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Music Most Worthy—At the Office of War Information

Even before World War II ended, American composers helped plan for the dissemination of American culture in postwar Europe. Occupying a territory between the musical and the military both during the war and after, they secured a space for new music during reconstruction. Just days before Germany surrendered, Roy Harris wrote to Elliott Carter:

The Office of War Information is making a democratic survey of the opinions of our leading musicians concerning American music. As one of our important composers, you would aid us greatly by sending a list of the ten composers of symphonic and chamber music whom you think are most worthy to represent American culture to European nations. Your list will be kept confidential. An early response will be greatly appreciated.1

As the chief of music section in the Radio Program Bureau for the Office of War Information (OWI) in New York, Harris sought help in tapping the pulse of American music. Henry Cowell, too, served the OWI as a consultant “in charge of what music to select to broadcast to foreign countries.”2 The choices made by American composers shaped some European compositional trends in the decades following the war, and the policies they designed under the supervision of

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the U.S. Military Government in Germany (OMGUS) helped create a uniquely generous climate for new music. Their obligation to “reeducation” took many forms, to varying degrees of success. What some Americans found most deserving and what many Germans found most engaging after World War II differed significantly, and more and more as time went on. While American orchestral music asserted its equality to European works, German listeners (like the historian Karl Wörner) sorted out their views on the American “extremes between academicism and experiment.” At the same time, due to broadcasting practices and radio-sponsored new music festivals, the music of Henry Cowell, John Cage, and others associated with avant-garde Americana rose to a position of prominence in German new music circles.

Several recent studies have surveyed the German reception of American jazz and drawn connections between U.S. Army ensembles and postwar musical life in Germany; other sources inform us about America’s role in the occupation years and after. Adding to those histories, the stories told here serve to enrich our appreciation of German-American musical interplay by describing American classical and avant-garde music’s role in several postwar-era initiatives. On close examination, the repertoire favored by orchestras, radio stations, and new music festivals emerges between 1945 and 1958 as a deepening rupture in the contemporary music world. Moreover, the German debut of John Cage and David Tudor in 1954 appears as a key event in this chronicle, and therefore its genesis, planning, and reception are documented with selected detail. A complex postwar musical terrain emerges from the sum of these parts, one that reveals the firm roots of an enduring German canon of American music.

“The Big Bad American Music Wolf” and Orchestras
During Occupation
As a central part of reeducation, OMGUS created the Information Control Division (ICD), which oversaw and licensed activities in music, theater, film, radio, and print media. The Theater and Music Branch, a division of ICD, undertook staggering tasks of denazification and cultural renewal from 1945 until 1949. Sponsoring American celebrities for visits to German cities, like Leonard Bernstein who toured Germany as a cultural ambassador in 1948, helped the U.S. reeducation program put a charismatic face on its policy. An OMGUS document describing Bernstein’s visit to Munich, titled “American Musicians in Bavaria,” portrayed the official policy on cultural propaganda, the ongoing tension and rivalry between American and German musicians, and the practical difficulties American officers encountered. The author emphasized that the Music Section regard-
ed Bernstein’s Munich visit, during which he was scheduled to conduct the Bavarian State Opera Orchestra under OMGUS sponsorship in two May concerts, as “the most important musical event from a reorientation standpoint that has taken place in Bavaria since the war.” However, on the morning of Bernstein’s arrival the State Opera began its food strike and at first it was thought that there could be no concerts. The orchestra finally rather unhappily agreed to one concert with a limited number of rehearsals, since Bernstein was the first American conductor of any importance to conduct in Germany. After the first rehearsal the orchestra’s devotion to and admiration for Bernstein were so great that there was no longer any doubt that there would be a concert. As news of Bernstein’s talent spread in the music community critics and conductors of the vicinity began to gather for the last two rehearsals. The surprise expressed all too frequently was that an American could come and teach Germans how to play. One critic commented that only one other conductor in Germany could rival Bernstein in conducting Schumann. The concert itself, which consisted of Schumann’s Second Symphony, Roy Harris’ Third Symphony and the Ravel Piano Concerto with Bernstein playing the solo part and conducting at the same time was a complete success. Bernstein had to repeat the last movement of the Ravel Concerto. Persons lined the sidewalks after the concert to applaud Bernstein and German cars escorted him along Prinzregentenstrasse cheering him. All press reports were exceptionally enthusiastic.5

The author of the report exaggerated the musicians’ enthusiasm, since part of Bernstein’s success depended on a package of cigarettes being made available through the Bavarian Military Government office for each member of the striking orchestra who attended the rehearsals. In addition to the food strike, before Bernstein’s concert a streetcar strike prevented the musicians from traveling to rehearsals or to the concert itself. The local Military Government could not provide transportation, and in the end, the report explains, a “group of Jewish DP trucks drove the German orchestra members to and from two rehearsals and the concert, and saved the day.” Finally, despite overcoming these hindrances, American military personnel stationed in Munich showed little interest in Bernstein’s visit, and less than a dozen servicemen attended despite free tickets. Bernstein’s Munich engagement, though troubled, paved the way for more American musicians, conductors, ensembles, and orchestras who toured West Germany during the years of the military occupation and after. Embracing the role of a musical messenger from the free world, Bern-
stein joined a diverse gamut of diplomatic tools, both individual and institutional, for reorienting German culture. Together, such agents of reeducation shaped the venues for contemporary music that would come to dominate new composition and performance, recording and publishing, music criticism and international musical exchange.

OMGUS Music Officers strove to “popularize” American classical music and to diversify German views of American music beyond jazz. An eyewitness report told how German musicians and audiences alike still harbored deep prejudices about “serious” American music, though regional differences in repertoire depended on the attitude of local conductors:

For a long time no Stuttgart orchestra performed any American music. At last, with the advent of Mr. Wetzelsberger, the Stuttgart State Opera performed Samuel Barber’s Adagio for Strings. The reception was cool, the performance only just passable. This was followed by Samuel Barber’s First Essay for Orchestra some time later, and Radio Stuttgart added to his glory by performing Barber’s Violin Concerto. The Germans in Stuttgart were convinced that America had one composer and his name was Barber. . . . But Wetzelsberger knew more of American music than just Barber. We had given him scores of Creston, William Schuman, Roy Harris, Copland, Sessions, etc. Wetzelsberger invariably expressed great enthusiasm and admiration; symphony concerts came and went; guest conductors came and went, but no American music outside of this slight placation to American’s Eterpe fell on the ears of the ever critical Germans. In contrast to this, Heidelberg and Mannheim devoured American scores as rapidly as they were given them. In a veritable flood of modernism Richard Lauge presented Schuman, Copland, Barber, and Piston. . . . The great Matzerath would only conduct the works he knew. At last after months of probing and talking, playing him records, giving him books to read and using every other mode of persuasion, Matzerath accepted Robert McBride’s Strawberry Jam (Homemade). The performance was excellent and it certainly had an effect on the audience. It knocked them flat. They did not know whether to laugh, applaud, or hiss, so they did a bit of all three. Matzerath enjoyed his success and got over his fear of the big bad American music wolf.6

Despite efforts to expand the stylistic range of repertoire, a memo released in August 1946 reported that up to that time only works by American composers Samuel Barber, Leonard Bernstein, Elliott Carter, Aaron Copland, Howard Hanson, Charles Ives, Nicolas Nabokov, Walter Piston, Quincy Porter, William Schuman, and Randall Thomp-
son had been performed in Germany.7 (This list might represent the ten composers—plus himself—Carter chose in response to Harris’s request.) That same year, in order to promote a wider variety of music, the four allied powers established an international music library—the Inter-Allied Music Lending Library—for lending scores and parts to individuals and orchestras throughout occupied Germany. The library officially opened on September 28, 1946. Occupying two rooms at the State Library on Berlin’s main boulevard Unter den Linden, the music library enjoyed its own private side entrance from the Charlottenstraße. The OWI supplied initial shipments of American scores in early 1946.8 A weekly report of the Theater and Music Branch described the library and its opening ceremony, which was broadcast on German radio stations and attended by officials of the British, French, Russian, and U.S. authorities with their music officers:

The Library comprises appr. 600 British, 200 Soviet, 100 French, and 100 U.S. musical works. During the short musical program at the opening, the third movement of Aaron Copland’s Violin Sonata was played by Hans Duenschede with Fritz Guhl accompanying him. There is a mimeographed catalogue available of all American works at the library. The catalogue also contains short biographies of the composers in German language. It is intended to enlarge the American contribution to this library as soon as additional music, musical literature and recordings of American music arrives from the States. At that time it is planned to open a branch of this library in the U.S. zone of Germany.9

