazi regime has been avenged on all the Germans, where shall we be?[140]

America is Divided

Public dissent had increased markedly during the final weeks before the stopped concert in spite of the Kurzs' and Snowdon's attempts to defend Gieseking. Further protests had started to take place in other cities, in Waterbury, Connecticut for example, where Gieseking was scheduled to play on 25 January.[141] In fact, the opponents claimed that the clamor had only begun and that opposition groups were being organized everywhere the pianist was scheduled to appear.[142]

In her column for the *Los Angeles Daily News*, music critic Mildred Norton had asked her readers on 11 January how they felt about Gieseking's upcoming concert in Los Angeles. Being anything but disinterested, she provoked them as well: "Walter Gieseking . . . played with great energy for Hitler's Third Reich, and who is hoping

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[139] Milton Sanford Mayer, "The Wheel of Hate," *Progressive*, March 1949, reprinted in Mayer, *The Nature of the Beast*, ed. W. Eric Gustafson (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975), 155.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Clark, "Gieseking Letters."

[142] Taubman, "Gieseking Agrees to Quit U.S."

Americans, being such softies, won't hold it against him, has also had his projected tour of this country somewhat impeded by the painfully frank stand taken recently by several artists of equal rank and somewhat sturdier artistic morals."[143] The mentioned artists included the celebrated pianists Vladimir Horowitz and Arthur Rubinstein, who were among those who had recently announced their refusal to participate in any series in which Wilhelm Furtwängler or Gieseking would appear. "I will not collaborate, musically or otherwise, with any one who collaborated with Hitler, Goering and Goebbels," Rubinstein publicly asserted.[144] On February 20, Rubinstein would, in fact, issue another statement describing his stance toward Gieseking and Furtwängler, much of which was printed in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*.[145] Yet by that summer Rubinstein was, as Gieseking reported home, "evidently uncomfortable about being described as my opponent so much"; the latter had learned of this through his South American manager, José Schraml, who had spoken with Rubinstein about the matter while in New York.[146]

To return to the question Norton raised in her column, a week later she announced the alleged results: "about 40 to 1"—the majority opposed to Gieseking's scheduled appearance in Los Angeles "on the basis of his known record as a Nazi sympathizer and supporter during the war."[147] The interest in the matter was allegedly overwhelming. "So many letters and telegrams have been received . . . that it would take the rest of the year

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[143] Mildred Norton, Column: Mildred Norton, *Los Angeles Daily News*, 11 Jan. 1949.

[144] "Pianists Warn They'll Boycott Furtwaengler: Report German Won't Conduct," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 6 Jan. 1949.

[145] "Rubinstein Tells Stand on Gieseking and Furtwaengler," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 Feb. 1949.

[146] "Er hat mit Rubinstein debattiert, dem es offenbar unangenehm ist, so viel genannt zu werden als mein Gegner." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, letter, 27 July 1949, GFA. Gieseking's reply to Rubinstein was discussed in Chapter 3, in the context of the Eugène Ysaÿe Competition of 1938.

[147] Mildred Norton, Column: Mildred Norton, *Los Angeles Daily News*, 18 Jan. 1949.

to print them all," wrote Norton. Among them was one from the exiled composer Ernst Toch, whose music Gieseking had once advocated, but which had been subsequently deemed "degenerate" by the Nazis and therefore banned from performance within the Reich.[148] Toch had a personal reason to scorn what Nazi Germany stood for and its attacks on "enemy" artists and their work. He obviously held Gieseking partly accountable for the Reich's deeds, and if he had previously respected and perhaps even felt indebted to the pianist, he despised him now:

> "Why . . . must we invite a self-avowed Nazi to recite for us the messages of such apostles of human dignity as Bach and Beethoven? Are we obliged to offer hospitality to a man whose ingrained Nazi leanings and training must make him, inevitably, contemptuous of every aspect of the American scene?"[149]

Others Speak Out In Gieseking's Defense

Following the cancellation of the concert an increased number of Americans began to voice their opinion in favor of the pianist's right to perform in their country.[150] A woman in Connecticut, identified as Mrs. Robert G. Drew-Bear, who claimed to have been a pupil of Gieseking's in Hanover from 1925 to 1935 and had fled Germany in 1936, found the U.S. officials' conduct "absurd." Gieseking, she asserted, "had not the vaguest conception of politics." "By our action in preventing his concert appearances in this country, we not only deprive ourselves of his superb playing, but we also encourage

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[148] See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 63–64 and Chapter 3 of this dissertation. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Toch's music was also included in the *Reichsmusiktage*'s "Entartete Musik" Exhibition in Düsseldorf in May 1938. See Dr. A. H., "Musik in Deutschland: Reichsmusiktage 1938," *Musikblätter der Sudetendeutschen*, 15 Juli 1938, 307–8.

[149] Mildred Norton, Column: Mildred Norton, *Los Angeles Daily News*, 18 Jan. 1949.

[150] For a collection of eleven relevant quotes from a variety of U.S. papers that appeared between 26 January and 2 February, as well as one from 11 December 1949 [1948?], see "A Few Excerpts from Nationwide Editorial Comment on "The Gieseking Affair," compiled by Charles L. Wagner and Edward W. Snowdon, file: "Immigration: Gieseking, Walter, 1949," ACLU Records, SGMML.

intolerance and persecution."[151] Likewise in Connecticut, Rev. Dr. Russell J. Clinchy sharply criticized the "intolerance" that had led to the canceled tour. He was quoted by the *Hartford Courant* as having said, "a free society should 'allow a man, who is not a criminal, to express his art or thought.'"[152] A WWII veteran, C. Dickinson Church, found "the action taken by some of my fellow citizens and the United States government to be deplorable."[153] Charles Wagner declared in a letter published in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* that the "Byrnes"—Gieseking's former German manager Arthur Bernstein and his son Hans, who were now living in Los Angeles and using their Americanized their last name—also wished to "speak out for Gieseking but feared to do so."[154]

Americans were also upset with those running Carnegie Hall. In a *Chicago Tribune Press Service* interview, Wagner stated that "many persons who telephoned were bitter because the Carnegie Hall management posted signs in which it sought to excuse itself for the presence of Gieseking in the hall."[155] Another caller told him that she would like to initiate a "'don't go to Carnegie hall' movement" and still another suggested they "start a fund to build a hall to compete with Carnegie hall."[156]

Some newspapers, too, sided with the pianist, condemning the treatment he had received. Two days after the stopped concert, the *Boston Herald* wrote, "The American public should be allowed to decide for itself whether it should hear Gieseking or stay

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[151] "Former Pupil in Defense of Gieseking Culls Move Barring Concert 'Absurd,'" *Hartford Courant*, 30 Jan. 1949.

[152] "Dr. Clinchy Raps Ousting of Gieseking: Deplores 'Intolerance' Which Stopped Concerts by German Virtuoso," *Hartford Courant*, 27 Jan. 1949.

[153] "A Veteran's Opinion," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 30 Jan. 1949.

[154] "Gieseking Flies Home, Bitter at U.S. Exclusion," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 Jan. 1949; Charles L. Wagner, "Walter Gieseking's Record," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 Feb. 1949.

[155] "Gieseking Flies Home, Bitter at U.S. Exclusion," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 Jan. 1949.

[156] Ibid.

away in droves. The government has not hesitated to import Nazi scientists for the purpose of picking their brains for atom secrets."[157] The *Chicago Daily Tribune* continued to defend the German artist, making its view of his opponents' "outrageous conduct" clear:

> In our judgment, the American Jewish congress, the Anti-Defamation league, the Jewish War Veterans, and all the other organizations which participated in this venture have done themselves great harm. They very nearly provoked a riot and they did prevent their fellow citizens from hearing the music they wanted to hear. It is just as offensive to good taste and good morals to boycott a German musician because he is German as it is to boycott a Jewish musician because he is a Jew."[158]

Turning to Germany, the same paper also reported that the "American rejection" of the pianist was, according to the *Frankfurter Neue Presse* a "'solid shock' to Germans eager to learn democracy on western lines. . . ." Quoting the Frankfurt paper further, it added, "One must assume that the nation capable of enough generosity to extend Marshall plan aid even to a former enemy has been struck by an anti-German wave."[159] In another German article, "Warum Gieseking in den USA nicht auftreten durfte" ("Why Gieseking was not permitted to perform in the USA"), Hans Habe warned that "Such a mistake has consequences that go far beyond the 'Gieseking Affair.'" What is more, Habe argued that the underlying problem was that Americans were simply not ready to forgive Germans, citing a recent survey carried out by the Institute for Public Opinion that showed 66 percent of U.S. citizens found it was still too early to disregard the Nazi crimes.[160] Finally, the *Hartford Courant* discussed the controversy more objectively, though not

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[157] "Politics of Music," *Boston Herald*, Jan. 26, 1949.

[158] "Outrageous Conduct," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 Jan. 1949.

[159] "American Rejection of Gieseking Called a Shock to Germans," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 28 Jan. 1949.

[160] "Ein solcher Irrtum hat Folgen, die weit über 'Affäre Gieseking" hinausgehen." Hans Habe, "Warum Gieseking in den USA nicht auftreten durfte."

without concluding, "It is quite possible, of course, to attend a concert by Mr. Gieseking and admire his artistry without being contaminated by any social views he may secretly hold. He did not propose to lecture on the racial theories of the Third Reich."[161]

The media coverage did not subside too quickly, and many continued to express their outrage over the Gieseking matter. In late February, for example, the still irked staff of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* commented: "he [Gieseking] wasn't going to make inflammatory speeches, organize sedition, throw bombs, or do anything more menacing than play the piano."[162] Furthermore, the paper, which had begun to cover the affair probably more than any other publication, called the Justice Department's claims from January "fantastic," questioning the existence of any new evidence that could have concerned national security.[163]

But it was too late. The "impolite minority" of Gieseking's opponents had emerged the victors, and the pianist's American fans would resentfully now have to wait several more years to see his return. The strife, however, was far from over.[164]

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[161] "Artists and Politics," *Hartford Courant*, 27 Jan. 1949.

[162] "More about Gieseking," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 22 Feb. 1949.

[163] Ibid. Most of the *Chicago Daily Tribune*'s related articles and columns with readers' letters were printed between 25 January and 5 March 1949, though some later as well. See "Gieseking Again," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 Feb. 1949; Rabbi Morton M. Berman, "The Gieseking Incident," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 Feb. 1949; "Gieseking Once Again," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Feb. 1949; A. Abbot Rosen, "Gieseking's Politics," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Feb. 1949; Charles L. Wagner and Everett B. Helm, "Walter Gieseking's Record," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 Feb. 1949; "Rubinstein Tells Stand on Gieseking and Furtwaengler," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 Feb. 1949; "More about Gieseking," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 22 Feb. 1949; "Tale of Two Musicians," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 24 Feb. 1949; Rabbi Morton M. Berman, "Shostakovich and Gieseking," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4 Mar. 1949; and Jean O' Reilly, "Gieseking's Communist Enemies," Voice of the People, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Mar. 1949.

[164] "Gieseking Flies Home, Bitter at U.S. Exclusion," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 Jan. 1949.

Conflicted U.S. Policy

Many U.S. citizens, indeed, found the action taken by the Justice Department and Immigration Officials to have been unwarranted. After all, Gieseking had resumed his international career since his clearance in 1947 and been issued a visa from a U.S. consul for the 1949 American tour. The ensuing disagreement had ultimately created a conflict in U.S. policy. Opposed to the Justice Department and Immigration Officials' stance, both the American. Military Government and the State Department had supported the pianist's U.S. entry, while the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), too, lobbied for his right to perform in the nation. ACLU lawyers concluded that the Gieseking case showed an "intolerable conflict between two governmental departments"—the State Department had accepted the U.S. Military Government's decision to clear the German artist.[165] The Justice Department's actions, the ACLU felt, were "obviously taken under pressure of protesting groups."[166]

Such disagreements within the government, according to the ACLU, had been a problem for several years, causing several "unfortunate incidents," and it had therefore been lobbying to have the responsibility of foreign visitors placed in the hands of a sole department.[167] Since Gieseking had obtained a U.S. visa and been cleared by military authorities, the ACLU believed that, regardless of his wartime record, he should have been allowed to carry out his American tour.

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[165] "Gieseking Arrest Deplored by Union," report quoting the ACLU's Weekly [Press] Bulletin No. 1373, 14 Feb. 1949, file: "Immigration: Gieseking, Walter, 1949," ACLU Records, SGMML.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.; see also letter from C. J. Friederich to Achim [last name unknown], 21 Feb. 1949, file: "Immigration: Gieseking, Walter, 1949," ACLU Records, SGMML.

Everett B. Helm, who had succeeded William Dubensky as chief of the Theater and Music Branch of the American Military Government in Hesse, likewise criticized the measures taken by U.S. officials.[168] "In refusing Gieseking entry into the United States," Helm wrote,

> the Immigration authorities have taken an attitude which would appear to contradict the decision of Military Government. In a sense, the Washington authorities are endeavoring to try Gieseking a second time, for the offense of which he has already been acquitted.[169]

Such conflicts in U.S. policy caused President Harry Truman to announce that August that henceforth the Justice Department alone would have the power to bar the entry of questionable aliens.[170] The *New York Times* reported that "under a wartime emergency law still in effect, the department may exclude any alien without holding a public hearing if it is in the national interest." Gieseking's case, it was added, had been the last one to involve the emergency law. Moreover, Truman's declaration made it known that the State Department would not necessarily be asked to become involved in future cases, although it remained responsible for issuing visas to foreigners.[171]

In October 1949, some nine months after Gieseking's failed tour, the State Department sent a summary of the pianist's record to the Danish Ambassador, who was hesitant to engage the pianist because of the recent controversy in the U.S. The State

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[168] For more on Everett Helm see Amy C. Beal, "Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946–56," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 53 (Spring 2000): 105–39.

[169] Letter from Dr. Everett B. Helm to Charles L. Wagner, 31 Jan. 1949; this appeared in at least one paper, see, for example, "Embers of Gieseking Incident Glowing," *Passaic (N.J.) Herald News*, 13 Feb. 1949. A copy of the original can be found in file: "Immigration: Gieseking, Walter, 1949," ACLU Records, SGMML; see also the letter from C. J. Friederich to Achim [last name unknown], 21 Feb. 1949 (same location).

[170] "Justice Department Gets Rule on Aliens," *New York Times*, 18 Aug. 1949.

[171] Ibid.

Department still insisted that Gieseking's clearance be recognized, and that *no* new allegations had been brought forth at the time of his detention in January.[172]

Lydia Fournier on the Musicians' Protests in the U.S.

In the summer of 1950, Jutta and her husband Imre Hajmássy (1918–2008), newly wedded, met up with cellist Pierre Fournier (1906–86) and his wife Lydia while vacationing in Sils-Maria, Switzerland. During one conversation, the topic became the musicians in the U.S. who had objected to the 1949 engagements of both Gieseking and Wilhelm Furtwängler. Lydia gave Jutta some inside information, which concerned in particular the popular French-born American coloratura soprano Lily Pons (1898–1976) and her husband, the Russian-born American conductor and arranger André Kostelanetz (1901–80), as well as the famed German-born, Jewish conductor Bruno Walter (1876–1962), who had emigrated to the U.S. from Reich-annexed Austria in 1939.[173] Jutta naturally passed on the information to her father at once, hoping to bring him some consolation. From her letter, dated 1 August 1950, we read:

> While traveling, Ms. Fournier explained the following to me: Bruno Walter had allegedly protested against Furtwängler in the U.S.A. You will recall that there was a list [published], also aimed at you, in which famous artists spoke out against you. For example, Lily Pons and Kostelana [i.e. Kostelanetz] endorsed it. But now Lily Pons told Lydia F. [Fournier] that she respects and admires you very much. She supposedly has the highest opinion of you. And when Bruno Walter heard he was on the list against Wängeli [i.e. Furtwängler[174]], whom the

[172] U.S. Department of State to the Danish Embassy, 27 Oct. 1949, 823.4038/10-2449, Decimal File 1945–49, Name Index "Gieseking, Walter," RG 59/250, NARA II, College Park, MD. We will return below to the communication regarding Gieseking between the Danish Embassy and the U.S. State Department.

[173] Erik Ryding and Rebecca Pechefsky, "Bruno Walter," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29865 (accessed 27 Jan. 2013).

[174] The Gieseking's knew Furtwängler fairly well, and he is therefore referred to as "Wängeli," though not by Walter himself, in a few instances in the family correspondence.

> Gieseking family knew well], he sent a telegram to Geneva, where Furtwängler and Lydia were at the time: [“]I will never undersign anything against you; an explanation will follow in a letter.[”] Lydia saw the telegram with her own eyes. Papa, don’t you think that those people in New York simply used the names of these artists [without permission] for their own purpose? In your case, too? That would be just like them! A total sham! Lydia completely forgot to tell you this. She said there was only one person who really protested against Wängeli, and that was [cellist Gregor] Piatigorsky. Although he owes his entire career to Furtwängler. But that’s how people are![175]

Piatigorsky had been hired by Furtwängler to serve as the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra’s principal cellist, a post he held from 1924 to 1928, hence Jutta’s comment about how he should have felt indebted to the German conductor.[176] The other prominent figures who protested against Furtwängler included pianists Vladimir Horowitz, Arthur Rubinstein, and Alexander Brailowsky, conductor Fritz Busch, and violinists Isaac Stern, Nathan Milstein and Jascha Heifetz.[177] Bruno Walter was, in fact, not included in the list of names mentioned in any of the abundant press coverage. To be sure, he probably never opposed Furtwängler’s intended postwar American activity, as Fournier asserted. Walter

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[175] “Während der Fahrt erzählte mir Frau Fournier folgendes: angeblich hatte Bruno Walter in U.S.A. gegen Furtwängler protestiert; Du weist, dass eine Liste erschien, auch gegen Dich, wo berühmte Künstler gegen Dich protestierten. Z. B. gegen Dich sollen Lily Pons und Kostelana [André Kostelanetz, Lily’s husband, who was a conductor and arranger] unterzeichnet haben. Nun hat aber Lily Pons an Lydia F. gesagt, sie schätze und bewundere Dich sehr. Sie habe die höchste Meinung von Dir. Und als Bruno Walter hörte, er sei auf der Liste gegen Wängeli, sandte er ein Telegramm nach Genf, wo Furtwängler u. Lydia gerade waren: Ich werde niemals gegen Sie etwas unterzeichnen, Erklärung folgt im Brief. Das Telegramm hat Lydia mit eigenen Augen gesehen. Papachen, traust Du denen da in New York nicht sofort zu, daß sie einfach die Namen dieser Künstler zu diesem Zweck benutzt haben? Auch in deinem Fall? Das sähe ihnen doch durchaus ähnlich! Alles Schiebung! Lydia hatte ganz vergessen, es Dir zu erzählen. Sie sagt, es habe nur einer wirklich gegen Wängeli protestiert, und das sei Piatigorsky gewesen. Obwohl es Furtwängler seine ganze Karriere zu verdanken hat. Aber so sind die Menschen!” Jutta Hajmássy, Sils-Maria, to Gieseking, Rio, letter, 1 Aug. 1950, GFA. Pons and Walter are listed among those musicians who opposed Furtwängler’s appointment in Chicago in “Furtwaengler Out As Chicago Conductor,” *Washington Evening Star*, 20 Jan. 1949.

[176] Boris Schwarz, “Gregor Piatigorsky,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21650 (accessed 28 Jan. 2013).

[177] Shirakawa, *The Devil’s Music Master*, 351. The musicians’ protest received considerable press coverage, see, for example, “Pons and Mate Refuse to Appear with German,” *Los Angeles Times*, 7 Jan. 1949; “Yehudi Menuhin Raps Critics of Furtwaengler: Jewish Violinist Calls Attack Unjust,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 Jan. 1949 and Furtwängler’s response in “German Conductor Answers Critics of Chicago Invitation: Conductor Defended,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 Jan. 1949.

was actually scheduled to conduct at the Salzburg Festival along with Furtwängler the following summer.[178]

And Walter was most certainly never one of Gieseking's opponents either. Much earlier, the two musicians had performed together and, as previously mentioned, even recorded Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in the Austrian capital's Musikverein's Grosser Saal on 10–11 August 1934.[179] This was Gieseking's first of several recordings of the concerto, and the only time he ever played under Walter's direction on disc. Yet the two musicians maintained respect for each other. At the time of recording, Gieseking mentioned in a postcard sent home, how "Bruno Walter and the orchestra are doing a very good job."[180] And according to Dean Elder, Gieseking never forgot what he learned from Walter on that occasion. Several years after the pianist's death, Walter, in a reply to Elder, described in a few words the experience and his own high view of Gieseking. "I well remember this happening," he wrote, "and it gives me much satisfaction to accompany this confirmation with the expression of my lasting admiration for this great pianist and musician Walter Gieseking."[181]

In Pons's case, it is rather clear that she was being dishonest to Lydia Fournier—if she really did deny having denounced the two German musicians at the time. As evidence of her participation in the American protest against Furtwängler's appointment as conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, which the opposition succeeded in

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[178] Claudia Cassidy, "On the Aisle," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 23 Jan. 1949.

[179] Gieseking, Vienna, to Annie, Wiesbaden, postcard, 10 Sept. 1934, GFA. (See also Chapter 2.)

[180] "Bruno Walter u. das Orchester machen die Sache sehr gut." Ibid.

[181] Bruno Walter, Beverly Hills, to Dean Elder, Forest Hills, New York, letter, 2 Oct. 1961, DEC.

hindering, the *Baltimore Sun* quoted in January 1949 a public statement the singer released through her manager: "In the beginning it was only the veterans who objected. Now, artists should also express their views strongly. Furtwaengler does not belong in this country."[182] Pons's husband, Kostelanetz, proclaimed that "both the American public and American musicians should be spared this Nazi culture."[183] Gieseking had first learned of Pons's derogatory statements referring directly to him and his questioned past in February 1949, which were included in a recent published interview, perhaps also from January. Snowdon had written his client on 25 February and included a copy of the item. Finding the finger pointing unjust and even hypocritical, Gieseking wrote back to Snow three days later: "The Pons interview is amusing in all its silliness. Anyway, she had more success with the Fascists than I ever had either with them or with the Nazis! Two request performances and Mussolini's picture! Oh boy, what did I miss! I did not get a picture of any of the "great men"![184]

Conclusion

America was divided on the subject of Gieseking. The majority of concertgoers in the United States had supported his return, not wishing to let politics interfere with art. But the opposition was resolute and emerged victorious. To be sure, Americans were frequently reading accusatory reports on the pianist containing abundant unfounded charges. Yet like scores of his German colleagues who had remained in Hitler's Reich,

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[182] "Pons, Husband Plan Boycott of Conductor: Protest Engagement of Furtwaengler As Head of Chicago Group," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 7 Jan. 1949.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Edward "Duke" and Jean Snowdon, letter, 28 Feb. 1949, DEC. Further details related to these alleged performances of Pons's, as well as the mentioned picture, have not been ascertained.

Gieseking had made some decisions later considered inexcusable by many. He had maintained a most illustrious, highly profitable career as much of Europe came under Nazi rule, while countless colleagues of his saw their professional activities there brought to an abrupt end—those lucky enough to do so escaping while they could. He had played for many official Nazi functions, both within and outside of the Reich, and carried out controversial tours sponsored by the German propaganda officials during WWII. It is therefore understandable why his opponents in the U.S. and elsewhere, having learned of his activities during the Third Reich through the media, accused him of Nazi sympathies and collaboration in spite of his postwar clearance. They were reacting emotionally to a Nazi issue, and with the many horrors of the Hitler era still on their minds, understandably so.

Furthermore, while some musicians who stayed in Germany assisted others in their flight and heroically saved lives—even Wilhelm Furtwängler, allegedly, to give one well-known, if contested, example[185]—there is but one identified instance of Gieseking having aided a Jewish person, namely his longtime manager, Arthur Bernstein; as previously discussed, he had continued to work under Bernstein during the early Reich years, despite the mounting difficulties brought on by the Nazis' *Gleichschaltung* (or 'coordination'—i.e. the Nazification of German society), ultimately helping his manager emigrate with his wife to the U.S. shortly before the war.[186] Most of what Gieseking

[185] Furtwängler's record remains controversial, but there are many accounts of how he helped others flee Germany and save many musicians' lives. He was famously outspoken during the earlier years under the regime as well. Near the end of WWII, Furtwängler was forced to flee to Switzerland, allegedly to save his life. See Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master*, 290–93; Ardoin, *The Furtwängler Record*, 55–56; Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*; Riess, *Fürtwängler: Musik und Politik*, 268–72. For a more critical discussion of Furtwängler's relationship with the Nazis see Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, especially pages 195–203.

[186] Bernstein's emigration was discussed in Chapter 4.

claimed to be acts of resistance and the other arguments made in his favor were simply not enough to exonerate him among his severest critics, particularly those in America.

In his book on the history of Carnegie Hall, published some eleven years after the well-publicized events related to Gieseking's New York reappearance in January 1949, Richard Schickel looked back at the postwar protests directed at the pianist and his colleagues Furtwängler and soprano Kirsten Flagstad—the three most debated German artists in America after WWII.[187] Recalling his surprise over the American opposition's measures, Schickel commented:

> It is odd that after its [America's] exemplary conduct during the war, remarkably free of the prejudice which had so marred its cultural pursuits during World War I, the nation found itself witnessing this kind of demonstration—something that had not happened after World War I. Most reprehensible of all, it was often the liberal groups, usually the first to defend the freedom of art, who participated in these picketings.[188]

That there was no similar anti-German outcry in the U.S. after WWI is an interesting observation, but Schickel failed to consider one important point: that war had not included a Holocaust.

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[187] Like Gieseking's, Flagstad's earlier return Carnegie Hall recital, on 20 April 1947, was picketed, yet she was able to perform and, wrote Schickel, "she received an ovation from a packed house." Schickel, *The World of Carnegie Hall* (New York: Jullian Messner, 1960), 358. The *Baltimore Sun* reported afterward that the soprano's "audience greeted her with shouts of 'brava,' cheers, whistles, stamping and clapping, and almost everyone rose to his feet when she walked onto the stage." "Carnegie Hall Crowd Cheers For Flagstad: Pickets Parade Outside As Diva Sings To Packed House," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 21 Apr. 1947. American demonstrators would continue to protest her appearances over the next years, although with lessening intensity, so that her in its review of her Carnegie Hall recital in December 1949 the *New York Times* could note, "The event gave evidence that old animosities are dying and that the Norwegian soprano is succeeding in singing her way back into the graces of the American public. In contrast to the five silent and peaceful pickets from the American Veterans Committee, who paraded outside as the crowd assembled, there was an audience of 2,700 within which greeted her with an ovation and continued with cheers and prolonged applause throughout the evening." "Kirsten Flagstad At Carnegie Hall: Audience of 2,700 Greets Her With Ovation—Soprano Sings Many Encores," *New York Times*, 12 Dec. 1949.

[188] Schickel, *The World of Carnegie Hall*, 358.

The actions taken by Gieseking's American adversaries (concertgoers only in part), we saw, led the Justice Department to stop his recital and order a reinvestigation of his record. This in turn created a conflict in U.S. policy, as the American Military Government in occupied Germany had already cleared the pianist by January 1947, which the State Department subsequently recognized. (We will recall that various officials had in fact, declared Gieseking innocent on several occasions.) Naturally, some may question whether the measures certain Americans and the Justice Department took against this artist were unjust, as did the ACLU and other U.S. citizens. Since his supporters greatly outnumbered his opponents—his sold-out Carnegie Hall booking alone showed this—the more popular opinion of this in 1949 was certainly that his treatment had indeed been unmerited. Incidentally, whatever the Justice Department's decisive newfound evidence was that January, neither it nor any other information would be used to prevent the pianist's return in 1953.

We can only speculate what the outcome may have been, had Gieseking decided to endure the Justice Department's proposed repeat hearing in 1949. Aside from logically spurning the notion of being detained on Ellis Island until then, he must have deemed his situation hopeless, hence his decision to abandon the tour instead and take the first plane back to Europe.

Thus ended the U.S. debacle. Gieseking's ten-year absence from American concert venues would now persist for over four more years. In the meantime, the Gieseking case continued to be debated heatedly in the nation's press. To be sure, his opponents in the U.S. would be anticipating his next return, while their successful campaign began to influence other protest groups to take similar action against the

pianist’s subsequent appearances in several nations worldwide. The consequences of Gieseking’s divisive NS-era history were indeed far from over.

Excursus VI:

The U.S. Justice Department's Office of Alien Property Seizes Gieseking's Insurance Policies

Stopping Gieseking's 1949 tour was not the only action that the U.S. Justice Department took against him. In 1950, its Office of Alien Property (OAP) vested the pianist's three American insurance policies, each with the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, based in New York City. The U.S. Government still considered German and Japanese assets "enemy property" and under the amended Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 accordingly confiscated them.[1] All vested property was "to be held, used, administered, liquidated, sold or otherwise dealt with in the interest of and for the benefit of the United States."[2]

Gieseking had taken out the first policy (No. 4,700,747) in his and his wife's name on 16 March 1928, some five years before the Nazis' takeover, when he and Annie were starting a family and their first daughter, Jutta, was just over six months old.[3] More precisely, he had invested in a $20,000 twenty-year endowment, which had since expired

[1] Astrid M. Eckert, *The Struggle for the Files: The Western Allies and the Return of German Archives after the Second World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 172. The Trading with the Enemy Act is still in force today.

[2] Harold I. Baynton, "Walter Gieseking [Vesting Order 14959]," *Federal Register* 15, no. 168 (30 Aug. 1950): 5862–63; Baynton, "Walter Gieseking et al. [Vesting Order 16769]," *Federal Register* 16, no. 8 (12 Jan. 1951): 331–32.

[3] Thomas H. Creighton Jr., Vesting Recommendation 14959, 5 July 1950, located in Vesting Order Case File (VO 14959), Rights of Walter Gieseking under Insurance Contract, File No. D–28–7035–H–2, Interagency Working Group, Department of Justice, Office of the Alien Property Custodian, RG131: Records of the Office of Alien Property, B190/80/7/7, entry 3, VO 14959, FRC box 448, NARA II, College Park, MD. (NARA file hereafter shortened to Vesting Order Case File: 14959, Walter Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.)

on 16 March 1948. The amount now due to him was considerable: $20,757.[4] It is uncertain when Gieseking first attempted to claim the money, but he must have anticipated some difficulties in receiving it—despite his clearance—as a German, or as the OAP still described him: "a national of a designated enemy country (Germany)."[5] Hoping to find a way around this, he had given as his address that of the Saarbrücken Conservatorium (Kohlweg 12), and indicated that he had acquired "Sarrois nationality following the separation of the Saar from Germany."[6] The OAP spoke to the State Department about the matter, noting afterward that

> territorially the Saar has not been officially separated from Germany and that politically it is not a part of France.
>
> Based upon the State Department's opinion the insured [Gieseking] is a German citizen living in Germany, therefore, vesting of his interest in this policy is recommended.[7]

U.S. officials correctly viewed him as a German. On 5 July 1950, the OAP submitted a Vesting Recommendation form, signed by Thomas H. Creighton Jr., chief of its Estates and Trust Branch.[8] The OAP subsequently executed its decision to seize Gieseking's endowment on 11 August 1950, and the Vesting Order was signed by Assistant Attorney General and OAP Director Harold I. Baynton.[9]

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[4] Creighton, Vesting Recommendation 14959, 5 July 1950, Vesting Order Case File: 14959, Walter Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[5] Harold I. Baynton, Vesting Order 14959, "Re: Rights of Walter Gieseking under Insurance Contract, File No. D–28–7035–H–2," 11 Aug. 1950, Vesting Order Case File: 14959, Walter Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[6] Creighton, Vesting Recommendation 14959, 5 July 1950, Vesting Order Case File: 14959, Walter Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Baynton, "Walter Gieseking [Vesting Order 14959]," *Federal Register* 15, no. 168 (30 Aug. 1950): 5862–63; Baynton, Vesting Order 14959, "Re: Rights of Walter Gieseking under Insurance Contract, File No. D–28–7035–H–2," 11 Aug. 1950, Vesting Order Case File: 14959, Walter Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

Gieseking's other two policies (No. 10,496,254 and 10,895,520) were described as retirement annuity contracts, which he had taken out at a later, unspecified date. With Gieseking listed as the annuitant, the primary beneficiary was Annie, and this time both daughters were named the secondary beneficiaries.[10] According to the terms of the contracts, Gieseking was to receive lifetime benefits of $58.84 per month for the first policy, beginning 22 November 1960, and payments of $75.27 as of 14 March 1961 for the second policy. A cash surrender value on 31 December 1945 would have amounted to $5,713.92 and $5,928.77 respectively.[11] As before, a Vesting Recommendation form was submitted, signed by Creighton on 12 December 1950, and the OAP reached its decision to appropriate both properties on 27 December 1950.[12] Assistant Attorney General and OAP Director Baynton again signed the Vesting Order.[13]

After Gieseking's successful reappearance in the U.S. in 1953, he made a renewed attempt to have the vested property returned to him the following year (Claim No. 61001). But the OAP replied to him on 18 July 1954, announcing its decision to recommend the dismissal of his claim to Baynton on grounds of ineligibility. Gieseking

[10] Thomas H. Creighton Jr., Vesting Recommendation 16760, 12 Dec. 1950, Subject: Rights of Walter Gieseking et al. under Insurance Contracts, files no. D–28–7035–H–1, H–3, located in Vesting Order Case File (VO 16760), Rights of Walter Gieseking et al. under two Insurance Contracts, Files No. D–28–7035–H-1, H–3, Interagency Working Group, Department of Justice, Office of the Alien Property Custodian, RG131, B190/80/7/7, entry 3, FRC box 457, NARA II, College Park, MD. (NARA file hereafter shortened to Vesting Order Case File: 16760, Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.; Baynton, "Walter Gieseking et al. [Vesting Order 16769]," *Federal Register* 16, no. 8 (12 Jan. 1951): 331–32.

[13] Baynton, "Walter Gieseking et al. [Vesting Order 16769]," *Federal Register* 16, no. 8 (12 Jan. 1951): 331–32; Baynton, Vesting Order 16760, "Re: Rights of Walter Gieseking under Insurance Contracts, Files No. D–28–7035–H–1, H–3," 27 Dec. 1950, Vesting Order Case File: 16760, Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

and his new attorney, Marie Louise Stern of New York, were given forty-five days to object.[14]

At that point, the pianist turned to the French for help, as he had done in other instances since the war's end. As a result, the French Embassy involved itself by writing the U.S. Department of State on 2 August 1954. The State Department in turn contacted the Justice Department, sending Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. a translated copy of the French aide-mémoire on 17 September.[15] In the correspondence, Gieseking was, as in 1950, described as a "German national resident in the Saar territory."[16] He and the French officials doubtless maintained some hope that his Saar residency would help whitewash his status as a resident of an enemy nation, as it were, but, also as in 1950, it had no effect on the American officials' view of the pianist and its decision. The French were powerless. In its reply to the State Department, the Justice Department wrote:

> The points raised in the Aide-Memoire [*sic*] under reference were taken into consideration in arriving at the conclusion, stated in the Department's Aide-Memoire of June 24, 1954, that the property in question was subject to vesting within the meaning of the Trading with the Enemy Act at the time such action was taken on August 11, 1950, and may be disposed of only as provided in the Act.[17]

While 27 December 1950 (when the two Retirement Annuity Contracts were declared as vested property) is not specified, the Justice Department's verdict presumably pertained to all three of Gieseking's policies. As for Stern, she had informed the OAP of her intent

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[14] Creighton, OAP, Washington D.C., to Herman Phleger, Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State, Washington, D.C., "Re: Walter Wilhelm Gieseking," received 14 Oct. 1954, Vesting Order Case File: 16760, Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[15] Ibid.; Department of State, [to OAP], 1 Nov. 1954, Vesting Order Case File: 16760, Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[16] Department of State, [to OAP], 1 Nov. 1954, Vesting Order Case File: 16760, Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[17] Ibid.

to file a brief, yet for reasons unknown failed to do so.[18] She and Gieseking had perhaps come to the conclusion that his case was hopeless.

In the end, the OAP must have dismissed the German pianist's renewed claim as intended, ending the matter once and for all. Consequently, he lost a considerable amount of money to the U.S. Government, long-term investments that he had made for his retirement and family. As in 1949, he must have felt cheated by the Justice Department's actions. But, by 1954, he had begun to earn more money than ever before in America through renewed concertizing and increased record royalties. His fees were quickly compensating for the blocked funds, and knowing this must have given him at least some personal satisfaction. In any case, it was enough to keep him returning to the U.S. for annual tours until his death.

[18] Department of State, [to OAP], 1 Nov. 1954, Vesting Order Case File: 16760, Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD]; Creighton, OAP, Washington D.C., to Herman Phleger, Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State, Washington, D.C., "Re: Walter Wilhelm Gieseking," received 14 Oct. 1954, Vesting Order Case File: 16760, Gieseking, NARA II, College Park, MD.

Chapter 12:

Repercussions of the American Outcry in Europe and South America

While Gieseking could, for now, no longer tour in the United States after the debacle of January 1949, he resumed his career in more countries than ever before. But the further opposition he met with, feverishly roused by the U.S. uproar, was much more than he could have anticipated. To begin, he continued concertizing in Europe and returned to South America. Within a few years his itinerary will expand to include Asian countries and Australia.

Protest in Bologna, June 1949

Although Europe was the sole continent where Gieseking had continued his career during WWII, there is but one known record of public dissent over his appearances in the Old World after the war. He flew from Paris to Italy on 31 May to begin an Italian tour the following day, starting in Turin. Before the concert the next evening, he had planned to spend the day catching butterflies. But then he learned there was some outcry against his appearance. The important concert organizer and president of Turin's independent music section of the Pro Cultura Femminile from 1920 to 1950, Bice Bertolotti Lupo, intervened at once; she must have been responsible for the scheduled performance.[1] Describing the occurrence, Gieseking wrote:

[1] Claudia De Benedetti, Università di Torino, and Centro di studi sull'arco alpino occidentale, *Accademie, salotti, circoli nell'arco alpino occidentale: il loro contributo alla formazione di una nuova Ottocento e Novecento* (Torino: Centro studi piemontesi, 1995), 186.

> Old Bertolotti [was] quite worked up because some Jews from a concentration camp organization had protested. I gave her the various letters, which she hurriedly brought to the association. That took the whole morning. By the afternoon, they were saying that they had not meant to make things so difficult. The organization refused to accept the free tickets and did not come [to the concert]. The protest was, in any case, over. That evening the hall was excessively crowded and the audience extremely lively.[2]

Gieseking was obviously not entirely unprepared for this, hence the described letters. After the American disaster, he now carried with him this documentation explaining his clearance and perhaps that he was innocent of Nazi taint. The precise content of the materials are not given, but, as we will soon see, he again refers to such papers not long afterward while touring South America. On that occasion, these will include his performance license issued by the U.S. Military Government, a statement from Wiesbaden's *Spruchkammer*, and a letter of approval from a priest, presumably the Brazilian Franciscan Monk Friar Pedro Sinzig, who would step up in his defense. The documents had clearly served their purpose in Turin, though in South America they would not.

Other than this incident, the Italian tour went exceptionally well, and there was apparently no further objection to the pianist's engagements. His next recital, at *La Scala*, was nearly sold out. In Rome, he played Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto and Schumann's Concerto in A minor, as well as Debussy's *Suite bergamasque*, Ravel's Sonatine, and encores in between. "I have probably never heard such cries of enthusiasm from an audience," he reported home afterward, "and the heat was nearly worse than in

[2] "[D]ie olle Bertolotti [war] in grosser Aufregung, weil einige Juden aus einer KZler-Organisation protestiert hatten. Ich gab ihr die diversen Briefe mit, sie lief damit zu dem Verein, dadurch ging das ganze Vormittag hin. Am Nachmittag hies es dann, die hätten das gar nicht so schlimm gemeint. Der Verein habe die angebotenen Freikarten abgelehnt und käme nicht. Damit war der Protest erledigt. Am Abend war dann der Saal masslos überfüllt und das Publikum höchst lebhaft." Gieseking, Bologna, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 June 1949, GFA.

Brazil. The say that the hall was overfilled is an understatement."[3] What is more, the Italian press carped at the way Gieseking had been handled in the U.S. in January. "The newspapers in part criticized the Americans quite severely in their reviews. And I can really believe that I play quite well, according to the press!"[4]

Rudolf Goette's Death

While in Italy Gieseking also learned of the shocking news regarding his manager, Rudolf Goette. Goette had tried to defend his most famous client after the war, as we saw, but without any success. Nonetheless, Gieseking had continued working with him upon resuming his career.[5] Goette became the victim of a cruel fate, however, when he was murdered in early June 1949. He had allegedly involved himself in a marital dispute. Reporting on the incident, the popular German magazine *Der Spiegel* wrote: "Dr. Rudolf Goette, head of the Goette Concert Agency in Hamburg, was killed by four pistol shots. The deed was an act of revenge, for Dr. Goette was keeping valuables for a woman from Hamburg who was divorcing the perpetrator."[6] Goette was but 49 years old.[7] He had nonetheless established a highly successful company, which, still based in Hamburg, continues to thrive to this day. Gieseking initially stayed with the agency after the crime.

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[3] "So etwas von Geschrei seitens des Publikums habe ich kaum jemals gehört. Und die Hitze war fast schlimmer als in Brasilien. Der Saal überfüllt ist gar kein Ausdruck." Gieseking, Bologna, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 7 June 1949, GFA.

[4] "Die Zeitungen in Rom haben zum Teil recht heftig auf die Amerikaner geschimpft in meinen Kritiken. Und ich muss ja wirklich annehmen, dass ich ganz gut spiele, bei der Presse!" Ibid.

[5] For an example of Gieseking mentioning Goette apropos some European concert arrangements see Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 July 1948, GFA.

[6] "Dr. Rudolf Goette, der Chef der Hamburger Konzertdirektion Goette, wurde durch vier Pistolenschüsse ermordet. Die Tat geschah aus Rache, weil Dr. Goette die Wertsachen einer Hamburgerin aufbewahrte, die mit dem Täter in Scheidung lag." "Personalien: Dr. Rudolf Goette," *Der Spiegel*, 16 June 1949, 26, accessed 2 June 2012, http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-44437208.html.

[7] "Mord an Dr. Rudolf Goette Ermittlungen," *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 7 June 1949.

In mid-August, for instance, he instructed his wife and daughters that "when people ask for concerts, refer them all to Goette's firm; Frau Marie is keeping the business going."[8] And in reply from 23 July 1951, to the philosopher Theodor Haering (1884–1964) in Tübingen, Gieseking referred his addressee to the Goette bureau.[9] André Puglia then began to function as his chief manager for engagements throughout much of the world. Yet subsequent letters show that Gieseking never stopped working the Goette office, at least for some of his German bookings, as well as certain Eastern European appearances.[10] In a letter from 13 February 1955, for instance, Jutta mentioned to her father that the firm had written to confirm a date on 25 March.[11] On 6 October that year, Gieseking explained to his daughter that the "Goettes have received offers from Prague (very well paid) and Russia!"[12] As in the past, the Berlin agency, Hans Adler agency in Berlin remained responsible for at least some of his engagements there in the capital.[13]

South America Revisited, 1949

At the end of July, Gieseking returned to South America for another extended tour that would continue into October and include performances in Chile, Peru, Argentina,

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[8] "Wenn die Leute Konzerte verlangen, schickt alle an die Firma Goette, Frau Mark arbeitet weiter." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, letter, 16 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[9] Gieseking, [Wiesbaden], to Professor [Theodor Haering d. J.], no place, letter, 23 July 1951, Theodor Haering Nachlass, Md 1014-142, Eberhard Karls Universität, Tübingen.

[10] Another example of his dealings with the Goette agency is found in Gieseking, Sacramento, to Annie and Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1954, GFA.

[11] Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, [New York], letter, 13 Feb. 1955, GFA.

[12] "Goette's haben Angebote aus Prag (sehr gut bezahlt) und Russland!" Gieseking, Hamburg, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Oct. 1955, GFA. Gieseking also mentioned only several days later that Frau Goette was arranging a performance for Jutta's husband, Imre, namely the piano part in Beethoven's *Choral Fantasy*, op. 80, with Joseph Keilberth (1908–68) conducting the Hamburg Philharmonic. Gieseking, Essen, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Oct. 1955, GFA.

[13] In February 1955, for example, Jutta mentioned how the Adler agency wanted to book a date for her father in Berlin and get the hall reserved as soon as possible. See Jutta and Annie, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, [Los Angeles], letter, 17 Feb. 1955, GFA.

and Brazil. His previous year's visit to the continent had been a true triumph. The *El Atlántico* now proclaimed, "in 1948 he [Gieseking] made his first tour of South America, arriving in Buenos Aires, where he gave a memorable series of concerts at the Teatro Colón. This year Walter Gieseking is again a guest in our country, where is hailed as one of the greatest masters of the piano today."[14] Also telling is a poll from 1949, taken by the rather sensationalist but widely read Chilean paper *VEA*. Its readers voted on their favorite pianists. Gieseking came in first place, with the Chilean pianist (albeit German-trained) Claudio Arrau in second, followed by Vladimir Horowitz and Artur Schnabel.[15] These were four of the century's biggest names in pianism, all of whom remain unforgotten thanks to their extensive, for many indispensable, discographies. That Gieseking received more votes than Arrau in the latter's homeland, where Chilean concertgoers were rightfully most proud of him, is particularly surprising.

As further evidence of Gieseking's immense popularity in South America, he repeatedly mentions having to sign countless autographs, and his fans would even hunt him down on the streets.[16] After performances it became a real burden: "This business after the concert is the most unpleasant thing here, because the people do not take into consideration that they are not the only ones who want an autograph, but rather often hundreds do. When an acquaintance approaches me and we shake hands, then all those next in line want to do so, too. I then have to ignore it, for it is rather impossible to give

[14] "En 1948 realizó su primera gira sudamericana, llegando a Buenos Aires donde ofreció una serie de conciertos memorables en el Teatro Colón. Esta año Walter Gieseking es de nuevo huésped de nuestro país, donde se le aclama como a uno de los más grandes maestros del piano de la actualidad." "Walter Gieseking," Musicalerias, *El Atlántico* (Bahía Blanca, Argentina), 4 Sept. 1949.

[15] Other pianists that were named, though without being ranked, included the following: Edwin Fischer, Arthur Rubinstein, Rudolph Serkin, Alfred Cortot, Daniel Ericourt, José Iturbi, Witold Małcużyński, Artur Rodziński, Ignaz Friedman, Harold Bauer, Alexander Uninsky, Wilhelm Backhaus, and, Jesús María Sanromá. *VEA* (Santiago de Chile), 3 Aug. 1949, p. 2.

[16] Gieseking, Chile, to Jutta and Freya Gieseking, letter, 6 Aug. 1949, GFA;

signatures while shaking hands."[17] Schraml was forced to assist Gieseking by getting fans out of the way once they had received the pianist's autograph; yet the ambitious manager maintained that this was a more effective method of enhancing one's popularity than giving encores—three of those were sufficient. Gieseking felt otherwise; apparently compromising, he usually gave four.[18]

Record Sales in South America

The success of Gieseking's South American concerts was aided immeasurably by the sales of his albums. "The record industry is enormous here," he remarked to Annie, and like those of his most esteemed colleagues, his discs enjoyed immense popularity across much of the continent.[19] Already during his 1948 visit, in fact, he remarked while in Buenos Aires: "Most of them are sold out! 30,000 of my albums are produced here; 1,000 copies of the Grieg Concerto were imported from England. No wonder the basket of flowers from Columbia was so big!"[20] At that time, these figures were indeed extraordinary. Advertisements of his recordings often appeared in South American newspapers, frequently accompanied by an illustration of him, a common feature of his

[17] "Dieser Betrieb nach dem Konzert ist das Unangenehmste hier, weil die Leute absolut nicht daran denken, dass sie nicht allein ein Autogramm wollen, sondern dass es oft Hunderte sind. Wenn ein Bekannter darunter ist, dem ich die Hand gebe, wollen alle Dahinterstehenden mir auch die Hand schüttlen. Dann muss ich das wieder übersehen, weil Unterschriften geben und Händeschütteln ziemlich unvereinbar ist." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[18] Ibid.; Gieseking, Antofagasta, Chile, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[19] "[D]as Plattengeschäft ist hier enorm. . . ." Gieseking, Santiago, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 July and 1 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[20] " Die meisten sind ausverkauft! 30000 Platten sind hier fabriziert, das Griegkonzert ist in 1000 Exemplaren aus England importiert, kein Wunder, dass der Blumenkorb der Columbia so gross war!" Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Aug. 1948, GFA.

ads wherever they were printed.[21] But the scale of the current promotion of the pianist and his discography was beyond any he had hitherto witnessed:

> Columbia placed an announcement in the biggest paper, which was as large as an entire page of the *Wiesbadener Kurier*! As I was in their shop yesterday to sign numerous photos, my Mozart Concerto was being played at the maximum volume. Perhaps that's why I had to take Aspirin afterward! Here they are selling 63 various records ([complete albums,] not record sides) of mine, i.e. almost all of my recordings are available.[22]

Protest in South America

Yet not everything went without difficulty in South America in 1949. Jewish protest groups excited outcry against his engagements there, as had been done recently and successfully in the U.S. When Gieseking first performed on the southern continent in 1948, we will recall, certain Jewish committees had threatened to protest his appearances, but they apparently took no further action. Now, in the wake of the New York occurrences of January, they were even more determined to denounce the pianist and, as much as possible, hinder his success.

From Europe, Gieseking had first flown to Buenos Aires. Among the stopovers was a short halt in Rio de Janeiro. No sooner had he exited the plane in the Brazilian metropolis than he learned of the uproar already underway. Thus, in his first letter describing the planned tour, sent home from Buenos Aires on 27 July, he felt obliged to explain in detail the outcry and present uncertainties pertaining to the engagements in Brazil:

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[21] In Gieseking's private archives in Wiesbaden, there are collections of cuttings he gathered with the aid of his clipping agencies for his South American tours.

[22] "Die Columbia hat eine Aunonce in der grössten Zeitung gehabt, so gross wie eine Seite des Wiesbadener Kuriers! Als ich gestern in deren Laden eine Anzahl Photos unterschrieben musste, lief mein Mozartkonzert mit vollen Lautstärke. Vielleicht musste ich daher danach Aspirin nehmen! Hier verkaufen sie 63 verschiedene Platten (nicht Plattenseiten) von mir, haben also fast alle Aufnahmen vorrätig." Gieseking, Santiago, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 July and 1 Aug. 1949, GFA.

Maria Amelia [of the Associação Brasileira de Concertos (ABC)] was at the airport, quite excited and, in fact, with a lot of unpleasant news. The Jews have not stopped their protest even though they had promised to do so. A letter has arrived from New York, which repeats the entire nonsense that the *New York Times* and [Walter] Winchell had published. I have now written a reply to that; Mrs. Schraml typed it for me yesterday (in French), and now several people in Rio are meeting again to try to come to an agreement. The majority of the public, including many Jews in Rio, are on my side, but the few who are rabid are naturally the most resolute. That our "friend" Gembicki had to withdraw his letter shows just how invidious they are!! As a subordinate employee, he had used the Jewish organization's letterhead without permission and, apparently under threat, he must now explain that his letter was merely private! — It is still uncertain what will happen next. Members of the ABC are for the most part anticipating my concerts, to which they have already subscribed. And Maria Amelia, Heuberger, etc. [from the ABC], maintain that if they have to declare that I cannot play because of the Jews' protest, a tremendous outrage will arise among the remaining public that will initiate a wave of anti-Semitism, the likes of which Brazil has never seen (so they say). There is still a lot of time until October, and I am trying to remain calm until then. In a number of cities, the branch associations of the ABC have requested my concerts. Only in Recife and Bahia was this prevented by Mr. Odenheimer, the fat merchant from Recife who was very friendly last year. — The one-hour stay in Rio was therefore not gratifying. As I flew further, I wrote my reply to the various letters. By the way, the Jews assert that my performance license from the America Military Government, as well as the *Spruchkammer* decision, and likewise the priest's assessment—in short everything—make no difference. They refer simply to a book [i.e. article] by Prof. [John H.] Herz in Washington [D.C.] on "The Fiasco of Denazification in Germany," with which, of course, no one is familiar. It is sometimes really hard to stay polite!![23]

[23] "Maria Amelia war am Flugplatz, ziemlich aufgeregt und eigentlich mit einer Menge unangenehmer Nachrichten. Den Protest haben die Juden doch nicht zurückgezogen, obwohl sie es versprochen hatten. Von Newyork ist ein Brief gekommen, der den ganzen Quatsch wiederholt, den die N.Y. Times und [Walter] Winchell veröffentlicht hatten. Ich habe nun meine Antwort darauf geschrieben, Frau Schraml hat diese gestern abgetippt (französisch) und nun kommen die diversen Leute in Rio nochmal zusammen um zu versuchen, sich zu verständigen. Der grösste Teil des Publikums, auch viele Juden in Rio, sind auf meiner Seite, aber die wenigen rabiaten sind natürlich am eifrigsten. Wie gehässig die sind, geht daraus hervor, dass unser "Freund" Gembicki seinen Brief hat widerrufen müssen!! Er hätte als untergeordneter Angestellter unberechtigterweise das Briefpapier der jüdischen Organisation benutzt und offenbar unter Drohungen hat er erklären müssen, dass sein Brief nur privat war! — Wie sich die Sache nun entwickelt, ist noch unklar. Die Mitglieder der ABC warten zum grössten Teil auf meine Konzerte, auf die sie schon abonniert haben und Maria Amelia, Heuberger u.s.w. sagen, dass wenn sie erklären müssen, dass ich nicht spielen darf, weil die Juden protestieren, eine Riesenwut beim übrigen Publikum entsteht, womit ein Antisemistismus, den es in Brasilien noch nicht gegeben hat (heisst es), anfangen würde. Es ist ja noch lange hin bis zum Oktober und ich bemühe mich, die Sache in Ruhe abzuwarten. In einer ganzen Reihe von Städten haben die Zweigvereine der ABC meine Konzerte verlangt, nur in Recife und Bahia hat Herr Odenheimer dies verhindert. Die dicke Kaufmann aus Recife, der voriges Jahr sehr freundlich war. — Der Aufenthalt von einer Stunde in Rio war daher nicht erfreulich. Beim Weiterflug schrieb ich meine Antwort auf die diversen Briefe. Übrigens erklären die Juden, meine Lizenzierung durch die Amerikaner,

More about Gembicki and Odenheimer is not known. As for Herz, he was a professor at Howard University in the American capital. He had published the referred to article on Germany's denazification in the *Political Science Quarterly* in December 1948. One of the many critics of the Allies' postwar attempt to restore democracy in the former Reich, Herz concluded that "the effect of denazification appears to have been to bar certain persons *temporarily* from positions of influence rather than to provide for their definitive or long-term elimination."[24] Herz made no mention of the pianist in the article.

The meeting in Rio that Gieseking mentioned in the above letter evidently did nothing to resolve the disagreement. As late as 6 October, another such assembly would therefore take place with regard to his Brazilian appearances, to which we shall return, and there were numerous other efforts made to try to calm his opponents.

Shortly after writing the above letter, Gieseking met up with José Schraml to sign the response in French that his manager's wife had typed for him. More unpleasant news awaited the pianist:

> In so doing, he [Schraml] showed me too articles from Chile and Uruguay, certain Jews are protesting everywhere. And in Uruguay, where I did not play also last year, a conductor wanted to hire me, but has now decided not to. We already knew that the people in Uruguay are quite emotional. In Chile, another person wrote a letter of protest to a newspaper; it printed it, but very respectably described my position in an added postscript.[25]

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sowie ein Spruchkammerbescheid, ebenso das Gutachten des Pfarrers, kurzum alles, hätte ja keine Bedeutung. Sie verweisen ganz einfach auf ein Buch von Prof. [John H.] Herz in Washington über "das Misslingen der Denazifizierung in Deutschland" [der Artikel "The Fiasco of Denazification in Germany"]—das natürlich keiner kennt. Es wird wirklich manchmal schwer höflich zu bleiben!!" Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, letter, 27 July 1949, GFA.

[24] Herz, "The Fiasco of denazification in Germany," 592.

[25] "Dabei zeigte er [Schraml] mir auch Artikel aus Chile und Uruguay, überall protestieren einzelne Juden und in Uruguay, wo ich auch voriges Jahr nicht spielte, wollte mich ein Kapellmeister engagieren, hat aber doch darauf verzichtet. Dies wusste man ja schon vorher, dass die Leute in Uruguay ganz wild sind. In Chile hat auch einer einen Protestbrief an eine Zeitung geschrieben, diese hat ihn abgedruckt aber in einem Nachsatz sehr anständig meinen Standpunkt hinzugefügt." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, letter, 27 July 1949, GFA.

On account of the circumstances in Uruguay, it seems that Gieseking once again made no appearances in the nation.

Chile

The tour commenced in Chile. On Thursday morning, Gieseking flew to Santiago, where he gave his first public performance that Saturday, 30 July. Two other Chilean engagements followed that Monday and Thursday, and Schraml quickly booked an extra, fourth concert in the seaside resort Viña del Mar, on the Pacific Ocean.[26] The visiting pianist was pleased with his initial appearance, but understandably regretted the outcry and resultant inconveniences. Schraml had "dragged me into the theater an hour in advance because of the risk of potential demonstrators," he explained in a letter home.[27] Once safely inside, he read *Time* magazine in peace as he waited to begin playing.[28] Security measures also had to be taken, causing the headline of one of the subsequent reviews to read, "Gieseking Denies Being a Nazi; Police Listened to a Mozart Sonata."[29] Afterward, the disputed artist once more described the latest course of events to his family, who must have been nervously anticipating the news:

> I should first say that everything has gone well, although here, too, there was ample vituperation. Leaflets were distributed, some newspapers published inflammatory articles, others once again protested against the outcry; at any rate, there was enough excitement—and sufficient police in and in front of the theater. But I was greeted with terrific applause and shouts, and after that everything was naturally fine. The concert was virtually sold out; the whole stage was even filled, though no Jews were there. The rabid Jews, who, among other things, say that I

[26] Gieseking, Santiago, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 July and 1 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[27] "Schraml schleifte mich dann eine Stunde vor Anfang ins Theater, wegen etwaiger Demonstrantengefahr." Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] "Gieseking Niega Haber Sido Nazi; Policia Escucho Sonata Mozart," *Ercilla* (Santiago de Chile), 2 Aug. 1949.

had been belonged to a firing squad(!), terrorize the rationally minded ones, so that the latter dare not attend. Maybe they will come to the upcoming concerts—and if not, the halls are packed anyway.[30]

Among other things, the opposition repeatedly referred to Gieseking as Hitler's preferred and even "personal" pianist ("pianista personal"). The Comité Universitario Democrático, for instance, published an article in the paper *Las Noticias Graficas* on 30 July 1949, the title of which began "Gieseking, pianista de Hitler…," with the first line reading "Walter Gieseking, pianista favorito de Hitler, no debe tocar en Chile!" ("Walter Gieseking, Hitler's favorite pianist, should not play in Chile!").[31] This caused Walter to mention in a letter to Annie the following day, "I have so often read here that I was Adolf's favored pianist that I might begin to believe it myself."[32] But unlike in the U.S. during the events of January, he was able to defend himself in South America. Thus, he had already responded to the assertion the month before during an interview in Santiago: "That's ridiculous. Hitler was present only once at a concert of mine, it was a benefit event. Then, I never saw Hitler again."[33] He was by all accounts telling the truth,

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[30] "Ich will gleich bemerken, dass alles gut gegangen ist, obwohl auch hier reichlich viel gestänkert wurde. Flugblätter wurden verteilt, manche Zeitungen veröffentlichten hetzerische Artikel, andere protestierten wieder dagegen, es war jedenfalls genügend Aufregung—und genügend Polizei in und vor dem Theater. Aber ich wurde mit enormen Beifallsgeschrei begrüsst und danach war natürlich alles in Ordnung. Es war so gut wie ausverkauft, auch die ganze Bühne besetzt, obwohl keine Juden hingehn. Die rabiaten Juden, die u.a. behaupten, ich hätte einem Exekutionskommando angehört(!), terrorisieren die vernünftigen so, dass diese nicht wagen, hinzugehn. Vielleicht kommen sie aber doch in die nächsten Konzerte—und wenn nicht, es ist ja voll." Gieseking, Santiago, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 July and 1 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[31] "Gieseking, pianista de Hitler, se presentará hoy en el Municipal: cobra $600 por la Platea," *Las Noticias Graficas* (Buenos Aires), 30 July 1949.

[32] "Dass ich Adolf's Lieblingspianist gewesen bin, habe ich hier so oft gelesen, dass ich es vielleicht noch mal selbst glaube." Gieseking, Santiago, Chile, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, July 31, 1949, GFA.

[33] "Es ridículo. Hitler estuvo presente sólo una vez en uno de mis conciertos, que fue de beneficencia. Después, no vi más a Hitler." "Gieseking Niega Haber Sido Nazi; Policia Escucho Sonata Mozart," *Ercilla* (Santiago), 2 Aug. 1949.

referring to the concert that had taken place in Berlin in November 1935.[34] Regarding his failed North American tour, he was also sure to affirm that it was *his* decision—not that of the U.S. authorities—to cancel his tour: "Given the situation, I chose to return to Europe."[35] Of course, he did not have much of a choice then.

As before, others were enraged, even offended, by the demurral. Responding to the "improper action" taken against Gieseking, the Santiago newspaper *El Mercurio* found it "revolting to the traditional decency of the Chilean public" ("repugna a la tradicional hidalguía del público chileno").[36] It further noted that the "flyers have accordingly been the subject of general disapproval and have been viewed as something entirely foreign to the renowned culture of our musical environment."[37]

Schraml, whom Gieseking often lightheartedly referred to as "der Dicke"—the fatso—when writing home (in 1949 Schraml weighed 112 kilograms or 247 U.S. pounds[38]), was not concerned at all about the controversy and even found amusement in it. Schraml's carefree attitude, in fact, helped the pianist likewise not get too worked up over the situation. "The fatso is in his element," he told his family, "he views such things as a sport. It's good that he's with me, for it might otherwise hardly be pleasurable—

[34] See Chapter 2.

[35] "En vista de esta situación, opté por regresar a Europa." "Gieseking, pianista de Hitler, se presentará hoy en el Municipal: cobra $600 por la Platea," *Las Noticias Graficas* (Buenos Aires), 30 July 1949.

[36] "Una Accion Impropria" *El Mercurio* (Santiago), 29 July 1949.

[37] "Los referidos volantes han sido, pues, objeto de general desaprobación y se han señalado como algo enteramente extraño a la reconocida cultura de nuestro ambiente musical." Ibid.

[38] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, letter, 27 July 1949, GFA.

furthermore, Schraml always makes you laugh!"[39] Indeed, he seems to have enjoyed his manager's company immensely.

The Chilean part of the South American tour soon ended. Despite the public outcry and the cold that Gieseking had caught—forcing him to cough considerably during the pauses of his concerts—the performances in Chile were received with tremendous enthusiasm, and Schraml had therefore quickly booked the additional fourth and final concert in Viña del Mar.[40] To speed up Gieseking's recovery, a local doctor had given him some advice and a shot of penicillin. Partly as a result, the pianist was most pleased with his concluding performance: "It was once again extremely packed; the people cheered, demanded four encores, and afterward fought for autographs in a remarkable manner. The piano was good; I hardly had to cough anymore, so everything went well!"[41] After his first appearance there, the Chilean magazine *Condor* (published in German) had written, "we know that it was one of those great evenings that remain unforgettable."[42] Referring to the political tension, the same article included the following opinionated statement:

> We want to make it clear here: it was not merely those of German origin who, upon his appearance, sought to assure the artist of their appreciation and admiration. It was the nation of Chile that gallantly welcomed a great performer, a

[39] "Der Dicke [Schraml] ist ja in seinem Element, er betrachtet solche Sachen als Sport, es ist ja gut, dass er mit ist, sonst wäre es vermutlich wenig angenehm—ausserdem hat man bei Schraml immer was zu lachen!" Gieseking, Santiago, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 July and 1 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[40] Gieseking, Chile, to Jutta and Freya Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[41] "Es war wieder riesig voll, die Leute haben geschrieen, 4 Zugaben verlangt und sich hinterher um Autogramme gerauft, dass es bemerkenswert war. Der Flügel war gut, ich brauchte kaum mehr zu husten, also war alles in Ordnung!" Ibid.

[42] "[W]ir wissen, dass es einer der grossen Abende war, die immer bleiben." "Walter Gieseking in Chile; Zum ersten Gieseking-Konzert," Aus dem Kunstleben, *Condor* (Chile), 4 Aug. 1949, 25.

nation in which everyone has the freedom to demonstrate his skills and to serve art—regardless of the present, ephemeral political currents.[43]

After the final concert, there was a farewell dinner at the Old Inn restaurant in Santiago. Surprisingly, few guests showed up. "My 'pupil' had invited people," Gieseking explained, "but she had already been harassed by other Jews because of that! Nonetheless many Jews were allegedly at my last concert, and the newspapers all wrote something favorable or . . . nothing at all. In other words, the whole hostile campaign against me completely failed."[44]

Gieseking and Schraml had first dined at the Old Inn in late July 1949, just hours before his first concert in Santiago. It was owned by a Jewish couple with the last name of Levi.[45] When the wife saw Gieseking, she explained that she was from Hanover and claimed to have taken lessons with him there from 1920 to 1921. Gieseking had no recollection of this, but tactfully played along. Meanwhile a reporter for *VEA*, found them and took some photographs for an interview that was printed, the headline of which, in especially large letters, read "Nunca fuí Nazi!" ("I was never a Nazi!").[46] In the accompanying picture, Gieseking is seated at the table, having a toast with Schraml, who is incorrectly named José Ramer, and the proprietor, who is inaccurately named "Lille

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[43] "Wir wollen es hier feststellen: es waren nicht nur Deutschstämmige, die den Künstler ihrer Sympathie und Verehrung zu versichern trachteten, als er erschien, es war das Land Chile, welches einen Grossen der Kunst ritterlich willkommen hiess; ein Land, in dem ein jeder die Freiheit hat, sein Können zu zeigen und der Kunst zu dienen, — unabhängig von den so vergänglichen Strömungen der Zeit." "Walter Gieseking in Chile; Zum ersten Gieseking-Konzert," Aus dem Kunstleben, *Condor* (Chile), 4 Aug. 1949, 25.

