Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946-1956

Amy C. Beal

Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol. 53, No. 1. (Spring, 2000), pp. 105-139.

Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0139%28200021%2953%3A1%3C105%3ANCAAMI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-G

Journal of the American Musicological Society is currently published by University of California Press.

Negotiating Cultural Allies: American Music in Darmstadt, 1946–1956

AMY C. BEAL

The story of music in postwar Germany rests on assumptions that have won acceptance through sheer repetition. Some reexamination may be in order. This is not to deny that the destruction of German cities, especially in the spring of 1945, was devastating and dramatic, or that centers for new music seemed to sprout from the rubble. But such descriptions are only a starting point for understanding why certain areas of Germany—for example, Cologne, Donaueschingen, and Darmstadt—became era-defining meccas for new music. Germany's *Nachholbedürfnis,* the postwar race to "make up for lost time" in a national deficit of modern music, illustrates a dominant narrative in twentieth-century music history. As a paradigmatic case of this narrative, the story of Darmstadt's rebirth embodies the myth of Germany's cultural apparatus rising like a phoenix from the ashes of the Second World War.

Insofar as institutions and performance venues are examined as factors in the history of composition since 1945, English-language texts sometimes portray Darmstadt's Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik (hereafter IFNM or Ferienkurse) as a summer camp dedicated to the exploration of electronic music and European serialism.[1] Recent German-language publications

Research for this article was supported in part by a DAAD fellowship to Germany, 1997–98. An earlier version of the text was read at the Sixty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, October–November 1998. I am grateful to Richard Crawford, Danielle Fosler-Lussier, Christopher Fox, Jean Missud, David Nicholls, Anne Shreffler, and Richard Taruskin for offering valuable suggestions. I offer special thanks to Doris Rebner, for allowing me to publish my translation of Wolfgang Edward Rebner's Darmstadt lecture here, to Wilhelm Schlüter for making so many Darmstadt documents available, and to Ralf Dietrich for proofreading the translation. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

1. For example Eric Salzman, *Twentieth-Century Music: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974); Donald Jay Grout and Claude Palisca, *A History of Western Music,* 4th ed. (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1988); Norman Lebrecht, *The Companion to Twentieth-Century Music* (New York and London: Simon and Schuster, 1992); Robert P. Morgan, ed., *Modern Times: From World War I to the Present* (London: Macmillan, 1993); Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994); and Paul Griffiths, *Modern Music and After: Directions Since 1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[*Journal of the American Musicological Society* 2000, vol. 53, no. 1]
 0003-0139/00/5301-0004$2.00

on early IFNM history, such as Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser's *Im Zenit der Moderne,* suggest a more balanced picture of the variety offered by the IFNM.[2] Pioneers of early modernism whose music was still largely unknown—Bartók, Berg, Debussy, Hindemith, Honegger, Krenek, Messiaen, Milhaud, Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and Webern—found an eager audience there. The IFNM also provided fertile ground for the European avant-garde to explore a new musical language, and composers like Pierre Boulez, Luigi Nono, and Karlheinz Stockhausen did indeed often dominate a central discourse during the fifties. The first director of the courses, Dr. Wolfgang Steinecke (1910–1961), encouraged young Europeans like Boulez, Nono, Stockhausen, and Bruno Maderna. But he also brought innovative Americans to Darmstadt, as well as German émigrés living in the United States who could report on musical life there. Less well known is that in the early years, the Ferienkurse were actively supported by American officers working for the occupying military government's Theater and Music Branch. Eventually a network of mutual support helped create for American composers a controversial—but influential—presence in Germany. Well-known figures like John Cage, David Tudor, and the German musicologist Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt contributed to this network. But so did lesser-known figures, including Steinecke himself, Everett Helm, John Evarts, and Wolfgang Edward Rebner.

This article traces the relationships among American music officers, German patrons, and representatives of American music in Darmstadt in the context of postwar and Cold War politics, and describes events at the IFNM that led to the recognition of the possibilities opened up by American experimental music. An English translation of Rebner's 1954 Ferienkurse lecture, "American Experimental Music," is included as an appendix.[3] The lecture's historical significance lies in its apparent lack of models; a survey of the literature on American experimental music suggests that, in Darmstadt in 1954, Rebner may have made the first public attempt to portray American experimentalism as an independent branch of American musical history. (Though it is not the purpose of this article to offer a definition of American experimental music, a historical study of the idea would be worthwhile.) In his lecture, Rebner constructed a tradition of American experimental music, a tradition that would come to occupy an influential space in West German new music circles during the Cold War era. I hope that this translation of Rebner's lecture

2. The most extensive sources on IFNM history are Rudolf Stephan et al., eds., *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse* (Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996); Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, Darmstadt 1946–1966,* 4 vols. (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997); and Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, eds., *Darmstadt-Dokumente I: Musik-Konzepte Sonderband* (Munich: Edition text + kritik, 1999). The summer courses, originally called Kranichsteiner Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, were later renamed to emphasize internationalism.

3. Rebner's lecture was first published in the original German in Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 3:178–89.

will contribute to our understanding of transatlantic musical relationships during the fifties along the lines provided by Austin Clarkson, for example, with his translation of Stefan Wolpe's Darmstadt lecture "On New (and Not-So-New) Music in America" (1956).[4]

Cultural Reeducation at the Zero Hour

West Germany's commitment to new music immediately after the end of World War II—beginning with the so-called Zero Hour (*Stunde Null*)—is a story that has appealed to scholars of recent music history.[5] With respect to musical life, however, the familiar concept of a Zero Hour is flawed for several reasons. First, contemporary musical life in Germany, though severely limited, hardly ceased between 1933 and 1945.[6] Second, Germany did not yield to the Allied invasion all at once. The war, and with it the Nazi era, did not end at the same time for all Germans. As early as 24 November 1944, the American Military Government Control Branch issued a law prohibiting German public activity, including publishing and recording music, broadcasting on the radio, and any type of live musical performance.[7] Many localities were occupied by the Allies in advance of the fall of Berlin, and in these places "normal" activities—including newspaper production and musical performance—resumed before Germany's surrender was signed on 8 May 1945, or even before the fighting in the Reich's capital had ended.[8] Finally, many musicians and

4. Stefan Wolpe, "On New (and Not-So-New) Music in America," trans. with commentary by Austin Clarkson, *Journal of Music Theory* 28 (1984): 1–45.

5. For a survey of German historians' interpretations of the Zero Hour, see Theodor Eschenburg, "Stunde Null," in *Jahre unseres Lebens, 1945–1949,* ed. Dieter Franck (Munich and Zurich: R. Piper Verlag, 1980), 6–9.

6. For example, composers Wolfgang Fortner and Hermann Heiss remained active in Germany during the Third Reich. In addition, some scholars have written that scores by composers such as Webern and Hindemith, considered degenerate (*entartet*) by the Nazis, were available in music stores through 1945. See Reinhard Oehlschlägel, "Tour d'horizon: Zur neuen Musik seit 1945," *MusikTexte* 60 (1995): 3; and Gottfried Eberle, "Die Götter wechseln, die Religion bleibt die gleiche: Neue Musik in Westdeutschland nach 1945," in *Musik der 50er Jahre,* ed. Hanns-Werner Heister and Dietrich Stern (Berlin: Argument Verlag, 1980), 36.

7. Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) Military Government Law No. 191. This law not only prohibited music-related activities, but broadly outlined goals for controlling publications, radio broadcasts, news services, films, theaters, and music, and for prohibiting activities of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda. Some of the activities suspended by Law No. 191 could resume in September 1947 when the Office of Military Government for Germany (OMGUS) initiated the Military Government Licensing Program (called OMGUS Information Control Regulation No. 3). Both documents are reprinted in *Germany 1947–1949: The Story in Documents* (United States Department of State Office of Public Affairs, March 1950), 594–95, 598–600 (hereafter cited as *Germany Documents*).

8. The first publishing license given to a German newspaper was in Aachen; the first issue was published on 24 January 1945. See "Metropolenwechsel, Aachen," in *So viel Anfang war nie: Deutsche Städte 1945–1949,* ed. Hermann Glaser, Lutz von Pufendorf, and Michael Schöneich (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1989), 55.

musicologists active from 1933 until 1945 continued professional activities during the era of denazification.[9] Much of the literature on Germany's *Trümmerzeit* (the chaotic time during which most cities lay in ruins) stresses a hunger for culture during the months following Germany's surrender, a hunger that (one often reads) was felt more acutely than the need for coal, food, and water.[10] In an eyewitness account of mid-1945 Berlin, for example, Erich Hartmann, double bassist for the Berlin Philharmonic from 1943 until 1985, remembered that "one of the miracles of this period was that, despite all of the unfortunate circumstances in the bombed-out cities, attempts were made to continue cultivating culture even while most concert halls, theaters, and cinemas were destroyed." Hartmann added, "One didn't think of making money, rather that life should just go on."[11]

The final months of the war had been catastrophic for Germany's cultural infrastructure: by 1945, nearly sixty opera houses had been destroyed.[12] But by the beginning of 1946, Berlin alone boasted nearly two hundred stages and halls used for performances.[13] To be sure, budding cultural initiatives soon reestablished a lively new music community throughout Germany. Many of these initiatives resulted directly from the Allies' commitment to rebuilding Germany's cultural infrastructure. As part of "reeducation" in the American zone—Bavaria, Greater Hesse, Baden-Württemberg, the city of Bremen in the north, and a sector of West Berlin—American newspapers, radio broadcasting stations, America Houses, and the Theater and Music Branch all disseminated an ideology of democracy while reviving German culture. The network of information centers known as America Houses, present in most larger cities by the early fifties, were an important part of reeducation. America

9. For example, both Fortner and Heiss (see n. 6 above) taught regularly at the IFNM. See also Adolf M. Birke, *Nation ohne Haus: Deutschland 1945–1961* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1989), 93; and Pamela 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), 235–65.

10. For example, see Helga de la Motte-Haber, "Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Avantgarde nach 1945," in *Musikkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Symposium Leningrad 1990*, ed. Rudolf Stephan and Wsewolod Saderatzkij (Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1994), 63; and Ulrich Dibelius, "Rundfunk und Neue Musik," in ibid., 223. For a conflicting view on the "Zero Hour myth" see Bernd Leukert, "Musik aus Trümmern: Darmstadt um 1949," *MusikTexte* 45 (1992): 24. In Leukert's article, German musicologist Heinz-Klaus Metzger is quoted criticizing depictions of the Zero Hour, claiming that after the end of the war "the old continuities went on." Metzger's memory is supported by Ralph Willett, *The Americanization of Germany, 1945–1949* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 18.

11. Hartmann, *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null* (Berlin: Musik- und Buchverlag Werner Feja, 1996), 35.

12. "Traurige Bilanz," *Melos* 14 (1947): 220.

13. Art critic Friedrich Luft conducted this survey; it is cited by Franck in "Kultur statt Kalorien," in *Jahre unseres Lebens*, ed. Franck, 107. Another statistic reported that Berlin enjoyed some 120 premieres between June and December 1945 (Birke, *Nation ohne Haus*, 92). See also Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater: Cultural and Intellectual Life in Berlin, 1945–1948*, trans. Kelly Barry (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

Houses had been established "for the unilateral dissemination of information about the history, traditions, and customs of the United States and the social, political, industrial, scientific, and cultural development of the American people."[14] At America Houses, Germans had ample opportunities to explore American culture through lectures, concerts, and exhibitions. For example, programs held at the America House in Berlin today reveal how, during the fifties and sixties, that venue offered presentations on daily life in the United States, including such topics as fashion, religion, politics, history, economics, regional and ethnic studies, literature, art, theater, Native American dancing, and musicals. In 1952, former American Music and Theater Officer Everett Helm commented that "Germans, like other Europeans, are still somewhat skeptical about the quality and extent of American culture, and a certain amount of passive resistance has to be overcome."[15] The creation of the Stuttgart-based Seventh Army Symphony Orchestra (1952–62) is a good example of the United States' continuing effort to convince Germans that Americans were a cultured people.[16] To further combat unfamiliarity with American culture, performances of American music by American ensembles often took place in America Houses. American music experts such as Everett Helm, Bruno Nettl, and Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt lectured there on classical music, jazz, pop, and indigenous folk musics, and these lectures were frequently accompanied by recorded examples or live performances. Scores and recordings of American music held at the libraries soon were made available to the public.[17]

14. "Information Centers: Military Government Regulations, Title 21, Part 6 (5 April 1949)," reprinted in *Germany Documents,* 608. The name America House was first used in October 1947 in a military government report describing the purpose of the centers. See Willett, *The Americanization of Germany,* 20. An OMGUS report titled "Development of Information Services" shows that by June 1949 the U.S. zone maintained twenty-five "information centers" and that a total of twenty-eight were planned, including three in Berlin alone (Statistical Annex, OMGUS Report No. 48, June 1949, p. 266). Reports reprinted in *Germany Documents,* 603, 608. See also Everett Helm, "America Houses in Germany: Good-Will and Understanding," *Musical America* 72, no. 3 (1952): 13; and Helm, "Wiederaufbau des deutschen Musiklebens nach 1945 und Paul Hindemith," *Hindemith-Jahrbuch* 9 (1980): 130–36.