Writing for Notes in 1947, the composer Harrison Kerr informed American readers that the Berlin ICD, and American officers in particular, had been active in fostering an interest in American music, part of the “promotional efforts fostered by the reorientation program.” The Inter-Allied Music Lending Library catalog, Kerr explained, included 211 works by 98 composers, a biographical sketch of each composer, and a list of the performances of each work so far given in Germany.10 Including chamber, vocal, and orchestral works, by autumn 1947 the library held scores by Antheil, Barber, Bernstein, Bloch, Bowles, Copland, Cowell, Crawford, Creston, Dello Joio, Diamond, Foote, Gershwin, Gould, Griffes, Hanson, Harris, Ives, Kerr, MacDowell, Piston, Porter, Riegger, Schuman, Sessions, Still, and Thomson. OMGUS cultural offices kept careful records about where and when American music was performed, and reported on that activity to military administrators.11 But contempt about American culture and suspicion about modernism made diverse programming difficult. The group Friends and Enemies of Modern Music, founded in Stuttgart in 1947, tackled the problem head-on:
Harrison Kerr, Chief of the Music and Art section of re-orientation branch visited Stuttgart and talked with most of the important German music people here. He found nothing more than a lack of interest in American music and a gimmie-gimmie attitude for whatever materials short of American composition that we might have to offer. He was pretty disgusted. Pianists and string quartets ordered music from the Interallied Music Library in Berlin and held on to it like leeches. We were grateful if one out of ten would originally perform a short piece. It was then that we conceived the idea in bitter good faith of the Friends and Enemies of Modern Music. This organization was founded in Stuttgart in March 1947. Its purpose was to further in the main American music and the contemporary music of all non-German nations in a series of reading concerts to be held in the American Information Library free of charge to all professional people with an audience of not more than forty. It was to be as snobbish as possible and equally inaccessible—as a result its popularity spread like wild-fire. Shortly after the founding of the Stuttgart Chapter, Heidelberg and Karlsruhe followed. Munich and Bremen have now taken up the call. The results have been most gratifying. To date some twenty new works have had their first performances in Wuerttemberg-Baden.12

This account found a positive outcome in Stuttgart where agents of musical reeducation reported that “we can now say today, with a certain pride that American music has gained in stature and respect.”13 By August 1947 the American lending library of the U.S. Information Center in Stuttgart included in its catalog over one hundred modern compositions by fifty-five American composers; Walter Piston led the list with eleven works.14 According to an OMGUS report from Wuerttemberg-Baden (as the zone was called at the time), Piston’s Concertino for Piano and Orchestra was met with “a reasonable degree of enthusiasm” when performed by the Heidelberg orchestra in late 1947, due in part to the fact that the public “found a certain similarity in style and sound to Hindemith and so were willing to accept the work more readily.”15 During the late 1940s a flood of similar memos from officers in other cities in the American zone kept close track of orchestral performances of American music, which continued to favor Barber, Harris, Piston, and Schuman, and reported on audiences’ reactions to this unfamiliar repertoire.

In the former capital of the Third Reich, still a crater of rock and ash, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra also worked to eliminate fears of the “big bad American music wolf.” By May 1945, however, some thirty members of the orchestra had lost their lives, instruments and
scores had burned, and many of the remaining instruments had been confiscated by the Soviet army for their own military bands. During the first weeks of rehearsals, beginning just days after the surrender, OMGUS fed the entire orchestra a three-course meal in a Café Siebert in the southwest Berlin district of Dahlem. The daily meal helped strengthen the constitution of the musicians, many of whom were weak, undernourished, or ill after years of war. Nicolas Nabokov, a central diplomat in the European cultural rebirth, told how he and his colleagues

had to find halls and houses for the orchestras, operas and conservatories, coal to heat them, roofing and bricks to patch up the leaks and holes, bulbs to light them, instruments for the orchestras, calories for the musicians (questions raised at staff meetings included such ticklish problems as whether a trombonist is justified in getting more calories than a string player—that is, whether more calories are needed to blow the trombone than to bow the double bass). The bombed-out orchestra libraries needed parts and scores; composers needed music paper and ink; opera houses needed performers and costumes; and everybody needed shelter, food, and fuel.

During denazification, military officials established five classes of daily consumption for allotting fuel and food. People in the first group received 1,600 calories per day: they included hard laborers, scholars, doctors, production managers, city and local administrators, and people active in the creation of culture and art (Kultur- und Kunstschauffende). The inclusion of artists and musicians in the first group attests to the high value placed on culture during the immediate postwar months, though, as indicated by Nabokov’s comments, the categories themselves—the calories allotted to trombonists or double-bassists, for example—were somewhat flexible. Captain John Bitter, in an OMGUS Weekly Report from Berlin in 1946, revealed the absurdity of the situation when he described how “during the week ration cards were requested by two elephants and two opera singers.” Due to the severe lack of resources in the city he added: “The opera singers were taken care of comparatively speedily but the Food and Agriculture Branch made the request that in the future plenty of warning be given before inviting any more elephants and their herbivorous and carnivorous confreres to perform in this low calorie metropolis.” Nonetheless, the American zone gained a reputation for offering essential goods and luxuries not available in other zones. Especially between 1946 and 1948, German cultural leaders took note of the comforts of the U.S.-governed territories. Generous monetary support also made a strong mark. Financial records of “Checks Drawn
Upon the U.S. Military Government Reorientation Fund" reveal that between October 1948 and October 1949, for example, the highest amount of cultural funding went directly to Karl Amadeus Hartmann, who received DM 4,200 for Munich’s important new music festival Musica Viva. As early as June 1945, during Bavarian denazification interviews, Hartmann had been described by Arthur Vogel in a Music Section Daily Report as “a man of the utmost integrity and possessing] a musical outlook which is astonishingly sound and fresh for a man who has survived the Nazi occupation.”21 Hartmann’s efforts to bring new music to devastated Munich were strongly supported by Music Officer John Evarts, who explained how the revival of musical activities there, as in Berlin, struggled with simple details:

[A]longside the political clearance problem, practical problems played a heavy role. This office was faced with such varied problems as: How can we get strings for the orchestra instruments? How can we transport our conductor from Salzburg to Munich? How to find a room for the oboe player to sleep in? Where to find ten nails to complete repairs on the Opera House? Some—in fact many of the requests were impossible or ridiculous. But somehow the essential difficulties were overcome.22

Despite problems of communication, locating displaced musicians, and securing instruments and scores, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra gave its first concert, on May 26, 1945, in the Titania Palace Theater in the Berlin district of Steglitz. The program featured Mendelssohn’s Overture to A Midsummer Night’s Dream, Mozart’s Violin Concerto in A Major, and Tchaikovsky’s Fourth Symphony in F Minor.23 Many of the Berlin Philharmonic’s early concerts, like the “Konzert für amerikanische Soldaten” given on July 24, 1945, entertained only the men of the occupying forces.24 After the first postwar conductor, Leo Borchard, was accidentally killed by American soldiers in August 1945, Rudolph Dunbar became the first black conductor to lead the Berlin Philharmonic. Though trained as a musician, the thirty-eight-year-old Dunbar was stationed in Berlin after joining the war effort as a newspaper correspondent. Billed as “the famous American conductor” even though he held a British citizenship, Dunbar directed the European premiere of William Grant Still’s Afro-American Symphony, the first American work performed by the Berlin Philharmonic after the war (see fig. 1).25

A performance of American music for military employees by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in December 1945 included Samuel Barber’s Adagio for Strings conducted by Captain John Bitter, an “authorized musical delegate of the American occupation,” and a politically influential but somewhat controversial figure in the eyes of the
Figure 1. Program for Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra concert conducted by Rudolf Dunbar on September 2, 1945.
orchestra musicians. Typical for the time, the program notes emphasized the military involvement of both conductor and composer. The notes referred to the composer as "Corporal Samuel Barber," and the biographical sketch explained that since joining the Army Barber had enjoyed many military assignments, including "building latrines in Texas." Despite this unflattering introduction, Barber soon gained a reputation as one of America's most promising talents (for composition, not carpentry). Conductor Bitter had been in the Army since 1942 and currently worked for the Information Services Control Section at Berlin District Headquarters. The press also highlighted Bitter's American qualities. A reviewer of a concert Bitter conducted for the radio orchestra in Hamburg noted that he led the ensemble in a "unique, democratic way," and that he suppressed his own desires in a non-European fashion, displaying a "wise" way of conducting that even evoked the "Far East."

Radio Broadcasting, Neue Musik, and the Bildungsauftrag

Berlin's cultural reawakening and the rejuvenation of orchestras reflected the United States' inventive campaign toward musical re-education. In addition to concerts in the major cities, OMGUS engaged the radio as a powerful medium capable of reaching the widest audience during the immediate postwar period when paper for printing newspapers was scarce. Appealing to an American audience in Modern Music in January 1946, an eyewitness wrote that artistic life in Germany had been paralyzed long before the end of the war but had been boosted rapidly with the help of the western Allies, particularly in the area of radio broadcasting. Since May 1945, he reported, "the radio stations of the military governments have become artistic centers, especially in the American zone." After Germany's surrender, the American military took over the radio stations in Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Munich, renaming them Broadcasting Stations of the Military Government. The first postwar radio program was broadcast on May 12, 1945, by Radio Munich (just four days after Germany's unconditional surrender), on a frequency maintained by the Military Government in the American sector of Bavaria. The following day, the Berliner Rundfunk began broadcasting in the Soviet-occupied zone. For the next ten years, the western Allies would maintain some level of control over broadcasting in their zones.

