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Performing for the Nazis: Foreign Musicians in Germany, 1933-1939

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UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Performing for the Nazis: Foreign Musicians in Germany, 1933-1939

by

Robert Warren Bailey

A THESIS

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on foreign musicians in Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1939. What place did foreign musical performers have in Germany's increasingly xenophobic employment market during the 1930s? Likewise, how did the Nazis deal with those musicians, and what margin of manoeuvre were foreigners given to carry out their craft? These are the questions that form the basis of this thesis. To answer them, I examine a collection of primary Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Music Chamber) records that are now held on microfilm in the United States National Archives, grouped under the description "Auftrittsgenehmigungen für Ausländer" (Performance Permits for Foreigners; specifically musicians). The information gleaned from these records is used to demonstrate how the Nazis brought the activity of foreign musicians under their jurisdiction. It is also used to reveal stories of individuals who became entangled in the Nazis' arbitrary and racist cultural policies, and to explain how performances by foreign musicians and orchestras were appropriated by the Nazis for the purposes of cultural diplomacy and propaganda.

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In loving memory of
Corporal Bradley Stephen Howell, 1987-2006
Princess Louise Fusiliers, Canadian Forces Reserve

You will always be an inspiration to me.

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List of Acronyms

Symbol	Definition
NARA	United States National Archives and Records Administration
RKK	Reichskulturkammer (Reich Culture Chamber)
RMK	Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Music Chamber)

INTRODUCTION

The inspiration for this thesis came from a sparsely-documented chapter in the career of the Paraguayan guitarist-composer Agustín Pío Barrios (also known as Agustín Barrios Mangoré, 1885-1944). Today, Barrios is revered as one of the most important guitar composers and virtuosos of the twentieth century, and many of his compositions—including *La Cathedral*, *Un sueño en la floresta*, *Danza Paraguaya*, among others—are now standards in the classical guitar canon. During his own lifetime, however, Barrios was largely unknown outside of Latin America.¹ Unlike his contemporary Andrés Segovia (1893-1987), Barrios worked without professional representation for his entire career. In lieu of a concert agent, he carried out an unusually nomadic career, seeking performance opportunities anywhere he could, from large cities to small villages. Financially, he relied on the patronage of friends and admirers. One such patron was the Paraguayan Ambassador to Mexico, Tomás Salomoni, whom Barrios met after giving two performances in Mexico City in January 1934. The two quickly became friends, and shortly thereafter Salomoni invited Barrios and his wife, Gloria, to accompany his family on a trip to Brussels, where the Ambassador's son and eldest daughter resided.² After spending several weeks in Belgium with the Salomonis, which included a successful performance by Barrios at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Brussels on 7 November 1934, the Barrios and Salomoni families traveled to Berlin, where they spent ten months.³

¹ To date, the most extensive study of Barrios and his music is Richard D. Stover, *Six Silver Moonbeams: The Life and Times of Agustín Barrios Mangoré* (Asunción: Barrios Mangoré Project Center and Guitars from the Heart Association, 2012). See also Carlos Salcedo Centurión, Diego Sánchez Haase and Margarita Morselli, *El inalcanzable: Agustín Barrios Mangoré* (Asunción: República del Paraguay, 2007).

² *Ibid.*, 195-196.

³ *Ibid.*, 200-201.

As of today, no evidence of Barrios having presented public recitals in the Third Reich has been discovered. In 2011, however, evidence of two recordings by Barrios on German radio was discovered on extant broadcasting schedules from the Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv (German Broadcasting Archive).⁴ The first known broadcast took place on Deutschlandsender, whose broadcast range covered all of Germany. In a program entitled “*Klingendes Kunterbund*” (Melodic Potpourri) in the afternoon of 22 May 1935, recordings of Barrios performing three of his own works were featured: *Fiesta de la luna nueva* (also known as *Invocación a la luna*), *Danza Paraguaya*, and *Diana Guarini*.⁵ Almost six months later, on the evening of 8 October 1935 a recording of Barrios performing his *Un sueño en la floresta* was broadcast during a program entitled “*Klingende Miniatur*” (Sounding Miniature) on Radio Berlin.⁶

Although Barrios’ oeuvre is now considered an invaluable contribution to the twentieth-century canon of *ernste Musik* (serious music) written for the guitar, it is notable that the two programs on which Barrios’ music were broadcast in Germany were devoted to *Unterhaltungsmusik* (entertainment music), a broad musical category that encompassed jazz, dance, *Schlager* (popular) and other types of “light” music. To be sure, the level of musical sophistication in *Un sueño en la floresta* rivals the music of other serious guitar composers from that period, including Miguel Llobet (1878-1938), Manuel Ponce (1882-1948) and Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959). But its Latin American character, combined with the fact that the other works Barrios performed on German radio were all styled after traditional Paraguayan dances, likely led the German broadcasters to designate Barrios’ music as more appropriately belonging

⁴ Chris Erwich, “Barrios on German Radio in 1935,” *Soundboard* 37, no. 2 (2011): 19-23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 20. As Erwich notes, it remains an open question as to whether or not the broadcasts were “live” recordings, i.e. performances by Barrios recorded in the German radio studios themselves, or recordings that he had made previously.

to the realm of “entertainment.” This would not have been unusual at the time. According to musicologist Brian Currid, in Weimar and Nazi-era Germany *Unterhaltungsmusik* “was understood to include not only the new *Schlager* and dance music but also forms of musical practice that in the modern sense could easily be considered ‘serious music,’ if not at least ‘art music’,” while *ernste Musik* was “a far narrower category, if not in musical style, certainly in the social conditions of its production and consumption, stretching from opera to chamber music.”⁷

Viewed in relation to the socio-political conditions of German musical life in 1935, the Barrios broadcasts raise an important question. Amid the racist policies imposed by the Nazis on German culture during the 1930s, how was Barrios, as a “non-Aryan,” able to evade Nazi censure and have his music performed on national German radio in the first place?⁸

Although I was not able answer this question during my research for this thesis, the question itself provided a useful point of departure for a broader study of foreign musicians in Nazi Germany. There has been much written about musicians who either left voluntarily or were forced out of Germany in the years following Hitler’s appointment as Chancellor of Germany in 1933. But, during that same period, who were the musicians entering Germany, and for what reasons? More specifically, what place did foreign musical performers have in Germany’s increasingly xenophobic employment market during the 1930s? In turn, how did the Nazis deal with those musicians, and what margin of manoeuvre were they given to carry out their craft? These questions form the basis of this thesis.

⁷ Brian Currid, *National Acoustics: Music and Mass Publicity in Weimar and Nazi Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 121.

⁸ In 1935, the music division of Deutschlandsender was under the direction of Nazi party member Max Donisch. See Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 131.

In Chapter 1, I will provide an summary of the current historiography on music and the Third Reich. I will also examine how the Nazis dealt with musical aesthetics. Following this, I will provide an account of the Nazis' persecution of Jewish musicians in Germany in the months immediately following Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, as well as an overview of the impact that anti-Semitism and violence had on foreign musical activity in Germany. In Chapter 2, I will introduce, contextualize and describe a collection of primary records held by the United States National Archives grouped under the description "Auftrittsgenehmigungen für Ausländer" (Performance Permits for Foreigners). This collection of primary records consists of performance permit applications that were required by the Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Music Chamber) from German employers seeking to hire foreign musicians in Germany after 1937. I will examine representative cases from this collection in Chapter 3 in order to better understand how the Nazis brought foreign musical performers under their jurisdiction, and to reveal stories of individuals who became entangled in the Nazis arbitrary enforcement of their policies. Finally, in Chapter 4 I will examine two orchestra exchanges between German and foreign ensembles that were appropriated by the Nazis for the purposes of foreign diplomacy and propaganda.

CHAPTER 1

Towards a Study of Foreign Musical Performers in Nazi Germany

For nearly four decades following the end of the Second World War, the practice of music in the Third Reich was left largely unexamined. In light of the Holocaust and the destruction of Europe, the study of musical life in the Third Reich was widely dismissed by scholars in order to focus on those who had been persecuted by the Nazi regime. According to Pamela Potter, many musicologists in the post-war years worked under the assumption that all music which had been produced in Germany during the twelve years of the Third Reich was “aesthetically inferior,” and therefore not worth further examination.¹ In Britain and the United States, for instance, it was widely believed that all modernist compositional styles, such as dodecaphony or neoclassicism, were immediately eradicated from German musical life following the Nazis’ assumption of power in 1933.² This view was widely promoted by occupying Allied forces in Germany. In 1947, for example, an anonymous American cultural officer reported that “Adolf Hitler succeeded in transforming the lush field of German musical creativity into a barren waste,” and that “nothing [of value] was produced in Germany during the Nazi regime, for the musicians who remained were completely isolated from international development.”³ For German musicians who lived through the Third Reich, a moral stigma

¹ Pamela M. Potter, “Dismantling a Dystopia: On the Historiography of Music in the Third Reich,” *Central European History* 40, no. 4 (December 2007): 623.

² Pamela M. Potter, “The Nazi ‘Seizure’ of the Berlin Philharmonic, or the Decline of a Bourgeois Musical Institution,” in *National Socialist Cultural Policy*, ed. Glenn R. Cuomo (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 39-40.

³ American cultural officer’s report, 15 April 1947, cited in Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Musical Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden, NL: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2005), 86. As Janik notes, reports such as these were in part politically motivated; in order to establish themselves as “cultural liberators,” the

surrounded the subject: the study of musicians who were persecuted was understandably seen to serve a much “higher moral purpose” than the study of their persecutors, or of those who profited from their absence.⁴

For these reasons, the few studies on music and the Third Reich that appeared prior to the 1980s were not given much consideration. In 1963, historian and Holocaust survivor Joseph Wulf published *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation*, a collection of music-related primary sources—such as correspondence, articles, laws and other documents—that were created during the Third Reich.⁵ Seven years later, American historian Michael Meyer completed a dissertation on the relationship between Nazi politics and music, which he later published as a book in 1993.⁶

It was not until the early 1980s that a younger generation of musicologists became increasingly aware of the need to better understand musical life in the Third Reich. A turning point came in 1981, when the German Gesellschaft für Musikforschung (Society for Music Research) held its first session dedicated to the topic of “Music in the 1930s.” As Potter notes, the session marked “a pivotal moment in Germany’s musical *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, as the younger generation had finally won a hard-fought battle to end the silence on music in the Third Reich.”⁷ Following this conference, musicologists gradually began the process of reconstructing German musical life as it existed under the Nazi regime. In addition to the proceedings of the conference, which were published in 1984, early works by German scholars include Fred

occupying Allied forces treated the Third Reich as a sort of “musical Dark Age.”

⁴ Potter, “Dismantling a Dystopia,” 624.

⁵ Joseph Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Gütersloh, DE: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963).

⁶ Michael Meyer, “Assumptions and Implementation of Nazi Policy Toward Music” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1970); Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1993).

⁷ Potter, “Dismantling a Dystopia,” 623.

Prieberg's *Musik im NS-Staat* (1982), and a collection of essays edited by Hanns-Werner Heister and Hans-Günther Klein entitled *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland* (1984).⁸ A number of important English-language studies later began appearing in the early 1990s. Michael Kater has published a trilogy of books dealing with numerous aspects of music in the Third Reich: *Different Drummers* (1992) examines how jazz endured Nazi denunciation; *The Twisted Muse* (1997) focuses on the politicization of music in the Third Reich, as well as the persecution of Jewish and "non-Aryan" musicians; and *Composers of the Nazi Era* (2000) examines the careers of eight composers whose careers were both positively and negatively affected by the Nazis.⁹ Erik Levi's 1992 book *Music in the Third Reich* examines the imposition of National Socialist ideology on various spheres of German musical life, including radio, opera, symphony orchestras, music literature and press. Levi also traces the Nazis' *Gleichschaltung* (co-ordination) of German musical life through the establishment of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich Culture Chamber; discussed in Chapter 2), and the subsequent purge of Jewish and "non-Aryan" music and musicians from German culture.¹⁰

Musicologists have also begun to examine more specific facets of music in the Third Reich. In *Most German of the Arts* (1998), for example, Potter traces the evolution of German musicology, including the role that musicologists played in the Nazis' effort to align the concept

⁸ Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Sigrid Wiesmann, eds., *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bayreuth 1981* (Kassel, DE: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1984); Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982); Hanns-Werner Heister and Hans-Günther Klein, eds., *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984).

⁹ Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

of “German music” along Nazi ideological lines.¹¹ Levi (2010) and David Dennis (1996) have examined the ways in which the Nazis misrepresented the lives and work of Mozart and Beethoven, respectively, in an effort to appropriate them for propaganda purposes.¹² Preiberg’s biography of Berlin Philharmonic director Wilhelm Furtwängler entitled *Trial of Strength* (1986) focuses specifically on the conductor’s career during the Third Reich and his controversial relationship with the Nazi regime.¹³

Several important studies have been recently published on composers who were proscribed, exiled and murdered by the Nazis. For instance, in the volumes *Musik im Exil* (1993), *Musik in der Emigration, 1933-1945* (1994), *Driven into Paradise* (1999), *Komponisten im Exil* (2008) and *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music* (2014), contributing scholars examine the emigration of musicians and musicologists from Europe, and the effects that displacement had on them and the places to which they emigrated.¹⁴ In *Forbidden Music* (2013), Michael Haas has made an important contribution to the ever-growing understanding of Jewish composers who were persecuted by the Nazis, including Viktor Ullmann (1898-1944), Hans Gál (1890-1987), Ernst Toch (1887-1964) and numerous others. Moreover, important organizations

¹¹ Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler’s Reich* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹² Erik Levi, *Mozart and the Nazis: How the Third Reich Abused a Cultural Icon* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010); David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

¹³ Fred K. Prieberg, *Trial of Strength: Wilhelm Furtwängler in the Third Reich*, trans. Christopher Dolan (London: Northeastern University Press, 1994). The book originally appeared in German as Fred K. Prieberg, *Kraftprobe: Wilhelm Furtwängler im Dritten Reich* (Wiesbaden: F.A. Brockhaus, 1986).

¹⁴ Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer and Peter Petersen, eds., *Musik im Exil: Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkultur* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1993); Horst Weber, ed., *Musik in der Emigration, 1933-1945: Verfolgung, Vertreibung, Rückwirkung* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1994); Reinhold Brinkman and Christoph Wolff, eds., *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Imagination from Nazi Germany to the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Ferdinand Zehentreiter, ed., *Komponisten im Exil: 16 Künstlerschicksale des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2008); Erik Levi, ed., *The Impact of Nazism on Twentieth-Century Music* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014).

such as the OREL Foundation and the Terezín Music Foundation have been established with the goal of recovering, analyzing and performing the music of composers who were persecuted and murdered by the Nazis.¹⁵

1.1 National Socialism and music aesthetics

The question of whether or not there existed a “Nazi aesthetic” of music has garnered a considerable amount of attention in recent scholarship.¹⁶ For one, Bernd Sponheuer has shown that the Nazis did not in fact promote or attempt to cultivate a specially “National Socialist aesthetic” of music, but instead engaged with the centuries-old debate on the “German quality” in music—a concept they came no closer to defining than their nineteenth- and early twentieth century predecessors.¹⁷

An ambiguous aesthetic conceptualization for the future of German art was put forth by Reich Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels in 1933. Shortly after the Nazis came to power, he claimed that “*stählernde Romantik*” (steely Romanticism) formed the “racial core” of German art. According to Goebbels, the aesthetic basis of “steely Romanticism” was “objective and free of sentimentality, deeply national in feeling...”¹⁸ He later elaborated on the concept, explaining that

¹⁵ For more information on these two organizations, see The Orel Foundation, “Mission and Vision,” accessed 16 April 2015, <http://www.orelfoundation.org/index.php/pages/orelfoundation>; Terezín Music Foundation, “TMF Mission,” accessed 16 April 2015, <http://www.terezinmusic.org/mission-history.html>.

¹⁶ For a critical summary of current research on the subject, see Pamela M. Potter, “What is Nazi Music?” *Musical Quarterly* 88, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 428-455.

¹⁷ Bernd Sponheuer, “The National Socialist Discussion on the ‘German Quality’ in Music,” in *Music and Nazism: Art Under Tyranny, 1933-1945*, eds. Michael H. Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), 37. See also Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 200-234.

¹⁸ Lillian Herlands Hornstein, “Notes on Literary Trends under Hitler,” *Science and Society* 8, no. 3 (Summer 1944): 249.

[every] time has its own Romanticism, its poetic presentation of life—ours does as well. It is harder and crueler than the earlier version, but it is just as romantic. The Steel Romanticism of our time manifests itself in intoxicating actions and restless deeds in service of a great national goal, in a feeling of duty raised to the level of an unbreakable principle. We are all more or less romantics of a new German form.¹⁹

In his book *Inhumanities*, Dennis has interpreted Goebbels' conception of "steely Romanticism" as a selective borrowing of the German romantic tradition, one which "resisted inclusion of certain 'modern' aspects of Romanticism" whose "psychological self-indulgence" left contemporary art incomprehensible to all but the intellectual elite.²⁰ Dennis supports his interpretation with examples drawn from the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the widely-distributed daily German newspaper edited by Nazi loyalist Alfred Rosenberg. In an attempt to demonstrate the "steely" qualities of the "new German form" of Romanticism, contributors to the *Völkischer Beobachter* drew examples from the work of past eminent Germans writers, particularly romantic poets such as Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) and Heinrich von Kleist (1777-1811) who "directly engaged with the politics of the Napoleonic era in their lives and through their works."²¹ In other words, Goebbels and other Nazi cultural commentators saw "steely Romanticism" manifest itself in German art that rejected elitist intellectualization—modernism—and instead celebrated the German *Volk* by means of a strong nationalist and political orientation.