[44] "Meine 'Schülerin' hatte dazu eingeladen, aber sie war schon von anderen Juden angegriffen worden deswegen! Trotzdem sollen aber viele Juden im letzte Konzert gegangen sein, es haben auch alle Zeitungen nur Günstiges oder . . garnichts gebracht. Also ist die ganze Anfeindung vollständig missglückt." Gieseking, Chile, to Jutta and Freya Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[45] Gieseking, Santiago, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 July and 1 Aug. 1949, GFA; "Nunca fuí Nazi!," *VEA* (Santiago de Chile), 3 Aug. 1949.

[46] Gieseking, Santiago, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 July and 1 Aug. 1949, GFA; "Nunca fuí Nazi!," *VEA* (Santiago de Chile), 3 Aug. 1949.

Stobsbawn."[47] The two men were invited back to restaurant for a meal on the house after the concert. They accepted. Perhaps not entirely in jest, Gieseking said to Schraml that evening, "I . . . should almost be worried that the Jews might poison me—considering how they are so heavily protesting!"[48] Another pianist, a man from Berlin with the last name Peyser, also Jewish, joined them at the table. South American Jews, Peyser explained, had boycotted him for having accompanied the German coloratura soprano Erna Sack (1898–1972).[49] Having enjoyed an illustrious international career throughout the Hitler regime, Sack, who was often billed the "German Nightingale," like many of her German colleagues had toured South America after the war and even become a Brazilian citizen.[50]

Because of the aforementioned newspaper article, word swiftly spread that Gieseking had dined at the restaurant, and the consequences proved disastrous for the business owners. When the pianist learned of this during the following year's tour there, he pitied them and reported the following to his daughter Jutta: "The restaurant of my former pupil, née Levi from Hanover, is almost bankrupt because the Jews have boycotted it since she invited me there last year! The poor thing."[51]

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[47] It is unclear as to why both names were incorrectly cited, but the cause was presumably sloppy journalism. "Nunca fuí Nazi!," *VEA* (Santiago de Chile), 3 Aug. 1949.

[48] "[I]ch . . . beinahe befürchten musste, von den Juden vergiftet zu werden—wo die so masslos hetzten!" Gieseking, Santiago, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 July and 1 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Sack sold many records and performed in leading opera houses and in films. In 1947 and 1954 her tours took her to North and South America, South Africa, and Australia. Later she lived in Canada before returning to West Germany until her death. Hans-Joachim Weber, "Sack, Erna, eigentl. Erna Dorothea Luise Weber," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2d ed.; Rudi Polt, "Erna Sack," *The Internet Movie Database* (IMDb), accessed 17 Jan. 2011, http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0755226/bio; *Brockhaus Riemann Musiklexikon*, 2d ed., s.v. "Erna Sack."

[51] "Das Restaurant meiner früheren Schülerin, geb. Levi aus Hannover, ist beinahe Pleite, weil die Juden es boykottieren, weil sie mich voriges Jahr eingeladen hat! Die Arme!" Gieseking, Santiago, to Jutta, Sils-Maria, letter, 18 Aug. 1950, GFA.

Peru

On Friday, 5 August, Gieseking flew from Chile to Lima, Peru. Schraml escorted him. There he was to give another four engagements, including a performance with orchestra, and there, too, opposition awaited him.[52] The Association of Israelite Societies of Peru (La asociación de sociedades israelitas del Perú, later the Jewish Association of Peru) protested his concerts through paid announcements in three local publications placed during 8 to 13 August 1949 in *La Crónica*, *1949*, and *Trinchera Aliada*.[53] It was therein emphasized how the pianist's Carnegie Hall recital that January had been canceled because of public disapproval. It is given here in full:

> The Association of Israelite Societies of Peru wishes to inform the cultured Peruvian people of its most ardent and public objection to the presence in Lima of the reputedly pro-Nazi figure: Walter Gieseking.
>
> Already the peoples of America, following the example of the U.S. have repudiated, in the most fervent manner, his supposedly artistic appearance, just like the purely democratic demonstration before New York's Carnegie Hall that impeded his performance [there].
>
> The Peruvian Jewish community cannot ignore this serious attempt to injure the democratic spirit of our culture. Music is an expression of people's feelings, and it is incomprehensible how this divine art could be put to the service of the inhumane dictates of a bloodthirsty man like Hitler, to whom Gieseking paid slavish tribute.
>
> We follow the lead of the critics and, in general, all those with a genuine, democratic spirit, who refuse to support Gieseking's concerts in Lima, and we take action as did the people of the United States of America, who do not allow the feeling of freedom, so hard won by the world, to be tarnished.
>
> Lima, August 8, 1949.
>
> Association of Israelite Societies of Peru[54]

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[52] Gieseking, Antofagasta, Chile, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[53] Harold H. Tittman, [U.S. Ambassador to Peru], to [Dean Acheson], U.S. Secretary of State, American Embassy in Lima, declassified correspondence, 11 Aug. 1949, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, decimal file 1945–49, 823.4016/8-1149, NARA II, College Park, MD. Admittedly, "1949" seems like an unlikely title, but it is listed as such in the source.

[54] The announcement printed by each of the three papers was the same, with only the layout varied. It read: "La asociación de sociedades israelitas del Perú, pone a consideración del culto pueblo peruano su más airada y pública protesta por la presencia en Lima del reputado elemento pro-nazi: Walter Gieseking. Ya los pueblos de América, siguiendo el ejemplo de la nación estadounidense han repudiado en

Despite the disapproval, Gieseking's engagements in Peru also went unstopped. The editors of Lima's most-read papers, *El Comercio* and *La Prensa*, declined to print the announcement, refusing to involve themselves in the matter.[55] On 11 August, the U.S. Ambassador to Peru, Harold H. Tittman, wrote U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson concerning the ongoing controversy:

> As far as it has been possible to judge, these protests have had no effect upon the popularity of the pianist, who has already given three recitals before capacity audiences, and is next scheduled to appear with the National Symphony Orchestra, a State-aided organization. Critical notices have been of the best, and have made practically no reference to the complaints which Mr. Gieseking's appearance has called forth.[56]

Indeed, in the end the outcry did nothing to impede the success of Gieseking's visit. Reporting on his Peruvian performances afterward, the pianist, who knew of the ad being disseminated through but one paper, wrote:

> The last few days were especially exhausting. I performed in Lima four days in a row, on the last night three concertos with an orchestra: Beethoven's in G major, Franck's [*Variations symphoniques*], and Schumann's [Piano Concerto in A minor]. The added concert was given for the Peruvian Red Cross for the benefit of German children. . . . On Sunday, Schraml wanted to show me the area, but in the morning we first drove to visit a critic who was, incidentally, in New York when I

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la forma más airada, su pretendida presentación artística, y así en el Carnegie Hall de Nueva York una cerrada manifestación del más puro espíritu democratico impidió su actuación. La colectividad israelita del Perú no puede dejar desapercibido este grave atentado contra la cultura del país donde la conciencia democrática tiene que sentirse herida. La música es una expresión del sentir de los pueblos, pero jamás es concebible que este divino arte se ponga al servicio de una prédica antihumana y de un hombre sanguinario como Hitler a quien Gieseking rindió tributo servil. Nos dirigimos a los autorizados señores Críticos de Arte, y en general a todos aquellos de auténtico espíritu democrático, a que nieguen su apoyo a los conciertos de Gieseking en Lima, siguiendo la línea de conducta de los pueblos hermanos de América, que no permitieron, se mancille el sentir de libertad tan duramente conquistada por el mundo. Lima, 8 de Agosto de 1949. Asociación de Sociedades Israelitas del Perú." The announcement was placed in *1949* on 8 Aug. 1949; *La Crónica* on 9 Aug. 1949; and *Trinchera Aliada* on 13 Aug. 1949. All three clippings can be found under "Gieseking, Walter, 11 Aug. 1949, RG 59, decimal file 1945–49, 823.4016/8-1149, NARA II, College Park, MD. The author wishes to thank Dr. Christina Taylor Gibson for her help with the translation.

[55] Harold H. Tittman, [U.S. Ambassador to Peru], to [Dean Acheson], U.S. Secretary of State, American Embassy in Lima, declassified correspondence, 11 Aug. 1949, RG 59, decimal file 1945–49, 823.4016/8-1149, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[56] Ibid.

> could not play there. He had all the newspapers and had personally been involved in the matter, so this kind of interview was important and rather interesting. The Jews in Lima had wanted to withdraw their ads against me, but only one newspaper of three (the most lowbrow) agreed to print the ad. In one magazine, my opponents had bought a full-page ad—how they are spending money! But nothing was achieved. The hall was crowded; no one protested. My opponents are accomplishing but one thing: *they* are making a bad impression of themselves. The last concert was overfilled and my well-known modesty (?!?) forbids me to talk about the reviews.[57]

After the benefit concert, Schraml and Gieseking treated the (unnamed) conductor, a Jewish emigrant, to dinner. They all had a good laugh, when the latter jokingly remarked how now that he had given a concert with Gieseking, he might as well also eat pork.[58] Gieseking was likewise amused by one woman who approached him after a performance in Lima. Now that she had heard him live, she confided, she could die in peace. "Regrettably, I couldn't reply properly," Gieseking told his family afterward, "for my Spanish isn't good enough yet."[59]

Schraml agreed to have his client give another benefit concert, which took place on 13 September.[60] This performance raised money for the Sodality of Our Lady's Alumnae Association of the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and was arranged by

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[57] "Die letzten Tage waren sehr anstrengend, ich spielte in Lima 4 Tage nacheinander, am letzten Abend mit Orchester 3 Konzerte: Beethoven G, Franck u. Schumann. Das eingeschobene Konzert war für das peruanische Rote Kreuz zum Besten deutscher Kinder. . . . Sonntag wollte mir Schraml die Gegend zeigen, wir fuhren aber vormittags erst zu einem Kritiker, der übrigens in Newyork war, als ich dort nicht spielen konnte. Er hatte alle Zeitungen und die Sache persönlich mitgemacht, da war diese Art Interview wichtig und ganz interessant. Die Juden in Lima hatten Inserate gegen mich aufgeben wollen, aber nur eine Zeitung von dreien (die ordinärste) hatte die Inserate angenommen. In einer Zeitschrift hatten die Gegner eine ganze Seite Inserat gekauft, die geben noch Geld aus! Aber erreicht wurde nichts, es war voll, kein Mensch protestierte, das Einzige, was die Gegner erreichen, ist der schlechte Eindruck, den die machen. Das letzte Konzert war überfüllt und von den Kritiken zu reden verbietet mir meine wohlbekannte Bescheidenheit (?!?)" Gieseking, Antofagasta, Chile, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[58] Gieseking, Antofagasta, Chile, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[59] "Leider konnte ich nicht passend darauf antworten, dazu reicht ja mein spanisch noch nicht." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[60] Gieseking explains that when an unnamed German woman first contacted him about the concert, he put them in touch with Schraml who gave the approval. This surprised Gieseking, who must have been expecting Schraml to decline the request. Gieseking, Antofagasta, Chile, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 Aug. 1949, GFA.

the beneficiaries.[61] The full recital comprised works by Mozart, Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms, Grieg, Debussy, and Ravel.[62] Gieseking felt that the concert, which began late and included intermissions, was in fact too long; he had arrived at 9:30 and was not finished until midnight. He compared himself afterward to a bull that had recently been booed by the stadium of spectators in Lima because it seemed to want to "go home" rather than fight.[63] Schraml had recently insisted on taking Gieseking to watch a bullfight for the first time, which the latter found "worth seeing" but "not exactly appetizing"; thus, the grotesque image of the suffering animal must have stayed with the vegetarian pianist for some time.[64] Gieseking's performance was, nonetheless, well received. *La Nación* wrote, "His interpretations, expressive and deftly detailed, were enthusiastically applauded by the audience. . . ."[65] "An elegant reunion at the Metropolitan Theater was the main event last night," according to *Clarin*, "for it was pianist Walter Gieseking's final concert to be given in our capital. . . ."[66]

A paper back in Germany briefly described the touring artist's most recent activities: "In Lima, the capital of Peru, Walter Gieseking gave three concerts at sold-out

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[61] The Spanish name of the institution is given as "Congregación Mariana (Ex alumnas del Colegio de las Esclavas del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús)," "En el Metropolitan hubo un concierto de beneficencia," *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 14 Sept. 1949; "Beneficios," *Clarin* (Buenos Aires), 14 Sept. 1949.

[62] "En el Metropolitan hubo un concierto de beneficencia," *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 14 Sept. 1949; "Beneficios," *Clarin* (Buenos Aires), 14 Sept. 1949.

[63] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Sept. 1949, GFA.

[64] Gieseking, Antofagasta, Chile, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[65] "Sus versions, expresivas y hábilmente detalladas, encontratron el entusiasta aplauso del auditorio. . . ." "En el Metropolitan hubo un concierto de beneficencia," *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 14 Sept. 1949.

[66] "Fué centro, anoche, el cine teatro Metropolitan, de una reunion muy elegante, con motivo de realizarse el ultimo concierto que ofreció en nuestra capital el pianista Walter Gieseking. . . ." "Beneficios," *Clarin* (Buenos Aires), 14 Sept. 1949.

venues. All the newspapers printed enthusiastic reviews."[67] No mention of the clamor was made.

Argentina

On 12 August, Gieseking returned to Buenos Aires with Schraml, where he was to give "at least six recitals and in addition one for the Wagneriana [the music society Associação Wagneriana de Buenos Aires], two radio performances and one in between in the province. In other words, there's no lack of work. Tucumán will follow."[68] Schraml had continued to book additional engagements during the tour so that by 16 September, Gieseking was able to boast in a letter home, "Tomorrow I will play for the 26th time since 28 July, this is definitely enough!"[69] And there were still many arrangements to fulfill at that point: aside from the masterclasses and concerts in Tucumán during the second half of September through the start of the following month, Schraml was planning for October "some additional 13–14 performances in 22 days," the pianist explained, "not counting the flights!"[70] Gieseking had now begun to travel by plane more than ever, without which his postwar, modern world tours would not have been nearly as busy and lucrative.

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[67] "In Lima, der Hauptstadt Perus, hat Walter Gieseking drei Konzerte vor ausverkauften Häusern gegeben. Sämtliche Zeitungen veröffentlichten begeisterten Kritiken." "Walter Gieseking spielte in Lima." *Leipziger Zeitung*[?], 17 Aug. 1949. The clipping, which gives only "LZ" as the paper's title, reported news from the United Press and is found in Clipping found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[68] "In Buenos Aires spiele ich 6 Recitals mindestens, dazu einmal für die Wagneriana, zweimal im Radio und dazwischen in der Provinz. Also kein Arbeitsmangel. Danach folgt Tucuman." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, letter, 27 July 1949, GFA.

[69] "Morgen spiele ich zum 26. Mal seit dem 28. Juli, dies reicht vollständig!" Note: Gieseking had given his first public performance in Santiago on 30 July, but perhaps a private engagement had taken place on the 28th. Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[70] Ibid.

Argentina appears to have been the only country in which there was no active protesting. While back in Buenos Aires, Walter commented to his family on the remaining threat of uproar in Brazil, where he would travel in October, and the dissent in general:

> I still haven't heard any news from Brazil; they [the protestors] are waiting to see what will happen in Buenos Aires. But everything will probably be peaceful here. I no longer find myself irritated by all this. It is pretty ridiculous when one sees how the Jews are watching each other and fear one another; some are protesting, while others are against that—it's all very confusing.[71]

Four days later, again from Buenos Aires, he reported home on the press coverage he was receiving with regard to the controversy:

> The German paper here *Freie Presse* brought out a very good article on my other concerts. Other papers allegedly received a report from the United Press, explaining that the attacks against me only caused the halls to be filled even more. If that had actually been sent from Lima or Santiago, it would be great. But most of the newspapers refused to publish it, presumably. . . Everything is peaceful here. Any paper that dares to write something against me would surely get into trouble with the "higher-ups," but I still haven't heard anything about Brazil.[72]

In Buenos Aires, Gieseking succeeded in playing in September under another Jewish conductor, Teodoro Fuchs. The concert included Schumann's Concerto in A minor, Franck's *Variations symphoniques*, and Grieg's Concerto in A minor. The *Buenos Aires Herald* lauded the soloist for letting "the music speak for itself," adding, "and it

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[71] "Aus Brasilien weiss ich noch nichts, die warten jetzt erst Buenos Aires ab, aber hier wird wohl alles ruhig sein. Ich ärgere mich garnicht mehr über die Sache, es ist ja mehr grotesk, wenn man sieht, wie die Juden sich gegenseitig beobachten, voreinander Angst haben, manche schimpfen, andere dagegen sind—eine grosse Konfusion. Und im Ganzen machen sie nur für mich Reklame, in Chile und Peru war es jedenfalls so." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[72] "Die deutsche Zeitung 'Freie Presse' hier hat einen sehr guten Artikel über meine anderen Konzerte gebracht, offenbar haben andere Blätter sogar von der United Press eine Meldung bekommen, dass die Angriffe gegen mich nur dazu gedient hätten, die Säle noch voller zu machen. Wenn das wirklich aus Lima oder Santiago gemeldet wäre, würde das grossartig sein. Aber die meisten Zeitungen würden es nicht bringen, vermuchtlich. . [.] Hier ist natürlich alles friedlich, die Zeitung würde sicher 'von oben' was aufs Dach bekommen, die was gegen mich schreiben würde—aber von Brasilien hörte ich noch nichts!" Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Aug. 1949, GFA.

was admired, by an audience that packed the Gran Rex from floor to ceiling. Indeed, Gieseking has still to play to an empty seat in Buenos Aires."[73]

The Tucumán Masterclasses

In Tucumán, Gieseking not only performed but also led unusually large, afternoon piano masterclasses from mid-September to 2 October, at the University of Tucumán's newly founded (1948) Higher Institute of Arts (Universidad Nacional de Tucumán's Instituto Superior de Artes). Participants were required to be degreed piano teachers or concert pianists and came from Argentina and neighboring countries.[74] He had first performed in the city in August 1948, at which time the institution offered him the director position of its piano division "with quite a high salary" ("mit recht hohem Gehalt"); Gieseking was also assured he could bring his entire family with him to stay or settle there.[75] He gave this some serious thought over the next few months.[76] Yet as enticing as this was—also factoring in the indigenous butterflies in South America, which he often skipped lunch to catch before concerts when touring there—he ultimately declined, choosing merely to lead the piano classes there in 1949 and 1950 instead.[77]

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[73] "Walter Gieseking Plays Schumann, Greig [*sic*] Concertos," *Buenos Aires Herald*, 8 Sept. 1949.

[74] "Hoeherer Klavierkursus unter Gieseking," *Freie Presse* (Buenos Aires), 21 Aug. 1949.

[75] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter 1 Sept. 1948, GFA.

[76] A subsequent, undated note from Jutta to her father, in the GFA, shows that Tucumán was still waiting for his answer with regard to the classes. On 22 November, Gieseking mentions writing a "diplomatic answer" ("diplomatischer Antwort") with André Puglia to send to Tucumán. Gieseking, Lyon, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Nov. 1948, GFA.

[77] Gieseking describes the butterflies and other insects he captured and viewed in museums throughout his correspondence with his family sent from South America. He describes the butterflies in Tucuman, for example, in Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter 20 Aug. 1948, GFA. He mentions skipping lunch to collect butterflies in Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 July 1948, GFA.

Those affiliated with the institute must have been pleased to have the highly sought-after musician at least hold the classes there the following seasons. Describing the two-week course in 1949, the *Deutsche Presse* (Buenos Aires) wrote, "[it] will encompass practical instruction in a 'masterclass' setting and talks on advanced piano technique."[78]

When Gieseking arrived in Tucumán, he was given a grand reception. To his family he wrote:

> At the airport [I was] welcomed by a delegation of the course participants, photographers, Dr. [Guido] Parpagnoli [the Dean of Cultural Sciences and Art and the Director of the Instituto Superior de Artes]. At 6 p.m. [there was] an opening ceremony. For the course they have prepared a nice, small room with 2 grand pianos. There are 45 participants present, from many provinces of Argentina, as well as Chile and Uruguay. Those from Bolivia could not take part because of the revolution there. Dr. Parpagnoli spoke, the [university's] rector [Horacio R. Descole] gave the welcome address, I replied in French, said a few words in Spanish to the partakers. Then the professors left, and the course began. A literature professor translated what I said in French. It went very well. The participants also named the repertoire they might want to play and submitted written questions. It seems that everyone is in a good mood. Especially the proud parents of some Jewish participants. From Chile there is apparently a real Indian [i.e. native South American], who has left Chile for the first time. . . . The course will be held every day from 4 to 8 p.m. This will be a lot of work because nearly everyone wants to play for me, some merely one piece, however. We'll see what happens. . . . Idealism prevails here, coupled with slight delusions of grandeur. But all of these people make such an effort and are so eager! (emphasis in original)[79]

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[78] "Der Kursus umfasst praktischen Unterricht im Sinne der 'Meisterklassen' und Vorträge über höhere Klaviertechnik." "Hoeherer Klavierkursus unter Gieseking," *Freie Presse* (Buenos Aires), 21 Aug. 1949. For a more detailed description of the courses, see "Gieseking Dictará Un Curso Superior," *Tropico* (Tucumán), 21 Aug. 1949.

[79] "Am Flughafen Empfang durch eine Delegation der Kursusteilnehmer, Photographen, Dr. Parpagnoli. Um 18 Uhr feierliche Eröffnung, für den Kursus ist ein kleiner netter Saal mit 2 Flügeln bereitgestellt. Es sind 45 Teilnehmer anwesend, aus vielen Provinzen Argentiniens, sowie aus Chile und Uruguay. Aus Bolivien konnten die Teilnehmer weger der Revolution dort nicht erscheinen. Dr. Parpagnoli redete, der Rektor hielt eine Begrüssungsansprache, ich antwortete französisch, sagte den Teilnehmern ein paar spanische Worte, dann gingen die Professoren weg und der Kursus fing an. Ein Literaturprofessor übersetzte, was ich französisch sagte, es ging sehr gut, ausserdem nannten die Teilnehmer ihr Repertoire, das sie evtl. vorspielen wollen und stellten schriftliche Fragen. Alles ist in bester Stimmung, wie es scheint. Besonders auch die stolzen nichtarischen Eltern mancher Teilnehmer. Aus Chile ist ein offenbar echter

Gieseking's registration list shows that as many as forty-six pianists participated, thirty-six of whom had expressed a wish in playing for him.[80] Despite the seemingly peaceful environment in Argentina, he was surprised to find the Jewish pianists enrolled, hence his above remark.

The famed Hungarian pianist-composer Ernő (Ernst von) Dohnányi (1877–1960), whom Gieseking found "very nice and mild mannered" ("sehr nett . . . und gemütlich), was also in attendance.[81] Dohnányi was presently, though briefly, the institute's Director General, whose responsibilities included designing the curriculum and selecting the faculty. Furthermore, his name was used to help secure funds from the Perón administration.[82] Like Gieseking, Dohnányi had also come under attack by certain protest groups in the United States since WWII's end, yet he and his third wife were now in the process of arranging the necessary visas so that they could immigrate with their children to the U.S.—"where they are harassing him, too" ("wo man ihn auch anpöbelt"), as Gieseking remarked.[83] Despite the opposition, Dohnányi's plan succeeded, and he

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Indianer gekommen, zum ersten Mal aus Chile weg. . . . Der Kursus wird jeden Tag von 4 bis 8 stattfinden, es wird allerhand Arbeit sein, weil fast alle vorspielen möchten, manche allerdings nur ein Stück. Muss mal sehen, wie sich das entwickelt. . . . Hier herrscht Idealismus, gepaart mit leichtem Grössenwahn. Aber die ganzen Leute geben sich solche Mühe und sind so eifrig!" Gieseking, Tucumán, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Sept. 1949, GFA.

[80] [List of participants] Curso Superior de Piano, Professor: Walter Gieseking, Universidad Naional de Tucumán, Instituto Superior de Artes, GFA.

[81] Gieseking, Tucumán, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Oct. 1949, GFA.

[82] The author wishes to thank Dr. James Grymes for sharing via email the information pertaining to Dohnányi's duties. Dohnányi's position at Tucumán is also discussed in Ilona von Dohnányi, *Ernst von Dohnányi: A Song of Life*, James A. Grymes ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 173–77, 185–87.

[83] Gieseking, Tucumán, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Oct. 1949, GFA. For more on Dohnányi's experiences in the U.S., see Ilona von Dohnányi, *Ernst von Dohnányi*, 178 ff. including Appendix A: Selected Correspondence.

became pianist- and composer-in-residence at Florida State University in Tallahassee, from September 1949 until his death in early 1960.[84]

At the conclusion of Gieseking's Tucumán course, on Sunday, 2 October, he gave a farewell concerto performance, which on this occasion included Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto, Franck's *Variations symphoniques*, and Schumann's Piano Concerto—"Lots of Work!" ("Allerhand Arbeit!"), he confessed.[85] He had enjoyed his visit to Tucumán and commented to his family: "The people here, as well as the professors and pupils, were very nice! The pupils were especially reserved and respectful and paid attention extremely well. That their skills were sometimes insufficiently developed was not their fault; there are not enough good teachers here!"[86] The following year, he led the piano classes again from mid-September to the start of October, his last masterclasses on the continent.[87] In the summer of 1952, Schraml cabled him repeatedly about leading classes in São Paulo, Brazil, during the South American tour being planned for the upcoming season. This time Gieseking flat out refused. He wished only to perform.[88]

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[84] Bálint Vázsonyi, "Dohnányi, Ernő," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07927 (accessed 27 Dec. 2012).

[85] Gieseking, Tucumán, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Oct. 1949, GFA; Gieseking, Rosario (Argentina), to his daughters, Jutta and Freya, Wiesbaden, letter 5 Oct. 1949, GFA.

[86] "[D]ie Leute, sowohl die Professoren wie die Schüler, waren hier sehr nett! Die Schüler waren sehr zurückhaltend und respektvoll, haben ungeheuer aufgepasst. Dass sie teilweise noch nicht viel konnten, ist ja nicht ihre Schuld, es gibt hier zu wenig gute Lehrer!" Gieseking, Tucumán, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Oct. 1949, GFA.

[87] Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 3 Aug. 1950, GFA.

[88] Walter, Annie, and Jutta Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 June 1952, GFA.

Brazil

At the end of the tour, Gieseking concertized in Brazil, where, we saw, protest was also being organized even before his arrival on the continent—although at least certain protestors had allegedly vowed to call off the remonstration already in July. Early talks between the pianist's representatives and his opponents had ostensibly failed to resolve anything. Thus, on 6 October, a further meeting was held at the Brazilian Press Association headquarters in Rio de Janeiro to "settle the 'case' of the pianist W. Gieseking." Present from the Federation of Jewish Societies (Federação das Sociedades Israelitas) were three members, including its president, Leonas Zeigarnikas. From the ABC were Maria Amelia and two others, including the Austrian-born, Brazilian Franciscan monk, presumably the priest mentioned in Gieseking's above letter from 27 July, Friar Pedro Sinzig (1876–1952). In his opening words, Sinzig, who was also a writer and composer of sacred music, boldly stated the following: "In the Nazi era, Jews were persecuted; Hitler was the persecutor. . . . A few years later, in Rio, the tables are turned; the persecuted Jews are now the hunters; the hunted is named Gieseking."[89] According to the transcript, "the assembly meeting ended amicably, and the representatives of the Federation of Jewish Societies promised to withdraw the Jewish ban on Gieseking's concerts."[90]

[89] "Na éra do nazismo, os judeus eram perseguidos; Hitler o perseguidor. . . . Poucos anos depois, no Rio, trocam-se os papeis; de perseguidos os judeus passam a perseguidores; o perseguido chama-se Gieseking." Transcript: Meeting between the Federação das Sociedades Israelitas and the Associação Brasileira de Concertos (ABC), 6 Oct. 1949, GFA.

[90] "Terminou a conferêcia amigavelmente e prometeram os representates da Federação das Sociedades Israelitas retirar a proibição dos judeus assistirem aos concertos de Gieseking." Ibid.

As before, this new assurance proved fallacious, for outcry continued. On 19 October, *O Globo* (Rio de Janeiro) ran following article, in support of a boycott of the pianist's performance the following day:

> Today the Jewish Society of Bahia [Brazil] released an urgent notice alerting the community to the "ultra-Nazi activities of the pianist Walter Gieseking," who will perform a concert tomorrow sponsored by the Society of Cultural Arts. They warned that "all efforts made by the referred-to Society to prevent the appearance of Hitler's favorite pianist have failed," letting him come here, and all that can be done now is to remind the public of the "pianist's anti-Semitic leanings, which are notoriously known all over Europe according to documentation that was sent to the World Jewish Congress and the Jewish Societies of Rio." The notice asks supporters and friends of the Jews to refrain from attending the concert. Incidentally, the newspaper *A Tarde* reports that the pianist was sabotaged in New York by Jewish war veterans and asks whether art is not above politics.[91]

Gieseking nonetheless realized by this point that any further objection in South America would have no effect on his success there and little on his extraordinary popularity as well. This surely consoled him considerably. What is more, as had happened before, many Brazilians who found the protest unjustified were angered and spoke out in his defense. Antonio Bento belonged to this group. In the pianist's favor, he wrote an article, "Gieseking e Racismo" ("Gieseking and Racism"), which appeared in the local newspaper *Diario Carioca* on 20 October 1949. The steps Gieseking's adversaries had been taking to revive the "condemnable racial disputes" ("disputas racistas condenaveis"), Bento felt, were "lamentable and inopportune" ("lamentavel e

[91] "A Sociedade Israelita da Baía publicou hoje, com grande destaque, um aviso alertando a coletividade sobre a "atuação ultra-nazista do pianista Walter Gieseking", o qual realizará, amanhã, um concerto promovido pela Sociedade de Cultura Artística. Adianta o aviso que "todos os esforços junto à referida sociedade para impedir a exibição do pianista favorito de Hitler foram inuteis," só lhe restando vir a publico relembrar a "tendencia anti-semita do pianista notoriamente conhecido como tal em toda a Europa, conforme documentação enviada ao Congresso Mundial Judaico e às Sociedades Israelitas do Rio." O aviso pede aos correligionários e amigos dos israelitas que se abstenham de comparecer ao concerto. A propósito, o jornal "A Tarde" diz que o pianista foi sabotado em Nova York pelos veteranos judeus da guerra e indaga se a arte não está acima da politica." "Era o pianista favorito de Hitler—Afirma a entidade congregadora daquela raça," *O Globo* (Rio de Janeiro), 19 Oct. 1949.

inoportuno").[92] He took satisfaction in announcing that, ultimately, "all of the Society's efforts to prevent the appearance of the Führer's 'favorite' pianist were thwarted."[93] Apropos the situation, Gieseking himself wrote to his family on 11 October:

> The fight with my opponents here in Brazil turned into a wild event. The people from the ABC (Heuberger, Maria Amelia, Friar [Pedro] Sinzig) have had a tremendous amount of work and meetings. Because the police, all authorities, and even the Catholic Church are supporting me, the Jews apparently can do nothing but stay away from my concerts. We'll see how the situation develops this evening. Yesterday's concert in São Paulo went really well, with no disturbance at all.[94]

While Gieseking continued to be vexed by the protest to some extent, he managed to go about business as usual. Throughout the South American visit, he was also able to find ample time for his entomological pursuits and frequently described the day's catch with childlike enthusiasm in his correspondence home. During the morning of the aforementioned performance in São Paulo, for instance, he had gone "auf den Fang" to capture more butterflies.[95] He regretted not being able to do the same before his recital on 11 October, in Rio; that engagement, he felt, was "of course too important" ("doch zu wichtig").[96] Afterward, he could once again send good news to Wiesbaden:

> The concert was a success. It was packed, although some complimentary tickets were given out: extra help because the Jewish subscribers were not allowed to attend—but everything has been straightened out now, and there won't be any more protest. The police left during the first intermission. At the end, I gave four

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[92] Bento, "Gieseking e Racismo," As Artes, *Diario Carioca* (Rio de Janeiro), 20 Oct. 1949).

[93] "Segundo declara o 'aviso,' todos os esforços junto a essa Sociedade para impedir a exibição do pianista 'favorito' do Fuehrer foram baldados." Ibid.

[94] "Der Kampf mit meinen Gegnern war hier in Brasilien eine wilde Sache, die Leute von ABC (Heuberger, Maria Amelia, Pater [Pedro] Sinzig) haben ungeheurer viel Arbeit und Besprechungen gehabt. Da die Polizei, alle Behörden und sogar die katholische Kirche für mich eingetreten sind, können die Juden wohl nichts machen, als aus den Konzerten wegzubleiben. Heute Abend wird man sehen, wie die Situation ist. Gestern in Sao Paulo verlief das Konzert sehr gut und gänzlich ohne Störung." Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Oct. 1949, GFA.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

> encores, so everything is fine. A difficult program, among other works Schumann Sonata, Debussy Etudes (went well). . . .[97]

Following his performances in Rio, the *Deutsche Nachrichten* (São Paulo) praised the Brazilian media for its coverage and strong support of the musician:

> What a remarkable and enthusiastic reception Gieseking once again met with in Rio. This is demonstrated by the Brazilian press, which has defended him from all unjustified political attacks and explained that this admirable personality is in every way an artist and only an artist, for whom no exculpation whatsoever is necessary.[98]

The *Deutsches Wochenblatt* (Rio de Janeiro), too, commended the "Meister" while likewise criticizing the "fabricated hate propaganda" ("verlogenen Hasspropaganda") that had been stirred up against him.[99]

South America: Conclusion

Gieseking had enjoyed all the success in South America that he and Schraml had anticipated, perhaps much more. He had performed before ecstatic audiences in packed houses in Chile, Peru, Argentina, and Brazil. Yet the renewed protest he encountered in South America had indeed been intense and frequently referred to the recent turmoil in North America. As in the United States, many concertgoers were infuriated by the hullabaloo, and articles and letters criticizing the opposing organizations' efforts

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[97] "Das Konzert ist gut verlaufen, es war voll, allerdings mit Freikarten. Nachhilfe, weil doch die jüdischen Abonnenten nicht kommen durften—aber die Sache ist nun erledigt, protestiert kann nicht mehr werden. Die Polizei zog in der ersten Pause ab, am Schluss gab es 4 Zugaben, also alles in Ordnung. Schweres Programm, u.a. Schumann–Sonata, Debussy Etüden (gelangen gut). . . ." Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Oct. 1949, GFA.

[98] "Welch aussergewöhnliche und begeisterte Aufnahme Gieseking auch diesmal wieder in Rio fand, beweist die brasilianische Presse, die ihn gegen all ungerechtsfertigen politischen Angriffe in Schutz nimmt und erklärt, dass diese bewundernswürdige Persönlichkeit in jeder Beziehung Künstler und nur Künstler ist, die keinerlei Reinwaschungsprozesse nötig habe." "Kussevitzky, Kempff, Gieseking und Edmund Kurtz," *Deutsche Nachrichten* (São Paulo), 22 Oct. 1949.

[99] "Walter Gieseking," Rio – Feuilleton, *Deutsches Wochenblatt* (Rio de Janeiro), 22 Oct. 1949.

appeared in the papers. Unlike in the U.S., however, none of the respective South American governments involved themselves in the Gieseking matter. No scheduled concerts were therefore stopped last minute as was the January Carnegie Hall recital.[100]

The German pianist's opposers had nonetheless made themselves heard, and while they could not fully hinder his tour—as the American protest groups had ultimately done—they did prevent many Jewish concertgoers, and doubtless others, from attending his performances and impeded at least some engagements, those in Recife and Bahia, for example, on account of Odenheimer's actions. Gieseking also did not visit Uruguay in consequence of the unidentified Jewish conductor's decision not to perform with him. (He would nonetheless, appear there during his two subsequent tours.) His adversaries' efforts had therefore not been futile. But they had now apparently ended their campaign, for there is no mention of further clamor being directed at Gieseking after the 1949 visit. He departed from South America on 23 October. Immediately upon arriving in Europe, he gave a French tour over the next weeks, followed by a brief visit to Saarbrücken in late November. He expected to be back home in Wiesbaden by the end of the month.[101]

Gieseking would return to the southern continent for further tours in 1950 and 1952. After touring Australia in 1952 and giving further concerts in Indonesia, Singapore, Hawaii, Canada, and some *private* concerts in the U.S. (no public concert halls there yet),

[100] This notion is based on an examination of the substantial collection of clippings found in the Gieseking family archive; the articles are in German, Portuguese, Spanish, and occasionally in English. As Gieseking had done for his European and American tours, he paid a clipping agency, Los Diarios of Buenos Aires, to gather and send him clippings related to his South America engagements. While the protest received ample press coverage, it was a minor event compared to its treatment by the American press.

[101] Gieseking, Rio de Janeiro, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Oct. 1949, GFA.

he traveled to South America with his wife Annie and daughter Freya.[102] Aside from the concerts and sightseeing, they met up with Jutta and her husband Imre Hajmássy. Walter and Annie were especially excited about seeing their granddaughter for the first time.

Jutta and Imre married on 24 June 1950 and moved to Uruguay in early July 1951, where their first of four children, Maria, was born on 20 August.[103] This was Gieseking's first grandchild, who many felt resembled him—"Papa Walter in miniature" is how one person described her to Jutta.[104] A Hungarian pianist who had taken refuge in a Displaced Persons camp in Wiesbaden after the war, Imre had become a private pupil of Gieseking's before long. He had previously studied in Hungary and privately under Elly Ney, and was now hoping to have some success as a concert pianist on the flourishing southern continent—naturally aided by the connections that his famous father-in-law had made during his previous tours there.[105] After first staying in Montevideo until October, the young family settled in the village Nueva Helvecia, some two hours outside the capital by bus in the Colonia Suiza area, a Swiss and German settlement.[106] Despite some mild success, Hajmássy's career as a performer never took off, neither in South America nor in Europe.[107] South America was by this time

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[102] While touring Australia in March 1952, Gieseking mentioned the possibility of also performing in Bangkok, where they had offered to pay in dollars. Such an appearance has not been confirmed, however. Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta, Colonia Suiza, letters, 2 Mar. 1952 and 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[103] Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 35n134; Jutta Hajmássy, Montevideo, to the Gieseking family, letter, 9–10 July 1951, GFA. Telegrams regarding the birth sent between Jutta and her family on 20–21 survive in the GFA. August A picture of Gieseking at the piano with his granddaughter, who the family called "Marika," the Hungarian form of Maria, was often printed in the press in various countries and can be found in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, see the seventh page of illustrations between pages 64 and 65.

[104] Jutta, Colonia Suiza, to Walter and Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 28 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[105] Jutta Hajmássy, interview by author, Wiesbaden, 8 Oct. 2007.

[106] Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, to the Gieseking family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1951, GFA.

[107] Jutta describes her husband's concert activities and certain reviews in the family correspondence. See, for example, Jutta, Montevideo, to the Gieseking family, Wiesbaden, letter, 3–4 Aug.

extremely competitive. As Jutta explained to her family just one month after their arrival in Uruguay: "Indeed, the competition is actually here [in South America] and not over there [in Europe], for as I've said, anything that can crawl comes here. . . ."[108] Just two days later, Gieseking himself commented on the continent's bustling music scene: "It is really shocking to see how many concerts are taking place there, Iturbi, Kempf [*sic*], etc., etc. You haven't written how the great Arthur [Rubinstein] played! Were you not at the concert of my biggest competitor?"[109]

We will recall that, during his South American tour in 1948, Gieseking had been told he should purchase some land there while it was still cheap. If he was no longer contemplating such an investment in 1949, one reason may have been that some South Americans he met already feared a war would break out "with absolute certainty" ("mit absoluter Sicherheit") by the fall of 1951. They were, of course, mistaken. But after being part of one such discussion, Gieseking wrote home from Rio on 17 October 1949, "I thought about this [the threat of war] a lot yesterday."[110] He figured that those running the oil industry must have known whether the rumors were true, on account of their inevitable involvement. Reflecting further on the continent, he continued, "I find this land nice, but the Europeans are all about ready to return [to Europe], one because of the

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1951, GFA and Jutta, Colonia Suiza, to the Gieseking family, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Oct. 1951, GFA. For an early, positive review, see "Le presento el pianista Imre Hajmássy," *Accion* (Montevideo), 3 Aug. 1951.

[108] "Tatsächlich ist die Konkurrenz eigentlich hier und nicht drüben, denn wie ich schon sagte, alles was nur irgendwie kriechen kann, kommt hierher. . . ." Jutta, Montevideo, to the Gieseking family, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Aug. 1951, GFA.

[109] "Es ist ja erschütternd, welche Unmasse von Konzerten dort sind, Iturbi, Kempf [*sic.*] etc. etc – Du schreibst garnicht, wie der grosse Arthur [Rubinstein] gespielt hat! Wart Ihr nicht im Konzert meines heftigsten Konkurrenten?", Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Beaulieu, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Aug. 1951, GFA.

[110] Gieseking, Rio, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Oct. 1949, GFA.

German forest, another on account of the 'culture,' the rest for other reasons. Complicated!"[111]

At least two of South American governments honored the pianist during his visits. On 3 August 1949, amidst the controversy, the Chilean Ministry of Education presented him with a certificate that read:

> The Ministry of Education of the Republic of Chile thanks the great artist Walter Gieseking for his generous gesture in the interests of national culture and makes it known that the depth and sensitivity of his fine art left a lasting impression in our country.[112]

In 1951, during a peaceful season's visit, the city of Buenos Aires awarded him its highest music award.[113]

In an essay Gieseking had published in *Musik im Unterricht* in 1951, titled "Lebendige Musikpflege in Südamerika," (Lively Fostering of Music in South America"), he praised South American musicians for performing less-played works—old and new—and some of the native composers, especially Alberto Ginastera and Carlos Guastavino. Furthermore, he lauded the continent's public radio stations for their tasteful programming, which—with the sole exception of the BBC's *Third Programme*—he felt was generally lacking in Europe.[114]

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[111] "Mir ging das vorgestern lange im Kopf herum. Ich finde dies Land ja schön, aber die Europäer wollen alle fast wieder zurück, der eine wegen dem deutschen Wald, der andere wegen der "Kultur", die übrigen aus anderen Gründen. Komplizert!" Gieseking, Rio, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Oct. 1949, GFA.

[112] "El Ministerio de Educacion de la Republica de Chile, agradece al gran artista Walter Gieseking, su generoso gesto en bien de la cultura nacional y hace presente que la profundidad y fina sensibilidad de su arte dejaran un recuerdo imperecedero en nuestro pais." The certificate is preserved in the GFA.

[113] The original title of the award is not given, but the German press described it as the "Großen Musikpreis von Buenos Aires." "Walter Gieseking," *Universitas: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur*, Jahrgang 7, Heft 1, Jan. 1952, 109.

[114] Walter Gieseking, "Lebendige Musikpflege in Südamerika," *Musik im Unterricht* 42, 1951, pp. 73–4.

While there continued to be some further dissent in South America against certain German artists—at least one of the pianist's past Jewish critics spoke out against Wilhelm Kempff in the fall of 1951, for example—there is no record of any further protest against Gieseking during his tours there in 1950 and 1952.[115] He respected the continent's concert life and culture and enjoyed the visits. Yet once he began to perform North America again, he would never return. The unequaled financial opportunities in the U.S. were probably the main reason for this. Jutta and her family had also moved back to Wiesbaden by 1953.

Concern in Denmark, October 1949

While there was apparently no looming public protest in Denmark, upon learning of the outcry and demonstrations that had led to the cancellation of his North American tour in January 1949, the Danish Ministry of Justice was reluctant to let in the controversial pianist for a concert in Copenhagen. While arranging some Western European concert dates for the fall of 1948, Puglia had already experienced difficulties from the Danish Ministry of Employment in obtaining Gieseking's visa for Denmark. Jutta reported the problem to her father as Puglia had explained it to her: "[It's] not because of you, but rather because of the Germans in general."[116] As a result, Puglia suggested that Gieseking exclude Denmark from the tour and play only in England, Holland, and Portugal. This would take place during the months of October and

[115] Jutta mentions that the critic, one "Herr Freud or something like that" ("Herr Freud oder so ähnlich"), had also called Kempff a Nazi over the radio. She and Imre, incidentally, met up with Kempff, and the two men played for one another. Kempff also read from his memoirs, which he was currently writing. Jutta, Montevideo, to the Gieseking family, Wiesbaden, letter, 3–4 Aug. 1951, GFA.

[116] "[Es ist] nicht wegen Dir, sondern wegen Deutschen überhaupt." Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, Buenos Aires, letter, 17 Aug. 1948, GFA.

November, following Gieseking's South American visit. It appears that Gieseking indeed did not play in Denmark that season, and it is uncertain if he appeared in Holland and Portugal. His correspondence shows that during the final months of 1948, however, he performed and, in part, recorded in England, France, and Switzerland, and he also led the masterclasses in Saarbrücken.[117]

To return to 1949, the Danish Ministry of Justice did not want to see the American events of January repeated in their country. Danish officials had, in fact, already given Gieseking permission to concertize in Denmark, but they afterward decided to contact the U.S. State Department through the Danish Embassy in Washington, then under Ambassador Henrik Kauffmann. In light of the recent uproar, they expressed their wish "to be informed before taking a decision in the matter whether anything unfavorable about Mr. Gieseking's war record or otherwise is known to the American authorities concerned."[118]

Unlike the U.S. Justice Department, which had ultimately caused Gieseking to cancel his entire North American tour, the U.S. State Department, like the American Military Government, had acknowledged his postwar clearance from January 1947. It explained as much in its reply to Denmark: "His [Gieseking's] war-time record was eventually reviewed by a German denazification court and he was cleared of charges of collaboration with the National Socialist regime. The U.S. Military Government accepted the findings of the German court and permitted the pianist to resume his professional

[117] Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, Buenos Aires, letter, 17 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[118] The Danish Embassy, Washington D.C., to the U.S. Department of State, 24 Oct. 1949, RG 59, decimal file 1945–49, 823.4038/10-2449, NARA II, College Park, Maryland.

career."[119] The State Department therefore approved of Gieseking's concerts in Denmark and anywhere else, despite the U.S. Justice Department's attitude and recent actions taken toward him, and the Danes presumably let him in without any further inquiries. Denmark appears to have been the only European nation that took such precautionary measures with regard to his postwar reappearances.[120]

The First Tour by Car and the Accident of December 1951

In addition to the world tours, Gieseking naturally kept concertizing throughout Europe, mostly in the West, although Eastern engagements had, for example, already brought him to Turkey again in the spring of 1951.[121] Annie continued to accompany her husband at times, and Freya now began to regularly travel with him as well. To facilitate their journeys, Freya, who had by now graduated *Gymnasium* (high school) and recently received her *Führerschein* (driver's license), starting in the summer of 1951 became the family "driver," as she often lightheartedly referred to herself in family correspondence.[122] Until her father's death in 1956, even after enrolling in the philosophy

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[119] U.S. Department of State to the Danish Embassy, 27 Oct. 1949, RG 59, decimal file 1945–49, 823.4038/10-2449, NARA II, College Park, Maryland.

[120] For records of the protest in Peru, see Harold H. Tittman, [U.S. Ambassador to Peru], to [Dean Acheson], U.S. Secretary of State, American Embassy in Lima, declassified correspondence, RG 59, 11 Aug. 1949, decimal file 1945–49, 823.4016/8-1149, NARA II, College Park, MD. For examples of the press coverage of the protest in Australia see "Jewish Sect Urges Ban on Concerts," *West Australian* (Perth), 3 Mar. 1952 and "Anti-Nazis Heckle Gieseking in Aussie," *Variety*, 12 Mar. 1952, 2. For examples of the press coverage of the protest in Hawaii, see "Ripple in Honolulu," *Time*, 2 June 1952, 62 and "Gieseking Honolulu Date in Doubt due to Nazi Tie," *Variety*, 21 May 1952, 11. For examples of protest in Canada, see "Musical Jottings," *Musical Courier*, July 1952, 27. Gieseking also mentions the Canadian protest in a letter to his daughter: Gieseking, Quebec, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

[121] "Walter Gieseking und Peter Anders wieder in Deutschland," (newspaper title unidentified), 20 Apr. 1951, clipping found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[122] While Freya initially received a German license, she subsequently had it converted to one issued by Saarbrücken. This doubtless had to do with her and the family's Saar residency. Gieseking, Saarbrücken, to Jutta Hajmássy, Montevideo, letter, 12 July 1951.

program at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz in the fall of 1951, Freya would continue serve as her father's driver, joining him for much of his tours in both Europe and abroad, often to Saarbrücken for the masterclasses as well.[123] Gieseking bought the family's first car in July 1951. Together, they decided on a dark-blue Ford Vedette, a lightweight model that was built by the Ford company's French subsidiary, Ford S.A.F.[124] This was a modest choice—Walter was often frugal despite his wealth—yet the family was excited about finally owning an automobile, twenty-year-old Freya especially. After the purchase, she enthusiastically wrote to Jutta to tell her sister all about her first excursions at the wheel.[125]

Walter and Freya began to take advantage of the freedom gained by owning a car during the next European tour. While concertizing in Switzerland in early December, for example, they took a joy ride around Lake Thun, all the way to Interlaken.[126] Afterward, Walter played gave an evening recital over the radio in Beromünster.[127] Annie then flew to Zurich the next day, 6 December, to join them, sharing a flight with a famous friend of the family, namely conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler. The "prominent" travelers—Furtwängler and Annie—were photographed in Frankfurt and subsequently appeared in the papers together, causing Gieseking's son-in-law, Imre, to make the joke how the

[123] A letter of 29 Oct. and 6 Nov. 1951, from Gieseking, The Hague, to Jutta, Colonia Suiza, shows that Freya had begun to attend her first courses at the university.

[124] The Vedette was manufactured in Poissy, France, between the years 1948 to 1954. Frederic P. Miller, Agnes F. Vandome, John McBrewster, *Ford Vedette* (Saarbrücken: VDM Publishing House, 2010), 106.

[125] Freya Gieseking, aboard a Swiss Airlines passenger plane, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 15 July 1951, GFA.

[126] Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Zurich, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 7 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[127] Ibid.

reporters might now begin to claim that Walter and Annie were getting divorced and that she was going to marry "Wängeli."[128]

The tour was going well until just two days after Annie's arrival, when things came to a sudden halt. Walter had just performed in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, on 7 December, and the three family members had begun to make their way to Brig to drop off the automobile; the plan was to then take a train to northern Italy and in Domodossola travel further with the car.[129] The roads were slick because of the ice, however, and Freya lost control of the wheel on the morning of 8 December, wrecking the car. It had been only some six months since they had purchased the Vedette, and she was still inexperienced at driving in wintry weather. While no one was *seriously* hurt, Annie and Freya apparently receiving no injuries whatsoever, Walter was less fortunate. Concerned about what Jutta might read in the South American papers, Annie wrote to her daughter to explain just what had occurred and that there was no reason for her to be alarmed:

> Shortly before Brig the roads were ice-covered and the car turned over on its side. Nothing happened to me but Papa received a *light* concussion from the crash. He now has to spend a few days in bed and is not allowed to touch his head. He no longer has any pain, and the doctor is pleased with how he is recovering. He only has to relax for a few days. Naturally, he has had to cancel the December concerts in Italy, but that is not so bad. For once Papa was able to get some good rest; he is [otherwise] always on the go. He is in good spirits, too, [and] he will be allowed to read again starting tomorrow; then the time will pass more quickly. We also often keep him company. So, dear Jutta, there is no need for you to worry. We would have waited before telling you about the accident, but one never knows whether some sensationalist reporter might print a piece, perhaps even an incorrect one that the newspapers [could] take up, and you would hear something about it. Then you would get all worked up for nothing. But everything is the just way I have described it. To be safe, Papa is supposed to rest for a few [more]

[128] Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Zurich, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 7 Dec. 1951, GFA.; Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, to the Gieseking family, [Wiesbaden], letter, 12 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[129] Annie Gieseking, Brig, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, [12 Dec. 1951], GFA.

> days. Consequently, we are still staying in Brig for now. It is very nice here at the hotel, of course.[130]

They were lodging at the Hotel Viktoria Terminus.

Naturally, the press did cover the story. The *North* American newspapers accurately reported that Walter had been injured in the accident and that his hands were unharmed. The *Washington Post*, for example, noted, "Germany's greatest living pianist [had] suffered a concussion and bruises. . . . His hands, with which he can span 13 keys, were not injured."[131] He had, in fact, pulled some muscles in one of is arms, but no permanent harm was done.[132] The South American media, on the other hand, gave a partly false account of the incident—just as Annie had feared might happen. Jutta explained that the *Freie Presse*, one of Buenos Aires's German newspapers, erroneously told how the pianist's car had collided into another vehicle, though it accurately reported that he had only suffered minor injuries. The article made no mention of Annie and Freya.[133] This probably did not surprise Walter, who for a laugh dubbed the paper as the "Freie Fresse," or the "free trap"—"Fresse" being a vulgar German term for one's

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[130] "[K]urz vor Brig war glatteis und der Wagen kippte zur Seite, Freya und mir passierte nichts aber Papa bekam durch den Aufprall eine leichte Gehirnerschütterung, er muß nun einige Tage still liegen und darf den Kopf nicht rühren, Schmerzen hat er keine mehr, der Artzt ist sehr zufrieden mit ihm, er muß nur einige Tage Ruhe haben, natürlich verpaßt er nun die Dezember Konzerte in Italien, aber das ist ja nicht so schlimm, die Bettruhe bekommt Papa mal sehr gut, er hetzt sich doch viel ab, er ist auch ganz vergnügt, ab morgen darf er wieder lesen, dann vergeht die Zeit schneller, auch leisten wir ihm immer Gesellschaft. Also, liebe Jutta Du brauchst Dich nicht zu ängstigen, wir hätten Dir den ganzen Vorfall erst später berichtet, aber man weiß nie, ob nicht irgend ein Zeitungsschmierer eine Notz bringt, vielleicht auch eine falsche, die die Zeitungen aufgreifen und würdest Du auch davon hören, dann würdest Du Dir unnütze Gedanken machen, es verhält sich aber so wie ich Dir geschrieben habe, vorsichtshalbe soll Papa sich einige Tage ruhig verhalten, wir bleiben also vorläufig noch hier in Brig, hier im Hotel haben wir es auch sehr gut." Annie Gieseking, Brig, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, [12 Dec. 1951], GFA.

[131] "Gieseking Auto Upsets; Pianist's Hands Unhurt," *Washington Post*, 12 Dec. 1951. For another brief report of the accident, see "Walter Gieseking Injured in Auto Crash," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 Dec. 1951.

[132] Walter and Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[133] Jutta mentions that the article was entitled "Leichter Unfall Giesekings," though she gives no date. Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, to the Gieseking family, [Brig], letter, 19 Dec. 1951, GFA.

mouth.[134] Despite her mother's attempt to console her, Jutta was deeply troubled by the mishap and insisted that the family now sell the automobile. Writing to her himself, her father defended the vehicle with good humor: "We are really saddened by how you cursed at the poor little dented Vedette! It withstood the wreck very well, and the way the little wagon survived the tumble could serve as an advertisement for Ford!"[135]

Because of the international press coverage, people around the world learned of the accident. A month later, Walter mentioned to Jutta that, between the car wreck and the holidays, the family had received more mail than they could probably answer.[136] On 19 December, he had already written from the hospital:

> A tremendous number of people have written because everything was reported in the newspapers. . . . Of my colleagues, Cortot, Backhaus, Kempf [*sic*], Edwino [i.e. Edwin Fischer], as well as the Hölschers and Mainardis have sent letters.[137] Furtwängler called here—Brocki [i.e. Susanne Brockhaus] was perhaps right when she said that I just wanted to make the front page of the papers again for advertising purposes! Some people who I don't know have written nice letters, but to reply to all this mail is going to be a lot of work![138]

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[134] Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Brig, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 19 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[135] "[W]ir sind direkt traurig, dass Du das arme zerbeulte Vedettchen so beschimpft! Es hat sich doch grossartig gehalten, direkt eine Reklame für Ford, wie das Wägelchen über die Purzelei weggekommen ist!" Walter and Annie Gieseking, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 28 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[136] Walter and Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[137] The "Hölschers" and the "Mainardis" refer to the cellists Ludwig Hoelscher and Enrico Mainardi, and presumably their wives. As discussed in Chapter 9, Hoelscher and Gieseking had frequently played chamber music together after the war, particularly during their blacklisting, usually as part of Carl Jung's soirées in Rüdesheim. From Italy, Mainardi had been a member of a trio that included pianist Edwin Fischer and the late violinist Georg Kulenkampff (1898–1948), both of whom were close colleagues of Gieseking's.

[138] "Es haben furchtbar viel Leute geschrieben, weil alles in den Zeitungen gestanden hat, etwa auch in Montevideo? Vielleicht in der "Freien Fresse, pardon Presse?" Von den Kollegen haben Cortot, Backhaus, Kempf [*sic*], Edwino [Edwin Fischer], sowie Hölscher's u. Mainardi's von sich hören lassen, Furtwängler hatte hier angerufen—Brocki [Susanne Brockhaus] hat beinahe Recht, wenn sie meint, ich hätte mal wieder aus Reklamegründen auf die Frontpage der Zeitungen kommen wollen! Es haben auch manche unbekannten Leute sehr nette Briefe geschrieben, aber die Beantwortung dieser ganzen Post gibt

In jest, Jutta remarked how only a letter from "dear Herr Rubinstein" was missing.[139] The family of course, knew that the pianist Arthur Rubinstein, having publicly accused Walter of being an ardent Nazi during the 1949 protests, would never again be on friendly terms with him.

Although Walter was on the road to recovery, he continued to receive medical treatment for several more weeks. On 19 December he reported on his condition to Jutta:

> I have been getting out of bed for some time now, and therefore am writing you these lines. The only pain I still have is some minor aches in my chest when I have to cough or when I laugh. . . . The bruises on my back no longer hurt; some fluid was drained because the swelling does not decrease well when one is lying down. But I will soon have completely recovered, and I must only be careful with my head. I have no complaints.[140]

Presumably to prevent his daughter from unnecessarily worrying further, he had not yet mentioned to her the pulled muscles in his arm.

Benefit Concert for the Brig Hospital

In addition to the Italian concerts that had been planned for December, Walter heeded the doctor's advice and reluctantly called off a performance scheduled to take place in Wiesbaden on 28 December. The family had to spend part of the holiday season in Brig.[141] As Annie explained to Jutta: "This is an unusual Christmas for us. But without

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noch Arbeit!" Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Brig, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 19 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[139] Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, to the Gieseking family, Zurich, letter, 27 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[140] "Ich stehe jetzt schon für längere Zeit auf, daher schreibe ich auch diese Zeilen. An Schmerzen, habe ich nur noch etwas 'Wehwehchen' in der Brust, wenn ich Husten muss, oder wenn ich lache. . . . Die blauen Flecken an der Rückseite tun nicht mehr weh, es wurde mir etwas Flüssigkeit abgezapft, weil beim Liegen diese Schwellungen nicht gut zurückgehen. Aber ich bin bald wieder ganz heil und mit dem Kopf bin ich ja nur vorsichtig, Beschwerden habe ich keine." Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Brig, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 19 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[141] Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Brig, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 19 Dec. 1951, GFA; Walter and Annie Gieseking, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 28 Dec. 1951, GFA.

you and your family, and without Aunt Else, it of course would not have been complete anyway."[142] On 24 November, Else had suddenly and unexpectedly passed away at age seventy-two at the Gieseking home, where she had lived since the war.[143]

The day after Christmas, Walter was ready to check out of the hospital. Before departing from the Swiss town, he gave a benefit recital on the evening of 26 December to raise money for the institution—his doctor must have happily approved of this appearance. The event took place in a local gymnasium, before some three hundred and fifty people, "for Brig an absolutely terrific crowd," the released patient noted.[144] He was quite pleased with the treatment he had received, which he had also found inexpensive, and expected the performance to raise several hundred Swiss franks.[145] It was indeed a nice gesture on his part, and it shows how quickly he was recovering. "The farewell was really quite heartfelt on all sides," he remarked to Jutta afterward, "it seemed that everyone regretted that we could not stay any longer . . . (presumably because we are such nice people!?)"[146] The family finally departed from Brig the next day, 27 December.[147] They then traveled to Zurich, where they flew to Frankfurt on 29 December and arrived back home in Wiesbaden shortly thereafter.[148] To comfort Jutta, her father

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[142] "Das ist ein apartes Weihnachtsfest für uns, aber ohne Euch und ohne Tante Else wäre es ja doch nur eine halbe Sache." Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Brig, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 19 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[143] Annie reports on Else's death in Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 27 Nov. 1951, GFA.

[144] Walter and Annie Gieseking, Zurich, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 28 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[145] Ibid.

[146] "Der Abschied war schon geradezu herzlich auf allen Seiten, man bedauerte wohl allgemein, dass wir nicht länger blieben. . . (wohl weil wir so nette Leute sind!?)." Ibid.

[147] Gieseking presumably spent the night of 26 December, after the concert, back at the hotel with his wife and daughter before departing the next day.

[148] Walter and Annie Gieseking, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 28 Dec. 1951, GFA.

explained to her that the doctor had given him permission to leave the hospital, that his health was perfectly fine now. Of course, he was exaggerating to some extent.[149]

Recovering in Wiesbaden

While in mid-December Walter was planning to resume concertizing in January, by the end of the month he was considering calling off the initial engagements. "Perhaps I will take a longer break, although I feel fully recovered except for some pains caused when I move certain ways."[150] Ultimately, he cancelled the January bookings, though he did travel to Saarbrücken at the beginning of the new year to lead the monthly masterclasses from 4 to 7 January. Before he, Annie, and Freya left for Saarbrücken, he had more fluid drained from the bruised spot on his back at a hospital in Wiesbaden. The doctor there, one Professor Stranton, told him that he might need to have the procedure repeated several more times.[151]

In a letter of 9 January, Walter had still not decided whether or not to cancel several Italian appearances starting on 21 January. His health was partly the reason:

> On the one hand, the agencies there are complaining, and the concerts scheduled are very good; on the other hand, I still sense some fatigue in my right arm, with which I must have held on with all my strength [during the accident]. It is steadily getting better, and my ribs hurt less and less. I just do not have much desire to take the trip. Well, I have to think about it some more.[152]

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[149] Walter and Annie Gieseking, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 28 Dec. 1951, GFA.

[150] "Vielleicht mache ich noch etwas Pause, obwohl mir so eigentlich nichts mehr fehlt ausser einigen Schmerzen bei gewissen Bewegungen." Walter and Annie Gieseking, Zurich, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 28 Dec. 1951, GFA

[151] Walter, Freya, and Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 Jan. 1952, GFA; Walter and Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[152] "Einesteils jammern die Veranstalter dort, auch sind es ja sehr gute Konzerte, andererseits habe ich noch etwas Müdigkeit im rechten Arm, mit dem ich mich wahrscheinlich mit aller Gewalt festgehalten habe. Es wird immer besser, auch die Rippen tun immer weniger weh, nur habe ich eben überhaupt nicht

Typically, he enjoyed touring. Because of his pianistic abilities, he never had to be concerned about practicing much while on the road, and, as we have seen, he frequently found time for his other great passion, namely butterfly collecting. But he had an unusually busy year ahead of him. He was preparing to embark on his first "world tour," his longest ever, which would bring him to several continents[153] His present reluctance to travel to Italy so shortly after the accident and so close to the start of his long anticipated grand concert trip was sensible and understandable.

Meanwhile, he was careful not overexert himself throughout the month. On 12 January, he and Annie joined some friends to play a trivia game. The outcome: "Papa [Walter] was the best and won a bottle of champagne."[154] (One wonders how much his photographic memory helped him in such situations.) They had also recently gone to the cinema to see a film of the Berlin Philharmonic, which featured conductors such as Furtwängler, Sergiu Celibidache, Hans Knappertsbusch, and others.[155] Yet as the Wiesbaden doctor, Professor Stranton, had predicted, the sore part of his patient's back continued to collect fluid, which had to be drained again by incision at the local hospital.[156]

As the two-centimeter cut healed, Gieseking checked into the Nerotal Sanatorium for ten days, 16–26 January, so that he could receive shock treatment for his hand and

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viel Lust zu der Reise. Na, ich muss mal weiter nachdenken!" Walter, Freya, and Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[153] Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 6 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[154] "Papa [Gieseking] konnte es am besten und gewann eine Flasche Sekt." Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid.

arm as well as get proper rest while the pulled muscles healed.[157] He had periodically stayed at the Sanatorium whenever his "stomach" had given him trouble.[158] His regular physician there was Dr. Hans Kirchner, who, as previously explained, was also an amateur musician.[159] Since the war, Hans and his wife, Anna Carolina, had, in fact, become close friends of the Giesekings, and they are mentioned in many of the family letters.[160] Walter's arm muscles must have soon returned to normal, for he makes no reference to the problem in any of the ample correspondence written during his upcoming tour. In all, he continued to recover quickly and remained cheerful, even if he found staying in the Sanatorium "quite boring" ("ziemlich eintönig").[161] "He is not always lying in bed," his wife remarked, "in the afternoons, dressed, he paces around the room, reads, receives visitors, etc."[162] Annie, who also happened to be bedridden in early January owing to a vein infection, was pleased that her husband had chosen to cancel the planned Italian tour. The constant haste so shortly after the accident, she was certain, would have been too strenuous for him.[163]

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[157] Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 Jan. 1952; Walter and Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[158] Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, Wiesbaden, telephone interview by author, 18 Jan. 2011.

[159] See Chapter 5.

[160] Anna Caroline Kirchner later wrote a touching eulogy for Gieseking, which is preserved in the GFA (see Chapter 14).

[161] Walter and Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 31 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[162] "Er liegt nicht etwa immer zu Bett sondern nachmittags hackt er angezogen im Zimmer herum, liesst, empfängt Besuche etc." Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[163] Ibid.