The broadcasting system in the American zone was an important transmitter of information about democracy and American life. On November 21, 1945, the Berlin OMGUS and Headquarters of the First Airborne Army announced the "Reopening of the Drahtfunk in the American Sector [DIAS] of Berlin under the direct supervision of the
Information Control Services Control Section, U.S. Headquarters, Berlin Districts.\textsuperscript{32} The weak-signaled DIAS soon evolved into RIAS (Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor), the name change reflecting the switch to a wireless broadcasting network no longer dependent on telephone lines. On February 7, 1946, RIAS began broadcasting from the American sector in Berlin. From five o’clock in the afternoon until midnight, RIAS featured news, current reports, and music. Early on, American-run radio promoted “catching up” rather than overt political topics. And though RIAS played several styles of music enjoyable to listeners, the task of relaying “objective” information over the airwaves corresponded with a “no entertainment” policy of “austerity” favored by the ICD during early reeducation.\textsuperscript{33} Radio reeducation centered on topics like “Studio for New Music,” “Forbidden Books,” “Phonograph Records from Overseas,” and “News from Around the World.” \textsuperscript{34} Despite such broad topics, American culture had an overwhelming presence in the new medium: fifteen minutes into the maiden broadcast, after a brief “greeting,” listeners heard fifteen minutes of “Jazz” followed by thirty minutes of the “Voice of America.” Three hours later the “Voice of America” returned, followed by “Well-Known Dance Bands” and “Voices from the Press in the American Zone” and finally, to round off the hour, more “Jazz.” At ten o’clock listeners could spend an hour enjoying “Modern Symphonics,” followed by dance music, a short news report, and a preview of the following day’s highlights.\textsuperscript{35} RIAS, however, was but one of many radio stations in the occupied zones. By June 1949 five stations—RIAS Berlin, Radio Bremen, Radio Frankfurt, Radio Stuttgart, and Radio Munich—broadcast to the U.S. zone of West Germany, as compared with one each in the Russian (Berliner Rundfunk), French (Südwestfunk [SWF], Baden-Baden), and British (Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk [NWDR], Cologne and Hamburg) zones.\textsuperscript{36} That year OMGUS began to turn over its stations to German radio authority. Radio Munich, for example, made the change on January 25, 1949, and a formal ceremony marked the occasion for local U.S. officers and the Bavarian radio council.\textsuperscript{37}

Not surprisingly, before the change OMGUS promoted American culture on all its stations. One evening in October 1948, for example, Radio Stuttgart presented a broadcast in German titled “Modern American Music.”\textsuperscript{38} Following an excerpt from William Schuman’s Symphony for String Orchestra, a speaker told listeners they would hear the story of “how Georg Müller became a friend of modern music.” A fictional dialogue followed, between “Peter” and his friend Georg—“the ordinary man in the street who found a new source of pleasure in the music of his own time.” During the program Peter shared with Georg records of “modern American music” he had re-
ceived "from his uncle in America." Georg remained skeptical, stubbornly preferring Beethoven to Stravinsky. Peter began his examples with an excerpt from Appalachian Spring by "one of the best American composers" who "has been played a great deal in America and Europe." Georg reluctantly admitted that the music was "really quite pretty in spots." When Georg complained about the harsh sound of new music, Peter responded that "music is an expression of our time, and our time is full of dissonances." Finally Georg surrendered: "You win, Peter—from now on I'm going to give up my old-fashioned prejudices against modern music and try to enjoy it... it's clear to me that I'm at fault and not the music I have been criticizing." Before concluding with a trio by Norman Dello Joio, Peter claimed victory:

The battle is won—if you just keep listening to modern music with an open mind you'll soon find yourself liking it and understanding it. Don't expect a miracle to happen in five minutes. You'll find it will take considerable time before you really appreciate the most advanced modern music. But when you do understand it, you'll have a whole new world of enjoyment open to you.39

Other educational radio lectures disclosed a commitment to raising awareness about new music, like one SWF broadcast from Baden-Baden in May 1949 titled "A Nineteen-Year-Old's Confession in Favor of Modern Music" ("Bekenntnis eines 19-Jährigen zur modernen Musik"). The author acknowledged the difficulties of understanding contemporary music but urged listeners to confront these difficulties. One message came through loud and clear: the radio station wanted to help, to provide information, to make the unfamiliar familiar, and to buffer the hard edges of new music with thoughtful commentary. Most of all, the intellectual rewards made the struggle worthwhile.40 (That OMGUS would support such programs in order to educate German listeners about the cultural and intellectual value of modern music, but that the American government itself would not support such programs at home reveals to what extent cultural products were manufactured and disbursed as tools in the reeducation battle, and later, during the Cold War effort to maintain cultural diversity—and American cultural hegemony—in western Europe.)

Within a few years West Germany supported many radio stations that were free of commercial sponsorship and in control of all aspects of music programming and distribution.41 Unlike the more than one thousand private radio stations in the United States—stations dependent on advertising contracts with local and national sponsors—German stations enjoyed large state subsidies while collecting money from citizens who paid a small fee for radios at home. By contrast, as H.W. Heinsheimer reported in the German new music magazine
Melos, American businesses spent $412 million on radio advertising during 1945 while listeners paid nothing for radio service.\textsuperscript{42} Heinsheimer made a point of mentioning that only 30 percent of American radio time featured music, and that the taste of the audience alone determined what kind of music would be played. Germans found this mix of advertising and art, commerce and culture—\textit{Reklame und Kunst}—both distasteful and inappropriate. At the same time, composers in the United States, including European emigrants, understood the differences in broadcasting systems and how they were financed. Otto Luening saw the advantages of the German system for composers, specifically, state-controlled broadcasting funded through licensing of the sale of radios, phonographs, and televisions. Taxes paid on such purchases went toward cultural budgets, creating a pool of money for commissioning new music. In addition, composers were paid well when their works were broadcast over the airwaves in Europe, a practice that did not exist in the United States since public radio stations did not have funds for paying performance fees when broadcasting new music. Luening added:

So, if you tell a European, “Oh, let’s have an exchange on the radio,” you’re not giving them, really, a fair deal, because if we get played over there, and we’re a member of ASCAP or BMI, we’ll get a performance fee. Now it isn’t going to make us rich so we can retire into the mountains or something, but it’s a performance fee. They come over here and we say, “We’ll get you a fine performance on WNYC,” and they say, “Yes, so what is the performance fee,” and you say “Zero.”\textsuperscript{43}

In 1975 Ernst Krenek elaborated on this important distinction as well, explaining “the trouble is that in [the United States] the radio doesn’t count, it’s absolutely nothing for modern music because it’s purely commercial.” Krenek, too, recognized the importance of the German licensing system described by Luening, and saw that, as a result, the radio constituted “a fantastic power.” Furthermore, Krenek mused, in Germany,

they need the new music. And they have the means to support it, because it’s non-commercial, whatever their income, which comes from the listeners. Their listeners have to pay a license fee which is very moderate, and the radios complain, naturally, it’s much too little, that it’s not raised in spite of inflation and what have you. But just the same, they still have lots of money. And they have to use it for programming, because it’s not commercial. They can’t make any profit. So they have, naturally, fantastic buildings, pay their people very well. Every radio station has their orchestra. The best orchestras are the radio orchestras.\textsuperscript{44}
Krenek confessed that he "love[d] to work for broadcast because there is always enough time for rehearsals." Along these lines, as the American composer and music critic Everett Helm wrote for an American audience in the early 1960s, the powerful patronage position of the radio, analogous to the patronage of the wealthy elite and royal classes of the past, could not be underestimated: "Without the radio, the intense musical life of present-day Europe would be unthinkable."45

State-supported broadcasting centers in West Germany played a seminal role in the development of a vigorous contemporary music environment during the postwar years. Soon radio stations not only disseminated new music but also stimulated its production through commissions, performances, and recording contracts. Public network stations functioned under the contractual policy guidelines of an educational commitment called the Bildungsauftrag. While enjoying the means to bring new music to their listeners through their subsidized orchestras, festivals, recordings, and broadcasting power, the station music directors accepted a pedagogical obligation to prepare the listener for the unfamiliar music they were about to hear. Complying with the Bildungsauftrag as described in the "Rules and Duties of Broadcasts," network stations "serv[ed] the entire population through education, instruction and entertainment."46 Since contemporary music's survival depended on radio access and exposure, the Bildungsauftrag carried significant consequences for composers. Thus radio broadcasts became not only distributors of new music, but vehicles for information within a pedagogical forum integral to the habitual consumption and attentive reception of avant-garde music.47

"Brace Yourselves, My Dear Listeners, We Are Now in America": Herbert Eimert's Musical Night Program

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, while festivals like those in Darmstadt and Donaueschingen offered intense but infrequent contact with the international avant-garde, radio broadcasts offered new music throughout the year, and the Bildungsauftrag encouraged a high level of intellectual content in music programs. As interest in avant-garde music grew, American composers writing neither orchestral nor conventionally set chamber music came to be known more widely, and the radio took the lead in disseminating information about that music. One clear starting point for the German reception of American experimental music—and John Cage's in particular—can be located in Cologne in 1952. In November 1947 NWDR initiated what they called "an experiment"—a late-night program for more demanding topics than the average popular fare. Three nights a week the program aimed to reach a pool of listeners who held highbrow
expectations. The experimental night program featured “hard-to-digest” topics, music and text that required one’s full attention: a popular media magazine called the night program’s offerings “intellectual delicacies.” In Cologne the composer Herbert Eimert (1897–1972) produced a musical night program that aired on Thursdays from 11:15 P.M. until midnight. Soon a generation of Europeans within range seeking access to new music delighted in Eimert’s radio classroom, and Eimert’s achievement as a prime delegate for new music is now legendary. The German composer Dieter Schnebel struggled against sleep during Eimert’s night programs, so eager was he to experience the music from the “whole wide world.” Though Eimert’s brief program could be heard only once a week, the German music critic Heinz-Klaus Metzger recalled: “Even if you only heard that one hour, you were completely informed about the new music—it was that good.”