15. Helm, "America Houses in Germany," 138.

16. John Canarina, *Uncle Sam's Orchestra: Memories of the Seventh Army Symphony* (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1998). See also Rebecca Boehling, "The Role of Culture in American Relations with Europe: The Case of the United States's Occupation of Germany," *Diplomatic History* 23 (1999): 57–69; and Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, "Art Is Democracy and Democracy Is Art: Culture, Propaganda, and the *Neue Zeitung* in Germany, 1944–1947," *Diplomatic History* 23 (1999): 21–43.

17. Both Friedrich Hommel (music critic and IFNM director from 1982 to 1994) and Josef Anton Riedl (a Munich-based experimental composer) recalled that their first exposure to American music came through America Houses in Heidelberg and Munich, respectively. Furthermore, Riedl mentioned that he first encountered works by avant-garde American composers—including new percussion music—by borrowing scores and recordings at an information center in Munich (interviews with the author: Hommel, 3 April 1998; Riedl, 10 July 1998). Scores were available elsewhere as well: a catalogue of the Inter-Allied music lending

Some classically trained American composers and musicians took jobs in Germany as music officers in the Theater and Music Branch administered by the Office of Military Government of the United States (OMGUS, 1945–49).[18] Such officers helped set up an independent cultural apparatus in West Germany; two of them, Everett Helm and John Evarts, were involved in the early years of the IFNM. A closer look at their activities in Germany illustrates the nature of cultural interaction during the forties and fifties, and how these officers worked to establish good human relations and practical support. For example, Helm, a Harvard-trained composer and musicologist, was head of the Theater and Music Branch in Hesse from early 1948 until 1950, and that agency played a key role in ensuring the survival of the Ferienkurse.[19]

Music Officers: Everett Helm and John Evarts

Everett Helm was born in Minneapolis in 1913. After earning his bachelor of music degree at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, he moved to Boston. At Harvard he studied musicology with the German immigrant Hugo Leichtentritt (who had fled Germany in 1933), composition with Walter Piston, counterpoint with A. Tillman Meritt, and choral music and conducting with Archibald T. Davison. After completing his master of music degree in 1935, Helm received Harvard's prestigious John Knowles Paine Traveling Fellowship (1936–38). He bewildered the music faculty by choosing to study not with Nadia Boulanger in France as was expected, but with Gian Francesco Malipiero in Asolo, Italy, instead. (Helm was critical of the strong French influence on contemporary American music and scorned the

---

library in Berlin listed scores of some seventy-five compositions by American composers. This undated document, "Katalog der Interalliierten Musik-Leihbibliothek Berlin: Abteilung Amerika," was found by the author in an unsorted box at the Berlin Philharmonic Archive (hereafter BPA), in a file folder marked "Kataloge für Noten." Other catalogues and letters in the file were dated 1946. See also Harrison Kerr, "Information Control in the Occupied Areas," *Notes* 4 (1947): 433–34.

18. OMGUS, in charge of affairs in Germany since 1945, was replaced by the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany (HICOG) in 1949. HICOG oversaw German reconstruction until 1953. Under the organizational structure of both OMGUS and HICOG, field offices of the Cultural Relations Division were closely related to the Information Services Division, which also monitored America Houses. The Theater and Music Branch ceased to exist on 1 October 1949, after OMGUS had been replaced by HICOG. For a detailed description of the work of music officers in postwar Germany, see Everett Helm, "Music in Occupied Germany," *Musical America* 70, no. 3 (1950): 115, 250, 256. See also Henry P. Pilgert, *Press, Radio, and Film in West Germany* (Historical Division, Office of the Executive Secretary, Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, 1953). See also OMGUS and HICOG organizational charts in *Germany Documents,* 180 and following 182.

19. The following information on Helm was obtained primarily through interviews I conducted with him in Berlin. He passed away in Berlin on 25 June 1999.

Harvard composition faculty's devotion to Boulanger.) In 1936 Helm's ship docked in Rotterdam, and from there he traveled to Asolo by train. Traveling south through Germany, in towns like Bonn, he experienced, as he vehemently stated in an interview, "enough Nazism to make me sick."[20] Once settled in Asolo, he studied composition with Malipiero while "living like a king" on his stipend of $1,500 per year. After completing his lessons with Malipiero and additional study with Ralph Vaughn Williams and Alfred Einstein in England, Helm returned to the United States, receiving his doctorate in music from Harvard University in 1939.

During the Second World War, when he was classified 4-F (he was, as he later explained, "incapable of shooting people!"), the State Department sent him to Latin America as a music ambassador. After touring nearly a dozen countries, he settled in Rio de Janeiro for over a year, lecturing, composing, and collecting information on local music. After the war, Helm returned to New York, where he served briefly on the board of directors for the League of Composers.[21] There he encountered Harrison Kerr (1897–1978), the American composer and former Boulanger student who now supervised the Music, Art, and Exhibits Section of the Army Civil Affairs Division, a cultural institution that oversaw activities in Germany, Austria, and Japan for the U.S. military government.[22] Helm expressed interest in working in the occupied countries, and after a State Department security check, Kerr offered him a job in Germany. Helm, now under contract with the American military, arrived back in war-torn Germany in February 1948, just a few months before the beginning of the Berlin Airlift that intensified Cold War commitments.

Though Helm had declared himself "against the military in all forms," he now found himself a high-ranking officer of the Theater and Music Branch of OMGUS. Since the reconstruction of cultural life constituted a main goal of the military government in West Germany, cultural officers implemented policies as they were determined in Washington. Issued in June 1946, OMGUS's long-range plans for Germany's reconstruction identified "cultural reeducation" as a top priority.[23] Officers such as Helm worked to achieve the specific "cultural objectives" in a Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive known as JCS 1779, which read in part as follows:

> Your Government holds that the reeducation of the German people is an integral part of policies intended to help develop a democratic form of government and to restore a stable and peaceful economy; it believes that there should be no forcible break in the cultural unity of Germany, but recognizes the spiritual value of the regional traditions of Germany and wishes to foster them; it is

20. Interview with the author, 16 December 1997.

21. See Claire R. Reis, *Composers, Conductors, and Critics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 254.

22. See Kerr, "Information Control in the Occupied Areas," 431–35.

23. "Long-Range Policy Statement for German Re-education (5 June 1946)," reprinted in *Germany Documents*, 541–42.

> convinced that the manner and purposes of the reconstruction of the national German culture have a vital significance for the future of Germany.
>
> It is, therefore, of the highest importance that you make every effort to secure maximum coordination between the occupying powers of cultural objectives designed to serve the cause of peace. You will encourage German initiative and responsible participation in this work of cultural reconstruction and you will expedite the establishment of these international cultural relations which will overcome the spiritual isolation imposed by National Socialism on Germany and further the assimilation of the German people into the world community of nations.[24]

Specifically, Helm implemented the Military Government Licensing Program that had been established in 1947 (OMGUS Information Control Regulation No. 3, cited above). From his Wiesbaden office, he reviewed and distributed licenses for performers based on clearances issued in Frankfurt, requested and authorized funding for new or struggling cultural enterprises, and obtained scores, books, and other materials—often donated by American publishers—for local orchestras and other ensembles that had lost their library collections during the war. Also, it would have fallen under Helm's purview to grant permission for journalists and musicians to travel between zones for cultural events, since the 1947 directive specified that Germans wishing to travel between the different zones had to request permission, as did those wishing to leave the country.[25] Within these specific areas of activity, Helm and other cultural officers enjoyed a certain amount of independence. And since Helm was stationed in Wiesbaden, the new capital of the region of Greater Hesse, he quickly came into Darmstadt's orbit.

In 1946 one of the most influential postwar musical communities had taken shape in Darmstadt, some twenty-five miles south of Frankfurt. Nearly 80 percent of the city had been destroyed and over 11,000 people killed during a British Royal Air Force air raid on the night of 11–12 September 1944. When the war ended for Darmstadt with the American occupation of the city

24. Issued in the Department of State *Bulletin* (27 July 1947), reprinted in *Germany Documents,* 40. This directive was delivered to the head of military government, General Lucius Clay, on 11 July 1947. It broadly outlined goals for officers engaged in German reconstruction, and superseded a previous directive issued on 26 April 1945 (JCS 1067). Unlike JCS 1779, JCS 1067 did not contain a section titled "Cultural Objectives."

25. Interzone passes were introduced on 29 October 1946 (see Franck, "Zeittafel und Karten," in *Jahre unseres Lebens,* 198). For example, before Stuckenschmidt could travel to Darmstadt in 1947, he had to receive an official invitation from Steinecke in order to apply for an interzone pass. This pass, allowing Stuckenschmidt and his wife to travel from the American sector of West Berlin to the American zone of Greater Hesse, would have been issued by an officer of the U.S. military government (letter from Steinecke to Stuckenschmidt, 23 May 1947, in the Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt Correspondence Collection held at the Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin; hereafter HHS/SAdK).

on 25 March 1945, 70,000 of its remaining 115,000 inhabitants were homeless.[26] But it was there that Wolfgang Steinecke, a thirty-six-year-old music critic from Essen now working for the city of Darmstadt as an advisor for cultural affairs, took charge of the new IFNM. Established by Ludwig Metzger, Darmstadt's first postwar mayor, this contemporary music summer series featured composition and instrumental courses, workshops, master classes, lectures, and performances.[27] Although Darmstadt had lost its status as the capital of the region of Hesse after the war, Steinecke found that the city's location in the American zone of occupied Germany was fortunate, for he benefited from an American military government that had not been financially devastated by years of war. OMGUS reviewed all public cultural activities in its zone, including all written materials associated with them; early IFNM programs too were stamped with American publishing licenses.[28] Ferienkurse participants had to receive a clearance issued by the Music and Theater Branch.[29] Requests by Steinecke and others to the military government for money, performance space, bedding, and food were frequent, and frequently granted.[30] In fact, a piano that had been confiscated from the Nazis by the Allies during the war was donated in 1946 by American soldiers, who transported the Steinway grand to Jagdschloß Kranichstein—the location of the first three Ferienkurse—on the back of a military jeep. In a recent book on the CIA, culture, and the Cold War, Frances Stonor Saunders goes so far as to call the Ferienkurse "a bold initiative of the American military government."[31]

26. See Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 1:77.

27. For background on Steinecke and the beginning of the IFNM, see Friedrich Hommel, "How the Province Became International: Early Days of New Music in Darmstadt," trans. Asa Eldh, *Sonus* 10, no. 1 (1989): 72–85.

28. Programs were stamped "Genehmigt durch die Militärregierung" in 1946, "Genehmigt durch die Militärregierung unter der Lizenz Nr. 609" in 1947, and "Gedruckt mit Sondergenehmigung der Militärregierung" in 1948 (Correspondence and Press Files at the Internationales Musikinstitut Darmstadt; hereafter IMD).

29. For example, a letter from Gerhard Singer, Music and Theater Control Officer, to Steinecke (12 August 1946) granted Hermann Heiss, Karl Wörner, Heinrich Strobel, and fourteen others clearance to attend the first IFNM. A similar letter from Singer to Steinecke (4 June 1947) granted permission to Hermann Scherchen, Hermann Heiss, Wolfgang Fortner, Heinrich Strobel, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, and eleven others for attendance at the second IFNM (IMD).

30. This is documented in many of Steinecke's letters written in 1948 and 1949 after the German currency reform of 1948 (IMD). See also Elke Gerberding, "Darmstädter Kulturpolitik der Nachkriegszeit," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart,* ed. Stephan, 34.

31. Saunders goes on to describe how American military officials voiced sharp criticisms of the music performed in Darmstadt during the first few years, criticisms that "spilled over into open hostility" (*Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* [London: Granta Books, 1999], 23–24).