The Memoirs

While at the Sanatorium, Gieseking decided to make good use of his free time and began to write his memoirs.[164] "[S]ome people think that I could earn something from such a book," he told Jutta.[165] Close friends of the family and owners of the Wiesbaden-based publishing company, Hans and Susanne Brockhaus had been encouraging him to do this for quite some time.[166] Until now, he had always answered them by saying he was too busy for such an undertaking, nor did he have any true interest in it, but presently he had no excuse as to why he could not begin.[167]

Despite an enthusiastic start, Gieseking soon stopped writing once he resumed concertizing. The story first breaks off just as World War II is about to commence, and continues only with his account of the stopped New York return in 1949. It is most unfortunate that we do not have his own narrative of his career during WWII and the postwar years. According to Jutta, who had the sketch posthumously published (see the Introduction for more details), her father lost interest in the project after he had described his youth and ascent to fame. It is conceivable that he was also reluctant to recount his activities as an eminent German artist during the hostilities for fear of being criticized further; the controversy surrounding his career because of the affiliations with Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry and other Reich organizations, he must have known, was far from settled.

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[164] It is also possible that he had begun to write his memoirs during his stay at the hospital in Brig in December and simply had not mentioned it to Jutta until the letter of 20 January, written during his stay at the Nerotal Sanatorium.

[165] "Ich habe mal versuchsweise angefangen, meine Biographie zu schreiben, manche Leute meinen, mit dem Buch wäre was zu verdienen." Walter and Annie Gieseking, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, Wiesbaden, 31 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[166] Freya Colassis née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, Germany, 7 Oct. 2007.

[167] Ibid.

After checking out of the Sanatorium on 26 January, Walter continued to get plenty of rest at home, but the swollen spot on his back had completely healed.[168] He was pleased to be "entomologically active" again and now began preparing for his upcoming tour, by far his grandest yet. This extended journey, which would take him to numerous countries in five continents, necessitated three further doctor visits because of the required immunizations for small pox and cholera.[169] He was excited about the forthcoming concert trips in many unfamiliar places, as were his many fans no doubt. But there would once again be much protesting. His opponents were prepared and expecting him.

[168] Walter and Annie Gieseking, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, Wiesbaden, 31 Jan. 1952, GFA.

[169] Ibid.

Chapter 13:

The World Tours and U.S. Return

The 1952 World Tour

By February 1952, Gieseking had more or less fully recovered from the December accident. His daughter Freya wrote to Jutta on 8 February: "Papa was considered healthy and released by the doctor. At the moment, he is using up his excess energy by doing some work in the garden. Today is the first spring-like day, i.e. the snow is melting and the sun shines a little here and there."[1]

Without wasting any more time, Gieseking, now aged 56, set off for an extended "world tour" that same month, a "long-cherished wish" that brought him for the first time to Australia and to the Asian countries of Singapore and Indonesia. (Bangkok had hoped for concerts, which could not be arranged, and agents in Manila likewise regretted not being able to engage him.)[2] In late May through June, he would continue by traveling to Hawaii (then still U.S. territory), Canada, and, for a few *private* recitals only, the United States. Starting in July, still more performances in South America would follow: in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile.[3] Naturally, Gieseking continued to concertize throughout Europe around the tour as well. While things generally went as planned and

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[1] "Papa ist als gesund vom Arzt entlassen worden. Im Augenblick setzt er seine überschüssige Kraft in Gartenarbeit um. Heute ist der erste frühlingsähnliche Tag, d.h. der Schnee schmilzt und ab und zu scheint mal ein bisschen die Sonne." Freya Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, Colonia Suiza, letter, 8 Feb. 1952, GFA.

[2] Jutta Hajmássy, commentary in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 79; Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA; Gieseking, Vancouver, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 30 May 1952, GFA.

[3] Jutta Hajmássy, commentary in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 79; Gieseking, Montreal (the letterhead incorrectly indicates Quebec), to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

without difficulty, he would, for the first time since the South American uproar in 1949, face yet more opposition, namely in Australia, Hawaii, and Canada. As in 1950, his South American visit appears to have been peaceful. Similarly, there is no record of disturbances in the Asian countries.

The Australasian Tour, March–May 1952

Australia

In the spring of 1952, Gieseking journeyed to Australia for the first time, where he gave a busy nine-week tour arranged by the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) from early March to early May 1952. The Commission brought approximately eight renowned musicians to Australia annually, and by 1953 it could boast of having engaged soprano Lotte Lehmann, tenor Richard Tauber, violinist Jascha Heifetz, conductor John Barbirolli, pianist Arthur Rubinstein, and Gieseking.[4] Its biographical sketch for the latter's programs began with "The Australian Broadcasting Commission is honoured in presenting Walter Gieseking, one of the greatest living pianists."[5] Approximately twenty-four appearances had been booked in the eastern cities of Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney, and, on the west coast, Perth, and owing to the success, additional performances were arranged during the tour, which would ultimately include a total of thirty engagements.[6]

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[4] "Australia Radio Appraised," *Christian Science Monitor*, 28 Nov. 1953.

[5] Concert program: Gieseking, Townhall, Sydney, 18 Mar. 1952, Gieseking folders, Harry Anderson Collection, IPAM, College Park, MD.

[6] Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta, Colonia Suiza, letter, 2 Mar. 1952, GFA; Gieseking, Montreal, to Dean and Carolyn Elder, New York, letter, 11 June 1952, GFA.

General Manager of the ABC, Charles (C. J.) Moses, announced the plans for Gieseking's concert trip on 17 September 1951, which the Commission had been negotiating for several years already. Mentioned in the same article were the Nazi allegations, the U.S. protest and failed return of 1949, as well as the pianist's response to it all: "Gieseking's answer to such charges was that he was never a Nazi Party member, and that as an artist he was not concerned with politics."[7] A multitude of Australian newspapers had reported on the Gieseking scandal in New York in 1949, thus much of the Australian public was well aware of certain details of the matter and the extent to which the pianist was controversial.[8]

The announcement of the scheduled Australian tour immediately caught the attention of the local Jewish organizations. As in the U.S. and South America, a similar round of demonstrations were planned against Gieseking's Australian engagements, which the protesters urged the public, the Jewish communities above all, to boycott.[9] Whereas the uproar was most observable in Melbourne, outcry also ensued in Sydney.

Arriving in Australia

Walter traveled alone to Australia, but Annie would soon join him for the remainder of the full world tour, as would their younger daughter Freya, who would

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[7] "Gieseking To Tour Australia in 1952, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 Sept. 1952.

[8] For Australian coverage of the Gieseking incident in the U.S., see "New York Protest At German Pianist," *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 24 Jan. 1949; "Concert By Pianist: Hostility To German In New York," *West Australian* (Perth), 24 Jan. 1949; "Objections to German Pianist," *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, Qld.), 26 Jan. 1949; "US puts ban on German pianist' concert cancelled," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 26 Jan. 1949; "German Pianist Forced To Leave," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 26 Jan. 1949. At least one Tasmanian paper printed a related Australian Associated Press announcement, too; see "German Pianist 'Did Not Join Nazi Party," *Mercury* (Hobart, Tas.), 24 Jan. 1949.

[9] See, for example, "Melbourne Letter: Pianist" *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 25 Feb. 1952 and "Jewish Sect Urges Ban on Concerts," *West Australian* (Perth), 3 Mar. 1952.

celebrate her twenty-first birthday on 14 May, during their visit to Indonesia. In addition, Walter's manager and personal representative, André Puglia, would accompany the family in Canada in June.[10]

Gieseking had to endure a long string of flights. After giving a concert in London the previous evening, where his wife had flown with him, he departed alone from the English capital on Tuesday morning, 26 February, flying to Rome, Beirut, Lebanon, over the Arabian Desert and Persian Gulf to Karachi (Pakistan), then further to Calcutta (India), and Singapore—where his one-day stopover allowed him to be interviewed by reporters about his forthcoming concerts there in May, after which he was also shown part of the city and its botanical garden. He found the garden "magnificent" ("herrlich"): "There are lots of wild monkeys there, very amusing critters that eat whatever people give them, and they especially like to run after children to beg for something."[11] On Friday, 29 February, the journey continued across the equator to Jakarta, then to Darwin. After dinner there, he voyaged further, finally reaching Sydney, the ultimate destination, on 1 March. Four days had passed since boarding the initial plane in England.[12]

Gieseking had not slept during the previous night's flight and was particularly fatigued, understandably so. Yet upon landing, the reporters and photographers bombarded him at once.[13] He then had but an hour to change at the hotel, before meeting with the press again at lunchtime. With the reporters he discussed the tour, and a radio

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[10] Gieseking, Montreal (the letterhead incorrectly indicates Quebec), to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

[11] "Dort gibt es viele wilde Affen, sehr ulkige Viecher, die sich vom Publikum füttern lassen und besonders hinter Kindern hinterherlaufen, um was zu erbetteln. Überhaupt ist Singapore interessant!" Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 2 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

interview was recorded. “All of this finished around 5 o’clock,” he wrote to Jutta, who was still living with her husband and daughter in Uruguay, “and I too was finished, dead, done in!”[14]

The following morning, 2 March, the attention from the media continued, and Gieseking was even filmed for the weekly news report. He was excited about this, for the clip was to be shown in local movie theaters. “Starting Thursday, I will supposedly be able to see myself in the cinema,” he told Jutta, “maybe hear a sentence spoken, too!”[15] He enjoyed going to watch movies in his leisure, and he mentioned them periodically in his letters.

Melbourne: Picketing at Essendon Airport and the Initial Press Conference

On 3 March, Gieseking flew to Melbourne, where he was scheduled to give four solo recitals on the 4th, 6th, 8th, and 11th; an “extra,” all-Beethoven performance was subsequently arranged for 14 April.[16] It was upon arriving at the Essendon Airport, in the city’s northern suburbs, that he encountered the first demonstration awaiting him. Approximately thirty picketers immediately began to shout “Nazi,” “We don’t want Nazis in this country,” “Go home, Nazi” and other rallying cries.[17] A police officer had by now confiscated the placards—exhibiting protest slogans such as “Gieseking played

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[14] “Als dies gegen 17 Uhr fertig war, war ich auch fertig, tot, erledigt!” Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta, Colonia Suiza, letter, 2 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[15] “[A]b Donnerstag kann ich mich voraussichtlich im Kino sehen, vielleicht auch einen Satz reden hören!!” Ibid.

[16] Ibid.; Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA; L. B. [Lindsey Browne], “Gieseking in Sonata Recital,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 Mar. 1952; Walter, Freya, and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Apr. 1952, GFA.

[17] “German Pianist Given Hostile Reception,” *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 4 Mar. 1952; “‘Nazi’ Cry Angers Pianist,” *Singapore Free Press*, 4 Mar. 1952; “Pianist Threatens Action Over ‘Nazi’ Taunt,” *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952.

for Hitler" and "Gieseking is a Nazi"—from the objectors, among whom were members of the Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism.[18] "You lie!" was Gieseking's retort to the accusations exclaimed, and as he "attempted to close with one demonstrator," recounted the excited press, an officer ensured that the pianist made his way to the car waiting for him. "Don't argue. I'll handle this," Gieseking was told.[19] A photograph of the disorderly scene was printed in some newspapers.[20]

The controversial guest described the incident with regret to Jutta afterward: "Alas, in Melbourne a couple of Jews had gone to the airport in order to demonstrate. One of them yelled out, 'We don't want any Nazis here[!]' The police had already seized the placards and signs, and they then made sure that order was maintained."[21] The American Jewish Committee later explained that the public rallying against Gieseking in Melbourne had, in fact, been carried out "contrary to the advice given by the official bodies of the Jewish community."[22]

Gieseking addressed the current protest during a press conference in Melbourne held at the Menzies Hotel. According to reports, he was even threatening to take "legal action against 'people who spread lies about him and his activities,'" referring to a

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[18] "German Pianist Given Hostile Reception," *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 4 Mar. 1952; "Pianist Threatens Action Over 'Nazi' Taunt," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952.

[19] "Pianist told to 'Go home Nazi," *Courier Mail* (Brisbane, Qld.), 4 Mar. 1952; "Pianist Threatens Action Over 'Nazi' Taunt," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952.

[20] See "Pianist told to 'Go home Nazi," *Courier Mail* (Brisbane, Qld.), 4 Mar. 1952 or "Pianist Threatens Action Over 'Nazi' Taunt," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952.

[21] "Alas in Melbourne waren ein paar Juden am Flughafen zwecks Demonstration. Der eine rief "We don't want any Nazis here", die Polizei hatte die Plakate und Schilder schon einkassiert und sorgte überhaupt sehr für Ordnung. " Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[22] Morris Fine, ed. *American Jewish Year Book* 54. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1953, 414.

pamphlet being distributed in particular.[23] If true, there is no evidence of him ever having done so. Nonetheless, he announced to the media, "I have never been a Nazi. I do not want to be insulted in this country. You ought to get better information before you speak."[24] He explained that he had documentation from the U.S. Military Government showing that he had neither joined the NSDAP nor been an active member of any organizations sponsored by the Hitler regime.[25] At the consulate in Sydney, he had, in fact, been required to swear that he had not joined the Nazi party and also that he was not a member of the communist party.[26] He continued to answer what were by now familiar questions, such as whether he had signed his letters with "Heil Hitler!" or ever played for the dictator.[27] Regarding the rumors being spread about his past, Gieseking rejoined, "I thought the lies had accused me of every crime possible, but I heard a new one today. I am supposed to have been a member of an execution squad and to have arranged a musical programmed to be played at the cremation of the Jews."[28] (The reader will recall that he had, in fact, learned of the firing-squad tale while touring South America in 1949.)

The Australian Programs

Regarding his Australian programs, Gieseking said that he was planning to play works by Debussy and Ravel primarily. Somewhat crassly, he added how he would

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[23] "Pianist Threatens Action Over 'Nazi' Taunt," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952; "German Pianist Given Hostile Reception," *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 4 Mar. 1952.

[24] German Pianist Given Hostile Reception," *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 4 Mar. 1952; "'Nazi' Cry Angers Pianist," *Singapore Free Press*, 4 Mar. 1952.

[25] "Pianist Threatens Action Over 'Nazi' Taunt," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952.

[26] Gieseking, Vancouver, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 30 May 1952, GFA.

[27] "Pianist Threatens Action Over 'Nazi' Taunt," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952.

[28] Ibid.

prefer to perform new compositions, but that (as indirectly quoted by the press) "the public would rather hear Beethoven's 'Moonlight' Sonata five times a year than 5 new works."[29] Apparently, the output of the two French composers was by this time "classic" repertoire in his opinion. Gieseking had, of course, always been an adamant supporter of new music, and he expressed this view similarly in his memoirs—making his point there as well by referring to the public's preference for Beethoven's Piano Sonatas.[30] In the end, he played a wide range of the standard piano literature for his Australian audiences, works that frequently appeared on his programs.

Yet around the beginning of May, he was given the opportunity to record, for the ABC's exclusive use, some contemporary works by three Australian composers: the late Roy Agnew (1891–1944), Miriam Hyde (1913–2005), and Raymond Hanson (1913–1976). Announcements of this appeared in the local press on 6 May, which listed the repertoire as follows:

> Agnew: *Toccata Tragica*, *Contrast* no. 5 ("April in the Hills"), *Noontide*
> Hyde: *Lullaby for Christine*, Concert Study in F Sharp, *Brownhill Creek in Spring*, *Magpies at Sunrise*
> Hanson: Five (unspecified) Preludes [presumably from the six Preludes that form the composer's op. 11 (1940–41)][31]

Although since the 1930s, he was acquainted with the music of Agnew (if not with the composer himself), who was the more famous of this group of compatriots, it is unknown whether Gieseking was previously familiar with any of the pieces he selected on this occasion. But as we have seen, he had the ability to learn works, even the most

[29] "Pianist Threatens Action Over 'Nazi' Taunt," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952.

[30] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 64.

[31] "Gieseking Records Australian Works," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 May 1952; "Gieseking Records Australian Works," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 6 May 1952. While these recordings have never been commercially released, the ABC archives might preserve them. A copy of Gieseking's Agnew readings is, in any case, maintained by the International Piano Archives at Maryland.

contemporary ones, rather effortlessly. Agnew had first heard the German pianist while in London during the 1930/31 concert season. Afterward he recalled the latter's performance of an unidentified sonata by the Polish-born composer Alexandre Tansman (1897–1986)—this may have been the *Sonatine transatlantique* for two pianos, from 1930, which Gieseking had played in Berlin.[32] Though not impressed with the composition itself, Agnew was thrilled by the reading: "But what a marvelous pianist is Gieseking!"[33] By January 1935, it was reported in the *Australian Women's Weekly* that "Two great pianists, Cortot and Gieseking, have interested themselves in Agnew. . . ."[34] Another major figure, Benno Moiseiwitsch, had been the first person to introduce the composer's piano music to Australian audiences.[35]

Attempts to Stop the Melbourne Concerts

There were repeated efforts to interrupt Gieseking's concerts in Melbourne, each in the Town Hall. Before his first appearance, on 4 March, the scene before the venue became particularly unruly on account of the 200–300 demonstrators present.[36] Some twenty minutes prior to the start of the performance, a German and Jewish protester—about to engage in fisticuffs—had to be separated by the detectives present. "Fifteen uniformed police and at least 10 plain clothes men, including security police, mingled with the uneasy crowd who watched the incident," reported the *Argus*.[37] The same

[32] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 63.

[33] "Roy Agnew in London," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1931.

[34] "Roy Agnew Here Again," *Australian Women's Weekly*, 26 Jan. 1935, 18.

[35] Ibid.

[36] "Gieseking Eludes Hostile Crowd," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 Mar. 1952.

[37] "Ugly Row Over Gieseking, *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 5 Mar. 1952.

authorities, in fact, made threats to detain the picketers, took possession of the pamphlets being handed out, and continued to monitor the scene closely while dispersing interested onlookers. One group of Europeans, described as probably being Germans, expressed their support for the pianist, uttering that, henceforth, they themselves would "deal with" those trying to disrupt his concerts.[38]

Gieseking stealthily entered the building through a side entrance and, some five minutes behind schedule, began by playing "God Save the Queen."[39] During the performance, no less than eight police officers kept watch inside to ensure the evening would proceed peacefully. And indeed it did. According to the *Argus*, "There was not a sound inside the hall during the whole recital."[40] The same paper told how some twenty of the demonstrators, after standing in the foyer during the first part of the recital, had, in fact, tried to enter during the second half, presumably to enjoy the music. One of them allegedly confided to a hall attendant, "I was prepared to hate this man but he is such a wonderful artist[.] I feel ashamed. I think everyone should realize that he is here as a great artist and nothing else."[41] As Gieseking made his way to his car upon leaving the venue, "hundreds of people swarmed round cheering, clapping, and seeking autographs. . . ."[42] It had been an unusually emotional evening, and the pianist, as well as his fans, must have felt some sense of victory.

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[38] "Ugly Row Over Gieseking, *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 5 Mar. 1952; "Gieseking Eludes Hostile Crowd," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 Mar. 1952.

[39] "Gieseking Eludes Hostile Crowd," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 Mar. 1952.

[40] "Ugly Row Over Gieseking, *Argus (Melbourne, Vic.)*, 5 Mar. 1952.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

During the second performance at the same venue on 6 March, there was another spectacular occurrence when two men in their early twenties freed a pair of pigeons from a shoebox, throwing them "high into the air" while vociferating "Nazi!"[43] Gieseking was in the middle of the second movement of Beethoven's Sonata in A-flat major, probably op. 110. After quickly looking out into the audience, he "continued to play faultlessly during the incident," wrote the *Advertiser*, "and there was only a brief murmur from the audience as the first bird flew over the stalls."[44] But the *Argus*'s account of the episode shows it created much more of a stir:

> Many of the people in the hall stood up and craned their heads as the pigeons circled a few feet above them. A buzz of excitement lasting nearly five minutes ran through the audience. Several men in the body of the hall caught one of the pigeons and handed it to an usher. The other bird flew up to the balcony and flopped in a woman's lap. It crouched there frightened for a few seconds, and then fluttered up to one of the giant chandeliers and remained there high above the audience for the remainder of the recital.[45]

Several of the Australian papers were eagerly reporting such sensational details, saying next to nothing about the music or the pianist's interpretations.

In a letter to Jutta from 14 March, Gieseking mentioned this latest event, describing as well the ongoing protest in general and the extensive publicity he was receiving as a result:

> Hardly a minute passed before the lads were taken outside and arrested. The newspapers enjoyed the furor. It was great advertising, [and] I became rather famous because of the many pictures in the papers (4 consecutive days on the front page). In the commuter train, out in the countryside, people approached me everywhere and asked for autographs. This has already started to happen here in

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[43] "Youths Cause Concert Stir," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 7 Mar. 1952; "Men Free Pigeons At Concert," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 7 Mar. 1952; "Australia: Cry of 'Nazi' at Gieseking Concert," The World's Day, *Christian Science Monitor*, 7 Mar. 1952.

[44] "Youths Cause Concert Stir," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 7 Mar. 1952; "Men Free Pigeons At Concert," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 7 Mar. 1952.

[45] "Youths Cause Concert Stir," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 7 Mar. 1952.

> Sydney: in the vegetarian restaurant, at the fruit shop—people recognize me no matter where I am. That is because of the radio coverage, but the scandal helps, too. In the end, people just get angry with the Jews. That is all it amounts to.[46]

Gieseking had to use the mentioned commuter trains because he was staying in hotels outside of the city centers, all of the nicer lodgings in the downtown area being fully booked. But he did not seem to mind, maintaining that he enjoyed the fresh summer air in the rural areas.[47]

According to the press, the two young men who had let the birds loose, subsequently identified as Isaac Fine and Sol Solly, were not arrested, but were questioned by the police before having to leave the hall.[48] "They may be proceeded against on summons for offensive behavior," explained the *Argus*. Gieseking, on the other hand, was cheered by a crowd of hundreds once again as he was driven off after the recital.[49]

During the third Melbourne concert, on Saturday, 8 March, two attempts were made to disrupt the performance. This time someone deceitfully reported a fire underneath the Town Hall stage. Although two brigades hastily and noisily arrived at the site, the venue's staff members assured the firefighters that it was a false alarm. The

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[46] "[E]s dauerte kaum eine Minute, da waren die Typen draussen und verhaftet. Die Zeitungen hatten ihre Freude an der Sensation, es war eine grossartige Reklame, ich war durch die vielen Bilder in den Zeitungen (4 Tage nacheinander auf der Front Page) starkbekannt. In der Vorortbahn, draussen in der Wildnis, überall wurde ich angeredet und um Autogramme gebeten. Hier in Sydney geht dies auch schon los, im vegetarischen Restaurant, im Obstladen, überall kennen mich die Leute. Das kommt vom Radio, aber der kleine Skandal hilft auch. Die Leute schimpfen bloss auf die Juden, das wird damit erreicht." Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA. Gieseking also comments on the incident involving the pigeons in Robert Guild, "Honolulans Receive Gieseking with Tolerance, Admiration," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 26 May 1952.

[47] Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[48] "Men Free Pigeons At Concert," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 7 Mar. 1952.

[49] "Youths Cause Concert Stir," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 7 Mar. 1952.

recital went uninterrupted. The prank failed.[50] In addition, a suspected opponent seated in the back of the hall was creating some disturbance by coughing excessively. "Between items Gieseking held up a hand for silence," wrote the press, "but the coughing started again as soon as he struck the first note."[51] There had been no picketing, however. A local rabbi, Jacob Danglow (1880–1962), was, in fact, indirectly quoted afterward as saying, "a demonstration would have greatly offended most Jews, who deplored the anti-Gieseking campaign."[52]

That same day, police officers had also been required to keep guard at a local synagogue, for one of Gieseking's supporters, outraged by the protest being led against the artist, had made threats of "reprisals" by phone.[53]

Such antagonism was without doubt distracting and burdensome. Yet Gieseking was clearly doing his best to stay positive and focused, ignoring it as much as possible while making every effort to enjoy the Australian visit. In the meantime, the opposition in Melbourne had already waned, so that his fourth appearance there, on 11 March, occurred without incident.

The Melbourne Reception

In spite of the uproar, all of the Melbourne engagements were a musical triumph. That season's Celebrity Concerts had commenced with Gieseking's four solo recitals. About them, he subsequently noted, "the first concert in Melbourne was well attended,

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[50] "False Alarm of Concert Fire," *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 10 Mar. 1952; "Pianist beat hoaxer," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 10 Mar. 1952.

[51] "Pianist beat hoaxer," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 10 Mar. 1952.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

but not sold out. Because the reviews were laudatory (as they were here [in Sydney] today), the 2nd and 3rd evenings (Debussy's 24 Preludes) were sold out, the 4th one overfilled. Hall with 2,800 seats. . . ."[54] Writing for the *Christian Science Monitor*, Biddy Allen spoke of the pianist's "superlative" performances with the loftiest praise: "Kaleidoscopic color, exquisite phrasing, a magnificently regulated sense of pace, and a rare capacity to relate detail to an over-all conception were among the artistic virtues which captivated musicians and the music-loving public." Regarding the clamor, she clarified with some apparent delight, "Organized opposition to the Gieseking season by a minority was frustrated. . . . All trouble had ended by the night of the final concert, which was attended by 3,000 enthusiasts."[55]

Determined to enjoy his stay in the unfamiliar city, Gieseking also found time for his beloved pastime: "In Melbourne, I caught butterflies, over 100 of them already. . . .," he wrote with great satisfaction to Jutta afterward.[56] He was, in fact, out in the sun too much, so that by the end of March he jokingly told his daughter, "but I can therefore call myself 'the most sun-burned pianist in the world.'"[57]

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[54] "Das erste Konzert in Melbourne war ganz gut besucht, aber nicht voll. Da die Kritiken glänzend waren (wie hier heute auch), waren der 2te und 3te Abend (Debussy 24 Préludes) voll, der 4te überfüllt. Saal mit 2800 Plätzen. . . ." Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[55] Biddy Allen, "Music in Australia," *Christian Science Monitor*, 31 May 1952.

[56] "Bei Melbourne habe ich Schmetterlinge gefangen, bereits über 100 Stuck. . . . " Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[57] "[A]ber ich nenne mich daher 'the most sun-burned pianist in the world.'" Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA. Gieseking must have repeated the joke later during an interview while in Italy in 1956, for the title (translated) of the piece became "The Most Sun-burned Pianist"; see "Der sonnenverbrannteste Pianist," *Der Standpunkt* (Merano), 21 Sept. 1956, 3.

General Manager of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, C. J. Moses, Defends Gieseking

C. J. Moses of the ABC was infuriated by the demonstrations being organized against Gieseking. Responsible for them was the Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism. Moses had defended the pianist publicly before the press on 3 March, making some highly opinionated complaints about the protestors.[58] He had also submitted a contentious statement making the same denunciations, which appeared in full in more than one paper.[59] Incidentally, Gieseking believed Moses to be Jewish, at least initially, although John Levi (author of a biography of the aforementioned Rabbi Jacob Danglow) has pointed out that he was not.[60] On the contrary, Moses quickly became accused of being anti-Semitic.[61]

Condemning the Council's activities, Moses spoke of the kind of "racial discrimination and intolerance" that had been fought against during WWII.[62] "[I]f ever anti-Semitism were to appear in our country—a terrible thought—it would do so solely because of the aggressive, intolerant un-Australian actions of this noisy minority. . . ."[63] He further indicated how Gieseking was one of the most eminent musicians to visit

[58] See "'Disgust' at Insult to Pianist," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952.

[59] See, for example, "German Pianist Tour: Melbourne Protest Deplored," Letters to Editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 Mar. 1952 and "What A.B.C. Says," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 5 Mar. 1952.

[60] Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta, Colonia Suiza, letter, 2 Mar. 1952, GFA; John S. Levi, *Rabbi Jacob Danglow: The Uncrowned Monarch of Australian Jews* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1995), 277.

[61] See for example "Do Jews Rule Us," *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill, NSW), 7 Mar. 1952.

[62] "German Pianist Tour: Melbourne Protest Deplored," Letters to Editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 Mar. 1952.

[63] "'Disgust' At Insult To Pianist," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 4 Mar. 1952.

Australia, "one of the very few great pianists who is not a Jew." "That," Moses daringly asserted, "appears to be the real reason for discrimination against him."[64]

Since the end of the war, the ABC had arranged Australian visits for nearly thirty Jewish performers from abroad, maintained Moses, while just three artists had been German—soprano Erna Berger, tenor Rudolf Schock, and now Gieseking—"all of whom have been warmly received by bomb-blasted London," he added.[65] Berger had "often s[u]ng before Hitler," Moses continued, and Schock had served in the German army throughout WWII.[66] "But they are singers, a field in which there are comparatively few Jewish artists of outstanding quality, and therefore there were no demonstrations against them."[67]

Moses avowed that the ABC had carried out "the closest enquiries into allegations which had been made by certain groups in America that Gieseking had Nazi affiliations," and that they had "revealed quite conclusively that the British and American authorities in Germany had closely and fully examined the allegations and had unconditionally cleared Gieseking. . . ."[68] To conclude, he affirmed that the ABC had "positive evidence" that the pianist was "never a Nazi, nor was ever actively associated with any Nazi

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[64] "What A.B.C. Says," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 5 Mar. 1952.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid. Berger (1900–90) had been on the Nazis' "God-gifted" list and, among other things, carried out a propaganda tour in occupied Norway during the war. Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Erna Berger." Shock (1915–86) had already enjoyed success as an opera singer during the Third Reich; after interrupting his career to serve in the German *Wehrmacht* throughout the war, he enjoyed a sensational, international career, also making film appearances. "Rudolf Schock," Richard Wagner Bayreuther Festspiele, accessed 5 Jan. 2013, http://www.bayreuther-festspiele.de/fsdb_en/personen/315/index.htm.

[67] "What A.B.C. Says," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 5 Mar. 1952.

[68] "ABC Chairman on Gieseking Issue," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 6 Mar. 1952.

organisations."[69] Moses was indubitably referring to the abovementioned documentation that Gieseking had brought along: the U.S. Military Government's statement asserting he was never a Nazi Party member, etc., and the verification of his postwar clearance. As previously described, he had begun to carry these papers with him after the American debacle of 1949, and he had already made use of them in Italy successfully and in South America unsuccessfully.[70]

Of all the musicians who had continued their careers in Hitler's Reich, Gieseking was in fact the *only* figure to become a subject of controversy in Australia after the war.[71] Like Moses, ABC Chairman R. J. F. Boyer was infuriated by the clamor. In a statement aimed at those protesting, he said that "if for personal reasons any section of our community, Jewish or otherwise, does not wish to patronize Gieseking's concerts, that is a personal affair. . . ." Furthermore, Boyer condemned the charges that the visiting artist was guilty of Nazi ties, reiterating that Gieseking had been unconditionally cleared since the war's end by both American and British officials in occupied Germany.[72]

One distinguished Jewish citizen who supported Gieseking's right to perform there, albeit somewhat less contentiously, was Hephzibah Menuhin (1920–81), famed violinist Yehudi Menuhin's sister. An accomplished pianist, as well as a writer and human rights activist, Hephzibah publicly criticized the "rude and unreasonable" actions being taken against Gieseking. "[He] is an old man and a very great one." She asserted

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[69] "What A.B.C. Says," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 5 Mar. 1952.

[70] See Chapter 12.

[71] Kenneth Stanley Inglis, *This is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932–1983* (Melbourne: Black Inc, 2006), 158.

[72] "Jewish Hostility To Pianist; Bitter Charges Made," *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 6 Mar. 1952.

that those opposed to the pianist's presence should simply not attend his performances—demonstrations were "unjustifiable."[73]

Public Response to Moses's Statement

Unsurprisingly, the opposition was not pleased by what Boyer and Moses had said, the latter's statements in particular. Jewish Labour Party member for Sydney's suburban district of Bondi, Abram Landa, declared that "because of his anti-Semitic outburst, Mr. Moses has succeeded in keeping 99 per cent of my people away from the concerts he has organised for Gieseking."[74] Moses had also castigated the Jewish protesters for "creating a row" in Melbourne and denounced them as "communists." Landa passed judgment on Gieseking for having declined to have his record investigated by the U.S. Justice Department in 1949, when he instead chose to return to Europe: "If this man is not a Nazi, he had the opportunity to disprove this before the very government which he claims whitewashed him."[75]

President of the Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism, Joseph Redapple, who referred to Gieseking as "Hitler's principal cultural ambassador," sent a telegram to the ABC general manager, challenging him to a public debate.[76] Redapple, who requested it take place on the ABC's Forum of the Air show, argued that "Mr. Moses attempted to sidetrack the real issue" and had merely expressed his "own personal

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[73] "Ugly Row Over Gieseking," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 5 Mar. 1952; Menuhin's stance was also mentioned in Biddy Allen, "Music in Australia," *Christian Science Monitor*, 31 May 1952.

[74] "Jewish Hostility To Pianist; Bitter Charges Made," *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 6 Mar. 1952.

[75] Ibid.

[76] "Challenge on German Pianist," *Mercury* (Hobart, Tas.), 6 Mar. 1952; "Jewish Council Seeks Debate," *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 6 Mar. 1952.

views."[77] Moses, it must be said, concurrently announced that the opinions he had communicated were indeed his own, not those of the ABC.[78] As for his argument that the Jewish protest against the pianist was founded on discrimination, Redapple called it "palpably stupid and reminiscent of the kind of anti-Semitic outburst made so familiar a decade ago."[79] Moses rejected Redapple's proposition.

Australian Citizens Express Their Opinion

Unsurprisingly, other Australians had written the press to convey their feelings over the matter. The *Sydney Morning Herald* printed four such opinions on 5 March. Saul Symonds, president of the New South Wales Jewish Board of Deputies in Sydney, in his letter condemned Gieseking as well as Moses, who he felt had "departed from the standard of objectivity to be desired in the general manager of a great public utility [i.e. the ABC]."[80] As for the pianist, Symonds brought up the Hinkel correspondence from 1933 as evidence of his Nazi affiliation, and similar to Landa, further referred to Gieseking's decision to leave the U.S. in 1949, rather than await a hearing, as an affirmation of his guilt.[81] S. W. Krieger, general secretary of the Association of New Citizens in Sydney, argued that the protest against Gieseking had nothing to do with the fact that he was not Jewish—as Moser had imprudently asserted: "We are not rejecting Gieseking because he is a German, a Christian, an outstanding pianist. Yet we do reject

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[77] "ABC Chairman on Gieseking Issue," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 6 Mar. 1952; "German Pianist: Jews Seek Air Debate," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 6 Mar. 1952.

[78] "German Pianist: Jews Seek Air Debate," *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 6 Mar. 1952.

[79] "ABC Chairman on Gieseking Issue," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 6 Mar. 1952.

[80] "German Pianist's Background: Attitude Of Jewish Community," Letters To Editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 Mar. 1952.

[81] Ibid. The Gieseking-Hinkel correspondence was discussed in Chapter 1.

him because he ha[d]—despite protestations to the contrary—made himself a willing tool of Nazi 'Kultur Propaganda,' because he stood by passively while thousands of his fellow artists were shipped to the gas chambers, because he heiled Hitler and fawned to his henchmen."[82] One anonymous "Music Lover" from Sydney likewise wrote disparagingly of Gieseking, though not without adding, "it appears inconceivable that anyone condemning German Nazi methods could approve of Nazi methods when practiced by our local Jewish fanatics."[83] Finally, in the fourth letter, the four members of the city's State Conservatorium of Music expressed their full support for the pianist's appearances: "we shall welcome with enthusiasm the visit to Sydney of Mr. Gieseking, for long recognised as one of the world's great pianists."[84]

German and American Press Coverage

Back in Germany, the German Press Agency (Deutsche Presse Agentur) reported on the controversy. On 4 March, a brief article noted how "some members of Jewish organizations carried placards displaying the message 'Gieseking played for Hitler.'" "Upon arriving in Sydney," it was added, "Gieseking had emphasized that during the war he did not play for Nazi Germany, but rather for the sake of music."[85] Two days later, the same agency could report positively on the German celebrity's first success in

[82] "German Pianist's Background: Attitude Of Jewish Community," Letters To Editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 Mar. 1952.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] "[E]inige Mitglieder jüdischer Organisationen trugen Plakate mit der Aufschrift 'Gieseking spielte für Hitler. Bei seinem Eintreffen in Sydney hatte Gieseking vor der Presse betont, er habe, wenn er während des Krieges auftrat, nicht für das Land der Nazis, sondern um der Musik willen gespielt." "Gegen das Auftreten Walter Giesekings," Deutsche Presse Agentur announcement from 4 March 1952, clipping (source unidentified) found in the Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

Melbourne: "The pianist was greeted at his concert in Melbourne's Town Hall by a large crowd of enthusiastic listeners, while outside the police dispersed the demonstrators, who accused the artist of 'collaborating with the Nazis.'"[86]

As usual, the American press likewise followed the ongoing events. *Variety* magazine printed a public statement also allegedly made by Gieseking in response to the opposition in Australia. On the topic of why he had played for the Reich during WWII, his reason differed noticeably from that given by the German Press Agency. From the *Variety* article, we read: "I have never condoned Nazi persecution. I had to play for government officials during the war because I was ordered to do so."[87] Of course, such discrepancies were all too common in the press, as they are to this day; Gieseking himself, on the other hand, was generally rather consistent in his arguments. Some five months later, Wolfgang Wagner explained in his *Musical America* feature that the U.S. controversy pertaining to the pianist had been frequently brought up during heated debates, yet ultimately "the [Australian] public supported Mr. Gieseking's concerts enthusiastically."[88]

Sydney

From Melbourne, Gieseking journeyed to Sydney, where he offered another four performances on 13, 15, 18, and 20 March, and an "extra" concert was scheduled for 2

[86] "Der Pianist wurde bei seinem Konzert im Rathaus von Melbourne von einer großen Zuhörermenge enthusiastisch begrüßt, während draußen die Polizei die Demonstranten zerstreute, die den Künstler der 'Zusammenarbeit mit den Nazis' bezichtigten." "Beifall für Gieseking in Melbourne," Deutsche Presse Agentur announcement from 6 March 1952, clipping (source unidentified) found in the Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[87] "Anti-Nazis Heckle Gieseking in Aussie," *Variety* 186, 12 Mar. 1952, 2.

[88] Wolfgang Wagner, "Modern Music Festival Launches Season in Sydney," *Musical America*, Aug. 1952, 17.

April owing to the high demand.[89] Regarding his concert on the eighteenth, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that, starting in the afternoon, nearly 5,000 concertgoers had stood in a long line that stretched blocks away from the hall; over 2,000 were ultimately turned away.[90] Later that month, Gieseking noted how each concert had been "completely sold out" ("restlos ausverkauft").[91] He was said to have been the first pianist since Eileen Joyce to pack the Town Hall.[92] An Australian virtuoso who is rather forgotten today, Joyce (1908–91) was one of Gieseking's few contemporaries who programmed his published transcription of Richard Strauss's "Ständchen" (op. 17, no. 2), which she also recorded.[93]

During a welcome speech, Boyer confidently said that he expected there to be no demonstrations against the German musician in Sydney.[94] And as the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported, "there was no sign of trouble in Mr. Gieseking's neighborhood at any time" when he arrived.[95] When speaking to the reporters there, Gieseking told them that the picketers in Melbourne had been unfamiliar with him (similar to how he had described the U.S. protesters before Carnegie Hall in 1949): "These poor people could

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[89] Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA; Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta, Colonia Suiza, letter, 2 Mar. 1952, GFA; Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[90] "5,000 Queue For Pianist," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 Mar. 1952.

[91] Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[92] L. B. [Lindsey Browne], "Full House Acclaims Gieseking," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 Mar. 1952.

[93] For a recent reissue of Joyce's recordings, the Gieseking transcription included, see Eileen Joyce, *The Complete Parlophone & Columbia Solo Recordings, 1933–1945*, Appian Publications and Recordings/APR 7502, 2011, 5 CDs.

[94] "Gieseking in Sydney: No Demonstration," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 Mar. 1952.

[95] Ibid.

not even spell my name. . . .” “I received hundreds of letters from people in Melbourne,” he further pointed out, “and not one of them approved of the demonstrations.”[96]

Owing to the threat of violent demonstrators, nonetheless, a couple of detectives continued to escort the pianist, and there was vigilant law enforcement at his performances. Biddy Allen noted in the *Christian Science Monitor* how, “the Australian Broadcasting Commission took the unprecedented step of presenting the programs under police protection.”[97] A local paper, the *Advertiser*, described the security measures observed at the first engagement: “Dozens of policemen and detectives were at vantage points throughout the hall and in the grounds outside. Some were even concealed in bushes.” The concertgoers were also screened by attendants upon entering the auditorium.[98]

Writing to Jutta, her father himself subsequently related the tense circumstances of the initial recital: “[T]here were many police officers, also upon my arrival. They are watching over everything very carefully. The Jewish delegate who had protested before the parliament gave a declamatory speech about my bloodstained hands(!)”[99] During the Legislative Assembly on 6 March, to which Gieseking was referring, he had been called “100 per cent Nazi,” and it was the Jewish Labour Party member, Abram Landa again, who then exclaimed that the pianist’s hands were “smeared with blood.”[100]

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[96] “Gieseking in Sydney: No Demonstration,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 Mar. 1952.

[97] Biddy Allen, “Music in Australia,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 31 May 1952.

[98] “Hidden Police on Ground for Gieseking,” *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 14 Mar. 1952.

[99] “[B]eim ersten [Konzert] gestern war viel Polizei, auch bei meiner Ankuft. Die passen hier riessig auf. Der jüdische Abgeordnete, der schon mal im Parlament protestiert hatte, hat pathetisch von meinen bluttriefenden Händen gesprochen(!)” Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[100] “Jewish Hostility To Pianist; Bitter Charges Made,” *Canberra Times* (ACT, Australia), 6 Mar. 1952.

All of the controversy could have only added to the ticket holders' anticipation of the first Sydney booking, which took place in the Town Hall. To top it off, as Gieseking explained to his daughter, "a poor drunk, who had entered the hall purely by mistake, was thrown out by the police!"[101] The subject, a twenty-nine-year-old "rowdy drunken seaman," had entered before the recital began, so there was no interruption to the program.[102] The scene doubtless offered some amusement to its onlookers, who could afterward read in the newspapers that the young man had been charged with "offensive behaviour."[103]

Gieseking played to a crowded house that evening. Upon walking out onto the stage, the audience greeted him with a jubilant applause that delayed his start for several minutes. The program comprised music of Mozart, Schumann, Brahms, Debussy, and Ravel, and afterward the virtuoso treated his spectators to four encores.[104] The next day, he could send positive news to Jutta: "[T]oday the papers pointed out that Jews attended the concert! . . . Everything can be read in the newspapers, also, according to a review, that I 'delivered music from heaven.' If the halls don't sell out now? 2 extra concerts are already planned. . . ."[105] The review to which Gieseking was referring appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and was written by Lindsey Browne, the paper's chief music and

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[101] "Und einen armen Besoffenen, der ganz wo anders hinwollte, hat die Polizei herausgeschmissen!" Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[102] "Hidden Police on Ground for Gieseking," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 14 Mar. 1952.

[103] "Ovation for Gieseking at Town Hall," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 Mar. 1952.

[104] Ibid.

[105] "[H]eute stand extra in der Zeitung, dass Juden im Konzert gewesen wären! . . . Alles steht in den Zeitungen, dazu in der Kritik, dass ich music from heaven geliefert hätte. Wenn es nun nicht ausverkauft wird. 2 Extra-Konzerte sind schon vorgesehen. . . ." Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

theater critic from 1946 to 1960.[106] More precisely, Browne had written: "Wherever else he might be said to come from, Walter Gieseking quickly persuaded the spellbound audience . . . last night that he could very well be a pianist from heaven."[107]

The next morning, Gieseking had to endure a reception held in his honor by the local music teachers, whereby he had to shake hands with, by his own count, some 150 people and also give a speech. He was surprised by the frequent speaking required of him: "In general, I have to talk constantly here, either to some group of people or as part of radio interviews. I have already said that not in 50 years have I talked so much as I have in 1 week in Australia. . . ."[108]

The performance on 18 March was an all-Beethoven recital at Sydney's Town Hall, which included the composer's four most well-liked Piano Sonatas: the "Pathétique," "Moonlight," "Waldstein," and "Appassionata." Gieseking had performed this program on occasion, the previous year, for instance, at an outdoor concert in Rome on 20 July. Regarding the repertoire's popularity, he remarked to Jutta the day before the summer event, "If that doesn't attract an audience!?"[109] After the latest, Australian performance, Browne had the following to say in his *Herald* review: "Probably Gieseking had played these sonatas far too often to continue to find rich musical delight in them, but last night he drove himself unsparingly to create for his huge audience the

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[106] Warren Arthur Bebbington, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 164; "Always a Crossword: Lindsey Browne, Cruciverbalist 1915-2003," obituary, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 June 2003.

[107] L. B. [Lindsey Browne], "Great Art of Gieseking," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 Mar. 1952.

[108] "Hier muss ich überhaupt ständig reden, entweder zu irgendwelchen gesammelten Leuten, oder als Radio-Interview. Ich habe schon gesagt, in 50 Jahren habe ich nicht so viel geredet wie in 1 Woche in Australien. . . ." Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[109] "Wenn das nicht zieht!?" Walter and Annie Gieseking, Rome, to Jutta Hajmássy, Rome, letter, 19 July 1951, GFA.

illusion that he was just as eager to play Beethoven for them as they were to listen to it."[110]

Brisbane

At the end of the third week of March, Gieseking continued his concert trip by flying to Brisbane.[111] "There it is supposed to be more tropical (700 km further north) and I am hoping for a good catch!" he noted, naturally referring again to butterflies.[112] Regarding the public dissent, here there were no incidents reported, nor were any mentioned in his correspondence. The city's Lord Mayor since 1940, John Beals Chandler, arranged a supper to follow the first concert, given in the guest pianist's honor.[113] Afterward the visit, Gieseking explained to Jutta how the climate had, in fact, been partly "tropically hot" ("tropisch heiss"), and the area "somewhat provincial but otherwise quite nice" ("etwas provinziell, aber sonst ganz nett"). But there was not an abundance of butterflies such as he had hoped for, in consequence of a number of recent forest fires.[114]

Further Concerts

Never had Gieseking flown so much, and he was enjoying and profiting highly from air transportation, making him a true artist of the modern era. The frequent back-

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[110] L. B. [Lindsey Browne], "Gieseking in Sonata Recital," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 Mar. 1952.

[111] Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[112] "[D]ort soll es tropischer sein (700 km nördlicher) und ich hoffe auf guten Fang!" Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA.

and-forth travel between relatively long distances, of course, had been facilitated immensely by flight. Upon concluding his first Brisbane engagements, he took a plane back to Sydney on 26 March to give four orchestral concerts—each sold out; an "extra" performance, also with orchestra and likewise a sellout, was arranged on 2 April.[115] The outcry had continued to lessen, so that he could write from there on 29 March: "Apparently, the opposition is completely defeated. . . Here everything is peaceful, and all concerts are filled to capacity. First, it was said that the Jews would not attend in protest, then that they would go but not clap. If that is the case, I haven't noticed it."[116]

That evening he played Brahms's D-minor Piano Concerto there, with the English conductor Eugene Goossens (1893–1962) leading the Sydney Symphony Orchestra.[117] Goossens was the orchestra's principal conductor from 1947 to 1956.[118] While critic Lindsey Browne called it "in many ways a mighty performance," on this occasion the soloist's abundance of vigor was too much for his taste: "Sydney audiences have not for many years seen such an outpouring of pianistic energy, energy so volcanic that it seems likely sometimes to overleap the artistic disciplines by which Gieseking sought to harness it."[119]

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[115] Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[116] "Die Gegner sind offenbar restlos erledigt . . . hier ist alles still und alle Konzerte voll. Es hiess erst, die Juden würden demonstrativ nicht hingehen, dann hiess es, sie würden hingehen aber nicht klatschen, wenn dem so ist, merkt man nichts davon." Ibid.

[117] Ibid.; Announcement under Amusements, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 Mar. 1952, p. 12.

[118] "SSO History," Sydney Symphony Orchestra website, accessed 9 Jan. 2013, http://www.sydneysymphony.com/about-us/our-story/sso-history.aspx.

[119] L. B. [Lindsey Browne], "Tragedy, Comedy In Music," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 Mar. 1952.

Annie and Freya Join Walter

Gieseking and his wife had been having marital problems again prior to the tour, but were now in the process of resolving their differences.[120] As a result, Annie, along with daughter Freya, joined Walter for the remainder of the long tour starting in March. Together, the two women likewise departed from London, on 23 March, and arrived in Australia on the morning of the 27th.[121] Since Walter would be away for over half of the year, it was undeniably more important than usual that his wife accompany him. And because Jutta and Imre were still living in South America, where the grand tour would end, this allowed for a much-anticipated family get-together to be combined with the visit. Above all, the family was eager to meet Jutta and Imre's first child, Maria, finally, who would by that point already be approximately one year old.

Regarding the current Australian tour, young Freya was unusually excited by her father's success. On 29 March, she wrote to her sister, Jutta, from Sydney: "Yesterday's concert created a sensation. It was great, simply fantastic. The good folks were attentive and quiet."[122] Regarding all the attention the family was getting, something she had obviously not fully anticipated, she added: "You can't imagine the great commotion that emerges here when people visit from Europe. It is as if we were the most exotic animals. Everyone turns around to look at us in the streets. We're not nearly as popular in Wiesbaden. . . . On Wednesday I had to talk on the radio, me! with my English! 'That's

[120] The marital problems are discusses in several letters, see for example Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 6 Jan. 1952, GFA; Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, to Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter 3 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[121] Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA; Walter and Freya Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[122] "Das Konzert gestern war eine Sensation. Es war toll, einfach phantastisch. Die guten Leute haben Mund und Nase aufgespert." Walter and Freya Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA.

too much!!' Nearly every day there is something on us in the papers, [it's] terrible!"[123] The Giesekings were, to be sure, genuine celebrities in Australia, which is why the public was so curious and star-struck. Amused by it all, Walter himself reported to Jutta from Melbourne in mid-April: "We already have the obligatory interview done, although it wasn't me, but rather the two ladies who were interviewed. Your sister does that quite skillfully. She, of course, has experience with handling the press."[124]

On 4 and 5 April, the family together flew to Brisbane, where Walter performed Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto. From there, they would go back to Sydney where another two solo recitals were scheduled.[125] One took place on 7 April, a concert that included twelve Debussy Preludes, Beethoven's Piano Sonata no. 32 (op. 111), and Schumann's *Kinderszenen*.[126] For 9 April, the ABC had arranged yet another "extra" performance, a so-called plebiscite program: "The works requested by the greatest number of people will be played," it was announced, and the public had until 31 March to send in their requests.[127] Gieseking had done this before, the earliest known example being his program for the Baldwin radio show, "At the Baldwin," in New York on 14 April 1929. On that occasion, the Baldwin Piano Company announced that it had

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[123] "Ihr könnt Euch gar nicht vorstellen was hier für ein Theater gemacht wird, mit Leuten, die aus Europa kommen. Wir sind die reinsten Wundertiere. Alle Leute drehen sich auf der Straße nach uns um, in Wiesbaden sind wir lange nicht so populär. . . . Mittwoch musste ich im Radio reden, ich! mit meinem Englisch! That's too much!! Fast jeden Tag steht was von uns in der Zeitung, terrible!" Walter and Freya Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[124] "Wir haben schon das obligate Interview hinter uns, aber nicht ich, sondern die Damen wurden interviewt. Deine Schwester macht das ja schon ziemlich virtuos, sie hat ja Übung im Umgang mit der Presse." Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[125] Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[126] "Gieseking to Play Requests," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 Mar. 1952.

[127] "New Gieseking Recital," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 Mar. 1952; "Gieseking to Play Requests," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 Mar. 1952.

"received thousands of requests from all part of the United States, Mexico, British Columbia and Bermuda."[128] Out of the over 175 compositions suggested, Gieseking played works by Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin, and Grieg. Listeners, some overly enthusiastic, had often sent in a list of requests, and as mentioned at the start of the show, one suggested program alone would have taken "forty-two hours to play in its entirety."[129] How let down that particular fan must have been.

The outcome in Sydney was announced in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 2 April: Gieseking would play Beethoven's "Appassionata" Sonata, Bach's Partita no. 2 in C minor, Mozart's Sonata in D major (K. 576), Debussy's *Pour le Piano*, "Clair de Lune," and "Poissons d'Or," and Ravel's Sonatine and "Alborada del Gracioso." And, it was noted, "as many as possible of the shorter pieces will be played as encores."[130] Hundreds of requests had been received, with the Beethoven sonata coming out at the top. This apparently surprised Gieseking, who expected the "Moonlight" sonata to be the public's favorite.[131]

An "extra" concert in Melbourne followed on 14 April, Easter Monday. It featured the four popular, named Beethoven Piano Sonatas again, as Gieseking had recently performed in Sydney on 18 March.[132] "The Beethoven recital is supposed to be packed," he wrote to Jutta beforehand. "Because up to 3,000 people can be seated, it's a

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[128] "At the Baldwin: #11: April 14, 1929," radio program transcript, original typed copy in the GFA.

[129] Ibid.

[130] "'Request' Recital By Gieseking," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 Apr. 1952.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 29 Mar. 1952, GFA; Walter, Freya, and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Apr. 1952, GFA. Note: Gieseking was in Sydney earlier on 14 April, but he and the family flew to Melbourne in time for the all-Beethoven recital that evening.

big deal."[133] Also in April, he gave concerto performances under the direction of Juan José Castro leading the Victorian Symphony Orchestra in Melbourne.[134] From Argentina, Castro (1895–1968) was one of the ABC's guest conductors that year.[135]

Near the end of the concert trip, the Giesekings flew some 3,300 kilometers (ca. 2,050 miles) to the coast of Western Australia, namely to its capital, Perth, where Walter concertized further. He remarked with a bit of pride how he had, all together, traveled some 12,600 kilometers (over 7,800 miles) by plane since arriving on the continent.[136] Classical music fans there must have been delighted to have the opportunity to hear the great pianist. Gieseking noted how "one concert was extremely overcrowded, probably unlike anything they had ever witnessed before."[137] The West Coast engagements apparently displeased many Tasmanians, who consequently wished for Moses to explain why he had not booked any venues on their island. Moses made it clear that Gieseking could not visit both states because of the brevity of the tour and since an ABC guest artist had visited Tasmania the previous year, it was Western Australia's turn now.[138]

On Saturday, 3 May, Gieseking concluded the Australian tour back in Sydney by first playing, as he humorously put it, "Krachmaninoff," i.e. Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto—"Krach" is the German word for "noise."[139] He appeared before a sold-

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[133] "Der Beethoven-Abend soll voll werden, da bis zu 3000 Leute in den Saal gehen, gehört ja allerhand dazu." Walter, Freya, and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Apr. 1952, GFA.

[134] See advertisements in *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 12 Apr. 1952, p. 27.

[135] "Juan Jose Castro," *Wodonga and Towong Sentinel* (Vic.), 11 Jan. 1952.

[136] Walter and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, 2 May 1952.

[137] "Ein Konzert war so überfüllt, wie es wohl noch nie vorgekommen war." Ibid.

[138] "A.B.C. 'Does not Neglect State,'" *Mercury* (Hobart, Tas.), 28 Mar. 1952; "A.B.C. Answers Lord Mayor," *Examiner* (Launceston, Tas.), 28 Mar. 1952.

[139] Walter and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, 2 May 1952.

out house, once again with Goossens leading the Sydney Symphony Orchestra. This was part of an annual benefit concert that raised money for the orchestra, and both he and Goossens volunteered their services.[140] The following afternoon, the pianist gave a final, matinee benefit recital at the Town Hall. The proceeds from the event went to the Sir John Northcott Neurological Centre and the War Veterans' Home—a nice farewell gesture on the part of the controversial pianist, to be sure.[141]

Conclusion: The Australian Tour

The Australian tour had won Gieseking immense acclaim. Aside from his numerous solo recitals, he had performed some of the most popular works for piano and orchestra, most of them signature pieces for him: Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto, Brahms's D-minor Concerto, Franck's *Variations symphoniques*, Rachmaninoff's Second Concerto, Schumann's Concerto in A minor, and, according to one account, Tchaikowsky's B-flat minor Concerto, which he only seldom played.[142] While the protestors had been resolute at the start, they then abandoned their campaign early enough so that Gieseking, along with Annie and Freya, could enjoy their time in the otherwise welcoming country.

And as was common for Gieseking wherever he appeared, the Australian critics had repeatedly written raving reviews, with little faultfinding—that is, when they actually chose to discuss the music and not merely the controversy. Let us turn one last time to

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[140] "Gieseking Back in Sydney," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 1952; Biddy Allen, "Music in Australia," *Christian Science Monitor*, 31 May 1952.

[141] "Recital," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 Apr. 1952; "Gieseking Back in Sydney," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 1952; Walter and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, 2 May 1952.

[142] Wagner, "Modern Music Festival Launches Season in Sydney," 17; Biddy Allen, "Music in Australia," *Christian Science Monitor*, 31 May 1952.

Lindsey Browne of the *Sydney Herald Tribune*, who had confessed the following to his readership in March:

> Gieseking is . . . a master, a perfect craftsman free of all arrogance and pretence, an artist who can be disarmingly simple and wickedly subtle all at once, a pianist who so deeply understands the secrets of his instrument that he never needs recourse to bullying bombast or frilly, inspired effeminacies. All is poise, certainty, balanced and severe affection.[143]

In describing the reception the pianist met with in the concert halls of Sydney and Melbourne, critic Biddy Allen observed how "capacity audiences . . . cheered Gieseking to the echo."[144]

It is worth noting that the then up-and-coming, twenty-four-year-old Austrian pianist Paul Badura-Skoda (b. 1927) had simultaneously made his Australian debut during that part of the season. As critic Wolfgang Wagner observed, however, the younger newcomer "did not remain under the shadow of Mr. Gieseking, as many had expected, but revealed the bright light of his own gifts." The two pianists had, in fact, met up, and a friendly photograph of them conversing over a drink, with Freya pictured as well, accompanied Wagner's article in *Musical America*.[145]

Regarding the monetary gain from the Australian engagements, Gieseking remarked to Jutta: "The tour brought in record earnings, by the way. I would receive a lot of money here if the taxes weren't so high."[146] The profits, not to mention the satisfaction of seeing the unfamiliar country and the boost given to his already great popularity,

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[143] L. B. [Lindsey Browne], "Gieseking in Sonata Recital," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 Mar. 1952.

[144] Biddy Allen, "Music in Australia," *Christian Science Monitor*, 31 May 1952.

[145] Wagner, "Modern Music Festival Launches Season in Sydney," 17.

[146] "Die Tournee hat übrigens Rekord einnahmen gebracht, ich würde sehr viel Geld kriegen, wenn hier nicht die Steuern so hoch wären." Walter and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, 2 May 1952.

nonetheless must have made the trip more than worthwhile. Yet it was to remain a onetime visit. Once the sought-after pianist was able to restart his career in the United States, North America again became the focus of his foreign activities. Of course, had lived longer, he very well might have arranged to journey back to the nation at some point, probably sooner than later.

Singapore and Indonesia

On 5 May, Walter, Annie, and Freya traveled to Singapore, where they arrived the next day. Gieseking's concerts there, only three in all, were arranged by the Singapore Musical Society and took place at the city's Victoria Memorial Hall on 8, 9, and 11 May.[147]

For his first performance, Gieseking repeated his popular, all-Beethoven sonata recital. In reviewing it, the *Straits Times* (Singapore) professed, "A packed audience including the Governor and the Commissioner-General in the Victoria Memorial Hall last night heard what must surely have been the finest recital of Western instrumental music ever presented within its walls. . . ."[148] In April 1946, Singapore had become a Crown Colony, with a civil administration currently (only since 21 April 1952) led by Governor John Fearns Nicoll (1899–1981). The Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia was Malcom MacDonald (1901–81), who afterward invited the Giesekings to a fine lunch at

[147] "Gieseking gives recital tonight," *Straits Times* (Singapore), 8 May 1952; "A Test for Gieseking—and S'pore," *Singapore Free Press*, 7 May 1952. Note: Gieseking had first planned to play on 7 April, which was obviously pushed back one day; his concerts were often rescheduled, just as others were added last minute. Walter, Freya, and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Apr. 1952, GFA.

[148] "Colony's 'Finest Recital," *Straits Times* (Singapore), 9 May 1952.

his residence in nearby Johor (then a state of the Federation of Malaya).[149] These were no ordinary quarters, but rather Bukit Serene, meaning "peaceful hill"—the royal palace of the Sultan of Johor. Sultan Ibrahim had not yet lived in the relatively new building, which offered a view of the Straits of Johor and Singapore, and was presently renting it to MacDonald.[150] While there, Walter and Freya made use of the swimming pool, though, to their surprise, they found the water *too* hot to be refreshing.[151]

For his concerts at Victoria Memorial Hall, Gieseking had to play on an old instrument that the media in Singapore somewhat endearingly—if in part regretfully—referred to as the "old dame." From a review in the *Straits Times* on the all-Beethoven recital we read: "The old dame herself? Gieseking made this maligned pianoforte speak to us, made it whisper to us, shout splendidly for joy and passion to us. His was the power and the glorious musicianship."[152] Assessing the same performance, a critic for the *Singapore Free Press* compared the German artist to Franz Liszt: "Hunched over the piano, his head jerking back with every savage chord Gieseking, in the halflight conjured up visions of those familiar pictures of the Abbe Liszt the great virtuoso. His playing had the eloquence and wizardry that that great pianist was said to possess."[153]

On 9 May, Gieseking made a late-afternoon solo appearance before a crowd of 750 children, who filled the Victoria Memorial Hall, platform included. "They were an attentive audience and gave the great pianist an ovation at the end," wrote the *Singapore*

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[149] Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Jakarta, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 17 May 1952, GFA.

[150] "Malaya: Landlord & Tenant," *Time*, 2 Feb. 1953, accessed 10 Jan. 2013, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,817864,00.html.

[151] Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Jakarta, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 17 May 1952, GFA.

[152] "Colony's 'Finest Recital," *Straits Times* (Singapore), 9 May 1952.

[153] "Gieseking—The Master," *Singapore Free Press*, 9 May 1952.

Free Press.[154] Gieseking had naturally put together a special program for his young listeners, though one not excessively light. It comprised Mozart's A-Major Sonata (K. 331—with the ever-popular "Rondo alla turca" movement), Beethoven's "Pathétique" Sonata, a Brahms Rhapsody, Schubert *Impromptu*, three of Grieg's *Lyric Pieces* ("Butterfly," "To the Spring," and "March of the Dwarfs"), and Mendelssohn's Rondo Capriccioso (op. 14).[155] On Sunday, 11 May, he offered as a farewell to his Singapore audience, a mixed program that included Bach, Mozart, Brahms, and Mendelssohn works.[156]

The next day, the family journeyed to Indonesia, which was now enjoying its hard-earned independence after a long period of Dutch (and briefly British) rule, as well as the recent wartime Japanese occupation, which Singapore, too, had suffered. Gieseking began a brief but busy tour the day of his arrival, starting in the West Javanese capital, Bandung.[157] While to some extent, Indonesia, like Singapore, may seem like an unusual choice for a Western pianist to have toured then, the Bond van Kunstkringen (Association of Art Societies) brought in many celebrated musicians from across the globe to concertize there. Other pianists that appeared in Indonesia in the 1950s as a result were Theo Bruins (1953), Cor de Groot (1954), Daniel Wayenberg (1955), Louis Kentner (1955), Eugene List (1956), Hans Richter-Haaser (1957), and Julius Katchen (1957).[158]

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[154] K. S. "750 hear Gieseking," *Singapore Free Press*, 10 May 1952.

[155] Ibid.

[156] "Gieseking gives recital tonight," *Straits Times* (Singapore), 8 May 1952.

[157] Walter and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, 2 May 1952; Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Jakarta, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 17 May 1952, GFA.

[158] H. van Weeren, "Art association 'The Bond,'" Concertleven, accessed 8 Jan. 2013, http://iml.nederlands muziekinstituut.nl/index.php?lang=14&dept=54&article=42.

Gieseking had previously received a cable explaining his anticipated earnings: some 2,000 "Fränkli" (i.e. Swiss franks) per performance, tax free, for four to ten concerts. "That would come in handy," he told Jutta, exciting about the opportunity and additional financial gain.[159] Nine appearances were ultimately made during the nine-day stay.[160] Aside from Bandung, Gieseking played in such municipalities as Djakarta, the Central Javanese city of Semerang, and the East Javanese metropolis Surabaja.[161] As in Singapore, he often performed on "dreadful" ("miserabel") pianos, and, to make matters worse, the Indonesian hotels often had no lights and no running water. Annie was especially bothered by the latter inconveniences, not to mention the extreme heat and the mosquitoes.[162]

The available documentation related to Gieseking's Indonesian tour, as in the case of Singapore, is limited, but he seems to have encountered no protest in either country, and, indeed, he made no mention of any opposition in his correspondence. Both trips had resulted in the usual great success, and, despite the discomforts, he enjoyed seeing the strange countries. Describing the visit to Singapore in a few words, he wrote to Jutta: "terribly hot, but very beautiful. Wonderful butterflies, concerts sold out."[163] On 21 May,

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[159] "Das wäre brauchbar." Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[160] H. van Weeren, "Art association 'The Bond,'" Concertleven, accessed 8 Jan. 2013, http://iml.nederlands muziekinstituut.nl/index.php?lang=14&dept=54&article=42. This source incorrectly states that Gieseking's stay lasted ten days; his correspondence proves it was nine.

[161] Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Jakarta, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 17 May 1952, GFA.

[162] Ibid.

[163] "[F]urchtbar heiss, aber sehr schön. Wunderbare Schmetterlinge, Konzerte ausverkauft." Ibid.

the family departed from Indonesia to continue the tour in North and South America. The next stop was Hawaii.[164]

The Territory of Hawaii and Canada, May–June 1952

The Territory of Hawaii

Gieseking still did not give any public concerts in the contiguous U.S. in 1952, but on the world-tour itinerary was a recital at Punahou School's Dillingham Hall in the Territory of Hawaii.[165] The impresario responsible for the booking was George D. Oakley, who headed the Artists Service of Honolulu.[166] Oakley was, of course, well aware of Gieseking's controversial status. In defense of both himself and the pianist, he rather contentiously pointed out to the press that, since the war, Hawaiian officials had let many Japanese musicians give performances in Honolulu.[167] Still, he was not going to take any chances and had wisely obtained the U.S. Government's permission for the event.

Oakley claimed to have first contacted the Justice Department to ensure that Gieseking would be allowed to perform. Furthermore, he avowed that the U.S. State Department had cleared the German artist for a five-night stay, and that he had received its approval through Delegate Joseph Farrington.[168] Merely the single concert was

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[164] Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA.