On November 27, 1952, Eimert produced the first radio show on Cage in Germany. Eimert’s awareness of Cage’s music stemmed partly from Cologne’s proximity to Belgium, where Cage’s prepared piano music had been broadcast on national radio as early as April 4, 1949. Eimert knew Pierre Boulez, who had corresponded with Cage since the spring of 1949, when Cage had traveled to Europe. By late 1949 Boulez owned several recordings of Cage’s music, including First Construction (in Metal) and Three Dances for Two Prepared Pianos. He shared these with the national radio network of France, which may have broadcast them in 1950. Many months before Eimert’s broadcast on Cage in 1952, Boulez, who planned to visit Cologne in July, wrote to his American friend: “I shall be taking your records to Germany,” adding that “the director of Cologne Radio is very interested and wants [to hear them].” In October Boulez wrote that he had given “Cologne Radio” some of Cage’s records, which they copied, and that “they want to put on a two-hour broadcast about your music and would like some recent recordings and some explanatory notes or things you have written.”

In his broadcast Eimert introduced Cage as “an American composer still unknown in Europe.” After the first music example (a prepared piano piece, unspecified in the manuscript), Eimert acquainted his listeners with Cage, the man:

John Cage was born in 1912 and is now forty years old and lives in New York. He has written chamber music, including a string quartet, works for piano, for noise-instruments, and for percussion orchestra. One of his latest works created a radiophonic fantasy landscape, a piece for—please brace yourselves, my dear listeners, we are now in America—a piece for twelve radios. . . . I said earlier, half joking and full of irony, “we are now in Ameri-
ca.” But we are, in fact, in a very real and serious sense, because we cannot forget that America not only adopted our European music culture, but that it also regards all those music phenomena with great impartiality. If, in America, an experimental musician like John Cage steps into the public sphere—naturally not an international public, he would have no opportunity for that—rather in front of interested listeners, one thing is certain: his experiments will be heard without prejudice, and not morally judged and dismissed in the name of holy eternal criteria of value, as would immediately be the case here in our country.52

Eimert’s provocative portrait of Cage established a view of American music that would come to dominate much of Germany’s reception of that music: he highlights its rash departure from European tradition, assuming that it only could sprout from a place unburdened by “holy eternal criteria of value.” On one hand, Eimert’s use of this phrase might be interpreted as perpetuating a widespread view of American audiences as ignorant of quality, due to inexperience with contemporary music. As a result, he suggested, they were more open to radical experimentation. On the other hand, his comment about Germany’s insistence on “holy eternal criteria of value” also attacked the overstaffed critical establishment in his own country, a fundamentally conservative culture clinging to an outdated stance of musical superiority. Eimert suggested that America adopted European culture without adopting its prejudices, and that Germans could benefit from listening with “American” ears. Through his assessment of Cage, Eimert hinted at why the United States could grow a new branch on the tree of western music while he reinforced perceptions of a dichotomy between American and European culture. Eimert went on, however, to illuminate Cage’s debt to both American and European influences. Finally, he compared Cage to the European serialists, claiming that serial and indeterminate composers shared a desire to compose music free from psychological motivations or results. Eimert’s broadcasts like this one, often the first of their kind to be heard in central Europe, had enormous influence on the avant-garde community. During the following decade many prominent European journalists and composers, including Joachim-Ernst Berendt, Robert Beyer, Cornelius Cardew, Hans Curjel, Werner Meyer-Eppler, Mauricio Kagel, Willi Reich, and Karlheinz Stockhausen wrote broadcasts on new music topics, including many American music topics, which Eimert tirelessly produced for (N)WDR’s musical night program.

Radio broadcasts created at SWF in Baden-Baden in 1954 also examined contemporary musical life in the United States from varied perspectives. On October 12 Brigitte Schipke discussed music by Barber, Copland, Helm, Piston, Riegger, Schuman, and Sessions in a
broadcast titled “Contemporary American Composers.” A few weeks later Otto Zoff, a German emigrant and journalist living in New York, offered a look at “New Composers in New York City.” Unlike Schipke, who examined the unique American nature of her subjects, Zoff chose composers who expressed “nothing of the endless sounds of the Midwestern wheat fields” in their music. Instead, he emphasized the sophisticated sound of urban modernists like Arthur Berger, Irving Fine, Leon Kirchner, and Wallingford Riegger. Zoff also featured John Cage in a radio broadcast titled “The Composers of Martha Graham,” written for SWF in March 1954. Zoff described Cage, alongside Louis Horst, Herbert Haufrecht, and Halsey Stevens, as a musical pioneer for Graham’s company. Following Horst, Zoff named Cage “the second leader” in Graham’s musical team. Zoff continued:

Cage starts with a very particular view of antiquity, one of the very early Greeks, one that stems unbroken from the Orient, that has its whole mode of expression wrapped up in ritual. Not the melody but the rhythm leads, rhythm that has been calculated mathematically. From there emerges absolute avoidance of moments of feeling, also of any kind of colorism from the nineteenth century—his music is free from romantic flashbacks. Like Eimert, Zoff emphasized Cage’s distance from Europe and his detour around Old World cultural landmarks. Interpretations like this one contributed to a growing view of Cage’s work as detached, “oriental” music not derived from Europe. By the early 1950s, a number of initiatives closely connected to the radio stations had established a dynamic new music community throughout West Germany. While festivals and radio stations became the main workplaces for composers, and as contact between American and European musicians grew, so did information about lucrative opportunities in Germany. For American composers struggling to make ends meet in the 1950s, knowledge of venues in Germany carried great professional consequences. In 1953 Cage wrote to Boulez that his economic situation was “extremely bad,” adding: “I never know from one day to the next where money will be coming from.” In response, Boulez complained to his friend about the lack of concerts and festivals in some parts of Europe—“It’s desperate,” he wrote—while admitting that “everything, from that point of view, is going on in Germany.” Cage took the hint, and by the end of the following year he had established a reputation in West Germany. From the mid-fifties on, despite the skepticism, ridicule, and misunderstanding that would often cloud the reception of Cage’s music in Germany, as it had plagued perceptions of American music for more than a century, a new, more subtle kind of reeducation began to take root,
one that would challenge chronic views about America’s inferior cultural position in Europe. This story unfolded at annual, regional new music festivals while radio stations disseminated the new music to audiences scattered far and wide.

Witnesses to “A Turning Point in Musical History”: Cage and Tudor in Donaueschingen and Cologne, 1954

Just two months after a German emigrant named Wolfgang Edward Rebner lectured prophetically on “American Experimental Music” at the Darmstadt holiday courses, John Cage and the pianist David Tudor gave their first performances in Germany, in Donaueschingen and Cologne in October 1954.57 The uninhibited creative tradition of Ives, Cowell, Varèse, and Cage described by Rebner in Darmstadt could now be experienced firsthand. Though the duo’s German debut outraged many listeners, even the conservative Everett Helm admitted that “one went away wondering whether one had witnessed, in capsule form, a turning point in musical history.”58 The music critic Heinrich Strobel (1898–1979), arguably the most powerful administrator in West Germany’s new music community at the time, set in motion the events that would bring about Cage’s catalytic debut.

Born in Regensburg, Strobel spent the war years in France. In 1945 the French military government appointed him music director at the radio station in Baden-Baden, which would become SWF. In 1950, when the annual new music festival in Donaueschingen was reinstated under the direction of SWF, Strobel took on the responsibility for its organization. (The festival, founded in 1921, had been discontinued during the war years.) He also served as editor of the new music journal Melos. In November 1953 Strobel wrote to the Russian-German composer Vladimir Vogel (1896–1984) that their “mutual friend” Rolf Liebermann had mentioned that Vogel knew John Cage’s address. Strobel hoped that Vogel could pass along that address right away.59 On November 24 Vogel sent Cage’s address, explaining that the composer lived with Merce Cunningham. Vogel added: “I would be very thankful if you would keep me updated about your possible plans with Cage.” A week later Strobel invited Cage to present his “interesting experiments” at “the most advanced music festival in Europe.” He offered Cage a forty-five-minute concert in October, emphasizing that a performance would only be possible if Cage were to be in Europe at the time anyway, since “the resources of the Donaueschingen festival are understandably limited.” Strobel added, “But I am convinced that we could make available an appropriate honorarium, at least for European standards.”60 Cage’s responded enthusiastically, assuring Strobel that he had long admired the festi-
val, and regretting not being able to attend only “because of geography.” Cage proposed that he and David Tudor give three programs of magnetic tape, piano, and orchestral works by his New York colleagues and collaborators. Strobel responded to Cage’s suggestions quickly, but with caution, explaining that the festival only offered three concerts, and that the Cage-Tudor performance would be limited to one hour since he had neither concert time nor the budget to realize Cage’s plans. Cage agreed to Strobel’s conditions, adding that he would like to present a first performance with Tudor of a new work for prepared pianos. Furthermore, he asked if the matinee would be solely for the Americans: “If so, I would like it to include a performance by Mr. Tudor of works by other American composers, specifically Christian Wolff, Morton Feldman, and Earle Brown.” Though Cage compromised on the time allotted to him and abandoned his desire to perform three whole programs of new works, he did not readily give up on the idea of an additional program of orchestral works by the four New York composers (including himself). Cage hoped to use the orchestra that was already engaged for the festival, but added, in a letter to Strobel, that if the inclusion of tape music and orchestral compositions meant that the agreed upon fee would have to be reduced, “we would not want to make [the additions to the program], because we are depending on that fee to make the journey possible.”