Steinecke paid Helm a visit to request financial support from the Music Branch for the IFNM in early 1949.[32] Many institutions, including Steinecke's, had suffered major though temporary setbacks the previous year because of the currency reform that introduced the *Deutschmark*. It was clear to Helm that Steinecke's cultural efforts in Darmstadt fulfilled OMGUS's goal—as stated on 5 June 1946 in the "Long-Range Policy Statement for German Re-education"—that "the reconstruction of the cultural life of Germany must be in large measure the work of the Germans themselves." Helm authorized funds for the courses (letters confirm that in 1949, Helm issued DM 4,000 to Steinecke for the *Patenring*, a scholarship fund for IFNM participants) and received orders to visit Darmstadt to make sure that the military's investment was justified; he found that it was.[33] In addition to supplying money for the IFNM, Helm helped Steinecke contact American composers and obtained scores of American music from the United States. During the fifties he remained actively involved with the Ferienkurse by lecturing frequently on American music. In 1955 his four-movement sonata, *Eight Minutes for Two Pianos* (1943), was performed there by Alfons and Aloys Kontarsky, and in 1955 and 1956 he and Steinecke worked together on a Charles Ives project to be exhibited in Darmstadt.[34] Helm's connection with Darmstadt had many consequences, both for the continuous funding of the courses and as a bridge for American musicians. It was Helm, for example, who put John Cage in touch with Steinecke in 1954.[35] Helm's Darmstadt-related activities became fairly well known, if not exaggerated; in 1959 Elliott Carter wrote, "As a U.S. Army Theater and Music Officer in Wiesbaden [Everett Helm] helped to establish the Darmstadt School after the war and at various times since has saved it from being overwhelmed by numerous situations that have threatened its

32. Helm's and Steinecke's initial meeting in Wiesbaden must have taken place shortly before 26 February 1949, the date of the earliest correspondence I have located between the two. On this date Steinecke wrote to Helm, asking several questions he neglected to bring up during their first meeting. Steinecke also mentioned his meeting with Helm in a letter to U.S. Music and Theater Officer John Evarts in Bad Nauheim, dated 4 April 1949 (IMD).

33. Letter from Helm to Steinecke, 16 September 1949; also letter from Steinecke to Helm, 24 September 1949 (IMD). Helm told me that he received authorization for the funding—and the orders to visit Darmstadt—directly from General Lucius Clay himself (interview with the author, 9 December 1997).

34. Letters from Steinecke to Helm, 29 December 1955; Helm to Steinecke, 23 January 1956; Steinecke to Helm, 14 February 1956; and Helm to Steinecke, 2 April 1956 (IMD). The project, however, seems only to have resulted in Helm's lecture on Ives and Satie in 1956 and a Darmstadt performance of *The Unanswered Question* on 22 July 1956. Many of Helm's unpublished texts, radio broadcasts, and letters are held in the Everett Helm Collection at the Lilly Library in Bloomington, Indiana. This collection includes an undated typescript of a text labeled " 'Ives u. Satie: Eine Gegenüberstellung' (WDR Köln)." This might be the same text Helm used for his IFNM lecture on Ives and Satie in 1956 (also in that year, Helm presented a lecture on 4 October at Berlin's America House, listed in the America House program as "Charles Ives und Erik Satie—Musikvortrag mit Schallplattenbeispielen").

35. Letter from Cage to Steinecke, 30 March 1954 (IMD). Helm and Cage most likely met and discussed the situation in Darmstadt during Helm's trip to the United States in early 1954.

existence." Carter concluded that Helm had "earned the gratitude of a whole generation of young European musicians."[36]

In early 1949, Steinecke corresponded in the interest of the Ferienkurse with both Helm and the American pianist and composer John Evarts (1908–1989), who worked as a music officer in Bad Nauheim near Frankfurt.[37] Evarts, following musical training at Yale (1926–30), had studied in both Munich (autumn of 1930) and Berlin (1931).[38] Before the war, he had been a founding member of Black Mountain College in North Carolina as well as its first music instructor, and he taught there from 1933 until he joined the army in 1942.[39] After the war Evarts decided to stay in Germany and assist with cultural reconstruction. Because he, like Helm, had spent time in Europe before 1933 and had established personal contacts there, the State Department and the military government considered him a qualified cultural ambassador. He was assigned from 1945 to 1947 to work as a music officer in Bavaria. It was with his organizational help and support from the occupying forces that Karl Amadeus Hartmann's annual festival of contemporary music, Musica Viva, survived Munich's hunger years.[40] Indeed, Evarts's activities encapsulated the goals of reconstruction, for he helped create an infrastructure that integrally connected radio stations, cultural institutions (such as opera houses), and festivals for new music. From 1947 until 1951 he coordinated the activities of music officers in both Berlin and Greater Hesse.[41] And in 1950 he became Steinecke's primary contact with the offices of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany (HICOG). Until his office was eliminated in 1951, Evarts continually helped Steinecke, especially with the acquisition of scores.[42] Requests for scores were an important part of the duties of cultural

36. Elliott Carter, "Current Chronicle: Italy," *Musical Quarterly* 45 (1959): 541.

37. Evarts died in Berlin on 8 July 1989. Little has been published on his life, though it is clear from existing correspondence and documents (at IMD, HHS/SAdK, and the Bauhaus Archive in Berlin [hereafter BAB]) that he was a central figure in this story. An obituary in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (15 July 1989) stated that "music and culture in postwar Germany owed much to Evarts." Stuckenschmidt's autobiography provides some biographical information on Evarts (*Zum Hören Geboren: Ein Leben mit der Musik unserer Zeit* [Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1979]), as does the newspaper article "John Evarts, der gute amerikanische Geist," *Berliner Morgenpost,* 16 January 1987.

38. Evarts's typewritten "Curriculum Vitae" (BAB, no date).

39. Bauhaus Archive, Berlin, holds a copy of Evarts's unpublished autobiographical "Black Mountain College Reminiscences" written in 1967.

40. Renate Ulm, *Eine Sprache der Gegenwart: Musica Viva 1945–1995* (Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1995), 75. See also Wolfgang Geiseler, "Zwischen Klassik und Moderne," in *So viel Anfang war nie,* ed. Glaser, von Pufendorf, and Schöneich, 247.

41. "Curriculum Vitae" (BAB); also Mary Emma Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1987), 254.

42. Letters from Evarts to Carleton Sprague Smith, 24 February 1950; and from Evarts to Steinecke, 15 June 1950 (IMD). Evarts's acquisition of money for the IFNM is documented in letters from Steinecke to Evarts, 27 February 1950; Evarts to Steinecke, 13 March 1950; and Steinecke to Evarts, 11 April 1950 (IMD).

officers, who were directed by the Information Services Division to "promote and facilitate the exchange of materials designed to stimulate the development of a sound German democracy."[43] In November 1986, the Federal Republic of Germany awarded Evarts a Distinguished Service Cross in recognition of his work as a music officer, and those who know about his work praise him highly. For example, Friedrich Hommel, music critic and director of the Ferienkurse from 1982 until 1994, remarked: "Without Evarts, there wouldn't be a Berlin Philharmonic today."[44] Between 1949 and 1951, because of the work of music officers like Helm and Evarts, the United States contributed about 20 percent of Steinecke's annual budget for the IFNM.[45] And even into the late fifties, IFNM concerts were advertised by the U.S. Army as an alternative source of leisure-time entertainment for American enlisted men.[46]

A Question of *Kultur:* American Music in Darmstadt

Contact with American music officers at the IFNM was complemented by the presence of musicians and composers from the United States. Like Helm and Evarts, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt (1901–1988) provided an important connection between the two continents. Thanks, perhaps, to his affiliation with American-funded cultural enterprises such as the Berlin radio station RIAS and the American-sponsored newspaper *Neue Zeitung,* Stuckenschmidt was often a first contact for American composers coming to Germany.[47] Before visiting Germany during the fifties, both Stefan Wolpe and John Cage

43. Private, noncommercial exchange of cultural materials—including sheet music, musical recordings, and musical instruments—between individuals, organizations, and institutions in the U.S. and Germany were given official clearance through a policy statement issued on 28 February 1947 (*Germany Documents,* 612–14).

44. Interview with the author, 3 April 1998. Evarts's notification of the Distinguished Service Cross Award is held at Bauhaus Archive, Berlin.

45. The following donations from OMGUS or HICOG to the IFNM are documented in correspondence (IMD): 1949, DM 4000; March 1950, DM 2000; April 1950, DM 2000; March 1950, DM 1000; and 1951, DM 3000. In addition, there was discussion with Evarts in February 1950 about a subsidy (*Zuschuß*) of DM 8000. See also Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 1:61.

46. A notice about the Darmstadt summer courses appeared in a 1948 Special Services Bulletin "for Americans taking interest in modern music" (letter from Julius Reiber to Colonel Malcolm Byrne, 31 July 1948 [IMD]). In 1958, a military official requested information on the IFNM, suggesting that GIs in need of entertainment might attend events (letter from Archie P. Gauthier, Lt. Col. ARMOR, Chief, Recreation Section, APO 245, to Steinecke, 12 May 1958 [IMD]). Steinecke sent fifty copies of the IFNM brochure to the Special Activities Division in Nürnberg on 16 May 1958 (IMD). Though no longer associated with the U.S. military, both Helm and Evarts were listed as attendees of the 1958 Ferienkurse.

47. As Pamela Potter has pointed out, Stuckenschmidt was "heralded after 1945 as a defender of modern music and a victim of Nazi censorship," despite his professional activities during the Nazi era (*Most German of the Arts,* 153).

appealed to Stuckenschmidt for help in securing performances.[48] During Stuckenschmidt's tour of the United States as a cultural ambassador in 1949, he met Edgard Varèse, who, like the visual artist Marcel Duchamp, had come to America in 1915, long before the large wave of European immigrants of the thirties and forties. Stuckenschmidt recommended Varèse to Steinecke, who responded immediately by inviting the composer to lecture at the 1950 IFNM.[49] The U.S. State Department sponsored Varèse's trip to Germany in 1950, as it had sponsored Stuckenschmidt's tour of the United States in 1949.[50] In Germany, John Evarts secured additional money for Varèse through HICOG.[51] The IFNM took place during two weeks in mid August; on the first day, Varèse presented a lecture titled "The Sound-World of Electronic Music" ("Die Klangwelt der elektronischen Musik"). Hermann Scherchen conducted young IFNM participants in the first European performance of Varèse's *Ionisation,* possibly the first composition for percussion ensemble ever heard in Germany.[52] After Varèse's return to New York, the State Department requested a written report on his visit to Germany.[53]

48. Letter from Cage to Stuckenschmidt, 5 June 1958 (HHS/SAdK); also letters from Wolpe to Stuckenschmidt: 18 August 1955 (and Stuckenschmidt's reply on 15 September 1955), 1 October 1955, and 3 February 1956 (and Stuckenschmidt's reply on 9 February 1956) (HHS/SAdK).

49. Stuckenschmidt, *Zum Hören Geboren,* 222. Here Stuckenschmidt claimed that he himself paved the way for Varèse's trip by acquiring the financial help of American military officers. Letters between Varèse and Steinecke discuss specific plans for Varèse's IFNM participation: Varèse to Steinecke, 9 March 1950; Varèse to Steinecke, 29 May 1950; and Steinecke to Varèse, 12 June 1950 (IMD).

50. When Ernst Krenek traveled from Los Angeles to Darmstadt in 1950, John Evarts helped secure funds in Germany for him as well (letter from Steinecke to Krenek, 25 April 1950 [IMD]). In 1949, the U.S. State Department and the Department of the Army also sponsored a seven-week tour of the Walden String Quartet in West Germany. Aside from a concert at IFNM, most of the quartet's performances took place in America Houses. See Catherine M. Cameron, *Dialectics in the Arts: The Rise of Experimentalism in American Music* (London and Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 91. The U.S. Cultural Exchange Program was defined in a policy statement (SWNCC 269/8) titled "Interchange of Persons and Materials, Visits of German Nationals to the United States and of Persons from the United States to Germany (24 October 1946)," reprinted in *Germany Documents,* 611–12.

51. Letter from Steinecke to Varèse discussing funding options for the trip to Darmstadt, 3 March 1950 (IMD). While in Germany, Varèse gave lectures in Frankfurt, Munich, and Berlin for the Cultural Relations Division of the Information Service. See also Reinhold Brinkmann, "Varèse in Darmstadt," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart,* ed. Stephan, 87–93.

52. Both musicologist Heinz-Klaus Metzger and composer Dieter Schnebel, two later supporters of American experimental music in Germany, attended Varèse's composition courses in Darmstadt in 1950. Schnebel described the German premiere of *Ionisation,* presented with Schoenberg's *Survivor From Warsaw* on 20 August 1950 in the Darmstadt Landestheater, as a scandal—the audience booed and hissed during the performance (interviews with Metzger, 22 July 1998; and Schnebel, 4 February 1998).