[165] Bob Krauss, "Gieseking Here Tells of Facing Irate Hecklers," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 26 May 1952.

[166] Oakley's agency operated from 1935 to 1960. The classical musicians it engaged are the subject of Nancy Oakley Hedemann's monograph, *Music on the Tradewinds* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 2003).

[167] "Gieseking Honolulu Date in Doubt due to Nazi Tie," *Variety*, 21 May 1952, 11.

[168] Krauss, "Gieseking Here Tells of Facing Irate Hecklers."

scheduled, but Gieseking was still required to undergo the routine immigration service clearance upon arrival.[169] State Department records from April of that year show that his background was, indeed, checked yet again, presumably because of the Hawaiian recital.[170]

Because of a flight cancellation in the Philippines, caused by an oil strike in Texas and resulting in a two-day stopover in Manila, the Giesekings arrived in Hawaii two days later than intended, in the early hours of 25 May.[171] Their visit lasted for nearly four days.[172] To be sure, some public opposition to Walter's appearance arose. Apparently since authorities on the island received only some letters of protest (some of which appeared in the newspapers), and there was no picketing—just "a few nasty telephone calls to his hotel"—Immigration Service, after questioning the pianist, allowed him, Annie, and daughter Freya, entry into Hawaii based on his earlier clearance given by the U.S. Military Government in Germany.[173] Gieseking afterward explained in a letter to Jutta and her husband, Imre, that "the entry (into the U.S.A. [i.e. Hawaii]) went smoothly;

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[169] Krauss, "Gieseking Here Tells of Facing Irate Hecklers"; "Gieseking Honolulu Date in Doubt due to Nazi Tie," 11.

[170] Roger Dow, for Charles W. Thayer, Chief of the Reports Division at the Office of Political Affairs, reports in a foreign service dispatch that checks were carried out with the CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) and others, and materials were gathered from the Kansas City Records Center and Berlin Document Center. No mention of either Oakley or the Honolulu concert is made. Dow, for Thayer, Foreign Service Dispatch, Subject: Walter Gieseking, 23 Apr. 1952, sent from HICOG Bonn, to Department of State, Washington D.C., file: decimal file 1950–54, name card index "Gieseking, Walter," NND 959270, RG 59, 762.52/4-2352, NARA II, College Park, MD.

[171] Walter and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, 2 May 1952; Gieseking, Vancouver, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 30 May 1952, GFA.

[172] Krauss, "Gieseking Here Tells of Facing Irate Hecklers"; Gieseking, [Honolulu] to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, Uruguay, 28 May 1952, postcard, GFA.

[173] Krauss, "Gieseking Here Tells of Facing Irate Hecklers"; "Ripple in Honolulu," *Time*, 2 June 1952, 62; Guild, "Honolulans Receive Gieseking with Tolerance, Admiration."

only we had to swear once again that we were not members of the communist, Nazi, or fascist parties. (We had already been required to do this at the consulate in Sydney!)"[174]

The evening of his arrival, starting at 5 p.m., Gieseking offered his listeners Mozart's A-major Sonata, K. 331; Beethoven's Sonata "Pathétique," op. 13; Chopin's *Berceuse*, op. 57; Mendelssohn's Rondo capriccioso, op. 14; Debussy's *Reflets dans l'eau*, *Soirée dans Grenade*, and *Pagodes*; plus four encores.[175] "The concert was given without much advertising," he mentioned to Jutta, "still, people were there. . . ."[176] A "relative handful of music hungry Honolulans" formed the audience, filling some six hundred of the 850 seats; the event was accordingly called "a financial disappointment," but was enthusiastically received.[177] The pianist was given a lei made of pink carnations afterward, and commented to the press how he was "very happy about my reception."[178]

As for the reviews, Edna B. Lawson of the *Honolulu Advertiser* admired Gieseking's variety of touch and objective readings:

> Honolulu's music lovers had the rarest of privileges, of hearing perhaps the greatest pianist of today Walter Gieseking. . . . This genius at the keyboard allowed nothing to come between him and his listeners. In every way he subordinated his personality to the needs of his scores. . . . Here is an artist who

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[174] "Einreise (in die U.S.A.) erfolgte ohne Schwierigkeiten, wir müssten nur nochmal schwören, dass wir nicht in Kommunistischen, NS, oder Faschistischen Partei gewesen waren. (Auf Konsulat in Sydney war dies auch schon nötig gewesen!)" Gieseking, Vancouver, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 30 May 1952, GFA.

[175] Guild, "Honolulans Receive Gieseking with Tolerance, Admiration"; "Ripple in Honolulu," *Time*, 62; Edna B. Lawson, "Gieseking Piano Concert Treat for Music Lovers," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 26 May 1952.

[176] "Das Konzert [in Hawaii] war ohne viel Reklame gemacht, immerhin waren Leute da. . . . " Gieseking, Vancouver, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, [Colonia Suiza], letter, 30 May 1952, letter, GFA.

[177] Guild, "Honolulans Receive Gieseking with Tolerance, Admiration"; "Ripple in Honolulu," *Time*, 62.

[178] "Ripple in Honolulu," *Time*, 62.

> can rise to the heights of grandeur, and then play a pianissimo that is like iridescent dew falling upon gossamer wings.[179]

Robert Guild, critic of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, deemed Gieseking's Hawaiian appearance a victory: "It was some sort of triumph, that he [Gieseking] came to Hawaii, that he played music that was of the spheres, and that he was received with tolerance and deep admiration for his genius, without pickets, fanfare or boos."[180]

Gieseking sent a postcard from Hawaii to Jutta, which in part read: "Played Sunday, even earned some dollars (580), which we can surely use here. The Americans appear to find it most astounding that I played on U.S. soil; in any case, the papers took note of this."[181] In spite of the success, this recital was for the pianist's American career relatively insignificant. What mattered was his return to the continental U.S., to New York above all. The Hawaiian engagement may have even been considered a test recital, as it were, to see if the time was ripe for a concert back on the mainland and whether the American authorities would involve themselves as they had done in 1949. These uncertainties would also explain why little advertising was done. After leaving the island, the pianist again wrote to his daughter about the visit:

> *Time* has already printed a detailed report explaining that I have now played in the U.S.A.! Very important!? Hawaii was quite beautiful; hotel excellent, not even overly expensive; weather wonderful; gardens, beaches and landscape splendid—only no butterflies! The day before yesterday, in the evening, we departed in a

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[179] Edna B. Lawson, "Gieseking Piano Concert Treat for Music Lovers," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 26 May 1952.

[180] Guild, "Honolulans Receive Gieseking with Tolerance, Admiration."

[181] "Habe Sonntag gespielt, sogar einige Dollar (580) verdient, die wir hier gut gebrauchen können. Die Amis scheinen es sehr sensationell zu finden, dass ich auf U.S.A-Boden gespielt habe, jedenfalls haben die Zeitungen es beachtet." Walter Gieseking, [Honolulu], to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, Uruguay, 28 May 1952, postcard.

massive airplane. We then caught a connecting flight yesterday morning in San Francisco, then again in Seattle. Now we are in Canada.[182]

Canada

From Hawaii, Gieseking, Anna, and Freya flew to Vancouver via San Francisco on Thursday, 29 May 1952, on their way to begin a Canadian tour. After a three-day holdup on account of lost reservations, they finally arrived in Toronto, where the two-and-a-half-week itinerary began with a recital on 3 June.[183] André Puglia joined them for this part of the world tour, though only for the duration of the Canadian visit.[184] At this point, the French impresario began to function as the pianist's world manager, as Gieseking often referred to him. And while he would not always travel with his famous client overseas, as the current, full tour demonstrates, he would do so more and more over the next years. According to Dean Elder, Puglia was "a nobody when he started working with Gieseking."[185] Perhaps, but Walter was nonetheless especially pleased with his services. He had been incredibly helpful over the last years, particularly in securing the necessary visas for the pianist's foreign appearances. Furthermore, the two men enjoyed working together tremendously. After the Canadian trip, Gieseking relayed to Jutta,

[182] "Time hat schon einen ausführlichen Bericht gebracht, dass ich nun in U.S.A. gespielt habe! Sehr wichtig!? Hawaii war bildschön, Hotel vorzüglich, nicht mal übertrieben teuer, Klima wunderbar, herrliche Gärten, Strand u.[nd] Landschaft—nur keine Schmetterlinge! Vorgestern Abend sind wir dann weggeflogen in einem riesigen Flugzeug, gestern früh in San Francisco, dann nochmal in Seattle umgestiegen, jetzt sind wir in Canada." Gieseking, Vancouver, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, [Colonia Suiza], letter, 30 May 1952, letter, GFA.

[183] Gieseking, Vancouver, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, [Colonia Suiza], letter, 30 May 1952, GFA; Gieseking, Montreal [letterhead incorrectly indicates Quebec], to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, June 9, 1952, GFA.

[184] Gieseking, [Honolulu] to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, Uruguay, postcard, 28 May 1952, GFA; Gieseking, Montreal (the letterhead incorrectly indicates Quebec), to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA; Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Jutta, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 June 1952, GFA.

[185] Dean Elder, email message to author, 27 Jan. 2013.

"Puglia was really sad when he had to leave us, but the 2 ½ weeks in Canada with him were indeed most enjoyable."[186]

Puglia had arranged Gieseking's current Canadian engagements through Gilles Potvin (1923–2000), a young native of Montreal, who throughout his career would work as an editor, critic, producer, music consultant, administrator, translator, and impresario.[187] Potvin was involved in the planning of the Musical Arts Series from 1951 to 1953, for which he had now brought in Gieseking.[188]

While in Canada, the German musician once again "encountered some opposition in Toronto as an alleged former 'Nazi artist,'" as the *Musical Courier* reported.[189] Yet this, too, proved rather ineffective. Referring to his appearances, Gieseking explained to Jutta how "a rabbi there tried to initiate another boycott and other uproar, but this disruption also failed completely. The concert was very well attended and five encores were necessary."[190] Since there were no engagements or other commitments the next day, 4 June, the family traveled to see Niagara Falls. "The weather was really nice, and it was a fine excursion," Walter cheerfully reported afterward.[191] The minor outrage had presumably already died out, and he did not seem concerned about any possible further

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[186] "Puglia war direct traurig, als er sich von uns trennen mußte, aber die 2 ½ Wochen in Canada mit ihm zusammen waren auch wirklich nett." Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Jutta, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 June 1952, GFA.

[187] Betty Nygaard King, "Gilles Potvin," *The Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, accessed 16 Jan. 2011, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0002840. In 1997 Potvin donated his papers to the University of Montréal, which include documents pertaining to his work as impresario. During the tour, Gieseking had his correspondence sent to Potvin's address at 7387 St. Denis St., Montreal 10, Canada." Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, 2 May 1952.

[188] Betty Nygaard King, "Gilles Potvin."

[189] "Musical Jottings," *Musical Courier*, July 1952, 27.

[190] "[D]ort [Toronto] hatte ein Rabbi wieder Boykott und sonstigen Skandal versucht, die Störung misslang aber wieder gänzlich. Das Konzert war sehr gut besucht und 5 Zugaben waren nötig." Gieseking, Quebec, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

[191] "Bis sehr schönem Wetter war das ein feines Ausflug." Ibid.

hue and cry. And, indeed, there is no mention in the press or his correspondence of any more clamor in Canada during the brief stay.

Other concerts took place in Montreal, where the Giesekings spent eleven days, and in Quebec, and all of the Canadian appearances were well anticipated.[192] A Montreal correspondent for several periodicals, Potvin himself reviewed his client's performances for *Musical America*.[193] In doing so, he noted how "on both occasions [in Montreal] the audiences, which overflowed onto the stage . . . gave the pianist an enthusiastic reception, and at the end of the second recital the applause lasted for twenty minutes."[194] Despite Potvin's relationship with Gieseking, his report was not embellished. Describing the first performance, Gieseking himself wrote to Jutta: "On Thursday [5 June] we flew to Montreal, that evening was the concert, 6 encores, hall absolutely filled."[195]

While there, Walter paid someone a visit that could have been rather controversial because of the recent dissent promoted by the aforementioned rabbi. He explained the incident to his daughter: "On Friday we were in Montreal, [where we] visited a Jewish psychiatrist from Germany who had pleaded for this so much. No one can find out about this for now, though."[196] This unnamed person could have only been worried about how his fellow Canadian Jews might have reacted had they found out about the meeting, hence his request to keep it undisclosed. (The reader will recall the story of how the "Old

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[192] Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Jutta, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 June 1952, GFA.

[193] Betty Nygaard King, "Gilles Potvin."

[194] Gilles Potvin, "Gieseking, Gigli, and Klemperer are Heard in Montreal," *Musical America*, July 1952, 27.

[195] "Donnerstag [5 June] flogen wir nach Montreal, abends war das Konzert, 6 Zugaben, Saal absolut voll," Gieseking, Quebec, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

[196] "Freitag waren wir in Montreal, besuchten einen jüdischen Psychiater aus Deutschland, der so sehr darum gebeten hatte, was aber vorläufig keiner erfahren darf. . . ." Ibid.

Inn" restaurant was purportedly boycotted after it became known that Gieseking had dined as the Jewish owners' guest.) The host asked his guest to play piano, but, as Gieseking sometimes did in such private settings while touring, he declined.[197] Nothing else is known about the encounter.

From Montreal, Walter and Annie traveled by train, approximately four hours, to Quebec, and Freya met them the next day. Describing the itinerary to Jutta, which included more sightseeing, her father wrote: "We had a tour of the area and the oldest city(!) of North America, really pretty countryside. In between all that was a two-hour press conference and radio interviews, all in French. . . ."[198] That he was able to give the interviews in French, his second native tongue, must have delighted his fans immensely. He found the Canadian accent difficult to understand, nonetheless, as did Puglia.[199]

They returned to Montreal on 11 June, where Gieseking gave a broadcast solo performance and, on the following day, presented his "popular" Beethoven recital, which featured the "Pathétique," "Moonlight," "Waldstein," and "Appassionata" Piano Sonatas. This program was the same crowd-pleaser he had recently given twice while in Australia, namely in Sydney as his "extra concert" on 18 March and as his "extra and final recital" in Melbourne on 14 April.[200]

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[197] Gieseking, Quebec, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

[198] Gieseking does not name the city, but he may be referring to Quebec, which was founded already in 1608, though it is not North America's oldest city. The Canadian city St. John's often erroneously claims to be North America's English-founded city (1497), but Gieseking could not have visited that distant coastal town. "Wir haben hier die Gegend besehen und die älteste Stadt(!) Nordamerikas, recht hübsche Landschaft. Dazwischen waren 2 Stunden Pressekonferenz und Radiointerviews, alles französisch. . . ." Ibid.

[199] Gieseking, Annie, Freya Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 June 1952, GFA.

[200] L. B. [Lindsey Browne], "Gieseking in Sonata Recital," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 Mar. 1952; "Gieseking: One of the Greatest Living Pianists," advertisement in *Argus* (Melbourne, Vic.), 2 and 4

Private U.S. Engagements

Meanwhile, the family was waiting to learn whether they would receive the necessary U.S. visas to visit some old acquaintances in the American Midwest, which would also allow Walter to give some requested private performances there.[201] These would take place at the home of the arts patron Mrs. Caroline Marmon Fesler of Indianapolis and possibly (though less likely on this occasion) at the Cincinnati residences of the pianist's representatives from the Baldwin Piano Company, the Wymans and the Wulsins. In the latter case, this would be either at the house of Lucien Wulsin Jr. (1889–1964), the firm's CEO until 1964, or even perhaps that of Lucien Wulsin III (1916–2009).[202] Gieseking had been a Baldwin artist in North America throughout his career there and had sometimes played for all of the above-named persons during his earlier U.S. tours before WWII. He had recently been in touch with Fesler and, in letters to Jutta in May and June, had expressed his wish to play again for her and the Wulsin and Wyman families.[203]

During the Canadian tour, Fesler had traveled some twenty-four hours by train from Indianapolis to Toronto to see Gieseking and attend his concerts there and in Montreal.[204] Born in 1878, she was now aged, a widow, and had lost most of her sight,

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Apr. 1952; Walter, Freya, and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Apr. 1952, GFA.

[201] "Morgen fahren wir nach Montreal zurück, am 11. spiele ich im Radio, am 12. die 4 Beethovensonaten. Dann warten wir, ob wir das Visum für U.S.A. bekommen und fliegen evtl. nach Indianapolis." Gieseking, Quebec, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

[202] Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, letter, 14 Mar. 1952, GFA; Gieseking and Annie, Vancouver, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 30 May 1952, GFA; Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 June 1952, GFA. Information on the Wulsins is found in Richards, "Baldwin Piano and Organ Company," 37.

[203] Gieseking and Annie, Vancouver, to Jutta and Imre Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 30 May 1952, GFA; Gieseking, Quebec, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

[204] Gieseking, Quebec, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

yet her passion for music remained strong. Thrilled to hear the pianist again, she arranged for him and his family to visit her at her home and summerhouse in Indiana.

From Quebec on 9 June, Gieseking wrote to Jutta and Imre, "I hope we receive a visa with the permission to stay in the U.S. The visit would surely be nice and—rewarding!"[205] Because of the ordeal in New York in 1949, however, he knew that there could be no guarantee that the American authorities would grant him and his family entry. For that reason, no public appearances had been booked on the U.S. mainland.[206] Should the plan not work out, he was ready to travel straight to Rio de Janeiro, with Annie and Freya, to begin his South American tour.[207] In a letter to two of his former Saarbrücken pupils, Dean Elder and his wife, Carolyn, Gieseking summarized his latest concertizing, also commenting on the dissent—or "publicity," as he preferred to describe it—and his next, still uncertain, plans as well:

> Dear Elders,
>
> [E]xcuse me for not having answered your letter of Feb. 8 – I was so busy at that time preparing [for] my departure for Australia – Since then (Febr. 26 from London) I have been en route – on tour – and busy!! 30 concerts in Australia in 2 months, (14 in Sydney, 10 in Melbourne, etc.) marvelous reception, record attendances, record receipts—for the Tax collector of the Commonwealth of Australia. A few crazy fanatics tried to make trouble, it was a great free publicity [for me]! Annie and Freya joined me in Sydney after a few weeks, we traveled over 8000 miles in Australia (all by plane) went then to Singapore (3 concerts), Indonesia (9 concerts) – very hot places! Fine butterflies – especially in Singapore, a most interesting city. Java was a bit uncomfortable, hot, damp, and very little water! We flew over Manila to Honolulu, where I gave a recital, (see Time magazine of June 2d) then: S. Francisco – Vancouver – Toronto. Since about a week [I've been] playing in Canada, "great stuff." A Rabbi in Toronto furnished another bit of publicity – Massey Hall [in Toronto] was full. Montreal is jealous now, because I had to play seven encores in Quebec and here they had

[205] "[H]offentlich bekommen wir ein Visum mit Aufenthaltserlaubnis für die U.S., der Besuch würde sicher angenehm und—lohnend sein!" Gieseking, Quebec, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid.

only six. – It may be that we stop in the States for a few days, that is, if we get a visitor's visa. Otherwise we [will] fly straight to Rio. Next month I play in Brazil, there we hope to meet Imre and Jutta and "the most charming baby of the continent" (!?), later we go to Montevideo, Argentina, etc. – End of September: back to Europe. – If we should stop in New York on our way to Rio, I'll let you know. We [are going to] stay here for a few days more – Sorry, I was too busy to write sooner –

Hope you both are well – how is your music going along?

All the best wishes, also from the family

sincerely yours

Walter Gieseking [Gieseking's English][208]

After patiently waiting, the family received the visas and happily journeyed to the Midwest, so that they could send word to Jutta from Indianapolis on 20 June. "Annie, Freya and Puglia (he's now in New York) each had to have 20 fingerprints taken," Gieseking wrote with good humor, "but otherwise we entered this sacred land without any trouble."[209] When writing the Elders again on New Year's Eve that year, Gieseking mentioned his American stay that summer: "In Indianapolis we visited a very dear friend [Caroline Fesler], we had a wonderful time at her summer house on Lake Maxinkuck[e]e ([near] Culver City, Ind.) – sorry we missed you in New York."[210] Although Jutta later indicated that the 1952 tour included the U.S., her father was merely able to give the few private performances there that year.[211] These probably included only those arranged by Fesler, since he did not mention the Wymans or Wulsins to the Elders.

As intended, the Giesekings traveled to South America next, where Walter played in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile.[212] Schraml had once again arranged the tour,

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[208] Gieseking, Montreal, to Dean and Carolyn Elder, New York, letter, 11 June 1952, DEC.

[209] "Anni, Freya u. Puglia (dieser ist in Newyork) mussten jeder 20 Fingerabdrücke liefern, aber wir sind sonst anstandslos in dies geheiligte Land eingereist." Walter, Annie, and Freya Gieseking, Indianapolis, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 20 June 1952, GFA.

[210] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean and Carolyn Elder, New York, letter, 31 Dec. 1952, DEC.

[211] See Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 79.

[212] Ibid.

which he had scheduled to begin in Rio at the start of July.[213] In the aforementioned letter to the Elders from December, Gieseking described how the tour continued upon leaving the United States:

> Then we flew to Rio, there we met Imre, Jutta, and the little Uruguayan [Gieseking's granddaughter, Maria]. The whole family stayed together till the end of October, first in Rio, then in Sao Paulo, then in Montivideo, Buenos Aires, last of all in Chile, which country [i.e. its countryside] was most beautiful in the Spring time (October) [Gieseking's English].[214]

As in 1950, no public dissent seems to have arisen there. From South America, the family returned to Europe, finally concluding the long but lucrative world tour. It had been an immense success, and Gieseking was undoubtedly more famous than ever. On 30 December, he sent holiday greetings to his American piano tuner and pal, Richard Pohlman, in which he also mentioned his latest activities and forthcoming plans, along with his most recent physical ailments:

> Dear Friend Pohlman!
>
> Best wishes for a Happy and Prosperous New Year from the whole family! Thanks for your good Christmas wishes, hope you are having nice holidays (not too dry! [i.e. sober]). I had to go to a sanitarium [the Sanatorium Nerotal in Wiesbaden] after coming back from South America, my stomach was out of order once again, but since then I have resumed my usual occupation of "pounding the ivories." Was in Italy until Dec. 23d, in the meantime the young lady from Uruguay [i.e. Jutta's baby, Maria] is the most important person in the house now, of course! In March I shall fly to Japan, from there probably to Canada. Perhaps we shall meet sometime in April, in case I should have time to visit dear old New York, again as a "tourist."
>
> All the best wishes to you and your family –
>
> Always sincerely yours
>
> Walter Gieseking [Gieseking's English][215]

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[213] Walter, Freya, and Annie Gieseking, Sydney, to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 14 Apr. 1952, GFA; Gieseking, Montreal (the letterhead incorrectly indicates Quebec), to Jutta Hajmássy, Colonia Suiza, letter, 9 June 1952, GFA.

[214] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean and Carolyn Elder, New York, letter, 31 Dec. 1952, DEC.

[215] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, [New York], Christmas card, 30 Dec. 1952, copy from the DEC.

To the entire family's great joy, Jutta and Imre had moved back with the baby to Germany from Uruguay a few days prior to Christmas.[216]

For further details regarding his medical treatment and subsequent teaching and concertizing in Europe, we once again turn to Gieseking's December letter to the Elders. He was happy to tell his two former pupils how "since about 4 weeks I am busy again!" He continued:

> Returning to Wiesbaden, I got an attack of stomach ulcers, had to stay 5 weeks in the sanitarium and had to cancel all November dates, mostly German concerts. (A minor disaster!)
>
> December: I could at least start with the class [i.e. the Saarbrücken masterclasses] and play in Italy the concerts which I had missed on account of the motor car accident last year. – Now I shall go immediately to Sarrebruck, then follows a recital in Paris (on the 6th), then 16 concerts in Italy until the end of January. February: Switzerland, Portugal. March[:] Japan, April[:] Canada, May: back in Europe, where I shall probably remain next summer [Gieseking's English].[217]

Gieseking had always been a relentless traveler, but his wanderlust, incited by the modern comfort and efficiency gained through air travel, had grown stronger than ever by the 1950s.

The Japanese Tour of 1953

In his endeavors to continue touring the world, Gieseking, accompanied by Annie and André Puglia, traveled to Japan in the spring of 1953. Between 16 March and 9 April, he gave thirteen performances—featuring seven different programs—in Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Fukuoka, Sapporo, and Sendai.[218] The repertoire included solo works by Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, Debussy, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Ravel, Schubert,

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[216] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean and Carolyn Elder, New York, letter, 31 Dec. 1952, DEC.

[217] Ibid.

[218] Yasuko Nakayama, Tokyo, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 21 Dec. 1964, DEC.

Schumann, as well as concertos by Beethoven, Grieg, and Rachmaninoff. The latter performances were conducted by Kurt Wöss (1914–87) leading Tokyo's NHK Symphony Orchestra.[219] Japan had, of course, been a chief German ally throughout World War II, and, as was surely expected, there was no public outcry against the pianist's visit.

Prior to the war, three leading Japanese daily newspapers—the *Asahi Shimbun*, the *Mainichi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*—had begun to organize domestic tours for such esteemed musicians as the Metropolitan Opera star Helen Traubel and violinists Yehudi Menuhin and Joseph Szigeti.[220] Since 1952, the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) had brought in artists such as the Budapest String Quartet, and it had lined up performances for Marian Anderson in 1953 and Isaac Stern for the 1953–54 concert season.[221] In 1953, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* financed the visits of both Gieseking and the reputable violinist Jacques Thibaud.[222]

Gieseking's beautifully decorated Japanese photo album, perhaps a gift from his sponsors, reveals just how enchanting the visit must have been for him. In contains many professional photographs of tour events and excursions. In addition to the pictures of the pianist playing in packed halls, he can be seen receiving gifts and flowers, giving autographs to excited Japanese youths, watching a privately arranged stage performance, dining with some hosts—Geishas included—listening to a class of children playing violins, standing in the forest and before a pagoda and other sights, and, of course, catching butterflies in the fields. Annie and Puglia can also be seen in the pictures, clearly

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[219] Yasuko Nakayama, Tokyo, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 21 Dec. 1964, DEC.

[220] Ross Parmenter, "The World of Music: Japanese Press as Sponsors," *New York Times*, 8 Mar. 1953.

[221] Ross Parmenter, "The World of Music: Japanese Press as Sponsors," *New York Times*, 8 Mar. 1953.

[222] Ibid.

delighted as much as the guest artist himself.[223] In a postcard to her son-in-law, Imre, Annie mentioned some of their sightseeing: "We visited this castle in Osaka [Osaka Castle], from the outside it's beautiful, less so from the inside. But the temples in Nara and Kyoto are more interesting. It's now turning pretty everywhere because the famous cherry blossoms have finally begun to bloom."[224]

As usual, Gieseking was popular in the press, articles and reviews of his concerts appeared in the Japanese papers every day. The Asian nation's concertgoers were overjoyed to hear him live.[225] Shortly after the visit, Gieseking wrote the *Yomiuri Shimbun* while in Toronto, thanking its editorial staff for the invitation to perform in their country and for arranging the itinerary. A surviving draft of the letter reads as follows:

> Sirs,
>
> The concert tour that I just gave in Japan has left me with very fond memories. I want to say again, before returning to Europe, how grateful I am to the *Yomiuri Shimbun* for the invitation—and for the excellent organization of my tour. I thank you warmly for your hospitality, for all your care and attention to every little detail that helped make my trip enjoyable and comfortable. I am deeply grateful to the Japanese public, which not only filled every seat of all the halls, but also listened to my programs with remarkable attention and interest and welcomed me with an unforgettable amount of enthusiasm.
>
> The greatest achievement for a musician is to feel that his audience understands the music he plays, and the way that Japanese listeners followed my interpretations convinced me that they followed the programs I presented. It is thus with the deepest personal and artistic satisfaction that I will always remember this first journey to Japan, which also gave me the opportunity to admire the artistic culture and cultural beauty of your country.[226]

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[223] Japanese photo album of Walter and Annie Gieseking from 1953, GFA.

[224] "Dieses Schloß in Osaka [Osaka Castle] haben wir besehen, von außen ist es hübsch, von innen weniger. Aber die Tempel in Nara und Kyoto sind interessanter, es wird jetzt überall hübsch, weil die berühmte Kirschblüte endlich anfängt." Annie Gieseking, Tokyo, to Imre Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, postcard, 5 Apr. 1953, GFA.

[225] Yasuko Nakayama, Tokyo, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 21 Dec. 1964, DEC.

[226] "Messieurs, la tournée de concerts que je viens de donner au Japon m'a laissé des souvenirs si sympathiques, que je tiens à vous dire encore une fois, avant de retourner en Europe, combien je suis reconnaissant au *Yomiuri Shimbun* pour son invitation—et pour la parfaite organisation de toute ma

Incidentally, Gieseking sent this draft, which contains numerous corrections, to an unidentified graphologist who had apparently requested an example of the pianist's script for analysis. Gieseking complied and in doing so included a humorous note: "I hope you don't discover any terrible character traits in my handwriting. Perhaps you will determine that I am in fact not musical!? That . . . would perhaps please some German critics."[227]

The Japanese visit had been successful and memorable, but, like that of Australia, it was to be Gieseking's only one to the Asian nation. Had he lived longer, he would have undoubtedly considered returning.

The Return to the United States, 1953

Persona non grata in America

By 1953, Gieseking had not performed publicly in the mainland United States in fourteen years. During this unwanted American hiatus, he had continued to be discussed

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tournée! Je vous remercie cordialement pour votre hospitalité, pour tous vos bons soins et votre attention à tous les petits détails qui ont contribué à rendre mon voyage agréable et confortable. Je suis profondément reconnaissant au public japonais, qui non seulement a comblé toutes les salles ou j'ai joué jusqu'à la dernière place, mais a écouté mes programmes avec une attention et un intérêt tout à fait remarquables et m'a reçu avec un enthousiasme que je n'oublierai jamais. Le plus beau succès pour un musicien est de sentir que son public comprend la musique qu'il écoute, et la manière avec laquelle les auditeurs japonais ont suivi mes interprétations m'a persuadé que les programmes que j'ai présentés ont été compris. C'est donc avec la plus profonde satisfaction artistique et personnelle que je me rappellerai toujours ce premier voyage au Japon, qui m'a aussi donnér [*sic*] l'occasion d'admirer la culture artistique et la beauté culturelle de votre pays." Gieseking, Toronto, to unidentified person, n.d. (Gieseking indicates only "avant de retourner en Europe"; the letter was written between 16 and 22 Apr. 1953), 24 May 1953(?), draft letter posted and sold by Kotte Autographs (Art. 12704), accessed 10 May 2009, http://www.kotte-autographs.com/products/detail.html?PHPSESSID=758f28668a131686be4db6f542b93c77&id=12704&cellwidth=700.

[227] "Hoffentlich entdecken Sie keine allzuschlechten Charaktereigenschaften in meiner Schrift, vielleicht stellt sich heraus, dass ich eigentlich doch unmusikalisch bin!? Das . . . würde vielleicht einige deutsche Kritiker erfreuen." Gieseking, Toronto, to unidentified person, n.d. (Gieseking indicates only "avant de retourner en Europe"; the letter was written between 16 and 22 Apr. 1953), 24 May 1953(?), draft letter posted and sold by Kotte Autographs (Art. 12704), accessed 10 May 2009, http://www.kotte-autographs.com/products/detail.html?PHPSESSID=758f28668a131686be4db6f542b93c77&id=12704&cellwidth=700.

in the press and anything but forgotten. Reviewing a recital he gave in Paris in 1950, Claudia Cassidy of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* wrote: "If you have not heard him for a decade you wonder if you have exaggerated the memory, but as he plays the miracle recurs . . . no, Gieseking hasn't changed."[228]

Of course, the pianist had remained a subject of debate in the U.S. during his absence. Author Roland Gelatt expressed his disdain for Gieseking the man, while also admitting that "Everywhere but in North America, [he] is welcomed and extolled, and even here his recordings sell well and receive critical praise."[229] Indeed, the controversial artist's albums continued to sell extremely well. Writing for the *Washington Post*, Paul Hume had noted in 1948 how "many of his [Gieseking's] recordings are now unobtainable because of the continuing demand for them."[230] Undoubtedly, the many reviews, along with the sales, marketing, and airplay of the German virtuoso's discs would have made his American fans most eager to have him back in their halls.

A few years had now passed since the failed North American tour of 1949. Gieseking's "world manager," Puglia, must have felt it was time for his client to return to the mainland U.S., and so a recital was finally booked for 22 April 1953—bravely once again at Carnegie Hall. The pianist had dropped his former American manager, Charles Wagner, since the disastrous New York incident of 1949, which, as we will soon see, would lead to a lawsuit and counter lawsuit between the two men.

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[228] Cassidy, "Gieseking the Master and Gifted Ciccolini Play Paris Recitals," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 17 May 1950.

[229] Gelatt had apparently overlooked the concerts in Hawaii and Canada. Roland Gelatt, *Music Makers: Some Outstanding Musical Performers of Our Day* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), 221. There was indeed a large number of record ads, as in the *New York Times* and *Chicago Daily Tribune* for example, that included Gieseking releases during these years. As Gelatt does in the "Gieseking" chapter, he discusses in another one both the artistry and controversial career of the singer Kirsten Flagstad; see pages 111–21.

[230] "Nazi Overtone: Gieseking's Engagement Is Canceled," *Washington Post*, 18 Apr. 1948.

Return to the Territory of Hawaii and Canada, April 1953

Before making his way to the mainland U.S., Gieseking—traveling from Japan—briefly performed in both Hawaii and Canada again, all within ten days of the New York date. In Hawaii, he gave a recital before a "standing-room-only audience" at McKinley auditorium on 12 April.[231] There was apparently no protest, unlike during the previous year's visit, and the well-received program included (not necessarily in this exact order) Bach's Partita in B-flat major (BWV 825), Beethoven's "Waldstein" Sonata in C-major (op. 53), three Intermezzos by Brahms, Ravel's *Sonatine*, five Debussy Preludes, and Chopin's *Barcarolle*. The event was but a prelude to what would be his true American return, yet Robert Guild of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* thought otherwise:

> One felt that this was in a sense a comeback; for the first time since 1949 the man many reviled as a Nazi has been cleared by the State Department [*sic*] and is New York bound.
>
> But any triumph he achieves there couldn't top the great success he scored yesterday.[232]

Guild was not entirely accurate: the U.S. State Department, we will recall, had never attempted to prevent the pianist's American entry; it was the Department of Justice that ultimately hindered his U.S. tour in 1949.

Gieseking then arrived in Vancouver on 16 April to give a concert, and others followed in Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec.[233] If there was any opposition in Canada this time, as in the preceding season, it did not interfere with his appearances. The next, long-anticipated destination was New York City.

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[231] Robert Guild, "Walter Gieseking Enchants Audience at Piano Concert," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 13 Apr. 1953; Bob Krauss, "Gieseking Impressive in McKinsley Concert," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 13 Apr. 1953.

[232] Guild, "Walter Gieseking Enchants Audience at Piano Concert."

[233] Ibid.; "Gieseking is let in by M'Carran Law," *New York Times*, 3 Apr. 1953, 18.

April 1953: The U.S. Return

By 1953, interest in Nazi-related matters in the U.S. had subsided. It was the revised Immigration and Nationality Act, better known as the Walter-McCarran Act, though, that would now permit Gieseking's return. Under its new terms, only communists were classified as totalitarian and could therefore be refused the right to perform in the United States.[234] And so on 22 April 1953, for the first time since 1939, the controversial German musician was finally scheduled to appear before the American public again.

Anticipating renewed public protestation, the ACLU wrote the American Jewish Congress and American Veterans Committee, requesting that the organizations "take no action to prevent the performance of his [Gieseking's] concerts." "Whatever his alleged views or associations may be, or have been, however odious or objectionable," it added, "we must strongly dissent from the position that the mere holding of such beliefs should disqualify him from admission."[235] Gieseking's opponents would hear nothing of it. As in 1949, hundreds picketed before Carnegie Hall, now protesting the revisions made to the Walter-McCarran Act in addition to the barring of the pianist's entry.[236] The AVC, in particular, used the Gieseking case to criticize the immigration law: "Former Nazis and pro-Nazis, such as Walter Gieseking" they proclaimed,

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[234] "Gieseking Schedules New York Recital," *Musical America*, 1 Apr. 1953, 3; "Gieseking is Let In by McCarran Law," *New York Times*, 3 Apr. 1953, 18; "Intolerance," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 7 Apr. 1953, 18; Irving Kolodin, "Memorials and Gieseking's Return," Music to My Ears, *Saturday Review*, 9 May 1953, 31.

[235] News Release, ACLU, 14 Apr. 1953, file: ACLU II collection, box 829, folder 26, "Gieseking, Walter, Nazi Sympathizer, 1953," Public Policy Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton N.J.

[236] "Gieseking Gets Backing," *New York Times*, 15 Apr. 1953, 39. The then Borough President of Manhattan, Robert F. Wagner Jr., also demonstrated. "Gieseking is Picketed," *New York Times*, 23 Apr. 1953, 36; Olin Downes, "Crowd Hails Gieseking in N.Y. Concert," *New York Times*, 23 Apr. 1953, C5; "Gieseking Entry Assailed," *New York Times*, 4 Apr. 1953; "A Correction," *New York Times*, 18 Apr. 1953, 17.

> . . . are freely admitted under the McCarran Act. . . . AVC does not seek to have Gieseking excluded from the country. We do not fear that his presence, or his piano playing, will threaten our national security, corrupt our morals, or send our young goose-stepping down the aisles. But we view with great alarm the operation of a law which easily admits former enemies whose whole ideology is repugnant to American institutions and our ideals, at the same time that it excludes the victims and opponents of their regime."[237]

Yet authorities did not stop the sold-out concert. For Gieseking's personal safety, he was guarded by some police officers and advised not to leave the artists' room at Carnegie Hall before the performance, while still other officers were positioned throughout the venue.[238] His fans were ecstatic. Describing them, Arthur Bronson wrote for *Variety*: "The audience seemed to be a cross-section of young and old music-lovers; professional music fraternity and managers, and plain pro-Germans. They liked Gieseking, roaring and rising at intermission, and demanding eight encores at the close."[239] Although Jutta was not with her father that evening, she later depicted the event as he had recounted it to his family afterward:

> As he walked out onto the stage that evening, the audience of the sold-out concert hall gave him a storming ovation. Touched, he stood at the piano, and only after fifteen minutes was he able to start playing Mozart's Sonata in A major [K. 331]. Imagine the demands on an artist under such dramatic circumstances! When I later asked him how he was able to bring himself to play at all with such excitement in the air, he answered, "Had I been your age, I wouldn't have been able to do it."[240]

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[237] The AVC Bulletin, vol. 8 no. 4, Apr. 1953, p. 1, file: "Gieseking, Walter (Nazi pianist), 1944–1953," AVC records, GL, Washington D.C.

[238] Jutta Hajmássy, commentary in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 79; Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game of Critical Confusion on N.Y. Return," *Variety*, 29 Apr. 1953, 2.

[239] Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game," 2.

[240] "Als er am Abend das Podium betrat, brachten ihm die Zuhörer im vollbesetzten Saal stürmische Ovationen dar. Ergriffen stand er am Flügel, und es dauerte eine Viertelstunde, bis er die A-Dur-Sonate von Mozart beginnen konnte. Man stelle sich die Anforderungen an einen Künstler unter so dramatischen Umständen vor! Als ich ihn später einmal fragte, wie er in einer solchen Spannung überhaupt habe spielen können, gab er mir zur Antwort: 'In deinem Alter hätte ich das auch nicht gekonnt.'" Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 79–80.

The other works on the program were Beethoven's Sonata in A flat (op. 110), Brahms's *Intermezzi* in B-flat minor (op. 117, no. 2) and E-flat minor (op. 117, no. 1), Mendelssohn's Rondo Capriccioso, Debussy's "Pagodes" from *Estampes*, "Reflets dans l'eau" from *Images* book I, and *L'isle joyeuse*, and Ravel's "La vallée des cloches" from *Miroirs* and "Ondine" from *Gaspard de la nuit*.[241] At the momentous evening's close, Gieseking was obliged to give not necessarily the eight encores counted by Bronson (that already being an unusually large number, of course), but perhaps as many as ten, leaving his enthralled public with what must have been a feeling of overwhelming fulfillment.[242]

Two days prior to the concert, Walter Winchell had expressed his outrage upon learning that Gieseking the "Pianazi" would be able to appear in the U.S. owing to the revised Walter-McCarran Act.[243] Wishing to have the last word in which he criticized not only the German musician, but also his fellow Americans who had supported and permitted the latter's return, Winchell made a brief comment in his *Washington Post* article a week later: "Apparently the people who allowed Gieseking to come back to the U.S. have forgotten the war dead who didn't."[244]

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[241] Downes, "Gieseking Returns to Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, 23 Apr. 1953.

[242] There is disagreement over the number of encores. Arthur Bronson, as noted above, wrote that Gieseking played eight of them, and Olin Downes calculated eight or nine. *Time* gave the figure of ten. Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game," 68; Downes, "Gieseking Returns to Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, 23 Apr. 1953; "Return Engagement," *Time*, 4 May 1953, 87.

[243] Walter Winchell, "Walter Winchell . . . of New York: Man About Town," *Washington Post*, 20 Apr. 1953.

[244] Walter Winchell, "Walter Winchell . . . of New York: Hottest Scandal in Town," *Washington Post*, 29 Apr. 1953.

Cautious Critics

While some critics continued to mention the pianist's past, most reviews were musically most favorable. A *Newsweek* critic concluded, "it was evident at once that Gieseking was still the master pianist of old."[245] Lous Biancolli of *The World-Telegram*, on the other hand, concluded his article with the following testimonial: "I would like to believe that the ovations were all directed to Gieseking the artist. As such, he has a rightful place in the world's musical scheme of things. The rest is scarcely heroic. However, we have no choice but to leave that to his conscience."[246] In his write-up for the *New York Times*, even Olin Downes, who in 1934, we will recall, had given a series of joint lecture-recitals with Walter at New York's Town Hall, inserted as a disclaimer that his review was "concerned solely with Gieseking the artist, and not with the politics of the occasion."[247] Downes further remarked, "It is gratifying to add that Mr. Gieseking's bearing throughout the evening was that of a man present with the single purpose of making music."[248]

Then there was the review by Harriet Johnson of the *New York Post*. After calling Gieseking's recital "an artistic triumph," Johnson reported that "one could have almost forgotten the documented incriminating evidences of his many friendly gestures toward the Nazi regime. . . ."[249] She admitted that the audience seemed happy to have Gieseking back, regardless of its opinions on the Nazi issue. Yet after her critique ran in a number

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[245] "Return of Gieseking," *Newsweek*, 4 May 1953, 63.

[246] Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game," 68.

[247] "Olin Downes Dies; Times Music Critic," *New York Times*, 23 Aug. 1955; Downes, "Gieseking Returns to Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, 23 Apr. 1953.

[248] Downes, "Gieseking Returns to Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, 23 Apr. 1953.

[249] Quoted in Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game," 68.

of editions, the *New York Post* replaced it in the final edition with an interview with the pianist, in which Gieseking reportedly said that he was "misunderstood and misrepresented."[250] Although the item made reference to a "press conference," apparently no other news publications knew anything about this, for they covered no such story. Therefore Arthur Bronson of *Variety* became suspicious of the piece and attacked the *New York Post*, calling the report a "whitewash interview."[251]

All cautious and biased reviews notwithstanding, Gieseking's return recital had clearly been victorious. Any criticism from the press now mattered little. He had made his comeback and could finally resume his American career. The politics and protest were essentially now behind him. To cap off his successful return, he signed the following declaration the next day during a press conference at the Gladstone Hotel:

> I, Walter Gieseking, declare on my word of honor as a man and as a musician (1) that I have never met Hitler privately and that I have never played for him. The only time he heard me play was at a charity concert in about 1936 . . . (2) that I never was a member of the Nazi party or any affiliated organization, and (3) that I never was or am anti-[S]emitic or anti-Jewish and have even never been officially accused or suspected of being one.[252]

Future American concerts were subsequently booked. Yet as Arthur Bronson noted, it seemed that Gieseking was at first going to have to give the majority of his concerts outside of New York City because most venues in the metropolis were still hesitant to book him.[253] Such concerns nevertheless disappeared soon enough, and the pianist resumed touring the U.S. each year, beginning with the second half of the next season. When he returned to a sold-out Carnegie Hall on 22 January 1954—with some

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[250] Quoted in Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game," 68.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Quoted in "Gieseking Signs For American Tour," *Musical America*, 4.

[253] Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game of Critical Confusion," 2, 68.

two-hundred persons seated on the stage, bringing the audience count to roughly 2,900—*New York Times* critic Harold C. Schonberg wrote afterward, "the house was sold out, the stage was jammed, there were bravos and cheers."[254] No rowdy crowd scene had been there to greet Gieseking and his fans. Indeed, no further dissent would make headlines or interfere with his American career after 1953—with but one known relatively uneventful exception pertaining to his 1955 appearance with the Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra of New York, a topic to which we shall return.

The Gieseking-Wagner Lawsuits and André Puglia

Returning to Gieseking's New York comeback concert in 1953, its success had doubtless brought him tremendous relief, a feeling of liberation and perhaps of triumph. Yet it concurrently gave rise to new trouble. Following the performance, he took his American manager, Charles Wagner, to court over a sum of money that had been used as a deposit for the ill-fated 1949 North American tour. The amount was $7,875, of which Wagner claimed $3,576 was spent on the booking expenditures for the suspended engagements.[255] In its coverage of the story, *Variety* reported that Wagner had received the money from Gieseking's "Cuban representative," presumably referring to Ernesto de Quesada. If true, it must have still come out of the pianist's pocket.[256]

Gieseking's correspondence with Annie makes it clear that he was never particularly fond of Wagner and that, on more than one occasion, he had been dissatisfied

[254] H. C. S. [Harold C. Schonberg], "Gieseking Plays In Carnegie Hall: His Program, a Typical One, Includes Debussy, Ravel, Schumann, Bach Works," *New York Times*, 23 Jan. 1954.

[255] "Gieseking, Wagner Suits Follow Long Mgt. Splitup," *Variety*, 76.

[256] Ibid.

with his tour arrangements.[257] In January 1939, he was even prepared to tell Wagner how he felt that the latter "sometimes had difficulty doing business" ("er es aber manchmal schwer hätte, Geschäfte zu machen"), but his manager beat him to it at that moment by admitting that much.[258] In a letter sent home the next month, Gieseking candidly wrote the following to his wife: "I can never warm up to Wagner (of course, it isn't necessary!!); actually, I don't like him. Snowdon, on the other hand, is friendly."[259] Wagner's associate, Edward Snowdon, had meanwhile left the concert agency in 1950, after fifteen years of employment, to become director of MCA Artists' Concert Department.[260]

According to *Variety*, Gieseking now argued that Wagner had used bad judgment and booked the 1949 tour too soon after the war, while anti-German sentiment was still widespread among Americans. What is more, he purportedly asserted that Wagner had misinformed him of the situation in the U.S. at the time, and as a rule, mismanaged him.[261] We will recall that, because of the anticipated outcry, Wagner had initially been reluctant to arrange any well-advertised appearances for the pianist in major U.S. cities during the 1949 season. He gave in, lest Gieseking might call off the whole tour. Conversely, we saw how Wagner had also simultaneously encouraged the pianist to

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[257] Letters survive in which Gieseking complains about Wagner's plans for the 1936 North American tour as well as the one in 1949, for example. See Gieseking, Cincinnati, to Annie, Wiesbaden, 2 Apr. 1935; Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 12 Aug. 1948, GFA.

[258] Gieseking, Philadelphia, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1939, GFA.

[259] "Mit Wagner kann ich nie warm werden (wäre ja auch wohl nicht angebracht!!), eigentlich mag ich ihn nicht, Snowdon ist dagegen sympathisch." Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 22 Feb. 1939, GFA.

[260] "Snowdon to Head MCA Concert Department," *Musical Courier*, 1950, 59.

[261] "Gieseking, Wagner Suits Follow Long Mgt. Splitup," *Variety*, 76.

relocate to the United States, assuring him that he would earn a fortune there.[262] To be sure, he had been sending Gieseking mixed messages. But the latter was well informed of the opposition that awaited him in postwar America, as made clear in his private correspondence. In the end, of course, the Carnegie Hall appearance proved a grave mistake, though surely neither Wagner nor Gieseking could have anticipated the Justice Department's involvement and the final outcome. That was an unprecedented incident, one that was also never repeated.

Wagner responded to Gieseking's suit by countersuing for breach of contract, demanding $12,500. "With only $4,198 left of the $7,875 deposit (after the alleged booking expenses)," wrote *Variety*, "Wagner claims there's a balance of $8,302 due him."[263] Since resuming his postwar career, Gieseking had, to repeat, begun to use the Frenchman André Puglia as his "world manager." Thus, the arrangements for his 1953 New York return concert had been made by Puglia, with some assistance from Gieseking's Montreal representative, Gilles Potvin.[264] Wagner maintained he was not informed of this, only later learning of the tour, including the Carnegie Hall recital that April. Under the terms of Gieseking's old contract, which had been interrupted by the WWII and protests in 1949, Wagner further argued that he was still legally the pianist's manager for the U.S., Cuba, and Canada, hence his own legal action.[265]

After initially being dismissed by Judge Henry Clay Greenberg of New York's Supreme Court by May 1953, the month after Gieseking's American reappearance, the

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[262] Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Sept. 1948, GFA.

[263] "Gieseking, Wagner Suits Follow Long Mgt. Splitup," *Variety*, 76.

[264] Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game," 2.

[265] "Gieseking is Let In by M'Carran Law," *New York Times*, 3 Apr. 1949; "Gieseking schedules New York Recital," *Musical America*, 3; "Gieseking, Wagner Suits Follow Long Mgt. Splitup," *Variety*, 76;

two lawsuits were expected to be heard by the end of the year.[266] It is uncertain when the trials ended, but as late as 15 March 1955, Jutta comment on it to her father: "Well, that's just terrific about Wagner. Why is he demanding retribution from you? It was, of course, not your fault that you couldn't play at that time [in January 1949]."[267] No further specific information pertaining to the final proceedings or verdicts has been found, but this naturally brought a bitter end to the two men's professional relationship. Puglia would remain Gieseking's principal manager for the rest of the latter's career.[268] Wagner died at the age of eighty-seven on 25 February 1956, only eight months before Gieseking's passing.[269]

The U.S. Return: Conclusion

As in 1949, Gieseking's New York appearance in April 1953 was protested, but this time the U.S. Justice Department did not intervene, letting the long-anticipated, historic engagement go unstopped. Afterward, the public dissent quickly died out (save only some forthcoming complaints made by certain New York Philharmonic-Symphony subscribers). Like the Hawaiian recital of 1952, the Carnegie Hall performance—his only one in the U.S. in 1953—was most certainly a "feeler" event, as Author Bronson of *Variety* suspected; that is, Gieseking and André Puglia had not risked scheduling a full

[266] "Gieseking, Wagner Suits Follow Long Mgt. Splitup," *Variety*, 76.

[267] "Wagner ist ja großartig. Wieso verlangt er Entschädigung von Dir? Das war doch nicht Deine Schuld, daß Du damals nicht spielen durftest!" Jutta, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, [the United States], letter, 15 Mar. 1955, GFA.

[268] Gieseking's private correspondence and photograph collection verifies that, until his death, Puglia remained his primary manager for his international engagements.

[269] J. Abresch, "Charles Wagner, Impresario, Dies," *New York Times*, 26 Feb. 1956.

tour there in 1953, lest it might be hindered as it was four years earlier.[270] "It [the April recital] didn't indicate Gieseking's general acceptance," Bronson continued. "This would come about if, and when, a N.Y. bureau took him on; local concert managers in various cities booked him on their regular series, or symphony orchestras engaged him as soloist. Impression seemed to be that this was likely in a year or two."[271]

While Bronson had a point, and Gieseking's first orchestral engagements in postwar America would, in fact, not be until 1955, one could easily argue that there might have been little to no additional confrontation had the pianist made further appearances there right away: it was the initial Carnegie Hall recital that clearly determined whether he would be permitted to perform in the U.S., and as soon as he had successfully given it, at least his main opponents must have known that any continuation of their campaign would be pointless, that the drawn-out battle was finally over.

The affair was by that time certainly old news to most Americans (probably to most onlookers from other nations as well), and, until Gieseking's death, there was accordingly little further mention of the previous controversy in the media after the April performance. Nor did he himself refer to any additional uproar in his correspondence or memoirs. Later, in its obituary of the pianist, *Variety* made a last comment on the topic: "Although [Gieseking was] picketed and attacked on political grounds when first visiting the U.S. after World War II, this 1949 animus had subsid[ed]."[272]

By the 1950s, the political environment had shifted its focus: America was more concerned with keeping out communists than possible Nazis, as the revisions to the

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[270] Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game," *Variety*, 2.

[271] Ibid.

[272] "Walter Gieseking," Obituaries, *Variety*, 31 Oct. 1956, 71.

McCarran Act demonstrated. The Nazis had been defeated; communism was a growing threat. What is more, Gieseking's American followers, many of whom spoke out in favor of his return, had remained faithful to him. His recordings, too, had continued to sell incredibly well, having benefited from both profuse airplay there during his absence and repeated enthusiastic reviews. All of these factors—not to mention the quick sellout of Carnegie Hall—must have made it obvious to the Justice Department that the vast majority of Americans were in support of Gieseking's reappearance, influencing its apparent decision not to interfere with the 1953 concert, despite the picketing, or any others thereafter. For even with the revised McCarran Act, Department officials most certainly could have found another way to stop him had they so desired. Since Gieseking had been officially cleared in occupied Germany back in January 1947, with both the American Military Government and State Department fully approving of his U.S. entry and performances since then, and the greater part of nation's concertgoers wished to hear him, it seems to have been only fair to its public—as the ACLU had argued—that the pianist, like a number of his German colleagues, was finally allowed to return to venues in the United States.

The 1953 return recital at Carnegie Hall proved an unforgettable evening for Gieseking and, no doubt, all those present. It demonstrated just how well liked and famous he had remained despite his long absence. "A well-behaved audience filled the hall to overflowing," wrote Author Bronson, "with over 200 extra seats on stage. House had been reported sold out day after the first ad appeared, with 2,000 turned away since. No American pianist can do that any more."[273] Some suspected that a number of "well-

[273] Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game," 2.

wishers" were present, but others were convinced that the tickets had been legitimately bought up.[274] Gieseking was, to be sure, bigger than ever and an artist who seldom, if ever, entirely let down his listeners; he needed no help to ensure a well-received performance, even under those circumstances. And, indeed, he had done a remarkable job continuing his profession amidst the antagonism—trying conditions that probably few performers could have endured so well. As Robert Guild rightfully (if only partly accurate in the details) observed regarding the pianist's contested Hawaiian performance in 1952:

> Consider:
> It was his first concert on American soil for some 10 years.
> He played after seven continuous days of travel, interrupted by delays, flight cancellations, and other harassments.
> He had arrived only scant hours before his 5 p. m. appearance at Dillingham Hall, was subjected to more than an hour's grilling by immigration inspectors.
> He had no program. The piano was small and strange.
> There was no rehearsal time.

The result: "Those who [heard him] must have been stirred almost unbearably as was this reviewer, by the magnificent music evoked by this huge and hulking man with the shining, pale, long white fringe of hair and brilliant blue eyes."[275]

Shortly after returning to Germany from North America in 1953, Gieseking wrote Richard Pohlman on 5 May, telling him how much he had enjoyed seeing him again in New York during the brief but successful visit and describing what he had done since arriving home. As in most of his letters to his American piano technician and friend, Gieseking was quite jocular:

[274] Bronson, "Gieseking Plays a Merry Game," 2.

[275] Guild, "Honolulans Receive Gieseking With Tolerance, Admiration."

Dear Pohlman,

[W]e arrived safe and on time on this side of the "pond." Spring is also here, everybody is well, the garden full of flowers. I didn't touch a piano for a week now. Have just enjoyed myself by setting some Australian [butterfly] specimens for my collection.

To-morrow I am expected in Saarebruck, the class is waiting [for me]. Before leaving Wiesbaden, I want to mail the photo which I "autographed" for you with real pleasure indeed! There weren't enough white spaces to write on, otherwise I could have mentioned details like for instance the successful lessons in real English you gave me, the instruction in handling American drinks (but I think I would have managed them by myself, what do you think?) and several other useful things. . [.]

It was certainly nice to see you again, and to see you so little changed, after so many years! Two years ago we should have celebrated the 25th anniversary of "our" first concert tour [in 1926]. Well, [from] what I hear from André Puglia, it looks as if we shall meet again next season. Take good care of yourself, give my best to your family, and remember that I am

sincerely your friend
Walter Gieseking [Gieseking's English][276]

Gieseking was clearly at ease and happy to have the American controversy behind him. Things were at last back to normal. The protests out of the way, he would resume touring North America annually starting in 1954—reassured, immensely celebrated, and more often than not appearing before sold-out, ecstatic audiences. The United States once again became the most important nation for his career.

[276] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Richard Pohlman, [New York], letter, 5 May 1953, DEC.

Excursus VII:

Gieseking's Controversial German and Austrian Colleagues in the Postwar U.S.

Gieseking had not been the first German to have difficulties entering postwar America, nor would he be the last. Kirsten Flagstad and Wilhelm Furtwängler in particular had provoked much controversy in the United States prior to the Gieseking affair, but no artist, before or after, created such a stir there equal to that caused by the German pianist. On account of heavy opposition, Furtwängler decided not to return to the U.S. after the war, declining the offer to take on the position as guest conductor of the Chicago Philharmonic Orchestra for the 1949/50 season after having initially hoped to fill it.[1] And while Flagstad's postwar American performances were picketed, starting with her Carnegie Hall reappearance in April 1947, U.S. authorities did not interfere and prevent them, as they would do in Gieseking's case less than two years later.[2]

In the months that followed Gieseking's aborted tour of 1949, conductor Josef Krips and the twenty-year-old Austrian pianist, Friedrich Gulda, to name two known examples, were questioned by U.S. officials and temporarily detained on Ellis Island.[3] Three particularly prominent artists of the Third Reich who appeared in America at later

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[1] "Furtwaengler Accepts Chicago Orchestra Offer," *Harford Courant*, 16 Dec. 1948; John T. McCutcheon Jr, "Furtwaengler Withdraws In Orchestra Row: Raps Artists, Denies Nazi Ties," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 Jan. 1949; "Dr. Furtwaengler Drops Chicago Bid: Cables Withdrawal as Guest Conductor—Deplores the Perpetuation of Hatred," *New York Times*, 20 Jan. 1949.

[2] For example reviews of Flagstad's Carnegie Hall return in 1947, see "Carnegie Hall Crowd Cheers For Flagstad: Pickets Parade Outside As Diva Sings To Packed House," *(Baltimore) Sun*, 21 Apr. 1947 and Olin Downes, "Flagstad Receives A Great Welcome: Noted Soprano Wins Repeated Ovations on Her Return to Local Recital Field," *New York Times*, 21 Apr. 1947.

[3] Howard Taubman, "Pianist, a Hitler Youth at 10, Held Under U.S. Security Act," *New York Times*, 9 Oct. 1950.

dates—after Gieseking's 1953 New York return recital—and deserve some comment were Wilhelm Backhaus, Herbert von Karajan, and Wilhelm Kempff.

Wilhelm Backhaus

The Leipzig-born pianist Wilhelm Backhaus (1884–1969), Gieseking and Kempff's senior by eleven years, had first concertized in the United States as early as the 1912–13 season, but began a twenty-eight year American hiatus in February 1926—the month after Gieseking's U.S. debut.[4] He had been a Swiss resident since 1930, yet remained busy in the Reich.[5] Like Gieseking and Kempff, he never joined the Nazi party, but he met and played for Hitler, and the Führer bestowed the title of professor on him in September 1937.[6] Additionally, Backhaus had held the position of Reich Senator for Culture (*Reichskultursenator*) and at least once published words praising Hitler.[7] It is uncertain whether he was planning an American tour for late 1949 or shortly thereafter, but the American Veterans Committee wrote U.S. Government officials that August to request information on the artist's background.[8] After receiving this, AVC Chairman Leon Goldstein made an appeal to the recently nominated Attorney General, J. Howard

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[4] Bryce Morrison, "Wilhelm Backhaus," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01721 (accessed 29 Jan. 2013); Olin Downes, "Backhaus Excels in Piano Program: Ends 28-Year Absence With a Masterful Performance of 5 Sonatas by Beethoven," *New York Times*, 31 Mar. 1954.

[5] Bryce Morrison, "Wilhelm Backhaus," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 29 Jan. 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01721.

[6] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.vv. "Backhaus, Wilhelm," "Kempff, Wilhelm."

[7] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Backhaus, Wilhelm"; Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Backhaus, Wilhelm."

[8] The AVC's letter is mentioned in the reply: H. L. Ormond, Information Services Zonal Offices, Hamburg, to Musicians Chapter, AVC, New York, letter, 27 Sept. 1949, in Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) file no. 56 288/898, "Wilhelm Backhaus," RG 85: Records of the INS, entry 9, 17W-3/13/J9/1, box 3165, NARA I, Washington, D.C. (file information shortened hereafter to "INS file 56288/898, NARA I, Washington, D.C.").

McGrath, pushing for "the denial of admission to the German pianist, Wilhelm Backhaus," enclosing documentation of the latter's "Nazi record and activities."[9] The Justice Department reacted by investigating Backhaus's past.[10]

While it is unknown if he was aware of these happenings, Backhaus did not reappear in the U.S. until a few years later, namely in 1954.[11] Because Gieseking had made his comeback successfully the year before, he may have assumed that he could now safely return as well. And so he did, giving a solo recital at Carnegie Hall on 30 March with a program comprising five sonatas of Beethoven, the composer to whom he was so indelibly linked. There is no record of any outcry, but this was his only appearance that season made in the U.S., from which he immediately traveled further to Japan for an extended visit.[12]

Could it be that, as Gieseking seems to have done in 1953, Backhaus and his management first wanted to give a "feeler" concert before booking any American tours, just in case significant public disagreement might arise? If so, such worry proved futile. The performance, which was subsequently released on disc, won the veteran musician great acclaim.[13] Olin Downes praised the "complete authority, spontaneity and

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[9] Goldstein, New York, to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, Washington D.C., 2 Nov. 1949, INS file 56288/898, NARA I, Washington, D.C.

[10] See the correspondence between the U.S. Justice Department, FBI, CIA, U.S. Army's Intelligence Department, and U.S. State Department, written between November 18 and 11 January 1950, all of which is found in INS file 56288/898, NARA I, Washington, D.C.

[11] "Pianist Wilhelm Backhaus, Beethoven Interpreter, Dies," *Washington Post*, 8 July 1969; Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Backhaus, Wilhelm."

[12] "Backhaus Recital Set: Pianist to Play Here March 30 After 28-Year Absence," *New York Times*, 25 Feb. 1954.

[13] For a review of the LP set, see Harold C. Schonberg, "RECORDS: ON STAGE: Live' Backhaus Recital Is Placed on LP, *New York Times*, 13 Mar. 1955.

spirituality" of his playing.[14] Backhaus returned for another all-Beethoven recital at Carnegie Hall the next year, at which point he carried out an American tour, as he did again in 1956.[15] He outlived Gieseking by nearly thirteen years, and further U.S. visits followed. Like Gieseking, he would die before finishing the grand project of recording Beethoven's complete thirty-two Piano Sonatas, only in his case for the second time.[16]

Herbert von Karajan

Herbert von Karajan (1908–89) had enjoyed immense success during the Third Reich as its outstanding young Austrian conductor, one who managed to compete famously with his legendary German senior, Furtwängler. Karajan had joined the NSDAP already in 1933, and by 1938 was conducting Berlin's Staatsoper, which was prized and controlled by Hermann Goering. Goering needed Karajan to vie with the musical institutions overseen by his colleague and contender, Joseph Goebbels, namely the Berlin Philharmonic and Deutsche Oper, where Furtwängler led the orchestras.[17] This rivalry has received ample attention by scholars.[18] On the occasion of the Führer's 50th

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[14] Olin Downes, "Backhaus Excels in Piano Program: Ends 28-Year Absence With a Masterful Performance of 5 Sonatas by Beethoven," *New York Times*, 31 Mar. 1954.

[15] For selected reviews of Backhaus's 1955 appearances see H. C. S. [Harold C. Schonberg], "Backhaus: Monumental: Pianist Plays Program of Beethoven Music" *New York Times*, 14 Feb. 1955 and "Backhaus, German Pianist, Acclaimed in Recital Here, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 Feb. 1955; for reviews from his 1956 visit see Howard Taubman, "Music: Daredevil at 71: Backhaus Plays Five Beethoven Sonatas," *New York Times*, 13 Feb. 1956 and Cyrus Durgin, "Backhaus Plays Magnificently," *Daily Boston Globe*, 22 Mar. 1956.

[16] Bryce Morrison, "Wilhelm Backhaus," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 29 Jan. 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01721.

[17] Elizabeth Janik, "The Symphony of a Capital City: Controversies of Reunification in the Berlin Music Community," in *Berlin: The Symphony Continues: Orchestrating Architectural, Social, and Artistic Change in Germany's New Capital*, eds. Carol Anne Costabile-Heming, Rachel J. Halverson, and Kristie A. Foell (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 156.

[18] Relevant sources include the more recent biographies on the two artists, including Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*, Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master*, and Ardoin, *The Furtwängler Record*, Richard

birthday in 1939, Karajan was named *Kapellmeister* by Hitler. He conducted in Reich-occupied territory and was placed on the God-gifted list. Much more could be said.[19]

To be sure, Karajan's record haunted him after Germany's defeat. His denazification process lasted some two years, his clearance, like Gieseking's, being granted in 1947.[20] After resuming his international career in Europe, he made his American debut by leading the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra during a "goodwill tour"—its first U.S. visit as well—beginning at the start of March 1955.[21] Furtwängler had planned to lead the musicians, but had died in November. And so Karajan had soon filled the position of chief conductor.[22] Twenty-five concerts were scheduled in twenty cities.[23] The tour's patron was none other than West Germany's chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, with German Ambassador Heinz Krekeler also serving as its sponsor.[24]

Once more, organizations such as the American Veterans Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, and the Jewish Community Council of Detroit and Boston took action, hoping to encourage the kind of outcry that had prevented Furtwängler's Chicago appointment and Gieseking's return in 1949. The AVC, which, we saw, had

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Osborne: *Herbert von Karajan: A Life in Music* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998), and Peter Uehling, *Karajan: Eine Biographie* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2006).