In June 1954 a Donaueschingen honorarium budget was drawn together listing fees for the soloists. Cage and Tudor would receive the equivalent of several hundred dollars for their travel expenses alone—no additional honorarium was offered. In September the Americans requested their travel money in advance in order to pay for their booked passage to Europe in early October. Their tour depended partly on this cash, though Cage sought support elsewhere. Almost immediately after receiving Strobel’s invitation, Cage solicited help from other sponsors, including a possible engagement at the new music courses in Darmstadt. Cage’s and Wolfgang Steinecke’s earliest correspondence began at this time, when the composer announced to the Darmstadt director that he and Tudor had been invited to Donaueschingen. Because Strobel made Cage promise not to schedule any European performances before their festival matinee, Cage asked Steinecke to arrange a Darmstadt performance after the October concert in Donaueschingen. This proved to be impossible since the Darmstadt courses that year took place during the summer, long before the Donaueschingen festival.

Cage also contacted the publisher Alfred Schlee of Universal Editions in Vienna with whom the composer negotiated for an immediate publication of Music of Changes. On February 8 Schlee wrote to
Cage suggesting alternatives that would best promote the Donaueschingen debut. Demonstrating the kind of generous networking that brought about positive professional results for touring American musicians, Schlee added: "Please let me also have some propaganda material about Mr. Tudor . . . I shall certainly do my best in order to procure you some other engagements in addition to Donaueschingen."63 A few weeks later Cage boasted to Strobel: "You may be interested to know that Mr. Alfred Schlee of the Universal Edition has decided to publish my Music of Changes, and also that I am in correspondence with various radio stations in Europe in the hope of finding other engagements for Mr. Tudor and myself while we are abroad."64 Strobel insisted, however, that Cage promise to the Donaueschingen festival the exclusive rights to the first German performance of his prepared piano music, which, Strobel anticipated, would greatly augment his festival's appeal. Strobel warned:

I was very interested to hear that you are in correspondence with various radio stations in Europe concerning other engagements, whilst [sic] being abroad. You certainly will allow me to call attention to the fact, that every performance in Germany can only be realized after our Donaueschingen Festival. The attraction of your coming out in Germany, in presence of our large international auditorium would be lost, if you play anywhere in Germany before. I hope you understand that your Donaueschingen performance only can be realized if you give no performance before our concert, neither over another radio station or anywhere else in Germany.65

Cage acquiesced, but still negotiated performances of other works in other cities, including Cologne.

For Cage's prepared piano and two-piano performances Strobel and his staff went out of their way to secure instruments. Cage insisted on playing Steinways and wrote to the director of the Steinway company in Hamburg. He detailed his procedure for preparing the piano and negotiated for a fair rental fee by suggesting the attention his unusual use of the instrument would draw to the piano makers: "Please take into consideration in establishing your fee the publicity value inherent in the fact that the Steinway piano has been chosen as best for 'preparation.'"66 Strobel also corresponded with the Steinway company director and with several Donaueschingen civic leaders about extra funds to pay for the pianos. To the Steinway director, Strobel maintained that Cage's "interesting experiments" ought to be presented at the festival: "We place great importance," Strobel wrote, "on the fact that Cage will perform there. But everything depends on whether or not we can meet his demands for prepared pianos."66 In
March director Ehrlich wrote to Cage, explaining that the transportation of two Steinway grand pianos from that city in the north to Donaueschingen in the south would be far too expensive. He suggested that for less cost pianos in the Donaueschingen area be secured and transported to the festival. "Dr. Strobel has written me," Ehrlich mentioned to Cage, "that he is very much interested in giving your compositions a hearing" (on the same day, however, Ehrlich wrote to Strobel that he was "very pessimistic" about the situation). With the help of Strobel's colleague Dr. Oehring, who personally traveled to Hamburg to argue Cage's case, SWF secured the transport of two medium-sized Steinway grands. According to a list of expenses drawn up in March for the 1954 festival, moving the two pianos from Hamburg to Donaueschingen cost Strobel well over an extra thousand marks. In September the America House in Freiburg agreed to take on the entire transportation expense for the Steinways, and made plans for "propagandizing" Cage's visit.

As early as March, Strobel had written to one of the patrons of the Donaueschingen festival, Count (Altgraf) Salm, the artistic adviser of the aristocratic House of Fürstenberg. Strobel wrote with enthusiasm that the festival program was set and that they could start to advertise, but speculated about the prospect of Cage actually performing at the festival. "Of course we cannot yet give too many details," Strobel wrote, "but at least we can reveal when the festival will take place, how many concerts there will be, that Mr. Cage is coming (even if he probably will not come)." Despite Strobel's uncertainty, a publicity brochure put out early in the year tried to stimulate interest in the festival by announcing prominently on its cover not only "Orchestra Concerts" but also "Music for Prepared Pianos" (see fig. 2). A SWF employee suggested to the Intendant that the Donaueschingen festival should be filmed and broadcast on television, and that Cage and Tudor, with their prepared pianos, might be particularly "handsome subjects." Requests for taped recordings of the Cage-Tudor matinee came from stations in London, Brussels, Vienna, West Berlin, and Stuttgart who wished to rebroadcast Cage's German debut.

Cage and Tudor's performance took place on Sunday, October 17, at 11:30 A.M., between the two main concerts of the festival on Saturday afternoon and Sunday afternoon. The published program for Cage and Tudor's matinee listed Wolff's For Pianos II and Brown's Four Systems (both played by Tudor alone), Cage's "12' 255.6078" for two prepared pianos (a combination of 34' 246.776" for Tudor and 31' 257.9864" for Cage shortened to around thirteen minutes), and compositions from Cage's tape music project, including Feldman's Intersection, Brown's Octet, and Cage's Williams Mix (see fig. 3).
Figure 2. Cover of publicity brochure for 1954 Donaueschingen festival.
Figure 3. Program for Donaueschingen festival matinee on Sunday, October 17, 1954.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian Wolff</td>
<td>For Pianos II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earle Brown</td>
<td>4 Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David Tudor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cage</td>
<td>34' 46.776'' for 2 pianists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Cage und David Tudor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morton Feldman</td>
<td>Intersection for Magnetic Tape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earle Brown</td>
<td>Octet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cage</td>
<td>Williams Mix</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Magnetophonband-Aufnahmen</td>
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Uraufführungen: 34' 46.776'' von John Cage, Intersection von Morton Feldman
Before the concert Strobel prepared the audience for what it would hear, making clear that this was not music in the traditional sense but the result of experiments in sound production. In his program notes Cage explained that his music was organized sound, related to aesthetic concepts from the Far East and to the writings of Meister Eckhart. The audience responded to Cage and Tudor’s two-piano performance of 12’ 255.6078” with a mixture of spontaneous pleasure and simultaneous outrage, shouting, laughter, and confusion. Right after the matinee Cage and Tudor performed an uncut version of the two-piano piece. According to some sources, this repeat performance had been prearranged for the purpose of making a clean recording (without audience noise) for the radio broadcasts, since, in Tudor’s words, “everyone seemed to understand that it would be a total scandal and that it would be impossible for anyone to even hear the piece, which turned out to be the case.” Critics took it as an opportunity to glance into the score.

SWF’s press service collected some three hundred reviews of the festival. In those reviews, two concerts consistently received more attention than the others: Rolf Liebermann’s Concerto for Jazzband and Symphony Orchestra and the American duo’s matinee. These reviews reflect the historical context of the performance—in particular, the long shadow cast by Pierre Schaeffer’s concert on October 10, 1953, when he had presented one of the first live performances of musique concrète at a new music festival. Strobel downplayed the hostile response to Schaeffer’s presentation of tape music, writing to Cage that “last year, we had a real scandal...just by not respecting the duration of an hour prescribed by us.” In fact, the audience’s outrage over Schaeffer’s and Pierre Henry’s Orphée 53 stemmed not so much from the concert running overtime, as Strobel claimed, but from a feeling of sensory assault caused by the live presentation of prerecorded sounds that had not yet entered into musical discourse. Though NWDR in Cologne had opened its studio for electronic music several years earlier, new music audiences were still unprepared for the radical new sound world. Many critics found Cage’s work to be insulting and childish, but when compared to Schaeffer’s shocking work, the lesser of two evils. Others held the view that Cage and Tudor represented an aggressive assault on European culture but were simply too naïve to accelerate the decline of western civilization. “Abandon all hope!” wrote another skeptic. Voicing a thinly veiled criticism of American culture, which Europeans saw as obsessed with scientific advances, the music reviewer from Darmstadt complained that “real experiments” would concern new intellectual and artistic ideas, and not merely technological ones. As a correspondent for Musical America, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt also condemned the
Americans' sonic experiments to a future of radio and film sound effects. Several reviews in widely circulated newspapers compared the performance to a scene from a popular movie that had opened that autumn in Germany, namely, Charlie Chaplin's 1952 Limelight. The scene in question, near the end of the film, featured a comic musical performance by Chaplin and Buster Keaton in tuxedos. Their serious manner, their calm amidst musical slapstick, and their eagerness to dig around inside the piano amplified the connection to Cage and Tudor for some prominent German critics and may have contributed to their reluctance to take them seriously. Finally, some critics attacked what they perceived as Strobel's yearly attempt to provoke his audience—foreshadowing the scandals in Germany caused by minimalism nearly twenty years later, one critic sarcastically remarked: "Maybe next year's sensation will be a piece in C Major!"