53. Letter from Varèse to Steinecke, 27 September 1950 (IMD). This report (if it exists at all) has yet to be located.

Steinecke, enthusiastic about Varèse's potential as a new beacon of the avant-garde, invited the composer to return to the IFNM in 1951. But Varèse's financial situation was precarious, and since the State Department had "no budget for cultural or educational activities any longer," Varèse was unable to return "for a pleasure trip."[54] Nevertheless, Steinecke invited Varèse to attend the IFNM every year from 1951 to 1961 with the exception of 1954, 1958, and 1960. Beginning in 1957, Steinecke engaged composer Earle Brown, who had frequent contact with Varèse in New York, to acquire further information about the older composer and to assist in communicating with him.[55] The last time Steinecke invited Varèse to Darmstadt was shortly before Steinecke's death in 1961. Though Varèse spoke fondly of his Darmstadt visit, he refused each invitation and never visited the IFNM again.

Back in the States after his 1950 trip, Varèse told a writer for the *New York Times* that "there is in Germany a greater interest in American music than many of us suppose." But he also suggested a fundamental obstacle in the reception of American music:

> The Germans will listen to, but not accept, any suggestions as long as they are not convinced that they are coming from a *Kulturvolk*. And we are not entirely accepted today in Germany as a *Kulturvolk*. This we must fight for. . . . The Europeans believe in the cultural elite, the artistic elite. We must show that we too are of the elite. But here in this country many don't realize that art is more important than baseball.[56]

During the occupation and after, many West German newspapers printed articles on American music. An article in the *Bremer Nachrichten* chided its readers: "There is hardly an educated European who hasn't yet read an American book, but there are many who know nothing about musical life in America."[57] Another writer explained that thanks to "the great European legacy powerfully spreading its roots in the fertile soil of the New World," Americans were finally becoming a "music-friendly people," no longer just a country obsessed with technical progress.[58] The reeducation program resulted in increased exposure to American music, and critical opinions quickly took shape among musicians. But despite all efforts at reeducation, most depictions

54. Letter from Varèse to Steinecke, 10 April 1951 (IMD).

55. Letter from Steinecke to Brown, 24 February 1957 (IMD). At the time, Steinecke was considering Varèse for a position as a permanent artistic advisor for the IFNM. See Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 1:267–83.

56. Edgard Varèse, interview with Harold C. Schonberg, "U.S. Role Abroad: Varèse Says Our Influence Must Be Cultural, Too," *New York Times,* 8 October 1950.

57. H. Oswald, "Amerikanische Musik der Gegenwart," *Bremer Nachrichten,* 16 September 1950. The article introduced the music of Gershwin, Copland, Piston, Harris, Schuman, Still, Barber, and others.

58. "Musik in Amerika," *Frankfurter Rundschau,* 6 October 1948.

of the United States, Americans, and American culture were based on century-old stereotypes.[59] American music was characterized as young, innocent, and fresh, but also naive, second-rate, and historically irresponsible. The United States was seen as free from tradition, while Europe was burdened by it.[60] H. W. Heinsheimer, who surveyed the radio broadcasting system in the U.S. for *Melos* in 1947, excused the crass business aspect of sponsorship through advertising because "the musical development of the United States, unlike that of other countries, doesn't look back over a long tradition."[61] In Germany, reeducation programs suffered because of Germans' enduring skepticism about the historical validity—and quality—of cultural traditions in the United States.[62] A scholar of postwar German-American relations wrote:

> To many outside observers, the mass culture symbols of American affluence projected an image of the United States as not only materialistic but crude, without *Kultur*. From the eighteenth century onwards, conservatives and radicals had regarded European civilization as superior to American culture, which was considered utilitarian and vulgar. . . . The writer Carl Zuckmayer, returning from America after the war, described it as a country without traditions from which the Germans could learn nothing.[63]

The view of America as lacking tradition continued in part because of returning German emigrant composers and musicologists who spoke on American musical life after the war. During the first ten years of the summer courses, Ferienkurse participants enjoyed no fewer than eight lectures on American music (see Table 1). One of the earliest speakers on American music, Holger Hagen, was a German conductor who had spent the war years

59. See Dan Diner, *America in the Eyes of the Germans: An Essay on Anti-Americanism*, trans. Allison Brown (Princeton: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 1996).

60. For example, speaking in Berlin in August 1949, Dr. Hans Rosenwald remarked that "traditionlessness" made the practice of musicology in the United States very challenging ("Schwierige Lage der Musikwissenschaft in den USA," *Tägliche Rundschau Berlin*, 18 August 1949). Reviews of Berlin performances during the late forties and early fifties called Roy Harris "unburdened by a large musical inheritance such as ours." Others remarked that American music was "not deeply rooted in what has been," "unburdened by the past," and "intellectually simple." One reviewer complained that "despite the lack of tradition and the independence from European music, a self-influenced, independent art has failed to evolve" (Press Files, BPA). Even as late as 1970, these stereotypes thrived. For example, after a Berlin performance of Copland's Clarinet Concerto and Third Symphony, a critic remarked that "the American symphony still carries the mystique of the Wild West," while another found that Copland's works demonstrated "a characteristic typical of American compositions," namely "a different relationship to music than European compositions, which are burdened by tradition and knowledge." See also Eugen Kogon and Walter Dirks, "Europa und die Amerikaner," *Frankfurter Hefte, Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik* 6, no. 2 (1951): 73–80.

61. Heinsheimer, "Musik im amerikanischen Rundfunk," *Melos* 14 (1947): 333.

62. See Birke, *Nation ohne Haus*, 82.

63. Willett, *The Americanization of Germany*, 12.

Table 1 Lectures on American Music at the IFNM, 1946–56

Date	Author	Title
1946 (4 September)	Dr. Karl H. Wörner	"Zwölftonmusik in der USA"
1946 (20 September)	Holger E. Hagen	"Die zeitgenössische Musik Amerikas"
1949 (1 July)	Dr. Everett B. Helm	"Neue Musik in der USA"
1951 (29 June)	Helm	"Situation der Neuen Musik in der USA"
1952 (17 July)	Dr. Leo Schrade	"Charles Ives: Ein Phänomen der Neuen Musik in der USA"
1954 (13 August)	Wolfgang Edward Rebner	"Amerikanische Experimentalmusik"
1956 (19 July)	Stefan Wolpe (with David Tudor)	"Über Neue (und nicht so Neue) Musik in Amerika"
1956 (21 July)	Helm	"Charles Ives und Erik Satie"

in the United States.[64] Like Helm and Evarts, Hagen was employed as an American music officer in Greater Hesse from 1945 until 1948, where he helped revive Radio Frankfurt. Another early speaker was Stuckenschmidt's longtime friend, musicologist Karl Wörner (1910–1969). In his music history text of 1949, Wörner perpetuated stereotypes associated with American music by announcing that the American way of life was joyous, powerful, loud, and victorious; it acknowledged no conventions and was the very creed of freedom.[65] In 1952, the German musicologist Leo Schrade (1903–1964) came from Yale University to lecture on Charles Ives.[66] A few years later, however, Stuckenschmidt still dismissed Ives's music as dilettantism that posed no threat to German cultural hegemony in the sphere of musical modernism.[67] While none of these lectures left a strong mark in the midst of a growing interest in serialism, one that was delivered in 1954 stands out as crucial to the development of a German narrative about American modern music, a narrative stretching from Charles Ives to Henry Cowell to Edgard Varèse to John Cage. To my knowledge, Wolfgang Edward Rebner's lecture, titled "American Experimental Music," contained the first suggestion anywhere that these four composers were linked in an American experimental "tradition." Without defining the term *experimental,* Rebner implied an aesthetic link between

64. I have not been able to locate Hagen's lecture or any information regarding its contents. Hagen, the son of composer Oscar Hagen, was born in Halle in 1915, emigrated during the thirties, and studied with Bruno Walter in New York. See also Susanna Großmann-Vendrey, "Der Rundfunk in Darmstadt," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart,* ed. Stephan, 121–28.

65. *Musik der Gegenwart: Geschichte der neuen Musik* (Mainz: Schotts Söhne, 1949), 201. I have not yet located a copy of Wörner's 1946 IFNM lecture—it is not preserved at the Internationale Musikinstitut Darmstadt. His comments on twelve-tone music in the United States, the topic of his 1946 lecture, may have been quite different from his general comments on American music published three years later.

66. This lecture too may be lost. Schrade's views on Ives appear in his article "Charles E. Ives: 1874–1954," *Yale Review* 44 (1955): 535–45.

67. Stuckenschmidt, "Zwischen Kolleg und Uraufführung," *Der Tagesspiegel,* 25 July 1956.

these four composers and pulled together loose historical strands to suggest a musical lineage among them. Even in the United States, the notion of an American experimental tradition did not surface until the late fifties.

Wolfgang Rebner and American Experimental Music

Wolfgang Rebner, born in 1910 in Frankfurt, the son of violinist Adolph Rebner, was a student of Paul Hindemith.[68] After leaving Germany in 1939, he worked during and following the war as a film studio pianist and composer in Hollywood. In the late forties and early fifties his music was sometimes performed—and he occasionally conducted—in Peter Yates's "Evenings on the Roof" concert series, which he considered very important to his professional career. Rebner even nominated Yates for Darmstadt's Schoenberg Award.[69] By 1952, Rebner was a member of the graduate committee of the Los Angeles Conservatory of Music.[70] While on a European tour in 1952–53, he reestablished musical contacts in Germany. His compositions were played in Frankfurt, Cologne, and Bremen, and were recorded by Radio Frankfurt and elsewhere.[71] Rebner's piano piece *Studies in Intervals* was performed at the Ferienkurse in 1953, and it is likely that during this time he and Steinecke finalized plans for his participation the following summer. Earlier in 1953 Rebner had written to Steinecke that he would like to attend and participate in the summer courses, and that such international musical exchange was needed in the United States, though Los Angeles voters were unwilling even to approve the allocation of public funds for building a concert hall to house its still homeless symphony orchestra.[72] In 1955 Rebner moved to Munich, where he taught at the Richard Strauss Conservatory. He died in that city on 26 January 1993.

68. See Rebner, "Mein Lehrer Hindemith," in *Hindemith-Jahrbuch* 4 (1974/75): 111–18.

69. See Dorothy Lamb Crawford, *Evenings On and Off the Roof: Pioneering Concerts in Los Angeles, 1939–1971* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 108; and handwritten letter from Rebner and Ernst Krenek (who seconded Rebner's nomination) to Steinecke, 25 August 1954 (IMD).

70. Rebner's name appears frequently in *Pan Pipes of SAI* (December 1950, January 1952, January 1953, and January 1954). Perhaps in an attempt to downplay his German roots, his name appeared in those reviews as Edward W. Rebner and not Wolfgang Edward Rebner as it is typed on the cover of the manuscript of his 1954 IFNM lecture. Crawford also refers to him as simply Edward Rebner (*Evenings On and Off the Roof,* 81, 108). It seems that Rebner gradually shed his American name (Edward) in favor of his German name (Wolfgang) when he moved back to Germany in 1955.

71. See *Pan Pipes* (January 1953): 65; *Pan Pipes* (January 1954): 57.

72. The correspondence between Rebner and Steinecke at the Internationale Musikinstitut Darmstadt holds only six letters written between 28 May 1953 and 15 July 1955. In the first of these, Rebner complained to Steinecke about the situation of contemporary music in California and wrote that he was both interested in and envious of Steinecke's IFNM (Rebner to Steinecke, 28 May 1953 [IMD]).