In his examination of "steely Romanticism," however, Dennis does not specifically examine the concept as it related to contemporary music in Germany. Certainly, the works of past German masters—Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Bruckner, Wagner and others—were

¹⁹ David B. Dennis, *Inhumanities: Nazi Interpretations of Western Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 176.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 177.

exulted for their depiction of the “struggle and heroic triumph” of the German *Volk*. To the best of my knowledge, however, no contemporary German composer was ever identified by the Nazis as having completely embodied the spirit of “steely Romanticism” in their work. Levi has noted that two operas premiered in Germany 1935—*Der Günstling* by Rudolf Wagner-Régeny in Dresden, and *Die Zaubergeige* by Werner Egk in Frankfurt—were “hailed in some quarters as the first genuinely National Socialist music-theatre works,” particularly for their use of German folk music.²² Of *Die Zaubergeige* in particular, one contemporary music critic lauded Egk’s use of “all sorts of folk music, of South German folk music particularly, including rural *Ländler*, waltzes, marches, together with their typical accompaniments.”²³

Although a celebration of the *Volk* and its music was a central tenet of “steely Romanticism,” the use of German folk songs and styles was not, of course, unique to Nazi ideology. But the point here is not to elucidate the manifestation of “steely Romanticism” in German music composed in the Third Reich. Quite the contrary: as Giselher Schubert concisely observes, “the substance of the National Socialist aesthetics of music is political and racist,” and that the “concept of ‘German music’ in the Nazi period is not an aesthetic but a political one, which could be circumscribed aesthetically in an almost arbitrary fashion.”²⁴ Reinhold

²² Erik Levi, “Towards an Aesthetic of Fascist Opera,” in *Fascism and Theatre: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945*, ed. Günter Berghaus (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), 263-264.

²³ *General-Anzeiger* 119 (23 May 1935), cited in Jason P. Hobratchsk, “Werner Egk and ‘Joan von Zarissa’: Music as Politics and Propaganda Under National Socialism” (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2011), 47.

²⁴ Giselher Schubert, “The Aesthetic Premises of a Nazi Conception of Music,” trans. Steven Lindberg and Joan Evans, in *Music and Nazism: Art Under Tyranny, 1933-1945*, eds. Michael H. Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), 64.

Brinkmann similarly notes that “[neither] humanity nor aesthetics could govern the racial and political ideas and actions of the National Socialists...”²⁵

The “arbitrary fashion” referred to by Schubert is applicable to almost every aspect of the Nazis’ policy towards music. While modernist styles such as dodecaphony, neoclassicism and jazz were usually condemned as *entartet* (degenerate), the proscription of musicians who composed and performed music in those styles often differed according to individual opinion.²⁶ This was perhaps best evident during the infamous Entartete Musik (Degenerate Music) exhibition, held in Düsseldorf in May 1938.²⁷ In the exhibit, which was inspired by the previous year’s Entartete Kunst (degenerate art) exhibition that was held in Munich, the Nazi organizer Hans Severus Ziegler displayed photographs, books and scores of contemporary composers who, in his view, had contributed to German “cultural decay.” Additionally, six sound booths were set up so that attendees could listen to samples of the “degenerate” music, which included works by Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), Ernst Křenek (1900-1991), Kurt Weill (1900-1950) and others.²⁸

The inclusion of Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971) in the Entartete Musik exhibition is exemplary of the “arbitrary fashion” in which some composers’ music was simultaneously endorsed and condemned in Nazi Germany. As Joan Evans points out, Stravinsky’s music “achieved a relatively secure position in the cultural life of the Third Reich, a position it

²⁵ Reinhold Brinkmann, “The Distorted Sublime: Music and National Socialist Ideology—A Sketch,” in *Music and Nazism: Art Under Tyranny, 1933-1945*, eds. Michael H. Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), 45.

²⁶ Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 98.

²⁷ For an extended discussion of the *Entartete Musik* exhibition, see Albrecht Dümling, “The Target of Racial Purity: The ‘Degenerate Music’ Exhibition in Düsseldorf, 1938,” in *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich*, ed. Richard A. Etlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 43-72.

²⁸ Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 95-96.

maintained up to the outbreak of World War II.”²⁹ Thus, his inclusion in the Entartete Musik exhibition was not a product of official Nazi proscription, or even a product of general consensus amongst Nazis. It was instead predicated on the personal opinion of Ziegler, an “old fighter” who had previously banned performances of Stravinsky’s work between January 1930 and April 1931 while in charge of “cultural affairs” in Thuringia.³⁰

It was at the Entartete Musik exhibition that Goebbels made what was perhaps his most direct, albeit ambiguous attempt to define the future path of “German music.” It must be noted that, although he was an amateur pianist, Goebbels was not well versed in music, and particularly *ernste Musik* (serious music). Moreover, throughout the twelve years of the Third Reich he seems to have made little effort to become better acquainted with it. According to research by Donald Ellis, the Propaganda Minister rarely attended performances by either the Berlin State Opera or the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, even after the latter came under his control and became the official *Reichsorchester* (Reich’s Orchestra) in 1934.³¹ Thus, it is no surprise that the “Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Muskschaffens” (Ten Principles of German Music Creativity) that Goebbels presented during the Entartete Musik exhibition amounted to little more than a shallow promotion of a conservative aesthetic that is summarized by the following points:

1) Nationalist music: “Like every other art form, music has its origins in the mysterious and deep powers that are rooted in the people”;

²⁹ Joan Evans, “Stravinsky’s Music in Hitler’s Germany,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 526.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 569.

³¹ Donald W. Ellis, “Music in the Third Reich: National Socialist Aesthetic Theory as Governmental Policy” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1970), 126. The relationship between the Nazis and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra is examined in Misha Aster, *The Reich’s Orchestra: The Berlin Philharmonic, 1933-1945* (London: Souvenir Press Ltd., 2010); see also Potter, “The Nazi ‘Seizure’ of the Berlin Philharmonic.”

2) Music composed using melodies comprehensible to the entire *Volk*: “The essence of music...lies in melody”;

3) Music that affects the spirit of the nation: “Music is the most sensual of the arts...it is therefore the unavoidable duty of our musical leaders to let the people share in the treasures of German music.”³²

Rather than sketching the basis of a National Socialist aesthetic of music, Goebbels’ “Ten Principles” reflected the Propaganda Minister’s own personal tastes and were symptomatic of his inability to discuss music to any meaningful depth. His ignorance of the complexities of *ernste Musik*, for instance, were made clear in a published report from 1934, in which he dismissed Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) as a mere “atonal musician” who had lowered the standards of his work to the “biting dissonances of musical bankruptcy.”³³ In reality, a number of works that utilized atonality and characteristics of jazz—much like “degenerate” works of Schoenberg, Křenek, and Weill—were well received in Nazi Germany. Winfried Zillig (1905-1963), who was a pupil of Schoenberg and devotee of his twelve-tone technique, managed to successfully evade Nazi censure by constructing twelve-tone rows consisting of consecutive consonant intervals, often thirds and fourths, which he used in his operas *Das Opfer* (1937) and *Die Windsbraut* (1941).³⁴ The Danish composer Paul von Klenau (1883-1946), who studied composition with Max Bruch (1838-1920) at Berlin’s Hochschule für Musik and was on friendly terms with

³² Joseph Goebbels, “Zehn Grundsätze deutschen Musikschaffens,” *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer* 5, no. 11 (June 1938): 41. David Scrase has provided a full English translation of Goebbels’ “Ten Principles of German Music Creativity” in Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia, eds., *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 183-184.

³³ Joseph Goebbels, “Dr Goebbels auf der Jahreskundgebung der Reichsmusikkammer,” *Berliner Lokal Anzeiger*, 12 December 1934, cited in Erik Levi, “Atonality, 12-Tone Music and the Third Reich,” *Tempo* 178 (September 1991): 17.

³⁴ Levi, “Atonality,” 19.

Schoenberg and his circle, argued that his use of dodecaphony adhered perfectly to the “National Socialist World.” He succeeded in tempering Nazi criticism of his use of the twelve-tone technique in his opera *Michael Kohlhaas* (1934) by distancing himself from Schoenberg, claiming that he had developed his own distinct, “tonally-determined” twelve tone theory, in which the strict “tonal” organization of intervals within the central tone row accorded perfectly with the Nazi hierarchical principle of organization.³⁵

Modernist elements factored in Egk’s opera *Peer Gynt*, which was premiered by Heinz Tietjen and the Berlin State Opera on 25 November 1938. Nazi critics compared Egk’s treatment of rhythm to Stravinsky, and his use of jazz and other modern dance styles, such as the Charleston and the tango, was compared to Weill’s *Dreigroschenoper*.³⁶ While some Nazis criticized Egk’s use of “degenerate” styles, others felt they were dramaturgically appropriate.³⁷ On that point, Jason Hobratchk has noted that Egk’s own dislike of jazz also factored into the Nazis’ reception of *Peer Gynt*: the composer “did not use perceived jazz elements as positive or even neutral characterizations,” but rather used them as “characterizations of the depravity of troll culture.”³⁸ In turn, the “troll culture” in *Peer Gynt* was interpreted by the Nazis to represent Jewish culture, thus justifying their “degenerate” musical representation.³⁹

The Nazis’ interpretation of jazz is a particularly clear example of the “arbitrary fashion” in which they dealt with music aesthetics. At any given time, jazz was randomly described by the

³⁵ Ibid., 21. See also Erik Levi and Thomas Michelsen, “Klenau, Paul von,” in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 27 January 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/15137>.

³⁶ Hobratchk, “Werner Egk and ‘Joan von Zarissa,’” 75; Michael Walter, *Hitler in der Oper. Deutsches Musikleben 1919-1945* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1995), 179.

³⁷ Hobratchk, “Werner Egk and ‘Joan von Zarissa,’” 75.

³⁸ Ibid., 80.

³⁹ Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 9.

Nazis as “Jewish,” “Bolshevik” or “degenerate.”⁴⁰ Its roots in Black American culture made jazz the antithesis to the Nazis’ *völkisch* conception of an ideal German music, but its popularity amongst German audiences prevented them from forbidding its performance outright.⁴¹ Further complicating the issue was the fact that Goebbels recognized the powerful affect of *Unterhaltungsmusik* in maintaining German national morale: “[It] is the duty of state leadership,” he asserted, “to impress upon the people the idea of relaxation, entertainment, and revival, along with informing them of the difficult problems of the day.”⁴²

This tension between the Nazi leadership’s desire to enforce political ideology without simultaneously alienating large sections of the population prevented Goebbels from ever issuing a complete ban on jazz. In lieu of a national policy addressing the issue, the supervision of the performance of jazz was largely left up to the discretion of state leaders, Gauleiter (regional leaders), as well as politically reliable Musikbeauftragter (music representatives), who supervised concert activity at a local level. As early as 1930, for example, the performance of jazz was banned in Thuringia by State Minister Wilhelm Frick, who was one of the first prominent Nazis to obtain a high ranking government position prior to the Nazis’ seizure of power in 1933.⁴³ In addition to Thuringia, similar bans on the live performance of jazz were issued after 1933 by Nazi Gauleiter in Pomerania, Franconia and Weser-Ems.⁴⁴ In October 1935,

⁴⁰ Furthermore, the Nazis often applied the term jazz incorrectly to any music that came from the United States. See Peter Wicke, “Sentimentality and High Pathos: Popular Music in Fascist Germany,” trans. Richard Deveson, *Popular Music* 5 (1985): 152.

⁴¹ Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 121.

⁴² Goebbels, “Zehn Grundsätze,” cited in David Snowball, “Controlling Degenerate Music: Jazz in the Third Reich,” in *Jazz and the Germans: Essays on the Influence of “Hot” American Idioms on 20th-Century German Music*, ed. Michael J. Budds (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2002), 160.

⁴³ Meyer, “Assumptions and Implementation,” 408.

⁴⁴ Michael H. Kater, “Forbidden Fruit? Jazz in the Third Reich,” *American Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (February 1989): 18.

the performance of so-called “Nigger-Jew jazz” was then prohibited from German radio broadcasts by the Director of German Radio Eugen Hadamovsky.⁴⁵

Despite such individual efforts, however, the live performance of jazz in Germany by both foreign and German musicians continued until the end of the Second World War.

According to Joshua Sternfeld, the Nazis’ inability to define exactly what constituted so-called “Jewish jazz” inhibited their efforts to eradicate it from the Third Reich:

The notion of Jewish jazz itself contained irresolvable contradictions, preventing critics and anti-jazz activists from constructing a clear set of aesthetic criteria by which to identify the “undesirable.” The often indecipherable logic that guided these matters was not an anomaly of the regime, but quite the contrary: It was a product of the internal contradictions of the Nazi cultural-political system itself.⁴⁶

As scholars continue to build an increasingly nuanced view of musical life in the Third Reich, the place of foreign musicians has not, to the best of my knowledge, been scrutinized as closely as other aspects within that context. In this thesis, I will examine how foreign musicians manoeuvred within Germany’s increasingly xenophobic cultural milieu during the 1930s.

Specifically, I will explore the impact that the “internal contradictions” of Nazi music policy had on the regime’s supervision, censorship and exploitation of foreign performers. In doing so, I will present stories of individual musicians and orchestras who were caught in the contradictory mechanisms of Nazi policy.

⁴⁵ Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 120.

⁴⁶ Jonathan Sternfeld, “Jazz Echoes: The Cultural and Sociopolitical Reception of Jazz in Weimar and Nazi Berlin, 1925-1939” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2007), 378.

1.2 Foreign boycotts and Nazi responses: The 1933 Bayreuth Festival

As has been well-documented, Hitler's appointment as Chancellor on 30 January 1933 provoked an upsurge of violence across Germany.⁴⁷ Jews and political opponents across Germany were arrested, beaten and murdered by the police, the Schutzstaffel (SS) and the Sturmabteilung (SA); Jewish shops were boycotted, looted and destroyed. Historian Richard Evans points out that, although the proliferation of street violence was not officially ordered by the Nazi leadership, they passively encouraged its perpetration through their violent, anti-Semitic rhetoric. In Evans' words, Nazi leaders "announced in extreme but unspecific terms that action was to be taken, and the lower echelons of the Party and its paramilitary organizations translated this in their own terms to specific, violent action."⁴⁸ Ultimately, however, Hitler did not believe that emotionally-driven pogroms would be sufficient to remove Jews from the German *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community). As early as 1919, he promoted an "antisemitism of reason," by which, reinforced with violence and intimidation, Jews and other "non-Aryans" would be gradually banished from German society through "systematic legal struggle."⁴⁹ The passing of the "Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums" (Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service) on 7 April 1933, which allowed for the legal dismissal of "non-Aryans" from the civil service, was the first major step in the Nazis' implementation of that

⁴⁷ An overview of Nazi brutality in the early months of the Third Reich is found in Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), 310-440.

⁴⁸ Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004), 337.

⁴⁹ Alan E. Steinweis, *Kristallnacht 1938* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 3. See also Robin Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 25-31.

policy.⁵⁰ But in the immediate months following his appointment as Chancellor, Hitler was also concerned with commencing his other primary mission for his “New Germany”: the complete rebuilding of Germany’s military. From the beginning, Hitler believed that the consolidation of “Aryan” superiority would require *Lebensraum* (living space), which would only be obtained by a war of conquest, particularly in Eastern Europe. Historian Gerhard Weinberg observes how these notions of “race and space” were directly linked in Hitler’s ideology:

The desirable course...was the adjustment of space to population by the conquest of additional land areas whose native populations would be expelled or exterminated, not assimilated. The availability of such land areas would in turn encourage the good, healthy Nordic couples settled on them to raise large families and that would both make up for the casualties incurred in the conquest of the territory and assure adequate military manpower for subsequent wars *they* would need to wage.⁵¹

Almost immediately after his appointment as Chancellor, Hitler began mobilizing staff and resources to begin working towards Germany’s future domination of “race and space.” But while Germany was still economically and militarily weak, the Nazi leadership had to convince the international community that it had no intention of going back to war.⁵² Moreover, the Nazi violence against Jews and political opponents described above caused a rising wave of anti-German sentiment abroad, and the Nazi leadership could not risk the possibility of Germany’s already-depressed economy being further disrupted by foreign sanctions.⁵³ Thus, even though Nazi domestic policy—namely, the persecution of Jews and the legalization of anti-Semitism—

⁵⁰ Gellately, *Backing Hitler*, 25. For a commentary on and full English translation of the Civil Service Law, see Roderick Stackelberg and Sally A. Winckle, eds., *The Nazi Germany Sourcebook: An Anthology of Texts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 149-152.

⁵¹ Gerhard L. Weinberg, *The Foreign Policy of Hitler’s Germany: A Diplomatic Revolution in Europe, 1933-1936* (New Jersey: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1994), 6.

⁵² Norman Rich, *Hitler’s War Aims: Ideology, the Nazi State, and the Course of Expansion* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 82-89.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 38-39; Gellately, *Backing Hitler*,

remained unchanged, for the remainder of 1933 the Nazis made some efforts to alleviate concerns about the “New Germany” abroad.⁵⁴ As Meyer notes, “good foreign relations were the concern of the Nazis while Germany was weak, and music played an important role in this public relations effort.”⁵⁵

The international music community was certainly not oblivious to the Nazis’ racially-motivated cultural reforms. In a 1933 essay entitled “Music and Nationalism,” the American composer Roger Sessions (1896-1985) astutely observed that “the effect of the [Nazi] government’s policy on cultural activities...is well known. It has not been limited to the exclusion of musical activities of real or suspected Jews,” but rather to any “whose offenses range from *Kulturbolschevismus* [cultural bolshevism] and ‘non-Aryan’ descent...or merely to personal affiliations of an unorthodox nature.”⁵⁶ Around that same time, a reviewer of the 1933 Bayreuth Festival remarked in the *New York Times* on the unusual absence of American visitors, noting that “the noxious political atmosphere which permeated the proceedings would have revolted the majority of them...The way the Nazi ‘intellectuals’ toiled and sweated to represent Wagner as a most puissant symbol of their cause was as preposterous as it was sophistical.”⁵⁷

The significant absence of foreign attendees at the 1933 Bayreuth Festival was symptomatic of the same events that had inspired Sessions’ critical appraisal of contemporary musical life in Germany. Amid the Nazis’ persecution of Jews in the weeks following Hitler’s appointment as Chancellor, three prominent conductors working in Germany—Otto Klemperer (1885-1973), Fritz Busch (1890-1951) and Bruno Walter (1876-1972)—were forced to leave

⁵⁴ Weinberg, *A Diplomatic Revolution*, 39-40.

⁵⁵ Meyer, *The Politics of Music*, 143.

⁵⁶ Roger Sessions, “Music and Nationalism” (1933), reprinted in *Roger Sessions on Music: Collected Essays*, ed. Edward T. Cone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 272.