Amidst hostility, Cage's debut made positive impressions as well. After the festival Strobel received an enthusiastic letter from Dr. Arthur Hartmann, the acting director of a music school in Freiburg:

> Just back from the Donaueschinger Musiktage, it is my desire to thank you profusely for the many and valuable stimulations that are first and foremost because of your initiative. It was a particular joy that this year, too, the Donaueschinger Musiktage has reached its goal of being a complete success, and has proved its meaningfulness for international musical life. Particularly interesting were the performances by John Cage and David Tudor, even though—as you rightly stated in your introductory remarks—it seems to be mostly about demonstrating possibilities and barely about artistic presentations in the real sense of the word. But I find these possibilities to be so promising, that I would like to suggest to Mr. Professor Scheck that we make work such as this possible at our music school. . . . In any case, I believe that in this area there is still much to be discovered.

Despite dismissive and negative reviews, some listeners like Hartmann held the view that this music suggested profound ways to revitalize contemporary composition, and that beyond constructed relationships between the notes, each sound might indeed shelter a sonic landscape worthy of serious exploration. As Hans Curjel wrote optimistically in Die Weltwoche, though it was understandable that Cage's work met resistance, the spontaneous curiosity it awakened might signal a renewed, vital belief in the future.

Two days after their Donaueschingen debut, the piano duo performed a similar program at the most important contemporary music concert series in Cologne. NWDR sponsored the series Musik der Zeit. Right after the Donaueschingen date had been arranged, Cage
contacted Herbert Eimert announcing that Strobel had invited him to Germany. Cage wrote:

I am delighted that this has happened because it will give me the opportunity to visit you and Stockhausen and to see what work is being done in your studio for electronic music. As you may know all my present work is in music for magnetic tape. I shall certainly bring along examples of our work and I hope that my visit will be mutually interesting. I am also writing to ask whether a radio engagement in Köln could be arranged for either Mr. Tudor or myself while we are there. Mr. Tudor is an extraordinary pianist and plays Boulez’s Second Sonata (also the first one), my *Music of Changes* (which you may have seen since I sent a copy to Stockhausen), and many other works by advanced contemporary American composers including Morton Feldman, Christian Wolff, and Earle Brown. Not being familiar with concert arrangements abroad, I would also be grateful if you could tell me a little what steps to take, since our general desire is to stir up as much activity as possible.84

Cage received a reply from Dr. Eigel Kruttge, the series founder and organizer. Kruttge welcomed a concert by Cage and Tudor, and hoped that they would open the 1954/55 chamber concert series on October 8. Cage rejected the date, since he had promised to give his first European performance in Donaueschingen.85 Several months of extensive correspondence between Kruttge and Cage followed; similar to the arrangements in Donaueschingen, Cage and his sponsors had many details to arrange, including the honorarium, which compared favorably to the travel expenses provided by SWF. The Cologne station readily agreed to make three Steinways available for the concert. On October 19, 1954, Cage and Tudor played the first half of the program, titled “*Neue Klaviermusik aus Amerika,*” presenting European premieres of pieces by Feldman, Wolff, Brown, and Cage (see fig. 4). The second half of the concert featured electronic music by Stockhausen, Eimert, Goeyvaerts, Pousseur, and Paul Gredinger (a similar demonstration concert of musique concrète and electronic music had been given by Schaeffer, Eimert, Werner Meyer-Eppler, and others on May 26, 1953). Eimert’s program notes about the Americans closely echoed his radio broadcast about Cage two years earlier.86

The publicity Cage and Tudor received during their tour provided valuable exposure. Their Cologne concert, for example, received radio play in November, and other stations in Germany requested tapes. Eimert’s rebroadcasting of Cage’s Cologne concert on his musical night program on November 25, 1954, gained attention even across the border to the north, in Copenhagen.87 In addition, the tour fos-
Figure 4. Program for Musik der Zeit concert in Cologne on October 19, 1954.

DIENSTAG, den 19. Oktober 1954, 19.30 Uhr
im Kleinen Sendesaal

NEUE KLAVIERMUSIK AUS AMERIKA
gespielt von David Tudor und John Cage

MORTON FELDMAN INTERSECTION 3
CHRISTIAN WOLFF FOR PREPARED PIANO
EARLE BROWN PERSPECTIVES
JOHN CAGE 23'56. 174" FOR ZWEI PIANISTEN

Europäische Erstaufführungen

PAUSE

ELEKTRONISCHE MUSIK

KARLHEINZ STOCKHAUSEN STUDIE II
HERBERT EIMERT GLOCKENSPIEL
KAREL GOEYVAERTS KOMPOSITION NR. 5
HENRI POUSSEUR SEISMOMGRAMME
PAUL OREDINGER FORMANTEN I UND II
KARLHEINZ STOCKHAUSEN STUDIE I
HERBERT EIMERT ETUDE OBER TONGEMISCH

Erste Konzert-Vorführung der im Kölner Studio des NWDR
entstandenen Kompositionen
Die beiden Studien von Karlheinz Stockhausen sind Kompositions-
aufträge des NWDR Köln
Technik: Fritz Enkel, Heinz Schütz, Erhard Hefner
Ansage: Herbert Eimert

Aufführung: Nancy Evans (Mezzosopran), Piromol-Quartett, Hans-Jürgen Möhring (Flöte), Paul Büchler (Klarinette), Willy Schult (Bassklarinette), Helmud Zarek (Violine), Paul Schröder (Bratsche), Hans Adamelli (Violoncello), Doro Wagner (Harfe).
tered invaluable personal contacts. German champions of Cage’s music, including Hans G. Helms, Heinz Klaus Metzger, and Josef Anton Riedl, first saw Cage perform during the 1954 tour. The ongoing efforts of Karlheinz Stockhausen in Cologne and others elsewhere inaugurated a permanent interdependence between American experimentalists and West Germany, and helped Tudor become (in his words) “a messenger between the States and Europe.” On December 3, after returning to Stony Point, Cage wrote to both Strobel and Krut- tge, thanking them for their help in arranging the tour and for contributing to the dissemination of his work. To Strobel, Cage mentioned that he was organizing a concert in New York “which will be the first performance in America of music by Karlheinz Stockhausen, his Klavierstücke I-VIII, and also the first performance here of my two-piano work, which I wrote for you.” Cage added: “Stockhausen was delighted with David Tudor’s playing and said that ideas which he had refrained from writing, thinking they would be unplayable, he will now write.” Indeed, Stockhausen helped Tudor make important contacts in Germany and arranged concert and radio engagements for Tudor’s future visits. Most crucial for the historical confrontations to follow, perhaps, was Cage and Tudor’s introduction to Wolfgang Steinecke. Steinecke, who had published a lukewarm review of the Donaueschingen matinee, also attended their debut concert in Cologne.88 Two years later he would bring Tudor to Darmstadt. Because of his frequent performances and recordings in Europe in the years to follow, Tudor soon emerged as the most active and influential ambassador for the American avant-garde.

“Symphonies of Boredom”? American Orchestral Music in Baden-Baden

By the end of 1954 Cage and Tudor clearly registered on Germany radar, and a perplexed fascination with American experimentalism crawled through its infancy. But most large ensembles in Germany continued to select more conventional repertoire. At the same time, Americans musicians aware of the excellent orchestras, conductors, and performing opportunities in Germany took steps to establish professional contacts like those Cage and his colleagues had started to acquire. In November 1954, for example, William Grant Still, whose Afro-American Symphony had been the first American work performed by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra after the war, wrote to Hans Rosbaud, then conductor of the SWF orchestra: “We here in America have learned of the tremendous spiritual and material recovery made by West Germany from the devastation of the war, of the great rebirth of the arts and of your interest in contemporary American com-
posers.” Still continued: “It is my hope that someday you will want to play some of my music for your audiences.” Still’s efforts did not bear immediate fruit. Since the spring of that same year, however, Strobel had corresponded with Aaron Copland about the possibility of Copland conducting the SWF orchestra in a concert of his own compositions. Before Copland’s visit, another American conductor (then living in Stockholm) led the SWF orchestra, and introduced Baden-Baden to Copland’s music. Dean Dixon’s concert, on November 28, 1954, received a mostly positive response. Heralded as a great “colored conductor,” Dixon impressed critics with his interpretation of Mozart’s D Major Symphony (KV 504) and Ravel’s Le Valse, but less so with selections from Copland’s Third Symphony. One review, titled “From Mozart to Copland—In Black,” expressed awe at hearing such sublime Mozart from the baton of a Negro conductor. Some critics heralded Dixon as a first-class musician of international stature—despite his race, they added. Yet reviews gave ample space to criticizing Copland’s music, calling it pretentious, harmless, unsatisfying, feminine, sanitized, like a Puritan cult dance—and unbearably boring from beginning to end. Copland’s music had also received harsh criticism before the war. In 1931 Ernest Ansermet led a program of works by Copland, Ruggles and others. Critics disliked Copland’s music, referring to it as “inferior American dilettante music”; his First Symphony was singled out as a “symphony of boredom,” a work whose name, and nothing else, connected it to the orchestral genre.

Such ongoing negative reactions to Copland’s music foreshadowed the mostly negative critical response to Copland’s conducting of his own music, in 1955.