In 1959, five years after Rebner's IFNM lecture, his colleague in Los Angeles, Peter Yates (1909–1976), also wrote about American experimentalism. Yates named fifteen diverse American composers "experimentalists" in his "Introductory Essay" for *Some Twentieth Century American Composers: A Selective Bibliography.* The main difference Yates identified between composers such as John Cage, Harry Partch, and Lou Harrison—the "more native extreme of American experimentalism"—and the others was that the former three "lay outside the direction of European music." He named the following composers "American experimentalists": Henry Brant, John Cage, Elliott Carter, Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, Roy Harris, Lou Harrison, Alan Hovhaness, Charles Ives, Harry Partch, Wallingford Riegger, Carl Ruggles, Roger Sessions, Virgil Thomson, and Edgard Varèse.[73] Though the grouping of these fifteen composers seems odd, Yates did not make his decisions arbitrarily, nor were his choices based on ignorance. On the contrary, for many years he was one of the rare voices in America raised in support of both Cage and Partch. In 1961, he wrote in a letter to John Cage that he considered himself the "western representative for the Experimentalists."[74]

Compared to the diversity of Yates's fifteen American "experimentalists," Rebner's concept of American experimentalism was more narrowly focused. In 1954 in Darmstadt, Rebner pointed out—perhaps for the first time in Germany—experimental composers' emphasis on the nature of *sound* rather than *system,* thus offering an experiential cousin to the formulaic aspect of total serialism. His unconventional text wove together the work of the four composers mentioned above (and a slightly disparaging description of George Antheil) with praise of technological advances in the United States. Rebner perpetuated stereotypes about America in his description of Ives ("rugged individual," "rebellious American spirit") and by connecting American innovation to obsessive scientific experimentation. He cited sources of radical new sounds, including contemporary jazz, percussion ensembles, *musique concrète,* proto-electronic instruments such as the theremin and rhythmicon, magnetic tape manipulation used in Disney cartoons, and satirical instrumental techniques in Spike Jones's "Musical Depreciation Hour." Rebner introduced the first recorded examples of Cowell's and Cage's piano music at the IFNM.[75] Rather than presenting them as amateurs eager to subvert conventions, he praised these composers for expanding a heretofore limited sound world.

73. Yates, "Introductory Essay," in *Some Twentieth Century American Composers: A Selective Bibliography,* ed. John Edmunds and Gordon Bolzner (New York: New York Public Library, 1959), 1:9–22.

74. Yates to Cage, 21 August 1961 (John Cage Correspondence, Deering Music Library, Northwestern University).

75. Rebner also seems to have performed Christian Wolff's *For Prepared Piano* during his IFNM residency in 1954, though there is no indication in his manuscript that he played it during his lecture. See Wolfgang Steinecke, ed., *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1959), 94. See also Dörte Schmidt, "Music Before Revolution: Christian Wolff als Dozent und Programmbeirat," in *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart,* ed. Stephan, 425–32.

Rebner had previously written an article on Henry Cowell in *Time* magazine. The day after his Ferienkurse presentation, Steinecke arranged for a translation of that article to be published in the local Darmstadt newspaper.[76] Apparently Steinecke was convinced by Rebner's arguments and musical examples, and felt that more information would help to support the impact of his ideas.[77] In April 1955, Rebner gave a similar lecture at Munich's America House. There, the subject matter was dismissed by a local newspaper critic as "a sensational fairy tale about American musical pioneers" who, according to the author, went out into the world to teach listeners about the uncanny nature of "noise."[78]

Stefan Wolpe and David Tudor

The German composer Stefan Wolpe (1902–1972) had been living in the United States since 1938 and was eager to participate in the IFNM. In 1955, he wrote to Steinecke and Stuckenschmidt about the possibility of visiting Darmstadt's now-famous summer courses.[79] Steinecke invited Wolpe to lecture on American experimental music, making clear a distinction between *new music* and *experimental music* in the United States.[80] According to Konrad Boehmer the term *experimental music* developed in connection with the rise of serial music between 1950 and 1955, and was used to establish a difference between what German critics were ready to accept as modern music and what

76. See Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 1:275. An article on Henry Cowell, titled "Pioneer at 56," was printed in *Time* on 30 November 1953 (no author's name appears). According to Borio and Danuser, Rebner's article was published in the *Darmstädter Echo* on 14 August 1954.

77. Despite Cowell's frequent presence on the continent before the war, he remained relatively unknown in Europe during the forties and fifties, and his music was seldom performed in festivals for new music. As part of an America House lecture tour, however, Cowell visited Darmstadt on 26 (and 27?) September 1956, where he gave a lecture-recital at Darmstadt's Deutsch-Amerikanisches-Institut (later America House). On 26 September he visited the Kranichsteiner Musikinstitut where he played *Sinister Resonance* and *Aeolian Harp* on the institute's piano. These were recorded, presumably by Wilhelm Schlüter's predecessor, Hanns G. Demmel (these recordings are archive numbers 9508/56 and 9509/56, IMD). This anecdote was told to me by Friedrich Hommel (interview with the author, 3 April 1998) and later confirmed by Wilhelm Schlüter in a letter to the author, 7 September 1998.

78. "Im sensationellen Märchen von den amerikanischen Musik-Pionieren, die auszogen, um das Geräusch-Gruseln zu lehren" (the author of the article is alluding to a fairy tale by the Grimm Brothers). "Amerikanische Experimental-Musik: Die Klang-Wüste lebt," *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (21 April 1955).

79. Letter from Wolpe to Stuckenschmidt, 18 August 1955; also letter from Stuckenschmidt to Wolpe, 15 September 1955 (Stuckenschmidt mentions that he had talked to Tudor about Wolpe's situation) (HHS/SAdK). Steinecke wrote to Wolpe on 26 January 1956 with suggestions for Wolpe's participation in the IFNM (IMD).

80. This is stated explicitly in the following letters: Wolpe to Steinecke, 25 January 1956; Steinecke to Wolpe, 26 January 1956; and Steinecke to Wolpe, 14 February 1956 (IMD).

was avant-garde. Furthermore, he notes, during this time, "experimental music" was used polemically to describe both serial and electronic music. In the same vein, Klaus Ebbeke writes that during the fifties and sixties in Germany, the term *experimental* included all music that fell outside "neo-classical" modernism.[81] Neither of these definitions accounts for Wolpe's and Steinecke's use of the term, however, since Wolpe's lecture "On New (and Not-So-New) Music in America" included music by Copland, Sessions, Babbitt, Riegger, Weber, Perle, and Rochberg. Moreover, Wolpe's discussion of John Cage, Earle Brown, Morton Feldman, and Christian Wolff—composers he knew well in New York—extended the developing historical narrative presented by Rebner. Wolpe emphasized these composers' use of silence, indeterminacy, and chance, and his musical examples described how the "official style" in America was slowly becoming "radicalized." Like Rebner, Wolpe portrayed the spectrum of musical sound in America. In short, he concluded: "Everything is possible. Everything is open. That is the historical situation." As described by both Rebner and Wolpe in the mid fifties, the sonic choices of certain American composers challenged German definitions of art music, and the radical ideas introduced in these lectures incited ideological debates on American music during the sixties and seventies.

In a decision that would have important consequences for the position of American music in Germany, Steinecke had requested that the pianist David Tudor (1926–1996) accompany Wolpe to Darmstadt, where he was also engaged to work closely with both Pierre Boulez and Bruno Maderna.[82] By 1956 Tudor was no stranger to the German avant-garde; he and Cage had performed in Germany two years earlier, which is when Steinecke first met them both.[83] For Tudor, Karlheinz Stockhausen was also an important sponsor. Like Steinecke, the Cologne-based composer helped Tudor arrange additional performances throughout Germany up until around 1960. Tudor regularly performed works by European composers in the early fifties, but by the end of that decade he deliberately promoted American music almost exclusively, especially that of John Cage.[84] Though Cage's ideas were met with skepticism, most critics acknowledged Tudor's exceptional gift as a performer,

81. See Boehmer, "Experimentelle Musik," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979), vol. 16, suppl. ed., 155; and Ebbeke, "Experimentelle Musik," in *Musikkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* ed. Stephan and Saderatzkij, 209.

82. Letter from Steinecke to Wolpe, 26 January 1956 (IMD).

83. I have not confirmed the date of Steinecke's first meeting with Cage and Tudor in Cologne, but it was probably 19 October 1954, when Cage and Tudor performed at West German Radio's festival "Musik der Zeit." On 26 January 1956, Steinecke wrote to Wolpe at Black Mountain College: "Bitte grüßen Sie Tudor herzlichst (in Köln lernte ich ihn mit John Cage kennen)" (IMD). Cage and Tudor first performed in West Germany on 17 October 1954 in Donaueschingen.

84. "From Piano to Electronics: Interview with David Tudor by Victor Schonfield," *Music and Musicians* 20, no. 12 (1972): 25.

and his virtuosic and absolutely serious performances did much to boost Cage's position in Germany.[85] Tudor attended the summer courses four times between 1956 and 1961, and his presence there had an enduring impact on the history of new music in Germany, an impact that went beyond the reception of American music.[86]

Steinecke's eager letters to Tudor during the late fifties typify his sensitivity to the pressing issue of money for American musicians of the avant-garde. He arranged recording dates for Tudor at the radio stations in Frankfurt and Cologne, and also offered the pianist names of other possible patrons in Baden-Baden and Munich.[87] By 1956, about five years after the U.S. Music Branch had withdrawn much of its cultural funding, an informal network of financial assistance and mutual support between radio stations and contemporary music festivals continued to bring Americans to the continent. And Steinecke's dedication to helping these musicians—by offering them commissions, contacts, and European exposure—proved to be inexhaustible.

Conclusion

The story of American experimental music in postwar Germany is often assumed to have begun with John Cage's legendary visit to the IFNM in September 1958. But even prior to his Donaueschingen debut in October 1954, German listeners had had opportunities to hear his music. For example, in November 1952, Herbert Eimert had featured two of Cage's *Constructions* on radio broadcasts for West German Radio in Cologne.[88] By 1954, four years before Cage's Darmstadt debut, the radical implications of his compositional techniques were beginning to be recognized in Germany, thanks in part to Rebner's lecture of that year. Also in 1954, Karl Wörner revised his 1949 music history text, in which he had surveyed American music in less than ten pages. Wörner's new narrative commented on "the extremes between academicism and experiment in American composition," and also introduced Cage's prepared piano and tape music compositions. Though he had not mentioned Cage at all in his 1949 text, just five years later, in the consequential year of 1954, Wörner acknowledged—for the first time in a German music history text—Cage's historical significance.[89]

85. See Inge Schlösser, "Kleines Zwölf-Ton-Mosaik," *Darmstädter Echo,* 25 July 1956; and Schlösser, "Zu neuen Interpretationsweisen: Einblick in ein Seminar. Der Klavierkurs David Tudors," *Darmstädter Echo,* 19 July 1956.

86. Tudor was also scheduled to attend in 1957, and recital and seminar programs had already been arranged (including a first performance of Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI*), but in early July Tudor canceled his appearance because of illness (documented in Steinecke-Tudor correspondence between 12 February 1957 and 8 July 1957 [IMD]).

87. Letter from Steinecke to Tudor, 27 February 1956 (IMD).

88. See Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 2:202.

89. Wörner, *Neue Musik in der Entscheidung* (Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, 1954), 178.

Though a wide variety of contemporary American music was performed during the first ten years of the IFNM (see Table 2), only some of this music influenced German aesthetic debate in the years to come. In some instances, an emphasis on experimental music can be linked directly to Steinecke himself. But Steinecke proved ecumenical in the cause of representing American music. He devoted as much energy to establishing contact with William Schuman and Aaron Copland as he did to tracking down Cage and Varèse scores.[90] He commissioned lectures and essays on American experimentalism, but also offered a summer appointment to Milton Babbitt—a composer already considered academic in Germany.[91] Steinecke's efforts were not always rewarded; neither Schuman nor Copland ever visited the Darmstadt summer courses, and Babbitt did not attend until 1964, during a time when interest in his music there was limited. Many American experimental composers—those who sought their primary means of support outside of academic and state-subsidized cultural institutions—embraced Steinecke's generosity. Perhaps as a result of continued exposure, music by American composers who were physically present at the IFNM became a powerful source of both inspiration and anxiety in Germany during the fifties, while other American music merely faded from the scene. By the time John Cage arrived in Darmstadt in 1958, where his performances with David Tudor and his provocative lectures stunned local music critics and IFNM participants, a new perspective on American music was being established, one that focused its attention primarily on experimentalism. Steinecke's support of American experimental composers, and his willingness to confront unconventional music, set in motion a process of both reception and support that would be perpetuated by many in Germany from the early sixties up to the present.[92] During this time, German patronage of American experimental music has provided a crucial source of performance opportunities, international exposure, and critical success.

When viewed in a broader context, the reeducation program during the forties and into the Cold War era sometimes called for Germany's surrender to the dominance of American culture—primarily popular culture. At the same

90. This is indicated by much of Steinecke's correspondence held at the Internationale Musikinstitut Darmstadt, for example, a letter from Steinecke to Helm, 5 April 1949.