⁵⁷ Herbert F. Peyser, “The Festival at Baireuth,” *New York Times*, August 27, 1933, X4.

their positions in the face of Nazi intimidation and violence. The barbaric treatment of these conductors provoked a series of protests and boycotts by prominent foreign musicians abroad. Of course, these three conductors were by no means the only musicians in Germany who were victimized by Nazi brutality. But, I will explain below, the Nazis' response to the foreign boycotts constitutes an early example of the "internal contradictions" that would prevail in their treatment of foreign musicians for the remainder of the Third Reich.

Otto Klemperer was the first of the three conductors to fall victim to Nazi persecution. In February 1933, the Jewish conductor directed a production of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* by the Berlin State Opera in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of the composer's death. Following the first performance on 13 February, the Nazi music critic Fritz Stege denounced the performance, and particularly Klemperer's involvement, as a "bastardization of Wagner."⁵⁸ In response to such fervid criticism, the Berlin State Opera staged only two further performances, on 26 February and 1 March, before cancelling its run. Klemperer's performance with the Berlin Staatskapelle on 30 March was also subsequently cancelled, and on 5 April 1933 he left Germany for the United States.⁵⁹

Whereas Klemperer was attacked in the German press, local Nazis in Dresden physically bullied Saxon State Opera director Fritz Busch out of his position. Busch was a unique case amongst the three conductors under discussion here. First, he was not Jewish, but was charged by

⁵⁸ Fritz Stege, "Berliner Musik," *Zeitschrift für Musik* (March 1933), 243, cited in Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 43-44.

⁵⁹ Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 44. Even though Klemperer left Germany in April, he was not officially fired from his position at the Berlin State Opera until 7 June 1933. See David Josephson, "The Exile of European Music: Documentation of Upheaval and Immigration in the *New York Times*," in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Imagination from Nazi Germany to the United States*, eds. Reinhold Brinkman and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 93.

local Nazis with favouring Jewish artists and friends.⁶⁰ Second, although he was openly critical of the Nazi regime, Busch was in fact admired by Prussian Minister of the Interior Hermann Göring, as well as Hitler himself.⁶¹ Regardless, on 7 March 1933 SA troops stormed into Dresden's Semperoper, where Busch was preparing to conduct a performance of Verdi's *Rigoletto* with the Saxon State Opera. According to Busch's own account of the events, approximately fifty to sixty SA troops assembled in the theatre prior to the performance and declared him "unsuitable" to serve the Dresden State Opera in the "golden" future of German art under Hitler.⁶² When Busch later walked out to begin the performance, the Nazi-filled audience instigated a riot, and Busch was left with no choice but to leave the opera house.⁶³ According to Kater, even a personal appeal from Hitler to local Saxon officials failed to change their minds on the matter, thereby exemplifying "the imperfect chain-of-command structures in the Nazi gubernatorial fabric at that time, certainly insofar as culture was concerned."⁶⁴ Busch left Germany shortly thereafter for engagements in South America, England, the United States, and by 1934 he was appointed the musical director of the Glyndebourne opera company in England.⁶⁵

Bruno Walter, the Jewish conductor of the Leipzig Gewandhausorchester, was the victim of a widely-publicized controversy in March 1933. Having recently returned from performances in New York, Walter was barred from performing at the Gewandhaus by the Nazi Saxon

⁶⁰ Fritz Busch, *Pages from a Musician's Life*, trans. Marjorie Strachey (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971), 205.

⁶¹ In 1942, Hitler went so far as to declare that, after Clemens Krauss (1893-1954) and Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954), Busch "would have become the best German conductor." See Kater, *Twisted Muse*, 122.

⁶² Busch, *Pages from a Musician's Life*, 202.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 203-204.

⁶⁴ Kater, *Twisted Muse*, 122.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

Minister of the Interior, who also demanded Walter's resignation.⁶⁶ The conductor then travelled to Berlin to await his scheduled performance with the Berlin Philharmonic on 20 March. Upon his arrival, however, Nazi intimidation forced him to withdraw from that performance as well. Although the concert had not been officially forbidden by the Nazi leadership, Goebbels' state secretary, Walther Funk, informed him that, should he follow through with the performance, his safety would not be guaranteed and that "everything in the hall will be smashed to pieces."⁶⁷ The renowned conductor was left with no choice but to concede the podium to Richard Strauss (1864-1949). Walter then cancelled an upcoming performance in Frankfurt, moved back to Austria, and by September 1933 he immigrated to the United States.⁶⁸ Walter's exile was a particularly poignant example of the how the Nazi leadership used street violence, or the threat of it, to implement its anti-Semitic policy before Hitler's "antisemitism of reason" was enacted.

The Nazis' persecution of Klemperer, Busch and Walter was widely criticized. In Germany, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* declared that when Bruno Walter, "a man whom the outside world envied Germany for having, is prevented from conducting, that is deplorable evidence that the national revolution is reaching into a field in which it should show the greatest caution, as there are few laurels to be won."⁶⁹ Outside of Germany, an elite group of musicians living and working in the United States launched a public protest against the Nazis' treatment of their colleagues in Germany. On 1 April 1933, eleven musicians sent an open cablegram to Hitler in

⁶⁶ Rebecca Pechefsky and Erik Ryding, *Bruno Walter: A World Elsewhere* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 219.

⁶⁷ Bruno Walter, *Theme and Variations: An Autobiography*, trans. James A. Galston (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 298.

⁶⁸ Kater, *Twisted Muse*, 93-94.

⁶⁹ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, cited without bibliographic reference in "Bruno Walter Departs—Philharmonic Conductor Cancels Frankfurt Concert—Will Return Here in Fall," *New York Times*, 21 March 1933, 10.

protest of “the Hitlerite persecution of musicians, composers and conductors.”⁷⁰ The signees were the conductors Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957), Walter and Frank Damrosch (1862-1950 and 1859-1937, respectively), Sergei Koussevitzky (1874-1951), Artur Bodanzky (1877-1939), Ossip Gabrilowitsch (1878-1936), Alfred Hertz (1872-1942), Fritz Reiner (1888-1963); pianist Harold Bauer (1873-1951); violinist Charles Martin Loeffler (1861-1935); and composer Rubin Goldmark (1872-1936).⁷¹ In the cablegram, the signees protested the “persecutions of their colleagues in Germany, for political or religious reasons,” with the hope that “such persecutions as take place in Germany at present are not based on your [Hitler’s] instructions, and that it cannot possibly be your desire to damage the high cultural esteem Germany, until now, has been enjoying in the eyes of the whole civilized world.”⁷²

According to the *New York Times*, which published the cablegram the day after it was sent, Toscanini was one of the final musicians asked to sign the protest. The article cited a recent letter from Gabrilowitsch to Toscanini, in which the former expressed his belief that any protest sent to Hitler would “remain without any appreciable results” without the world’s most famous conductor’s involvement: “There is only one man who could protest effectively. That is you, Maestro Arturo Toscanini.” In response, Toscanini not only offered to sign his name to the

⁷⁰ “Toscanini Heads Protest to Hitler: He and Ten Other Musicians of World Fame Ask End of Persecution of Colleagues,” *New York Times*, 2 April 1933, 1, 29. The idea to send Hitler a cablegram in protest of the persecution of musicians in Germany was originally proposed by Bodanzky, conductor of the Metropolitan Opera in New York. On 22 March 1933 he approached Berthold Neuer, vice-president of the renowned Knabe Piano Company, to draft the protest. It is important to note that, among the signees, Gabrilowitsch strongly opposed addressing Hitler as “your excellency.” Moreover, although he made it clear that he was “not in the least bit afraid to add [his] signature,” he felt it was naïve—and indeed untruthful—to state that they believed Hitler was not personally responsible for “all that is going on in Germany at the present time.”

⁷¹ On 3 April 1933, it was reported in the *New York Times* that Frederick Stock (1872-1942), conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, had requested that his name be added to the list of signees.

⁷² “Toscanini Heads Protest to Hitler,” *New York Times*, 2 April 1933.

protest, but asked “if there is no objection and if it is possible I would like to have my name at the head of the subscribers of this message.”⁷³

Toscanini’s offer to head the protest’s list of signees came only months before he was scheduled to perform at the 1933 Bayreuth Festival. In light of the events in Germany that led to the protest, many of his colleagues believed that he should immediately cancel his upcoming Bayreuth performances. In his letter to Toscanini, Gabrilowitsch cautioned the Italian conductor about the consequences his appearance at Bayreuth might have on his international reputation:

Two years ago (1931) when you left Baireuth [sic] in disgust and anger, you were reported in a newspaper interview as having expressed yourself very sharply against Hitlerism. This year (1933) you are returning to Baireuth [sic] when Hitlerism is at the climax of its triumph. Do you not think that this must be interpreted by the whole world as an expression of your approval of Hitlerism?⁷⁴

Labelling Bayreuth as “one of the centres of extreme German nationalism,” where it was “generally understood that the present inhabitants of Wahnfried are personal friends and admirers of Adolf Hitler,” Gabrilowitsch then posed the question to Toscanini: “Under those conditions, will you—Arturo Toscanini, the world’s most illustrious artist—lend the glamour of your international fame to the Baireuth [sic] festival?”⁷⁵

In the meantime, there was a swift reaction from the Nazis to the protest from the United States. On 6 April 1933, the German Broadcasting Commissioner decreed that “no compositions or records by the people concerned are to be broadcast by the German Broadcasting Company, nor can recordings of concerts, even if taken from other radio stations, be used if any of the

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Please note that I have retained the *New York Times*’ spelling of Bayreuth (“Baireuth”).

⁷⁵ Ibid.

concerned people are taking part in any capacity.”⁷⁶ The following day, Jewish and other “non-Aryan” musicians working in German theatres, opera houses and universities lost their positions after the passing of the Civil Service Law.⁷⁷ Among those affected were Schoenberg and Franz Schreker (1878-1934), both of whom were dismissed from their positions at the Prussian Academy of Arts in May 1933.⁷⁸

With the situation for Jewish and other “non-Aryan” musicians in Germany continuing to deteriorate, on 5 June Toscanini finally cancelled his contract to conduct at the 1933 Bayreuth Festival. In a letter to Winifred Wagner, the Festival’s director, Toscanini explained that “the lamentable events which injured my sentiments as a man and as an artist have not yet undergone a change, notwithstanding my hopes.”⁷⁹ Despite that fact that Toscanini had led the protest against Hitler, his decision to withdraw from the festival surprisingly prompted the immediate removal of his name and recordings from the German broadcasting blacklist. The broadcasting commissioner who had initially issued the decree explained in vague terms that the ban on Toscanini’s work had been based on “press reports that since had proved erroneous,” but—significantly—that the ban “still applied to the works of the other nine musicians who signed the same protest.”⁸⁰ The “erroneous press reports” were never disclosed, and likely did not exist in the first place, thus begging the question as to the real motivation behind the reinstatement of the Toscanini’s recordings on German broadcasts. Why were the Nazis willing to overlook

⁷⁶ “Der Rundfunk gegen hetzende Musiker,” *Völkischer Beobachter*, no. 96 (6 April 1933), cited in Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*, 49-50.

⁷⁷ For an extensive list of musicians in Germany who were dismissed from their positions following the promulgation of the Civil Service Law, see Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 44-45.

⁷⁸ Josephson, “The Exile of European Music,” 99.

⁷⁹ “Toscanini Refuses to go to Baireuth: Won’t Conduct at Wagnerian Festival Because of Persecution of Jews,” *New York Times*, 6 June 1933, 1.

⁸⁰ “Snub by Toscanini Worries Germans: Refusal to Conduct Festival Brings Realization of Force of World Condemnation—Radio Ban on Him Ended—Barring of His Works From the Air Laid to False Report on Anti-Nazi Protest,” *New York Times*, June 8, 1933, 8.

Toscanini's criticism, whereas the work of every other foreign musician who signed the same protest remained expressly forbidden?

It has been well documented that Winifred Wagner was adamant about securing Toscanini's involvement in the 1933 Bayreuth Festival.⁸¹ During the two month period between the cablegram that was sent to Hitler, and Toscanini's final withdrawal from the Festival, Winifred Wagner had sought Hitler's help in her effort to confirm the conductor's intentions to perform at Bayreuth. The Führer, a personal friend of the Wagner family, complied, and sent Toscanini a personal letter in which he stated his pleasure about the opportunity "of soon being able to greet in Bayreuth the great maestro of our friends, the Italian nation."⁸²

An article published in the *Börsen Zeitung*, however, revealed a more obvious pragmatic motivation for the Nazis to overlook Toscanini's criticism:

It is deeply regrettable that a conductor who is so greatly esteemed in Germany and who was honored only recently by being made an honorary citizen of Baireuth [sic] could not subordinate his feelings to the service of the work of Baireuth [sic], which he so much admired. Despite this, we may hope he will come to Baireuth [sic] after all. For this much is beyond doubt: The participation of Signor Toscanini was the greatest attraction of the Baireuth [sic] festival. He guaranteed the high artistic level that the festival must have, especially during this jubilee year. He also was the only guarantee for the financial success of it.⁸³

As the last sentence of this quote makes explicit, the organizers of the festival were worried about the financial impact that the Toscanini's withdrawal would have on the festival's bottom line. Indeed, Gabrilowitsch was not wrong when he pointed out that Toscanini would have lent the Festival the "the glamour of [his] international fame." Such had been the case in 1930, when

⁸¹ Brigitte Hamann, *Winifred Wagner: A Life at the Heart of Hitler's Bayreuth*, trans. Alan Bance (Orlando: Harcourt, Inc., 2005), 188-191.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 188.

⁸³ *Börsen Zeitung*, cited without bibliographic citation in "Snub by Toscanini Worries Germans," *New York Times*, June 8, 1933, 8. As above, I have retained the *New York Times*' spelling of Bayreuth ("Baireuth").

Toscanini became the first non-German to conduct at Bayreuth. His participation in the 1930 Festival revitalized its declining tickets sales, and his performance of *Tristan und Isolde* was singled out as a high-point of the Festival.⁸⁴ His participation in the 1931 Bayreuth Festival had similar results, and Winifred Wagner undoubtedly expected that those results would be repeated in 1933.⁸⁵ Moreover, given the growing international concern regarding the political stability and safety of “non-Aryans” in Germany, Winifred Wagner likely believed his attendance at the Festival would bolster a greater willingness for foreign audiences to attend.

Taken together, the events leading up to the 1933 Bayreuth Festival—from Hitler’s appointment as Chancellor, to the Festival itself—reveal the inherent conflict between the Nazi regime’s enforcement of its racist and oppressive ideology on the one hand, and its attempt to pacify foreign opinion on the other hand. It also constitutes an early example of the “internal contradictions” at work in the Nazis’ policy towards foreign musicians. To be sure, all of the musicians who signed the cablegram protest to Hitler were internationally-respected artists. Thus, by hypocritically singling out Toscanini and removing *only* his name from the German broadcasting blacklist, the Nazis openly demonstrated the “arbitrary fashion” in which they chose to ignore foreign dissidence when it was economically and politically convenient.

1.3 Foreign musical performers in Germany, 1933-1939: An overview

In addition to the protest led by Toscanini, many other eminent foreign musicians had boycotted Germany by late 1933. In an admirable yet futile effort to undermine the Nazis’ policy

⁸⁴ Joseph Horowitz, *Understanding Toscanini: A Social History of American Concert Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 114

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 118.

towards Jewish musicians, in late June 1933 Furtwängler invited a number of foreign soloists, many of whom were Jewish, to appear with the Berlin Philharmonic during its 1933-1934 concert season. They included the noted violinists Fritz Kreisler (1875-1962), Bronislaw Huberman (1882-1947), Yehudi Menuhin (1916-1999), Jacques Thibaud (1880-1953); pianists Arthur Schnabel (1882-1951), Alfred Cortot (1877-1962), Josef Hofmann (1876-1957); and the cellists Pablo Casals (1876-1973) and Gregor Piatigorsky (1903-1976).⁸⁶ In a show of solidarity against the Nazis' continuing persecution of "non-Aryan" musicians in Germany, all declined Furtwängler's offer.⁸⁷

That is not to say, however, that no foreign musicians appeared with the Berlin Philharmonic—and indeed Germany itself—throughout the years of the Third Reich. Many foreign musical performers, both landed residents as well as visitors, continued to perform in Germany throughout the 1930s. With regard to the Berlin Philharmonic, research by Misha Aster has shown that most foreign guest conductors who performed with the orchestra were from countries "friendly" to the Nazis, with two notable exceptions: the Dutch conductor William Mengelberg (1871-1951), and the English conductor Sir Thomas Beecham (1879-1961, whose activities I will discuss in Chapter 4).⁸⁸ An example of one conductor from a "friendly" country was the Japanese conductor Hidemaro Konoye (1898-1973), brother of the Japanese Premier Fumimaro Konoye. In 1933, the Nazi secretary of the Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur (Combat League for German Culture), Hans Hinkel, dubbed Konoye the "Japanese Furtwängler," and

⁸⁶ Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*, 87-88.

⁸⁷ In lieu of foreign soloists, Furtwängler instead featured Jewish members of the Berlin Philharmonic as soloists during the 1933-1934 concert season. See Aster, *The Reich's Orchestra*, 181-182.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 183.

called him the “best non-German” interpreter of Strauss’ music.⁸⁹ He performed many times in Germany throughout his career, and between 3 October 1933 and 14 October 1940 he appeared numerous times as a guest conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic.⁹⁰ Other foreigners who conducted the orchestra during the Third Reich included Victor de Sabata (Italian, 1892-1967), Georges Georgescu (Romanian, 1887-1964) and Hisatada Otaka (Japanese, 1911-1951).

Broad categorizations such as the political position of a foreign musician’s native country can be useful in better understanding of how foreign performers manoeuvred within Germany’s xenophobic cultural milieu during the 1930s. In Chapter 4, I will examine closer the relationship between Nazi politics and foreign musical performance. But foreign musicians who performed in Germany were not only from “friendly” countries. A partial list of those foreign musicians includes, among numerous others, the Dutch singer Julie de Stuers (1892-1981); English pianist Edna Iles (1905-2003); Chilean pianist Claudio Arrau (1903-1991); and the French violinist Ginette Neveu (1919-1949).⁹¹ A controversial example was the celebrated French soprano Germaine Lubin (1890-1979). She became one of the most treasured singers in the Third Reich after her performances with the Berlin State Opera in 1938.⁹² That same year, she became the first French woman to sing at Bayreuth; her performance in *Parsifal* was lauded by both Winifred Wagner and Hitler.⁹³ After the war, Lubin was convicted in December 1946 of

⁸⁹ Wulf, *Musik im Dritten Reich*, 94.