[19] For a summary and documentation of Karajan's record during the Third Reich, see Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Karajan, Herbert von." More detailed documentation of his career under the regime can be found in Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Karajan, Herbert von," pp. 3815–50. A bibliography of writings on the conductor, many of which discuss the rivalry with Furtwängler can be found in Gerhard Brunner, et al., "Herbert von Karajan" *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14696 (accessed 30 Jan. 2013).

[20] Brunner, et al., "Herbert von Karajan."

[21] "Bravos Greet Von Karajan and Orchestra," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 Mar. 1955.

[22] Brunner, et al., "Herbert von Karajan."

[23] "Bravos Greet Von Karajan and Orchestra," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 Mar. 1955.

[24] "Packed House Greets Karajan, Berlin Players," *Washington Post* and *Washington Times Herald*, 28 Feb. 1955.

initiated the protests against Gieseking, again spoke out first. In a press release from 26 February, it declared that the entry of Karajan and the orchestra "illustrate a paradox in our country's immigration laws." It further noted that while communists were barred from the U.S., "former Nazis like von Karajan can come to our shores without hindrance, whether they have ever given up their totalitarian beliefs."[25] As when Gieseking appeared in 1953, its members criticized the Walter-McCarran Immigration Law for allowing this, hoping that "the arrival of Herr von Karajan will stimulate renewed interest in correcting these unfair un-American aspects of our national immigration policy."[26]

Days later, the Jewish Community Council of Detroit announced, "We are conscious of a deep responsibility in making this protest. . . . The facts, however, suggest that the selection of von Karajan to lead the orchestra in this country was not only exceptionally unwise but also shocking, insulting and so utterly devoid of principle as to vitiate completely the good purpose which this tour could have served."[27] In a letter published in the *Washington Post*, Julius Rosenbaum of the Jewish War Veterans similarly complained that "the 'goodwill' of this mission, which could have a contribution to American-German relations, has been transformed into something repulsive for the millions of Americans who fought to rid this world of the nightmare of Hitlerism."[28]

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[25] AVC press release: "(Release at 7:00 P.M. Est)," 26 Feb. 1955, file: "Gieseking, Walter (Nazi pianist), 1944–1953," AVC records, GL, Washington D.C.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Jewish Community Council of Detroit press release ("For Immediate Release"), 2 Mar. 1955, subject file: Von Karajan, Herbert, 1955, Jewish Community Relations Council of Minnesota papers, P445, box 58, Minnesota Historical Society Library, St. Paul, MN (file hereafter given as Subject file: Von Karajan, Herbert," JCRCM papers, MHSL, St. Paul, MN).

[28] Rosenbaum, "Goodwill Tour," Letters to the Editor, *Washington Post*, 26 Mar. 1955.

Although the Jewish Community of Detroit had called out on Americans to boycott and protest Karajan's engagements, the Community in Essex County, New Jersey afterward noted that the Community's various councils had "in no instance called for public demonstrations." "For several reasons we believe this is an indication of the maturity with which the problem was approached," it was added.[29] Yet demonstrating there was. The scene outside before the first concert, given at Carnegie Hall on 1 March, recalled that of the earlier rallying against Gieseking, with "a couple of hundred pickets protesting what they called the nazi record of the conductor," as the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported.[30] The crowd also denounced the orchestra's manager, Gerhart von Westerman (1894–1963), because of his own questioned past.[31] Gieseking was touring the U.S. at the time, and was able to attend the concert, as well as witness the uproar. Describing it all to his daughter Jutta afterward, he wrote:

> The Berlin Philharmonic concert with Karajan took place here in the evening. . . . Outside there was some demonstrating. André [Puglia] thinks he recognized the fellows from my concert [i.e. those who had demonstrated against it]. But the police were very strict and the entrance was kept unblocked. The placards were similar to those that were used against me: Karajan, Hitler's Pet Conductor, [and] We love Music but we hate the Nazis, etc., etc.[32]

There were no further such occurrences, however.

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[29] *The Jewish News* 8, no. 12, 25 Mar. 1955, p. 6, a copy can be found in Subject file: Von Karajan, Herbert," JCRCM papers, MHSL, St. Paul, MN.

[30] "Bravos Greet Von Karajan and Orchestra," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 Mar. 1955.

[31] Ibid.; Rosenbaum, "Goodwill Tour," Letters to the Editor, *Washington Post*, 26 Mar. 1955. Like Karajan, Western had joined the Nazi Party early on, in March 1933, and, among other things, he had been involved in the Berlin Philharmonic's propaganda tours carried out in Marseille and Lyon in 1942. For a summary of his activities during the Third Reich see Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Westermann, Gerhart von."

[32] "Hier war abends das Konzert der Berliner Philharmoniker mit Karajan. . . . [D]raussen wurde etwas demonstriert, André behauptet, die Typen von meinem Konzert wiedererkannt zu haben, aber die Polizei war sehr streng, der ganze Eingang war freigehalten. Die Plakate waren ähnlich wie bei mir: Karajan Hitler[']s pet conductor, We love Music but we hate the Nazis, etc. etc." Gieseking, New York, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 3 Mar. 1955, GFA.

Despite the opposition, the German musicians played before sold-out crowds and were received with acclaim everywhere. The *Chicago Tribune*, always promoting the return of German artists, observed, "The musicians played not merely as matchless technicians, but as men consecrated to music. . . . Von Karajan is a master conductor . . . ."[33] Describing the reception given the guests in Boston, Harold Rogers of the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote: "Herr von Karajan—cheered by applause, stamping, and bravos—responded with an extra, the Overture to 'Tannhäuser.' . . . He and his musicians sent us home with singing hearts."[34] Gieseking, too, was enormously impressed. Referring to the Carnegie Hall performance again, he relayed to Jutta:

> It was a conventional program (Haydn Symphony [No. 104, "The London Symphony"], Tristan [i.e. Wagner's *Prelude and Liebestod*], Beethoven's 5th [Symphony]), but played terrifically. Herbert was really quite outstanding!! Encore: Tannhäuser Overture; the audience applauded wildly. Afterward [there was a] reception given by the German consul general [presumably Ambassador Krekeler]; Mr. [Walter] Legge was also there, as well as [Andre] Mertens [vice-president of Columbia Artists Management], . . . the Berliners, etc. . . . The concert was, in any case, excellent.[35]

Wilhelm Kempff

After Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra's American tour, there was apparently little public disagreement over the U.S. appearances of artists once affiliated with the Third Reich. Another one of Gieseking's highly esteemed German colleagues

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[33] "Bravos Greet Von Karajan and Orchestra," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 Mar. 1955.

[34] Rogers, "Von Karajan Conducts Works of Haydn, Wagner, Beethoven," *Christian Science Monitor*, 25 Mar. 1955.

[35] "[E]s war ein konventionelles Programm (Haydn-Sinfonie, Tristan, Beethoven 5te), aber grossartig gespielt, Herbertchen wirklich ganz hervorragend!! Zugabe Tannhäuser-Ouverture, die Leute tobten enorm. Hinterher Empfang beim deutschen Generalkonsul, Mr. Legge war auch da, sowie natürlich Mertens, . . . die Berliner, etc. . . . Das Konzert war jedenfall grossartig. . . ." Gieseking, New York, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 3 Mar. 1955, GFA. For a review of the concert and a listing of the program, see Howard Taubman, "Music: Berlin Orchestra: Von Karajan Conducts at Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, 2 Mar. 1955.

was Wilhelm Kempff, who was likewise born in November 1895 and had also made it onto the Reich's God-gifted list because of his exceptional pianism. Kempff, too, had been blacklisted by the U.S. Military Government after the war, and, as we saw, he had become the subject of controversy in South America already by 1948.[36] Although he first appeared in North America in 1959, namely in Montreal, Canada, he waited until 1964 to make his U.S. debut in New York—long after the postwar attacks on German artists in America had cooled.[37] Delaying his appearance in the United States may have spared him political confrontation there, but it delayed his international fame considerably.[38] Kempff enjoyed a long career, however, outliving Gieseking by thirty-four years, and could make up for lost time. He died in May 1991 at age ninety-five.[39]

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[36] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Kempff, Wilhelm," see 3893; Klee, *Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich*, s.v. "Kempff, Wilhelm"; "Wilhelm Kempff Is Dead at 95; German Was Romantic Pianist," *New York Times*, 25 May 1991. The protest aimed at Kempff in South America was mentioned in the South American discussion in Chapter 12.

[37] The author is indebted to Donald Manildi of the International Piano Archives for clarifying the date of Kempff's North American debut in Canada.

[38] Robert Philip, "Wilhelm Kempff," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14874 (accessed 29 Jan. 2013).

[39] For an obituary, see "Wilhelm Kempff Is Dead at 95; German Was Romantic Pianist," *New York Times*, 25 May 1991.

Chapter 14:

The Final Years, 1954–1956

1954

The First Postwar North American Tour: The U.S. and Canada, January–March 1954

Among the highlights of 1954 were Gieseking's two North American tours. Never before had he journeyed to the continent twice in one year, but he would now do so from this point forward. Perhaps he was eager to catch up for lost time. It had, after all, been fifteen years since his last full *tour* there in the early months of 1939, his visit in 1949 having been cancelled, and his Carnegie Hall appearance in 1953 having been his only public engagement on the U.S. mainland that year.[1]

The concert trip in the first months of 1954 concentrated on the United States, with a few engagements in Canada, as had usually been the case in the past. Gieseking's personal representative, or "world manager" as he sometimes referred to him, André Puglia, was with him, and as before the war, his piano technician and good friend from the Baldwin firm, Richard Pohlman, likewise traveled with them.[2] Upon arriving in New York in early January, the pianist was surprised by the passport and customs officials' reactions: they brought up his concerts, asking for complimentary tickets. "So, naturally,

[1] It is uncertain whether Gieseking gave some *private* performances in the U.S. in 1953, as he had done in the Midwest the year before, but he rightfully would not have viewed them as genuine concerts.

[2] Gieseking, Minneapolis, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Jan. 1954, GFA.

there were no difficulties at all [entering the U.S.]!" he reported home.[3] Of course, there would have been no trouble in any case by this point, since the controversy had essentially ended with his New York appearance in 1953.

After a change of itinerary, the tour schedule was to include performances in Minneapolis, Milwaukee, New Orleans (where he played before an audience of approximately 5,000), Louisville, Chicago, and New York City, succeeded by private performances during a stay at Caroline Fesler's home in Indianapolis from 18 to 21 January. Three days later, Gieseking would depart for the West Coast, where, on 26 January, he would continue concertizing in Berkeley, Seattle, Portland (presumably), and Fresno.[4] In February, appearances would follow in Boston, New York (again), Toronto, Montreal, Birmingham, Columbia (South Carolina), and Atlanta, and there were doubtless other cities on the agenda.

On Sunday evening, 17 January, Gieseking attended an afternoon recital in Chicago's Orchestra Hall given by the violinist Yehudi Menuhin, who he felt "played quite beautifully" ("sehr schön spielte"); pianist Roy Bogas accompanied.[5] That same evening, Gieseking gave a sold-out performance before some 3,500 listeners at the Civic Opera House. It was his first appearance in the city since 1937, and the crowd was thrilled to hear the world-famous artist again, obliging him to end the evening with "an

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[3] "Daher gab es natürlich keinerlei Schwierigkeiten!" Gieseking, Minneapolis, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Jan. 1954, GFA.

[4] Gieseking, Minneapolis, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Jan. 1954, GFA. The New Orleans concert is mentioned in Gieseking, Indianapolis, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1954, GFA; Gieseking, Sacramento, to Annie and Jutta, Wiebaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1954, GFA; Gieseking, Fresno, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 3 Feb. 1954, GFA.

[5] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1954, GFA; Seymour Raven, "Menuhin Gives an Afternoon to Remember," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 Jan. 1954.

enormous amount of encores."[6] The program itself had included Mozart's Sonata in D major (K. 576), Beethoven's Sonata in E major, op. 109, Brahms *Intermezzi*, works by Debussy, and Ravel's *Sonatine*. "Gieseking Returns to Rejoice Old Friends and New Ones, Too," read the headline of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* review by the pianist's ever-faithful critic, Claudia Cassidy.[7] "Fantasy and Reverie are still the twin worlds of Walter Gieseking," she wrote. "Listening, the old friends could say to the new, he has not changed, which is another way of saying he has moved in his appointed direction."[8]

Before the concert, Gieseking had been greeted by one Dr. Gillesby and family. Gillesby was one of the pianist's American supporters who, as Gieseking mentioned in a letter home, during the difficult times of the early postwar years "had always sent us Care Packages" ("uns immer Carepakete schickte").[9] Among those who attended the reception that followed at the artist's hotel, the Bismarck, was Menuhin. Not without criticism, the violinist had publicly spoken out in support of Furtwängler, just as his sister, Hephzibah, we saw, had expressed her disapproval of Gieseking's critics in Australia. This meeting shows that Yehudi was likewise supportive of the pianist. The Menuhin siblings were, incidentally, two of the few prominent Jewish artists to defend German musicians after WWII.[10]

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[6] "Concerts and Recitals," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 17 Jan. 1954; "Enorm viel [*sic*] Zugaben." Gieseking, Indianapolis, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1954, GFA.

[7] Cassidy, "Gieseking Returns to Rejoice Old Friends and New Ones, Too," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 Jan. 1954.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1954, GFA.

[10] Yehudi Menuhin's defense of Furtwängler received much attention from the press. See, for example, "Menuhin Defends Furtwaengler, Asks Chicago to Fulfill Contract," *New York Times*, 13 Jan. 1949; "Yehudi Menuhin Raps Critics of Furtwaengler: Jewish Violinist Calls Attack Unjust," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, and "Pianists Warn They'll Boycott Furtwaengler: Report German Won't Conduct Here," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 6 Jan. 1949.

While at Caroline Fesler's, now in her mid-seventies, Gieseking played "a lot of Bach" for his wealthy host. Furthermore, he performed his forthcoming Carnegie Hall program—as Fesler also requested—for an intimate audience of merely some four to five invited guests.[11] As in the past, Fesler would have paid Gieseking a high sum for his services, though the two enjoyed a cordial relationship. The pianist never seemed to mind spending time there.

On the morning of 21 January, Gieseking and Puglia flew back to New York, where the Carnegie Hall recital, which had been sold out for approximately two weeks, was scheduled to begin at 8:30 p.m. the next evening.[12] There was no public objection of any kind, neither in New York nor elsewhere. But after the big recital, which featured eight works by Bach, Schumann, Debussy (five selections), and Ravel, Gieseking felt it had "unfortunately only been merely a moderate success on his part" ("leider so mässig gelang meinerseits").[13] Harold C. Schonberg of the *New York Times* did not fail to notice the pianist's less successful moments: "Scales in the Bach [Partita no. 5 in G major] were blurred, the last movement was labored, and in the Schumann sonata [in F-sharp minor, op. 11], especially in the final movement, there were moments of near catastrophe." Yet Schonberg also recognized the ever-present qualities of the artist's playing, "As always, Mr. Gieseking was able to produce a beautiful tone. . . . There were moments in 'Poissons d'or' when the pianist sounded a little flurried, but here too were the harmonic

[11] Gieseking, Indianapolis, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 20 Jan. 1954, GFA.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Gieseking, Sacramento, to Annie and Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1954, GFA.

magic and the style that has made Mr. Gieseking such a notable interpreter of Debussy."[14]

Because of his dissatisfaction with the New York recital, Gieseking was happy to write home that his subsequent performance in Berkeley, on 26 January, before a packed hall with over 3,000 people, was better—"things were back to normal."[15] Furthermore, he played at Carnegie Hall again on 14 February and was likewise pleased with the outcome.[16] "Including the 200 persons on the stage," reported the *New York Times*, "the recital attracted an audience of 2,900."[17] The crowd heard more typical Gieseking that evening:

Mozart:	Piano Sonata in D major, K. 576
Beethoven:	Piano Sonata in C minor, op. 111
Brahms:	*Intermezzi* op. 76, no. 3; op. 116, no. 6; op. 119, no. 3
Schubert:	*Impromptu* in A-flat major, op. 90, no. 4
	Intermission
Debussy:	*Préludes*, book I (selections): "Voiles," "Les collines d'Anacapri," "Ce qu'a vu le vent d'ouest," "La fille aux cheveux de lin" *Préludes*, book II (selections): "Brouillards," "La puerta del vino," "La terrasse des audiences du clair de lune," and "Feux d'artifice."[18]

Two of Gieseking's former American pupils from the Saarbrücken classes, Dean Elder and his wife, Carolyn, were in the audience, and Dean remembers seeing the celebrated Chilean artist Claudio Arrau seated two rows in front of them. Many musicians must

[14] Schonberg, "Gieseking Plays In Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, 24 Jan. 1954; the Debussy works also included the *Ballade*, *Valse romantique*, "Hommage à Rameau" (from *Images* series 1), and "Cloches à travers les feuilles" (from *Images* series 2); the Ravel piece was the *Sonatine*. Dean Elder, typed reprint of Gieseking's Carnegie Hall recital program from 22 January 1954, DEC.

[15] "[E]s ging wieder normal." Gieseking, Sacramento, to Annie and Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1954, GFA.

[16] Gieseking, Birmingham (Alabama), to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Feb. 1954, GFA.

[17] "2,900 Hear Gieseking Play," *New York Times*, 15 Feb. 1954.

[18] Dean Elder, typed reprint of Gieseking's Carnegie Hall recital program from 14 February 1954, DEC.

have been in attendance, eager to hear the legendary musician live. At a later point, when Dean had the opportunity to talk to the famous American keyboard virtuoso Van Cliburn in Fort Worth, to give one other known noteworthy example, the latter explained that he, too, had been there. Elder more recently recalled Cliburn's (1934–2013) comments, prior to the figure's passing: "Gieseking's Beethoven op. 111 thrills him to this day. He said no other piano playing has moved him more! [']The demonic first movement and the other-worldly second were inspired from beginning to end.['] He said he felt as if he were in heaven at the end."[19]

Gieseking had apparently been ill-tempered during much of the tour, causing Puglia to worry that it was his fault.[20] Referring to his manager, the pianist explained to Annie and Jutta, "I consoled him, for it really isn't his fault that this country, as was often the case in the past, gets on my nerves somewhat."[21] Puglia was concerned that Gieseking was not satisfied by the tour arrangements, but, as the latter told his wife and daughter, he was quite content with his manager's services: "it [the tour] is actually much better than all the earlier ones [that Wagner had planned]—it's just that I don't always like being in this country—this surprises him."[22] He must have told Puglia this to help the latter restore his confidence.

During Gieseking's stay in Fresno, California, he received a telegram from Jutta, informing him that she had given birth to her second child, Stefan, on 2 February. The

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[19] Elder's notes found on Dean Elder, typed reprint of Gieseking's Carnegie Hall recital program from 14 February 1954, DEC.

[20] Gieseking, Sacramento, to Annie and Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1954, GFA.

[21] "Ich habe ihn beruhigt, denn er hat wirklich nicht Schuld, dass mir dies[es] Land, wie auch früher so oft, etwas auf die Nerven fällt." Ibid

[22] "[D]abei ist die viel besser als alle früheren—nur das Land vertrage ich eben nicht immer—das wundert ihn. . . ." Ibid.

local press was excited to cover the occurrence. As Gieseking joked in his reply to the young mother: "Maybe the telegram will appear in the papers. I had to hold it in my hands for the reporters. It will be the great sensation in Fresno tomorrow—how the famous pianist learned here that he has become a grandfather for the second time."[23] Stefan was the last grandchild he and Annie would live to see.[24]

Despite often being in low spirits during the American-Canadian tour, the trip was unusually important for Gieseking since it was his first one there since before the war. Apart from his somewhat bad start with his less-than-satisfactory initial Carnegie Hall recital, his performances all seem to have met with the usual acclaim. Writing for the *New Orleans States*, Charles L. Dufour, could hardly find enough adjectives for Gieseking: "stupendous, magnificent, incomparable, tremendous, gigantic, incredible."[25] After a California appearance, Alfred Frankenstein of the *San Francisco Chronicle* concluded, "It was a concert of such uniform and surpassing mastery that one finds it a little difficult to discuss. It would be simpler just to write the manager a letter of thanks for the tickets and let it go at that."[26] And Jack Massard of the *Los Angeles Examiner* ended his review that season with the following: "The only serious sad note of the evening was not—happily—struck by the artist but by circumstances which limited his

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[23] "Vielleicht wird das Telegramm fotographiert. Für die Reporter musste ich es in der Hand halten, es ist morgen die grosse Sensation von Fresno—dass der berühmte Pianist hier erfahren hat, dass er zum zweiten Mal Grossvater ist." Gieseking, Fresno, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 3 Feb. 1954, GFA.

[24] Jutta would bear two more children after her father's death: Nikolaus and Susanne. As previously mentioned, Freya did not marry until 1960; she and her husband, Achilles Colassis, would have two children. Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 29 July 2013.

[25] Dufour, *New Orleans States*, quoted in the publicity poster, "Gieseking: One of the Great Pianists of All Time," 12 Feb. 1955, Columbia Artists Management, copy found in the Harry L. Anderson Collection, IPAM, College Park, MD.

[26] Frankenstein, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 Jan. 1954, quoted in the publicity poster, "Gieseking: One of the Great Pianists of All Time," 12 Feb. 1955, Columbia Artists Management, copy found in the Harry L. Anderson Collection, IPAM, College Park, MD.

appearance here to that one night. With the bravos he received and the jammed condition of the house, Gieseking must have reckoned this a regrettable situation."[27]

The success he enjoyed in North America, particularly in the United States, was probably unequalled anywhere else. Already by 21 February, he could send good news home apropos his visit being planned for the forthcoming year: "I am already so booked up for the next season that I will have to extend the trip 2 to 3 weeks. I'll be playing with the orchestras in New York, Chicago, and Cincinnati, so everything has worked out once again."[28] His profits there were accordingly substantial, although he explained to Jutta how, "You have to work harder for your money here [in the U.S.] than, say, in Italy, but you can not and should not compare these countries."[29] In addition to any greater artistic demands, he may have partly been alluding to the higher taxes demanded by the U.S. Government, which, as in the past, must have lowered his net earnings considerably. Well aware of the importance of his American career, he naturally tolerated such drawbacks without much complaint. As for this latest tour, most importantly there had been no protests, and that should have been reason enough to cheer Gieseking up. He began his journey back home on 2 March, flying from Atlanta to New York, continuing the next day to Frankfurt via Paris, arriving in Wiesbaden on the fourth.[30]

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[27] Massard, "Huge Ovation for Gieseking," *Los Angeles Examiner*, 8 Feb. 1954.

[28] "Die nächste Saison ist schon so gut besetzt, dass ich durchaus 2–3 Wochen zugeben soll. Ich werde mit den Orchestern in Newyork, Chicago und Cincinnati spielen, also ist alles wieder erreicht." Gieseking, Birmingham (Alabama), to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Feb. 1954, GFA.

[29] "Man verdient ja das Geld hier doch schwerer als z.B. in Italien, aber vergleichen kann und darf man nicht." Ibid.

[30] Gieseking, New York, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Feb. 1954, GFA; Gieseking, Birmingham (Alabama), to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Feb. 1954, GFA.

Recording in London, late March

At the end of March, Gieseking flew to London to make further recordings under the direction of producer Walter Legge at EMI's Abbey Road Studios. On 31 March, his and Annie's twenty-ninth wedding anniversary, he mentioned in a letter to his wife, "This morning I already recorded Mozart for a good three hours. . . . From 6 to 9 p.m., I worked more."[31] As usual, Gieseking was highly productive and managed to successfully commit to disc several of the Austrian composer's less-played pieces. This was repertoire he had most rarely, if ever, programmed: the Adagio in C major, K. 356 (for Glass Harmonica. K. 617a); Allegro in B-flat major, K. 400; 6 *Deutsche Tänze*, K. 509, *Kleiner Trauermarsch* in C minor, K. 453a; and 8 *Minuets*, K. 315a. Each of these recordings was issued by Columbia, though another one made that day, of Schumann's *Arabesque* op. 18—Gieseking's only sonic documentation of the work—was never released.[32]

In between the two sessions, he and Legge dined with an acquaintance, and thereby enjoyed a bottle of Beaune wine from the year 1923—a "pleasant, festive drink" ("bekömmliches Festgetränk)" in the pianist's opinion.[33] At the end of the year, he would complete more recording sessions for a rather extended period (for Gieseking at least) from 7 to 17 December, taking only one day off in between. He would then concentrate on the music he knew best, namely that of Debussy and Ravel. Included were all of

[31] "Habe heute morgen schon gut 3 Stunden Mozart recorded. . . . Von 6 bis 9 [habe ich] noch weitergearbeitet." Note: an edge of the letter is cut off, hence the bracketed information here. Gieseking, London, to Annie, letter, 31 Mar. 1954, GFA.

[32] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 34.

[33] Gieseking, London, to Annie, letter, 31 Mar. 1954, GFA.

Debussy's *Etudes*, books I and II and Preludes, book II, as well as the complete, published solo piano works of Ravel. Unsurprisingly, no works were left unissued.[34]

The Summer Months in Europe

After returning to Europe, Gieseking, as was his habit, took some time off. Yet he did further concertizing there as well, not just in Germany, but also in Italy in May and, with his younger daughter Freya serving as his "driver," in France in June.[35] He and Freya were also in Saarbrücken for the monthly masterclasses at the beginning of June, and there were possibly still more appearances made in other European countries.

The Italian tour brought Gieseking to Rome, Naples, Palermo, Messina, Venice, and Milan. Furtwängler and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra were also touring the southern country, though Gieseking was unable to meet up with them owing to their conflicting schedules.[36] While there, he was especially delighted by the ample butterfly catching he was able to do. As in North America, he had begun to take domestic flights within the nation now, saving him the time and trouble of at least many of the longer train rides he had always endured in the past.[37] His first concert took place in Rome, and was a recital of Debussy's twenty-four *Préludes*: "[It] went quite well; there is a good Steinway

[34] The only published composition for solo piano omitted from the Ravel album (3 LPs) was the *Sérénade grotesque* from circa 1893, which was largely neglected until more recent times. Incidentally, Olin Downes overlooked the inclusion of the Prélude when he commented on the incompleteness of the set shortly after its issue, the title of which somewhat inaccurately read "Ravel: Complete Piano Works." Downes otherwise mentioned unpublished pieces and those for four hands. He could have also referred to those for two pianos, but naturally Gieseking, as a solo artist, never intended to record such ensemble works. See Downes, "Records: Ravel: Works of Frenchman Played by German Stylist Pianist," *New York Times*, 8 July 1956.

[35] Gieseking, Rome, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 May 1954, GFA; Walter and Freya Gieseking, Colmar, postcard, 9 June 1954, GFA; Walter and Freya Gieseking, Cap d'Antibes, to Annie and the family, Wiesbaden, postcard, 12 June 1954, GFA.

[36] Gieseking, Rome, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 May 1954, GFA.

[37] Ibid.

here," he let his family know.[38] He was always glad to have the opportunity to play a Steinway piano, which happened only seldom, however, because of his affiliation with Grotrian-Steinweg in Europe and Baldwin in North America.

While in southern France in the summer of 1954, Gieseking purportedly attended the Prades Festival. Concentrating on chamber music, the annual event, which was initiated for the Bach bicentenary in 1950, was largely led by the famed Catalan cellist, Pablo Casals (1876–1973), after whom it has since been renamed.[39] Casals had moved to Prades in 1936, escaping the dangers brought on by the Franco regime.[40] Eugene Istomin's biographer, James Gollin, tells how Gieseking was in the audience during a concert Casals gave with the eminent Austrian-born pianist Rudolf Serkin (1903–91), an artist who was revered for his interpretations of the German classics above all:

> Among the many musicians who came, one in particular seemed to be there on pilgrimage. The pianist Walter Gieseking . . . sat in the audience to hear Serkin play two of the piano-cello sonatas with Casals and the Beethoven Piano Sonata no. 30 in E Major, the op. 109. Gieseking had stayed in Germany throughout the Second World War. He had played before the Nazis, although he had later been acquitted of outright collaboration with the regime. His presence at Prades, Eugene liked to think, was a declaration of respect for Rudolf Serkin and what Serkin stood for, and perhaps of repentance as well.[41]

By the time of the ascendancy of the Hitler regime, Serkin, whose parents were Russian Jews, had been safely living in Basle, Switzerland. But his German and Austrian career

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[38] "[Es] ging ganz gut, es ist hier ein guter Steinway." Gieseking, Rome, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 13 May 1954, GFA.

[39] The musical occurrence has been called the Pablo Casals Festival since 1982.

[40] Robert Anderson, "Casals, Pablo," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 29 Mar. 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05061.

[41] James Gollin, *Pianist: A Biography of Eugene Istomin* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 2010), 194.

quickly came to an end because of the Nazis, and he would ultimately settle in the United States in 1939, away from the war zones.[42]

The Return to Mexico

In the first half of September, Gieseking journeyed back to North America, not for the usual extended tour, but rather for a smaller number of performances. Nor did he travel to the U.S. or Canada, appearing instead only in Mexico, where he had not played since 1935. There was an initial stop in Caracas, Venezuela, though it is uncertain (and unlikely) that he played there.[43] Likewise, he may or may not have performed in Havana, from which, in a letter from 21 September, he mentioned a recent flight to Mexico.[44]

During the visit, he gave four solo recitals in Mexico City's Palace of Fine Arts (Palacio de Bellas Artes), one of which was devoted entirely to Beethoven, another to Debussy. But he began by performing, in the same venue, the Schumann Concerto under the important, younger Hungarian conductor Georg Solti (1912–97), who was making his Mexican debut.[45] Solti had been there for a month already, and would lead the Mexican

[42] Stephen Plaistow, "Serkin, Rudolf," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 29 Mar. 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25465; Stephen Lehmann and Marion Faber, *Rudolf Serkin: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 59f. and "Emigration," p. 86f.

[43] In a letter from 9 September, Jutta mentioned to Annie that Walter had sent word from Caracas, to let the family know he had arrived safely in North America. Jutta Hajmássy, Gstaad, Switzerland, to Annie Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Sept. 1954, GFA. Jutta has no recollection of her father playing in Venezuela. Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 29 July 2013.

[44] Gieseking gives no date or any other further details related to the stop in Havana. Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Sept. 1954, GFA. As in the case of Venezuela, Jutta has no memory of her father performing in Cuba. Jutta Hajmássy, telephone interview by author, 29 July 2013.

[45] Peggy Muñoz, "Growth of Mexican Concerts," *Musical America*, March 1955, 12; "Solti und Gieseking in Mexiko," clipping from September 1954 from an unidentified newspaper, found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

National Symphony Orchestra (Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional) for a total of ten concerts.[46] This appears to have been the first time the two artists had collaborated, and Gieseking was impressed by his colleague's abilities—"Solti conducts well" ("Solti macht es gut")—though he was somewhat disappointed by the "very average" ("sehr mässig") orchestra.[47]

After the orchestral concert on Friday, 17 September, the German ambassador, Fritz von Twardowski (1890–1970), invited the pianist to a small gathering he was hosting.[48] Gieseking had apparently become acquainted with Twardowski during his wartime visit to Istanbul in 1944, where the latter had begun to serve as Consul General (Generalkonsul) for the Reich in 1943.[49] Gieseking must have been out fairly late that evening, "nevertheless," he happily reported to Jutta afterward, "I went to Cuernavaca early Saturday morning and caught [butterflies] until the afternoon."[50] On Monday, 20 September, Twardowski held a cocktail party in honor of both Gieseking and Solti, who later that week performed a Mozart Concerto together, as well as Franck's *Variations symphoniques*. Describing part of his schedule, Gieseking wrote:

> The day after tomorrow [Thursday, 23 September] is the first rehearsal (for the Mozart and Franck) and the second solo recital. Friday: rehearsal and orchestral concert. Saturday: *Fang* [i.e. butterfly hunting] – Sunday: concert – Monday: *Fang*. Tuesday: concert. Wednesday: off to Monterrey [California]. Time flies when you're busy. Tomorrow I want to go catching [butterflies] on the outskirts

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[46] "Solti und Gieseking in Mexiko," clipping from September 1954 from an unidentified newspaper, found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[47] Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Sept. 1954, GFA.

[48] Ibid.; *Das Bundesarchiv*, "Akten der Reichskanzlei. Weimarer Republik: Kurzbiographien," s.v. "Twardowski, Fritz von," accessed 30 Mar. 2013, http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktenreichskanzlei/1919-1933/1000/adr/adrsz/kap1_2/para2_120.html.

[49] Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Sept. 1954, GFA; *Das Bundesarchiv*, s.v. "Twardowski, Fritz von."

[50] "[T]rotzdem machte ich mich aber am Sonnabend früh auf nach Cuernavaca, fing bis zum Nachmittag." Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Sept. 1954, GFA.

> of the city. Now I'm about to beat up on the piano some more, to try to see if it can't sound any better (it's a Baldwin).[51]

Both performances with Solti had sold out.[52]

The Mexican tour proved to be another triumph. In her article on the "Growth of Mexican Concerts," published the following March in *Musical America*, Peggy Muñoz wrote, "The real star of the season was Walter Gieseking, who made two appearances with the orchestra and gave four magnificently eloquent recitals. . . . Mr. Gieseking is undoubtedly one of the most satisfying artists ever to perform in this city. His reception was tumultuous."[53] A German review likewise mentioned the "storming ovation" accorded the visiting musician, further pointing out the Mexican critics' view that he had "developed into the world's foremost pianist."[54] The trip ended in the first week of October, and Gieseking returned to Germany via New York and Paris, arriving home on the sixth.[55]

The Urania Lawsuit

In 1954–55, there was yet another legal dispute that involved Gieseking. This concerned the Urania Records Company of New York and its French subsidiary, Thalia

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[51] "[Ü]bermorgen ist erste Probe (Mozart u. Franck) und zweiter Klavierabend. Freitag Probe u. Orchesterkonzert. Sonnabend Fang – Sonntag Konzert – Montag Fang. Dienstag Konzert. Mittwoch ab nach Monterrey [California]. So vergeht die Zeit. Morgen will ich mal in der Umgegend der Stadt sammeln—jetzt nochmal etwas den Flügel beklopfen, versuchen ob er nicht besser klingen kann (it's a Baldwin)." Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Sept. 1954, GFA.

[52] "Solti und Gieseking in Mexiko," clipping from September 1954 from an unidentified newspaper, found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[53] Muñoz, "Growth of Mexican Concerts," 12.

[54] From the clipping, we read: "Bei zwei Doppelkonzerten im ausverkauften Palast der Schönen Künste wirkte Walter Gieseking mit, der stürmisch gefeiert wurde und von dem die mexikanische Kritik schrieb, er habe sich zum ersten Pianisten der Welt entwickelt." "Solti und Gieseking in Mexiko," clipping from September 1954 from an unidentified newspaper, found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

[55] Gieseking, Mexico [City], to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 Sept. 1954, GFA.

Disques, which had without permission recently released a number of radio performances given by German and Austrian musicians, mostly from between 1942 and 1945, though some from after the war, as in Gieseking's case. Among those who filed suit was Wilhelm Furtwängler, who had been the first to make a complaint in March of 1954.[56] In mid-April, only a few weeks after Furtwängler's initial action, Gieseking filed suit, demanding $100,000 according to at least one report, and requesting that the New York Supreme Court order the record companies to discontinue the records featuring his performances.[57]

The LPs containing wartime recordings had been made from tapes formerly belonging to the German Broadcasting Company (Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft), and included were Gieseking performances of Bach's English Suite No. 6 in D minor and Schumann's *Kreisleriana* op. 16, both dating from 23 January 1945.[58] Urania issued this disc at the end of 1953.[59] There was also Schumann's *Davidsbündlertänze*, op. 6; while the exact date of the recording is somewhat uncertain, it appears to be a *postwar* performance from the fall of 1947, given at Berliner Rundfunk (often called Radio Berlin, its original name).[60] Urania had released the LP containing this reading first, in

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[56] "Gieseking erhielt recht," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11 Mar. 1954.

[57] "Gieseking files $100,000 Suit against Urania," *Billboard*, 24 Apr. 1954, 30.

[58] "Gieseking erhielt recht," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11 Mar. 1954; Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 14. The original Urania LP was Urania URLP 7107, released 1953. The recordings were subsequently reissued on CD in 1988, see *Walter Gieseking, Piano*, [recorded 1945 and ca. 1947], Urania ULS 5155-CD Legacy Series, 1988.

[59] *J. S. Bach*, English Suite *no. 6 in D minor, Schumann*, Kreisleriana, *op. 16*, [recorded 1945], Walter Gieseking, piano, Urania Records, URLP 7107, 1953.

[60] The earliest extensive Gieseking discography, by Stephen Lundgren, lists the wartime date as "ca. 1943." Discographers Gray and Quonten, on the other hand, have more recently and specifically identified the day 13 July 1947. Information provided in a recent four-disc anthology of Schumann works played by various historic pianists, issued on the Andante label, includes the *Davidsbündlertänze* performance and gives the source as follows: "Berlin, Funkhaus, Studio No. 1, 13 September 1947. Source: Radio Berlin tape." While Gray and Quonten also list a broadcast performance from this slightly later date,

November 1953.[61] Sometime after the Berlin radio station had fallen into Soviet hands, the occupiers viewed the earlier tapes as rightfully confiscated spoils of war (*Kriegsbeute*) and had accordingly sold them to the western record firm.[62] They obviously also felt they had the right to sell certain postwar performances given at their station, too.

According to *Billboard*, the original contract showed that Urania "pays the East German source [the State Broadcasting Committee of the German Democratic Republic] $4 for each minute of tape mastered but takes on itself the settling of any dispute regarding artist royalties."[63] Extant letters verified that Urania had initially offered to pay the artists, but the latter had to refuse their consent on account of their existing contracts with other companies.[64] On 9 June 1953, Gieseking had, in fact, made it clear in writing that "if unauthorized use is made of such tapes I shall take all necessary action to protect my interests."[65]

Defending the pianist, as well as Furtwängler and perhaps other musicians involved, was the law firm of Dwight, Royall, Harris, Koegel & Caskey, who had

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as a separate reading, it appears to be the same one that Urania had issued. The author wishes to thank Donald Manildi for his assistance in ascertaining this information. See "Walter Gieseking: Broadcast Transcriptions[,] 1930–1956" in Lundgren, *Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography*, [n.p.]; Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 16; Robert Schumann, *Piano Works*, recorded by Gieseking, Clara Haskil, Alfred Cortot, et als., 1965–68, Great Composers Series, Andante (Harmonia Mundi) 1964, 2002, 4 CDs. Gieseking's postwar performances for Berliner Rundfunk were discussed in Chapter 10 of this dissertation.

[61] Robert Schumann, *Davidsbündler Dances*, op. 6, Walter Gieseking, piano, [recorded ca. 1947], Urania Records, URLP 7106, 1953.

[62] "Gieseking erhielt recht," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11 Mar. 1954; "Musicians Awarded Damages By Court: U.S. and French Companies' Unauthorized Records," *Royal Gazette* (London), 6 Jan. 1956.

[63] "Gieseking files $100,000 Suit against Urania," *Billboard*, 24 Apr. 1954, 46.

[64] Ibid.; see also "Musicians Awarded Damages By Court: U.S. and French Companies' Unauthorized Records," *Royal Gazette* (London), 6 Jan. 1956.

[65] "Gieseking files $100,000 Suit against Urania," *Billboard*, 24 Apr. 1954, 30, 46.

identified nineteen shops in New York that had carried and publicized the discs.[66] Urania's attorney, Abraham Lowenthal, argued that the tapes had been purchased legally, making their sale lawful.[67] As reported by *Billboard*, he further averred that "even if the tapes carried the alleged restriction, under international law their seizure by occupying armies wiped out any rights of enemy nations in their content."[68] Gieseking's legal representatives stated that the plaintiff had made the recordings for broadcast purposes only (something, as we have seen, he had commonly done), never intending on them to be sold commercially.[69]

The musicians won the suit. It was declared by the court that "A performer has a property right in his performance that it shall not be used for a purpose not intended, and particularly in a manner which does not fairly represent his services."[70] Urania and Thalia were ordered to pay the damages owed immediately—a combined sum of 17,600,000 francs (roughly $50,285)—and were prohibited from selling further copies of the discs.[71] Among the other musicians involved were the members of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, who received the largest settlement, a total of 3,500,000 francs. (Figures in U.S. dollars were not officially announced.) The heirs of Furtwängler, who had in the meantime passed away, collected 1,000,000 francs. Gieseking was paid 700,000 francs.[72]

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[66] "Gieseking files $100,000 Suit against Urania," *Billboard*, 24 Apr. 1954, 46.

[67] Ibid.

[68] "End Closer On Gieseking Urania Suit," *Billboard*, 14 May 1955, 22.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Donald E. Biederman et al., *Law And Business of the Entertainment Industries*, 5th ed. (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2007), 177.

[71] "Urania Fined $50,000: Record Company to Pay Artists for Unauthorized Disks," *New York Times*, 5 Jan. 1956.

[72] "Musicians Awarded Damages By Court: U.S. and French Companies' Unauthorized Records," *Royal Gazette* (London), 6 Jan. 1956.

As Karen Haid has correctly pointed out, "The case was watched closely by those in the industry for any precedent-setting decisions with regard to the rights of a performer in his artistic product."[73] Indeed, it proved to be somewhat historical, and is still cited in law publications on entertainment and copyright protection.[74]

1955

In early 1955, Gieseking returned to the U.S. and Canada once again with André Puglia for another busy two-month tour. Ultimately responsible for the North American tour arrangements—now that Charles Wagner's bureau was out of the picture and perhaps already since 1954—was Columbia Artists Management Inc., whose vice president, André Mertens, served as Gieseking's personal representative there. In its publicity for the pianist, the New York-based agency described his tour schedule as follows:

> Gieseking will start his American tour in Philadelphia on February 1, 1955, and end it in Washington on April 2. During those two months he will give concerts in Boston, Chicago [i.e. Evanston], Los Angeles, San Francisco, New Orleans, Ann Arbor, two in New York's Carnegie Hall; and he will be soloist with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony [also at Carnegie Hall] and the symphonic orchestras of Chicago, Cincinnati, and Minneapolis. In the meantime, the master pianist can be heard on many new recordings by Angel and Columbia Records.[75]

Gieseking's correspondence shows that there were other dates in cities such as Berkeley, San Diego, Pasadena, Ann Arbor, Chapel Hill, and Washington D.C. In Canada, he

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[73] Haid, "Walter Gieseking and His Published Chamber Music," 28.

[74] See, for example, Biederman et al., *Law And Business of the Entertainment Industries*, 177; Roberta Kwall, *The Soul of Creativity: Forging a Moral Rights Law for the United States* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 179n76; and William F. Patry, *Copyright Law and Practice*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Affairs, 1994), 876n5.

[75] Publicity poster, "Gieseking: One of the Great Pianists of All Time," 12 Feb. 1955, Columbia Artists Management, copy found in the Harry L. Anderson Collection, IPAM, College Park, MD.

performed at the tour's outset in Toronto and, at the end, in Montreal.[76] "In February, I am playing 13 times," he explained, "almost always every other day, not counting Toronto. From 3 March to 3 April are another 16 concerts."[77] Most of the traveling between destinations was, as before, efficiently done by airplane.

The visit met all expectations right away so that Gieseking could report to his wife on 8 February: "Boston was once more sold out, the reviews exuberant; so the tour got off to a great start. The 3 big cities Philadelphia, New York, and Boston sold out in a week and received first-class press coverage. I can therefore be happy about the success."[78] While he caught a cold, his often sensitive stomach was at least not giving him any trouble: "You don't need to worry about my cold," he told Jutta a few days later, "I'll get over it soon. And my stomach—knock on wood—is tolerating the food here well so far."[79]

Carnegie Hall

For his first Carnegie Hall recital on 4 February, Gieseking chose only works of Claude Debussy. The prestigious venue was always a tour highlight, and he even actually practiced "somewhat" ("etwas") for the important event. Afterward, he expressed his

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[76] Gieseking, New York, to Jutta Hajmássy, letter, 5 Feb. 1955, GFA; Gieseking, New York, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 28 Mar. 1955, GFA; Gieseking, Chicago, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Feb. 1955, GFA.

[77] "Im Februar spiele ich 13 Mal, also fast genau jeden 2ten Tag. Toronto ist extra. Vom 3. März bis 3. April sind dann noch 16 Konzerte." Gieseking, Chicago, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Feb. 1955, GFA.

[78] "Boston war wieder ausverkauft, die Kritiken überschwänglich gut, nun hat die Tournee also grossartig angefangen, die 3 Grossstädte Philadelphia, New York u. Boston in einer Woche ausverkauft und mit erstklassiger Presse. Da muss ich mich ja wohl über den Erfolg freuen." Gieseking, Chicago, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 8 Feb. 1955, GFA.

[79] "Wegen meiner Erkältung brauchst Du Dir keine Sorgen zu machen, die wird schon wieder vergehn. Und mein Magen verträgt-toi toi toi-das Essen hier bislang gut." Gieseking, Los Angeles, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 11 Feb. 1955, GFA.

contentment with his performance: "Yesterday I gave the piano recital here (all Debussy). Carnegie Hall was once again completely filled. Everything went quite well, and the reviews this morning are excellent. I didn't play especially well last year, they say, but *this* time . . . and then the praise begins" (emphasis added).[80]

Although giving an all-Debussy program would have surely been a disastrous choice of programming for most pianists, inevitably leading to failure, it was certainly not the case with Gieseking owing to his particular, well-known affinity for the composer's music. And *New York Times* critic Harold C. Schonberg was sure to begin his review by commenting on this:

> The hazards of a one-composer program apply peculiarly to Debussy. Even though he composed some of the most colorful piano music in the repertory, a succession of his pieces under any but the most skillful hands can easily degenerate into a tour through a perfume factory where, after a while, the senses are completely dulled.
>
> Walter Gieseking undertook an all-Debussy program last night in Carnegie Hall and achieved the near-miraculous feat of holding one's attention through every piece on the program.[81]

Schonberg was among those who had been let down by the pianist's Carnegie Hall appearance in the previous season—as was Gieseking. This time the artist fully redeemed himself. Again, we turn to Schonberg: "Here was, once more, the pre-war Gieseking in music exactly suited to his mind, heart and fingers. The audience, which occupied every

[80] Gieseking, New York, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 28 Mar. 1955, GFA; "Gestern spielte ich nun den hiesigen Klavierabend (nur Debussy), Carnegie Hall war wieder ganz voll[;] es gelang alles recht gut und die Kritiken heute morgen sind grossartig. Ich hätte voriges Jahr ja nicht so besonders gespielt, aber diesmal . . . und dann geht's los." Gieseking, New York, to Jutta Hajmássy, letter, 5 Feb. 1955, GFA.

[81] H. C. S., "Music: Gieseking Plays: Pianist Gives Program Devoted to Debussy," *New York Times*, 5 Feb. 1955.

seat in the house and overflowed on the stage, raptly listened to one of the finest recitals of recent seasons as the German pianist exerted all his old magic."[82]

Among those acquaintances in attendance that evening were Gieseking's former pupils from Saarbrücken again, Dean and Carolyn Elder, as well as William Dubensky, who, we will recall, had been largely responsible for the pianist's clearance from the U.S. Military Government's blacklist.[83] Another former American military contact from Germany, Richard C. Flye, was "very excited" ("in heller Aufregung") about Gieseking's upcoming visit to southern California, and had even arranged for them to speak on television together about their encounters in occupied Germany.[84] A former lieutenant in charge of recreational activities in the American zone, Flye had organized some of Gieseking's postwar performances given there for U.S. troops. He was now part of the music faculty at San Diego State College.[85] Just as the Military Government officials had been eager to hear the renowned artist play in Germany, so too did they now crave further performances of his back home. This says something about their genuine impression of not just Gieseking the artist, but also of Gieseking the man. They could not have viewed him as a true Nazi.

Gieseking flew to San Diego on 13 February, and after his concert that evening he graciously attended the reception in his honor hosted by Flye. But he did not enjoy himself. He was annoyed by Flye's behavior, who apparently exaggerated their

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[82] H. C. S., "Music: Gieseking Plays: Pianist Gives Program Devoted to Debussy," *New York Times*, 5 Feb. 1955.

[83] Gieseking, New York, to Jutta Hajmássy, letter, 5 Feb. 1955, GFA.

[84] Ibid.; Constance Herreshoff, "Gieseking Lands Early For Concert," *San Diego Union*, 14 Feb. 1955. Flye was also discussed in Chapter 9.

[85] The institution became San Diego State University in 1970. Constance Herreshoff, "Gieseking Lands Early For Concert," *San Diego Union*, 14 Feb. 1955; "Concert Pianist Honored," *San Diego Union*, 15 Feb. 1955.

"friendship" and his past help too much for Gieseking's taste. Furthermore, the pianist found Flye and his guests quite pretentious:

> That evening was a reception at Mr. Flye's, who says hello to all of you. He is, of course, one of my best friends so to speak, who saved us during the war, etc. The reception was ridiculously stupid. The people were all pompous. Everyone was introduced by their titles, Doctor so and so, Professor [so and so], etc., like in the German provinces! André found this so strange that he said he would call himself doctor, too (which he is). As soon as I whispered to the man of the house that Mr. Puglia was a doctor, André was introduced as such at once and became much more important![86]

More Objection: The Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra Appearances in New York

Since his return in 1953, Gieseking had given only solo recitals in U.S. concert halls and, thus far, everything had gone without incident. But when there was first talk of him appearing with the Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra of New York in early March of 1955, in Carnegie Hall, a number of subscribers initially objected to the idea, expressing "rumbles of displeasure," as Howard Taubman of the *New York Times* noted.[87] Yet the concerts were held, on 3, 4, and 6 March, and without any further ado. In his review of the first night's performance, Taubman commented on the ultimately peaceful circumstances of the event and how, in his view, it finalized Gieseking's acceptance in postwar America:

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[86] "[A]bends war Reception bei Mr. Flye, der Euch alle grüssen lässt. Er ist doch sozusagen einer meiner besten Freunde, der uns ungefähr im Krieg gerettet hat, u.s.w. Die Reception war äusserst blöde, die Leute gaben an, alles stellte man mit Titeln vor, Doctor so u. so, Professor, etc. wie in der deutschen Provinz! André fand das so komisch, dass er meinte, er würde sich auch Doktor nennen (er ist es ja). Als ich dann dem Hausherrn zuraunte, Mr. Puglia wäre Dr. wurde A. sofort als solcher vorgesteltt und war viel bedeutender geworden!" Gieseking, Los Angeles, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 18 Feb. 1955, GFA.

[87] Taubman, "Gieseking is Soloist," *New York Times*, 4 Mar. 1955.

> He [Gieseking] was back last night with the orchestra at Carnegie Hall . . . , and he was entitled to assume that once again he was being accepted full on all sides in New York at least as a musician. . . .
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> . . . If the subscribers were annoyed this season, the Philharmonic has not mentioned it in public. Last night's customers gave every indication of satisfaction with Mr. Gieseking and his playing."[88]

The pianist had performed two works, with Guido Cantelli (1920–56) conducting: Mozart's Piano Concerto in C major (K. 467) and Franck's *Variations symphoniques*. Regarding Gieseking's playing that evening, Taubman admitted that "He remains a colorist par excellence," yet he felt that his "narrow dynamic compass" caused the work to "take on a small-scale appearance."[89] What the critics did not take note of was Gieseking's memory lapse in both the exposition and, when the same material reappeared, in the recapitulation. While such mishaps were rare for the pianist, who could, as in this instance, improvise his way out of the situation, this particular incident set him on edge:

> Everything started out very well, than for no reason, my memory failed me. I then faked things some, so that it wasn't so bad. But then I was so nervous that I bungled the spot even more when it returned in the recapitulation. The cadenza was then good, the 2nd movement perfect, and despite all the trembling, the 3rd movement went without incident. I used the intermission to practice the Franck mentally, which then also had no problems. But I still haven't gotten over the shock. My legs were still shaking when the performance ended.[90]

Gieseking found the young Italian conductor, who performed without score, and the orchestra to be excellent: "Cantelli is especially serious competition for Herbert [von

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[88] Taubman, "Gieseking is Soloist," *New York Times*, 4 Mar. 1955.

[89] Ibid.

[90] "Zuerst ging alles sehr schön, dann ohne jeden ersichtlichen Grund war ein Loch im Gedächtnis, ich mogelte etwas, so war es nicht schlimm. Aber danach war ich so aufgeregt, dass ich, als die Stelle bei der Reprise wiederkam, noch mehr patzte. Die Kadenz war dann gut, der 2. Satz tadellos und trotz allem Zittern ging dann auch der 3. Satz ohne Unfall vorüber. Die Pause benutzte ich dazu, um den Franck im Geiste zu üben, der wurde dann auch tadellos, aber den Schreck habe ich noch nicht überwunden. Mir zitterten noch die Beine, als das Konzert aus war." Gieseking, New York, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 3–4 Mar. 1955, GFA.

Karajan]; the orchestra plays very beautifully."[91] They had rehearsed for several hours over two days, much more than Gieseking was accustomed to, making the unusual happening even more surprising.[92] Incidentally, Cantelli, after being conscripted into the Italian army during WWII, had ended up in a German labor camp because of his disobedient stance: he was anti-Nazi and had been unwilling to fight.[93] Tragically, he died in a plane crash in November 1956, less than one month after Gieseking's passing. He was but 36 years old. A recording of the two artists' performance from 6 March—the Mozart only—which was broadcast nationally, was subsequently released on LP and, more recently, on various CDs. Thus, this outstanding collaboration has been preserved for posterity. Gieseking had by that time remembered the forgotten measures, however, therefore denying us the pleasure of hearing him extemporize his way to safety once again.[94]

Gieseking's Mozart playing was praised immensely, and his records of the Austrian composer's music sold extremely well. He had, in fact, won much acclaim for his Mozart interpretations very early on. After playing the C-major Piano Concerto, K. 467, under Sir Henry Wood at Queen's Hall in London on 29 September 1925, for instance, the British—and Irish—critics were unanimous in their praise. The city's *Daily Telegraph* called the young artist's performance "perfection itself—nothing short of it,"

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[91] "Cantelli ist schwerste Konkurrenz für Herbert [von Karajan], das Orchester spielt sehr schön. . . ." Gieseking, New York, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 3–4 Mar. 1955, GFA.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Noël Goodwin, "Cantelli, Guido," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 9 Apr. 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04760.

[94] Gieseking, piano, *Mozart, Piano Concerto no. 21, K. 467*, conducted by Guido Cantelli, recorded with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, 26 [*sic*] Mar. 1955, Opus MLG 70, [1970s], LP; Walter Gieseking, *Gieseking plays Mozart*, Pearl GEMM 9236, CD, 1996. The author thanks Donald Manildi for providing information pertaining to these recordings.

proclaiming him already to be "one of the finest living players of Mozart's pianoforte music."[95] The *Northern Whig* of Belfast noted how "The opinion was freely expressed that no Mozart player of our time has so faithfully interpreted the moods of the composer."[96] And London's *Morning Post* wrote, "Mr. Gieseking was wonderfully delicate, crisp, rhythmic, sensitive, and so on. In these essential faculties he surpassed all other Mozart players we have heard within trustworthy memory."[97] The circumstances of the early performance make the superb reception all the more remarkable. In an interview for the *Evening Standard* (London), which mistakenly described him as a "Danish" pianist, Gieseking confessed that he had initially prepared the wrong work:

> I was rather under a disadvantage last night for I have been traveling recently, and owing to having no fixed abode, I was unable to get complete instructions as to what the Queen's Hall authorities wished me to play. I found out only last Thursday, while I was in Germany, that I had been booked to play Mozart's Concerto in C major, whereas I had practiced the Concerto in A Major. It was necessary to buy a copy at once, but there was no opportunity for rehearsals.[98]

Presently, while in Zurich in September 1955, Gieseking was able to learn which of his recordings was most popular among the Swiss. The verdict: "Mozart's Piano Concerto in A major is doing the best, 900 copies [have sold] in Switzerland."[99] This figure was still something to be proud of during that earlier era. In this instance, he could have only been referring to his discs featuring the composer's beloved Piano Concerto

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[95] "Promenade Concerts," *Daily Telegraph* (London), 30 Sept. 1925.

[96] Title unidentified, *Northern Whig* (Belfast), 3 Oct. 1925, clipping found in Gieseking's large scrapbook: "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art," ca. 47 x 31.5 cm, GFA.

[97] "A Great Pianist: Mr. Walter Gieseking in Mozart," *Morning Post* (London), 30 Sept. 1925. Note that this clipping is also found in Gieseking's scrapbook ("Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art," GFA), with the handwritten date incorrectly given as "30.10.25"; based on the numerous surrounding cuttings, September must be the correct month of publication.

[98] "Modern Music: Danish Pianist On His Success At Queen's Hall," *Evening Standard* (London), 30 Sept. 1925.

[99] "Mozart A-dur Konzert geht am besten, 900 Stück in der Schweiz." Gieseking, Berlin, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 30 Sept. 1955, GFA.

no. 23, K. 488, which he had made for Columbia on 10 June 1951 with none other than Herbert von Karajan leading London's Philharmonia Orchestra.[100] Such an eminent conductor and ensemble further explain the album's success.

But unlike his Debussy and Ravel interpretations, Gieseking's Mozart playing had its critics, particularly by this later time, Taubman being but one of many. It was often condemned for its more reserved qualities, partly resulting from his exceedingly spare use of the damper pedal when playing the composer's music. (His playing of the music of Bach and Scarlatti was similarly "dry," though perhaps more justifiably so since that repertoire was not written for the piano.) Reviewing Gieseking's Mozart discs in 1955, Abram Chasins, who was terribly let down by the readings by an artist he otherwise held in high regard, wrote, "One hoped that the matchless knowledge, interpretative subtlety, and emotional inspiration which he lavished upon the music of Debussy and Ravel would now be bestowed upon Mozart. . . .Where in these performances is the Gieseking vitality, variety of touch, and singing tone?"[101] Harold Schonberg offered the following explanation for the pianist's understanding of the composer's keyboard output:

> Gieseking's ideas about Mozart were essentially nineteenth-century ideas, over which were superimposed the twentieth-century concept of the sanctity of the printed note. . . . Gieseking represented the pre-[Alfred] Einstein school of thought. His Mozart, to be sure, had no exaggerated romanticism. But neither did it have the vigor, tensions, full-scaled dynamics and big tone that such contemporary pianists as [Rudolf] Serkin have brought to the music; nor did it have the superb organization, delivered in so masculine yet lyric a manner, that was [Artur] Schnabel's great contribution to Mozart playing. Next to these, Gieseking sounded almost effeminate.[102]

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[100] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 24, 53.

[101] Chasins, "Gieseking on Mozart," *Saturday Review*, 29 Jan. 1955, 42.

[102] Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 450.

In an undated essay "On the Pedal," Gieseking, in his defense, advocated the restricted use of the damper pedal and more finger-legato for essentially all pre-Romantic literature, arguing, "With regard to composers like Bach, Scarlatti, and Mozart, one should, in fact, never really *hear* that the pedal is being used—I feel that a 'Rauschklang' [hazy sound] is not appropriate for such music."[103] Elsewhere he expounded on this pedal-less manner of execution further: "When playing such music, instead of resorting to pedal effects, I hold many of the notes slightly longer, especially in arpeggios and accompaniment figures. I consider such 'legatissimo' [playing] more appropriate for early classics."[104] Despite all criticism, Gieseking remained true to his approach. And, indeed, many marveled at the results.

To return to the Carnegie Hall concert with Cantelli, Taubman was clearly more pleased by the pianist's Franck reading: "Mr. Gieseking let himself go much more. . . . This was the performance of a virtuoso musician."[105] It was the soloist's only engagement with the New York Philharmonic that season. If there were any similar instances of complaint repeated that season, either with regard to his other orchestral or solo appearances, none are known. Excluding merely the Carnegie Hall recital in 1949, none of his concerts anywhere were ever stopped. Not overlooking the political significance of the New York orchestral engagements of 1955, the *Christian Science Monitor* concluded its obituary for the pianist the next year with the following remark: "In 1953, he played in New York's Carnegie Hall despite the fact [that] Jewish war

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[103] "Richtig hören darf man jedoch bei Komponisten wie Bach, Scarlatti, Mozart den Pedalgebrauch eigentlich nie—für mein Gefühl paßt ein 'Rauschklang' nicht in dieser Musik." Gieseking, "Vom Pedal," in *So wurde ich Pianist*, 105.

[104] Gieseking, "Practical Considerations in Pianoforte Interpretation," interview by Florence Leonard, *The Etude*, Sept. 1929, 646.

[105] Taubman, "Gieseking is Soloist," *New York Times*, 4 Mar. 1955.

veterans and a Zionist organization picketed the hall in protest. Two years after that he was soloist with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra."[106]

Gieseking would reappear with the orchestra during the following season, in which he played Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto on 22, 23, and 25 March.[107] There is no trace of any objection at all.[108]

Carnegie Hall Again

Owing to the incredibly high demand for his concerts, Gieseking gave a second Carnegie Hall performance on 29 March 1955, his final New York concert that season. On this occasion, he offered a more typical, varied program that comprised Beethoven's Sonata in E major, op. 109, five smaller works by Brahms (from op. 76 and op. 118), Schubert's Impromptu in B-flat major, op. 142, no. 3, Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Cipressi*, op. 17, as well as Ravel's complete *Miroirs*.[109] Commenting beforehand on the event, he wrote to his daughter, Jutta: "[It's] supposed to be well attended, which is allegedly seldom the case for pianists; not even Arrau can do this. I believe only Rubinstein, Backhaus, and I have sold-out halls."[110] And well attended it was. From the *New York*

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[106] "Walter Gieseking," [obituary], *Christian Science Monitor*, 27 Oct. 1956.

[107] "Gieseking Due Here in March for Tour," *New York Times*, 19 Jan. 1956.

[108] For a review of the first concert see Taubman, "Music: Undaunted Man: Gieseking Back after a Tragic Accident," *New York Times*, 23 Mar. 1956.

[109] Dean Elder, typed reprint of Gieseking's Carnegie Hall recital program from 29 March 1955, DEC.

[110] "[Es] soll gut besucht werden, was bei wenigen Pianisten der Fall sein soll, sogar bei Arrau nicht. Ich glaube nur Rubinstein, Bachhaus u. ich haben vollen Saal." Gieseking, New York, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 28 Mar. 1955, GFA.

Times review, we read, "An audience of 2,900, including 200 persons on the stage, filled Carnegie Hall last night for Walter Gieseking's second and final recital of the season."[111]

Regarding the Castelnuovo-Tedesco work, Gieseking had played it during a sold-out recital in Los Angeles on Saturday, 12 February, with the composer in the audience. "Castelnuovo was there," he wrote home, "listened to his Cipressi and, touched, showed himself twice to the delighted audience."[112] In his review for the *Los Angeles Times*, Albert Goldberg described the piece as "music of lovely sound and flickering imagination" and commented on the pianist's respectful gesture: "Gieseking's sorcery was into full sway by this time but he took time out to bring the composer on stage for a generous reception."[113] An old friend of Gieseking's, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was also Jewish and had suffered under Italy's anti-Semitic fascist regime until his emigration to the U.S. in the summer of 1939.[114] It is significant that the two men had remained on good terms.

Shortly afterward, Arthur Rubinstein also gave a Carnegie Hall recital, on 4 March. Despite the public stance Rubinstein had taken against Gieseking during the earlier American protests, the latter was excited to have acquired tickets for the event rather last minute. In a letter to Jutta from 3–4 March, he added as a postscript:

> I nearly forgot to tell you: this evening Rubinstein is playing in Carnegie Hall. Thanks to André's popularity among those backstage there, we received at the normal price 2 tickets that had been returned. These would have cost twice as

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[111] "2,900 Hear Gieseking Play," *New York Times*, 30 Mar. 1955.

[112] "Castelnuovo war da, hörte gerührt [sein] Cipressi und zeigte sich 2 Mal dem erfreuten Publikum." Gieseking, Los Angeles, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 18 Feb. 1955, GFA.

[113] Goldberg, "Enchantment Created by Walter Gieseking," The Sounding Board, *Los Angeles Times*, 14 Feb. 1955.

[114] For a summary of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's life see James Westby, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 7 Apr. 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05128.

> much through agents (i.e. on the black market). Maybe my colleague will be somewhat nervous if he learns that I'll be listening.[115]

There is no record of the two artists having met after the performance, and we can be rather sure that it did not happen. Rubinstein would not have wished to be greeted by Gieseking, whom he doubtless had not forgiven and thus still disliked. It likewise seems highly unlikely that Rubinstein would have ever attended a Gieseking performance, even after the postwar controversy had died down. He had, after all, vowed never to return to Germany after the First World War, a vow he kept throughout his long life. He was a man of principle.[116]

Back in Europe, late spring and summer

In mid-April, Gieseking journeyed back to England for more recording sessions at EMI's Abbey Road Studios. While he recorded solo works, this time he also collaborated with others. With the legendary soprano Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, he completed a Mozart Lieder album, and they also documented Gieseking's own *Kinderlieder* (composed in 1934–35). In addition, the pianist recorded two Piano Quintets with the Philharmonia Wind Quartet. These were Mozart's K. 452 and Beethoven's op. 16, both in E-flat major.[117]

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[115] "Beinahe hätte ich vergessen: heute Abend spielt Rubinstein in Carnegie Hall, durch André's Beliebtheit hinter der Bühne dort bekamen wir noch 2 Karten zum normalen Preis, die zurückgegeben waren. Bei Agenten (sozusagen schwarz) kosteten diese das Doppelte. Vielleicht hat der Kollege auch Angst, wenn er weiss, dass ich zuhöre[.]" Gieseking, New York, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 3–4 Mar. 1955, GFA. For a list of Rubinstein's program and a review of the recital, see Olin Downes, "Music: Rubinstein Plays: Pianist Gives Recital at Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, 5 Mar. 1955.

[116] See Sachs, *Rubinstein: A Life*, 300.

[117] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 36.