91. Steinecke first wrote to Babbitt with a request for scores on 3 April 1958. On 11 December 1958, Steinecke offered Babbitt a teaching position (including a total of ten seminars) for the following summer. Though Babbitt accepted the engagement, he had to cancel because of an automobile accident (telegram from Babbitt to Steinecke, 10 March 1959, and letter from Babbitt to Steinecke, 11 March 1959 [IMD]).

92. For example, Hans Otte in Bremen (Radio Bremen), Wolfgang Becker in Cologne (Westdeutscher Rundfunk), Walter Bachauer in Berlin (RIAS), Walter Zimmermann (especially his Beginner Studio in Cologne from 1977 to 1984), Ernstalbrecht Stiebler in Frankfurt (Hessischer Rundfunk), Reinhard Oehlschlägel in Cologne (Deutschlandfunk), composer Josef Anton Riedl in Munich, composer Dieter Schnebel, and musicologist Heinz-Klaus Metzger. The author's study "Patronage and Reception History of American Experimental Music in West Germany, 1945–1986" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999) documents this history in detail.

Table 2 Performances of American Music at the IFNM, 1946–56

Date	Composer	Title
1946	Roy Harris	*Piano Suite*
1948	Walter Piston	Quintet for Flute and String Quartet
	Quincy Porter	Third String Quartet
1949	Aaron Copland	Sonata for Violin and Piano
	Samuel Barber	*Adagio for Strings*
	Charles Ives	Second String Quartet
	Wallingford Riegger	First String Quartet
	William Bergsma	*Music on a Quiet Theme*
1950	Edgard Varèse	*Ionisation*
	David Diamond	Sonata for Piano
1953	Roger Sessions	Duo for Violin and Piano
	Varèse	*Density 21.5*
	Barber	Piano Sonata
1954	Gunther Schuller	*Dramatic Overture for Orchestra*
	Sessions	*Turn, O Liberated* for chorus and two pianos
	Examples from Ives, Henry Cowell, Varèse, and John Cage (during Wolfgang Edward Rebner's lecture)	
1955	Everett Helm	*Eight Minutes for Two Pianos*
1956	Ives	*The Unanswered Question*
	Examples from Varèse, Copland, Stefan Wolpe, Keith Robinson, Earle Brown, Netty Simons, Schuller, Meyer Kupferman, Milton Babbitt, Sessions, Elliott Carter, Christian Wolff, Morton Feldman, and Cage (during Wolpe's lecture)	

time, within the contemporary music subculture, avant-garde music from the United States offered an ideological and compositional alternative for European composers dissatisfied with serialism: perhaps "traditionlessness" could, after all, prove liberating. During the postwar era, American reconstruction of German cultural institutions set up a patronage system that soon provided valuable German sponsorship of American composers. At the outset, Americans were paying the bill. But by the time the occupation withdrew, some West Germans had developed a taste for a previously unknown part of American culture and began to question the belief that America was a country from which Germans could learn nothing. Since this period of intense negotiation between cultural allies, Germany's view of American music has been filtered through a lens that measures American music's proximity to—or distance from—experimentalism. And those American composers closest to the radical sound world introduced in Darmstadt during the fifties still enjoy both historical and practical pride of place within German new music circles.

Appendix "American Experimental Music," by Wolfgang Edward Rebner. Lecture Presented at the Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik in Darmstadt, 13 August 1954. Translation by Amy C. Beal.[93]

Reflections on the experimental can provide the distressing satisfaction that the subject at hand is already antiquated *in statu nascendi*. A pioneer in American aviation once remarked that even the newest types of airplanes are already antiquated by the time their designs are photoprinted, and that the only ray of hope in this dilemma lies in the certainty that the same is also true for the competition.

A purely journalistic definition of the experimental, [for instance] as a sensation without precedent, [as] that "which has not yet been there," would not be useful for our purposes. We also must consider attempts that have achieved and maintained, or will achieve, lasting validity.

The quite inorganic break in the development of quarter-tone music and other divisions of the octave cannot be convincingly justified with practical obstacles alone. [As it] became so significant above all in the work of Bartók, it lay, after all, within an evident tendency to form scales synthetically. Yet, already in classical music we can recognize the urge to split half tones—in Mozart's parallel chromaticism, in passing tones, cross-relationships, leading tones, ~~also~~ [often] required by the rhythm. And Schoenberg's democratized sound world, which long ago left behind the realm of the experimental as such, promised eighteen- and twenty-four-note tone rows as an arithmetical consequence as well. Anyone who recalls the complicated and costly attempts during the early postwar period to build pianos, organs, and wind instruments that could reproduce quarter-tone music certainly understands why such drastic reorganization had to wait for the fairy-tale prince of electronics for their realization. In the meantime, musical Esperanto has evolved from the half-tone alphabet. This international language has not determined its own obligatory rules of grammar, syntax, and polyphony. It would contradict its essence as "liberator from the shackles of tonality" (Schoenberg's words during his last public lecture at the University of Los Angeles [sic]). Within this genre [then], every individual attempt becomes a solution, every [solution becomes experiment].

Western art music, the most recent of comparable arts, is compressed in the historical space of the recent past. The development of American music mirrors this cultural occurrence in a condensed form, as a historical "Reader's Digest," so to speak. Just a few years ago (and still often today), it was America's primary preoccupation to find a national trademark for its art. Unanimously, Aaron Copland was named the spokesman for this desired idiom. With some embarrassment, he repeatedly protested against

93. Editorial Notes: My translation is based on Rebner's twelve-page typescript, "Amerikanische Experimentalmusik" (inventory number 1911/55, IMD). Insofar as it was clear in the typescript, I have retained Rebner's paragraph structure. I have preserved phrases written in languages other than German (in particular, Latin and French). In cases where Rebner wrote both an English phrase and translated it into German I have included his English only (original English, like original Latin or French, is indicated by italic type). Rebner's handwritten notes and addenda are retained in brackets at the approximate point where they appear on the typescript (all brackets indicate Rebner's changes to his text; my editorial comments and clarifications are found in the footnotes). Similarly, words or sentences crossed out by Rebner appear with a line through them. (Minor addenda and deletions that did not fit comfortably into the grammatical structure of the English text have been omitted.)

the label forced on him, with the remark that [it was now time] [to preserve] folk music in the local history museum. America's strength rested in its anthropological potpourri.

While Copland did not arrive on the scene until the twenties, the iconoclasm of the recently deceased Charles Ives reaches back before the turn of the century. This completely staunch alchemist, who, by the way, held on to his primary vocation as a businessman, is ~~perhaps today in a historical sense~~ the American experimentalist of his time. Uninhibited by prejudices of tradition, this ingenious amateur tackled many areas of composition, admittedly at different levels of success and sometimes including his regional folk music (from New England), creating his own style often in a naive way. As a first example (and as the only one which will not be mechanically reproduced), we would now like to play you the piece *Halloween,* written in the year 190–.[94] The Assmann Quartet, consisting of [Mr. Klaus Assmann, Mr. Helmut Welz, Mr. Heinrich Schmidt, and Mr. Otto Engel,] honors us here with the great favor of its participation.

Musical Example: Charles Ives, *Halloween*

One cannot divide Ives's work, unlike that of his more prominent contemporaries, into chronological-stylistic sections. The many songs written before the turn of the century already allow the use of nearly all conventional slogans of our time to describe their styles. In the words of a biographer, Ives utilized polytonal and polyrhythmic ideas earlier than Stravinsky, twelve-tone constructions without tonal center before Schoenberg, quarter tones before Hába, folklorist material beyond its diatonic and metrical borders in anticipation of the concept of Bartók—these are provocative assertions, and one would like to evade the responsibility of proving their validity. Maybe they can be partially verified in the following example from the work *Over the Pavements.* This piece stems from the year 1906, thus five years before *Petrushka,* and is scored for piccolo, clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, piano, and percussion.

Musical Example: Charles Ives, *Over the Pavements*

In his orchestra piece *Three Places in New England,* there is even an element of chance at work insofar as rhythmic division of groups of notes within larger prime numbers is left up to the players, thus no longer guaranteeing vertical sonorities.

The musical examples for today's demonstration were deliberately selected because they represent certain tendencies.

As in the following piece, *The Unanswered Question* for double orchestra written in 1908, behind the facade of Ives's compositional garden, and amazingly often within one single piece, major and minor music flourish side by side.

Musical Example: Charles Ives, *The Unanswered Question*

Ives said about his music that it "is not suitable for *nice people,*" for civilized, respectable people. However, his second and third symphonies must be excluded from this dictum. They reveal little suggestion of what we are discussing here today. They are, in the unaffected emotional language of the nineteenth century, works of true craft.

Ives speaks in a multitude of idioms, without actually having technically formulated or (invented) [possessed] them. When his accumulation of musical thoughts loses itself in the jungle, he has been accused of apparent arbitrariness and a lack of organizational powers. [Inspiration] Invention can be found next to simplemindedness, and they are

94. Rebner did not provide the full date for Ives's *Halloween* in his manuscript. Borio and Danuser give it as 1911 (*Im Zenit der Moderne* 3:179).

united in diversity. His conception of counterpoint goes beyond the literal definition; Ives confronts phrases and thoughts with one another like cycloptic blocks whose plurality often makes the tonal center debatable.

Musical Example: Charles Ives, *Central Park in the Dark*

Self-proclaimed agents of national interests pronounced Ives, too, to be an original American phenomenon.[95] One thinks thereby of the "*rugged individual*," of his strong independence, and includes him in the elite of a rebellious American spirit. With his joy in the dimensions—which he lets grow and proliferate—[in the solitude of the outsider], in his carefree, anachronistic "let's go,"[96] and in the kaleidoscope of styles that do not ask for anyone's forgiveness, he may symbolize the new world. But [just as] two-story houses, squeezed in between the skyscrapers, are also [make up] a part of New York, so does Ives's personal indifference to all public success, and to organized cultural business, testify to the dissemination of a tangible dogma of an unpretentious, supranational person whose day-job helped him realize his true concern. Though a cosmopolitan talent, he is foremost indebted to the cultural past of his home of New England (America's historical northeast, whose largest states are [which is made up of the states] Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont).

In his *Concord Sonata*—a voluminous four-movement piano piece—he [Ives] summarizes this spiritual affinity in the form of tributes (*hommages*) to the thinkers Emerson, Hawthorne, Alcott, and Thoreau.

It is curious to report that in the German version of Copland's book on new music, the title *Concord Sonata* has been translated as *Unison Sonata*. This is an ironic mistake, since this piece, like few others, is dominated by simultaneous sounds [of course he meant the city in Massachusetts].

The title page carries the note: Concord, Mass., 1840–1860, indicating the historical climate.

The piece was written completely under the impression of the chosen subject and contains multiple indices for Ives's philosophical naturalism, a compound of many heterogeneous concepts. [Puritan sobriety versus bombast—Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, James Joyce's expressive range from Elizabethan English to *American slang*, Latin, French, etc.][97] The playability of the piece creates certain limitations in the selection of examples.

Musical Example: Charles Ives, *Concord Sonata*—four examples

Cowell: One wouldn't do justice to Henry Cowell's many-sided oeuvre if one had to limit one's observations to his attempts to explore additional sound possibilities of the piano. The so-called *tone clusters*—entities comprising intervals of the second and used by many composers in orchestral pieces as well—already concerned Charles Ives around 1890. (*Concord Sonata* for piano.)[98] Cowell does not hear such conglomerates

95. "ein Ur-amerikanisches Phänomen."

96. "in seinem sorglosen, anachronistischen 'Drauf los.' "

97. These phrases were typed in the manuscript after the indication for the examples from the *Concord Sonata*. It is assumed that Rebner spoke freely on the relevance of these elements to Ives's Sonata. An arrow in the text indicates where the section was to be inserted.

98. Borio and Danuser place a musical example here in the text. Rebner wrote in the words "(Concord Sonate für Klavier)" at this point and wrote "Concord" in the margin at approximately the same line, but he did not indicate a musical example in the standard way, namely with a clear break in the text. See also Borio and Danuser, *Im Zenit der Moderne* 3:182.

in their impressionistic stasis only; at times he develops them from factors of a kind of polyphony which seems to resolve into the uncertainty of a collective unison. In connection with such universal sounds one might think of the *sext ajoutée* in the form of the triadic five-six chord which has, in popular music, completely superseded the pure triad.

The technical execution of these groups of tones (the *clusters*) lies in the attack with the flat of the hand or the forearm, without [dynamic] preference for single tones.

Around the same time, Cowell also began to manipulate the stringed insides of the piano. With the help of various pedal combinations he sometimes achieved the effect of a kind of *flageolet,* sometimes of dull, muted timbres, and harp or zitherlike glissandi. The strings are brought into motion with the fingers, often with additional help from various mechanical means.