⁹⁰ Tomoyoshi Takatsuji, “Der Graf Hidemaro Konoye: Ein japanischer Dirigent im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland,” in *Das (Musik-)Theater in Exile und Diktatur: Vorträge und Gespräche des Salzburger Symposions 2003*, eds. Peter Csobádi, Gernot Gruber, Jürgen Kühnel, Ulrich Müller, Oswald Panagl and Franz Viktor Spechtler (Salzburg: Verlag Mueller-Speiser, 2005), 376.

⁹¹ Prieberg provides a lengthy list of foreign musicians who performed in the Third Reich, although he does not provide specific places or dates most performances. See Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, 379-380.

⁹² Frederic Spotts, *The Shameful Peace: How French Artists and Intellectuals Survived the Nazi Occupation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 199.

⁹³ “Obituary: Germaine Lubin,” *Musical Times* 121, no. 1645 (March 1980): 195; Spotts, *Shameful Peace*, 199.

“national indignity for life,” and spent three years in jail for her sympathetic relations with the Nazis, including her performances at Nazi functions in occupied France.⁹⁴

Most of the foreign musicians that I have discussed in this chapter were prominent performers. To be sure, there were thousands of other lesser-known foreign musicians who made a living performing in Nazi Germany, whether by single guest appearances or by regular work as landed residents. In the chapters that follow, I will reveal the stories of some of these musicians by examining extant performance permit applications that were required by the Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Music Chamber; described in Chapter 2) from German employers seeking to hire foreign musicians in Germany after 1937.

⁹⁴ “French Singer Convicted,” *New York Times*, 8 December 1946, 37.

CHAPTER 2

Supervising Foreign Musicians: The Performance Permit Collection

The primary source on which my thesis is based is a collection of records grouped under the description “Auftrittsgenehmigungen für Ausländer, sowie Anträge und Korrespondenz. Alphabetisch nach Name und Auftrittsort geordnet (F-L), 1937-39” (Performance permits for foreigners, as well as applications and correspondence, organized alphabetically according to name and performance locale; hereafter the Performance Permit Collection). In February 2013, I obtained a copy of this collection on microfilm from the United States National Archives and Records Administration located in College Park, Maryland (hereafter NARA).⁹⁵ In this chapter I will first provide a brief historical background of NARA’s Collection of Foreign Records Seized, in which the Performance Permit Collection is held. I will also describe my experience at NARA and the challenges that face researchers at that facility. I will then describe the establishment and bureaucratic structure of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich Culture Chamber, hereafter RKK). Finally, I will analyze the administrative function that the documents originally served within the Reichsmusikkammer (Reich Music Chamber, hereafter RMK), followed by a description of the records, as well as their scope and limitations.

2.1 Historical background of the Collection of Foreign Records Seized

Outside of Germany, the Collection of Foreign Records Seized remains one of the most important collections of its kind for research into German institutional records and government

⁹⁵ “Auftrittsgenehmigungen für Ausländer: Anträge und Korrespondenz, Buchstaben F-L, 1937-1939” (NARA Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033, roll 235), frames 0942-2112.

practice, including the Third Reich.⁹⁶ It consists of more than seventy thousand microfilm reels encompassing millions of records that were created by German governments and citizens between the years 1740-1950, the majority of which date from the Nazi period.⁹⁷ The records were captured by the Western Allied forces—led by the Americans and the British—both during and after the Second World War, and were then assembled in various document centres in preparation for the compilation and organization of biographic papers that were later used in the prosecution of war criminals and subsequent denazification procedures.⁹⁸

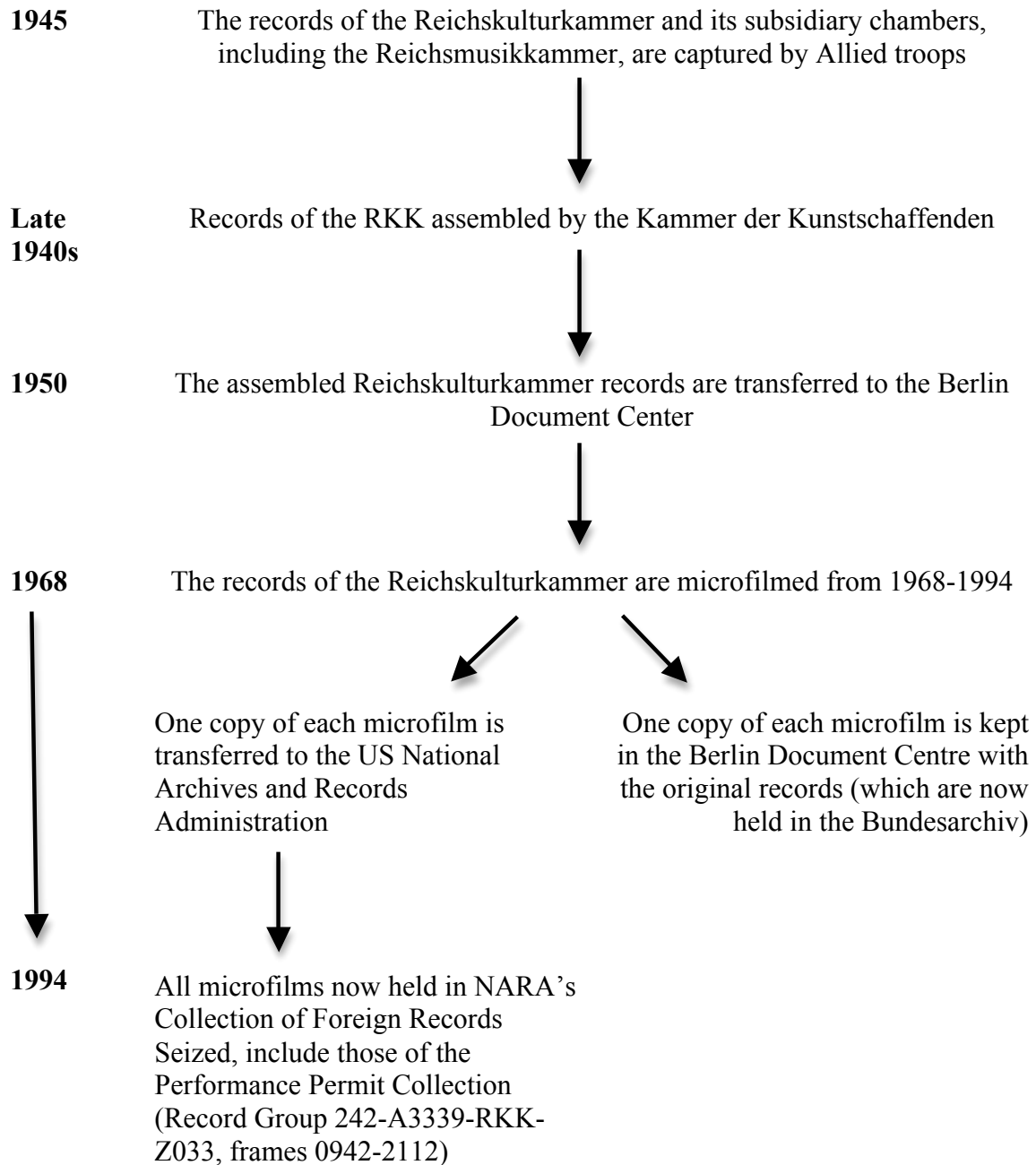
The records of the RKK, reproductions of which are now held on microfilm in the Collection of Foreign Records Seized at NARA, were originally captured by Allied forces in the months immediately before and after the fall of the Third Reich. A flowchart outlining the sequence of events between the initial capture of the records and their eventual deposit at NARA can be found in Figure 2.1. The records of the RKK were initially assembled in the late 1940s under British supervision by the Kammer der Kunstschaffenden (Chamber of Creative

⁹⁶ The Captured German and Related Records collection consists of multiple sub-collections, which also include records of the US Army during the Second World War. The Collection of Foreign Records Seized is one such sub-collection, and consists of microfilm reproductions of millions of German records that were captured during and after the Second World War. A brief introduction to the holdings of the Captured German and Related Records and the Collection of Foreign Records Seized can be accessed on NARA's website; see National Archives and Record Administration, "Captured German and Related Records on Microform in the National Archives," accessed 12 December 2013, <http://www.archives.gov/research/captured-german-records/>.

⁹⁷ Robert Wolfe provides a brief overview of the entire collection as it existed in 1974 in his introduction to the published proceedings of the Conference on Captured German and Related Records, which took place at the US National Archives in Washington, D.C., from 12-13 November 1968. See Robert Wolfe, "Introduction," in *Captured German and Related Records: A National Archives Conference*, ed. Robert Wolfe (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1974), xvi.

⁹⁸ Robert Wolfe, "A Short History of the Berlin Document Center," in *The Holdings of the Berlin Document Center: A Guide to the Collections*, ed. George Leaman (Berlin: The Berlin Document Center, 1994), xi. For a comprehensive history of the complex process by which the documents of the numerous captured German archives were assembled and microfilmed by American and British governments following the Second World War, see Astrid M. Eckert, *The Struggle for the Files: The Western Allies and the Return of German Archives after the Second World War*, trans. Dona Geyer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Figure 2.1 - Tracing the lineage of the Performance Permit Collection



Artists).⁹⁹ In 1950 the assembled RKK records were then transferred to the Berlin Document Center, where they became one of numerous collections of seized German records that were microfilmed under American supervision between 1968 and 1994.¹⁰⁰ Two copies of each microfilm were made: one was sent to NARA, and the other remained with the original records at the Berlin Document Center. Custody of the Berlin Document Center was ultimately handed over by the Americans to the German federal government in 1994, and its collections were subsequently transferred to the German Bundesarchiv (Federal Archive), where they are now held.

For the purposes of this thesis, it is important to note that the scope of NARA's Collection of Foreign Records Seized is not exhaustive. As I will explain below, there are further extant records involving the supervision of foreign musicians in the Third Reich that are housed in the Bundesarchiv and that, to the best of my knowledge, do not appear on any of the microfilms held at NARA.

2.2 Reichskulturkammer records in the German Bundesarchiv

One of the first archival sources with which I engaged during the early stages of my research was the online finding guide of the Bundesarchiv.¹⁰¹ As of this writing, not all finding

⁹⁹ The Kammer der Kunstschaffenden was established by the Soviets on 30 May 1945 to oversee the rehabilitation of German culture and its artists. Its headquarters were conveniently housed in the former headquarters of the RKK at Schlüterstrasse 45 in Berlin, which was in the British sector of Berlin; the microfilming of the RKK's records was therefore undertaken by the British, not the Soviets. See David Monod, *Settling Scores: German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945-1953* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 72-77; see also Elizabeth Janik, *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Musical Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Leiden, NL: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2005), 103-106, 118-119.

¹⁰⁰ Leaman, *The Holdings of the Berlin Document Center*, 151, 4-5.

¹⁰¹ Das Bundesarchiv, "ARGUS: Suche über die Beständeübersicht und die Online-Findbücher des Bundesarchivs," accessed 14 November 2013, <http://www.argus.bundesarchiv.de/>.

guides have yet been made available online, and many of those that are accessible reflect an incomplete overview of the holdings of the Bundesarchiv. Nevertheless, using the online ARGUS (*ArchivGutSuche*, or Archival-Goods Search) search engine, I was able to determine the existence of a number of collections involving the supervision of *ausländische Künstler* (foreign artists; specifically musicians) in Germany from 1933-1944.¹⁰² All of these individual collections can be found in the online finding guide of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda), which is in turn part of *Abteilung R – Deutsches Reich 1495 bis 1945* (Division R – German Reich, 1495 to 1945).

According to the Bundesarchiv's online finding guide, it holds numerous RMK administrative records relating to applications for foreign musicians to perform in Germany from as early as 1933. For the purposes of this thesis, I was unable to travel to Germany to examine these collections. I was, however, able to travel to NARA in search of their microfilm reproductions.

2.3 Research in the Collection of Foreign Records Seized at NARA: Challenges and outcomes

Determining the exact scope of the holdings of the Collection of Foreign Records Seized during my research prior to travelling to NARA proved challenging, and indeed inconclusive, due to the fragmented process by which the collection was originally assembled and microfilmed. This is reflected in the scattered finding guides available for each microfilm.

¹⁰² Two of the largest collections of such records held in the Bundesarchiv are: "Förderung und Genehmigung von Konzertreisen deutscher Musiker im Ausland, Auftrittsgenehmigung für ausländische Künstler in Deutschland; auch Unterstützungsgesuche" (Das Bundesarchiv, R 55, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, 17 Abteilung Musik (M), 17.2 Ausland, R 55, 1933-1935), 1175-1188; "Auftrittsgenehmigungen für ausländische Künstler" (Ibid., 1936-1944), 20614-21258.

Unlike the Bundesarchiv, NARA does not host a comprehensive online finding aid for any of its collections. For those studying cultural aspects of the Third Reich, the most comprehensive guide to the RKK collection is George Leaman's Berlin Document Center finding aid, which he compiled shortly before the records of that archive were transferred to the Bundesarchiv in 1994.¹⁰³ It should be noted, however, that Leaman's guide is not a comprehensive catalogue of the microfilm holdings of the Berlin Document Center—and concurrently the Collection of Foreign Records Seized. Rather, as Leaman observes in the introduction, his guide “is not a ‘roadmap’ that will lead the user to a specific file, but rather a “travel guide” that can suggest whether a particular collection is “worth a ‘visit’ and what one can expect to find there.”¹⁰⁴

By consulting Leaman's guide prior to travelling to NARA, I was able to determine the existence of the aforementioned collection of “Auftrittsgenehmigungen für Ausländer, sowie Anträge und Korrespondenz. Alphabetisch nach Name und Auftrittsort geordnet (F-L), 1937-39.“ These are records that were created in the Berlin *Gau* (region) of the RMK between 1937 and 1939—the collection that I have designated in this thesis as the Performance Permit Collection.¹⁰⁵ As I explained above, however, there are further RMK records involving the supervision of foreign musicians in the Bundesarchiv that date from as early as 1933 and from regions outside of Berlin. As such, I therefore deemed it to be “worth a visit” to NARA in order to determine whether these records are also held in the Collection of Foreign Records Seized.

Between 15-23 February 2013, I spent six days examining the holdings of the Collection of Foreign Records Seized at NARA. In contrast to the deficient finding guides available to off-

¹⁰³ Leaman, *The Holdings of the Berlin Document Center*, 151-211. Note, however, that the Berlin Document Center film series numbers as listed by Leaman do not necessarily correspond to NARA's current microfilm publication numbers.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 177.

site researchers, the microfilm reading room at NARA contains numerous binders of detailed finding guides to various collections within the Collection of Foreign Records Seized, and additional guides are also available on microfilm.

My preliminary overview of the RKK collection revealed the fragmented arrangement in which the records were originally microfilmed. On one hand, the logical arrangements of larger sections of the RKK collection were maintained during the microfilming process. For example, the *Personalakten* (personal files; specifically, the catalogue of RKK membership cards) were kept in alphabetical order, and the microfilms on which they appear are grouped together as such. On the other hand, “miscellaneous” records such as lists, manuscripts, correspondence and other administrative documents of the RKK are scattered on various microfilms throughout the collection. In reference to these records in particular, Leaman cautions researchers that “the criteria used to place particular files in this collection are not clear, and each user of the RKK collections would be well advised to give this collection careful study.”¹⁰⁶

Indeed, the Performance Permit Collection is found on one such “miscellaneous” microfilm. The box of this film bears the vague identification “BDC Microfilm, Reichskulturkammer Miscellaneous,” and is arbitrarily placed among other unrelated records of the RMK. Fortunately, its specific location within the Collection of Foreign Records Seized is listed in a printed finding guide to the records of RKK (access to which is only available in the microfilm reading room at NARA), thereby corroborating Leaman’s aforementioned reference to a partial collection of “Auftrittsgenehmigungen für Ausländer” in his guide to the holdings of the Berlin Document Center.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 155.

These records, however, constitute only a fragment of the those listed in the Bundesarchiv's online finding guide. After carefully consulting all other finding guides, I was not able to find any other listings of further records concerning the supervision of foreign musicians dating earlier than 1937. With reasonable certainty I can therefore assert that the additional Bundesarchiv records dating back as early as 1933—those to which I referred in Section 2.2—were likely not among the collection that was microfilmed and eventually became part the Collection of Foreign Records Seized. But although they were not available to me during research for this thesis, they constitute an important primary source for future research on foreign musicians in the Third Reich.

2.4 The Reichskulturkammer and state regulation of German culture

The RKK was founded by Goebbels on 1 November 1933 as a division of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda). Until the end of the Second World War, the RKK would play a central role in the regulation and economic management of the cultural professions in Germany. The RKK would also serve as the primary means by which “undesirables”—Jews, Gypsies, unwanted foreigners, and others—would be purged from German cultural life. I will discuss the socioeconomic circumstances which led to its creation in Chapter 3.

The RKK was comprised of seven sub-chambers, one each for music, theatre, literature, radio, film, press, and the visual arts. According to Paragraph Three of its founding legal document, the “Erste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Reichskulturkammergesetz” (First Decree for the Implementation of Reich Culture Chamber Law), the RKK's mandate was “to promote German culture on behalf of the German *Volk* and Reich, to regulate the economic and

social affairs of the cultural professions, and to bring about a compromise between [the groups] belonging to it.”¹⁰⁷ Membership in one of the RKK’s seven sub-chambers was compulsory for all persons who were involved in the “creation, reproduction, intellectual or technical processing, dissemination, preservation and sale of *Kulturgut* [cultural goods].”¹⁰⁸ This included Jews and other “non-Aryans,” to whom membership in one of the RKK’s sub-chambers remained open until well into 1935.¹⁰⁹ For the Nazis, there was a pragmatic reason for allowing “undesirables” to retain their memberships in RKK during the early years of the Third Reich: by requiring them to do so, it enabled chamber officials to supervise their activities, to collect information on their racial backgrounds and, ultimately, to use that information against them in a systematic purge of Jews and other “undesirables” from German cultural professions. In essence, the RKK served what Alan Steinweis has likened to a form of “cultural eugenics, simultaneously nourishing the ‘healthy’ and weeding out the ‘unhealthy.’”¹¹⁰

Like most bureaucracies, the administrative structure of the RKK consisted of a complex chain of command, and a detailed explanation of its organization is beyond the scope of this

¹⁰⁷ Karl Friedrich Schrieber, ed., *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer: Sammlung der für den Kulturstand geltenden Gesetze und Verordnungen, der amtlichen Anordnung und Bekanntmachungen der Reichskulturkammer und ihrer Einzelkammern* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag, 1935), 3, cited in Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 44.