Over the summer, Gieseking gave more concerts in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland.[118] During his busy Italian tour in May, he played in such cities as Palermo, Messina, Venice, Milan, and Genoa.[119] Commenting on the trip, he told his family, "The tour was, and is, a bunch of miserable rushing around, especially since I haven't slept well at all. Otherwise things are going fine. My stomach hasn't given me any trouble here."[120] He nevertheless found time to catch at least some butterflies.[121]

Gieseking also resumed monthly teaching in Saarbrücken that summer, giving concerts there as well. Among the latter performances, were two that took place on 18 July, with André Cluytens (1905–67) conducting the Orchestre National de l'ORTF.[122] Gieseking played Debussy's *Fantasie* for piano and orchestra and Franck's *Variations symphoniques*.[123]

Hollywood Bowl, August 1955

As in 1954, Gieseking flew back to North America for a second visit within the same year, in August on this occasion. Surprisingly, he made the trip for a mere two engagements, both in the U.S. this time. The bookings therefore could have only been of unusual importance, and indeed they were: Gieseking was to appear as soloist during the

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[118] His correspondence with his family during these months documents his travels.

[119] Gieseking, Milan, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 21 May 1955, GFA.

[120] "Die Tournee war und ist eine elende Hetzerei, besonders weil ich viel zu schlecht schlafe. Sonst geht es gut, mein Magen ist hier immer ruhig." Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] On Cluytens, see Erik Baeck, *André Cluytens: itinéraire d'un chef d'orchestre* (Wavre: Mardaga, 2009), and idem, "André Cluytens à l'aube d'une carrière internationale: sa formation et ses débuts à Anvers," *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 59 (2005): 219–42.

[123] A recording of the performance was later issued on LP by the International Piano Library (IPL 505). See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 36.

immensely popular, outdoor Hollywood Bowl "Symphonies Under the Stars" series, held each summer. Since he had canceled his North American tour planned for the summer of 1938, the itinerary of which had included the Californian venue, this marked his much-delayed grand debut appearance there.[124] The concerts' organizers brought in many of the most celebrated musicians, so that merely a partial list of figures that played there over the years reads like a Who's Who of classical pianists: Claudio Arrau, Gina Bachauer, Paul Badura-Skoda, Jorge Bolet, Alexander Brailowsky, John Browning, Van Cliburn, Georges Cziffra, Rudolf Firkušný, Leon Fleisher, Glenn Gould, Vladimir Horowitz, José Iturbi, Grant Johannesen, Oscar Levant, the entertainer Liberace, Moura Lympany, Guiomar Novaes, Leonard Pennario, André Previn, Arthur Rubinstein, and Rudolf Serkin.[125] It was inevitable that Gieseking, too, was finally re-invited.

Attendance for the Bowl concerts had begun to decline by 1955, dropping below that of the previous summer's average of "10,000-plus per concert," as reported by C. Sharpless Hickman of the *Christian Science Monitor*.[126] Yet Gieseking's performances brought huge crowds to the Hollywood venue again. According to Hickman, "Some 18,000 persons heard the two . . . symphony events, which presented Walter Gieseking, pianist, under Erich Leinsdorf's direction."[127] The amphitheater seated up to 20,000. Aside from the German pianist's popularity, the unusual and enticing programming helped attract the uncommonly large crowds. For both appearances, on 23 and 25 August,

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[124] The delayed 1938 tour was discussed in Chapter 3. For mention of his initially planned Hollywood Bowl appearance in 1938, see "Bowl Seats Go on Sale: Season Ticket Books for 1938 to Be Offered Today," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 June 1938.

[125] The author thanks Donald Manildi of the International Piano Archives for providing him with much of the list of pianists cited here. Because of the popularity of these concerts, reviews of the performances are readily available as a historical newspaper search using Proquest easily demonstrates.

[126] Hickman, "Hollywood Bowl Finale," *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 Sept. 1955.

[127] Ibid.

a Tuesday and Thursday, he concluded the evening by playing solo works—not merely as encores, which were also generously offered, but as printed selections.

The first performance included the Schumann Piano Concerto in A minor, and Gieseking brought the occasion to a close with three solo pieces by Ravel: "Une barque sur l'océan" and "Alborada del gracioso" from *Miroirs*, plus "Ondine" from *Gaspard de la nuit*. These were then proceeded by a colorful variety of four encores, namely Grieg's "March of the Dwarfs" from his *Lyric Pieces*, Mozart's "Rondo alla turca" from the Piano Sonata in A major (K. 331), Gieseking's own transcription of Richard Strauss's Lied "Serenade," and Debussy's "Clair de lune" from *Suite bergamasque*.[128]

The local critics recognized the pianist as an extraordinary, unique artist, who had unquestionably made a memorable impression on the huge crowd of listeners. In his review for the *Los Angeles Times*, Walter Arlen wrote, "Mr. Gieseking, on his part, was fully prepared to fulfill what was expected of him, and did so, as always, with the greatest of ease and nonchalance. It is this very ease and nonchalance that colors his delivery of whatever music he plays and imparts to it a kind of elusive magic that is hard to put into words."[129] Arlen also did not overlook the program's effectiveness: "The opportunity to hear Walter Gieseking play a piano concerto and a group of solo pieces lured an audience of healthy proportions to Hollywood Bowl last night."[130] Alma Gowdy of the *Los Angeles Herald & Express* felt that the artist, "one of the last of the piano titans of this

[128] Alma Gowdy, "Geiseking's [*sic*] Schumann Acclaimed," *Los Angeles Herald & Express*, 24 Aug. 1955. Walter Arlen (who received the information by phone) gave the order of the encores differently—Mozart, Debussy, Strauss-Gieseking, Grieg; see Arlen, "Walter Gieseking Wins Praise as Bowl Soloist," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 Aug. 1955.

[129] Arlen, "Walter Gieseking Wins Praise as Bowl Soloist," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 Aug. 1955.

[130] Ibid.

era, gave a long to be remembered reading of Schumann's Concerto. . . ."[131] Raymond Kendall of the *Los Angeles Mirror-News* was of the view that while the guest soloist had not been in top form, his interpretations did not lack their usual understanding and vivacity: "Walter Gieseking always seems to endow what he is playing with a bigness of style, a sort of spaciousness. Furthermore, when he is having an 'off' night (last night was such a one), he still refuses to play it safe."[132]

The second Bowl concert featured Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto, and closed with Gieseking's solo performances of Debussy's *Ballade*, *Danse* (originally the *Tarentelle styrienne*), "Pagodes" (from *Estampes*), "Reflets dans l'eau" (from Images, book I), and *L'isle joyeuse.*[133] Naturally, there were again encores, starting with Scarlatti's "Pastorale" Sonata (presumably that in D minor, K. 9/L. 413), then three Debussy items: "Golliwog's Cakewalk" (from *Children's Corner)*, the first of the *Deux Arabesques*, and "Feux d'artifice" (from the *Préludes*, book two).[134]

To turn to Hickman once again, he, too, praised the welcome break in programming convention: "An experiment (and a beautifully amplified and successful experiment it was) offered Gieseking in two groups of solo pieces by Ravel and Debussy. Played in the vast outdoor amphitheater, these works gained an atmospheric intensity which complemented the pianist's own rare expressiveness." Leinsdorf chose works that augmented Gieseking's solo component each time: before the pianist's Ravel selections, he conducted Ravel's orchestral transcription of Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*,

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[131] Gowdy, "Geiseking's [*sic*] Schumann Acclaimed," *Los Angeles Herald & Express*, 24 Aug. 1955.

[132] Kendall, "Bowl Hails Leinsdorf in Opening," *Los Angeles Mirror-News*, 24 Aug. 1956.

[133] Arlen, "Walter Gieseking Again," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 Aug. 1955.

[134] Alma Gowdy, "Gieseking Again Gets Ovation," *Los Angeles Herald & Express*, 26 Aug. 1955. Note that Gowdy gives the key of the Scarlatti Sonata as E minor, which cannot be correct.

and, for the second date, he preceded the soloist's Debussy pieces by the composer's *La Mer*.[135]

Walter Arlen noticed how the weather conditions affected, without spoiling, the soloist's readings: "Although the evening's dampness may have somewhat dulled the tone of Mr. Gieseking's instrument and covered its keys with dew (he was seen wiping them), he delivered once more a performance that was admirable from every angle."[136] The mishaps, Arlen professed, were of no consequence: "they were not of the kind to raise serious doubts about Mr. Gieseking's stature and rank among pianists today."[137] On the contrary, during the Beethoven he noted how Gieseking's "pianistic equipment allowed him to toss off some of the fiendishly difficult octave and scale passages with that deceptive ease which invokes the wish in people to take up piano playing as a hobby."[138] Hickman similarly pointed out (though without blaming the weather) Gieseking's inaccuracies and their inability to detract greatly from the performances: "In the Schumann A minor Concerto and the Beethoven 'Emperor' Concerto his playing, despite minor fingering faults, had the authority of a master and the excitement of true recreative artistry. He was discreetly aided by Leinsdorf's accompaniments."[139]

Gieseking himself was genuinely pleased with the two Bowl concerts and described the experience with much enthusiasm to his family afterwards. While he was never one to try to excuse any slapdash playing on his part, in this instance he did explain that the harsh weather conditions had impaired his technical facility. Yet he did *not* refer

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[135] Hickman, "Hollywood Bowl Finale," *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 Sept. 1955.

[136] Arlen, "Walter Gieseking Again," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 Aug. 1955.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Hickman, "Hollywood Bowl Finale," *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 Sept. 1955.

to any faulty passagework, which was surely an inconsequential matter in his view, and his content with the performances on the whole is evident:

> It was the projected "great success," and both concerts did, in fact, go really well. In the first one (Schumann [Concerto] with the orchestra, Ravel solo pieces), it was less crowded than in the second one (Beethoven E-flat ["Emperor" Concerto] and Debussy pieces), which, according to newspapers, 16,000 people attended, though it was really about 11,000. It sounds fantastically good there, with the imperceptible help of loudspeakers. Everything looks great, too, but it was so cold and damp that my fingers almost became numb! Damp fog wind from the ocean. The audience drinks hot coffee and brings blankets with them; this is California! . . . Monday: morning rehearsal; Tuesday: the same; I practiced too, so that I could get used to the acoustics. That evening: concert. Wednesday: rehearsal. Thursday: concert. This all made the time go by pretty quickly.[140]

It had, indeed, been a memorable group of appearances for both artist and fans alike. As Raymond Kendall stated in his review of the second performance, "this crowd of Bowl goers knew what it came for, and enjoyed every minute of it." "When upward of 15,000 persons cheer a Scarlatti Sonata encore at 11 p.m.," he added, "things are looking up, and the Bowl would do well to continue to serve this valuable constituency as well as its 'pop' lovers."[141] Perhaps not entirely in jest, Alma Gowdy asserted that "Hollywood Bowl should take a lease on an artist who possesses so translucent a tone and such a wide range of dynamics."[142] It is no surprise to learn that the Bowl organizers, so desperate to

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[140] "Es war der programmässige 'grosse Erfolg,' die Konzerte gingen auch beide recht gut. Im ersten (Schumann mit Orchester, Ravel Soli) war es weniger voll als im zweiten (Beethoven Es-dur und Debussystücke), wo laut Zeitungen 16000, in Wirklichkeit etwa 11000 Leute waren. Es klingt fantastisch gut, mit unmerklicher Hilfe von Lautsprechern, es sieht auch alles grossartig aus, es war aber so feuchtkalt, dass man beinahe klamme Finger kriegte! Feuchter Nebelwind vom Meer. Das Publikum trinkt heissen Kaffe und bringt Decken mit, dies ist Californien! . . . Montag vorm. Probe, Dienstag nochmals, ich übte auch, um mich an die Akustik zu gewöhnen, abends Konzert, Mittwoch Probe, Donnerstag Konzert, so verging die Zeit ziemlich schnell." Gieseking, London, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 30 Aug. 1955, GFA.

[141] Kendall, "Music in Review: Bowl Crowd Renews Faith," *Los Angeles Mirror-News*, 26 Aug. 1955.

[142] Alma Gowdy, "Gieseking Again Gets Ovation," *Los Angeles Herald & Express*, 26 Aug. 1955.

improve the institution's dire financial situation, invited Gieseking back for the following summer season.

Europe in the Autumn

From California, Gieseking flew to New York, before taking a "twelve-hour, comfortable flight" ("12 Stunden komfortabler Flug") to Paris the following day.[143] Upon arriving on 29 August, he had to fly further right away to London, where he "went practically straight to the recording studio," namely at Abbey Road.[144] These sessions were intensive. They lasted "as always 6–7 hours each day" ("wie üblich 6–7 Stunden täglich") and continued through 7 September.[145] As a result, Gieseking recorded a considerable number of works: four Beethoven Sonatas (op. 31 nos. 2 and 3, op. 109, and op. 110), Schumann's "Schlummerlied" from the *Albumblätter* (op. 124, no. 16) and the complete *Kinderszenen* (op. 15), Schubert's complete *Impromptus* (op. 90 and op. 142), and, with Alceo Galliera (1910–96) leading London's Philharmonia Orchestra, Beethoven's Piano Concertos nos. 4 (op. 58) and 5 (op. 73).[146]

The Postwar Return to Vienna, October

One of the more important European dates of 1955 was that in Vienna, which marked Gieseking's first postwar reappearance in the renowned musical city. The recital took place in the city's Großer Musikvereinssaal (Great Hall of the Musical Society) on

[143] Gieseking, London, to his family, Wiesbaden, letter, 30 Aug. 1955, GFA.

[144] "[G]ing praktisch direkt ins Studio. . . ." Ibid.

[145] Ibid.; Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 36–37.

[146] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 36–37.

24 October, and was part of the International Soloists series (Zyklus "Internationale Solisten").[147] The program featured the following works:

Mozart	Sonata in D major, K. 576
Beethoven	Sonata in E major, op. 109
Brahms	*Capriccios*: op. 76, no. 1, in F-sharp minor; op. 76, no. 2, in B minor
	Intermezzi: op. 76, no. 4, in B-flat major; op. 116, no. 6, in E major
Schubert	*Impromptus*: op. 142, no. 3, in B-flat major; op. 90, no. 4, in A-flat major
	Intermission
Debussy	"Pagodes" and "La soirée dans Grenade" from *Estampes*
	"Reflets dans l'eau" from *Images*, book I
	L'isle joyeuse
Ravel	"Ondine" from *Gaspard de la nuit*
	"La vallée des cloches" and "Alborada del gracioso" from *Miroirs*
Debussy	"Feux d'artifice" from *Préludes*, book II[148]

Puglia was with Gieseking, who described the event to Jutta afterward: "we flew [from Paris] via Zurich, arriving in time for the concert, but too late for the planned press reception. Only the expensive seats were not sold, but the audience demanded 8 encores and even then hardly wanted to leave. In other words, now I just have to see how the reviews are to determine whether it was a success, this renewed Viennese debut!"[149] The critics' judgments remain to be examined, but we can be sure that they contained considerable laudation.

[147] *Die Wiener Staatsoper*, Season Program for 1955–56: Sept. 1955–Jan. 1956, vol. 9a, p. 21, accessed 23 Oct. 2013, http://www.guschlbauer.com/Progr/vol09a.pdf.

[148] Note that the printed program contains errors. It gives, for example, Brahms's op. 76 no. 4 incorrectly as op. 76 no. 1. It also misspells "Alborada del gracioso" as "Alborado del Gracioso" and lists the final piece, "Feux d'artifice," as a work by Ravel. What is uncertain is whether the work came at the end of the Debussy group or if it concluded the program. Ibid.

[149] "[W]ir kamen über Zürich [von Paris] noch gut hin, aber zu spät für den Presseempfang, der vorgesehen war. Im Konzert waren nur die teueren Plätze nicht verkauft, die Leute verlangten aber 8 Zugaben und gingen dann kaum weg, also bleibt nur noch die Kritik abzuwarten, um zu wissen, ob es ein Erfolg war, dies erneute Wiener Debüt!" Gieseking, Stuttgart, to Jutta, Wiebaden, letter, 26 Oct. 1955, GFA.

The 1955 Bus Accident, December

On 5 November Gieseking turned age 60, though he had decided not to have a big celebration.[150] Nearly over, the year had thus far gone extremely well for him professionally, but it would come to a tragic close, when on 2 December, he was in a second serious accident. This time he was traveling on a bus on the way to Italy, where he was scheduled to begin yet another tour.[151] Although he and Annie had been having marriage difficulties for some time, his wife had decided to join him for the trip.[152]

As in the case of the car wreck in 1951, papers around much of the world, the U.S. included, covered the misfortune. The *San Diego Union* reported: "The crash occurred last night when the bus, carrying 18 passengers and the driver, skidded on ice at 70 miles an hour and smashed into a concrete bridge abutment. The passengers were en route from Frankfurt airport, which was fogbound, to Stuttgart to catch a plane for Rome."[153] The bus, of which the driver's cab was left separated and the rear end demolished, was but a few kilometers of its destination when the mishap occurred.[154] While some reports claimed the roads had been icy (as in the one just quoted), it was

[150] Gieseking, Stuttgart, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Oct. 1955, GFA.

[151] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 80.

[152] Gieseking discussed their relationship problems quite openly in Gieseking, Oklahoma City, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 Mar. 1955, GFA. That Annie no longer fully trusted her husband is made clear when she suspected a letter from one Francis Heilbert (apparantly received shortly before the accident) to be from a woman. Gieseking assured his wife that the person was, in fact, a man. See Gieseking, Stuttgart, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 26 Oct. 1955, GFA.

[153] "Pianist's Hands Unhurt In Crash Fatal To Wife," *San Diego Union*, 4 Dec. 1955; see also "Gieseking Better, Wife Dies of Hurts," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 Dec. 1955.

[154] "Gieseking verunglückt: Kopfverletzung durch einen Autobusunfall," unidentified German newspaper, 4 Dec. 1955, clipping found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

determined that no ice had formed, but that there was fog and that the driver, a twenty-seven-year-old man from Frankfurt, was at fault for speeding.[155]

The passengers were rushed to hospitals in Stuttgart, Gieseking to the Marienhospital.[156] He was scheduled to perform with the St. Cecilia Orchestra two days later, engagements that were, of course, now cancelled.[157] He had suffered grave injuries, though his hands went unharmed, and the bill for his treatment would come to 1,306.02 D-Marks.[158] His wife, who had just celebrated her sixty-sixth birthday the day before, had not survived. Because of his own critical condition, he was at first not informed of her death for several days.[159] Among the other travelers injured were some twelve Americans—seven or eight soldiers, who had just arrived in Germany, and four civilians. Another military person was killed.[160] That same month, on 26 December, Gieseking wrote to his "Dear Friend Pohlman," describing (in English, as usual) what had happened and how he was recovering:

> I hope that you had a happy Christmas. As I didn't hear from you, I suppose you did not hear that I had a rather serious bus accident on Dec. 2d. I was on the way to Italy and had to take the plane at another airport on account of the fog. I don't remember anything about the accident, but my dear wife was killed and I was nearly unconscious for about 10 days. I am getting better now, and

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[155] "Gieseking verunglückt: Kopfverletzung durch einen Autobusunfall," unidentified German newspaper, 4 Dec. 1955, clipping found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich. Another unidentified clipping, from Gieseking's personal collection in the GFA, shows pictures of the demolished bus, describing the damage done. The caption begins with "Glatteis auf der Autobahn bei Stuttgart."

[156] "Gieseking, U.S. Soldiers Injured in a Bus Crash," *New York Times*, 3 Dec. 1955.

[157] "Gieseking Better, Wife Dies of Hurts," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 Dec. 1955.

[158] Gieseking, Stuttgart, to Richard Pohlman, [New York], letter, 26 Dec. 1955, DEC; "Gieseking Better, Wife Dies of Hurts," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 Dec. 1955; Jutta (and Imre) Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, to Walter and Freya Gieseking, [U.S.], letter, 8 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[159] "Gieseking Better, Wife Dies of Hurts," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 Dec. 1955.

[160] For the number of soldiers, both figures were given in the press. See "U.S. Soldier Killed, 8 Hurt In Germany," *San Diego Union*, 3 Dec. 1955; "Pianist's Hands Unhurt in Crash Fatal to Wife," *San Diego Union*, 4 Dec. 1955; and "Gieseking, U.S. Soldiers Injured in a Bus Crash," *New York Times*, 3 Dec. 1955.

> there is even some chance that I shall be able to do the next American tour, but it's to [*sic*] early to decide. I am still in the hospital, my head is practically all right (I had a gash of about 10 inches long), the brain concussion is getting better, and my right leg is still in a plaster cast. But this is nothing difficult, only the heel bone was broken, but [the] day-after-to-morrow I can start walking (so the doctors say. They are very satisfied with my progress[,] but it was rather a terrible shock[.]) My daughters are often here, also André with his wife. To-day, my granddaughter [Maria] came with her father [Imre]. I can say that I feel rather well, considering the situation, but one has to be patient. My best wishes to you and your family and I still hope to see you soon.
>
> Sincerely yours
> Walter Gieseking[161]

In the press reports, it was also explained that Gieseking had bruised his arm lightly.[162] As for the bus driver, after being tried and acquitted in Stuttgart, he received a one-year sentence upon being retried in Ulm, and his license was revoked for one and a half years.[163]

1956

The Year's First North American Visit

After recovering considerably, if not wholly, from the bus accident, Gieseking had resumed his career by March of 1956, starting with the United States and Canada. He was at once as busy as ever touring and, by the end of summer, recording. For his physicians and family, this was dangerously hasty, as Jutta later recollected: "He recovered from his injuries thanks to his unusually strong constitution, only this time he

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[161] Gieseking, Stuttgart, to Richard Pohlman, [New York], letter, 26 Dec. 1955, DEC.

[162] See, for example, "Kunst und Geistesleben: Walter Gieseking bald genesen," *Freie Presse* (Buenos Aires), 4 Jan. 1956.

[163] "Frankfurter Omnibusfahrer verurteilt: Ein Jahr Gefängnis für Unglücksfahrt im Nebel: Walter Gieseking war unter den Passagieren," unidentified German newspaper clipping (date unknown) found in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich.

forced himself to begin performing once again far too soon. Despite his doctors' grave warnings, he carried out a planned North American tour that spring."[164] Because of the immense acclaim Gieseking was winning during the previous year's visit there, he had already agreed to the concert trip by March 1955, many months before the misfortune that December. As he had frankly put it to Annie at that time: "the successes are simply too good, so that I'd be stupid not to take advantage of them."[165] While still in the hospital in late December, Gieseking optimistically told reporters, "A 10-week concert tour in the United States had been arranged for me, starting Feb. 12, including several performances in New York. I hope to realize at least part of this American program."[166]

On 15 January 1956, the American press then announced that Gieseking would, in fact, be unable to fulfill his engagements and that he would probably be hindered from returning until the following year.[167] Still in Europe, Puglia must have panicked when he learned of the falsely reported information that same day. He immediately cabled André Mertens at Columbia Artists Management to confirm that his client would, in fact, appear for the tour.[168] Within a few days, the American public was newly enlightened, with the changes of the pianist's itinerary clarified. The *New York Times*, for instance, made it known that, although later than originally planned, "Walter Gieseking will arrive here in

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[164] "Er selbst überwand die Folgen dank seiner außergewöhnlich guten Konstitution, nur drängte er auch diesmal viel zu früh darauf, wieder zu musizieren. Trotz der dringenden Mahnung seiner Ärzte ging er auf eine im Frühling geplante Nordamerika-Tournée." Jutta Hajmássy, final commentary included in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 80.

[165] "[D]ie Erfolge sind eben so, dass man blöd wäre, sie nicht auszunutzen." Gieseking, Oklahoma City, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 Mar. 1955, GFA.

[166] "Gieseking Hopes To Make U.S. Tour Early Next Year," *Hartford Courant*, 29 Dec. 1955.

[167] "Pianist Gieseking Calls Off U.S. Concert Tour," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 15 Jan. 1956.

[168] "Gieseking to Fill U.S. Bookings this Spring," *Variety*, 18 Jan. 1956, 72.

March for a ten-week concert tour of the United States and Canada."[169] It further reported that the concert trip would begin with his three appearances with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony on 22, 23, and 25 March, and that a Carnegie Hall recital was scheduled for 6 April. The pianist had initially intended to give some fifteen performances in the two North American nations before the Philharmonic dates, it was explained, all of which had been either canceled or postponed on account of his recent injuries.[170] According to *Variety*, however, Mertens had already succeeded in pushing back into May the bulk of those bookings originally planned for 14 February through 19 March, which would consequently make up for all but two of the cancelled concerts; Gieseking, it was announced, would accordingly make a total of thirty-two appearances during the spring tour.[171] The figure may not have been entirely accurate. The sum Gieseking gave in his correspondence came to an even thirty.[172] Then in an interview given in Italy that September, he explained that "The most recent North American tour lasted exactly two months and comprised thirty-one concerts. . . ."[173]

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[169] "Gieseking Due Here In March For Tour," *New York Times*, 19 Jan. 1956.

[170] Ibid.; for an example of a postponed performance, see "Gieseking Postponed," *Daily Boston Globe*, 26 Feb. 1956.

[171] "Gieseking to Fill U.S. Bookings," *Variety*, 72. We just saw that Gieseking was quoted as giving 12 February as the first intended date in "Gieseking Hopes To Make U.S. Tour Early Next Year," *Hartford Courant*, 29 Dec. 1955. Perhaps the two concerts that Mertens could not reschedule were planned for 12–13 February.

[172] Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Apr. 1956, GFA. The tour details are discussed below.

[173] "Die letzte Amerika-Tournee hatte genau zwei Monate gedauert und einunddreissig Konzerte umfasst. . . ." "Der sonnenverbrannteste Pianist," *Der Standpunkt* (Merano), 21 Sept. 1956, 3.

The New York Philharmonic Again

For the tour, Gieseking was joined by his daughter Freya and manager, André Puglia. And, as always, his piano technician and pal, Richard Pohlman, likewise traveled with them. Regarding the small entourage, Gieseking wrote home from Dallas on 1 April, "Our 'Circus' is often in high spirits; André often clowns around, and Pohlman is in a good mood as always. . . ."[174]

As planned, Gieseking began the concert trip by appearing with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra on 22 March. If there was any renewed objection to these engagements, as there had been among certain subscribers regarding the previous year's appearances, no record of any can be traced. Nor does Gieseking refer to any. He could, if fact, only report great news home about the initial performances: "The first week of concerts kept me quite busy, but everything went well!"[175] After witnessing the first evening of the pianist's New York concerto appearances, Howard Taubman of the *New York Times* could point out that his artistry—after the bus accident—was essentially unimpaired and, as before, inimitable: "It can be reported that the German pianist has not lost his touch or technique. He still has a distinctive manner at the piano. Even in Beethoven's E-flat major Concerto, where there is not so much call for the kind of coloring that Mr. Gieseking can apply, he proved that he retains the gift to shape a phrase with the uttermost delicacy and refinement."[176] Upon receiving comforting word from her father and sister, Jutta reported back to them from Wiesbaden, "We are thrilled to hear

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[174] "Unser 'Zirkus' ist oft ganz vergnügt, André macht viel[e] ulkige Sachen, Pohlman ist unverändert vergnügt. . . ." Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Dallas, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[175] "Die erste Konzertwoche hat allerhand Arbeit verursacht, es ist aber alles gut gegangen!" Ibid.

[176] Taubman, "Music: Undaunted Man: Gieseking Back After a Tragic Accident," *New York Times*, 23 Mar. 1956.

that the maestro can once again play so well!!!!!"[177] Clearly, the family had been somewhat concerned about how Walter might withstand the taxing tour in consequence of his weakened condition.

From New York, the crew made their way to Philadelphia, where Gieseking played a solo recital on 26 March. While his initial description of the event is apparently missing, he wrote to Jutta in a subsequent letter, "I probably already mentioned that the piano recital on Monday in Philadelphia was sold-out (3,200 people, supposedly with another 700–800 turned away!) and got fantastic reviews."[178] On 31 March, he played for an enthusiastic crowd in Dallas, which demanded six encores before letting him retire for the evening. They then continued on to New Orleans, where Gieseking also planned to meet up with some acquaintances.[179] While in the south, he and Freya found time to take a swim in the Mississippi River. As children, his daughters had often pretended to live out Mark Twain's beloved adventures of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn; Jutta played Tom, Freya played Huckleberry.[180] Therefore, upon learning of this exciting news, Jutta replied to her father and sister, "Dear Ringleader of the Gieseking Circus and dear Huckleberry Finn! . . . Huck, Tom Sawyer is really touched. What memories!!! How sweet!"[181]

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[177] "Wir sind beglückt, daß der Maestro wieder so schön spielen kann!!!!!" Jutta, Wiesbaden, to Walter and Freya Gieseking, [U.S.], letter, 4 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[178] "Dass der Klavierabend Montag [26 March] in Philadelphia ausverkauft war (3200 Leute, angeblich haben 7-800 keine Plätze bekommen!) und grossartige Kritiken hatte, schrieb ich ja wohl schon. . . ." Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Dallas, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Jutta Hajmássy and Freya Colassis, interview by author, Wiesbaden, 8 Oct. 2007.

[181] "Lieber Oberster des Gieseking-Zirkus und lieber Huckleberry Finn! . . . Huck, Tom Sawyer ist ganz gerührt. What memories!!! How sweet!" Jutta, Wiesbaden, to Walter and Freya Gieseking, letter, 7 Apr. 1956, GFA.

On 6 April, Gieseking gave a solo performance at Carnegie Hall. On the program were Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E flat, op. 31, no. 3; three of Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words*; Schubert's *Impromptu* in G flat, op. 90, no. 3; Chopin's *Barcarolle*; Casella's *Sonatina*; and Ravel's *Gaspard de la nuit*, and there were certainly encores.[182] "The piano recital in New York went well," he reported to Jutta three days later. "It was completely sold-out, with 235 people on the stage. The reviews were also all good."[183] Among the critics who covered the performance was once again Harold C. Schonberg of the *New York Times*. On this occasion, we read:

> Walter Gieseking is a recognized old master and a sell-out audience came to Carnegie Hall last night to pay homage. It was the German pianist's first solo concert in this country since his accident several months ago. The only visible sign was a bit of adhesive tape covering the head injury he had sustained.
>
> Mr. Gieseking played as he has played in the past few years—with infinite subtlety of tone, coaxing the last bit of nuance from the piano, and with a decided lessoning of technical powers. Faced with such authority, the authority of some three successful decades before the public, one did not mind a missed note or two.[184]

Back in Gieseking's hometown, the *Wiesbadener Kurier* was sure to cover the local pianist's latest triumph, as Jutta explained: "The Kurier reported on your great piano recital at Carnegie Hall and quoted reviews printed by the New York press! Congratulations!"[185]

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[182] Schonberg, "Music: An Old Master: Gieseking Gives Concert at Carnegie Hall, *New York Times*, 7 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[183] "Der Kl[avier]'Abend in Newyork ging gut, es war restlos ausverkauft, 235 Leute auf dem Podium. Die Kritiken waren auch alle gut." Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[184] Schonberg, "Music: An Old Master: Gieseking Gives Concert at Carnegie Hall, *New York Times*, 7 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[185] "Über Deinen tollen Klavierabend in der Carnegie Hall berichtete der Kurier und zitierte die Kritiken der New Yorker Presse! Ich gratuliere!" Jutta (and Imre) Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, [U.S.], letter, 13 Apr. 1956, GFA.

On 8 April, Gieseking gave an afternoon recital in Washington D.C., where thousands of tourists had flocked to see the annual cherry blossoms. His description of the performance to his daughter in this instance was succinct and shows how self-assured he had become: "giant hall, filled naturally" (Riesensaal, natürlich voll).[186] The tour was indeed going splendidly. Regarding his health, Gieseking told Jutta, "I still have weak, stiff legs, but otherwise I am doing fine. And the worst of the concerts, i.e. the most important performances, are now behind me anyway."[187] But there were still many dates ahead of him. While still in the U.S. capital on 9 April, he described the remaining tour schedule to his daughter:

> Today, at 2:30 p.m., we are flying to Salt Lake City via Chicago and Denver, and are supposed to arrive at 9:30 p.m. Because that is Mountain time, it will already be 11:30 p.m. here. The day after tomorrow [11 April], I am playing there, and then we are flying to Los Angeles, where I'll give a concert on Saturday, 14 April. On the 15th, we'll fly up along the entire coast until we reach Vancouver (Canada). I hope the skies will be clear. 16th: Concert [in] Vancouver; 18th: Seattle; 20th: Portland (Oregon); 21st: Salem, Oregon; 24th: San Francisco; 26th: Claremont Calif.; 27th: Pasadena; 28th: hours-long, cross-country flight to Boston; 29th: concert [in] Boston. In May there will then be 10 concerts, through the 22nd—[May] 1st: Minneapolis; 3rd: Evansville, Indiana; 5th: Little Rock, Ark.; 8th: Richmond, Va.; 10th: Atlanta, Ga.; 12th, Rochester, N.Y.; 16th: Ann Arbor, Mich.; 19th: Pittsburgh; 20th: Chicago; 22nd: Winnipeg, Canada.[188]

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[186] Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[187] "Ich habe immer noch schwache, steife Beine, sonst geht es gut. Das Schlimmste an Konzerten, d.h. die wichtigsten Abende[,] sind ja auch überstanden." Ibid.

[188] Punctuation has been added and adjusted in the English translation. "Heute um 2.30 p.m. fliegen wir über Chicago-Denver nach Salt Lake City, sollen dort 9.30 ankommen, da dies aber Mountain Time ist, ist es dann hier schon 11.30 p.m. Übermorgen [11. Apr.] spiele ich dort, dann fliegen wir nach Los Angeles, dort ist Konzert am Sonnabend, 14. IV. Am 15. wird die ganze Küste heraufgeflogen bis Vancouver (Canada), hoffentlich ist es klar. 16. Konzert Vancouver, 18. Seattle, 20. Portland (Oregon), 21. Salem[,] Oregon, 24. San Francisco, 26. Claremont Calif. 27. Pasadena. 28. stundenlang Flug quer durchs Land nach Boston, 29. Konzert Boston. Im Mai gibt's dann noch 10 Konzerte bis zum 22.[:] 1. Minneapolis, 3. Evansville[,] Indiana, 5. Little Rock[,] Ark.[,] 8. Richmond[,] Va.[,] 10. Atlanta[,] Ga.[,] 12. Rochester[,] N.Y.[,] 16. Ann Arbor[,] Mich.[,] 19. Pittsburgh[,] 20. Chicago, 22. Winnipeg[,] Canada." Ibid.

As usual, Caroline Fesler was interested in having Gieseking travel to her home in Indianapolis to give some private performances. Because his itinerary was already so filled with dates, and he would be returning to the U.S. in the late summer, he decided it would be preferable to postpone that arrangement until then. "I probably won't visit Caroline Fesler until August, when I am here again for the Hollywood engagements and other concerts. I should have more time then."[189] Yet he ultimately left the decision in Fesler's hands.[190]

By 19 April, a few more of the planned concerts had been given. Describing them to Jutta, Gieseking wrote:

> The concert [in Los Angeles on Saturday, 14 April] was filled, as was the recital on the 16th (Monday) in Vancouver (Canada). André and Freya rented a car there. On Tuesday morning, we took a really nice ride. On Wednesday we flew to Seattle, where I played yesterday. It was once more quite filled. One critic wasn't very pleased: the Beethoven was a disappointment—another wrote as if decades had passed since he had heard such a performance: the Beethoven was the peak of perfection!! — Tomorrow [20 April] I am playing here in Portland. In the morning, a Baldwin representative is going to lend us his car. We are hoping that the weather will stay nice; then we will take another drive. The day after tomorrow, I am also playing, some 90 km [ca. 56 miles] from here [in Salem, Oregon], then we are flying to San Francisco. If I am not mistaken, half of the tour will be over as of tomorrow. I will have played 15 times. Just as many appearances are scheduled until 22 May. . . . So far, everything is going well here. The concerts are strenuous, but it's not so bad. . . .[191]

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[189] "Caroline Fesler werde ich wohl erst im August besuchen, wenn ich wieder für Hollywood und andere Konzerte hier bin, habe dann wohl etwas mehr Zeit." Gieseking, Washington D.C., to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[190] Gieseking, New York City, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 May 1956, GFA.

[191] "Das Konzert dort [in Los Angeles on Saturday, 14. April] war voll, ebenso der Abend am 16. (Montag) in Vancouver (Canada). Dort mieteten André u. Freya ein Auto, Dienstag früh machten wir noch eine ganz schöne Spazierfahrt, mittags flogen wir nach Seattle. Dort spielte ich gestern, es war wieder sehr voll, dem einen Kritiker hat es nicht sehr gefallen, der Beethoven war eine Enttäuschung – der andere tut so, als wenn er jahrzehntelang kein solches Konzert gehört hätte, der Beethoven war ein Höhepunkt der Vollendung!! – Morgen spiele ich hier [in Portland], vormittags wird uns der Baldwinvertreter sein Auto leihen, hoffentlich bleibt es so schön, dann fahren wir etwas spazieren. Übermorgen spiele ich auch, etwa 90 km von hier, dann fliegen wir nach San Francisco. Morgen ist die Hälfte der Tournee vorbei, wenn ich nicht irre. Ich habe dann 15 Mal gespielt, genau so viel gibt's noch bis zum 22. Mai. . . . Hier geht alles

In attendance at the Seattle recital, which took place at the Moore Theatre on 18 April, was the local recording engineer Glenn White, who had also developed the habit of making pirated recordings of certain, notable performances.[192] To be sure, White had his equipment with him that evening, and Gieseking apparently became suspicious that such clandestine work was going on, for at least one audience member later recalled observing the pianist searching for hidden microphones.[193] It is posterity's good fortune that the taped document, the quality of which is surprisingly high, has survived. While it remains to be issued in its entirety on a commercial label, it is Gieseking's only known *complete* solo recital—audience applause and encores included—ever recorded. He was in good form that evening and played the following program, which totaled just under two hours of music:

Mozart:	Piano Sonata in D, K. 576
Beethoven:	Piano Sonata No. 30, in E, op. 109
Brahms:	*Capriccio* in F-Sharp Minor, op. 76, no. 1
	Capriccio in B Minor, op. 76, no. 2
	Intermezzo in B-Flat, op. 76, no. 4
	Intermezzo in E, op. 116, no. 6
Schubert:	*Impromptu* in B-Flat, op. 142, no. 3
Mendelssohn:	Andante and Rondo Capriccioso, op. 14
Debussy:	*Suite bergamasque* (complete)
Debussy:	*Danse*
Ravel:	*Sonatine*
Encores	
Scarlatti:	Sonata in D Minor, K. 9/L. 413
Debussy:	"Serenade for the Doll" from *Children's Corner*

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soweit gut, die Konzerte sind anstrengend, aber es geht. . . ." Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Portland, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 19 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[192] Stephen Lundgren, 4 Sept. 2013, email message to author. Glenn White was the campus engineer at the University of Washington for many years, and among his publications is *The Audio Dictionary*. For the latest edition see Glenn D. White and Gary J. Louie, *The Audio Dictionary*. 3d ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

[193] Stephen Lundgren, 4 Sept. 2013, email message to author.

Mendelssohn: op. 19, no. 1 in E major, from *Songs without Words*
Chopin: *Barcarolle*, op. 60[194]

While in California, Gieseking also fulfilled engagements in Claremont and Pasadena, on 26 and 27 April respectively, and they all "went well" ("gingen gut"): "San Francisco was extremely filled, Pasadena yesterday evening also well attended."[195] The performance in Claremont on 25 April was part of Claremont College's Artist Course series, which had also booked soprano Elisabeth Schwarzkopf and the English pianist Solomon Cutner that season.[196] Gieseking understood the event to be especially for student subscribers. He was therefore pleasantly surprised to discover he would play before a crowd of some 3,000, excitedly seated in the Mable Shaw Bridges Music Auditorium.[197]

The recital in Pasadena shared none of the pieces of the Claremont program, a detail that made Gieseking fans such as Harry Anderson even more eager to attend both performances.[198] Acknowledging the privilege it was to bring in the esteemed artist, the program notes began, "There are many concert pianists who are spoken of as great. In the case of Walter Gieseking, though, there is a long, respected, and spectacular background that has indisputably earned him the reputation of being one of the world's top-ranking,

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[194] Gieseking, Live in Seattle, recorded 18 Apr. 1956, unissued private recording, copy maintained by the International Piano Archives, College Park, MD. The author is grateful to IPAM Curator Donald Manildi for supplying him with a copy of the performance and for sharing information pertaining to it.

[195] "San Francisco war ungemein voll, Pasadena gestern Abend auch gut besucht. . . ." Gieseking, Boston, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 28 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[196] Concert program: "The Claremont Colleges Artist Course presents Walter Gieseking Pianist," Claremont College, 26 Apr. 1956, copy found in the Harry L. Anderson Collection, IPAM, College Park, MD.

[197] Gieseking, Boston, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 28 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[198] Anderson lived in southern California. An ardent piano enthusiast, competent amateur player, and important record collector, his personal programs, which include some handwritten notes, confirm his attendance on both evenings. Anderson's valuable and sizeable papers, Gieseking folders included, are now maintained by the International Piano Archives, in College Park, MD.

most distinguished pianists."[199] In the short biographical sketch, nothing was mentioned about his enforced U.S. absence during and after World War II. Of course, it was old news for most by now, yet we interestingly find that Gieseking is referred to not as a German, but rather as a friendlier "Franco-German." At the end of the Pasadena program—one comprised of Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, Schumann, Debussy, and Ravel—the audience was treated to five encores by Scarlatti, Debussy, Schumann, Mendelssohn, and, again, Debussy.[200]

On 29 April followed a concert in Boston.[201]

Meanwhile, back in Wiesbaden, Jutta and her husband Imre had moved into what had been Annie's room, and to help out with the two children, they hired a nanny by the name of Brigitte. While Gieseking was away, they lent a hand by assisting him with his business correspondence, bank transactions and investments for instance. Imre was struggling to build a career as a pianist and teacher, but was enjoying only occasional, mild success.[202] Gieseking was always understanding and only tried to encourage his skilled, if considerably less-talented, son-in-law. But upon learning that the German critics were describing Imre too heavily as a "genuine" Gieseking pupil—much to the young pianist's regret—essentially implying that he was another Gieseking, Walter likewise expressed his condemnation of this to Jutta, aware that such publicity could be

[199] Concert program: "The Concertgoer: Elmer Wilson presents Walter Gieseking Pianist," Pasadena Civic Auditorium, 27 Apr. 1956, copy found in the Harry L. Anderson Collection, IPAM, College Park, MD.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Gieseking, Boston, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 28 Apr. 1956, GFA.

[202] Jutta, Wiesbaden, to Walter and Freya Gieseking, [U.S.], letter, 24 Apr. 1956, GFA. This and numerous other letters from the family correspondence from this time contain mention of Imre's own efforts to establish himself as a pianist and his and Jutta's assistance with Gieseking's business matters. See, for example, Jutta, Wiesbaden, to Walter and Freya Gieseking, letter, 4 Apr. 1956, GFA; Gieseking, Boston, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 28 Apr. 1956, GFA; and Imre Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, [U.S.], letter, 6 May 1956, GFA.

highly detrimental to her husband's reputation:[203] "Imre should see to it that he is never proclaimed to be a second version of his father-in-law. That is always to one's disadvantage, and Imre plays much differently than I do anyway, which is, of course, a good thing!" Gieseking's final words were nonetheless consoling: "He should not be worried!"[204]

By Wednesday, 9 May, Gieseking and the others found themselves in Richmond, Virginia. Bringing Jutta up to date on the latest tour happenings, her father wrote:

> Since I can no longer recall what I've already reported, I will mention again that I played before a packed house in Boston on Sunday [29 April]. . . . We then flew to Minneapolis on Monday; Freya stayed in New York until that Tuesday, but then came to the concert in Minneapolis. On Wednesday [2 May], we flew to Evansville (Indiana) via Chicago and rented a Chevrolet automobile there on Thursday and Friday. We drove out into the countryside, which was spring-green. On Friday, we discovered a *Fangplatz* [a place to catch butterflies] and ate some lunch in a rural beer pub, something different for once. On Friday evening, we flew to Little Rock (Arkansas), where it was already quite warm. On Saturday [5 May], we were taken for a ride; the concert was that evening. I was with Freya "on the hunt" on Sunday afternoon. We roamed through a really lovely wood, where there were many flowers (wild phlox, coreopsis, etc.), but flying around was only a small number of [butterfly] specimen from just a few very common species. It was still quite enjoyable, though. In the afternoon, we flew to Washington D.C., changed planes in the evening and were here around 11 p.m.[205]

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[203] Imre writes to Gieseking about this in Imre Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, [U.S.], letter, 6 May 1956, GFA.

[204] "Imre soll sehen, dass man ihn möglichst nie als zweites Exemplar seines Schwiegervaters ankündigt, dies ist immer ungünstig und ausserdem spielt Imre ja anders, was ja nur gut ist! Er soll sich keine Sorgen machen!" Gieseking, New York City, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 May 1956, GFA.

[205] "Da ich nicht genau weiss, was ich schon berichtet habe, erwähne ich nochmal, dass ich Sonntag . . . in Boston vor vollstem Haus spielte, wir Montag nach Minneapolis flogen, Freya blieb bis Dienstag in Newyork, kam zum Konzert in Minneapolis an. Mittwoch flogen wir über Chicago nach Evansville (Indiana), dort mieteten wir Donnerstag-Freitag ein Chevrolet-Auto, fuhren Donnerstag aufs Land, das frühlingsmässig grün war. Freitag entdeckten wir auch einen Fangplatz, assen wieder etwas Lunch in einer Bierkneipe auf dem Lande, mal etwas anderes. Freitag Abend flogen wir nach Little Rock (Arkansas), dort war es schon recht warm. Sonnabend wurden wir vormittags spazieren gefahren, abends war Konzert. Sonntag vormittag war ich mit Freya "auf dem Fang", wir durchstreiften einen ganz schönen Wald, wo viele Blumen (wilder Plox, Coropsis, u.s.w.) waren, aber nur ein paar ganz gewöhnliche Arten in wenigen Exemplaren herumflogen. Es war aber trotzdem ganz schön. Nachmittags flogen wir nach Washington, stiegen abends um, waren gegen 23 Uhr hier –" Gieseking (and Freya), Richmond, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 May 1956, GFA.

Regarding his health, Gieseking mentioned in the same letter that his legs continued to cause him discomfort, but he clearly refused to let it interfere with either work or pleasure.[206] The "Gieseking Circus" was still enjoying itself, although Walter sometimes became irritated by Puglia's comments:

> During breakfast I argued some—as is often the case—with André, who always has to give his good advice. I was always too easily offended when poor Annie did this, though she had more right to advise me than does André, who is not much more than a dumb boy compared to me. But I am admittedly in a very bad mood and am offended extremely easily. I know that this isn't right—but. . . .[207]

Gieseking viewed Richmond to be somewhat philistine. After inspecting the concert hall, he met up with the Baldwin representative there, who treated him to lunch. "He was rather importunate, had to be photographed with me. Well, we are after all in a small province!"[208] This one-sided impression was only further implanted after meeting the Baldwin worker's assistant:

> His assistant and chauffeur is a young man from Karlsruhe, who had immigrated to Morocco and had to fight for the French in the First Indochina War. The things that happen to some people! He explained how stupid the people in Virginia partly are: 1) they hate the negroes terribly, 2) there are organizations that only accept members from families that have been living in the country for 200 years, 3) they are still opposed to the Yankees in New York, their enemies from over 100 years ago!!, 4) they still consider the New Yorkers to be barbarians. The concert was filled and the people listened attentively. It was a giant hall, decorated enormously kitschy with oriental landscapes, and for that reason it's called the "Mosque."[209]

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[206] Gieseking (and Freya), Richmond, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 May 1956, GFA.

[207] "Beim Frühstück hatte ich wieder – wie so oft – etwas Krach mit André, der mir immer gute Ratschläge geben muss. Dies nahm ich schon der armen Annie immer zu leicht übel, dabei hatte die wirklich mehr Recht, mir zu raten als André, der doch noch beinahe ein dummer Bengel mir gegenüber ist. Aber ich bin eben sehr schlecht gelaunt, furchtbar leicht beleidigt, ich weiss, dass dies nicht richtig ist – aber . . ." Ibid.

[208] "Er war ziemlich aufdringlich, musste sich mit mir photographieren lassen, na ja, eben kleine Provinz!" Ibid.

[209] "Als Helfer und Chauffeur hat er einen jungen Mann aus Karlsruhe, der nach Marokko emigriert war und bei den Franzosen Krieg in Indochina hat mitspielen müssen, was manchen Leuten so passiert! Dieser erzählte, wie blöd die Leute in Virginia teilweise sind, 1) hassen sie fürchterlich die Neger,

This passage reveals just how absurd Gieseking now found such intolerance to be, despite having had increasingly bought into the racially prejudiced view of Jews propagated during the Third Reich. Had he learned well from his past mistakes? We certainly have every reason to believe he had. As for his performance in Richmond, it was well received by both audience and critics, as he relayed with humor to Jutta: "The reviews from yesterday are once more exceedingly enthusiastic—as André likes to say, things are going too well for me—I can see it coming: you're going to advise me to pray! (Sorry for the callousness.)"[210]

On 14 May, the Gieseking Circus celebrated Freya's twenty-fifth birthday. One of her wishes had been to travel in the "AMI-Fiffizug," presumably referring to an American steam locomotive train. While still in Rochester the day before, a busy Sunday, however, the party learned that all pullman coaches to New York City were fully booked, as were all flights.[211] It seemed that the only possibility would be to rent a car. But Puglia then saved the day by working his charm, as Gieseking reported to his other daughter back home afterward: "André did some sweet-talking at the train station, and telephoned with the airline. Afterward we had the choice between seats in the [train's] observation

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2) gibt es Vereine, die nur Leute aus Familien aufnehmen, die 200 Jahre im Lande wohnen, 3) sind sie noch gegen die Yankees in Newyork, ihre Feinde von vor 100 Jahren!! – 4) halten sie die Newyorker noch heute für Barbaren – Im Konzert, ein Riesensaal, der enorm kitschig mit Orient-Landschaften dekoriert war, daher heisst er 'Moschee,' war es voll und die Leute hörten gut zu." Gieseking (and Freya), Richmond, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 9 May 1956, GFA.

[210] "Die Kritiken von gestern sind wieder höchst überschwänglich – wie André mit Vorliebe sagt, geht es mir zu gut – Ich sehe noch kommen, dass Du mir empfiehlst, zu beten! (Entschuldige die Bosheit.)" Ibid.

[211] Gieseking, New York City, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 May 1956, GFA.

car or the plane, and a rental automobile was waiting for us. We took the *Fiffizug*, was very comfortable, with a beautiful view, were here in the evening."[212]

Back in New York City, Puglia boosted his popularity further by preparing a festive meal for everyone. For this, he used the kitchen of Barbara Turlington, Freya's good friend, with whom she would spend much time while in America. Gieseking was once again delighted by the outcome: "an excellent salad, the well-liked 'Ratatouilee' with zucchini, eggplant, tomatoes, etc. and, moreover, a fried chicken in cream sauce! That, too, was well praised. I took care of the drinks, also good."[213] That evening they all went to see the Thornton Wilder play *Matchmaker*, itself a revision of an earlier work based on a comedy by the nineteenth-century Austrian playwright Johann Nestroy, who had used as a basis for his text one by John Oxenford, a contemporary English dramatist. (After Wilder's success, the work would have its greatest success in the form of *Hello Dolly*, the hit musical that was turned into the immensely successful film.) Gieseking was amused by the production: "It was performed very well and was quite funny."[214] The special day's events had, indeed, all been a success, and the merriment continued the following evening, when they again attended a theater performance. This time they chose Bertold Brecht's most successful masterpiece, for which they even postponed their

[212] "André schmuste auf dem Bahnhof, telephonierte mit der Airline, danach hatten wir die Auswahl zwischen Plätzen im Observation-Car, Flugzeug und ein Mietauto stand bereit. Wir fuhren im Fiffizug, sehr bequem, mit schöner Aussicht, waren abends hier." Gieseking, New York City, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 May 1956, GFA.

[213] "ein vorzüglicher Salat, die beliebte 'Ratatouille' aus Zucchini, Auberginen, Tomaten, etc. und ausserdem noch ein gebratenes Huhn in Sahnesauce! Auch dieses wurde sehr gelobt. Die Getränke waren von mir besorgt worden, auch gut." Ibid.

[214] "Es wurde sehr gut gespielt und war recht ulkig." Ibid.

departure to Ann Arbor by one day, as Gieseking explained to Jutta: "[B]ecause today——how hedonistic of us!—we still want to see and hear the *Three Penny Opera*"[215]

The North American tour was coming to an end. "My concert in Rochester was a success," Gieseking wrote to Jutta on 15 May, "now I will also survive the final engagements!"[216] That same day, he and Pulgia visited the tax office and obtained their exit visas, booking the return flight as well.[217] Meanwhile, they were still waiting to hear from Caroline Fesler to determine whether they would visit her in Indiana, in which case Gieseking would give his usual private recitals while enjoying Fesler's impeccable hospitality. Should that not occur, they had their alternate plans ready: "we will fly from Winnipeg to New York City on the 23rd, stay the night here [in New York], and then fly to Paris on the evening of the 24th with Air France and probably immediately further to Frankfurt, where we'll arrive on an Air France flight in the afternoon or evening of the 25th (Friday)." [emphasis in original][218]

It is uncertain whether the journey to Indiana was made, but a lack of any correspondence to Jutta from Fesler's place, where they would have stayed, suggests it was not. It seems that Gieseking would likewise fail to see Fesler upon returning to the U.S. that year. Freya and Barbara would make a stop at the affluent music enthusiast and patron's summer house at Lake Maxinkuckee, however. They did so while driving from New York to Chicago, in order to meet up with Gieseking and Puglia at the start of a

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[215] "[D]a wir heute noch – wie vergnügungssüchtig! – die Dreigroschenoper sehen u. hören wollen." Gieseking, New York City, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 May 1956, GFA.

[216] "In Rochester gelang mir das Konzert gut, nun werde ich die letzten Programme auch noch überstehen!" Ibid.

[217] Ibid.

[218] "fliegen wir . . . am 23. von Winnipeg nach Newyork, übernachten hier, fliegen am 24. abends mit Air France nach Paris und wohl gleich weiter nach Frankfurt, wo wir am 25. (Freitag) nachmittags oder abends mit Air France ankommen werden!" Ibid.

second American tour in early August.[219] On their way back to New York from California during late-August to early-September, the two girls, apparently with Puglia too—though once more without Gieseking—planned to visit Fesler, which they presumably did, afterward also paying the Wulsins (of the Baldwin Piano Company) a visit in Cincinnati.[220]

On 16 May, Gieseking played in Ann Arbor, for which he took a fast two-and-a-half hour flight to Detroit. Three final concerts followed: in Pittsburgh on Saturday, 19 May; in Chicago the following day; and in Winnipeg, Canada, on Tuesday, 22 May. "On Tuesday the tour ends!!," he cheerfully reminded Jutta.[221] Gieseking, his family, and his managers were no doubt relieved that all had gone extremely well during the concert trip, that the December bus accident had caused no real difficulties for him. His playing was unimpeded and had once more hypnotized thousands of excited listeners wherever he appeared.

Back in Europe, early summer

Assuming there were no unforeseen delays, Gieseking and Freya were back home in Wiesbaden on 25 May. The aging pianist, who now signed his letters to Jutta with "Opa" (grandpa) and was still adjusting to being a widower, must have taken pleasure in once again being away from the stage and—continuing his old summer custom—the piano in general. We can also be sure that he spent considerable time in his cherished garden and with his family, especially his two grandchildren. Maria and Stefan were now

[219] Gieseking (and Freya), Highland Park, Ill., to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 4 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[220] Gieseking, Lucerne, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Sept. 1956, GFA.

[221] "Dienstag ist Schluss der Tournee!!" Gieseking, New York City, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 May 1956, GFA.

aged five and two respectively, and Gieseking was a proud and loving grandfather. Jutta and Imre, we will remember, had returned from South America over three years earlier by this point, and they would continue to live in the large Wiesbaden home with their children (two more followed) until many years after Gieseking's death.

But Gieseking was incapable of too much professional idleness. Thus, by mid-June, he, Freya, André Puglia, and the latter's wife, were on the road (Freya and Puglia alternated as drivers), making their way across Western Europe for more concertizing. They departed for Spain on 18 May, and had reached Madrid the following day. The starting destination was Granada.[222] Gieseking had apparently experienced more "stomach" trouble recently, for Freya could report to her sister now that "Papa's stomach is O.K."[223] Always one to be concerned, Jutta never failed to ask about the chronic ailment in her correspondence to her father and sibling.[224]

In Granada, Gieseking and his small entourage stayed at the Alhambra, the magnificent, historic palace-fortress complex that overlooks the city and the Sierra Nevada Mountains.[225] There he played inside the Palace of Charles V on 27 June,[226] giving an all-Debussy recital as part of the Festival Internacional de Música y Danza de Granada. On the program was the complete *Suite bergamasque*, followed by the *Ballade*, *Nocturne*, *Valse romantique*, and *Danse*, plus selections from *Estampes* and both books

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[222] Walter and Freya Gieseking, Madrid, to Jutta Hajmássy and family, postcard, 19 June 1956, GFA.

[223] "Papas Magen ist O.K." Ibid.

[224] See Jutta, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, [Saarbrücken], letter, 1 July 1956, GFA.

[225] This is verified by the original, crossed-out address on a postcard sent by Jutta: see Jutta, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, Saarbrücken, postcard, GFA.

[226] Antonio Fernandez-Cid, "Los Grandes Artistas en el Festival de Granada," *ABC* (Madrid), 30 June 1956, accessed 28 Oct. 2013, http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1956/06/30/017.html.

of *Images* and the *Préludes*. The performance was recorded and has since been issued on compact disc.[227]

From Spain, the group journeyed back east to Saarbrücken, where the awaited maestro had continued to offer masterclasses at the conservatory. So devoted to this decidedly underpaid work was Gieseking that only his extended tours outside of Europe prevented his otherwise regular, monthly participation.[228] His students and their professional training clearly meant much to him.

The Second and Final U.S. Visit

As he had done in both 1954 and 1955, Gieseking returned to North America in the late summer of 1956 for a second visit that year. And as in 1955, this was for popular outdoor events in the U.S. José Schraml had wanted him to tour in South America once more, but the pianist declined the offer. The reason for this decision was simple: "Hollywood has again asked for 2 concerts in July or August," Gieseking wrote to Jutta in October 1955, adding, "a few additional summer performances can perhaps also be scheduled. Then I will earn in 10 to 14 days as much as what Schraml pays for 7 weeks!"[229] The Hollywood Bowl dates would come at the end of the trip. And as the piano virtuoso was hoping, the itinerary was extended, though by the inclusion of but a single—if equally sensational and well-attended—open-air performance at the Ravinia Festival in northern Illinois, with which the visit was set to begin.

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[227] Walter Gieseking, *Gieseking en la Alhambra: Recital en el Patio de los Arrayanes, junio de 1956*. Festival Internacional de Música y Danza de Granada, vol. 4. RTVE Musica, 2003, CD.

[228] This is likewise confirmed by Jutta's correspondence. Jutta, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, Saarbrücken, postcard, GFA.

[229] "Hollywood will wieder 2 Konzerte im Juli oder August, dazu kommen vielleicht ein paar weitere Sommerkonzerte, dann ist es in 10–14 Tagen soviel Einnahme, wie Schraml für 7 Wochen bietet!" Gieseking, Saarbrücken, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Oct. 1955, GFA.

Puglia and Freya once again traveled with Gieseking, and this time the pianist's daughter even served as their main driver in the U.S., too, as she had already begun to do in Europe. Moreover, her friend Barbara Turlington from New York joined the group. Gieseking had the family's own car transported from home, and Freya therefore made the initial journey to the distant continent separately by ship.[230] The vehicle used was still the same compact, dark-blue Vedette they had bought back in July 1951, a model manufactured by Ford S.A.F. in Poissy, France.[231] Freya recently remembered the trip, including the New Yorkers' amusing reactions to the "odd-looking" automobile when she first arrived:

> During his last years, I drove for all the German concerts, and in Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Granada, and once across America. That [the final U.S. visit] was the year he died, a few weeks before.[232] We even brought our own car for that. I crossed over by ship with the vehicle. My father flew there . . . [because] he had to play at a festival in Lucerne [immediately afterward]. We arranged to meet up in Chicago. . . . [Upon arrival] I first drove around the main streets in New York; it was summertime and hot, and at every light someone would honk and ask, "Hey, you, what's that nice little car [you've got]?" They had never seen a European automobile. That was 1956, you know. Plus that was a French model. And . . . then I drove to Chicago. When [Barbara and] I reached the hotel, my father was just then also arriving. . . . First there was the [Ravinia Festival] concert [near Chicago], and from there we drove completely across [America]. That was really wonderful, although we had little spare time.[233]

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[230] Freya Colassis née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, 11 Oct. 2007.

[231] As discussed in Chapter 12. Gieseking had bought a second automobile sometime around 1955, namely a moss-green Mercedes Benz, apparently since Jutta and Imre also needed one for them and their children, and the Ford was, after all, really Freya's car. Most proud of the purchase, Jutta thanked her father in an undated letter (found among the 1955 correspondence) in the GFA; see Jutta, [Wiesbaden], to Walter Gieseking [addressed as "Papachen und Öpachen"], n.p., letter, n.d., GFA.

[232] Gieseking's death followed two months later, to be more precise.

[233] "[D]ie letzten Jahre, jedenfalls die ganzen Deutschland-Tourneen bin ich gefahren, und in der Schweiz, in Italien, in Spanien, Granada, und einmal quer durch Amerika; das war im Jahr, als er starb, ein paar Wochen vorher. Und da hatten wir sogar . . . unser Auto mitgenommen. Ich bin mit dem Schiff gefahren und dem Auto. Mein Vater, er hatte keine Zeit, der musste in Luzern in einem Fest spielen . . . und er flog. Und wir sollten uns dann in Chicago treffen. . . . [D]ann bin ich in New York auf den großen Straßen . . . gefahren, es war Sommer und war heiss, und an jedem roten Licht wurde gehupt und dann [hörte man] 'Hey, you, what's that nice, little car?' Weil noch nie jemand so ein europäisches Auto damals gesehen hatte. 56 müssen Sie sich vorstellen. Das war noch dazu ein französisches Auto. Und . . . dann bin

By having Barbara with her for the duration of the visit, Freya was prevented from having to endure alone both the long initial drive to Illinois (when they also paused for the pleasurable, if short, visit at Caroline Fesler's summer home at Lake Maxinkuckee, Indiana), as well as the final and much more strenuous cross-country ride from Southern California back to New York. Barbara also took over the wheel at times, as did Puglia when he was with them, though to an even lesser extent. As before, Gieseking never drove.[234]

Puglia had flown to the U.S. with Gieseking. While the latter was evidently feeling well in general, he did confess to Jutta that some discomfort caused by his legs disturbed his sleep during the long, transatlantic flight.[235] Rather than fly directly to Chicago, he and his manager first made a stop in New York so that they could speak with some lawyers. Gieseking does not explain what the trouble was, but the attorneys were unavailable and the stopover therefore a complete waste of time. He and Puglia then flew further to Chicago, where they met Freya and Barbara at their hotel. [236]

The Ravinia Festival

On 3 August, the united group first drove out to Highland Park, outside of Chicago, where their hotel was located in a wooded area right on Lake Michigan. Gieseking was scheduled to make his sensational debut appearance at the Ravinia

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ich bis [nach] Chicago gefahren und als ich am Hotel ausstieg, war mein Vater auch gerade angekommen. . . . Erst mal [gab es] das [Ravinia Festival] Konzert [bei Chicago], und von da sind wir dann quer durch [Amerika gefahren]. Das war auch so wunderschön, obwohl wir wenig Zeit hatten." Freya Colassis née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, 11 Oct. 2007.

[234] Gieseking (and Freya), Hollywood, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[235] Gieseking (and Freya), Highland Park, Ill., to Jutta Wiesbaden, letter, 4 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[236] Ibid.

Festival the next day.[237] These summer concerts were held at Ravinia Park (in the suburb of Highland Park), and on the program was Rachmaninoff's demanding Second Piano Concerto. While Gieseking, we will recall, found the work considerably easier to play than the Third Concerto, it was still one that he felt required some preparation. To be sure, he was soon ready for the performance, but the blazing heat—especially for a German—caused him some concern. He expressed this to Jutta: "This morning was the rehearsal, which went well; I had practiced yesterday. It is only much too hot to play Rachmaninoff, approximately 33° C [91.4° F] in the shade and, to make matters worse, quite humid. I hope it will cool down by this evening."[238] Meanwhile, Freya, Barbara, and Puglia took advantage of the water and warm weather by bathing in the lake.[239]

The temperature did not drop, but that did not deter the thousands of ticket-holders from attending the well-anticipated event. The single appearance, a festival highlight, indeed took place on an "intensely hot night," according to reports, yet it drew an incredible crowd of 8,600 people.[240] As Seymour Raven of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* noted later that month, reflecting on the concluded season, "Customers bought out the house for [Leonard] Bernstein and Gieseking without concern for long range weather forecasts this summer."[241] "Thronged, traffic jammed and taut with interest," Raven wrote in his review, "Ravinia heard Walter Gieseking play Rachmaninoff's second piano

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[237] Gieseking (and Freya), Highland Park, Ill., to Jutta Wiesbaden, letter, 4 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[238] "Heute früh war Probe, die gut ging, ich hatte gestern noch geübt. Es ist nur viel zu heiss, um Rachmaninoff zu spielen, etwa 33° C im Schatten [91.4 F], dazu ziemlich feucht. Hoffentlich wird es abends etwas kühler!" Ibid.

[239] Ibid.

[240] Seymour Raven, "The Readers Write—on 'Flying Dutchman' Gieseking's Recitals: The Readers Write About Varied Topics," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4 Nov. 1956; idem, "Ravinia Hails Gieseking for Concerto Art," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Aug. 1956.