Allow us now to demonstrate several examples, recorded by the composer:

Music Example: Henry Cowell, *Advertisement; Antinomy; Sinister Resonance; Banshee; Dynamic Motion; Tiger*

In this direction of experimentation Cowell paves the way for John Cage's "prepared piano," which will be mentioned later. Another experimental work by Cowell is a concerto for "Rhythmicon," an instrument constructed by Theremin according to Cowell's plans, which was originally meant for didactic purposes, and which was to serve to reproduce different rhythms simultaneously. His *Ostinato Pianissimo* for percussion orchestra was premiered in New York under the direction of John Cage in 1943.

The decade following the First World War helped some musical *enfant[s] terrible[s]*, [if] not to celebrity status, then at least to temporary attention. Some of these *enfants* were only terrible during their childhoods, as long as they had to fight the resistance of the *vieillards terribles.* Once the powder of their one-time sensation had been shot, they fell back into stylistically moderate, navigable waters at half speed. The "desire-to-be-different-at-any-price," as it were, a *jus primae noctis* of originality, had become a goal in itself and was supplanted by a newly awakened longing for tradition.

One of the "*bad boys of music*"—this was the title of his autobiography—was George Antheil, whose *Ballet mécanique* became a *succès de scandale.*[99] In the words of Thomas Mann, back then in Paris the way to success was through notoriety. His ballet, premiered in 1926, had an orchestra scoring for ten pianos, mechanical piano, xylophone, anvils, electrical bells, automobile horns, and an airplane motor (for pianissimo effects). Shortly before, the Frankfurt Opera had performed the world premiere of Antheil's opera *Transatlantique.*[100]

The undiminished attraction that percussion instruments still exercise over composers today is supported by constant technical improvements of the individual instruments. In New York, a permanent percussion ensemble was founded which commissions compositions, and Louisville recently premiered the opera *The Transposed Heads,* during which, in the words of the composer Peggy Glanville-Hicks, "the percussion section takes the place of the first violins." Certainly many of these novelties can be traced back to jazz music, while others developed in radio and film [popular

99. Antheil's autobiography was titled in the singular: *Bad Boy of Music.*

100. *Transatlantique,* composed *after* the 1926 premiere of *Ballet mécanique,* was premiered in Frankfurt on 25 May 1930. See Paul Griffiths, *Twentieth Century Music* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 19.

music, classical music].[101] Works like Bartók's Sonata for Piano and Percussion, Stravinsky's *A Soldier's Tale,* and Milhaud's Percussion Concerto individually fostered the emancipation of the medium.

More recently, the academic road to music has gone through the study of natural sciences. For an experimental figure of the power of Edgard Varèse, it was not insignificant ~~if~~ [that] he first studied mathematics and physics. The titles of his major works—[terms like] *Ionisation, Intégrales, Density 21.5* (meaning the density of platinum), *Octandre*—[these titles] are taken from a world of ideas and point toward a constant *on revient toujours.*

Varèse's musical education is also worth mentioning: it began with d'Indy, Roussel, and Widor, and continued with Busoni and Mahler. He has lived in America since 1919, where he was granted the "Rose Red sleep" for a whole generation because of his uncompromising nature.[102] His most important works have been recorded only very recently.

As in inorganic chemistry, Varèse tries to isolate basic elements from their freely occurring states and to display them separately. This *pars pro toto* of his procedure presents a parallel with [those] of Webern and Stravinsky.

Varèse makes a scientific virtue of the necessity of the heterogeneous brass family. For him, timbre is not so much tone color as it is specific weight and intensity. The development of chords in the closest position aims not at tone cluster effects, but results in plastic gradations of superimposed levels of tones, somewhat comparable to parallel mineral veins in a mass of stone. The form-giving ostinato figures develop in a Stravinskian way; the motivic organization of *Intégrales,* composed in 1926, could lead one to recognize his father figure, Gustav Mahler.

Musical Example: Edgard Varèse, *Intégrales*

Varèse's music is neither static nor does it allow tracking of a motoric passage of time. It moves less than it oscillates, accumulates, ferments, and simmers, all *quasi senza tempo.* Its rhythms do not unite themselves to a metric pulse. In his *Ionisation,* through the exclusive use of percussion instruments with indeterminate and variable pitches, Varèse achieves an effect of intermediate tones within the tempered tonal center. One believes Varèse that his esoteric titles, at least for him, carry more value than as mere curiosities.

Musical Example: *Octandre*

Insofar as technical means of proof in art can be decisive, experimental music certainly has developed logically and consistently. A desensualization of sound, a sound asceticism of the mechanical means of expression, rebels against the need for frivolity of past decades. The moment in Ravel's *Boléro* when the overtones run like a ribbon parallel to the spectrum of the melody always seemed to me like a refined symbol of the strongest physical desire in music. Since then, it has become the concern of many composers to represent only the essentials of the sound, its skeleton, so to speak. But depending on individual talent, here too, an obedient means to an end can also degenerate into an end in itself.

101. The words "U.-Musik, E.-Musik" were handwritten in the margin, with an arrow showing point of insertion in the text. In German, *U-Musik,* or *Unterhaltungsmusik,* refers to popular and entertaining music, while *E-Musik,* or *Ernste Musik,* indicates "serious" composition or classical concert music. Jazz is widely considered *U-Musik.*

102. Varèse actually came to the United States in 1915, not 1919. Rebner's metaphor refers to the fairy tale "Rose Red" by the Grimm Brothers.

In his flute piece *Density 21.5,* Varèse foresaw characteristic attributes of electronic music. He too aimed for the elimination of subjective elements, strove for more an X-ray than a photograph of his idea, more silhouette than portrait.

Musical Example: Edgard Varèse, *Density 21.5*

It is telling that some music festivals contrast contemporary musical works with those of the Dutch Renaissance and of the ancient Orient. The controversy between high priests and laymen, or between intellectual synthesis and primitivism, has repeatedly surfaced throughout history. How tempting it is to speculate about a new relaxation of the orthodox materials, or about a conscious intimacy of musical utterance in the future!

Most likely, almost all recent attempts in the new ordering of materials do not immediately reach the state of theoretical registration [might not yet have reached the state of theoretical registration]. Here, formal organization—trying to achieve a general binding force ever since the classical era—has to move within dimensions and obey principles that traditional music did not need or allow. When the formal functions of interval relationships and row modifications are eliminated, then rhythm and sonority —dynamics and tone character—can take over these functions. Still, idiosyncrasies of the material and organization of the smallest unit must define the form here, too.

In the following examples by John Cage, one may recognize principles of accumulative repetition, of density, and of contrast. At times, density seems to replace polyphony.

Musical Example: John Cage?[103]

[*M. Concrète*] While the occasional reorganizing of traditional material is conditioned by history and people, the most recently developed genre of *musique concrète* has declined such traditional methods of recycling. It means a farewell to many technical, yes, even to some ethical presuppositions of Western music. While it used to be necessary above all to be a good swimmer, around the turn of the century they started looking for new bodies of water as well. [And] Today the question is being raised whether or not water is even still an appropriate fluid [for swimming] at all. ~~The opposition of the terms "abstract" and "concrete" cannot be any more sharply defined in music than that of "impressionism" and "expressionism," terms borrowed from painting.~~ *Musique concrète* sometimes seems like program music without a program, like visual associations not based on sensual or practical experiences. But still, someone who enjoys contradictions would be inclined to recognize spiritual predecessors of *musique concrète* in the aural paintings of Richard Strauss's tone poems—for example in *Der Bürger als Edelmann,* the *Symphonia domestica,* and *Don Quixote.* ~~Today's avant-garde, tomorrow's cliché.~~ In America, *musique concrète* no doubt has its forerunners in popular and commercial music. In his *Musical Depreciation Hour* the scurrilous *bandleader* Spike Jones gave the fatal blow to tacky, sentimental music by presenting irreverent sound caricatures of light-classical hits and sound effects of the coarsest kind.

To the curious, the sound archives and sound laboratory of Walt Disney's music department offers some instructive hours. It looked like a tinkerer's workshop, a torture chamber or a lumber room[104]—yet each of the sound effects created there was registered exactly according to its character and oscillation frequency. One could transpose it (or record it synthetically directly on film, if one wished) without having to take a

103. Rebner does not indicate what the example was.

104. "Rumpelkammer."

detour with the microphone. For example, the voices of the mice from *Cinderella* were first recorded with four baritone voices, not without having calculated ahead of time the speed-up coefficients that ~~would achieve~~ a certain desired transposition in a higher register, which was supposed to imitate the chirping of the mice. [The] voluminous film [sound] archives contain systematic[ally set up] combinations of individual sounds of every imaginable kind, especially of percussive effects. The so-called *sweeteners,* which of course here serve as accents of the visual plot, are [arbitrarily] post-recorded onto the track of the actual recording of the orchestra. This printing of layers of several negatives on top of one another makes it possible to control not only the dynamics of the components and their mix after the recording: through a shifting of the film parts, [achieving] echo effects are also made possible, or even the simulation of rhythmic alterations. (The speed of the running of the film makes unlimited [rhythmic] combinations possible.)

After a lengthy acquaintance with these achievements, one eventually starts wondering ~~why~~ [whether] the musical means of expression must remain limited to the instruments of the symphony orchestra. Mechanical reproduction, including exceedingly high tuning frequencies [over 440], impairs the individual character of [some] ~~of these~~ instruments to such an extent that they seem similar to one another. The playing techniques of articulation and attack (of wind instruments) must cope with the sensitive microphone [i.e., adapt to them].

As experience teaches, the avant-garde of today develops into the *cliché* of tomorrow. It is imaginable that here [and today] the processes will reverse [or at least complement] one another. Electronic string instruments, whose resonant bodies have been rendered superfluous by loudspeaker amplification, the electric guitar, the novachord, and the theremin have been contributing controversially now for years to marketable musical products. The film industry likes to make use of these penetrating sounds in order to describe anxiety neuroses. But a change in the meaning of our associations of ideas has yet to be achieved.

The desire for new instrumental colors, which has dominated ~~Western~~ music since the introduction of the clarinet, is only a partial concern of mechanized music. The renunciation of the temporary convention of tempered tuning, and the inclusion of chance as an element of art [signal a more radical break with tradition] draw a stronger dividing line among conventions.

Mozart invented a playful musical dice game, in which one could haphazardly piece together, measure for measure, a waltz [*sic*] melody. ~~Otherwise~~ Since then, the factor of unpredictability has no longer been a chosen artistic ally. Is a work like *Imaginary Landscape* [by John Cage] for twelve radios perhaps an attempt to bring the forgotten gift of improvisation back to the public? Of course, here, no two versions could ever be identical; every performance in itself becomes a surprise. A literary comparison equivalent to such a process would be, for instance, an author instructing his readers to insert the arts section of their [respective] daily newspaper into certain parts of his book!

The demonstrated tendencies, and not so much their symptoms, are what should be taken seriously here. ["Piano Concerto"][105]

At last year's Paris conference on *musique concrète,* the so-called *relief cinématique* and *relief statique* were demonstrated. [Here] Similar to the principle of stereo photog-

105. At this point in his text, Rebner wrote in the words "Piano Concerto" by hand. It is not clear if he inserted a musical example here, or to which concerto he might have made reference.

raphy, sound is projected through several loudspeakers distributed throughout the hall. Through movement of a control mechanism, the illusion can be evoked that the origin of the sound source was able to change its location and thus to speak to the ear from many different directions successively or simultaneously. Again, it was the film industry that, in connection with *cinemascope, cinerama,* and 3-D, pioneered stereophonic sound reproduction.

How the mobility of the location simulates this spatial mode of projection opens wide perspectives of sound perception. We know the surprising effect that occurs when two ~~vehicles~~ [automobiles] pass each other going in opposite directions and when one of them sounds its horn or bells[106] (as with American ice cream trucks). By merely driving by, one can vary and modulate a diatonic phrase in a rather interesting way. It would be a bold step further if one could continue such research with a jet plane into the supersonic realm. The Greek dictum *panta rhei*—everything is in motion—would receive an up-to-date meaning, and many a static moment in music would be overcome.

John Cage's intention was also to enhance the sonic diversity of the piano by placing mutelike objects made of various materials on the strings. By doing so he influenced not only the timbre, but also the pitch of a respective group of strings. His train of thought seems to be consistent to me, and convincing in its manner of evolution. Ever since the traditional art of piano building degenerated into mass production, the playing and technique of the instrument has changed. On many pianos, ~~certain~~ some attacks and legato effects are ~~not~~ [barely] still possible. The logical conclusion is that the piano is also good for organized percussive effects of indeterminate pitch.