¹⁰⁸ The term “cultural goods” (*Kulturgut*) was defined in Paragraph 4 of the First Decree for the Implementation of the Reich Culture Chamber Law as encompassing “every creation or performance of art that is transmitted to public,” as well as “every other intellectual creation or performance that is transmitted to the public through print, film and radio.” In Schrieber, *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer* (1935), 3, cited in Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 44-45.

¹⁰⁹ Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 50. According to Kater, another the reason Jewish and other “non-Aryan” musicians were initially permitted membership of the RMK is because Goebbels wished to “cement” the RMK’s authority in German cultural affairs over rival Nazi organizations such as Alfred Rosenberg’s Kampfband für deutsche Kultur (Combat League for German Culture). See Kater, *Different Drummers*, 35. For an overview of the struggle between the different Nazi organizations for control over German cultural affairs, see Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 38-42.

¹¹⁰ Alan E. Steinweis, “Cultural Eugenics: Social Policy, Economic Reform, and the Purge of Jews from German Cultural Life,” in *National Socialist Cultural Policy*, ed. Glenn R. Cuomo (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 24.

thesis.¹¹¹ There are, however, a few key elements that must be touched upon here in order to better understand the two chapters that follow.

The RKK was governed by a central office at Bernburgerstraße 19 in Berlin. According to Paragraph Eleven of “The First Decree for the Implementation of Reich Culture Chamber Law,” the Propaganda Minister was to simultaneously serve as the President of the RKK.¹¹² In that capacity, Goebbels oversaw the entire operation of the RKK, and was in charge of selecting the presidents of the sub-chambers.¹¹³ To the presidency of the RMK, Goebbels first appointed Germany’s most important living composer, Richard Strauss, and Furtwängler was selected as his Vice-President.¹¹⁴ But a controversy over Strauss’ friendship with the eminent Jewish poet Stefan Zweig (1881-1942) later led to his replacement in 1935 by the German musicologist and Nazi adherent Peter Raabe.¹¹⁵

Under the supervision of its central office in Berlin, the RKK was divided into regional divisions, which mirrored the political *Gaue* (regions) of the Third Reich. A Landesleitung (regional office) of each of the seven RKK sub-chambers was then established in each *Gau*.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ To date, the most extensive study that has been devoted to the evolution, structure and function of the RMK is Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*.

¹¹² Schrieber, *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer* (1935), 4.

¹¹³ The RKK was structured according to the *Führerprinzip* (leadership) principle. The *Führerprinzip* produced a top-down structure in which each official of the Reich government, beginning with Hitler, appointed the officials immediately below them in the bureaucratic hierarchy. See Jason P. Hobratchk, “Werner Egk and ‘Joan von Zarissa’: Music as Politics and Propaganda Under National Socialism” (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2011), 88-89.

¹¹⁴ Strauss’ role in the RMK is discussed in Michael Walter, “Strauss in the Third Reich,” trans. Jürgen Thym, in *The Cambridge Companion to Richard Strauss*, ed. Charles Youmans (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 226-241; see also Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era*, 211-263. An overview of Furtwängler’s role in the RMK is found in Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*, 114-115.

¹¹⁵ The circumstances surrounding Strauss’ “resignation” from the RMK presidency has been discussed in numerous studies, including Kater, *Twisted Muse*, 19-20, and Bryan Gilliam, “‘Friede im Innern’: Strauss’ Public and Private Worlds in the Mid 1930s,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 572-579.

¹¹⁶ For an overview of regional divisions in the Third Reich, see Michael D. Miller, and Andreas Schulz. *Gauleiter: The Regional Leaders of the Nazi Party and Their Deputies, 1925-1945*, vol. I (San Jose: R. James Bender Publishing, 2012), 18.

Each of the individual regional chambers were put under the supervision of a Landesleiter (regional leader), whose job was largely to serve as “conduits of information, connecting the leaders of the individual chambers in [the central RKK office] in Berlin with the general membership.”¹¹⁷ Many of the Landesleiter were Nazi loyalists, “old fighters” who had joined the National Socialist party prior to 1933.¹¹⁸ It is important to emphasize the fact that Berlin had two RMK offices: the central office, where Goebbels and the other RKK sub-chamber leaders presided, and an RMK Landesleitung, which reported to the central office.

The individual members of the RMK were grouped into seven *Fachverbände* (specialty associations), which were organized according to specific musical professions: Berufsstand der deutschen Komponisten (composers); Reichsmusikerschaft (performing musicians); Reichsverband für Konzertwesen (concert agents and managers); Reichsverband für Chorwesen und Volksmusik (amateur choral and folk musicians and societies); Deutscher Musikalienverleger (music publishers); Reichsverband der deutschen Verein Musikalienhändler (music dealers); and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Förderung des deutschen Instrumentengewerbes (musical instrument manufacturers).¹¹⁹ The Reichsmusikerschaft (Reich Musicians’ Branch), whose members accounted for a large portion of the RMK’s overall membership, will be of the most relevance to this thesis.

¹¹⁷ Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 60.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 45; Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 27. The structure of the RMK is also discussed in Martin Thrun, “Die Errichtung der Reichsmusikkammer,” in *Musik und Musikpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland*, eds. Hanns-Werner Heister, and Hans-Günter Klein (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984), 75-82.

2.5 Historical context, scope and limitations of the Performance Permit Collection

The Performance Permit Collection consists of approximately six hundred and fifty records that were created by the RMK's Berlin Landesleitung from 1937 to 1939. The main records in this collection are performance permit applications that were submitted to the RMK by German employers who sought permission to hire foreign musicians in Berlin. In many cases, the Performance Permit Collection also includes correspondence and other relevant documents that accompanied each permit application. As I will examine in Chapters 3 and 4, it is these accompanying documents—most of which were inter-office correspondence not meant for public consumption—that are particularly illuminating of the RMK's supervision of foreign musicians in the years immediately preceding the Second World War.

The submission of the performance permit applications was done in accordance with an ordinance that was issued by RMK President Peter Raabe on 29 September 1937, and promulgated on 1 October in the *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer*. In the ordinance, Raabe asserted that “in order to support German musical culture on behalf of the Volk and the Reich, regular statistical registration of foreign musicians working in the German Reich [*Reichsgebiet*] is necessary.”¹²⁰ As I will explain in the chapters that follow, however, the records of the Performance Permit Collection offer a complex account of the Nazis' treatment and appropriation of foreign musicians, an account that extends far beyond a mere “statistical registration” of their activities.

The existence of performance permit applications held in the Bundesarchiv dating from as early as 1933 suggests that a partial effort had been made by the RMK to supervise non-

¹²⁰ Peter Raabe, “Anordnung: Über die Anzeige der Beschäftigung ausländischer Musiker,” *Amtliche Mitteilungen der Reichsmusikkammer* 4, no. 15 (1 October 1937): 67. My translation.

landed foreign musicians in the early years of the Third Reich. That process was not uniformly enforced, however. Raabe's ordinance was therefore promulgated in an attempt to bring all foreign musicians under the supervision of the RMK. Accordingly, any *Reichsdeutsche* (native German) citizen or business intending to hire foreign musicians was thereafter required to submit a form detailing their intentions to their respective RMK Landesleiter and obtain permission for said musicians to perform. Raabe justified his order on the basis of Paragraph 25 of "The First Decree for the Implementation of Reich Culture Chamber Law," which granted the RKK and its individual chambers the right to oversee the "*Art und Gestaltung*" (nature and organization) of businesses in the regions under their jurisdiction.¹²¹

Given Germany's economic instability throughout the 1930s, more about which I will discuss in Chapter 3, Raabe's ordinance was welcomed by many native German musicians. Moreover, the RMK's requirement that foreign musicians must obtain permission prior to engaging in any sort of work in Germany was not unprecedented. At that time, both the British and American governments were under similar pressure by native musicians to implement similar regulations to control the influx of foreign musicians, particularly after the American stock market crash in 1929.¹²² Nor was the regulation of foreign musicians constrained to the interwar period. In present-day Canada, for instance, foreign musicians seeking to work in bars or restaurants—the types of employers who constitute the majority of those represented in the Performance Permit Collection—are required to obtain a work permit from the Government of

¹²¹ Schrieber, *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer* (1935), 7. My translation.

¹²² Catherine Parsonage, *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain, 1880-1935* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 218-220.

Canada before commencing employment.¹²³ Similar laws exist in other countries around the world. Unlike the primarily-economic motivations of the American and British governments, however, the employment applications implemented by the RMK served a much more sinister purpose. To better understand this aspect, I will first describe the employment applications themselves, following which I will describe the scope and limitations of the Performance Permit Collection, as well as its implications for future research in this area.

In order to demonstrate the process by which foreign musicians received permission to perform from the RMK, I have selected a representative case from the Performance Permit Collection in which permission was granted without issue (Appendix 1-6).¹²⁴ In this case, a representative from Fredys Bar on Bayreuther Straße 44 in Berlin submitted an application to the RMK on 3 March 1939 seeking permission to employ the well-known Italian pianist Primo Angeli (1906-2003) for three months, beginning on 1 April of that year.¹²⁵

The employment applications were standardized two-page forms, copies of which were obtained from the employer's respective RMK Landesleitung. Based on the information required from both the employer and the foreign musician(s) on whose behalf they were applying, Appendix 1 and 2, respectively, the performance permit applications served two main functions. First, the reports allowed the RMK to keep track of the number of foreign musicians working in the Reich. More importantly, they offered the RMK a way to ensure that foreigners were not dominating the German musical workplace. Not only were employers required to provide both

¹²³ Government of Canada, "Temporary Workers: Performing Artists," accessed 11 March 2014, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/work/apply-who-nopermit.asp>.

¹²⁴ Auftrittsgenehmigung for Primo Angeli, 1 March 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frames 1142-1152.

¹²⁵ For an overview of Angeli's life and career, see Gerhard Conrad and Andy Simons, "A Swing Master on the Piano: Primo Angeli," *International Association of Jazz Record Collectors Journal* 39, no. 3 (August 2006): 22-27.

the number of foreign and German musicians to be employed during the contract in question (Appendix 1, question 3c), they also had to declare—separately—the number of foreigners and native Germans that they had employed in the previous twelve months, including the gross salary that they had spent on each group (Appendix 1, question 6). More directly, employers were required to state the specific reasons for which they were employing foreign musicians (Appendix 1, question 7). The subtext of this simple question is obvious: “Why are you employing a foreigner to do a job that a native German could fulfill?”

The final question on the first page of the employment report is particularly illuminating of how the Nazis used foreign musicians for political ends. Employers were required to specify whether or not German musicians would be part of an exchange with the foreign musicians in question, and, if so, with which country (Appendix 1, question 8). As I will discuss in Chapter 4, foreign orchestra exchanges would prove to be important tools in the Nazis cultural diplomacy efforts.

The criteria on the second page of the employment applications, which required biographical information on the foreign musicians themselves, demonstrates the second function served by the foreign employment reports: the RMK’s desire to identify and prevent ethnically or politically “undesirable” foreigners from performing in the Third Reich. This, of course, was of particular importance to the RMK. Although foreigners who resided in Germany had since 1933 been required to hold membership to the RMK in order to work—and were therefore required to submit biographical details that the RMK later used to determine their racial and political “acceptability”—until 1937 there had been no systematic bureaucratic measures in place to similarly supervise visiting foreign musicians. As such, the foreign musicians in question were required to report their nationality, religion (both past and present), marital status, and previous

work experience in Germany (Appendix 2, question 9). As I will explain in Chapter 3, the information provided by certain musicians for these criteria sometimes led the RMK to request further information on their family descent (*Abstammung*).

It is important to note that the only music-related question on the form was the identification of each musician's instrument. This is particularly significant when one considers the lengths to which the RMK went in order to control the influence of foreign musical styles in Germany, particularly jazz (discussed in Chapter 1). In fact, most of the musicians represented in the Performance Permit Collection were performers of *Unterhaltungsmusik*, a general musical category under which jazz fell in Germany during this period. The supervision of foreign musicians was not, however, limited to performers of jazz or other types of entertainment music. This claim is supported by the fact that many of the foreign musicians whose names appear in the aforementioned online finding guide of the Bundesarchiv's collection of performance permits were notable performers of *ernste Musik*, including the Swiss conductor Volkmar Andreae (1879-1962), Austrian violinist Walter Barylli (b. 1921), American soprano Rose Bampton (1907-2007) and Swiss pianist Paul Baumgartner (1903-1976).¹²⁶ The employment records of these and other foreign musicians are not included in the Performance Permit Collection at NARA and have not yet, to the best of my knowledge, been examined by scholars.

Generally speaking, a "complete" series of records consists of a performance permit application (as described above; Appendix 1-2), which was systematically forwarded to the RMK's central office in Berlin for consultation; a confirmation letter from the RMK's central

¹²⁶ Das Bundesarchiv, "Auftrittsgenehmigung für ausländische Künstler" (R 55, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, 17 Abteilung Musik (M), 17.2 Ausland, R 55, 1933-1935), 20165, accessed 19 June 2014, <http://www.argus.bundesarchiv.de/R55-347/index.htm>.

office that the permit application had been received (Appendix 3); and a letter from the RMK's central office to the employer confirming the receipt of their performance permit application, for which they were either granted or denied permission (Appendix 4). If permission was granted, the foreign musician in question was issued an official RMK *Auftrittsgenehmigung* (performance permit), which was only valid for the duration and location stated on the slip (Appendix 5-6). The Performance Permit Collection also includes various other forms of correspondence concerning the employment of foreign musicians between different levels of the RMK, RKK, the Propaganda Ministry, the *Auslandsstelle für Musik* (Foreign Office for Music) and various other divisions of the Reich government.

It is important to note that the performance permission slip issued to Angeli (Appendix 5-6) is actually from an engagement he undertook in March 1939 at the Tabaris in Düsseldorf. Its inclusion among the records of the Performance Permit Collection—the rest of which were created in the Berlin *Gau* of the Reich—underscores the fact that the Collection is both incomplete and haphazard in its makeup. Nevertheless, because of its size, the contents of the Collection constitute a valid sample of an important administrative practice with regard to foreign musical performers in the Third Reich.

The Performance Permit Collection is limited in three significant aspects. First, it only reports on foreign musicians working within the Berlin *Gau* of Germany. Raabe's ordinance, however, applied to all *Gaue* of the Reich. As such, it is likely that similar records from the other regional divisions of the Third Reich are held in the Bundesarchiv. (Its online finding guide does not, however, indicate the extent of the collection.) It is also possible other records of the same kind exist in regional state archives throughout Germany. The consequence of this limitation is the fact that it allows only for a narrow, regional perspective of foreign musical life in the Third

Reich during the 1930s. This begs the question: Were foreign musicians scrutinized as heavily in Mannheim as in Berlin? In order to answer this question, it will be necessary to consult records created in the Baden *Gau* of Germany, within which Mannheim was located during the Third Reich—if these records are in fact extant.

Secondly, the collection constitutes an arbitrary subset of an alphabetical list. It only contains the names of employers that begin with the letters F through L (Café Fandango—Luisen Café). Most of the employers listed were small coffee houses and restaurants in Berlin. Performance permit applications for foreign musicians in concert or recital halls, as well as opera houses, are largely absent. The fact that most of the collection encompasses applications submitted on the behalf of lesser-known foreign musicians enables scholars to better understand an important problem in the current historiography on music and the Third Reich, which has not received the attention it deserves. As Sternfeld observes:

A complete and accurate reconstruction of the Nazi...soundscape according to the activity in coffeehouses and dance halls...is extremely difficult given limited quantifiable evidence. Examining only the [Teddy] Stauffers and [Heinz] Wehners and [Oskar] Joosts runs the risk of overshadowing the thousands of other less famous ensembles that performed throughout the city in a more acceptable and tasteful fashion. The coffeehouse was always intended to provide a haven from the outside world, where people could escape the stress of work and politics. What occurred behind those closed doors, therefore, remains in large part a mystery...¹²⁷

Indeed, records such as those of the Performance Permit Collection offer an opportunity for scholars to begin constructing a view of performance life “behind those closed doors.”

The final limitation of the Performance Permit Collection is the fact that it is restricted to the years 1937-1939. While it is true that Raabe’s ordinance was not issued until 1937, the

¹²⁷ Sternfeld, “Jazz Echoes,” 391-392.

existence of similar records housed in the Bundesarchiv indicates that a bureaucratic process by which foreign musicians applied for permission to perform in Germany had, at least partially, been in place since as early as 1933 or 1934. Nevertheless, the Performance Permit Collection does open a window allowing an examination of performance practice in the coffeehouses and dance halls in the capital of the Third Reich. In Sternfeld's words,

It is perhaps impossible to determine how many artists such as [Håkan von] Eichwald continued to defy Nazi performative standards, but the fact that incidents continued to occur in 1939 and into the war indicates that the issue had never been fully resolved. Likewise, there is anecdotal evidence that Nazi officers attended clubs to monitor activity, but without a systematic record measuring their participation and success, it is difficult to know the extent to which official involvement affected performance practices.¹²⁸

Despite its limited scope, the correspondence that forms a large part of the Performance Permit Collection offers concrete historical—as opposed to anecdotal—evidence of the ways in which the Nazis attempted to supervise foreign musical performance in the Third Reich. In the next chapter, I will demonstrate how these records can be used to better understand how the RMK brought foreign musicians under their jurisdiction.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 392.