[241] Raven, "Look Back at Ravinia's Diversification and a Look Into Future: A Look Back at Ravinia's Past Season," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 19 Aug. 1956.

concerto last night with William Steinberg [guest] conducting the Chicago Symphony orchestra."[242] The Rachmaninoff, already a perennial favorite, was sandwiched between Prokofiev's beloved *Classical Symphony* and, during the subsequent half of the program, Barber's *Souvenirs* and Strauss's Rondo from *Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks*.[243]

In his immediate review, from 5 August, Seymour Raven of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* had not described Gieseking's performance without some criticism. The soloist's playing in the final movement needed more bravura, he thought, while "his fingers could not find the deep well of tone."[244] Looking back at the performance in November, just after learning of the pianist's death, he made the following comments:

> It is always unpleasant for a reviewer to sense physical distress in a performance, and shocking to find the artist dead less than six months later.
>
> All the more remarkable, then, Mr. Gieseking's very last appearance hereabouts, at Ravinia in late August. He played Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto (considered not to be typical Gieseking material) in most ways persuasively except in ultimate physical thrust. If Mr. Gieseking was nearing the end, how interesting that he should have done as well as he did, seemingly improved over his condition in May.
>
> For if Mr. Gieseking was on a strict diet, and a vegetarian to begin with, where was the man to get the strength to keep up touring—with Rachmaninoff concertos yet? There he was on an intensely hot night in Ravinia, darkly dressed in tails.[245]

The American Road Trip Out West

On 5 August, the morning after the Ravinia concert, Gieseking, Puglia, Freya, and Barbara, traveled further. They had a long road trip ahead of them—all the way to the West Coast. Nonetheless, they were making some last-minute decisions about just how

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[242] Raven, "Ravinia Hails Gieseking for Concerto Art," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Aug. 1956.

[243] "Tonight's Program at Ravinia," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4 Aug. 1956.

[244] Raven, "Ravinia Hails Gieseking for Concerto Art," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 Aug. 1956.

[245] Raven, "The Readers Write—on 'Flying Dutchman'[;] Gieseking's Recitals: The Readers Write about Varied Topics," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4 Nov. 1956.

they would get there, as Gieseking told Jutta. “We aim to get going tomorrow. The routes we’ll be taking are not entirely decided on, although we received from the automobile club all the needed maps, directions, and travel guides, etc. That is to say, the people here took care of that for us.”[246]

The long road trip proved to be worthwhile to Gieseking and the others. In all the years that he had toured the United States, never had he traveled such a great distance by car and never had he had the opportunity to become acquainted with the vast land in such an intimate and relatively relaxed manner. Having only the two Hollywood engagements before him now, despite their importance, allowed him to take ample pleasure in the trip. In the past, his extended tours were busily filled with a large number of dates, and the almost constant traveling, by train and later by plane, along with the frequent obligatory social engagements—a tradition that Gieseking could in most cases hardly tolerate—could be exhausting.

Exactly one week after leaving northern Illinois, the four travelers were in Nevada, where, from Mesquite, Gieseking sent a postcard of Bryce Canyon National Park home to Jutta and her family. With childlike delight he described all they had been experiencing:

> Dear Jutta and family, this card is just to let you know that we are crossing America successfully. Every day we are driving great distances on excellent roads, [and we] were in the Rocky Mountains, over 4,000 meters [13,123 feet] high. There I caught wonderful things [i.e. butterflies], including American Apollos. Yesterday, we saw Bryce [Canyon] National Park, which is really much more beautiful than is shown on this card. Today we drove through Zion National Park and some stretches of desert. We sleep in motels, [which are] very comfortable; André usually prepares dinner and breakfast for all of us. Tomorrow,

[246] “Morgen wollen wir losfahren, wo wir herfahren, ist noch nicht ganz entschieden, obwohl wir vom Automobilclub alle Karten, Reiserouten, Reiseführer u.s.w. bekommen haben. D. h. hier haben die Leute das besorgt.” Gieseking (and Freya), Highland Park, Ill., to Jutta Wiesbaden, letter, 4 Aug. 1956, GFA.

> the day after tomorrow at the latest, we will reach [Southern] California, where I hope to find news from you. Best wishes and kisses . . . Grandpa Walter.[247]

The Final, Spectacular American Reappearances at the Hollywood Bowl

More or less as intended, Gieseking and his merry party arrived safely in Hollywood two days later, on the evening of 14 August.[248] The next day, he wrote to Jutta to congratulate her on the occasion of the upcoming fifth birthday (on 20 August) of her daughter Maria, whom the family endearingly called "Attinchen" or, because of the girl's Hungarian blood, "Marika." He also brought Jutta up to date apropos the road trip and approaching concerts at the Hollywood Bowl on 16 and 23 August, each a Thursday:

> We successfully concluded our crossing of the continent yesterday. During the last 3 days, we traveled through many desert areas, where it was a mere 43˚ C. [109.4˚ F] in the shade, in the sun of course even hotter. Yesterday we drove through the San Bernardino Mountains. This was quite an interesting detour, with beautiful forests and good roads everwhere up there, some 2,500 meters [8,202 feet] high. At 10:45 a.m., I have a rehearsal at the "Bowl." Tomorrow is the [first] concert, in which I will play Rachmaninoff; the second one is in 8 days. . . . Freya drove almost the entire way herself. Poor André does not handle the "Vedettchen" with enough care for her taste, and he, in turn, takes offence when Freya lets her friend Barbara drive, who does so quite well.[249]

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[247] "Liebe Jutta und sonstige Familie, diese Karte soll Euch nur melden, dass wir erfolgreich Amerika durchqueren. Wir fahren täglich grosse Strecken auf vorzüglichen Strassen, waren in den Rocky Mountains über 4000 Meter hoch, ich fing dabei wunderbare Sachen, u. A. amerikanische Apollos, gestern sahen wir Bryce [Canyon] Natl. Park, der in Wirklichkeit viel schöner ist, als auf dieser Karte – heute fuhren wir durch Zion National Park und einige Strecken Wüste. Wir übernachten in Autohotels, sehr komfortabel, meist kocht André für alle das Abendessen und das Frühstück. Morgen, spätestens übermorgen, kommen wir nach Californien, dort hoffe ich von Euch Nachrichten zu finden. Viele Grüsse, u. Knallen . . . Opa Walter." Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Mesquite, Nev., to Jutta Hajmássy and family, postcard, 12 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[248] Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Hollywood, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[249] "Unsere Durchquerung des Kontinents haben wir gestern erfolgreich beendet. Die letzten 3 Tage fuhren wir viel durch Wüstengegenden, wo so kleine 43 Grad im Schatten war, in der Sonne entsprechend mehr. Gestern fuhren wir noch über die Sierra de San Bernardino, dies war ein ganz interessanter Umweg, dort oben in 2500 Meter Höhe sind schöne Wälder und überall gute Strassen. Um ¾ 11 habe ich Probe in der "Bowl," morgen ist das Konzert, in dem ich Rachmaninoff spiele, in 8 Tagen das zweite. . . . Freya hat fast alles selbst gefahren, der gute André geht ihr nicht sanft genug mit dem "Vedettchen" um, und er nimmt es wiederum übel, wenn Freya ihre Freundin Barbara [Turlington] fahren lässt, die es sehr ordentlich macht." Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Hollywood, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 15 Aug. 1956, GFA.

This time guest conductor Izler Solomon led the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, and the initial program featured Weber's *Oberon* Overture, Kabalevsky's Second Symphony, and Gieseking playing Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto in C minor (not necessarily in that exact order).[250]

After the first performance, Gieseking sent more news to his daughter back home:

> In the morning, both yesterday and the day before, I had rehearsals for the "Krachmaninoff." We played through the entire concerto each time. The concert at the Bowl was yesterday evening, was well attended. It went quite well, though not as well as the solo pieces + 2 encores that I played at the end (Schubert and Mendelssohn).[251]

Gieseking was relieved to find that the California weather was by then "relatively cool, cooler than in Nice, for instance" ("ziemlich kühl, kühler als in Nizza, z.B."), unlike the exhausting heat he had to endure during the Ravinia concert.[252] Reviewing the concert for the *Los Angeles Times* was Albert Goldberg, who wrote:

> The tempi of the [concerto's] first and last movements inclined to be faster than most pianists attempt, with a resultant decrease in clarity in some passages, and the characteristically Russian mood was more predominant in Mr. Solomon's extremely sensitive accompaniment than it was in the solo part.
>
> On the whole, however, the piece went with fine gusto and impulse, with some particularly beautiful playing in the long singing lines of the slow movement. If there were a few wrong notes here and there and an occasional slurred passage, they might be charged to the chilliness of the night, which can play havoc with a pianist's fingers.
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> . . . The Gieseking technique, however, was back to par for his group of solo pieces. The two Schubert Impromptus—the "Rosamunde" [op. 142, no. 3] and the one in A Flat, Opus 90, No. 3—sparkled with fleetness and a play of light and shade that made the piano sing the poignant melodies with an infinite variety

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[250] Goldberg, "Gieseking, Solomon Star in Bowl Event," The Sounding Board, *Los Angeles Times*, 17 Aug. 1956.

[251] Regarding Gieseking's playful use of the word "Krachmaninoff" see Chapter 13. "Ich hatte vorgestern vormittag und gestern vormittag Proben für "Krachmaninoff," beide Male wurde das ganze Konzert gespielt. Gestern Abend war das Konzert in der Bowl, gut besucht, das Konzert ging ganz gut, jedoch nicht so wie die Solostücke + 2 Zugaben, die ich am Schluss spielte (Schubert u. Mendelssohn)." Gieseking, Hollywood, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[252] Ibid.

> of nuance. And the Mendelssohn "Rondo Capriccioso," a Gieseking specialty, was a tour de force of feathery lightness and pixy charm. There were encores, but they came too late for report in this column.[253]

Because the second Hollywood appearance was not until a full week later, Gieseking and the others used the time to take pleasure in their stay. Gieseking met up with some friends on 17 August, for instance, and one of them, Reni Schwaderer, showed him her apparently impressive stamp collection. André Puglia, Freya, Barbara, and Martin Kirchner (perhaps someone related to Gieseking's Wiesbaden physician, Dr. Hans Kirchner) meanwhile went to see a movie—they were in Hollywood, after all.[254] Despite having driven so much already, they may have taken more pleasure rides. "[W]e might drive out to nearby areas," Gieseking told Jutta, adding with regret, "but there are not many butterflies around here at this time of year."[255]

On 23 August, the day of the second concert, Gieseking wrote more about the latest leisure activities to his daughter:

> Yesterday the others were at Disneyland. I went butterfly collecting for a while, got some exercise. The day before I practiced in the morning. We then ate with the Baldwin representative; I was dead tired that afternoon. We were often at Schwaderer's place, who still praises his paintings himself and cooks rather well (though not like André). A drive up Mt. Wilson, for which there is a wonderful road, was also enjoyable. There I was also able to catch some butterflies. On Sunday, we drove out to the ocean with the Schwaderers, Pohlman, and Martin Kirchner, which was also a very nice outing. Everything is going well. . . .[256]

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[253] Goldberg, "Gieseking, Solomon Star in Bowl Event," The Sounding Board, *Los Angeles Times*, 17 Aug. 1956.

[254] Gieseking, Hollywood, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[255] " [W]ir werden vielleicht etwas in die Umgegend fahren, aber Schmetterlinge gibt es jetzt hier nicht viel." Ibid.

[256] "Gestern waren die anderen in Disneyland, ich war etwas auf dem Fang, machte mir Bewegung. Vorgestern übte ich vormittags, wir assen dann mit dem Baldwinvertreter, nachmittags war ich todmüde. Wir waren öfters bei Schwaderer's, der noch immer seine Bilder selbst lobt und ganz gut kocht (jedoch nicht so wie André). Eine Tour auf den Mt. Wilson, auf den eine grossartige Autostrasse führt, war auch schön, dort gab es auch was zu fangen. Sonntag waren wir mit Schwaderer's, Pohlman u. Martin

For the second Bowl performance, Gieseking played Grieg's popular Piano Concerto in A minor, op. 16, once more under Solomon, plus five programmed solo pieces: Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Cipressi* (op. 17), Cyril Scott's "Lotus Land" (op. 47, no. 1), and Debussy's "Golliwogg's Cakewalk" from *Children's Corner* as well as the *Deux arabesques*. Naturally there were encores again, and the orchestra also offered works by Bizet, Beethoven, and Honegger.[257] Much to the pianist's regret, the temperature had by now risen considerably: "For a few days now it has been awfully hot, and the smoke burns your eyes when there's no wind, which is quite often the case. The California climate is therefore not at all ideal."[258] The smoke referred to perhaps came from a forest fire, although no mention of one could be found in the press at this time.

On the following day, Gieseking, Freya, and the others began their long car trip back to the eastern United States. They started out toward Illinois, though Gieseking was uncertain whether he might have to abandon them at some point to take a faster means of transportation, presumably a flight: "On the 24th we are setting forth in the direction of Chicago. I am not sure how far I can travel by car. . . . On the 29th, I have to be in Chicago; on the morning of the 30th, I fly to New York, that evening further to Lucerne via Paris and Zurich."[259] His concertizing would continue in Europe without a pause.

Kirchner bis zum Meer, auch ganz nette Fahrt. Soweit geht also alles gut. . . ." Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Hollywood, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 23 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[257] "Izler Solomon to Conduct at Bowl Tomorrow: Solomon," *Los Angeles Times*, 22 Aug. 1956.

[258] "In den letzten Tagen war es hier ziemlich heiss, auch beisst einem der Qualm in die Augen, wenn kein Wind ist, was ziemlich oft der Fall ist. Das kalifornische Klima ist daher garnicht so ideal." [Walter (and Freya) Gieseking, Hollywood, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 23 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[259] "Am 24. fahren wir los, Richtung Chicago, wie weit ich per Auto fahren kann, weiss ich nicht. . . . Am 29. muss ich in Chicago ankommen, am 30. früh nach Newyork fliegen, abends weiter nach Paris-Zürich-Luzern." Gieseking, Hollywood, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Aug. 1956, GFA.

Leaving behind André, Freya, and Barbara, Gieseking ended up taking a flight on the morning of the thirtieth from Des Moines to Chicago before continuing to New York, where he was then driven to the international airport. He departed that evening with an Air France plane to Paris and then flew further to Zurich. From there he traveled to Lucerne by train, arriving on the evening of 31 August, around 8 p.m. "The whole trip lasted around 29 to 30 hours, essentially without any breaks.[260] He had been impressed by the distances his daughter had covered each day: "Freya has sometimes driven nearly 600 km [373 miles] (in one day). The traveling was still really enjoyable, if also somewhat tiring."[261]

By the early summer of 1956, Gieseking's arrangements were already being made for North America the following year; the tour was set to begin in mid-January, his most common time of arrival there. Along with a solo recital at Boston's Symphony Hall, funded by Boston University, he was once again scheduled to appear with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, for example, as well as with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, and naturally many other dates were being booked.[262] By September, he mentioned in an inteview that all engagements for 1957 had been planned and that the North American tour would continue over two and a half months. Dates for 1958 were already being requested.[263] But none of this was to be, owing to his unanticipated, somewhat premature death.

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[260] "Die ganze Reise dauerte etwa 29-30 Stunden, ziemlich pausenlos." Gieseking, Lucerne, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Sept. 1956, GFA.

[261] "Freya ist in den letzten Tagen manchmal fast 600 km (an einem Tag) gefahren, die Fahrten waren trotzdem ganz schön, wenn auch etwas ermüdend." Ibid.

[262] "Gieseking's Return," *Christian Science Monitor*, 20 June 1956.

[263] "Der sonnenverbrannteste Pianist," *Der Standpunkt* (Merano), 21 Sept. 1956, 3.

Gieseking had enjoyed a most eminent career in America, despite the fourteen-year hiatus brought on by WWII, and made his largest profits there over a span of thirty years (since 1926). It was thus appropriate that he had capped off his career there by giving the sensational outdoor concerts in addition to the annual extended tours. While back in Wiesbaden, following some immediate European engagements (either in September or October of 1956), a young American pianist, Hugh McGinnis, had a chance to speak with Gieseking about his latest travels. After the war, McGinnis had begun to study piano with the pianist's son-in-law, Imre Hajmássy, and would later participate in Gieseking's classes in Saarbrücken. He had gone to the Wiesbaden home for a lesson with Hajmássy, who after welcoming him said, "Go in the den, Papa is back." The maestro, McGinnis recalled, was eager to describe the recent trip to the United States:

> Gieseking greeted me enthusiastically, "Come in, come in, I want to tell you about America. Sit down and I'll bring something to drink." He wheeled in a cart. Then, with his eyes sparkling, and with that childlike excitement that kept his personality and performances ever young and fresh, he . . . described how wonderful it was to play in the Hollywood Bowl. "Why, there's a lake between you and the audience, and when I first saw it [in 1955] I thought 'they'll never hear me' but after I'd played for five minutes it was just like playing in my living room here at home. It was marvelous, there were thousands of people out there and I played Scarlatti sonatas for encores."[264]

Gieseking, of coure, would not have bade his audience farewell with Scarlatti works only, but rather with pieces by the usual variety of composers, as has always been common among musicians in general. He also described to McGinnis the road trip across the vast country that he, Freya, and the others had taken, and how he was surprised that someone at one of the national parks recognized him.[265] America had clearly meant a lot to him.

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[264] McGinnis, liner notes for Walter Gieseking, *Brahms Concerto no. 1*.

[265] Ibid.

Having witnessed him return to the platform so quickly after the December accident, no one could have anticipated that his latest visit would prove to be his last.

The Final Months in Europe

The Lucerne Festival and Northern Italy, September

Meanwhile, back in Europe Gieseking arrived in Lucerne on 31 August, where he checked into the Hotel Schweizerhof. He was there as a guest soloist for the summer events of the Lucerne Festival, then officially called the Internationale Musikfestwochen Luzern. He gave only a single performance, on 1 September, and the rehearsal took place that same morning. The next day, he described the visit to Jutta:

> Yesterday was the rehearsal. Around noontime I ate with Mr. Legge (the Mainardis are also here, as well as a number of American conductors), and the concert was in the evening.[266] I was welcomed with a big ovation and it went well. I was expecting to play Beethoven's E-flat [Concerto, the "Emperor"], but the G major [No. 4] was on the program. Well, I can play that one too. It is very beautiful here. Tomorrow I am probably traveling to Lugano [Switzerland], the day after that further to Merano [of South Tyrol, Northern Italy]. The address there [in Lugano] will be the Hotel Bristol. The concert is on the 5th. I will then spend a few more days there to relax and arrive home around the 10th. On the 16th, I have to go to London, where I'll record until approximately the 24th.[267]

[266] Gieseking is referring to his producer at EMI's Abbey Road Studios, Walter Legge, and the Italian cellist Enrico Mainardi (1897–1976) and the latter's wife. Mainardi and Gieseking were well acquainted, and photographs of them together can be found in the latter's private collection in the GFA.

[267] "Gestern [1. September] war morgens Probe, mittags ass ich mit Mr. Legge (auch Mainardi's sind hier, sowie diverse amerikanische Dirigenten), abends war Konzert. Ich wurde mit grosser Ovation begrüsst und es ging gut. Ich erwartete, Beethoven Es-dur zu spielen, es war aber G-dur vorgesehen, nun, das kann ich ja auch. Es ist hier sehr schön, morgen fahre ich aber vermutlich nach Lugano, übermorgen weiter nach Meran. Adresse dort Hotel Bristol. Konzert ist am 5. Ich werde noch etwas herumbummeln, und etwa am 10. nach Hause kommen. Am 16. muss ich nach London, Aufnahmen bis zum 24. etwa einspielen." Gieseking, Lucerne, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 2 Sept. 1956, GFA. (Note that Gieseking would, as shown momentarily, ultimately record during 17–23 September.)

While still in the U.S., he had mentioned to Jutta that he would most likely play in Merano (also spelled Meran) on 5 September.[268] The recital there, organized by the Konzertdirektion Karl Margraf, took place at the Kurhaus's Kursaal and featured Beethoven's Sonata in A-flat major (op. 110), plus works by Brahms, Schubert, Debussy, and Ravel, followed by Scarlatti and Grieg encores "that the storming, unending applause," as a critic from the local German-language weekly, *Der Standpunkt*, described it, "forced the maestro to play. . . ." ("die der stürmische, nicht enden wollende Beifall von dem Meister erzwang").[269] The concert was one of several unusual happenings, as *Der Standpunkt* reported in an interview article published in its subsequent issue:

> Just as Walter Gieseking began to let the loveliest [Schubert] *Impromptu* flow over the keyboard in the great Merano Kursaal, a listener's house key fell from his pocket to the floor in the back rows. A while later a young lady fainted. There must have been a few hundred physicians in the hall—the concert took place during Merano's training course for foreign doctors—but it took a few moments until the nearest doctor diagnosed the case from a distance and rushed to help carry the patient outside.
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> It was the stifling evening of a stifling day, and the gallery window facing the Kurpromenade was therefore kept open: the subdued murmur of the Passer [torrent] entered the hall. Walter Gieseking played on, also when two other ladies in the gallery experienced some unwanted discomfort. Just what would it take to distract him while playing?[270]

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[268] Gieseking, Hollywood, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[269] Z. "Walter Gieseking in Meran," *Der Standpunkt* (Merano), 14 Sept. 1956, 6.

[270] "Gerade als Walter Gieseking im grossen Meraner Kursaal das lieblichste Impromptu über die Tasten perlen liess, fiel einem Hörer in den hinteren Reihen der Hausschlüssel aus der Hosentasche aufs Parkett. Eine Weile später wurde eine junge Dame ohnmächtig. Es waren gewiss ein paar hundert Ärzte im Saale—das Konzert fand während des Meraner Fortbildungskurses für ausländische Ärzte statt—, aber es dauerte einige Augenblicke, bis der nächste Arzt den Fall aus einiger Entfernung diagnostizierte und zu Hilfe eilte, um die Patientin hinauszuschaffen. Es war der schwüle Abend eines schwülen Tages, und man hatte die Galeriefenster zur Kurpromenade geöffnet: das Rauschen der Passer drang gedämpft in den Saal. Walter Gieseking spielte weiter, als auch auf der Galerie noch zwei Damen von einem unerwünschten Unwohlsein befallen wurden. Was musste denn geschehen, um ihn aus dem Konzept [zu] bringen?" "Der sonnenverbrannteste Pianist," *Der Standpunkt* (Merano), 21 Sept. 1956, 3.

Gieseking's response to this? "A disturbance is only a disturbance if you perceive it as one. Over the years, one must learn not to be disturbed by anything."[271]

The day after the recital, Margraf informed Gieseking that the town of Trento was now interested in a performance that would take place two days later, which the pianist seems to have given before his departure.[272] Commenting on both the requested engagement and the minimal amount of preparation required of him for such last-minute bookings, Gieseking admitted: "If, for the day after tomorrow, the Kurverwaltung [the spa administration] in Trento wishes for the same program that I played here in Merano yesterday, then I am naturally already prepared. But even if Trento asks for some works that I haven't played in a long time, there is no need for me to practice them at the piano; it's enough for me simply to read through the scores one more time."[273] His memory was still as sharp as ever.

Brief Respite in Wiesbaden, September

From Switzerland, Gieseking journeyed home to Wiesbaden for some brief respite.[274] He sent a telegram from Zurich to Jutta and Imre, explaining that he would be arriving on Swissair flight 842 at Frankfurt's Rhein-Main airport, as intended in the early evening (5:05 p.m.) of Monday, 10 September; it is the last surviving piece of

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[271] "Eine Störung ist doch nur dann eine Störung, wenn man sie als Störung anerkennt. Man muss sich him Laufe der Jahre angewöhnen, sich durch nichts stören zu lassen." "Der sonnenverbrannteste Pianist," *Der Standpunkt* (Merano), 21 Sept. 1956, 3.

[272] Ibid.

[273] "Wenn die Kurverwaltung Trient für übermorgen dasselbe Programm wünscht, das ich gestern hier in Meran gespielt habe, ist natürlich alles klar. Aber auch wenn man in Trient einige Werke wünscht, die ich seit langem nicht mehr gespielt habe, brauche ich durchaus nicht ans Instrument zu gehen, es genügt, dass ich mir das Stück noch einmal durchlese." Ibid.

[274] Jutta Hajmássy, final commentary in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 80.

correspondence to his daughter, to whom he had written so profusely over the years.[275] (Jutta would send still at least one more letter to her father on 19 September.[276])

We have no record of what Gieseking did during his stay at home, but we can be sure that, as usual, he found time to rest and be with friends and family, particularly his two grandchildren, enjoying life away from his instrument. In her closing remarks included in her father's memoirs, Jutta recalled the importance he placed on this:

> Although music had such great meaning for him, coming back home always filled him with equal joy. He was the most loving and tender father and grandfather, who spoiled his grandchildren, cultivated his garden himself without concern for his pianist's hands, and carefully preserved the many butterflies he captured while traveling. Additionally, he read a lot, usually books on natural science, and there was not an insect or plant unfamiliar to him. He played the piano very little and only for his own pleasure.[277]

Gieseking would return home briefly one or two more times, during the first week of October and possibly in the middle of the month.

London in September: The First of the Final Studio Recording Sessions

The latter part of 1956 proved to be another prolific time for Gieseking in the recording studio. While some originally non-commercial recordings from the earlier months that year survive (the aforementioned Seattle recital as well as a performance of Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto with Guido Cantelli leading the New York

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[275] Gieseking, Zurich, Telegramm: Deutsche Bundespost, to the Hajmássys, Wiesbaden, 10 Sept. 1956, GFA.

[276] See Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, to Gieseking, London, letter, 19 Sept. 1956, GFA.

[277] "So sehr die Musik Sinn und Inhalt seines Lebens war, so froh war er stets, wieder nach Hause zu kommen. Er war der liebevollste, zärtlichste Vater und Großvater, der seine Enkel verwöhnte, seinen Garten ohne Rücksicht auf Pianistenhände selbst bearbeitete und die vielen auf Reisen gefangenen Schmetterlinge sorgfältig präparierte. Außerdem las er viel, meist naturwissenschaftliche Bücher, und es gab kein Insekt und keine Pflanze, die er nicht kannte. Klavier spielte er wenig und nur zu seinem Vergnügen." Jutta Hajmássy, commentary in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 80.

Philharmonic-Symphony on 25 March), he did not return to the studio until September.[278] But at that point, he once more began making records at his usual astoundingly efficient pace for producer Walter Legge and his associates at EMI's Abbey Road Studios in London. The results are impressive.

Gieseking first recorded seven days straight, from 17 to 23 September. Among the ample repertoire documented during these fruitful sessions were six of Beethoven's thirty-two Piano Sonatas: nos. 1–2 and 4–7 (i.e. op. 2 nos. 1 and 2, op. 7, op. 10 nos. 1–3). These were completed during the first five days. Gieseking had agreed to record the entire cycle now, which, we will recall, he had played from memory since his music studies in Hanover, recorded selections of since 1931, and performed complete (save op. 54) for Radio Saarbrücken in 1949 and 1950. He then concluded the September sessions with a healthy selection of small-scale works from Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words* and Grieg's *Lyric Pieces*.[279]

It is uncertain if Gieseking had in the meantime stayed in London and, if so, what he had done, but on 29 September he recorded a program for the BBC's studios in the English capital. This undertaking was devoted to works by Debussy and Ravel, eight selections in all. Included from Debussy's output were pieces from *Estampes* and *Images* book I, as well as *L'isle joyeuse* and the complete *Suite bergamasque*. The Ravel choices consisted of titles from *Miroirs*, *Gaspard de la nuit*, and *Miroirs*, plus the entire three-movement *Sonatine*.[280]

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[278] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 38.

[279] Ibid., 6, 19–24, 38–39, 63–64.

[280] Ibid., 39.

Since the earlier part of his career, Gieseking had established himself as one of the world's foremost interpreters of Debussy's keyboard music. And his three-disc album (five sides) featuring the "complete" works of Ravel, recorded at Abbey Road Studios in December 1954, had meanwhile appeared on the market by the summer of 1956. Albert Goldberg of the *Los Angeles Times* was awed by the performances: "Seldom has an interpreter ever entered the spirit of a composer as completely as Gieseking does in the case of Ravel. The result, captured in this recording at a peak of inspiration, is almost consistently miraculous. The technical accomplishment is phenomenal and the interpretation becomes one with the music."[281] From Desmond Shawe-Taylor's review in the *Observer* we read, "Gieseking is always the poet and colourist, loving soft washes of tone, refinements of pedalling, delicate shades of touch and phrasing."[282] Like Gieseking's Debussy recordings, those he made of Ravel's works remain indispensable for serious listeners and rank among the most important piano discs of the entire twentieth century.

Whereas Gieseking never had the opportunity to meet Debussy (who died in 1918, while the former was still serving as a military musician in World War I), he once mentioned to Dean Elder that he had met Ravel and had even heard him play. "When he told me this," remembers Elder, "I asked, 'How was Ravel as a pianist?'" "Waal [i.e. Well], you know," his mentor replied, "the New York critics said no one plays *Jeux d'eau* as badly as Ravel."[283] It is not clear whether Gieseking was able to play for the

[281] A. G. [Albert Goldberg] "Music: Record Reviews," *Los Angeles Times*, 3 June 1956.

[282] Shawe-Taylor, "Piano Recordings," Gramophone, *Observer* (London), 24 June 1956.

[283] Elder, email message to author, 29 May 2013. It is worth noting that Debussy's wife (certainly his second one, Emma Bardac, 1862–1934) had, nonetheless, apparently frequently attended Gieseking's Parisian concerts. Gieseking's former American manager, Charles Wagner, claimed he had met Madame Debussy once and that she confided the following to him: 'The Master [Debussy] has been dead more than

composer, but Ravel could have heard one of his concerts in Paris, where the pianist had first performed, under Ernest Ansermet, in 1928, with his initial solo recitals commencing there the following year (the first program of which contained Bach´s English Suite No. 6; Schumann´s *Fantasie*, op. 17; and Debussy's twelve *Préludes* from book I).[284] It is probably less likely that Ravel was familiar with any of Gieseking's early 78s featuring his music. Ravel died on 28 December 1937. While *Jeux d'eau* was among the very first works that Gieseking recorded, for the Homocord company in Berlin on 21 December 1923, he would not commit to disc further opuses by the celebrated composer until 1937, by then for the more successful and international firm, Columbia Records.[285] This is rather surprising since he had continued to perform Ravel's music with steadfast devotion from the start of his career.[286]

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ten years now, but at last I have found one pianist who plays his works with understanding – Walter Gieseking. I close my eyes and feel the master is playing again. I am glad Gieseking is with you.'" Sources: "Der sonnenverbrannteste Pianist," *Der Standpunkt* (Merano), 21 Sept. 1956, 3; Wagner, *Seeing Stars*, 221.

[284] Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 62.

[285] See Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 5–10.

[286] Gieseking's lifelong relationship with the music of Ravel, along with numerous other contemporary composers, developed under somewhat unusual and fascinating circumstances, though ones not entirely atypical of the Weimar era. Eager to find professional work and especially interested in new music, at the beginning of his career the young pianist participated in events arranged by the Kestner Society (Kestner-Gesellschaft) of Hanover. Established in 1916, the organization functioned as a modern art gallery, sponsoring Kandinsky, El Lissitzky, and Moholy-Nagy exhibitions for instance, and issuing publications and prints by various artists. Gieseking had doubtless been introduced to the society by one of its co-founders—his own short-term benefactor—Hermann Bahlsen (1859–1919). Bahlsen was the wealthy proprietor of the successful cookie company H. Bahlsens Keksfabrik KG, likewise situated in Hanover. Until his death in 1919, he supported local artists, eager to promote—and retain—the city's own talent. Taking the newly acquainted young pianist's advice, the Kestner Society now began to advocate modern music as well, making good use of the extraordinarily talented and open-minded virtuoso; in fact, surviving correspondence shows that the society refused to use any other pianist at that time. Consequently, Gieseking now found himself playing for Expressionist dance performances, featuring Olga Breling (as of 1920 also known as Olga Bontjes van Beek-Breling, 1896–1995), with Cubist stage sets designed by the sculptor Bernhard Hoetger (1874–1949); both of these figures were likewise Bahlsen beneficiaries. Remembering these stimulating engagements, Gieseking later wrote in his memoirs, "First I had to select the accompanying music, and this gave me a wonderful opportunity to acquire contemporary piano works by Debussy, Ravel, Cyril Scott, Korngold, and many others." ("Zuerst mußte Begleitmusik ausgesucht werden, und dies ergab eine herrliche Gelegenheit zur Anschaffung moderner Klaviermusik von Debussy, Ravel, Cyril Scott, Korngold und vielen anderen." Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 44.)

Unrealized Recording Projects

During the recent, aforementioned conversation at his home with Hugh McGinnis, Gieseking had also brought up the further recording projects he was hoping to complete with conductor Herbert von Karajan and the Russian violinist David Oistrakh.[287] According to Dean Elder, EMI was planning to have Gieseking record Rachmaninoff's Third Piano Concerto with Karajan, the Brahms Violin Sonatas with Oistrakh, and also four-hand pieces by Mozart and Schubert with Edwin Fischer.[288]

In 1951 and 1953, Gieseking and Karajan had recorded several works for piano and orchestra by Beethoven, Franck, Grieg, Mozart, and Schumann, and by then Gieseking preferred the young conductor over all others, once referring to him in admiration as "Gigantowitch-Lucifer-Herbertchen von Karajan."[289] Like Gieseking's other albums made at EMI's Abbey Road Studios in London, these were primarily produced by famed producer Walter Legge. The pianist was as impressed by the sound

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New-music recitals, likewise arranged through the Kestner Society, soon followed, and for the first one, held on 12 November 1919, Gieseking (alone) programmed titles by Debussy, Niemann, Cyril Scott, Albeniz, and Ravel, concluding with the latter's *Jeux d'eau*. His affinity for not merely the so-called Impressionist works, but for modern compositions in general, was soon recognized and is well documented by the regular, widespread press coverage his performances began to receive. Unsurprisingly, in 1936 the Kestner Society was banned by the Nazis and forced to close down. By this point, of course, Gieseking had long since begun to tour as an independent, famous artist. With a Nolde exhibition, the association finally reopened in 1948, and it continues to exhibit contemporary artists today. Source information: the Kestner Archives consulted are maintained by the Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv–Hauptstaatsarchiv in Hannover (Bestandsname: Kestner-Gesellschaft e.V., Bestandes Dep. 100); for the documents related to Gieseking and the period of his involvement, see especially Dep. 100, Nos. 10, 12, 14–17, and 19–26, which cover 1 December 1919 through 15 June 1924. See also Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, chapter XIII, particularly 44–47; Braumandl, *Karl Leimer und Walter Gieseking als Klavierpädagogen*, 39–41; "Kestner-Gesellschaft," *dtv-Lexikon*, Bd. 10, 1976; Krisztina Passuth, "Contemporary and Kindred," *The Hungarian Quarterly* 45, no. 175 (Autumn 2004): 53–58. The Kestner-Gesellschaft's homepage can be accessed at http://www.kestnergesellschaft.de/.

[287] McGinnis, liner notes for Walter Gieseking, *Brahms Concerto no. 1*.

[288] Elder, "Dean Elder Responds," Sounding Board, *Clavier*, October 1995, 2, 4; Elder, e-mail to author, 1 Oct. 2007.

[289] Gieseking, Zurich, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 1 Sept. 1951, GFA; Freya Colassis née Gieseking and Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking, interview by author, Wiesbaden, Germany, 11 Oct. 2007; Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 24, 34.

quality achieved by Legge and the studios as he was by the performance of Karajan and the orchestra. During some sessions in September 1951, Gieseking wrote home to Jutta, "The records, which were recorded with Herbertchen (Karajan) in June, are quite amazing! We have heard some of the recordings at Mr. Legge, and I must say, although I'm a part of this, that I have never heard anything like it! Now I already recorded Debussy's Suite bergamasque and 24 Préludes, and Schumann [*Carnaval*, op. 9] is on today's schedule."[290] Freya was with him and was similarly astounded by the results: "It is almost impossible to describe. You simply have to hear it."[291]

As for Oistrakh (1908–74), Gieseking allegedly considered him to be "the greatest violinist in the world."[292] And Fischer, too, had always been a colleague he respected highly; he had become a true friend, and, as we will see momentarily, the two artists were indeed delighted to sit side by side at the keyboard. Yet as fate would have it, Gieseking would not live to see the realization of any of the hoped-for future collaboration with either Karajan, Oistrakh, or Fischer.

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[290] "Die Platten, die mit Herbertchen (Karajan) im Juni eingespielt wurden, sind ganz erstaunlich! Wir haben bei Mr. Legge die Aufnahmen teilweise gehört, und ich muss sagen, obwohl ich daran beteiligt bin, dass ich sowas noch nicht gehört hatte! Jetzt habe ich schon die Suite bergamasque und die 24 Debussy-Preludes eingespielt, heute ist Schumann vorgesehen." Gieseking (and Freya), London, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 25 Sept. 1951, GFA. Gieseking's present recording sessions took place from 22–29 September, and included still other works by Debussy and Schumann as well as selections by Bach, Fauré, Handel, Scarlatti, and Schubert. Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 26–27.

[291] "Etwas darüber zu sagen ist fast unmöglich. Man muß das einfach gehört haben." Gieseking (and Freya), London, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 25 Sept. 1951, GFA.

[292] McGinnis, liner notes for Walter Gieseking, *Brahms Concerto no. 1*.

October 1956: The Final Month

The last month of Gieseking's life was, fittingly, an industrious one. While still in Hollywood in August, he had written to Jutta about his plans through then, explaining some recent schedule changes. He would first have to arrive in London by 16 September for the week of recording sessions at Abbey Road Studios. "For that reason," he clarified, "I won't be going to Venezuela. The people there did not make a sufficient offer, asked for merely two concerts. The trip would not be worth taking. Instead, I will probably play in some more German cities in October, most likely in southern Germany."[293] But first a special gathering occurred early in these weeks, while he was back home.

Edwin Fischer's Birthday Party, October 6

During the first week of October, Gieseking took part in his esteemed colleague Edwin Fischer's (1886–1960) seventieth birthday celebration at the nearby Brockhaus residence in Wiesbaden. The Brockhaus family was close friends with both Fischer and, as we have seen, the Giesekings.[294] There was much music-making, but the highlight of the evening was when Fischer and Gieseking played through some of Mozart's piano works for four hands. The two men were, of course, not only ranked among the world's top pianists, but also viewed as two of the most respected Mozart interpreters of their time. A photograph in Gieseking's private collection shows him bespectacled and seated

[293] "[D]afür brauche ich im Oktober nicht nach Venezuela. Die Leute dort haben nicht genügend geboten, wollen nur 2 Konzerte haben, da lohnt die Reise nicht. Da werde ich wohl im Oktober noch in einigen deutschen Städten spielen, wahrscheinlich in Süddeutschland." Gieseking, Hollywood, to Jutta Hajmássy, Wiesbaden, letter, 17 Aug. 1956, GFA.

[294] Jutta Hajmássy, interview by author, Wiesbaden, 19 March 2008.

to the left. (In his later years, he used reading glasses.) Describing the joyous occasion, Jutta later wrote:

> On 6 October 1956, Edwin Fischer celebrated his 70th birthday with a small circle of friends. . . . It was his expressed wish to have with him his friend and colleague Walter Gieseking, who according to Fischer, knew the "joy and suffering of a pianist's life as I myself knew it." The meetings between the two maestros were always filled with merriment and harmony. On this evening, this once again became most obvious when they played original compositions for four hands by Mozart.[295]

Two other persons present were Gieseking's physician, Hans Kirchner, and his wife Anna Caroline. From Anna, we learn more about the intimate get-together:

> There were only twelve people there. . . and Gieseking was one of the twelve. It was an enchantingly beautiful and atmospheric evening with these two giant artists [Fischer and Gieseking], and everyone was so happy and in high spirits. My husband and a friend of Edwin Fischer's, a young doctor, both amateurs, performed a Handel Violin Sonata as a kind of birthday present, which was graciously praised. Gieseking then played magnificently for us and Edwin Fischer. And as a final climax, Gieseking and Edwin Fischer played music for four hands, a unique experience. It was an utterly unforgettable, wonderful evening, like a final bright star etched in one's mind. Gieseking felt so fit and fresh, as if it nothing [i.e. the past accident] had ever happened. And feeling like that he traveled to London.[296]

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[295] "Am 6. Oktober 1956 feierte Edwin Fischer . . . im kleinsten Kreise seinen 70. Geburtstag. Es war sein ausdrücklicher Wunsch, daß sein Freund und Kollege Walter Gieseking, der nach Fischers Worten 'Freud und Leid des Pianistenlebens wie er selbst kannte,' daran teilnahm. Voller Heiterkeit und Harmonie waren stets die Begegnungen der beiden Meister. Sie fanden an diesem Abend noch einmal im gemeinsamen Spiel vierhändiger Originalkompositionen von Mozart ihren schönsten Ausdruck." Jutta Hajmássy, final commentary included in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 80.

[296] "[W]ir waren nur zwölf Personen . . . und Gieseking war einer der zwölf. Es war ein bezaubernd schöner und stimmungsvoller Abend mit diesen zwei Großen der Kunst, und so vergnügt und in high spirits. Mein Mann und ein zu Edwin Fischer befreundeter, junger Arzt, beide Amateure, mußten gewissermaßen als Geburtstags-Ovation eine Händel-Violin-Sonate vortragen, was mit liebenswürdiger Anerkennung vonstatten ging. Gieseking spielte danach herrlich für Edwin Fischer und uns. Und als letzte Steigerung spielten Gieseking und Edwin Fischer vierhändig, ein einmaliges Erlebnis. Es war ein ganz unvergeßlich schöner Abend, wie ein heller letzter Stern nun in der Erinnerung. Gieseking fühlte sich so wohl und frisch als sei ihm nie etwas geschehen. Und so fuhr er auch nach London." Anna Caroline Kirchner, Bad Soden am Taunus, eulogy for Walter Gieseking, Allerheiligen [1 Nov. 1956], GFA.

It is indeed most unfortunate that posterity was denied any sonic documentation of the four-hand music-making of these two esteemed figures. The rumored EMI recordings would have undoubtedly become legendary, must-have discs.

The Final Concert, Munich, 11 October

The next day, on 7 October, Gieseking set forth once again. He did not fly to London just yet, however, as Anna Kirchner suggested in her eulogy, but rather first gave two concerts in Germany.[297] The details of the initial performance remain to be uncovered, but on 11 October, he played a solo recital before a packed crowd in the Munich Residenz's Hercules Hall (Herkulessaal). On the program were Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E-flat major (op. 31, no. 3), Schumann's Sonata in F-sharp minor (op. 11), Debussy's *Suite Bergamasque*, Ravel's *Sonatine*, and among the encores were Ravel's *Pavane pour une infante défunte* and one of Grieg's *Lyric Pieces*.[298]

He must have been in excellent form. The *Münchner Merkur* began its review with the following praise:

> A unique highlight in the flood of solo performances. Here a master interprets with utmost maturity and profundity, with a refinement and balance without equal. The playing of Walter Gieseking is without peer in its range of color, in its employment of the finest dynamic levels, in its wealth of nuances, in its use of indefinite dividing levels of sound, even when crossing from piano to pianissimo. . . . The audience, which even occupied every seat on the podium of the Hercules Hall, was ecstatic.[299]

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[297] Jutta Hajmássy, commentary in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 82.

[298] "Gieseking am Klavier," *Münchner Merkur*, 13–14 Oct. 1956.

[299] "Ein einsamer Höhepunkt in der Flut der Solistenkonzerte. Hier gestaltet ein Meister mit letzter Reife und Überlegenheit, mit einer Feinheit und Ausgeglichenheit ohnegleichen. Das Spiel Walter Giesekings ist unübertroffen im Abstufen von Farben, im Einschalten feinster dynamischer Unterschiede, im Reichtum der Nuancen, im Anwenden ungezählter Zwischenstufen selbst noch beim Übergang vom Piano zum Pianissimo. . . . Das Publikum, welches selbst noch das Podium des Herkulessaals bis auf den letzten Platz besetzt hatte, war begeistert." "Gieseking am Klavier," *Münchner Merkur*, 13–14 Oct. 1956.

The same write-up had included a caricature of the artist, crowned and seated before a concert grand, in what resembled a humble throne. The inscription read "God save the (Walter Giese-)King."[300] Little did the anyone know that Gieseking had given his final public performance.

Writing for the *Saturday Review* the following month, Hilda Pinson recalled the recital in a piece paying tribute to the late musician: "[H]is playing revealed an extreme intimacy of mood and even tenderness. Despite the brilliance of his pianistic mastery (the Ravel Sonatine which brought the printed program to a close was a glorious triumph in itself), a tone of gravity hovered about the artist."[301]

The Final Days in London

In mid-October, perhaps after returning to Wiesbaden one last, brief time, Gieseking flew back to London to resume his studio work for EMI at Abbey Road. On the agenda was primarily Beethoven, whose thirty-two Piano Sonatas he was quickly completing (now partly in stereo), but he began with diverse selections by Chopin, Schumann, and Scriabin, and even included Alexandre Tansman's (1897–1986) "Blues."[302] The latter piece, from the Polish-born French composer's *Novelettes* (published in 1936), may seem like an odd choice, but not when we consider Gieseking's lifelong passion for certain popular forms and extemporization. And although his reading is faithful to the score—consistent with his belief in the *Werktreue* (textual fidelity) principle—it is convincing stylistically: he we find a rather rare example of a classical

[300] "Gieseking am Klavier," *Münchner Merkur*, 13–14 Oct. 1956.

[301] Pinson, "Gieseking: 1896–1956," *Saturday Review*, 24 Nov. 1956, 68–69.

[302] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 38–40.

musician of the highest caliber with a natural affinity for the blues. Regrettably, we have no recordings of Gieseking's improvisations, but the late Tansman reading—originally an unreleased test pressing that was not issued commercially until 2013—at least gives us a fine taste of his less-serious side.[303]

As always, the sessions were going splendidly, before there was an abrupt and tragic turn of events. Writing to producers Dario and Dorle Soria at Angel records' headquarters in New York,[304] the pianist's producer, Walter Legge, reported:

> Gieseking . . . started a wonderful batch of recordings; he seemed to be physically better than I have ever known him and certainly playing better than he has done for twenty-five years. In six and a half days we have completed three double-sided records of Beethoven sonatas, brought the Schubert recording up to two double-sided records, and broken the back of his Encore records.[305] Suddenly yesterday afternoon he was taken ill and was operated on last night. It appears that the gall bladder overflowed into the pancreas and he will be on the danger list for at least five days. . .[306]

Gieseking had begun to record on 17 October, and had already completed nine more of the Sonatas: op. 13, op. 14 nos. 1 and 2, op. 22, op. 49 nos. 1 and 2, op. 26, op. 27 nos. 1 and 2. A tenth work, Sonata op. 28 ("Pastoral") was left unfinished.[307] The day illness

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[303] The Tansman reading was included on the following double-CD set (for which the author supplied the liner notes) that also contains all of the early Homocord recordings: *Walter Gieseking: The complete Homocord recordings and other rarities*, recorded 1923–1956, Appian Publications & Recordings, APR 6013, 2013, 2 CDs.

[304] Angel had been founded by EMI in 1953 for its record distribution in the U.S., its arrangements with Columbia having been terminated.

[305] Gieseking had recorded Schubert's *Impromptus*, opp. 90 and 142 (along with works by Beethoven and Schumann) during the first week of September 1955 and now, in October 1956, added the composer's *Drei Klavierstücke*, D. 946—surely at Legge's insistence. The resultant Schubert records appeared on the Angel label (2 LPs, discs 35533/35534) posthumously in 1958. Lundgren, *Walter Gieseking: A Critical Discography*, n.p. Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 38. Note that Gray and Quonten incorrectly give the year of the *Drei Klavierstücke* recording as 1955.

[306] Roland Gelatt, "Music Makers," *High Fidelity: The Magazine for Music Listeners*, December 1956, 69.

[307] Gray and Quonten, "Walter Gieseking: Discographie," 39–40. Note that Gray and Quonten fail to indicate that any recording was done on 23 October, which other documentation confirms was the case. We just saw how Legge, for example, made it clear that Gieseking had recorded for "six and a half days."

struck was Tuesday, 23 October, at which point the pianist was taken to the nearby St. Mary's Hospital.[308]

Gieseking informed the doctor that his Wiesbaden physician, Hans Kirchner, had treated him for stomach ulcers, but the ailing pianist was now diagnosed with pancreatitis (inflammation of the pancreas). He then underwent the emergency operation, which included a laparotomy.[309] This would prove a fatal mistake. As Gieseking's daughter Freya recently recalled, "In those days, if you had problems with your pancreas, you could try any of the treatments, but operations for it were not yet safe."[310] In her eulogy for the pianist, Anna Caroline Kirchner, recalled how the events then unfolded:

> They operated on him at once, but could then no longer help him. He survived the operation, which was most dangerous and had therefore always been avoided until then. On Wednesday, at around noon, we received a call from his younger daughter Freya. She had just received the news [of her father's condition] and flew to London at once. I was able to meet her at the airport. I felt so sorry for her; always another misfortune. First, there was the automobile accident in Switzerland a few years ago [in December 1951], which caused her father to suffer a serious concussion. Then last year [as a consequence of the bus accident in December 1955] there was the sudden death of her mother and her father's serious injuries, along with the caring for him for all those months. Then she served as his charming and faithful companion during the last two American tours, which, despite all the pleasure, were quite exhausting. She was so happy to be home finally and to have some time off, and then came yet another great shock, causing her to travel to London most urgently. Her father seemed to be doing relatively well that Thursday. Jutta, the older daughter . . . , was planning to fly to London on Friday morning. But then came the news that Gieseking had died early Friday morning, at 3 a.m., on 26 October 1956.[311]

He had, to repeat, begun on 17 October. And we know that it was on 23 October that Gieseking was taken ill.

[308] The hospital is indicated on the Certificate of Embalmment No. 295, for Walter Wilhelm Gieseking, signed by D. C. Henley, 26 Oct. 1956, GFA.

[309] Ibid.; Colassis, telephone interview by author, 20 Dec. 2010.

[310] "Damals, wenn man was am Pancreas hatte, durfte man alles machen, nur nicht operieren." Colassis, telephone interview by author, 20 Dec. 2010.

[311] "[M]an operierte ihn sofort und konnte ihm dann nicht mehr helfen. Die Operation, die eine sehr gefährliche war, und deshalb immer vermieden wurde, überstand er noch. Wir wurden Mittwoch

In her concluding notes published in *So wurde ich Pianist*, Jutta likewise described her father's final days:

> As we parted the next day [following Fischer's birthday party on 6 October], everyone was in a cheerful and carefree mood—of course, we all expected to see each other again very soon. My father was scheduled to give two concerts in Germany and to record some Beethoven Sonatas in London. But he fell seriously ill in London. . . . He was in critical condition, though this time the doctors had once again placed their hopes in his strong constitution. My sister, Freya, flew to London immediately, but was only allowed to see him for a few minutes. He was happy to have his faithful companion of so many trips at his side again and despite his awful state, he lovingly asked about the entire family. For two days he hovered between life and death. Without one word of complaint he endured all of his pains and quietly passed away on 26 October [1956].[312]

Gieseking would have turned age sixty-one just ten days later. The cause of death, as indicated on his Certificate of Embalmment, was "Cardiac failure & Haemorrhagic pancreatitis."[313]

It had been less than three months since Gieseking's sensational concerts at Ravinia Park and the Hollywood Bowl. He had recovered well from the last accident and the tragic loss of his wife and quickly resumed his position as one of the world's towering

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mittag von seiner jüngsten Tochter Freya angerufen, sie hatte gerade die Nachricht erhalten, und Freya flog sofort nach London. Ich konnte sie noch am Flughafen sehen. Sie tat mir in der Seele leid, immer ein neuer Schlag. Erst vor einigen Jahren das Autounglück in der Schweiz, wo der Vater dann mit schwerer Gehirnerschütterung lag, dann letztes Jahr der plötzliche Tod der Mutter, der schwerverletzte Vater, die Pflege um ihn all die Monate. Dann war sie seine charmante und treue Begleiterin auf den letzten beiden Amerikatourneen, die bei allem Schönen doch sehr strapaziös waren. Sie war froh, endlich einmal wieder zu Hause zu sein und zur Ruhe zu kommen und nun schon wieder ein großer Schock und in größter Eile nach London. Den Donnerstag ging es dem Vater den Umständen entsprechend erträglich. Jutta, die älteste Tochter . . . [,] wollte gerade am Freitag morgen auch nach London fliegen, da traf die Nachricht ein, daß Gieseking am Freitag morgen, den 26. Oktober 1956 um 3 Uhr in der Nacht gestorben sei." Anna Caroline Kirchner, Bad Soden am Taunus, eulogy for Walter Gieseking, Allerheiligen [1 Nov. 1956], GFA.

[312] "Am nächsten Tag trennte man sich fröhlich und unbeschwert—es war ja, wie wir glaubten, nur für kurze Zeit: Zwei Konzerte in Deutschland und Einspielen von Beethoven-Sonaten in London. Dort erkrankte mein Vater. . . . Sein Zustand war sehr ernst, aber auch diesmal setzten die Ärzte ihre Hoffnung auf seine kräftige Konstitution. Meine Schwester Freya flog sofort nach London, durfte ihn aber nur wenige Minuten sehen. Er war glücklich, die treue Gefährtin so vieler Reisen wieder bei sich zu haben, und trotz seines elenden Zustandes fragte er liebevoll nach der ganzen Familie. Zwei Tage schwebte er noch zwischen Leben und Tod. Ohne ein Wort der Klage ertrug er alle Schmerzen und schlief am 26. Oktober ruhig ein." Jutta Hajmássy, final commentary included in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 81.

[313] Certificate of Embalmment No. 295, for Walter Wilhelm Gieseking, signed by D. C. Henley, 26 Oct. 1956, GFA.

figures of pianism. His latest Ravel album was selling well and had been receiving abundant praise. "Any lingering doubts that he is one of the greatest living interpreters of Ravel should be dispelled by this album," Edward Downes had declared in his review for the *New York Times*.[314] The Third Reich controversy had finally ended, and Gieseking's popularity had indeed reached a new highpoint, not merely in the U.S., of course, but in nations around the world. But now the German giant had been suddenly and unexpectedly silenced. The musical world was shocked.

Hans Kirchner on Gieseking's Death

Nearly five years after Gieseking's death, Dean Elder corresponded with his late mentor's longtime physician and friend at the Sanatorium Nerotal in Wiesbaden, Dr. Hans Kirchner. In his reply to Elder, Kirchner described Gieseking's medical history and commented on the operation in London:

> I was Gieseking's physician for over 25 years. This was—as is often the case with great artists—no easy task. Already over 25 years ago, I advised Gieseking to have an operation. If he had followed my advice at that time, then all subsequent attacks on the part of the stomach, gall bladder, and pancreas would not have occurred. Even then, I warned him of the danger. I prophesied that this unpleasant problem would one day have very bad consequences for him because he would then have to be operated on in an emergency situation and possibly by doctors unaware of his condition, whereby the odds of surviving would be 2 to 98.
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> In the years that followed, I myself got Gieseking through life-threatening conditions brought on by the pancreas-related illness three times. On each occasion, we avoided an operation because we were aware of the risk, now that the maestro had let the earlier, more favorable moment to have the surgery slip by. Back then, he didn't want to be inconvenienced by it, although he could have chosen a suitable time for the operation by scheduling it when he was not touring. The doctors who operated on him in London cannot be blamed for what happened. Anyone unfamiliar with this complicated case, would only naturally

[314] Downes, "Records: Ravel: Works of Frenchman Played by German Stylist Pianist," *New York Times*, 8 July 1956.

think of performing an operation at once in the case of an acute attack of the illness. Nevertheless, I believe it is quite possible that, by not operating, one could have perhaps saved Gieseking this time, too. As soon as I heard that he had fallen ill in London, I called the record producer for Columbia there, Mr. Legge, for Gieseking had made some recordings that morning. Unfortunately, I learned that Gieseking had already been operated on a half hour earlier. Thus, my call came too late.

There is an air of great tragedy about this death. On the other hand, it was perhaps an act of fate that Gieseking's life came to an end at the height of his mastery. As his physician and friend, it is hard for me to imagine him perhaps having to continue living disabled and incapable of working; this way, he was spared all the problems of old age. Gieseking had to go through much during his final years. Apart from the stomach and pancreas ailment, he had suffered two serious car accidents, which cost him weeks and months in the hospital."[315]

The Funeral Service and Memorial Concert

On 30 October, Gieseking's funeral took place in his hometown of Wiesbaden. Hans Kirchner's wife, Anna Caroline Kirchner, described it afterward rather poetically:

[315] Note that the paragraphs have been added to the English translation for easier readability. "Ich habe Gieseking seit über 25 Jahren ärztlich betreut. Dies war – wie oft bei großen Künstlern – keine leichte Aufgabe. Schon vor 25 Jahren riet ich Gieseking zur Operation. Hätte er damals meinem Rat gefolgt, dann wären alle späteren Attacken von Seiten des Magens, der Galle und der Bauchspeicheldrüse nicht aufgetreten. Schon damals warnte ich ihn vor dieser Gefahr. Ich prophezeite ihm, daß ihm diese leidige Angelegenheit einmal sehr schlecht ausgehen würde, weil er dann in einem akuten Stadium und womöglich von Ärzten, die seinen Zustand nicht kannten, operiert werden würde und dabei die Chancen durchzukommen 2:98 stehen müßten. In den später folgenden Jahren habe ich selbst mit Gieseking 3mal schwere, lebensbedrohliche Zustände dieser Erkrankung mit Beteiligung der Bauchspeicheldrüse durchgemacht, wobei wir ihn jeweils an einer Operation vorbei brachten; denn wir waren uns dieser Gefahr bewußt, nachdem der günstige Moment zur Operation früher vom Meister versäumt worden war. Er konnte sich damals gar nicht dazu bequemen, obwohl er für die Operation sich einen Zeitpunkt aussuchen konnte und die Operation in eine Zeit hätte legen können, wo er keine Tournee hatte. Den Ärzten in London, die ihn operierten, kann man keinen Vorwurf machen. Wer diesen komplizierten Fall nicht kannte, mußte bei der akuten Attacke der Erkrankung gleich an Operation denken. Trotzdem halte ich es für durchaus möglich, daß man Gieseking auch diesmal auch [*sic*] ohne Operation vielleicht hätte durchbringen können. Sobald ich damals von Giesekings Erkrankung in London erfuhr, habe ich sofort den Aufnahmeleiter der Columbia, Mr. Legge, in London angerufen, da ja Gieseking an diesem Tage vormittags Platten eingespielt hatte. Leider erfuhr ich da, daß Gieseking vor 1/2 Stunde schon operiert worden war. So daß mein Anruf zu spät kam. Es liegt eine große Tragik über diesem Tod. Andererseits war es vielleicht auch eine Fügung des Schicksals, daß Gieseking auf der Höhe seiner Meisterschaft sein Leben beschloß. Es ist für mich als seinem Arzt und Freund schwer vorzustellen, daß er womöglich invalide und berufsunfähig hätte weiter leben müssen, und alle Probleme des Alters sind ihm damit erspart worden. Gieseking hatte ja in den letzten Jahren viel durchzumachen. Abgesehen von der Magen- und Bauchspeicheldrüsenerkrankung hatte er 2 schwere Autounfälle erlitten, die ihn Wochen und Monate Krankenhaus kosteten." Dr. Hans Kirchner, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, New York, 20 Sept. 1961, DEC. In the Dean Elder Collection is also Elder's own draft translation of Kirchner's letter, which was referred to for the translation provided here. Copies of Elder's initial letter and reply (from 7 Sept. 1961 and 12 Dec. 1961 respectively) are also preserved in the DEC, in the author's possession.

Yesterday. . . the funeral was held at our beautiful North Cemetery, situated in the woods at the foot of the Taunus Mountains. We all feared there would be crowds, but then everything was so dignified and beautiful, with so much genuine sympathy. Enrico Mainardi, the great cellist and friend, had come just to play during the service. There was a long, reverent silence. Then the wondrous sounds of a Bach Suite sounded through the room. The cello sang and sounded so grievous, yet so comforting, and the mystical transcendental characteristic, which we experienced again and again through Gieseking the artist and person, filled the room, connecting us, it seemed, to God and the heavens.

The words that were spoken were so heartfelt. The spiritual advisor, Pastor Pabst, who spoke not as a clergyman but as a friend of the artist and his family, began with the following words: "The value of a man is recognized by what he gives."[316]

Then outside at the grave, with the many, many precious wreaths from around the world, appeared his beloved sun from behind the clouds as we bade him farewell with earth and flowers. So comforting and beautiful it was.

At the grave, my husband, deeply moved, then spoke the final words of a friend.

Now we must get back to life, poorer yet infinitely rich with memories. Like a comet, so it seems to me, Gieseking has vanished in the sky. How many great artists have been so fortunate to be carried away at the height of their powers![317]

On Sunday, 4 November, the day before Gieseking's birthday, a memorial concert was given in the large hall of Wiesbaden's Kurhaus, the Großer Kurhaussaal, since

[316] Pabst may have been quoting Albert Einstein, who famously said during an address delivered at the State University of New York in 1936, "The value of a man, however, should be seen in what he gives and not in what he is able to receive." See Einstein, *The Ultimate Quotable Einstein*, collected and edited by Alice Calaprice (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 178.

[317] "Gestern . . . war die Beisetzung auf uns[e]rem wunderbar schön gelegenen Nordfriedhof im Walde am Fuße des Taunus. Wir alle hatten Angst vor den vielen Menschen, und dann war doch alles so würdig und schön und so viel echte Anteilnahme. Enrico Mainardi, der große Cellist und Freund war eigens gekommen[,] um bei der Feier zu spielen. Es war lange eine ehrfürchtige Stille. Dann klangen die wundersamen Töne einer Bach Suite durch den Raum. Das Cello sang und klang so schmerzlich und doch so tröstlich und das mystische Tranzendale, das wir im Künstler und Menschen Gieseking immer und immer wieder erlebten, schwang im Raum, wie eine verbindende Brücke zu Gott und dem All. Die Worte, die gesprochen wurden, kamen so von Herzen. Der geistliche Rat, Pfarrer Pabst, der nicht als Geistlicher, sondern als Freund des Künstlers und der Famile sprach, leitete seine Worte ein: 'Den Wert eines Menschen erkennt man an dem, was er schenkt.' Dann draußen am Grab mit den vielen, vielen kostbaren Kränzen aus aller Herren Länder[,] während wir ihm Erde und Blumen nachwarfen[,] leuchtete die Sonne aus den Wolken, die er so liebte. So tröstlich und schön. Mein Mann sprach dort am Grabe dann in großer und tiefer Bewegung die letzten Freundesworte. Nun müssen wir zurück ins Leben, arm geworden und unendlich reich an Erinnerungen. Wie ein Komet, so empfinde ich es, ist Gieseking am Himmel verschwunden. Welchem großen Künstler ist es geschenkt[,] auf der höchsten Höhe seines Wirkens hinweggetragen zu werden!" Anna Caroline Kirchner, Bad Soden am Taunus, eulogy for Walter Gieseking, Allerheiligen [1 Nov. 1956], GFA.

renamed the Friedrich-von-Thiersch-Saal, after its architect. The event began at 11:30 a.m. and included performances of the Air from J. S. Bach's Suite nr. 3 in D major [BWV 1068] and the Funeral March from Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony. Willy Czernik led the city's Symphony Orchestra. In between the music, Dr. Ernst Laaff, Founder and Director of the State Institute for Music in Mainz (Staatliches Institut für Musik, today the Hochschule für Musik Mainz) delivered a lengthy eulogy. He began by reminding all those in attendance of the high place Gieseking had for so long held as a German musician:

> Once again death has written its immutable "*Fine*" below the life's work of a great artist. Barely two years ago, Germany lost its most important, internationally acclaimed conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler—now fate has already again taken away a master who was one of the few pianists of worldwide renown: Walter Gieseking. While Germany has . . . no shortage of musicians of any kind, there is no abundance of artists who belong to the world's elite. Therefore, the loss we are mourning today is especially painful.[318]

Condolence Letters, Obituaries, Tributes

Condolence letters, cards, and telegrams poured in from Gieseking's family, colleagues, friends, pupils, and a host of institutions around the world, words of sympathy and admiration sent by Edwin Fischer, Ludwig Hoelscher, Max Strub, Paul and Gertrud Hindemith, Wolfgang Fortner, Branka Musulin, Marian Filar, Carl Jung and family (from Rüdesheim), Steinway & Sons in Berlin, Grotrian-Steinweg, Jecklin Konzertgesellschaft and Pianohaus (Zurich), the Symphonie Orchester of Wiesbaden, the

[318] "Wieder schrieb der Tod sein unabänderliches "Fine" unter das Lebenswerk eines großen Künstlers. Vor kaum zwei Jahren hat Deutschland mit Wilhelm Furtwängler seinen bedeutendsten Dirigenten von internationaler Größe verloren – jetzt nahm ihm das Schicksal schon wieder einen Interpreten, der zu den wenigen Pianisten von Weltgeltung gehörte: Walter Gieseking. Deutschland ist zwar . . . nicht arm an musikalischen Kräften aller Art; aber es hat keinen Überfluß an Künstlern, die zur Elite der Welt zählen. Darum empfinden wir den Verlust, den wir heute beklagen, besonders schmerzlich." Ernst Laaff, "Walter Gieseking: 1895-1956," eulogy, Herausgegeben im Auftrag des Magistrats der Landeshauptstadt Wiesbaden (Wiesbaden: Druckwerkstätten Koehler & Hennemann, 1956), 5. The euology was subsequently published; see "Laaff, "Gieseking," *Musik im Unterricht*, Dec. 1956, 404–08.

Wiesbadener Männergesang-Verein, the Saar Government, the Saarbrücken Conservatory, Ludwig Strecker of B. Schott's Söhne (Mainz), Klära Koning of the Concertdirectie Johann Koning (The Hague), and even the first postwar Chancellor of West Germany, Konrad Adenauer. The Gieseking family still maintains a large box filled with these and many other condolence letters they received. One of the more touching ones was sent by his postwar chamber music partner, cellist Ludwig Hoelscher, who was in Tokyo when he learned of the news. From it we read:

> [T]he great tragedy that you have endured by the sudden death of your beloved father is also a tragedy for the entire musical world, for his friends, and also for me, for I had the great fortune, an unforgettable experience, to be able to make music at his side. And those years together were filled with so much human warmth, harmony and joy that a treasured friendship with him and all of you developed from it, one that has lived inside me ever since then.
>
> As terrible as the car accident was, when you lost your mother, at least your father was spared the worst. As before, he then traveled the world, as before his audiences were happy to witness such inimitable perfection through your father's playing. . .
>
> . . . your dear parents live inside me as loved friends, your father as the most beautiful example of a gifted, sublime human being and artist.[319]

Obituaries appeared in the press in nations across the globe, along with other farewell letters and articles paying tribute to the pianist written by critics and fans alike. Even Roland Gelatt, whose remarks about the pianist were not always flattering, admitted that "when he set his heart to it, Gieseking played with unique delicacy and refinement.