Musical Example: John Cage Pa.[?][107]

Through this, the piano affiliates itself with the marimba family and the Hungarian cymbalom. As stated in the [conference] reports, *musique concrète* searches for new "musically useful" sounds. The criteria of usefulness is a question of taste and subject to change over time. But it is also an ethical question. Up until now, some sound effects and sound colors considered slightly off-color[108] were denied entrance to concert halls; among them, from the area of jazz music, several eccentric mutes, *cup mute, harmon mute,* "*wa wa,*" etc., certain percussion combinations, *temple blocks, flexatone,* and the so-called *slap tongue,* the slow vibrato and glissando techniques of the clarinet family, the *slap bass,* and many others.

A parodistic or grotesque association of ideas underlies most of these ~~sounds~~ [derivative sounds]. For a long time, they have been tools in the hands of those who misused them in the creation of a public taste for their own profit. The hand of a master can temporarily help them [the disreputed] gain respectability. [The vulgar as mass product has forced the artist into spiritual exile.] [~~The guarantee of a durable art lies first of all in the dignity of its authentic utterance. The race for the palm for the most original symptom of decay is on.~~] [But] The artist must not let himself be appointed to the role of court jester or *conférencier* by a society that neither needs nor trusts him. The battle for dignity and the reputation of his profession must remain both a personal and a collective concern. To this end, no experiment would be too daring.

106. "Glockenspiel."

107. Again, Rebner gave no indication in the manuscript as to what the example might have been. He wrote in the letters "Pa.," probably indicating an example from one of Cage's prepared piano pieces.

108. "nicht ganz salonfähig."

Works Cited

Primary Sources

America House, Berlin. Program Files.
Bauhaus Archive, Berlin. John Evarts Papers. (BAB)
Berlin Philharmonic Archive. Press Files. (BPA)
Deering Music Library, Northwestern University. John Cage Correspondence.
Helm, Everett. Interviews with author. Berlin, 9 December 1997, 16 December 1997, and 22 January 1998.
Hommel, Friedrich. Interview with author. Darmstadt-Mühltal, 3 April 1998.
Internationales Musikinstitut Darmstadt. Correspondence and Press Files. (IMD)
Lilly Library, Indiana University. Everett Helm Collection.
Metzger, Heinz-Klaus. Interview with author. Berlin, 22 July 1998.
Riedl, Josef Anton. Interview with author. Munich, 10 July 1998.
Schnebel, Dieter. Interview with author. Berlin, 4 February 1998.
Stiftung Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin. Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt Correspondence. (HHS/SAdK)

Secondary Sources

"Amerikanische Experimental-Musik: Die Klang-Wüste lebt," *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* 21 April 1955. Clipping at IMD.
Beal, Amy C. "Patronage and Reception History of American Experimental Music in West Germany, 1945–1986." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999.
Birke, Adolf M. *Nation ohne Haus: Deutschland 1945–1961.* Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1989.
Boehling, Rebecca. "The Role of Culture in American Relations with Europe: The Case of the United States's Occupation of Germany." *Diplomatic History* 23 (1999): 57–69.
Boehmer, Konrad. "Experimentelle Musik." In *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* edited by Friedrich Blume, vol. 16. suppl. ed., 155–61. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979.
Borio, Gianmario, and Hermann Danuser. *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, Darmstadt 1946–1966.* 4 vols. Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 1997.
Brinkmann, Reinhold. "Varèse in Darmstadt." In *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse,* edited by Rudolf Stephan et al., 87–93. Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996.
Cameron, Catherine M. *Dialectics in the Arts: The Rise of Experimentalism in American Music.* London and Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1996.
Canarina, John. *Uncle Sam's Orchestra: Memories of the Seventh Army Symphony.* Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1998.
Carter, Elliott. "Current Chronicle: Italy." *Musical Quarterly* 45 (1959): 530–41.
Crawford, Dorothy Lamb. *Evenings On and Off the Roof: Pioneering Concerts in Los Angeles, 1939–1971.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.
De la Motte-Haber, Helga. "Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Avantgarde nach 1945." In *Musikkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Symposium Leningrad*

1990, edited by Rudolf Stephan and Wsewolod Saderatzkij, 63–70. Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1994.

Dibelius, Ulrich. "Rundfunk und Neue Musik." In *Musikkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Symposium Leningrad 1990,* edited by Rudolf Stephan and Wsewolod Saderatzkij, 223–29. Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1994.

Diner, Dan. *America in the Eyes of the Germans: An Essay on Anti-Americanism.* Translated by Allison Brown. Princeton: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 1996.

Ebbeke, Klaus. "Experimentelle Musik." In *Musikkultur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Symposium Leningrad 1990,* edited by Rudolf Stephan and Wsewolod Saderatzkij, 209–11. Kassel: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1994.

Eberle, Gottfried. "Die Götter wechseln, die Religion bleibt die gleiche: Neue Musik in Westdeutschland nach 1945." In *Musik der 50er Jahre,* edited by Hanns-Werner Heister and Dietrich Stern, 34–49. Berlin: Argument Verlag, 1980.

Eschenburg, Theodor. "Stunde Null." In *Jahre unseres Lebens, 1945–1949,* edited by Dieter Franck, 6–9. Munich and Zurich: R. Piper Verlag, 1980.

Franck, Dieter. "Kultur statt Kalorien." In *Jahre unseres Lebens, 1945–1949,* edited by Dieter Franck, 106–18. Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1980.

Geiseler, Wolfgang. "Zwischen Klassik und Moderne." In *So viel Anfang war nie: Deutsche Städte 1945–1949,* edited by Hermann Glaser, Lutz von Pufendorf, and Michael Schöneich, 244–49. Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1989.

Gerberding, Elke. "Darmstädter Kulturpolitik der Nachkriegszeit." In *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse,* edited by Rudolf Stephan et al., 29–35. Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996.

Germany 1947–1949: The Story in Documents. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of State Office of Public Affairs, March 1950.

Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C. E. "Art Is Democracy and Democracy Is Art: Culture, Propaganda, and the *Neue Zeitung* in Germany, 1944–1947." *Diplomatic History* 23 (1999): 21–43.

Glaser, Hermann, Lutz von Pufendorf, and Michael Schöneich, eds. *So viel Anfang war nie: Deutsche Städte 1945–1949.* Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1989.

Griffiths, Paul. *Modern Music and After: Directions Since 1945.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

———. *Twentieth Century Music.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.

Großmann-Vendrey, Susanna. "Der Rundfunk in Darmstadt." In *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse,* edited by Rudolf Stephan et al., 121–28. Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996.

Harris, Mary Emma. *The Arts at Black Mountain College.* Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1987.

Hartmann, Erich. *Die Berliner Philharmoniker in der Stunde Null.* Berlin: Musik- und Buchverlag Werner Feja, 1996.

Heinsheimer, H. W. "Musik im amerikanischen Rundfunk." *Melos* 14 (1947): 332–35.

Helm, Everett. "America Houses in Germany: Good-Will and Understanding." *Musical America* 72, no. 3 (1952): 13, 128, 138.

———. "Music in Occupied Germany." *Musical America* 70, no. 3 (1950): 115, 250, 256.

———. "Wiederaufbau des deutschen Musiklebens nach 1945 und Paul Hindemith." *Hindemith-Jahrbuch* 9 (1980): 130–36.

Hommel, Friedrich. "How the Province Became International: Early Days of New Music in Darmstadt." Translated by Asa Eldh. *Sonus* 10, no. 1 (1989): 72–85.

"John Evarts, der gute amerikanische Geist." *Berliner Morgenpost,* 16 January 1987.

Kerr, Harrison. "Information Control in the Occupied Areas." *Notes* 4 (1947): 431–35.

Kogon, Eugen, and Walter Dirks. "Europa und die Amerikaner." *Frankfurter Hefte, Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik* 6, no. 2 (1951): 73–80.

Leukert, Bernd. "Musik aus Trümmern: Darmstadt um 1949," *MusikTexte* 45 (1992): 20–28.

Metzger, Heinz-Klaus, and Rainer Riehn, eds. *Darmstadt-Dokumente I: Musik-Konzepte Sonderband.* Munich: Edition text + kritik, 1999.

Morgan, Robert P. *Modern Times: From World War I to the Present.* London: Macmillan, 1993.

"Musik in Amerika." *Frankfurter Rundschau,* 6 October 1948. Clipping at IMD.

Oehlschlägel, Reinhard. "Tour d'horizon: Zur neuen Musik seit 1945." *MusikTexte* 60 (1995): 3–6.

Oswald, H. "Amerikanische Musik der Gegenwart." *Bremer Nachrichten,* 16 September 1950. Clipping at IMD.

Pilgert, Henry P. *Press, Radio, and Film in West Germany.* Historical Division, Office of the Executive Secretary, Office of the U.S. High Commission for Germany, 1953.

"Pioneer at 56." *Time,* 30 November 1953.

Potter, Pamela. *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.

Rebner, Wolfgang Edward. "Mein Lehrer Hindemith." *Hindemith-Jahrbuch* 4 (1974/75): 111–18.

Reis, Claire R. *Composers, Conductors, and Critics.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Rosenwald, Hans. "Schwierige Lage der Musikwissenschaft in den USA." *Tägliche Rundschau Berlin,* 18 August 1949. Clipping at IMD.

Salzman, Eric. *Twentieth-Century Music: An Introduction.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974.

Saunders, Frances Stonor. *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War.* London: Granta Books, 1999.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *In a Cold Crater: Cultural and Intellectual Life in Berlin, 1945–1948.* Translated by Kelly Barry. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.

Schlösser, Inge. "Kleines Zwölf-Ton-Mosaik." *Darmstädter Echo,* 25 July 1956. Clipping at IMD.

———. "Zu neuen Interpretationsweisen: Einblick in ein Seminar. Der Klavierkurs David Tudors." *Darmstädter Echo,* 19 July 1956. Clipping at IMD.

Schmidt, Dörte. "Music Before Revolution: Christian Wolff als Dozent und Programmbeirat." In *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse,* edited by Rudolf Stephan et al., 425–32. Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996.

Schonberg, Harold C. "U.S. Role Abroad: Varèse Says Our Influence Must Be Cultural, Too." *New York Times,* 8 October 1950.

Schonfield, Victor. "From Piano to Electronics: Interview with David Tudor." *Music and Musicians* 20, no. 12 (1972): 24–26.
Schrade, Leo. "Charles E. Ives: 1874–1954." *Yale Review* 44 (1955): 535–45.
Steinecke, Wolfgang, ed. *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik.* Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1959.
Stephan, Rudolf, et al., eds. *Von Kranichstein zur Gegenwart: 50 Jahre Darmstädter Ferienkurse.* Stuttgart: DACO Verlag, 1996.
Stuckenschmidt, Hans Heinz. *Zum Hören Geboren: Ein Leben mit der Musik unserer Zeit.* Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1979.
———. "Zwischen Kolleg und Uraufführung." *Der Tagesspiegel,* 25 July 1956. Clipping at IMD.
"Traurige Bilanz." *Melos* 14 (1947): 220.
Ulm, Renate. *Eine Sprache der Gegenwart: Musica Viva 1945–1995.* Mainz: Schott Verlag, 1995.
Watkins, Glenn. *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists.* Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994.
Willett, Ralph. *The Americanization of Germany, 1945–1949.* London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
Wolpe, Stefan. "On New (and Not-So-New) Music in America." Translated with commentary by Austin Clarkson. *Journal of Music Theory* 28 (1984): 1–45.
Wörner, Karl. *Musik der Gegenwart: Geschichte der neuen Musik.* Mainz: Schotts Söhne, 1949.
———. *Neue Musik in der Entscheidung.* Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, 1954.
Yates, Peter. "Introductory Essay." In *Some Twentieth Century American Composers: A Selective Bibliography,* edited by John Edmunds and Gordon Bolzner, 1:9–22. New York: New York Public Library, 1959.

Abstract

In the context of postwar and Cold War cultural politics, the Darmstädter Ferienkurse für Neue Musik set the stage for Germany's ambivalent reception of American music in the decades following World War II. This article weighs the catalytic role of American music in Darmstadt between 1946 and 1956; traces the relationships among U.S. cultural officers, German patrons, and representatives of American music in Darmstadt; and describes events in Darmstadt that led to a growing interest in American experimental music in West Germany. An English translation of Wolfgang Edward Rebner's 1954 Ferienkurse lecture "American Experimental Music" is included as an appendix.