CHAPTER 3

Confronting “The Foreigner Question”

In 1937, when Peter Raabe officially ordered all German employers to first obtain permission from the RMK prior to hiring foreign musicians, he justified his order on the grounds that it was the government’s responsibility “on behalf of the German Volk and Reich” to keep track of the number of foreigners working in Germany.¹²⁹ What was entailed in that responsibility, exactly? In this chapter I will analyze the practical implementation of the performance permit procedure. Why were some foreign musicians granted permission to perform in the Third Reich, while others were denied? More importantly, what observations can be drawn from the records of the Performance Permit Collection towards a better understanding of how foreign musicians manoeuvred in Nazi Germany’s xenophobic cultural milieu?

A little over a year before Raabe published his ordinance concerning the employment of foreign musicians, an article entitled “Zu viel ausländische Musiker in Deutschland?” (Too many foreign musicians in Germany?) appeared in the German music journal *Die Unterhaltungsmusik*. In the article, Fritz Seydaack discussed three major concerns relating to “*die Ausländerfrage*” (The Foreigner Question).¹³⁰ In this chapter I will reconcile data gleaned from the records of the Performance Permit Collection with Seydaack’s observations. In doing so, I will seek to analyze the degree to which the RMK was successful in bringing foreign musical performers under its

¹²⁹ Raabe, “Anordnung: Über die Anzeige der Beschäftigung ausländischer Musiker,” 67. My translation.

¹³⁰ Fritz Seydaack, “Zu viel ausländische Musiker in Deutschland?” *Die Unterhaltungsmusik*, no. 2647 (10 September 1936).

jurisdiction. I will also examine case studies involving foreign musicians who became entangled with the contradictory mechanisms of Nazi musical policy.

3.1 Foreign musicians and the German employment market

Raabe's stated intention to keep track of the number of foreign musicians actively employed in Germany correlated with the first significant issue raised by Seydaack in his 1936 article. In an unspecified West Germany city, Seydaack observed that there were "no more or less than ten foreign bands" active at the time.¹³¹ Seydaack's concern over whether or not foreigners were taking too much work from German musicians echoed a general problem that had existed since the Weimar period. As early as 1932 foreign musicians had begun leaving Germany for two interrelated reasons. The first concerned the dismal German employment situation of the interwar years. Michael Danzi (1898-1986), an American guitarist and banjoist who lived in Berlin between 1922-1939 and enjoyed a very successful career as a performer and recording artist throughout Europe and North America, recalled in his memoirs that "foreign musicians had dominated the dance world of Berlin in the mid- and late-twenties," but that "uncertainty of the future and the struggles in 1932 had led many foreigners to seek their fortune some place else, and many musicians had left without any law to force them."¹³² With regards to orchestral musicians, employment rates were so low that in 1931 the editor of the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* solemnly declared that "German musical life is facing collapse."¹³³ The situation

¹³¹ Ibid., cited in Sternfeld, "Jazz Echoes," 357.

¹³² Michael Danzi and Rainer E. Lotz, *American Musician in Germany, 1924-1939: Memoirs of the Jazz, Entertainment, and Movie World in Berlin During the Weimar Republic and the Nazi Era-and in the United States* (Schmitt, DE: Norbert Ruecker, 1986), 90, 77.

¹³³ Paul Schwerts, "Deutsches Musikleben im Not!" *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*, 16 January 1931, cited in Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 14.

slowly improved during the early years of the Third Reich, with the number of unemployed professional musicians falling from approximately 24 000 in 1933 to 14 500 in 1936. According to Steinweis, however, extant RMK records suggest that improvement in the German musical employment market remained limited during the 1930s.¹³⁴

Backlash against foreign musicians by their German colleagues was a symptom of the poor economic situation in Germany. Accordingly, the second reason many foreign musicians began leaving Germany in the early years of the Third Reich was due to harassment from their German colleagues, particularly amongst *Unterhaltungsmusiker*. According to Kater, the Nazis justified such harassment on the basis that “non-Germans enjoyed an ill-deserved edge over the native players, and were exploiting this to their economic advantage.”¹³⁵ For instance, an article published on 6 May 1936 in the German music journal *Der Artist* bemoaned the disproportionate wages paid to foreigners versus native Germans, pointing out that 61 foreign musicians working in Düsseldorf were earning 6 768 Reichsmark per year, while 388 local German musicians remained unemployed.¹³⁶

For many German entertainment musicians, the primary cause of foreign domination of Germany’s musical employment market was the government’s failure to implement a regulatory system for foreign artists, a problem that had existed since the Weimar period. In 1931 the Berlin-based Kapellmeister Union underscored the problem in an open letter to the German government, asserting that “foreign bands are prevented from playing elsewhere due to sharply enforced regulations; therefore they flood Germany, particularly Berlin.” Their proposed

¹³⁴ Ibid., 96-97.

¹³⁵ Kater, *Different Drummers*, 37.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

solution—the implementation of a “permit for belonging to the music profession,” and the concurrent establishment of a Music Chamber to oversee and regulate the distribution of such permits—went unheeded by the Weimar government.¹³⁷

The Kapellmeister Union’s vision of a central government body to regulate musical professions bore a striking resemblance to the RKK, which was established two years later. The regulation of foreign musicians was finally addressed, at least in part, by Paragraph Six of the First Decree for the Implementation of the Reich Culture Chamber Law, which specified that the regulations of the RKK were compulsory for all artists, Germans and foreigners alike.¹³⁸ All foreign musicians living and working in the Third Reich were thereafter subjected to the same government requirements as their German counterparts. As evidenced by complaints such as Seydaack’s, however, the number of foreign musicians working in the Third Reich remained an issue after 1933. Part of the problem stemmed from the fact that, based on the language used, Paragraph Six was not applicable to visiting foreign musicians. This created an bureaucratic loophole through which it was possible for foreign performers who did not reside in Germany to work in the Third Reich without first being subjected to the RMK’s administrative processes.

It was for this reason that Raabe instituted the performance permit applications in 1937. In theory, all foreign musicians—regardless of whether or not they resided in the Third Reich—would finally be brought under the supervision of the RMK. In practice, however, many German employers continued to engage foreign musicians without first obtaining permission from the RMK. For instance, on 1 March 1939 an official from the RMK’s central office issued a letter of

¹³⁷ Franz Stepani and Karl Forscheritsch, “Der Reichskanzler und die Arbeitslosigkeit im Musikerberuf,” *Der Artist*, no. 2371 (29 May 1931), cited in Sternfeld, “Jazz Echoes,” 248-250.

¹³⁸ Schrieber, *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer* (1935), 7.

warning to the Grunewald-Kasino on Hubertusbader Straße in Berlin for employing the foreign musician Wladislaw Tuliczka without permission. Even though Tuliczka was a member of the RMK, the official warned the Grünewald-Kasino that it could face a fine of up to 100 000 Reichsmark for further infractions. In “serious cases,” he added, the employer could be completely banned from “*der Verbreitung musikalischen Kulturgutes*” (the dissemination of cultural goods) in the future.¹³⁹

In addition to employers ignoring Raabe’s ordinance, some German musicians believed that the actual enforcement of the performance permit applications was flawed. In 1938, for instance, the RMK’s Berlin Landesleiter complained to the central office that, with four hundred foreign musicians working in the Berlin region alone, “it is not understandable to professional musicians that work permits are dispensed to foreigners without consideration of the general employment situation.”¹⁴⁰

All of the issues that I have thus far discussed in this chapter were factors in one particular case found in the Performance Permit Collection. On 26 November 1938, the Reichstheaterkammer (Reich Theatre Chamber) informed the RMK that a university student named Viktor Nossoff (b. 1907) was currently working as an accompanist at the Komische Oper in Berlin.¹⁴¹ Evidently neither the Komische Oper nor Nossoff had fulfilled the employment requirements stipulated by the RMK: the former had not submitted a performance permit application to the RMK, and the latter—as a resident of Berlin—had not obtained a membership

¹³⁹ Stietz to the Grunewaldkasino, 1 March 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1364. My translation. No biographical information for Tuliczka is provided in the Performance Permit Collection other than his RMK membership number: 100 803.

¹⁴⁰ Cited in Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 91.

¹⁴¹ Orchester-Referent to the Kreismusikerschaft, 5 December 1938 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1870.

to the RMK.¹⁴² Three days after receiving the Reichstheaterkammer's notice, the RMK's Berlin Landesleiter, Wallmeyer, sent Nossoff a letter advising him that his membership to the RMK was necessary for him to continue working.¹⁴³

No response from Nossoff is included in the Performance Permit Collection, but on 5 December Wallmeyer wrote back to the RMK's central office to inform it that an official named Stade from the Auslandsstelle der Reichsmusikkammer (Foreign Office of the Reich Music Chamber) had informed him by telephone that "Victor Nossoff is stateless, falls under the *Ausländerbestimmungen* [Regulations for Foreigners] and therefore cannot become a member of the Reichsmusikkammer."¹⁴⁴ Wallmeyer then addressed the crux of the issue. With reference to the "*herrschenden Notlage*" (prevailing crisis) in the German musical employment market, Wallmeyer recommended that Nossoff be immediately relieved of his accompanist duties in order to give the job to an unemployed German Kapellmeister: "At the request of the NSDAP.-Gau Personalamt [Regional Personnel Office], I suggest bringing in Kapellmeister and Party loyalist Otto Klein... who is in a position to fulfill the accompanist duties in the Komischen Oper."¹⁴⁵ That same day Wallmeyer also sent a memo the Gau-Propagandaamt (Regional Propaganda Office) to inform it of his recommendation to replace Nossoff with Klein.¹⁴⁶

At this point, the issue seemed to have reached a conclusion. Wallmeyer had fulfilled the RMK's mandate: he had identified and seized a valuable accompanist position from a foreign

¹⁴² As Erik Levi notes, an aspect of the RKK that caused confusion amongst musicians involved with operatic or theatre work was the fact that they were required to hold membership to the Reichstheaterkammer, not the RMK. See Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, 33. It is therefore possible that Nossoff may have first applied for membership to the Reichstheaterkammer, although it was not specified as such in the Reichstheaterkammer's memo from 26 November 1937.

¹⁴³ Wallmeyer to Viktor Nossoff, 29 November 1938 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1868.

¹⁴⁴ Wallmeyer to the Orchester-Referent, 5 December 1938 (Ibid.), frame 1870.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Wallmeyer to the Gau-Propagandaamt, 5 December 1938 (Ibid.), frame 1872.

musician in order to provide work for an unemployed German. Two days later, however, Wallmeyer received an update from Stade at the Auslandsstelle der Reichsmusikkammer. Stade reported that Nossoff had been studying music in Berlin for three years, and that he was applying to collaborate with the Komische Oper for “at least 30 performances” of its production of “Aimee.”¹⁴⁷ Stade did not specify exactly when or to whom Nossoff had applied for permission, and no performance permit application from the Komische Oper had been received by the RMK at that point. That did not matter, however. According to Stade, Nossoff had been granted permission to continue working with the Komische Oper by a decree of the Propaganda Ministry from 28 November 1938.¹⁴⁸ With Wallmeyer’s decision superseded, on 13 December 1938 the Komische Oper’s General Director Hanns Horak submitted a performance permit application to the RMK seeking retroactive permission for Nossoff to continue his accompanist work from 8 December until the end of May 1939.¹⁴⁹ On 11 January 1939 the RMK finally issued its permission, which was now a mere formality, to the Komische Oper to continue employing Nossoff for an unspecified number of performances through 30 May of that year.¹⁵⁰

The Propaganda Ministry’s intervention in Nossoff’s case is exemplary of the increased authority it exerted over the RKK and its sub-chambers after 1937.¹⁵¹ But why did it intervene on Nossoff’s behalf, against the recommendation of the RMK’s Berlin Landesleiter? From the Nazi perspective, Wallmeyer’s logic was sound; he was ensuring that a German musician—and a party loyalist, no less—was given priority consideration for the employment opportunity. No

¹⁴⁷ Auslandsstelle der RMK to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 7 December 1938 (Ibid.), frame 1874.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Auftrittsgenehmigung for Viktor Nossoff, 17 January 1939 (Ibid.), frames 1878-1880.

¹⁵⁰ Der Präsident der RMK to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 11 January 1939 (Ibid.), frame 1888.

¹⁵¹ Alan E. Steinweis, “The Reich Chamber of Culture and the Regulation of the Culture Professions in Nazi Germany” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 1988), 162.

direct answer to this question was provided in Stade's memo. The performance permit application submitted by Horak on behalf of the Komische Oper does, however, provide an important clue towards understanding why the Propaganda Ministry disregarded Wallmeyer's recommendation. When asked why the Komische Oper was employing a foreigner, Horak stated that "Herr Nossoff only has two measures to play behind the stage" to highlight the performance of actress Frau Tschechowa, with whom he had he had "been friends for years."¹⁵²

On the surface, the inclusion this innocuous detail seems irrelevant in the context of an official government form. Once one understands who exactly Frau Tschechowa was, however, the implications of such a small detail become clear. She was the Russian-German actress Olga Tschechowa (also spelled Chekhova; 1897-1980). Although born in Russia, Tschechowa was the daughter of two Lutheran Germans, Konstantine Knipper and Yelena Luise Ried-Knipper. In 1915 she married Mikhail Chekhov, nephew of the great Russian playwright Anton Chekhov.¹⁵³ Three years later Tschechowa left Chekhov, and in 1920 she moved to Berlin.¹⁵⁴ Between 1920-1933 she appeared in over thirty films in both Germany and England, including Alfred Hitchcock's *Mary*, which was filmed in England in 1931.¹⁵⁵ Among her admirers were Hitler and Goebbels, and after the Nazis' assumption of power in 1933 Tschechowa became one of the most treasured actresses in the Third Reich. Goebbels frequently referred to her in his diary as

¹⁵² Auftrittsgenehmigung for Viktor Nossoff, 17 January 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frames 1878-1880. My translation.

¹⁵³ Antony Beevor, *The Mystery of Olga Chekhova* (New York: Penguin Group, 2004), 149.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁵⁵ William Grange, *Hitler Laughing: Comedy in the Third Reich* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Ltd., 2006), 98.

“eine charmante Frau” (a charming woman), and in 1935 the title of *Staatschauspielerin* (State Actress) was bestowed upon Tschechowa by the Nazi government.¹⁵⁶

Although Tschechowa spent much of her career as a film actress, she was also admired for her work in the theatre. One of the theatrical roles for which she was known was that of the title character in Heinz Coubier’s historical comedy *Aimée oder Der gesunde Menschenverstand*, which she successfully premiered in 1938.¹⁵⁷ This was the play for which the Komische Oper was employing Nossoff to accompany in late 1938. In light of Tschechowa’s eminent status in the Third Reich, it is not unreasonable to assume that Nossoff used his friendship with the actress as leverage to keep his position with Komische Oper. It would not have been the first time that Tschechowa used her standing with the Nazi elite to elicit special favours. In 1936, for instance, she received special permission from Hitler to retain her German nationality the day before she married the Belgian businessman Marcel Robyns.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, Tschechowa was in regular contact with the Propaganda Minister. In fact, on 4 May 1939 Goebbels attended one of the Komische Oper’s performances of *Aimée*, and following the performance he confided to his diary that although the play itself “was not up to much,” he wrote that “la Tschechowa played wonderfully. So full of charm and grace.”¹⁵⁹

The possibility that Tschechowa used her influence with Goebbels on Nossoff’s behalf is all but confirmed by a follow up memo written in August 1939. As I explained in Chapter 2, the

¹⁵⁶ Beevor, *The Mystery of Olga Chekhova*, 127, 149.

¹⁵⁷ For a synopsis of *Aimée*’s plot, see Grange, *Hitler Laughing*, 97-98.

¹⁵⁸ Beevor, *The Mystery of Olga Chekhova*, 138. Despite the fact that she was Russian-born, Tschechowa’s German ancestry allowed her to obtain German National status upon moving to the country in the early 1920s. According to legal practice at the time, German women who married foreign men automatically lost their German citizenship. See Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 150.

¹⁵⁹ Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, ed. Jana Richter, Part 1, 1923-1941, Volume 6, August 1938 – June 1939 (München: K.G. Saur Verlag GmbH, 1998), 337, cited in Beevor, *The Mystery of Olga Chekhova*, 150.

performance permits issued to foreign musicians were only valid for a specific period of time, and any work extensions had to be approved by the RMK. Thus, when the Komische Oper extended its series of performances of *Aimée* until 1 October 1939, Nossoff's contract extension was first brought to the attention of the RMK. In response to the request, the Auslandsstelle der Reichsmusikkammer sent a memo to the RMK's Berlin Landesleiter confirming Nossoff's engagement at the Komische Oper for the period from 1 September to 1 October 1939. The confirmation is unusual among cases in the Performance Permit Collection, however, since it was specified that Nossoff was "to be excused from membership to the Reichsmusikkammer" because of an existing authorization from the Propaganda Ministry.¹⁶⁰ Although the memo does not indicate whether or not Goebbels himself was consulted about Nossoff's case, the available evidence suggests that the Russian pianist was able to successfully circumvent the established bureaucratic process by exploiting his friendship with one of the regime's most valued actresses. As a foreign student, he likely had no other choice.

Reinforcing Schubert's observation of the "arbitrary fashion" in which the Nazis dealt with musical aesthetics (see Chapter 1), the Propaganda Ministry's response to the conflict created by Nossoff's employment is an illuminating example of the arbitrary and political nature of the Nazis' policy towards foreign musicians. Whereas Wallmeyer's decision to remove Nossoff from his position at the Komische Oper was made according to a primary RMK mandate—namely, the rehabilitation of the professional employment market for native German musicians—the subservient nature of that policy was candidly revealed by the Propaganda Ministry's nepotistic intervention.

¹⁶⁰ Auslandsstelle der RMK to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 21 August 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1896.