In late September 1955 Copland led the SWF orchestra and other local orchestras during his first postwar tour of Germany. Reviews of Copland’s performances reveal the growing tension between modern American musical taste and the growing German appetite for more adventurous avant-garde composition. Specialists criticized Copland’s works for being “in no way revolutionary in the contemporary sense of avant-garde new music.” Though critics acknowledged his status as “the father of American music,” they questioned the legitimacy of modern music free of tension. For many, Copland’s simple harmonic language and thin textures failed to communicate in the postwar world. One critic could not fathom how “typical American” compositions like these could cause Copland to be recognized as such a leader in his field—a field of entertainment, perhaps, but not art. Reviewers scathingly accused Copland of multiple crimes, including “elevated pop music,” “unproblematic optimism,” “unreflective, existential joy,” and “flat sentimentality.” German audiences knew Copland through the postwar translations of Our New Music and What to Listen for in
Music, but they did not know much of his music, and many were eager to become familiar with it. Though mainstream listeners may have responded well to his accessible compositional style, outspoken critics conditioned by complex new music were disappointed with what they perceived as naïve simplicity typical for an American music rich in western imagery but lacking historical strength. The language they used to describe Copland would be echoed by similarly skeptical critics writing of Copland’s conducting of the Berlin Philharmonic in September 1970.91 In some instances, the musical reeducation effort in West Germany, after all, fell short of its aim to implant American views about the value of certain American music. Music most valued at home did not consistently meet similar approval abroad.

“Making a Dent in European Indifference”:
Henry Cowell’s State Department Tour, 1956

A year after Copland’s poorly received performances in Germany, another American composer traveled there as a representative of American music. Beginning in 1956, the same year Dizzy Gillespie took his first U.S. Information Agency-sponsored trip to Europe, Henry Cowell, too, toured Germany—and nearly two dozen countries in central and eastern Asia—as a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow under the agency of the State Department. The Educational Exchange branch of the Department of State described Cowell, “one of the best-known American composers with an international reputation,” as “willing to lecture under USIS [U.S. Information Service] auspices” and “particularly interested in making an America House tour in Germany.” Furthermore, Cowell was reportedly “anxious to illustrate for European audiences styles of American composition which are not based on European techniques but more specifically upon the Oriental forms.”92

Cowell had traveled to Europe several times before the Nazis began restricting performances of modern music. During his 1923 tour, his new piano works were “extremely well received and reviewed in Berlin,” a city that “had heard a little more modern music than Leipzig” (where, according to Cowell, a hostile audience started a fistfight on stage).93 In October 1923 Cowell played sixteen of his own works in Munich, Leipzig, Salzburg, and other cities. Reviews of these performances were mixed. One reported that Cowell excited the imagination of his listeners and altered their view of the gray areas between the arts.94 Sounding much like the enthusiastic reception of David Tudor several decades later, many music journalists complimented Cowell’s pianistic abilities but questioned the music’s quality. A Leipzig critic gave his review a futuristic slant, comparing Cowell’s music to the noisy grind of modern cities; another called it simply
“Katzenmusik.” Reviewing Cowell’s successful Berlin concert, Hugo Leichtentritt crowned him “the only American representative of musical modernism.”¹⁹⁵ Leichtentritt’s assessment foretold views held more than a half a century later that American experimentalists were the only true composers of original American music. Now, one can only speculate as to what degree the USIA understood this aspect of Cowell’s reputation abroad.

In August 1956 Cowell received an itinerary and description of his upcoming German tour from the Speakers and Artistic Programming Officer at the American Embassy in Bad Godesberg, who wrote that the Information Centers arranged for Cowell’s appearances “on a rather informal basis to which only an audience of professional musicians, students, critics, and personalities in the local music will be invited,” which “should allow for rather free discussion.” Cowell was urged to discuss his own music “with whatever references to the American scene as may be appropriate to put the thing in focus” and was provided a list of recordings of his music held in the America Houses on his tour. The letter concluded with a list of “the names of the intendants or directors of music sections for the various radio stations in Germany,” including the most important new music producers in Hamburg, Cologne, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Baden-Baden, and Munich.⁹⁶ Before Cowell left on his trip, John Cage gave him a list of people he should meet or contact while in Europe: Boulez, Eimert, Kruttge, Stockhausen, Strobel, Vogel, and many others.⁹⁷

Cowell’s tour took him through Hamburg, West Berlin, Cologne, Darmstadt, Freiburg, and Munich.⁹⁸ From Berlin, he described to his wife Sidney his initial reaction to Germany, still visibly scarred eleven years after the end of the war:

Hamburg was pleasant although not brilliant; it remains to be seen what the one critic says—he seemed highly interested. Have just arrived in Berlin—all my old stamping ground still in ruins! Here I have no public concert or lecture, but a “conference” with musicians, which (my committee) are [sic] headed by composer [Boris] Blacher, said to be a very sympathetic person. I must go, as U.S. car awaits!⁹⁹

Two days later, he continued his impressions of war-torn Berlin in a letter to his stepmother:

It seems strange to be in Berlin again after 24 years—the Pension Schmolke [where Cowell had lodged in 1926] was completely bombed out, and the place where it was a vacant lot with weeds. I have no appearance here after all, but several conferences with famous composers have been arranged (Jarnach, Blacher, Britten)
and Conductor Franz Bibo is taking my [Hymn and Fuguing Tunes] #2 and 3 on tour to several orchestras in Central Europe this fall. The Berlin and Hamburg Radios will have my 11th Symphony (records on air) within the next few weeks. I believe my music is beginning to make a slight dent in European indifference to American art. I leave tomorrow for Cologne, and will be rather glad to leave depressing Berlin.100

From Cologne Cowell was driven about sixty kilometers to the city of Wuppertal, where he performed and lectured for a group of composers at the Bergisches Landeskonservatorium. Back in Cologne after the excursion, Cowell received a tour of the impressive electronic music studio at the radio station, where he spent an hour listening to “the tapiest tape music yet.”101 On September 26 Cowell visited Darmstadt’s Kranichsteiner Musikinstitut where he played his Sinister Resonance and Aeolian Harp on the institute’s piano.102 On the following day, he lectured at the Deutsch-Amerikanisches-Institut for the Kranichsteiner Musikgesellschaft, which he described in a letter to his wife as a “nice cozy session with about sixteen people.”103 While in Darmstadt Cowell also gave a half-hour broadcast over the American Forces Radio, scheduled to be rebroadcast on Frankfurt Radio as well. From Hesse he continued south to Freiburg to visit a folk-record collection, have a radio interview, and give a lecture.104 Though attracting only small audiences, by the end of the 1956 tour Cowell’s music resonated with emerging views of the American experimental branch of composition. His prewar efforts to promote the most radical new music in the United States contributed to these views, as did his postwar engagements in new music centers and radio stations, where the climate was ripe for the reception of an experimental tradition.

Postscript: “Modern Music in the USA Began and Ended with John Cage”? Scholars who study global relations in new music during the fifties herald the year 1958 as a milestone due to Cage’s first (and, until 1990, only) residency in Darmstadt. At the same time, some dismiss his Donaueschingen debut as inconsequential or unduly valued, despite strong signs that he could hold his ground in an international arena.105 A letter from musicologist Gilbert Chase to his friend Elliott Carter sheds light on possibly well-established European views of musical influence around August 1958—one month before Cage went to Darmstadt. While working in Brussels for the State Department, Chase wrote to Carter about a conversation he had with his Belgian friend Hervé Thys:
We were at my home, just the two of us, and he asked me to give him a brief run-down on U.S. music since 1900! When I got through, he exclaimed, "How come we never heard of most of those composers and that their music is not known here?"—and he answered his own question by saying that it was largely because no Americans who came to Europe ever mentioned those composers. . . . Thys also said "We were all under the impression that 'modern' music in the U.S.A. began and ended with John Cage."106

The statements made by a man (according to Chase) "much interested in contemporary music and quite active in promoting it here" suggest that even before Cage's infamous Darmstadt appearance, the reception of his work dominated European views of American music, despite the public controversy surrounding performances of Cage's music, and despite elaborate reeducation efforts to offer a variety of national American styles in the years after the war.

As described in the story told here, the intense postwar interaction between OMGUS, the German airwaves, and the international avant-garde during the decisive period of reeducation contributed to American experimental composers' increasing presence in European new music circles during the 1950s and beyond. By the late 1940s, when the ICD's music branch had fractured into "a travel bureau, a concert agency, a ticket and miscellaneous agency for Americans, a music control office, a center for the promotion of American music, and a focal center for collecting and distributing," increasingly independent German radio stations and new music festivals emerged with an avant-garde agenda of their own.107 While some early OMGUS-sponsored American music programs perhaps did not suitably identify the value Germans placed on what they perceived as non-European qualities, some German broadcasts and concert series highlighted a trait of intense originality they believed to be indigenous to America's most creative branch of composition. In the aftermath of occupation-era initiatives, broadcasts about John Cage on the radio, his participation in music festivals prior to Darmstadt, and the enormous press coverage of those events helped Cage—and his American allies—gain access to the European avant-garde and its unrivaled network of support for decades to come.
ARCHIVAL SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS:

BPA  Berlin Philharmonic Historical Archive, Berlin
ECP  Elliott Carter Papers, Paul Sacher Archive, Basel
NARA  National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD
SWR  Historical Archive, Südwestrundfunk, Baden-Baden
WDR  Historical Archive, Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Cologne

NOTES

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1. Roy Harris, letter to Elliott Carter, May 4, 1945, HCP.


6. “History of Theater and Music Control Branch Württemberg-Baden,” OMGUS, Music and Theater, box 242, RG 260, NARA. Thanks to Danielle Fosler-Lucier for bringing this document to my attention.