[319] "das grosse Unglück, das über Euch gekommen ist durch den so plötzlichen Tod Eures geliebten Vater's, ist auch ein Unglück für die ganze musikalische Welt, für seine Freunde und nicht zuletzt für mich, da ich das grosse Glück und unvergessliche Erlebnis hatte, an seiner Seite musizieren zu dürfen. Und diese Jahre des Zusammenseins waren erfüllt von so viel menschlicher Wärme, von Harmonie und Glück, dass eine kostbare Freundschaft mit ihm und Euch daraus erwuchs, die seitdem lebendig in mir ist. So schrecklich das Autounglück war, als Ihr Eure Mutter verlort, so hatte es wenigstens Euern Vater vom Schlimmsten bewahrt. Wieder bereiste er die Welt, wieder waren die Menschen glücklich, eine so unvergleichliche Vollkommenheit erleben zu können, durch Euren Vater. . . . . Eure lieben Eltern leben in mir als geliebte Freunde, Euer Vater als das schönste Beispiel eines begnadeten, vollendeten Menschen und Künstlers." Ludwig Hoelscher, Tokyo, to Jutta Hajmássy, condolence letter, 18 Nov. 1956, GFA.

We may never hear the like of his Debussy and Ravel again."[320] In his article for the *Saturday Review*, "Au Revoir To Walter Gieseking," Jan Holcman closed by referring to the late pianist's extensive and outstanding recorded legacy: "We do not say *adieu*, but *au revoir* to Walter Gieseking, the greatest colorist of all, for his magnificent recordings, which remain as one of the most impressive documents of contemporary pianism, will permit us to hear him again and again."[321] Indeed, his recordings, over fifty years since his passing, have preserved his artistry exceptionally well, and, based on the interest shown in him by both listeners and record firms alike, there is no sign of that changing anytime too soon.

[320] Roland Gelatt, "Music Makers," *High Fidelity: The Magazine for Music Listeners*, December 1956, 71.

[321] Holcman, "Au Revoir To Walter Gieseking," *Saturday Review*, 29 Dec. 1956, 35.

Conclusion

The Significance of Gieseking's Story

After World War II, Walter Gieseking maintained that he and his German manager, Rudolf Goette, had made every effort to evade the Hitler regime as he continued touring throughout much of Europe, even well into the fighting. Referring to Gieseking's wartime performances in Finland, Norway, and Turkey, Goette testified in his client's defense,

> It has been said that by playing in these countries, Mr. Gieseking ostensibly allowed himself to serve as propaganda tool. It may seem that way from a foreign perspective, but only if you apply the National Socialist notion that art is the best propaganda. Mr. Gieseking has never been of the opinion that piano playing is that important and can prevent or shorten war. He was, after all, unable to prevent the outbreak of war through his concertizing in America and France.[1]

But Gieseking's many outspoken critics of the postwar era asserted that he had willingly served as a tool for Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry throughout the NS era and, in the enforced absence of the Nazis' enemies and victims, selfishly reaped the benefits awarded the Reich's privileged elite artists. Owing to the limited information available at that time—largely biased press reports and other newspaper articles, along with protest materials prepared by Gieseking's opponents and supporters—the majority of the pianist's adversaries and backers alike inevitably knew few specifics of his history during the twelve years of German National Socialism. This was especially true for the war

[1] "Man wirft Herrn Gieseking vor, er hätte sich durch seine Zusage für diese Länder ostentativ für propagandistische Zwecke zur Verfügung gestellt. Es mag sein, dass man es vom Ausland aus so ansehen muss; aber nur dann, wenn man sich der nationalsozialischen These anschliesst, dass Kunst die beste Propaganda ist. Herr Gieseking ist nie der Meinung gewesen, dass Klavierspielen so wichtig sei und Kriege verhindern oder abkürzen könne. Er hat schliesslich durch sein Konzertieren in Amerika und Frankreich den Ausbruch des Kriegs auch nicht verhindern können." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 4.

period, when he could no longer travel to North America, causing him to confine his engagements to restricted parts of Europe: the German Reich, including its annexed and occupied nations and territories, as well as neutral countries and those on Hitler's side. His wartime concertizing, nonetheless, took him to more Old World nations than ever before, something his postwar assessors did not fail to overlook.

Now, nearly seventy years after WWII, we have begun to gain added perspectives on the complexities of musicians' careers in the Third Reich and postwar period as pertinent materials continue to be made available. We can better evaluate their activities in the context of Hitler's dictatorship, the devastating world war, the subsequent occupation of Germany, and the anti-Nazi environment in some nations in the wake of the Reich's defeat. Indeed, this study would have been impossible to undertake without the many documents gleaned from archives and private collections that have more recently become accessible, above all those in the pianist's privately maintained *Nachlass* in Wiesbaden (items made available for this research at least), as well as the declassified government papers gathered from both German and U.S. institutions.

The events related to Gieseking's life and professional activities form a particularly important chapter in this area of twentieth-century music history. They demonstrate the extent to which his engagements were influenced and, in due course, fully governed by the Hitler regime, providing us with a clearer understanding of the demands placed on the performers it selected to propagate the German arts and the ways in which the same figures complied and, in some instances, resisted. Furthermore, Gieseking's story shows us how, as a leading Reich artist with a long NS-era history, he was forced to pay a heavy price for his obedience during the occupation of Germany and

beyond. Yet each of the four Allied powers simultaneously took a personal interest in him, competing for his services as they implemented him into their individual agendas. In addition, we are able to observe how strongly and persistently victims and enemies of Nazi Germany in several non-European nations reacted to a German musician with a questioned past as he resumed his international career, and in no other case, one may argue, can this be viewed and explored better than in Gieseking's. The criticisms and career hindrances that he began to face after Germany's defeat, starting with his blacklisting, did not die down for another eight years—following his return to Carnegie Hall in April 1953, after the much publicized failed attempt in January 1949. When we add that period to the twelve years of Hitler's Reich, we can conclude that his professional activities were greatly affected by politics for two full decades, a period spanning over half of his entire career.

Many of our subject's most eminent colleagues were likewise accused of having sustained Nazi ties and therefore faced related charges after the war based on their own record under the regime—Kirsten Flagstad, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, Herbert von Karajan, and Wilhelm Furtwängler to name but four of the best known examples. But the situation for each of these musicians was in many respects unique and each handled their own affairs quite differently, thus each one merits individual study. Certain figures, Furtwängler and Karajan in particular, have received considerable scholarly attention in recent years.[2] This complementary investigation of Gieseking's career therefore

[2] More extensive Furtwängler biographies, each previously cited, include Ardoin, *The Furtwängler Record*; Gillis, *Furtwängler and America*; Prieberg *Wilhelm Furtwängler in the Third Reich*; and Shirakawa, *The Devil's Music Master*. For a biography on Schwarzkopf, which includes an investigation of her career during the Third Reich, see Alan Jefferson, *Elisabeth Schwarzkopf* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), especially pages 63–72. On the politics surrounding Karajan's career see Klaus Lang, *The Karajan Dossier*, trans., Stewart Spencer (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1992), 18–29 as

contributes to a more accurate and complete picture of music during and after the Third Reich.

Judging Gieseking Today

How should we judge Gieseking today? First, we must remember that perception is not necessarily reality. Today it is easy for us to accuse him of collaborating with the Nazi regime; he clearly did so at times. Some may therefore choose to call him a Nazi as well. But let us consider the following observation, a word of warning, made by the British historian Norman Davies:

> [C]ollaboration often overlaps with the category of victimhood. If one enquires into the motives and circumstances of collaboration, one soon discovers that the collaborators were often oppressed themselves in some way, and that they acted as they did to alleviate their own condition, to protect their own families or to save their own skins. People living in free countries rarely appreciate the devilish means whereby totalitarian regimes can force human beings to prey on each other.[3]

While there is no evidence to show that the Hitler administration ever directly threatened Gieseking and his family, we know that no one living in the Third Reich was entirely out of harm's way. Furtwängler, we saw, fled to Switzerland at the start of 1945, narrowly dodging his arrest.[4] And if Gieseking was not so concerned about his own family's safety and situation during the early years of the NS era, he most certainly was by the time of the war, as the regime increasingly strengthened its dictatorial control over the *Volk*, himself included, while inhumanely eliminating those for whom it had no use. The potential dangers for everyone within the Reich's borders were clear and eventually

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well as Paul Robinson, *Karajan*, The Art of the Conductor (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Limited, 1975), 65–88.

[3] Davies, *Europe at War*, 377–79.

[4] See Chapter 8.

terrifying, not just for the undesired, but essentially for all its inhabitants. "Aryan" German citizens were no exception, especially those deemed important for the Reich's cause, as was Gieseking—his "indispensable" and then "God-gifted" status verified that. The pianist's U.S. assistant manager, Edward Snowdon, who had served as an Intelligence Officer for the U.S. V Corps (Victory Corps) throughout the hostilities, dramatically, yet not unreasonably, put it so:

> Laws and directives in a totalitarian state circumscribe the activity of even the most gifted and popular entertainers, at all times, but particularly in war years. Alternatives to obedience for citizens of a totalitarian state at war are not pretty to contemplate. In Gieseking's case, military service would have been first in order had he refused to play as directed. Next would have been starvation by withholding of ration cards for his family. Had he fled Germany, his immediate family and relatives would have become victims of a cruel retribution the Nazis knew so well how to administer. If he had openly rebelled, the long punishment would have been to languish at Dachau; the short, preferable punishment, quick death for treasonable utterances.[5]

Indeed, these were certainly no seldom occurrences during the Nazis' rule, and we may reasonably suspect that Gieseking had at least contemplated the risks of disobedience or a late escape.

Another point: Artists popular enough among the highest-ranking Nazi authorities could be rewarded lavishly. As investigations confirmed, Gieseking never joined the Nazi party, yet he received in 1937 an honorary professor title in Hitler's name because of his "services" for the regime, and in 1944 the Führer bestowed upon him (though, not in person) the *Kriegsverdienstkreuz II. Klasse ohne Schwerter* (War Merit Cross, 2nd Class without Swords).[6] His behavior and activities clearly satisfied Reich officials. Yet by

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[5] Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 3, 10.

[6] Prieberg, *Handbuch Deutsche Musiker*, s.v. "Gieseking, Walter." For a published announcement of the awarded title, see "Auszeichnung deutscher Musiker" *Neues Musikblatt* 24 (Feb. 1937): 2 or "Ehrungen," *Zeitschrift für Musik* 104, no. 3 (Mar. 1937): 250–51. The Hessian Ministry for Political Liberation proclaimed that, in accordance to the Law for Liberation, Gieseking had not been a Nazi party

comparison, the Dutchman Johannes Heesters, one of Hitler's preferred singers, once remarked how the regime "rained prizes and awards" on him.[7] According to Heesters biographer Jürgen Trimborn, such rewards could include automobiles, confiscated homes, and other undisclosed favors, not to mention a 40-percent tax break.[8] Gieseking, so far as we know, received none of these.

***L'art pour l'art*?**

What had Gieseking really desired during the period of National Socialism? It is doubtful that he would have chosen the situation in which he found himself, yet for the sake of his family and fortune alone he did not flee Hitler's Germany, or so he claimed.[9] Did he merely wish to play piano, to be an independent artist as much as possible, and to provide his audiences in the Reich and beyond with well-needed *l'art pour l'art*, as he also later argued? Possibly. And, to be sure, as Shirer William has observed, "The excellent music fare did much to make people forget the degradation of the other arts and of so much of life under the Nazis."[10] But Gieseking's cooperation with the regime, particularly at the end of the war, will always give skeptics fodder to fuel their

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member and was therefore not required to appear before a German tribunal. See David Monod, *Settling Scores*, 158–59. Gieseking declared that he had not been a party member in his *Meldebogen* (questionnaire). See "Meldebogen: Walter Gieseking," HHW.

[7] Raphael Mostel, "Last Song of Hitler's Favorite Crooner: Johannes Heesters Made Ultimate Deal With the Devil," *The Jewish Daily Forward*, 20 Jan. 2012, accessed 24 Jan. 2012, http://www.forward.com/articles/149442/.

[8] Ibid. Mostel draws from Trimborn's biography, *Der Herr im Frack, Johannes Heesters: Biographie* (Berlin: Aufbaur-Verlag, 2003).

[9] When Severin Kaven asked Gieseking whether he had ever contemplated fleeing the Reich, the latter answered, "Not after 1933. I would have lost my entire fortune, and I had my family and father to think about." Kaven, "Interrogation of Walter Gieseking," 2. Gieseking's decision to remain in Germany was also discussed in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[10] William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (New York: Random House, 2002), 215.

arguments. If nothing else, many may conclude that he had been morally weak and conformed to the policies of the National Socialist government. Severin Kaven, too, had referred to the pianist's "conformist attitude" in his investigation report.[11]

His correspondence tells us that, generally, he did not enjoy discussing politics and became irritated when others did so. Without doubt, Gieseking was patriotic and disliked when anyone—especially foreign press reporters—criticized his homeland. Yet even those who fled Germany loved what the nation had once stood for—not what it ultimately became. In his postwar testimony, Rudolf Goette expressed similar observations in a concluding "personal" statement describing his client's character:

> It is a strange phenomenon of our time that all people have become politically interested. Gieseking was not interested in politics [during the Third Reich], or at least not enough. And that is the only criticism that can be made against him, if such an accusation can be justified at all. Mr. Gieseking did not foresee—and could have hardly anticipated—the further consequences that developed because of his indifferent attitude, which would pull the pianist into the maelstrom of politics.
>
> Many say that an artist as famous as Gieseking could have emigrated. Undoubtedly, he could have done that, for he was in neutral countries often enough during the war. But Gieseking happens to have a strong love for his homeland, and he also identifies with being German and is patriotic. If anyone wishes to make a National Socialist out of him based on these facts, they are surely guilty of a rather arbitrary conversion of terms.[12]

Although Goette recognized that all statements made on his part would be viewed as biased, his description and judgment of Gieseking seems accurate and fair.

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[11] Kaven, "Report on Walter Gieseking," [1].

[12] "Es ist ein sonderbares Verlangen in heutiger Zeit, dass alle Menschen sich politisch interessieren. Gieseking hat sich nicht für Politik interessiert oder zu wenig. Und das ist der einzige Vorwurf, den man ihm machen könnte, wenn ein solcher Vorwurf überhaupt zu Recht besteht. Die weiteren Konsequenzen aus dieser uninteressierten Haltung, dass der Pianist Gieseking in den Strudel der Politik hineingezogen würde [*sic*], hat Herr Gieseking nicht geahnt—schwerlich auch voraussehen können. Man sagt, ein so berühmter Künstler wie Gieseking hätte emigrieren können. Zweifellos wäre ihm das möglich gewesen, da er noch während des Krieges oft genug im neutralen Ausland war. Aber Gieseking hat nun mal eine starke Heimatliebe; und er fühlt sich auch durchaus als Deutscher und Patriot. Wenn man dieser Tatsachen wegen einen Nationalsozialisten aus ihm machen will, so ist das wohl eine etwas willkürliche Begriffsumstellung." Goette, "Überblick über die Tätigkeit Walter Giesekings seit 1933," 6.

All told, if Gieseking's aim had, in fact, been to avoid political involvement during Hitler's rule, doing instead what seemed to him the easiest way around being "politically correct," trying not to ruffle feathers by being reactive rather than proactive, he ironically not only ruffled feathers, but became a "poster boy" for those who wished to stigmatize him as a Nazi.

Was Gieseking an Anti-Semite and Pro-Hitler?

Another question that must be weighed is whether we may rightfully call Gieseking an anti-Semite. In his surviving private correspondence preceding the Third Reich, he wrote nothing whatsoever that could be interpreted as racially prejudiced. When the first reports of Hitler's empowerment and the reported violence of the Storm Troopers filled the media, he was shocked like many, but, as before, he made no criticisms of Jews. When he returned to the U.S. in 1934, and the first protests against his appearances took place, led by Jewish groups in California in 1934, his attitude changed abruptly. It was then that he became defensive and began to make anti-Semitic remarks, more or less at a mounting rate so that by 1939 he could be highly critical of his colleagues and others who were Jewish. Of course, he was initially reacting emotionally to individuals who had targeted him and were doing their best to hinder his success in America. Probably the first German artist to be protested in the U.S., the opposition had caught Gieseking fully by surprise. He felt victimized and probably continued to hold a grudge against America's Jewry, his new opponents, from this point forward; there are no known further incidents, however, until years later, when a boycott against his 1939 Town Hall recital in New York, presumably Jewish led, was supposedly considered.

But Gieseking simultaneously remained friendly and helpful to other Jews. Aside from his continued relationship with and support of his German-Jewish manager, Arthur Bernstein, we will recall how, in January 1934 for instance, just before the California outcry, he took the time to reply to and probably meet with certain American-Jewish composers who had sought his musical advice and assistance. Then, right at the time of the same protests, he let a Jewish piano student play for him—in Los Angeles—in spite of the clamor and his present anger over the situation. He recognized the girl's talent, even mentioning her to Annie, and referred her and her father to a qualified acquaintance in the same city for further instruction. Shortly thereafter, on 1 March, he listened to another American-Jewish piano student, aged eleven, at his hotel, afterward praising her abilities as well and offering some honest advice regarding the continuation of her training as well.[13] After the war, his private correspondence became, as it was prior to 1934, free of any anti-Semitisms. Considering this development and the contradictions of his attitude, there seemed to be nothing intrinsically anti-Jewish about Gieseking.

Worthy of mention are a few other incidents that reveal some of the pianist's disapproval, if not abhorrence, of Hitler and Nazi politics. After a sold-out orchestral performance in Münster in November 1936, in which he played both the Trapp and Schumann Concertos, he described encountering two acquaintances in a letter to Annie: "During the intermission, 'Dörken,' who has become quite masculine, entered the artists' room with a resounding 'Heil Hitler.' The 'little' sister behaved more peacefully. . . ."[14] It is quite clear that Gieseking was put off by this person's apparently more fanatic belief in

[13] These examples were all discussed in Chapter 2.

[14] "In der Pause erschien 'Dörken,' die ein ziemliches Mannweib geworden ist, mit schallendem 'Heil Hitler' im Künstlerzimmer." Gieseking, The Hague, to Annie, Wiesbaden, letter 12 Nov. 1936, GFA.

the Führer. Four years after the war, while at a German-Chilean cocktail party during his South American tour in 1949, he mentioned afterward to his daughters how "At least there were *sensible* people there, for example the president of the society and other men, who, unlike Frau M., do not still halfway believe in Adolf [Hitler]" (emphasis added).[15] And during the same tour a month later, he described to his family a telling incident that he found extremely comical. It involved another acquaintance, one Frau Hoerner:

> Something amusing happened to her: she is, of course, very French in her ways (comes from Strasbourg!). After a *Meistersinger* performance . . . a woman at the exit of the Teatro Colón [in Buenos Aires] approached her and enthusiastically said, "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!" I laughed at her [Hoerner] so hard, that she nearly grew angry. Since I am from Lyon and play so much Debussy, I could get away with it, though. Plus she, too, found it odd.[16]

These occurrences certainly suggest that Gieseking now realized how absurd this belief in Hitler and Nazi Germany was, and perhaps, if he had not always thought so in the past, how absurd it had been before the Reich's downfall. As was doubtless the case for many, he may have also experienced some feelings of guilt by that point, over two years after his postwar clearance. In any case, he must have thought long and hard about how he had complied with and, at least until the war's outbreak, partly believed in a deceitful regime that had murdered millions and destroyed his homeland, one that he had understandably been proud of, particularly for its incredibly rich musical history.

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[15] "Immerhin waren z. B. der Präsident der Gesellschaft und andere Herren vernünftige Leute, die nicht so wie Frau M. noch halbwegs an Adolf glauben." Gieseking, Chile, to Jutta and Freya Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 6 Aug. 1949, GFA.

[16] "Der [Frau Hoerner] ist was Schönes passiert: sie ist doch so sehr französisch gesinnt (aus Strasbourg!), da ist nach einer Meistersingervorstellung . . . eine Dame am Ausgang des Colons auf sie zugegangen und [hat] begeistert gesagt: Deutschland, Deutschland über alles! Ich habe sie so ausgelacht, dass sie beinahe wütend wurde. Da ich aus Lyon bin und soviel Debussy spiele, konnte ich mir das ja erlauben, ausserdem fand sie das selbst komisch." Gieseking, Buenos Aires, to Annie, Jutta, and Freya, Wiesbaden, letter, 16 Sept. 1949, GFA.

Sadly, the situation for so many Germans became polarized: either one was pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic or anti-Nazi and pro-Jewish. In classical music, a large number of Jewish musicians had long distinguished themselves as outstanding artists, and it was perhaps inevitable that Gieseking, as such a prominent German musician, would find himself caught up in the racial politics of the time. He clearly became increasingly influenced by the pro-German propaganda and sentiment, and he represented Hitler's Germany by continuing his career with the approval of and, in part, under the auspices of, the Propaganda Ministry and its later Artists' War Office. He was the symbol of German pianism at its best and for Hitler and his men that had to mean one of the world's best.

Should we decide to label Gieseking an anti-Semite, we must bear in mind that while Hitler and his henchmen successfully convinced millions of Germans that the Jews were largely responsible for the Reich's difficulties, many of the same brainwashed citizens, it has been argued, would not have approved of the harsh treatment to which German Jewry were subjected even during the earlier National Socialist period. As Eva Reichmann concluded in her early, postwar study, "Antisemitism does not account for the catastrophe of the Jews."[17] Gieseking surely never agreed with Nazi brutality, and he did, after all, help his Jewish manager, Arthur Bernstein, by continuing to pay him—when all of the latter's other clients had dropped him—and later subsidizing his emigration from Germany.

[17] Eva Reichmann, *Hostages of Civilization: The Social Sources of National Socialist Anti-Semitism* (London: Gollancz, 1950), 233–35. See also Michael R. Marrus's summary of Reichmann's study found in Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (New York: Meridian, 1987), 86–87. Anti-Semitism in the Third Reich, including more of Reichmann's findings, was briefly examined in Chapter 2 of the present dissertation.

Buchenwald Survivor Marian Filar defends his Former Mentor

In several of the postwar chapters, we saw that, in a number of nations, Gieseking not only had many unwavering opponents, but also adamant supporters. The latter, in fact, always outnumbered the adversaries by far. The testimony of one last person in particular, belonging to his defenders, justifies comment, namely that of the recently deceased pianist Marian Filar (1917–2012). Filar's arguments in Gieseking's favor are among those most recently published and, considering the prolonged hardships he endured under the Nazis, indeed the most noteworthy.

A Polish Jew who survived seven Nazi camps—including the infamous Buchenwald—and was subsequently staying in a Displaced Persons camp near Frankfurt am Main, not far from Wiesbaden, Filar became a favorite pupil of Gieseking's after the war.[18] In his autobiography, *From Buchenwald to Carnegie Hall*, first published in 2002, he dedicated an entire chapter to his former mentor and discussed him throughout several others, emphasizing both the latter's ideas on music and the kindness and support he showed his pupil.[19] Filar was absolutely convinced that Gieseking had never been a Nazi sympathizer. He was given weekly lessons free of charge, ostensibly on account of his wartime sufferings: "You've already paid enough," his new mentor told him.[20] On top of that, Gieseking helped his pupil in his efforts to establish himself as a concert artist and teacher and wrote enthusiastic letters of recommendation for him, two of which Filar

[18] Len Lear, "Legendary pianist, teacher of local students: Survived 7 Nazi concentration camps to make great music," *Chestnuthilllocal.com*, 18 July 2012, accessed 21 Oct. 2012, http://chestnuthilllocal.com/blog/2012/07/18/legendary-pianist-teacher-local-students/.

[19] See in particular "Walter Gieseking," the latter half of "A New Beginning in Germany" and "Enter Sol Hurok," as well as "Farewell to Europe" in Marian Filar and Charles Patterson, *From Buchenwald to Carnegie Hall* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 138–53.

[20] Ibid., 143.

included in his book.[21] From the one dated February 1950, we read, "I hope that the many Americans interested in good music will help Marian Filar to become quickly recognized and appreciated as one of the finest musicians among pianists."[22]

While we may logically suspect that Gieseking was using Filar to help restore his reputation and perhaps to help alleviate any feelings of shame, the latter argues that his teacher was sincere in his support. As evidence of this, Filar relates the time when the German press appeared at Gieseking's home in Wiesbaden shortly after the canceled American tour of early 1949. Just as Filar showed up for his lesson—during a press interview—one reporter asked Gieseking if he would introduce his newly arrived guest. Gieseking, Filar explains, made no attempt to take advantage of the situation:

> Gieseking could have used me beautifully: "Oh, he's a Jewish fellow who survived Buchenwald, and he's my favorite student," or some such thing. . . . Instead, he just said simply that I was one of his students and was there to have my lesson.[23]

Because the Displaced Persons, or DPs, as they were called, were relatively well fed compared to the Germans, Filar further remembers how he first tried to bring food for the Gieseking family to his lessons as a return favor. "The Gieseking's were eating nothing but potatoes," he writes, "while we DPs, supplied by the American army, had food up to our ears."[24] Yet Gieseking would have nothing of it: "Why did you do that? You had nothing to eat for five years. It's you who needs food, it's you who needs to eat,

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[21] See Filar and Patterson, *From Buchenwald to Carnegie Hall*, 167 and 171. For a third example, in German, see Gieseking, [Empfehlungsbrief für Marian Filar], 8 Feb. 1949, Signatur: Ms 262, betr. W. Gieseking, Landesbibliothek Coburg.

[22] Filar and Patterson, *From Buchenwald to Carnegie Hall*, 171.

[23] Ibid., 162.

[24] Ibid., 144–45.

it's you who needs strength to play the piano. You bring it once more, and you won't get a lesson."[25]

In a letter from 14 November 1946, Gieseking mentioned to his American pupil, Dean Elder, that he was teaching two DPs, one of whom was Filar, "an extraordinarily good Chopin player." "It is nice that one is able to help these poor people after all their terrible experiences," he added.[26] Did he genuinely feel at fault for having represented the Reich and obeyed and played for mass murderers? If so, we have no documentation in which he explicitly states as much, but his relationship with Filar suggests he may have. Elder eventually became acquainted with Filar and remembers the latter explaining how Gieseking also helped him get hired for some concerts in Portugal after the war: "Rubinstein has cancelled, and now I recommended you."[27] Filar told Elder that he used the earnings from the engagements to buy a piano. "Later," Elder likewise recalls, "Filar said Gieseking kept urging him to immigrate to the United States. 'Finally, he gave me money and practically pushed me on the plane.' Those were Filar's exact words."[28]

Gieseking and Filar remained in contact. While in New York in late January 1954, for instance, Gieseking mentioned in a letter home how "Filar complained for hours . . . about something, that he's being turned down everywhere [and] can only earn money by teaching in Philadelphia."[29] Of course, Gieseking knew the reason why—"it

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[25] Filar and Patterson, *From Buchenwald to Carnegie Hall*, 144–45.

[26] Gieseking, Wiesbaden, to Dean Elder, n.p., letter, 14 Nov. 1946, copy from DEC.

[27] Dean Edler, e-mail message to author, 23 Oct. 2013.

[28] Ibid.

[29] "Filar jammerte . . . stundenlang was vor, er wird überall abgewiesen, kann nur durch sein Unterrichten in Philadelphia was verdienen. . . ." Gieseking, Sacramento, to Annie and Jutta, Wiebaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1954, GFA.

must be that he just doesn't play well enough."[30] He was naturally well aware of the classical music scene's competitiveness and had probably never expected Filar to have major success, something that no more than a handful of artists do in the end. At the start of Gieseking's U.S.–Canadian tour the following year, Filar attended his mentor's performance in Philadelphia and offered him car rides when possible. Gieseking generously returned the favor by giving Filar a lesson. His honest evaluation of his occasional pupil's piano playing on this occasion: "quite good, but nothing too impressive" ("ganz gut, aber nichts überwältigendes").[31]

If Gieseking did not seem overly concerned about his pupil, their meetings are nonetheless further evidence that he genuinely took some interest in Filar and his career, doing what he could to help him whenever possible. And Filar felt indebted to him. Upon learning of Gieseking's death, he wrote the following in his condolence letter to his late mentor's daughters: "I have so much to thank him for! He was so good to me and helped me so much! His name will forever shine in the heavens, for he gave the world so much through his ingenious art!"[32]

Paying the Price

The years-long postwar protests had weighed heavily on Gieseking. Robert Guild of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* evidently had the opportunity to speak with him during the brief visit to Hawaii in 1952. From the reporter's ensuing article, we read: "He

[30] "[E]r spielt eben doch wohl nicht gut genug." Gieseking, Sacramento, to Annie and Jutta, Wiebaden, letter, 27 Jan. 1954, GFA.

[31] Gieseking, New York, to Jutta, Wiesbaden, letter, 5 Feb. 1955, GFA.

[32] "Ich habe ih[m] so viel zu verdanken! Er war so gut zu mir und [hat] mir so viel geholfen! Sein Namen [*sic*] wird für Ewig auf de[m] Weltfirmament leuchten, weil Er durch seine geniale Kunst so viel der Menschheit gegeben hat!" Filar, Copenhagen, to Jutta Hajmássy and Freya Gieseking, Wiesbaden, letter, 3 Nov. 1956, GFA.

[Gieseking] confessed that he was haunted by the memory of the massed thousands of pickets that drove him from New York's Carnegie Hall in 1949, by the hecklers who jeered in Australia, by the cry of 'Nazi' that has followed him everywhere since the day Hitler heard him play Beethoven in Germany."[33] Guild exaggerated, but Gieseking could have only been disturbed by the opposition. "As for Adolf Hitler and Hermann Goering . . . he [Gieseking] was caught in the grisly web they strung over Europe," Guild concluded, "and he regrets it, but he regrets nothing he himself has done."[34]

Though possible, it seems rather incredible that Gieseking could, in retrospect, find no wrong in the ways in which he had continued his profession during the Third Reich. Perhaps he was trying to ease his conscience. We will recall that he had similarly once asserted to his assistant American manager, Edward Snowdon, how he had considered it his "duty as an artist" to help his audiences everywhere, for the duration of his performances, to find escape through them from the many hardships brought on by the hostilities. "That nearly all the many nationalities of Europe listened to my playing during the war," he added, "is something I think I should be proud of!"[35] His many postwar opponents felt otherwise. And, on more than one occasion, they were sure to mention the fact that the pianist never once publicly apologized for his past. But would they have simply forgiven him had he done so? It seems unlikely.

Yet others—Nazis and Nazi enemies alike—had, no doubt, been able to put aside their troubles temporarily while listening to the pianist play. We will recall how even Goebbels had done so during the war, as he recorded in his diary. Still a year before the

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[33] Robert Guild, "Honolulans Receive Gieseking With Tolerance, Admiration," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 26 May 1952.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Gieseking, quoted in Edward W. Snowdon, "Some Notes on 'The Gieseking Case,'" 6.

fighting had commenced, an American by the name of Loria D. Saunders of Chicago sent the *Musical Courier* a poem she had written titled "A Tribute to Walter Gieseking." In it, she captured well how Gieseking's music-making had, for his recent listeners, served as a most effective and welcome means of escapism:

> Last night you played for us and once again the
> World was hushed as if at your command.
> You painted visions for us there, on all those
> Black and ivory keys.
> We dared not breathe for fear that magic spell you
> Wove should break
> And all our misery came creeping back again.
>
> Many eyes were wet, but they were tears of happiness
> And not despair.
> We marveled at the various emotions you can awaken in
> Two fleeting hours.
> And when it was over we went away with music in our
> Hearts and gratitude for all the beauty that you brought
> To us—last night.[36]

Perhaps a similar wartime poem from Europe will turn up some day.

To conclude: throughout the Third Reich, Gieseking's professional activities and, perhaps to a lesser extent, his behavior were influenced by Hitler's politics in multiple ways, with relatively little known resistance made on his part. Like the greater part of the German population, he conformed to Nazi rule, and as an artist he was clearly guilty of collaboration. We may therefore choose to deem him a beneficiary of Nazism and, as his many opponents did, hold him accountable for his active affiliation with the regime and his resultant contribution to its agenda.

[36] Saunders, "A Tribute to Walter Gieseking," printed in the *Musical Courier*, 1 June 1938, p. 23.

Many, probably most, still familiar with Gieseking and his history today will, nonetheless, inevitably disregard the controversial aspects of his career and simply admire his pianism as the majority of music enthusiasts, in virtually every nation he played in, chose to do during his lifetime. In judging Gieseking, there are, in any case, some crucial facts in his favor that we must bear in mind. We are assessing a person who, unlike many of his colleagues, never voted for or joined the National Socialist party, never published any veritable pro-Nazi writings despite his affiliation with two nazified music journals, and never held any positions in Reich organizations. We are assessing a person who made a bold and noble effort to have the Reich administration's Hindemith ban lifted by meeting with the Propaganda Ministry's State Secretary Walter Funk, a person who kept and supported his Jewish manager and old friend Arthur Bernstein (despite some occasional reluctance first brought on by the Jewish opposition in California) until the latter could safely flee Nazi Germany with his wife just before the war, and a person who as a performing artist, managed to remain largely independent of the regime's dictates throughout most of its existence. While the list of charges accusing Gieseking of pro-Nazi leanings—as this dissertation has shown—is likewise long, it would be intellectually dangerous, in light of these commendatory particulars, to assume that the perception of him as an ardently committed Nazi sympathizer, as he has been frequently categorized, is necessarily accurate: the evidence certainly suggests that there is enough for substantial doubt.

Gieseking was one of the world's premier concert pianists and was accordingly focused first and foremost on continuing his illustrious career as a performer and best-selling recording artist, in part to provide well for his family, whose safety, particularly

once the devastating combat had begun, was surely always a great concern. While we could only expect him to have made comments on the politics of this unusually turbulent period, many of which were undeniably racist and those of a conformist, he generally expressed little personal interest in the affairs of state and was, in the main, undoubtedly thinking about his own livelihood and survival. While certain performances and concert trips of his functioned as Reich propaganda—his greatest NS-era sin—he was otherwise never "politically" active. Aside from piano playing and teaching, his only other serious interest was his entomological work, which must have often provided him with a much-needed means of escape. The letters he wrote to his family verify these conclusions repeatedly.

There is something to be learned from the fate of each person who was in one way or another affected by the Nazi reign and terror. In Gieseking's case, there is much. Above all, we should not forget the most important lesson his story teaches us, one that has often been told but must be repeated here: art should never be misused for political gain, as illustrated by the adverse conditions and subsequent consequences that Gieseking so long had to endure. It is a sad fact that any comprehensive biographical account of a prominent German artist during the Third Reich must equally be a political study. And, inevitably, such unfortunate circumstances are repeated, as happened without pause during the subsequent postwar period and as would be the case during the ensuing cold war. Regrettably, the world will never be free of corrupt governments, and corrupt governments inescapably lead to war. And as the American clergyman Harry Emerson

Fosdick rather famously remarked, “War’s tragedy is that it uses man’s best to do man’s worst.”[37]

[37] Fosdick, *On Being Fit To Live With: Sermons On Post-War Christianity* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), 61.

Appendix 1:

Permission Letter from Jutta Hajmássy née Gieseking

Jutta Hajmássy
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Germany

Frank R. Latino Jr.
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Wiesbaden, October 11, 2007

Letter of Permission

I hereby give Frank R. Latino Jr., born on 06/04/1971 in New Orleans, permission to use materials copied from our Family Archive for his dissertation on the life and works of my father, Walter Wilhelm Gieseking (1895-1956). Mr. Latino is a Ph.D. candidate for musicology at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Mr. Latino agrees to use the materials solely for his dissertation and possible scholarly articles, not for financial gain.

Jutta Hajmássy (née Gieseking)

Jutta Hajmássy

Frank R. Latino Jr.

Frank R. Latino

Appendix 2:

Gieseking's Concerts during the 1935–1936 Season

Date:	Place:	Society:	Hall:	Orchestra:	Conductor:
16 Aug.	Niedersachsen [city?]	Symphonie-Konzert	Konzerthaus	Niedersächsiches Landes-Sinfonieorchester	Fritz Lehmann
26 Sept.	Baden Baden	Bäder- und Kurverwaltung Baden-Baden/Erstes Platzmiete-Sinfonie-Konzert	Kurhaus	Sinfonie- und Kurorchester Baden-Baden	Herbert Albert
1 Oct.	Essen	Konzertveranstaltungen der Stadt Essen/ Vormietkonzert	Städtischer Saalbau	Das Städtische Orchester	Johannes Schüler
4 Oct.	Kassel	Preußisches Staatstheater/ Erstes Reihenkonzert	Stadthalle	Preußisches Staatstheater	Dr. h. c. Robert Laugs
7 Oct.	Hessen [Marburg?]	?	[Hessisches Landestheater Marburg?]	Das Hessische Landestheater-Orchester	Karl Friederich
10 Oct.	Aachen	Aachen Städtische Konzerte	Städtisches Konzerthaus	Das Städtische Orchester	Herbert von Karajan
11 Oct.	Bochum	Meister-Konzert des Städtischen Orchesters	Stadttheater	Das Städtische Orchester	Leopold Reichwein
15 Oct.	Cologne	Concert-Gesellschaft Köln	Saale des Gürzenich	Das Städtische Orchester	Hans Pfitzner
17 Oct.	Paris	Félix Delgrange, Paris	Saale Pleyel	(solo recital)	n/a
26 Oct.	The Hague	subscription concert	Gebouw voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen	Concertgebouw Orchestra	Willem Mengelberg

Date:	Place:	Society:	Hall:	Orchestra:	Conductor:
4 Nov.	Hamburg	Philharmonische Gesellschaft	Conventgarten, Großer Saal	Philharmonisches Staatsorchester Hamburg	Eugen Jochum[1]
8 Nov.	Wiesbaden	Zyklus-Konzert	Kurhaus Wiesbaden	Städtisches Kurorchester	Carl Schuricht
12 Nov.	Berlin	Konzert-Direktion Hans Adler, Berlin	Bachsaal	(solo recital)	n/a
14 Nov.	Leipzig	Gewandhaus concert	Gewandhaus	Gewandhaus Orchestra	Hermann Abendroth
15 Nov.	Braunschweig	Richard-Wagner-Verband Deutscher Frauen, Ortsgruppe Braunschweig	Grotrian-Steinweg-Saal	(solo recital)	n/a
16 Nov.	Bückeburg	N.S. Kulturgemeinde, Ostverband Bückeburg	Rathaussaal (City Hall Auditorium)	(solo recital)	n/a
17 Nov.	Bad Oeynhausen	N.S. Kulturgemeinde, Ostverband Bad Oeynhausen	Kurhaus, Großer Saal	(solo recital)	n/a
18 Nov.	Hanover	Städtische Bühnen Hanover Sinfonie-Konzert	Opernhaus	[Städtisches Orchester]	Rudolf Krasselt
19 Nov.	unidentified	Simon'sche Abbonements-Konzert	Konzerthaus	(solo recital)	n/a
23 Nov.	Breslau	Ostdeutsche Konzertdirektion Richard Hoppe	Konzerthaussaal	(solo recital)	n/a
28 Nov.	Berlin	Italian Ambassador to Berlin	Scala Theater	(shared recital)	n/a[2]
29 Nov.	Nürnberg	Philharmonic Series	Kulturverein	Städtische Orchester	Alfons Dressel
4 Dec.	Stuttgart	Konzertdirektion Sulze & Galler, Stuttgart	Konzertsaal der Leiderhalle	(solo recital)	n/a

[1] Gieseking premiered Max Trapp's Piano Concerto in D major, op. 26, during this performance.

[2] This concert served as a fundraiser for the German Winterhilfswerk des deutschen Volkes (Winter Relief Campaign of the German People).

Date:	Place:	Society:	Hall:	Orchestra:	Conductor:
5 Dec.	Munich	Süddeutsche Konzertdirektion Otto Bauer	Bayerischer Hof [Hotel]	(solo recital)	n/a
7 Dec.	Trieste	Societa dei Concerti	Sala del Littorio	(solo recital)	n/a[3]
9 Dec.	Livorno	Societa Amici della Musica	Sala del Teatro Goldoni	(solo recital)	n/a
11 Dec.	Rome	Artistic Director: Vincenzo di Donato	Reale Accademia Filharmonic Romana	(solo recital)	n/a
5 Jan.	Kiel	Verein der Musikfreunde e.V. Kiel	Universitätssaula	(solo recital shared with a quintet)	n/a
5 Jan.	Stadt Flensberg	Subscription Concert of the Grenzland Orchestra	Deutsches Haus	(solo recital)	n/a
6 Jan.	Kiel	Verein der Musikfreunde e.V. Kiel/ Symphoniekonzert	Haus der Arbeit	?	Hans Gahlenbeck
7 Jan.	Hanover	Konzertdirektion Adolph Nagel[4]	Beethovensaal/Stadthalle	(solo recital)	n/a
8 Jan.	Bremen	Union Kaufmänn. Verein Bremen	?	(solo recital)	n/a
10 Jan.	The Hague	?	Theater Diligentia	(solo recital)	n/a
11 Jan.	Amsterdam	?	Muziek-Lyceum	(solo recital)	n/a
14 Jan.	Berlin	Konzert-Direktion Hans Adler, Berlin	Bachsaal	(solo recital)	n/a

[3] Chopin was banned in Italy at the time of this performance, causing Gieseking to make last-minute changes to his program.

[4] The surviving program indicates that Gieseking's manager, Dr. Rudolf Goette of Hamburg, was responsible for the actual *tour* arrangements: "Tourneeleitung—Konzert-direktion Dr. Rudolph [*sic*] Goette, Hamburg."

Appendix 3:

Essays by Walter Gieseking: A Partially Annotated List in Chronological Order

"Zum Problem 'Klavier': Rundfragebeantwortungen." *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, Okt./Nov. 1927, 387.
This is Gieseking's reply to questions he was sent pertaining to the role of the piano in *Hausmusik* and in the concert hall.

"Glossen zur Musikkritik." *Melos*, März 1929, 124–25.

"Practical Considerations in Pianoforte Interpretation." *The Etude*, Sept. 1929, 645-46.
While this "interview" is attributed to Florence Leonard, it is printed in the form of an essay without any questions or commentary by Leonard interspersed within Gieseking's discussion.

"Neue Sachlichkeit im Klavierspiel." *Der Querschnitt*, Ende April, 1930, 239–41.

"Moderne Anschlagsprobleme." In *Deutsche Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Prag: 1920–1930*, 44–46. Prague: Kuratorium der Deutschen Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst, 1931. Reprinted in Walter Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 89–92. Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1963.

"Bekenntnis zum Klaver." *Deutscher Tonkünstler-Zeitung*, 5 Mar. 1933, 33.

"Denkschrift." Hanover, Aug. 1933. Private publication. Copy available at the Stadtarchiv Hannover: Nds. STAH-HR19 Nr. 57, Aug. 1933.
Gieseking wrote this in honor of his mentor and brother-in-law, Karl Leimer.

"Increasing the Resources of the Piano." *Etude*, July 1935, 399, 434.
Although this "interview" is attributed to David Ewen, it is printed in the form of an essay without any questions or commentary by Ewen interspersed within Gieseking's discussion.

"Zum Lobe des Klaviers." *Deutsche Tonkünstler Zeitung*, Okt. 1936, 4–5. Reprinted in *Skizzen* (Berlin) 12, no. 6/7 (1938), 11–12. Reprinted with some omissions in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 85–88.

"Wie Künstler üben." *Deutsche Tonkünstler-Zeitung*, Okt. 1937, 1–7. Reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 93–96.

"An Interview with the Eminent Pianist Walter Gieseking." The Amazing Musical World of To-day. *Etude*, Jan. 1939, 7–8.
While this "interview" is attributed to Oliver Daniel, it is, like the above-listed interviews in the *Etude*, printed in the form of an essay without any questions or commentary by Daniel interspersed within Gieseking's discussion.

"Bach-Interpretation auf dem Konzerflügel." *Der Musikerzieher*, Mai 1941, 121–23. Reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 111–17.

"Intuition und Werktreue als Grundlagen der Interpretation." In *Von Deutscher Tonkunst. Festschrift zu Peter Raabes 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Alfred Morgenroth, 147–50. Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1942. Reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 97–102.

"Wie spielt man Ravels Klaviermusik?" *Melos: Zeitschrift für Neue Musik*, Dez. 1947, 412–14. Reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 122–26.

"Mozart auf dem Klavier—mit oder ohne Pedal?" *Melos*. 1. Jahrgang, Heft 1. (Feb. 1948): 11–14.

"Ein Fehler in Beethoven's Waldstein-Sonata." *Das Musikleben*, Mai 1948, 105. Reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 127–28.

"Warum ich Debussy Spiele." *Die Quelle: Zeitschrift für Theater, Musik, Film*. 2. Jahrgang, Heft 6 (1948), 68–72. Reprinted in Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 118–21.

"Warum ich nicht in Amerika spielte: Stürmische Hinflug – Proteste – Rückkehr aus eigenem Entschluß," *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, 1 Feb. 1949.

Although Gieseking himself never typed, an original typescript (from Jan. 1949) of the article, with two suggested titles—"Mein Wiedersehen mit New York – oder: Mein Weekend in New York"—survives in the GFA. After appearing in the *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, it was printed in at least one other German newspaper, under a shortened titled: see "Warum ich nicht spielte," clipping from unidentified newspaper, 3 Feb. 1949, preserved in Pressesammlung W. Gieseking, IfZ, Munich. Finally, with some modifications, it was used to help conclude Gieseking's autobiographical sketch in *So wurde ich Pianist*, see pp. 72–79.

"Lebendige Musikpflege in Südamerika." *Musik im Unterricht* 42 (1951), 73–74.

"About Mozart's Piano Music." Liner Note. In *W. A. Mozart. Complete Works for Piano Solo by Walter Gieseking*. Recorded 1953–54. Angel Records 35068–35078, 1956. 11 LPs.

Gieseking wrote the essay in German, French, and English. Under the German title, "Mozarts Klaviermusik," it was reprinted in Gieseking, *So Wurde ich Pianist*, 129–31.

"On Playing Ravel." Liner Note. In *The Piano Works of Maurice Ravel by Walter Gieseking*. Recorded 1954. Angel Records 35272–74 (also 3541–45), 1955. 3 LPs.

Like the above-listed Mozart essay, Gieseking likewise wrote this one on Ravel in German, French, and English. In a letter to his daugther Jutta and her family, dated 17 October 1955 (preserved in the GFA), he remarked, "I still have to write the Ravel forward in French; the English version was accepted with only two small corrections." ("Das Ravel-Vorwort muss ich jeztzt [auf] französisch schreiben, die englische Version ist mit 2 kleinen Korrekturen angenommen.)

"Vom Pedal." In Gieseking, *So wurde ich Pianist*, 103–10.

There is no record of this essay having been published earlier, and there is no indication of when it was written.

Appendix 4A:

Published Compositions by Walter Gieseking

Weimar Era

"Quintet" (B Dur – Si B) für Klavier, Oboe, Clarinette, Waldhorn und Fagott. Berlin: Adolph Fürstner, 1922. See also Posthumous Reprints and Publications below.

Ausgewählte Lieder [von] Richard Strauss. No. 1 "Ständchen, no. 2 "Heimkehr," no. 3 "Freundliche Vision," no. 4 "Winterweihe," no. 5 "Schlechtes Wetter." Freie Bearbeitungen für Klavier. Berlin: Adolph Fürstner, 1923; reprint, London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1943.

"Foxtrott-Improvisation" from the *Drei Tanzimpovisationen*. Printed in the *Musikblätter des Hannoverschen Anzeigers*, Nr. 1, 1. Jahrgang, Hanover, February 1925, with permission from Adolph Fürstner, Berlin.

Schorschi-Batschi Fox-Trott. Berlin: Paragon-Musik-Verlag, ca. 1925. Published under the pseudonym "Willking Giese."

Drei Tanzimprovisationen für Klavier. Berlin: Adolph Fürstner, 1926; London: Hawkes & Son, 1926.

"Der Zinnoberschlager" [Cabaret Lied] Text: Kurt Schwitters. Hannover: *Hannoverscher Kurier*, 1928. Printed with permission from Adolph Fürstner, Berlin.

"Die Dame von besserer Qualität" [Cabaret Lied] Text: Käte Steinitz and Kurt Schwitters. Hanover: Edler & Krische, 1928. Printed by with permission from Adolph Fürstner, Berlin.

National Socialist Era

21 Kinderlieder nach Gedichten von Paula und Richard Dehmel. Composed 1934–35. Berlin: C. G. Röder (private printing), n.d. (ca. late-1930s).[1] See also Posthumous Reprints and Publications below.

Sonatine für Flöte und Klavier. Berlin: Johannes Oertel, 1937. See also Posthumous Reprints and Publications below.

Variationen für Flöte oder Violine und Klavier über ein Thema von Grieg. Berlin: Johannes Oertel, 1938. See also Posthumous Reprints and Publications below.

[1] A copy of this rare printing can be found in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. Gieseking's personal copy, along with the handwritten drafts and fair copies, survives in the GFA in Wiesbaden.

World War II

Kleine Musik für drei Violinen. Edited by Max Strub. Berlin-Grunewald: Johannes Oertel/Adolf Fürstner, 1941.

Serenade [in] A-Dur für Streichquartett (2 Violinen, Bratsche und Cello). Berlin-Grunewald: Johannes Oertel, 1943.

Postwar Period

Konzert-Sonatine für Violoncello und Klavier. Berlin-Grunewald: Johannes Oertel, 1948.

Spiel um ein Kinderlied für Klavier zu 4 Händen. Berlin-Grunewald: Johannes Oertel, 1948.[2]

Posthumous Publications and Reprints

"Jazz Improvisation" (with editing), published in *John W. Schaum presents Composer-Pianists: Ten Compositions in their Original Form for Piano*. Milwaukee: Schaum Publications, 1971: 13–15. Reprint of the second piece from the *Drei Tanzimprovisationen* of 1926.

Quintett (B-Dur) für Klavier, Oboe, Clarinette, Waldhorn und Fagott. Reprint, London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1969.

Variations on a Theme by Edvard Grieg for flute and piano. Edited by Ervin Monroe. Reprint, Detroit: Little Piper, 1995.

Sonatine for flute and piano. Reprint, Detroit: Little Piper, 1996.

"Tempo di Charleston," from *Drei Tanz-Improvisationen*. Reprint, London: Boosey & Hawkes, n.d. (possibly an earlier reprint).

"Tempi di Charleston" from *Drei Tanz-Improvisationen*. Reprinted in the article Joseph Smith, "Walter Gieseking's Charleston." *Piano Today* 17, no. 4 (1997): 14–17.

21 Kinderlieder. Reprint, Mainz: Schott, 1998.

Divertimento für Klarinette in A und Streichquartett. First publication. Edition Ebenos, Aachen, 2002.

[2] For further details regarding each of the compositions published between 1937 and 1948, see Table 3, "Gieseking's Published Compositions from 1937 to 1948" in Excursus 4.

Appendix 4B:

Selected Unpublished Compositions by Walter Gieseking

Conservatory Years

Lieder

"Der steinerne Graf und die marmornen Prinzessinnen" (Clara Müller-Jahnke) (18 Sept. 1915)
"Kinderreim" (Gustav Falke) (28 Sept. 1915)

World War I

Melodrama for Speaker and Piano

"Der Meister" (Oscar Wilde) (18–31 Aug. 1917; notated 13 Aug. 1917 in Borkum)

Lieder

"Ihr Wunsch" (Richard Dehmel) (Sept. 1917, notated 1 Oct. 1917, Borkum)
"In der Nacht" (Carl Lange) (30 Oct. 1917, notated 12 Nov. 1917, Borkum)
"O wüchsen Flügel mir" (Carl Lange) (4 Nov. –15 Dec. 1917, notated 19 Jan. 1918, Borkum)
"Ich und du . . ." (Otto König) (7 Apr. 1918, notated May–3 June 1918)
"Dann" (Richard Dehmel) (End of 1917, notated 25 May 1918, Borkum)
"Frecher Bengel" (Richard Dehmel) (30 June–10 July 1918)
"Der Frühlingskasper" (Richard Dehmel) (27 July 1918, notated 1 Aug. 1918, Borkum)
"Du" (Richard Schaukal) (7 July 1918, finished 4–20 Dec. 1918, notated 14 Jan. 1919)

Piano solo

Die Kaiserin (based on Klabund's adaptation of a Li-tai-pe poem) (1917–18, notated 13–14 June 1918)

Germany Revolutionary Period

Lieder

"Es fallen die Blätter vom Nordwind gepeitscht . . ." (Anonymous) (Oct.–Nov. 1918)
"Schlummerlied" (Alfred Mombert) (1918? & 10 Mar. 1919)

Weimar Era

Lied

"Verlassen" (Albert Ehrenstein) (6 Sept. 1920)

Piano solo

"Der 'Schorschi-Batchi'" (first version) (ca. 1925)
Untitled (Charleston) (Dec. 1932)
Variationen über ein Thema von Paganini (incomplete, ca. late 1933–early 1934?)
Chaconne über ein Thema von Scarlatti (Aria, L. 423) (14–21 Jan. 1939, "an Bord der [SS] *New York*")

World War II

Piano four-hands

Divertimento (4 Unterhaltungsstücke) (August 1939–January 1940)

Lieder

Sag ich euch, geliebte Bäume (Goethe) (11–13 June 1940)
Vollmacht (Rilke) (end of June–early July 1940)
Löwenzahn (Karl Heinrich Waggerl) (May–June 1944)
"Ich geh' in dir . . . " (Anonymous) (May–June 1944)

Postwar Period

Chamber Music

Kleine Musik für drei Violinen: (ca. late 1945–early 1946, published 1948)
Variationen über das Wolgalied [i.e. The Song of the Volga Boatmen] for cello and piano (Dec. 1946)

Lieder

"Das Läusekraut" (Karl Heinrich Waggerl) (6 Nov. 1950)
"Die Distel" (Karl Heinrich Waggerl) (6 Nov. 1950)
"Der Schierling" (Karl Heinrich Waggerl) (6 Nov. 1950)

Arrangement

Sonata di Domenico Scarlatti [D. Scarlatti's Keyboard Sonata in G major (Suite 36, K. 91/L. 176), arranged in D major for cello (or violin) and piano] (9 Feb. 1948)

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Heinz Tiessen Archiv:
VE: Postkarte Walter Gieseking an Heinz Tiessen. Klassifikationsgruppe: 3.1. Korrespondenz Personen. Lauf. Nr.: 719

American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History, Boston

Collection of the American Jewish Historical Society, Boston, MA and New York, NY: Boston Jewish Community Relations Council:
JCRC Box 169: folder 9 [re: Gieseking]; folder 7 [re: Ernő (Ernst von) Dohnányi], folder 8 [re: Kirsten Flagstad]
JCRC Box 170, folder 2 [re: Herbert von Karajan]

Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv, Berlin

Altes Amt, Deutsche Botschaft Paris, 1113X, Musikwesen, Kult 12 Nr. 3, 1943–44
Altes Amt, Deutsche Botschaft Paris, 1142Z, Musik, Kult 12 Nr 3, 1942–1943
Altes Amt, Kult Pol K, Musik, 1943–45, R 66.964b

Altes Amt, Antwerpen 13/3: Gastspiele deutscher und ausländischer Künstler, Band 3, Apr. 1935–Oct. 1938
Altes Amt, Antwerpen 13/4: Gastspiele deutscher und ausländischer Künstler, Band 3, Oct. 1938–Apr. 1939
Altes Amt, Stockholm 694: 18. Schweden Teil 2: Kultur, Innere Verhältnisse, 1943–44, 694

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

Signatur: Autogr. Gieseking, Walter

Bundesarchiv (BA), Berlin

Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (RMfVP), R 55/73, R 55/1176.
File: Walter Gieseking, [b. 1895], Occupation: Pianist (8 ICU/D/492/GPO), RKK, BDC, BA. Former records of the Berlin Document Center (BDC), includes Reichskulturkammer (RKK) documents (10 pages) and Denazification documents (ca. 70 pages)

Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Handschriftenabteilung des Schiller-Nationalmuseums / Deutschen Literaturarchivs

Bestand/Zugangsnummer: A. Michael. Correspondence (1946 and 1952) between Gieseking and Friedrich Michael, Hans Kirchner's eulogy on Gieseking (30 Oct. 1956), Anna Caroline Kichner's eulogy on Gieseking (Bad Soden am Taunus, Allerheiligen [1 Nov. 1956], 1 newspaper clipping (9 pages)

Duke University, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library

J. B. Matthews Papers
Box 606, persons series, Walter Gieseking folder

Elder, Dean, Collection (DEC), in the author's possession since 2011

Elder's papers related to Gieseking; a description of the content is given in the Introduction.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Washington D.C.

FBI file 100, sub. 117462, FBI Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) file (No. 1089063-000, released 21 Sept. 2007, U.S. Department of Justice), Subject: Walter Wilhelm Gieseking
FBI case "FOI/PA file no. 1089086-000, re Flagstad, Kirsten Malfrid," released 9 Jan. 2008, U.S. Department of Justice
FBI Case Control Number: 200705370 (FOIA request) [records related to Kirsten Flagstad, 1945–49, released 15 Jan. 2010]

Gelman Library (GL), George Washington University, Washington D.C.

American Veterans Committee (AVC) Records:
File: "Gieseking, Walter (Nazi pianist), 1944–1953," AVC records, MS2144, Series 1, Subseries 1: General, 1946–2000, box 7, folder 5

Gieseking Family Archive, including Gieseking's *Nachlass*, privately maintained by Jutta Hajmássy (née Gieseking), Wiesbaden

Family records, passports, documents from the Hanover Conservatory, marriage and death certificates, and genealogical information required by the Nazi regime Awards received and other memorabilia
Two scrapbooks containing hundreds of newspaper clippings (mostly concert reviews) from 1917 to 1926: the smaller scrapbook (33 x 28 cm) covers November 1917–August 1919 (with loose articles that continue until July 1920); the larger scrapbook (ca. 47 x 31.5 cm), labeled "Sammelbuch für Zeitungsausschnitte aller Art" ("Scrapbook for all types of Newspaper Clippings") covers October 1920–April 1926
Envelopes of other hundreds of additional newspaper clippings, plus hundreds of loose clippings from many countries, covering most of Gieseking's career
Hundreds of letters, postcards, and telegrams spanning Gieseking's life
A large box of condolence letters and telegrams regarding Gieseking's death, sent from around the world
The complete collection of Gieseking's compositions, hundreds of pages that are mostly in manuscript and include the sketches, drafts, and fair copies (Note: only the autograph copies of some of the published works are missing, which may have been kept by the publishers.)
A draft essay on piano playing, one possibly never finished and published
Gieseking's own handwritten copies of a small number of other composers' works
Scores: standard literature and lesser-known works by other composers
Programs from concerts given worldwide throughout Gieseking's career
Photographs: hundreds in all, almost entirely black and white
Literature (mostly German classics and poetry), various books and music magazines, and a collection of reference works on butterflies and moths
Three collections of reviews (hundreds in number) of the posthumous publication of Gieseking's *So wurde ich Pianist*
Gieseking's record collection (78s and LPs) including private recordings and test pressings; other reel-to-reel tapes and 8mm film (the dates of which are uncertain) also exist[1]

[1] This list is incomplete. The items given, nonetheless, demonstrate the magnitude and importance of Gieseking's *Nachlass*, much of which would be rather impossible to obtain today as many documents are either unique or extremely rare. While Hajmássy has made an effort to keep all of the papers related to her father organized to some degree (e.g. most of the correspondence—excluding many postcards—is kept in numerous envelopes, within one large box), none of the materials are properly archived, and there is no kind of formal finding aid. Although the manuscripts of Gieseking's completed compositions tend to be grouped together, sometimes in individual folders, for instance, the

Hessische Landesbibliothek, Wiesbaden (HLW)

Korrespondenz Walter Gieseking, Hs 316

Hessisches Ministerium für politische Befreiung, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Wiesbaden (HHW)

Abt.: 504, Nr. 72, Zg.: 33/1970
"Meldebogen," 24 Apr. 1946. Abt.: 520 W, Nr. NB: Walter Gieseking

Hochschule für Musik und Theater (HfMuT) "Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy" Bibliothek/Archiv, Leipzig

NL Ernst Smigelski/Korrespondenz, Kastennummer 3

Houghton Library (HL), Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

Gieseking, Walter: subject file, 1948. 1 folder. Series VIII, subject files: MS Am 2302 (5317). Howard M. Jones, George G. Kirstein, Carey McWilliams Papers, Houghton Library–Modern Books and Manuscripts

Institut für Zeitgeschichte (IfZ), Munich

RG 260, Office of Military Government, United Stated records (OMGUS), Signatur: 1948/139/2/AG (microfiche)
RG 260, OMGUS, Signatur: 1948/138/5/AG (microfiche)
RG 260, OMGUS, Signatur: 5/269–1/7
Pressesammlung W. Gieseking
Korrespondenz des Propagandaministeriums, Akz. Nr. 2231/58, MA 103/2

International Piano Archives, University of Maryland, College Park (IPAM)

Harry L. Anderson Collection
Mary Louise Boehm Collection
Donald Manildi Collection
Miscellaneous commercial and private recordings

Landesarchiv Saarbrücken

StK 4961: Unterlagen zur Einbürgerung von Prof. Walter Gieseking
InfA 452: Biographische Angaben und Artikel über Prof. Walter Gieseking et al. (Artikel in "The Saar," November 1954)

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pages are otherwise simply kept in various piles, without any further organization. At the outset of this research, the author therefore had to create spreadsheets based on his reproductions (all digital photographs permitted by Hajmássy), using the image numbers as a means of identification. A spreadsheet of the entire manuscript collection was produced, as well as a number of others cataloging additional materials. For the correspondence, detailed notes were prepared, saved as a series of Word documents that are arranged by year.

Landesbibliothek Coburg, Germany

Gieseking Letters to conductor Carl Fichtner (1873–1972):
Signatur: Ms 262, betr. W.

Landeshauptstadt München Stadtarchiv

Zeitungsausschnittsammlung: “Walter Gieseking” newspaper clippings folder
(7 items from the 1930s and 1950s)

Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington D.C.

Frank Farrell Papers:
Subject File: Gieseking, Walter, 1949, N. D. Box 53, folder 13
Subject File: Winchell, Walter, 1938, 1944 – 48, 1972, 1978, N. D.
box 73, folder 23
National Flute Association, Inc. Archives. Lambros D. Callimahos folders:
Box 53, folders 3 and 5; box 68, folder 15; box 77, folder 11
Nicolas Slonimsky Collection. Correspondence: “Gieseking, Walter”:
Box 141, folder 24
Sergei Koussevitsky Archive. General Correspondence: “Walter Gieseking”:
Box 22, folder 20

Martin Luther King Library, Washington D.C.

Washington (Evening) Star Morgue:
“Flagstad, Kirsten,” clip file
“Gieseking, Walter,” clip file

Michelle Smith Performing Arts Library, Special Collections, University of Maryland, College Park

Irving Lowens Collection:
“Gieseking, Walter,” folder.

Minnesota Historical Society Library (MHSL), St. Paul, MN

Jewish Community Relations Council of Minnesota, Council Records (1922–74):
Subject files: Flagstad, Kirsten, 1947–49, P445, box 24; Gieseking, Walter, 1948–56, P445, box 26; von Karajan, Herbert, 1955, P445, box 58

National Archives and Records Administration II (NARA II), College Park, MD

RG 59: General Records of the Department of State
Boxes: 111, 250, 448
RG 131: Records of the Office of Alien Property
Boxes: 448, 457

RG 165: Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs
Box: 745
RG 260: Records of U.S. Occupation Headquarters, World War II, Office of Military Government, U.S. Zone (OMGUS)
Boxes: 2, 7, 238, 242–43, 727–29

National Archives and Records Administration I (NARA I), Washington, D.C.

RG 85: Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Entry 9: Files: 56247/208, 56249/953, 56269/700, 56288/898

Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv–Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hannover

Bestandsname: Kestner-Gesellschaft e.V., Bestandes Dep. 100, Nr. 10 (Laufzeit: 01.12.1919–10.02.1920), Nr. 12 (Laufzeit: 15.08.1920–30.11.1920), Nr. 14–17 (Laufzeit: 01.02.1921–31.12.1921), Nr. 19–26 (Laufzeit: 21.03.1922–15.06.1924); ZGS 2/1 Nr. 57-Gieseking
Hann. 122a Nr. 3390, 1926-1932 (zum Städtischen Konservatorium)
Hann. 180 Hann. E4 Nr. 1/5, 1939-1945 (zur Einrichtung einer niedersächsischen Landesmusikschule in Hannover)

Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Records, Immigration: Gieseking, Walter, 1949, box 825, folder 6; Immigration: Gieseking, Walter Nazi Sympathizer, 1953, box 829, folder 26

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn Archiv

Mus. Nachl. F. Busoni, B II, 5809 (1 Postkarte von Gieseking an Busoni et als., Aug. 1923)

Stadtarchiv Hannover

Akte Hauptregistratur (HR) 19 Nr. 57, Stadt.H.: Diverse Schreiben; Gieseking, “Denkschrift [honoring Karl Leimer],” Hanover, Aug. 1933. Private publication.

Stadtbibliothek Hannover, Niedersächsisches Schrifttumsarchiv

Walter Gieseking: Briefe (1927, 1950) und Noten (1928)

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Technische Universität Darmstadt

Br./Nachlass Schiebelhuth V/1,8; Ko 45/803

Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany

Nachlass Theodor Haering d. J. (Md 1014) [1 letter from Gieseking, 23 July 1951]

U.S. Department of Justice/Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington D.C.

Subject file: Gieseking, Walter Wilhelm (FOIPA No. 1089063-00)6

Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit

Jewish Community Council records, Series 2, box 401

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Scores

Note: Gieseking's complete published scores are given in Appendix 4A, with selected unpublished compositions listed in Appendix 4B.

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