3.2 Combating the use of “foreign or foreign-sounding pseudonyms”

The second issue raised by Seydaack in his 1936 *Unterhaltungsmusik* article that Raabe attempted to address by implementing the performance permit applications was the use of foreign pseudonyms by both German and foreign musicians. Key to understanding the Nazis’ policy towards foreign musicians was the fact that, in their eyes, the presence of foreigners in Germany posed a threat to the progress of the Nazi cultural revolution from a multitude of angles. Even the most trivial of details were therefore dealt with great concern by the RMK. One such detail was the vaguely defined use of “*ausländischen oder ausländische klingenden Decknamen (Pseudonymen)*” (foreign or foreign-sounding aliases [pseudonyms]), a problem that was particularly prevalent amongst *Unterhaltungskapellen* (entertainment bands). Particularly problematic was the fact that the use of musical pseudonyms by Jewish and “non-Aryan” musicians often made it difficult for the RMK to identify them amongst their “Aryan” colleagues. Because the Nazi government sought to legislate anti-Semitism—which began with the passing of the Civil Service Law on 7 April 1933—the purge of Jewish and “non-Aryan” musicians from the RMK was likewise pursued bureaucratically, a process that was criticized by some as “fraught with delays and procedure inefficiency.”¹⁶¹ One critic of this process was Hans Brückner, the owner and editor of the Nazi bi-monthly music journal *Das Deutsche Podium*. In August 1935, he launched a personal attack against Jews and their influence in the German entertainment industry by compiling and publishing lists of Jewish musicians and publishers who

¹⁶¹ Kater, *Different Drummers*, 42.

were working in Germany under assumed names. He then collected and published his lists in an error-laden volume entitled *Musikalisches Juden-ABC*.¹⁶²

Brückner's personal effort to expose "undesirable" musicians active in the Third Reich was symptomatic of government's "hands-off approach" to musical censorship in the early years of the Third Reich. With regards to jazz, an orchestra's choice of repertoire—German or foreign—was left to the orchestra itself, in the hopes that musicians and audiences would "naturally gravitate towards German music."¹⁶³ It was only after that strategy inevitably failed that the RMK started attacking German musicians who performed under foreign pseudonyms. As Sternfeld notes, the "Americanization" of personal names by German musicians—such as "Karl to Charles"—was criticized as "a direct insult to the regime."¹⁶⁴ In April 1933 a contributor to *Der Artist* denounced the use of Anglo-American designations such as "swing orchestra," for fear that they would replace their German equivalents in the musical vernacular: "All of these Syncopators, Melodists, Harmonists [and] Bands would do well to hold up their true German names from further sinking since these foreign names stand in direct contrast to the spirit of the times..."¹⁶⁵ The RMK attempted to partially address the problem with an ordinance promulgated on 16 October 1935, whereby its members were prohibited from using "foreign or foreign sounding" pseudonyms.¹⁶⁶ Many German musicians believed that second-rate German entertainment bands were outselling their colleagues of greater talent simply because the former

¹⁶² Sternfeld, "Jazz Echoes," 371.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 283-284.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 361.

¹⁶⁵ "Ein Gebot der Stunde," *Der Artist*, no. 2468 (7 April 1933), cited in Sternfeld, "Jazz Echoes," 361.

¹⁶⁶ Der Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer, "Anordnung über die Führung von Decknamen (Pseudonymen)," 16 October 1935, in Karl-Friedrich Schrieber, Alfred Metten and Herbert Collatz, eds., *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer: Sammlung der für den Kulturstand geltenden Gesetze und Verordnungen, der amtlichen Anordnungen und Bekanntmachungen der Reichskulturkammer und ihrer Einzelkammern* (Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter, 1945), RMK III, 7, 8: 9. My translation.

were advertising themselves using the English description “swing orchestra,” instead of the proper German designation, *Kapelle* (band or ensemble).¹⁶⁷ According to Seydaack, the prohibition of foreign names and descriptive titles such as “the original blue boys” would prevent German audiences from being “swayed by fantasy names,” and instead facilitate a more objective judgment based on the quality of performance.¹⁶⁸ In reality, however, the ordinance had the opposite effect. Many German bands who had established themselves under a foreign name found their reputations thrown into obscurity after Germanizing their names. Consequently, they found it more and more difficult to compete against visiting foreign ensembles, to whom the ordinance did not apply.¹⁶⁹

The RMK’s prohibition against the use of foreign pseudonyms by German musicians was extended to foreign musicians themselves the following year. On 13 July 1936 RMK President Raabe promulgated another ordinance in which foreign entertainment musicians were thereafter prohibited from appearing in Germany under assumed names. Instead, foreign ensembles were expected to appear only under the names of their “responsible musical leaders.” According to Raabe, any exceptions were to be carried out only by special permission of the RMK.¹⁷⁰ One foreign ensemble that was granted an exception was that of Teddy Stauffer (1909-1991). As a consequence of increasing xenophobia amongst German entertainment musicians, in late 1936 the Swiss bandleader’s music was accused in Nazi music journals of promoting “Jew jazz” and

¹⁶⁷ Sternfeld, “Jazz Echoes,” 362.

¹⁶⁸ Seydaack, “Zu viel ausländische Musiker in Deutschland,” cited in Sternfeld, “Jazz Echoes,” 362.

¹⁶⁹ Axel Jockwer, “Unterhaltungsmusik im Dritten Reich” (PhD diss., Universität Konstanz, 2004), 156.

¹⁷⁰ Der Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer, “Durchführungsbestimmung zu den Anordnungen über die Führung von Decknamen (Verbot der Führung von Deck- und Sammelnamen durch Ausländer),” 13 July 1936, in Schrieber, *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer* (1945), RMK III, 7, 8: 10. My translation.

the “sabotage of German culture.”¹⁷¹ According to Stauffer himself, much of the music that his band performed *was* in fact written by “successful Jewish composers,” but the irreconcilable discrepancies inherent in the Nazis’ conception of “Jewish jazz” meant that the Nazis could not actually identify the difference between Jewish (unacceptable) and non-Jewish (acceptable) compositions.¹⁷² Thus, despite the harsh allegations by “rank-and-file [Nazi] fanatics,” that same year Stauffer was granted permission by the “all-powerful Ministry of Cultural Affairs [to continue] to perform under the name of ‘Teddy Stauffer’s Original Teddies.’”¹⁷³ The fact that he was granted special permission to continue using the Anglo-American name “Original Teddies” is confirmed by a performance permit application that was submitted in January 1939 by the Femina-Palast, a popular entertainment complex in Berlin. In its application, the Femina specified that the name under which Stauffer’s ensemble was to perform was “Teddy Stauffer mit seinen Original Teddies,” and permission for his ensemble to perform at the Femina from 1 September to 30 November 1939 was approved without issue.¹⁷⁴

As with most of its cultural prescriptions, the RMK’s failure to provide a substantive set of criteria by which to identify “foreign or foreign-sounding” pseudonyms allowed the Nazis freedom to judge musicians on a case-by-case basis. The arbitrary nature of the RMK’s ordinances against the use of musical pseudonyms is demonstrated in another case found in the Performance Permit Collection. On 3 October 1938, the Café Hoffman in Nollendorfplatz in Berlin submitted a performance permit application to the RMK seeking permission to hire five

¹⁷¹ Kater, *Different Drummers*, 37.

¹⁷² Teddy Stauffer, *Forever is a Hell of a Long Time: An Autobiography* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1976), 103.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 104. Whether the “Ministry of Cultural Affairs” to which Stauffer referred was the RMK or the Propaganda Ministry is not clear.

¹⁷⁴ *Auftrittsgenehmigung for Teddy Stauffer mit seinen Original Teddies, 14 January 1939* (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frames 1018-1020.

musicians of Humberto Coronado's (b.1897) Mexican entertainment ensemble. The group was to be hired for a four-month residency between 1 November 1938 and 28 February 1939, and the name under which the ensemble was to appear was Die 5 Coronados Mex. Marimba Kapelle.¹⁷⁵ The application was received by the RMK's Berlin Landesleiter two days later, and was immediately forwarded to the RMK's central office for consultation. After reviewing the application, on 12 October an official from the RMK's central office declared that the ensemble's name was in violation of Raabe's 1935 ordinance, and was therefore "inadmissible."¹⁷⁶ After both Coronado and the Café Hoffman were informed of the RMK's ruling, they immediately withdrew their application.¹⁷⁷ But one can only speculate as to exactly which part of the ensemble's name was in violation of RMK policy. In addition to the fact that it lacked foreign descriptors—such as Teddy Stauffer's aforementioned use of the Anglo-American name "Original Teddies"—it used the prescribed German designation *Kapelle*, and, in accordance with Raabe's 1936 ordinance, the ensemble was named for its leader. Nor was the inclusion of the noun "Marimba" likely a factor; in April 1939 the Guatemalan marimbist Jose Bolanos (b. 1898) was granted permission to perform at the Café Fandango in Berlin under the ensemble name Marimba Kapelle.¹⁷⁸

Specific reasons aside, a comparison of the antithetic ways in which the RMK dealt with Stauffer and Coronado constitutes an example of the "internal-contradictions" at work in the RMK's unsuccessful attempt to purge foreign elements from German musical culture. On the one hand, Stauffer's popular ensemble was not only granted special permission to perform under

¹⁷⁵ Auftrittsgenehmigung for Die 5 Coronados Mex. Marimba Kapelle, 3 October 1938 (Ibid.), frames 1402-1404.

¹⁷⁶ Der Präsident der RMK to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 12 October 1938 (Ibid.), frames 1408-1410.

¹⁷⁷ Der Präsident der RMK to the Café Hoffman, 15 December 1938 (Ibid.), frame 1424.

¹⁷⁸ Auftrittsgenehmigung for Marimba Kapelle, 4 April 1939 (Ibid.), frames 0954.

a foreign name, but they did so while openly performing jazz compositions that directly violated the RMK's policy against "degenerate" music. On the other hand, the RMK prevented Coronado's ensemble from even beginning its performance residency based on the untenable grounds that his ensemble's name was "unacceptable." When considered in relation to Seydaack's complaint, the contradictory treatment of these two ensembles suggests that the ordinances promulgated by the RMK to deal with the issue of "foreign or foreign-sounding" pseudonyms were not actually intended to uniformly combat their use. Instead, the ordinances merely provided RMK officials with legal grounds on which to arbitrarily deal with individuals, regardless of whether or not they were in violation of the ordinances themselves.

Seen from this perspective, it is not surprising that numerous musicians kept performing under foreign musical pseudonyms well into the Second World War. In February 1938, Raabe accused those musicians of demonstrating "a lack of discipline and understanding for the concerns of German culture."¹⁷⁹ But his comment raises a bigger question: Beyond the use of "foreign sounding" pseudonyms, what exactly were the "concerns of German culture," and how did the performance permit applications address those concerns?

3.3 Identifying and expelling racial and political "undesirables"

The third function of the performance permit applications directly addressed what was arguably the most important of the Nazis' "concerns for German culture": the identification and expulsion of racial and political "undesirables." As I explained in Chapters 1 and 2, Nazi

¹⁷⁹ Der Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer, "Bekanntmachung über die Führung von Decknamen," 16 February 1938, in Schrieber, *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer* (1945), RMK III, 9-11: 11, cited in Sternfeld, "Jazz Echoes," 363.

officials sought to legitimize their persecution of Jewish and other “non-Aryan” musicians through government legislation. Thus, while it is true that many prominent Jewish musicians were forced from their positions in the weeks immediately following the passing of the Civil Service Law in April 1933, both “Aryan” and “non-Aryan” musicians alike were initially permitted membership to the RMK when it was founded in November of that year.¹⁸⁰ Following this initial period of acceptance, one of the first steps taken to identify and remove racial and political “undesirables” from the RMK were mandatory questionnaires that were handed out to all of its members, in which questions were asked about their religious and ethnic backgrounds. That strategy proved largely impractical, and was eventually discontinued in 1938.¹⁸¹ The sheer number of registered RMK members in each region of the Third Reich made it impossible for officials to research and determine the racial “acceptability” of each musician. Further complicating the issue was the fact that the Nazis had not developed a unified policy to deal with German musicians who had Jewish spouses, as well as *Halbjuden* (“half-Jews”) and *Mischlinge* (persons of “mixed blood”). Kater explains that, after the passing of the Nuremberg Race Laws in 1935, “in many respects ‘quarter-Jews’ were to be treated like ‘Aryans’... whereas ‘half-Jews’ might enjoy such protection, but could also be counted as full Jews [*Volljuden*].”¹⁸²

The system was not completely ineffective, however. According to Sternfeld, by the end of the Third Reich the RMK expelled more members than any other sub-chamber of the RKK—a total of 2 310.¹⁸³ The legal basis on which “undesirables” were removed from the RMK was Paragraph 10 of the First Decree for the Implementation of the Reich Culture Chamber Law,

¹⁸⁰ Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 50.

¹⁸¹ Kater, *The Twisted Muse*, 81.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁸³ Sternfeld, “Jazz Echoes,” 315.

which stipulated in ambiguous terms that “admission into a chamber may be refused, or a member may be expelled, when there exist facts from which it is evident that the person in question does not possess the necessary reliability [*Zuverlässigkeit*] and aptitude [*Eignung*] for the practice of his activity.”¹⁸⁴ The calculated use of the obfuscating terms “reliability” and “aptitude” allowed the RMK freedom to interpret and appropriate the law as they deemed necessary. Seydaack provided an interpretation of the terms of Paragraph Ten in his 1936 *Unterhaltungsmusik* article, explaining that “[the] term ‘aptitude’ should be understood in terms of pure expert skill. The term ‘reliability’ should be understood in terms of political, moral and economic reliability.” He then directly referenced the clause’s implications for foreign musicians, asserting that “[the] Reichsmusikkammer must prevent politically unreliable or non-Aryan foreigners from being active in Germany.”¹⁸⁵

Indeed, foreign members of the RMK were as vulnerable to expulsion from the chamber as their German colleagues. But, as I explained above, until 1937 there had been no bureaucratic system put in place to similarly vet the “acceptability” of *visiting* foreign musicians. Raabe introduced the performance permit applications in 1937 to fulfill this requirement. Much like the questionnaires that were handed out to members of the RMK, both landed residents and visiting foreign musicians were thereafter required to provide personal information concerning their country and date of birth, nationality, marital status and religious beliefs. These questions directly sought to identify racial and political “undesirables,” a goal that often necessitated the foreign musician in question to provide the RMK with further information on his or her descent (*Abstammung*). In some cases, this meant that existing members of the RMK had to surrender

¹⁸⁴ Schrieber, *Das Recht der Reichskulturkammer* (1935), 4, cited in Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 45.

¹⁸⁵ Seydaack, “Zu viel ausländische Musiker in Deutschland,” cited in Sternfeld, “Jazz Echoes,” 315.

their membership identification card to the authorities until the “acceptability” of their racial background was proven. This was the case for the Latvian violinist Rudolf Stiebrs (b. 1906). In December 1938, the Café Gloria in Berlin submitted a performance permit application with the intention of employing Stiebrs, under the “acceptable” German name Kapelle Rudolf Stiebrs, for the period between 1 September 1939-31 January 1940. The employment was to be part of a Latvian-German orchestra exchange with the German musician Karl Reichelt (b. 1883).¹⁸⁶ Even though he was a member of the RMK, the chamber withheld permission for Stiebrs to perform until he submitted further proof of his racial decent.¹⁸⁷ No such proof is included in the records of the Performance Permit Collection. At some point in the following months Stiebrs seems to have satisfied the RMK request, however, because six months later the Café Gloria submitted another application on his behalf, which was approved without further issue.¹⁸⁸

Other foreign musicians were subjected to the same scrutiny for political reasons. In the case of the Czech multi-instrumentalist Franz Chladek (b. 1909), permission for him to perform at the Femina-Palast took nearly six months to be approved. On 4 October 1939 Chladek was initially accused by RMK’s central office of performing without official permission from the chamber.¹⁸⁹ That day he was ordered to provide copies of his birth and baptismal certificates, as well as those of his parents and grandparents.¹⁹⁰ Chladek’s situation had apparently worsened when, on 12 October, the RMK’s central office was informed that the Czech musician had been arrested by the Gestapo in response to “unresolved rumours” that his father-in-law had been

¹⁸⁶ Auftrittsgenehmigung for Kapelle Rudolf Stiebrs, 18 December 1938 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frames 1270-1272.

¹⁸⁷ Der Präsident der RMK to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 2 January 1939 (Ibid.), frame 1274.

¹⁸⁸ Auftrittsgenehmigung for Kapelle Rudolf Stiebrs, 6 January 1939 (Ibid.), frames 1266-1268; der Präsident der RMK to Café Gloria, 13 June 1936 (Ibid.), frame 1264.

¹⁸⁹ Der Präsident der RMK to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 4 October 1938 (Ibid.), frames 1034-1035.

¹⁹⁰ Der Präsident der RMK to Franz Chladek, 4 October 1938 (Ibid.), frame 1036.

frequently travelling between Berlin and Czechoslovakia with members of the Sokol, the Czech gymnastics society that promoted Czech nationalism.¹⁹¹ During the RMK's ensuing investigation it was discovered that, for fear of being taken in custody, Chladek had temporarily abandoned his contract with the Femina, and on 17 October 1938 he left Germany with his wife in order to return his "former workplace" in Prague.¹⁹² Not surprisingly, upon Chladek's return to Germany his membership to the RMK was revoked. "I take from his behaviour," wrote an official from the RMK's central office, "that he does not consider the German Reich his permanent residence. He therefore does not fulfill the requirements for membership to my chamber..."¹⁹³ Chladek was given permission to work on a temporary basis, and on 28 November 1938 the Femina submitted a performance permit application to the RMK for Chladek to perform with the ensemble of Richard Kratochwil during a two-month engagement between 1 February-31 March 1939.¹⁹⁴ The issue of Chladek's nervous behaviour remained, however, and over the next three months the question as to whether or not he be permitted to remain in the Third Reich was investigated by both the RMK and the Gestapo.

Fortunately for Chladek, his case was a representative example of the inefficient methods used by the RMK to identify and purge racial and political "undesirables" from the Third Reich. After months without receiving a firm decision from the Gestapo concerning Chladek's status in Germany, on 2 March 1939 an official from the RMK's central office informed the RMK's

¹⁹¹ M. Address to der Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer, 12 October 1938 (Ibid.), frame 1038. Founded in mid-nineteenth century, the Sokol was a Czech gymnastics society whose members "were fervent nationalists and apparent from encouraging physical exercise did not neglect publicising and spreading their nationalist ideology." See John F. N. Bradley, *Czech Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 24.