7. OMGUS Memo, from Office of the Director of Information Control, dated Aug. 8, 1946, Misc. Reports folder, box 241, RG 260, NARA.


11. For example, a cumulative report about American music activities announced that “during the period up to 30 June 1946, 47 concert performances of 31 musical works of U.S. composers have been given in the U.S. zone of Germany and U.S. sector Berlin,” and that “up to 31 December 1946, 128 performances of 45 representative chamber music and orchestral works by American composers have been given in the four zones of Germany.” Documented in “Information Control Cumulative Report, 1 July – 31 December 1946,” written by Music Officer Walter Hinrichsen; OMGUS, Weekly Reports folder, box 240, RG 260, NARA.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. “U.S. Information Center Stuttgart; Moderne Amerikanische Kompositionen,” August 1947; OMGUS, Music folder, box 928, RG 260, NARA. Attempts were made in 1948 to establish a similar library in Frankfurt.


17. Nicolas Nabokov, Old Friends and New Music (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951), 264.


25. Printed in program for the concerts on Sept. 3–4, 1945. The program was printed in German and in English, as the identical concert was repeated the next day for the American soldiers. However, the phrase referring to Dunbar as the “famous American conductor” appeared only in the German program for Sept. 2, 1945, BPA. Other programs referred to Dunbar correctly as a British conductor. Dunbar, born in British Guyana, spent most of his life in either the United States or Britain.

26. Hartmann, Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null, 42.

27. Concert program, Dec. 10, 1945, BPA.


34. RIAS Berlin, 27.

35. Ibid., 44. See Eberle, “Die Götter wechseln, die Religion bleibt die gleiche,” in Musik der fünfziger Jahre, ed. Heister and Stern, 35; and Frauke M. Heß, Zeitgenössische Musik im bundesdeutschen Sinfoniekonzert der achtziger Jahre (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1994), 16.


38. German and English versions of the manuscript are held at OMGUS Records of Military Government Hesse, Educational and Cultural Relations Division, Theater and Music Branch, Correspondence and other records, 1946–49, box 727, RG 260, NARA. Many thanks to Danielle Fosler-Lucier for bringing this document to my attention.

39. Ibid.

40. A manuscript of the broadcast, written by Alexander Kaempfe, is held in file P 05936 at SWR.

41. See Beate Schneider, “Musik im Hörfunk und Fernsehen,” in Musikszene Deutschland, ed. Richard Jakoby (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1997), 116.

44. Interview with Ernst Krenek, Oral History, American Music, Yale University, March 22, 1975.
52. Herbert Eimert, Sendeprotokoll, “Musikalisches Nachtprogramm,” Nov. 27, 1952, WDR.
53. Both manuscripts are held at SWR in file P 05936.
55. The erroneous connection to Martha Graham is mystifying. In fact, Cage’s affiliation with Graham had been minimal (though Cage’s partner and collaborator Merce Cunningham danced for her company). Cage never wrote any music for her company at all, nor did he even work as an accompanist for her classes. David Patterson, correspondence with author, Oct. 4, 2001.
56. Cage, letter to Boulez, May 1, 1953, and Boulez, letter to Cage, after June 18, 1953, reprinted in Boulez-Cage Correspondence, 143, 145.
59. Strobel, letter to Vogel, Nov. 12, 1953, file P 06261, SWR. Vogel left Germany in 1933 and was now living in Ascona, Italy. Though Strobel knew Boulez, as well as many European composers living in the United States who knew Cage, his path to Cage led from the Swiss composer, radio producer, and orchestra manager Rolf Liebermann to Liebermann’s former teacher Vogel. The Boulez-Cage correspondence reveals that Boulez was not involved in helping Cage come to Germany in 1954. See, for example, Boulez, letter to Cage, July 1954, Boulez-Cage Correspondence, 147.
60. Vogel, letter to Strobel, Nov. 24, 1953, and Strobel, letter to Cage, Dec. 1, 1953, file P 06261, SWR. Strobel typically wrote his letters to Cage in German and had them translated at SWF before sending. Cage consistently wrote to Strobel in English, and his letters were translated at SWF for Strobel. Both the originals and many of the translations of Cage and Strobel’s letters are held at SWR.
62. Strobel, letters to Erich Höll, Städtische Verkehrsamt Donaueschingen, June 30 and Sept. 6, 1954, file P 06261, SWR.
63. Alfred Schlee, letter to Cage, Feb. 8, 1954, John Cage Collection, Northwestern University Music Library. I am grateful to John Holzaepfel for bringing this letter to my attention.
64. Cage, letter to Strobel, March 5, 1954, file P 06261, SWR.
67. Ehrlich, letter to Cage, March 2, 1954 (a copy also went to Strobel); Ehrlich, letter to Strobel, March 2, 1954; and Strobel, letter to Cage, March 24, 1954. All in file P 06261, SWR.
68. Document labeled “Kosten Donaueschingen” dated March 16, 1954, file P 06261, SWR.
69. Letter from Dr. Oehring (SWF) to Cage, April 22, 1954, file P 06261, SWR. Letter from Geschäftsstelle der Donaueschinger Musiktage im Städt. Verkehrsamt Rathaus (signature illegible; probably Erich Höll) to Harth, Sept. 6, 1954, file P 06204, SWR.
70. Strobel, letter to Altgraf Dr. Salm, March 8, 1954, file P 06261, SWR.
71. In a letter from Strobel to Erich Höll (Städtische Verkehrsamt Donaueschingen) written on May 17, 1954, Strobel agreed with the comments of his colleague Dr. Baruch, who felt that the Cage concert needed to appear more prominently on the flyer; file P 06261, SWR.
72. SWF—internal letter (probably from Strobel) to Intendant Professor Bischoff, July 8, 1954, file P 06261, SWR.
73. Document titled “Donaueschinger Musiktage, Zusammenstellung der Bandanforderungen fremder Sendeantstalten, Anforderungen der geschlossenen Konzert-Programme,” no date, file P 06261, SWR.
74. The Saturday concert featured premieres and German first performances of compositions by the German composers Bernd Scholz and Hans Ulrich Englemann, the Greek Nikos Skalkottas, the Italian Mario Peragallo, and the Polish-Austrian composer Roman Haubenstock-Ramati. The Sunday afternoon concert included works by Darius Milhaud, the Englishman Matyas Seiber, several works by Igor Stravinsky, a piano concerto by the German Hans Brehme, and a concerto for jazz band and orchestra by Rolf Liebermann.
75. Apparently Four Systems and Intersection were not performed. None of the reviewers discussed these compositions; furthermore, Häusler’s documentation lists only four works on the matinee, strongly suggesting that Four Systems and Intersection had been eliminated from the program at the last minute. See Josef Häusler, Spiegel der Neuen Musik: Donaueschingen (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1996), 439.
78. Strobel, letter to Cage, Jan. 21, 1954, file P 06261, SWR.


82. Dr. Artur Hartmann, letter to Strobel, Oct. 21, 1954, file P 06261, SWR.


84. Cage, letter to Eimert, Feb. 13, 1954, file no. 10662, WDR.

85. Kruttge, letter to Cage, March 9, 1954; Cage to Kruttge, March 15, 1954, file no. 10662, WDR.

86. “When judging the work of Cage and his group,” Eimert wrote, “one should not forget that America not only took on our music culture, but also that it is unburdened by a classical tradition of its own, and it therefore approaches musical phenomena without prejudice, and with great openness.” Though the program notes are signed only with the initial “E.,” I am certain that they were written by Eimert since they are almost identical to the text of his 1952 radio broadcast. For further documentation of Cage’s connection to Musik der Zeit, see Musik der Zeit, 1951–2001: 50 Jahre Neue Musik im WDR, ed. Frank Hilberg and Harry Vogt (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 2002).

87. Kruttge, letter to Cage, 18 December 1954, file no. 10662, WDR.


91. After a Berlin performance of Copland’s Clarinet Concerto and Third Symphony in October 1970, for example, a critic remarked that “the American symphony still carries the mysticism of the Wild West” (Klaus Lüpfert, “Typisches aus Amerika,” Spannauer Volksblatt [Oct. 2, 1970]). Another critic remarked that Copland’s works demonstrated “a typical characteristic of American compositions,” namely “a different relationship to music than European compositions, which are burdened by tradition and knowledge” (“Aus der Neuen Welt,” Der Abend [Oct. 1, 1970]).


95. Leipziger Volkszeitung (Nov. 7, 1923); Leipziger Abendpost (Nov. 5, 1923); Leichtentritt, as quoted by Rita Mead, Henry Cowell’s New Music, 1925–1936 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 27.
96. E. Lee Fairley (Speakers and Artistic Programming Officer, American Embassy, Office of Public Affairs, Information Centers Division, Box 955, Mehlem Aue-Bad Godesberg, Germany), letter to Cowell, 21 Aug. 1956, folder 142, box 111, HCP.
97. Handwritten list held in Travel folder, box 110, HCP.
98. Announcements for Cowell’s appearances are held in Rockefeller Tour 1956–57, Germany Sept.-Oct. 1956 folder, box 107, HCP.
100. Cowell, letter to Olive Cowell, Sept. 22, 1956, folder 608, box 20, HCP.
102. These recordings are held at the International Music Institute Darmstadt, archive numbers 9508/56 and 9509/56.
104. Cowell, letter to Sidney Cowell, Oct. 1, 1956, folder 608, box 20, HCP.