¹⁹² M. Address to the Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer, 27 October 1938 (Ibid.), frame 1040. My translation.

¹⁹³ Stietz to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 3 November 1938 (Ibid.), frame 1042. My translation.

¹⁹⁴ M. Address to the Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer, 18 November 1938 (Ibid.), frame 1044; Auftrittsgenehmigung for Kapelle Richard Krato, 28 November 1938 (Ibid.), frames 1046-1048.

Berlin Landesleiter that, in the absence of such a decision, the Femina's performance permission application was thereafter confirmed.¹⁹⁵ The Femina subsequently submitted performance permit applications for Chladek to perform with Richard Kratochwil's ensemble on two further occasions in 1939, neither of which met with any resistance from RMK officials.¹⁹⁶

The degree to which the RMK was successful in bringing all foreign musicians under their jurisdiction remains an open question. Nevertheless, the records of the Performance Permit Collection offer hard evidence of how the RMK dealt with the "Foreigner Question" in Germany during the 1930s. As can be seen in the accompanying correspondence in particular, the performance permit process was intended to address the three major issues that Seydaack identified in his 1936 *Unterhaltungsmusik* article. As I have shown, however, the practical implementation of that process was flawed, and sometimes purposefully so. In other words, the applications provided the RMK with the information it needed to make an informed decisions regarding the "acceptability" of a foreign musician, yet that information was often arbitrarily manipulated or appropriated for other purposes.

The cases examined from the Performance Permit Collection in this chapter were selected because they are representative of the Nazis' contradictory policy at work. But, as I noted in Chapter 2, the records of the Performance Permit Collection constitute only a fragment of the total number of extant records concerning the supervision of foreign musicians in pre-war Nazi

¹⁹⁵ Steitz to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 2 March 1939 (Ibid.), frame 1072.

¹⁹⁶ Auftrittsgenehmigung for Kapelle Richard Krato, 3 May 1939 (Ibid.), frames 1084-1086; Auftrittsgenehmigung for Kapelle Richard Krato, 27 November 1939 (Ibid.), frames 1078-1080.

Germany, and in none of these records is it indicated that any individuals were detained, imprisoned or worse as a result of submitting a performance permit to the RMK. If such cases do exist in records beyond those of the Performance Permit Collection, however, it is my hope that I have fairly demonstrated how these types of records can be used to rediscover the careers of these performers, much in the same way current scholars are rediscovering the careers of Jewish composers whose careers were silenced by the Nazi regime.

CHAPTER 4

Foreign Musicians as Tools of Diplomacy

In 1946 André François-Poncet (1887-1978) published a memoir about his time as the former French ambassador to Berlin from 1931-1938. As a high-ranking diplomat based in the heart of the Third Reich, François-Poncet was, according to the American journalist and Third Reich historian William Shirer, “on better personal terms with Hitler than any other envoy from a democratic state.”¹⁹⁷ Writing specifically about Germany’s cooperation in international events such as the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games and the International Exposition Dedicated to Art and Technology in Modern Life, held in Paris between 25 May and 25 November 1937, François-Poncet observed that

The many games, fêtes, visits, the cordially exchanged remarks, the personal contacts established on the occasion of the expositions, the events, as well as the effusions that followed one after another from mid-1936 to the end of 1937, allowed us to have an optimistic view of the situation. But this was at most an intermission between acts, during which time refreshments and bonbons were served, and after which the tragedy resumed.

Hitler used this interlude to accelerate, behind the scenes, the Reich’s preparations for war, while in the theater, he reassured the public and tried to lull to sleep the vigilance of their governments. Nothing better illuminates his profound duplicity.¹⁹⁸

François-Poncet’s use of the theatre to describe the interwar years—that which he described as the “intermission between acts”—is a befitting metaphor to describe the approach to foreign relations taken by the Nazis during the 1930s. On the stage, they attempted to cultivate

¹⁹⁷ William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1960), 199.

¹⁹⁸ André François-Poncet, *Souvenirs d’une ambassade à Berlin: Septembre 1931-Octobre 1938* (Paris: Flammarion, 1946), 283, cited in the introduction to Karen Fiss *Grand Illusion: The Third Reich, the Paris Exposition, and the Cultural Seduction of France* (Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 2007).

an attitude of rapprochement with nations such as France and England, while behind the scenes they rearmed their military and prepared for war.

In this chapter, I will look at the ways in which performances by foreign musicians were appropriated by the Nazis as tools of foreign policy during the 1930s. I will specifically examine two orchestra exchanges between German and foreign ensembles that serve as compelling examples of how the Nazis used such exchanges for foreign propaganda and real political benefits.

4.1 “An Anglo-German Occasion”: Sir Thomas Beecham and the London Philharmonic Orchestra in Germany, November 1936

One of the most publicized orchestra exchanges involving Nazi Germany took place in late 1936. Between 2-14 November the Dresden State Opera company presented twelve concerts in London, including three orchestral concerts and nine performances of five different operas.¹⁹⁹ In exchange, on 13 November Sir Thomas Beecham (1879-1961) and the London Philharmonic Orchestra embarked on a ten day tour of Germany, during which they performed eight concerts in eight different cities: Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Munich, Stuttgart, Ludwigshafen, Frankfurt and Cologne.

The orchestra exchange was not originally conceived as such, however. As London Philharmonic violist Thomas Russell later recalled, the two orchestras were invited to perform in each others' country separately.²⁰⁰ It was not until noted impresario Harold Holt (1886-1953) had engaged the Dresden State Opera Company to come to London that Joachim von Ribbentrop, a

¹⁹⁹ “Dresden State Opera—A Visit to Covent Garden,” *Times* (London), 23 October 1936, 12.

²⁰⁰ Thomas Russell, *Philharmonic Decade* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1945), 44.

Nazi foreign diplomat who would be appointed German Ambassador to Great Britain in August 1936, extended an invitation to Beecham and the London Philharmonic to tour Germany during the same period.²⁰¹ For reasons on which I will elaborate below, it is important to emphasize the fact that the Dresden State Opera Company was brought to London by a private music agent, whereas the London Philharmonic's German tour was initiated by a high-ranking representative of the Nazi government.

Although not without its detractors, the arrival of the Dresden State Opera Company was greeted with enthusiasm by London audiences. In addition to the fact that the company brought its entire staff—including its general music director and conductor Karl Böhm (1894-1981), full orchestra, technical staff and stage hands—Richard Strauss (1864-1949) made two appearances with the orchestra. On 6 November 1936 Strauss directed a performance of his opera *Ariadne auf Naxos* at the Royal Opera House, and the following evening he conducted the Dresden orchestra in an instrumental concert at Queen's Hall. All other performances, which included stagings of Strauss' *Der Rosenkavalier*, Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, Mozart's *Don Juan* and *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* (both sung in German), as well two additional orchestral concerts at Queen's Hall, were conducted by Böhm.²⁰² Given its role as a cultural ambassador for the National Socialist state, it is not surprising that all works performed by the Dresden Opera in London were by German or Austrian composers.

²⁰¹ The exact timeline of events is unclear. The Dresden State Opera Company's upcoming London performances were announced in the *London Times* on 29 June 1936. Exactly one month later, on 29 July it was announced in the *Times* that Beecham and the London Philharmonic had accepted an invitation from Ribbentrop to tour Germany.

²⁰² Like Herbert von Karajan (1908-1989), Böhm was an Austrian who led a successful career in Nazi Germany. For more on Böhm's career in Dresden, see Franz Endler *Karl Böhm: ein Dirigentenleben* (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1981), 62-73.

The Dresden Opera's first performance at Covent Garden on 2 November was reviewed favorably in the London *Times*: "Dresden has sent us for a fortnight its whole company...a company with great traditions handed down from a long past, and, as the opening performance of *Der Rosenkavalier* showed, one which maintains those traditions in the present by the consistence and coherence of its presentation."²⁰³ The Dresden Opera's remaining performances were reviewed with similar esteem, although critics in the *Times* found that many of the vocal soloists' performances fell short of the standards set by the orchestra. For example, the "lucidity" of the orchestra's performance during *Tristan und Isolde* on 3 November was described as "most generous to singers," yet the reviewer found it "unfortunate...that there were few voices capable of taking advantage of their opportunity." The voice of Austrian soprano Anny Konetzni (1902-1968), who performed the role of Isolde, was apparently "often so little under control that the listeners could not be sure what note she intended." Similarly, Julius Pölzer's performance of Tristan was reported to have been "often aimed at the right kind of expressiveness," although his vocal tone lacked "resonance...and so often produce[d] harsh, unlovely sounds."²⁰⁴ Similar assessments were also made in two other reviews of the same performance. A critic for the *Musical Times* wrote that although *Tristan* was "undeniably well produced," the Dresden Opera's decision to bring it to London "was a mistake, [as] the opera depends too much upon two singers," neither of whom were able to bring the opera to life.²⁰⁵ A review in the *Monthly Musical Record* was even more critical of the two lead performers, opining that Konetzni was

²⁰³ "Dresden Opera in London—Opening Night at Covent Garden," *Times* (London), 3 November 1936, 14.

²⁰⁴ "Opera at Covent Garden—Dresden Company's Visit—'Tristan und Isolde,'" *Times* (London), 4 November 1936, 12.

²⁰⁵ McN., "Dresden State Opera," *Musical Times* 77, no. 1126 (December 1936): 1131.

“greatly gifted but not finely artistic in the use of her imposing organ,” and that Pölzer’s voice “was dry and barking, with no capacity for melodious expression.”²⁰⁶

It would be wrong to assert that the Dresden Opera as a whole received a hostile reception in London, however. Even the *Monthly Musical Record*, which deemed the Dresden Opera’s performance of Mozart’s *Don Juan* to have been “without a redeeming feature,” was for the most part enthusiastic about the German opera company’s London residency. For its part, the *Times* gave each of the Dresden Opera’s twelve performances in London polite, if not always exuberant critiques. The newspaper’s reserved admiration for the Dresden Opera was perhaps best exemplified by a review published after its performances of *Don Juan* and *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* on 4-5 November, respectively. From the moment the latter concert began, a *Times* critic observed that

it seemed certain that *Figaro* would live and move with a resilience which was what had been missed from the performance of *Don Juan* the night before. The latter calls for great voices and a great style of singing in a way that *Figaro* does not, and the Dresden Company, for all its virtues, is not one of great voices. Part of the charm of last night’s performance was no one was tempted to get on vocal stilts. Everyone was singing easily and without effort; the voices blended in a beautiful consort and the vivacity of the action never flagged.²⁰⁷

Not surprisingly, it was Strauss’ involvement in the Dresden Opera’s visit that caused the most excitement amongst London audiences. In honor of his visit, two of England’s most prestigious musical organizations threw a weeklong musical celebration. On 4 November, the Dutch conductor Joseph Willem Mengelberg (1871-1951) dedicated his performance of Strauss’ *Ein Heldenleben* with the B.B.C Symphony Orchestra at Queen’s Hall to the composer.²⁰⁸ The

²⁰⁶ “Opera and Concerts,” *Monthly Musical Record* 66, no. 782 (December 1936): 228.

²⁰⁷ “Dresden Opera Company—‘Figaro’ at Covent Garden,” *Times* (London), 6 November 1936, 14.

²⁰⁸ “Herr Mengelberg at Queen’s Hall—The American Election,” *Times* (London), 4 November 1936, 4.

following evening, the Royal Philharmonic Society paid homage to the venerated composer—who was in attendance—by personally presenting him with the Society’s gold medal during a concert by the London Philharmonic at Queen’s Hall. Following the medal presentation, which was made by Sir Hugh Allen (1896-1946), Sir Adrian Boult (1889-1983) led the orchestra in a “resplendent” interpretation of Strauss’ *Also sprach Zarathustra*.²⁰⁹

Crowning what the *Times* deemed Strauss’ “week in the music of London” was the composer’s performance of *Ariadne auf Naxos* with the Dresden Opera on 7 November at Covent Garden.²¹⁰ A correspondent for the *New York Times* reported that “the Dresden company touched a higher level in ‘Ariadne’ than in any other opera produced during their short stay [in London].”²¹¹ The sold-out concert also received what was by far the *Times*’ most enthusiastic review of the Dresden Opera’s residency. The German soprano Marta Fuchs (1898-1974), who sang Ariadne, was reportedly “at her best in the long opening scena of Ariadne’s lament on which Harlequin’s little lyric, ‘Lieben, Hassen, Hoffen Zagen,’ infringes with piquant effect.” Her German colleague Erna Sack’s (1898-1972) performance of Zerbinetta’s *coloratura* rondo was “as brilliant and hard as could be desired.” Overall, however, what appealed most to the *Times* critic was “mollowness” of the music itself, as well as “the ease with which in conducting it [Strauss] obtained what he wanted from singers and players without any apparent physical effort on his own part.”²¹²

Strauss concluded his London visit the following evening by conducting the Dresden orchestra in an instrumental concert at Queen’s Hall. Included on the programme was Mozart’s

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ “Covent Garden Opera—‘Ariadne auf Naxos,’” *Times* (London), 7 November 1936, 10.

²¹¹ “Richard Strauss Directs in London—Leads Dresden Opera,” *New York Times*, 13 December 1936, X9.

²¹² “Covent Garden Opera—‘Ariadne auf Naxos,’” *Times* (London), 7 November 1936, 10.

Symphony No. 40 in G minor, KV. 550, as well as two of Strauss' tone poems, *Don Quixote* and *Till Eulenspiegel*. In a review of the concert, a *Times* critic noted a parallel between the programme Strauss presented that evening and one that he had presented in London decades earlier, a time when "Strauss' tone poems were considered dangerously modern, when he was re-teaching Mozart to his post-Wagnerian generation, and when in fact he came to Queen's Hall to conduct Mozart's G Minor Symphony with one or more of his own works, just as he did on Saturday."²¹³ In other words, by presenting a programme so strikingly similar to the one he performed in London earlier in his career, it was, in a sense, indicative of Strauss' own modern-conservative compositional trajectory. But, as the *Times* critic pointed out, the musical conservatism exemplified by every other programme presented by the Dresden Opera in London raised a bigger question about the orchestra exchange:

These visits ought to be regarded as diplomatic missions, and their business is to show the country visited the musical mind of the country from which the visitors come, that is the musical mind of to-day, not of 30 years ago... We are told that decadent modern tendencies in the arts are vigorously suppressed [in Germany], but has that brought a healthy crop of young German composers? These are questions which the Dresden orchestra's programmes do not answer.²¹⁴

It is significant to note that, until this review, there had been no discussion in the *Times* of the foreign relations aspect of the Dresden Opera's residency. Unlike some British newspapers that were more forthright in their criticism of the Nazis' persecution of musicians in Germany, the *Times* maintained a conspicuously neutral stance throughout its coverage of the orchestra

²¹³ "Dresden Symphony Orchestra—Dr. Richard Strauss," *Times* (London), 9 November 1936, 8. The critic was likely referring to the concert Strauss presented at Queen's Hall on 29 June 1914, during which he presented a very similar programme: *Don Juan*, *Tod und Verklärung*, *Till Eulenspiegel*, and Mozart's Symphony No. 40 in G minor, KV. 550. For a review of the 1914 concert, see "Dr. Strauss at Queen's Hall—His Conducting of Mozart," *Times* (London), 27 June 1914, 10; see also Raymond Holden, *Richard Strauss: A Musical Life* (New Haven, and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 132.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

exchange.²¹⁵ Rather, contributors to the newspaper viewed the exchange as a valuable opportunity for both countries to proudly exhibit the current state of their national musical cultures.²¹⁶ This was best articulated in an article published on 14 November, the day of the Dresden Opera's final performance in London. Entitled "Musical Visits: The Value of Exchange," the article enthusiastically reminded its British readers of the depth of their own current musical culture. It also applauded the opportunity availed by such exchanges to promote modern English performers and composers in Europe, and to likewise familiarize British audiences with contemporary music from the continent:

It is now widely recognized both in Europe and America that this country is making an appreciable contribution to the music of our time, both in composition and performance. [...] So while it is true, as our Berlin correspondent said the other day, that "British composers are on the whole little known [in Germany] outside the expert circle," it is equally true that contemporary German composers are practically unknown in England, even within the expert circle. We would not forgo their performances of the classics which already form a bond between us, but we do wish to get a better understanding of their present musical life. That presumably is the chief justification of these exchange visits.²¹⁷

While the Dresden Opera was wrapping up their successful residency in London, on 12 November 1936 Beecham and the London Philharmonic Orchestra arrived in Berlin to begin their controversial German tour. Although the Dresden Opera received a civil welcome in

²¹⁵ As Erik Levi notes, some British music periodicals, such as the *Monthly Musical Record*, were openly critical of the Nazis' persecution of Jewish musicians in Germany, while others "adopted a more measured stance, and in some cases, even published material that could be deemed sympathetic to the Nazis." See Erik Levi, "Appeasing Hitler? Anglo-German Music Relations, 1933-1939," in *Music and Propaganda in the Short Twentieth Century*, ed. Massimiliano Sala (Turnhout, BE: Brepols, 2014), 19-36.

²¹⁶ The need for such a mutually-beneficial orchestra exchange had been indentified in the *Musical Times* in February 1935. Complaining that German orchestra's were the sole benefactors of current musical exchanges with Britain, one commentator wrote that "[t]oday, the best English orchestras can teach their Continental rivals as well as learn from them, and the need now is for a scheme of mutual visits, with programmes designed (at least in part) to promote in the countries concerned a better knowledge of one another's contemporary music." See "Notes and News," *Musical Times* 76, no. 1104 (February 1935): 158.

²¹⁷ "Musical Visits—The Value of Exchange," *Times* (London), 14 November 1936, 10.

London, many Britons had criticized Beecham for accepting Ribbentrop's invitation.²¹⁸ The Jewish members of the orchestra were understandably hesitant about the prospect of performing in the Third Reich, as were many of the orchestra's Great War veterans. Both groups, however, were ultimately persuaded to participate in the tour by Beecham.²¹⁹ Although the English conductor was staunchly opposed to the imposition of politics on his art, the tour was a significant milestone in the history of the London Philharmonic. In addition to becoming the first British orchestra to ever tour Germany, the London Philharmonic also became the first foreign orchestra to perform at Leipzig's famed Gewandhaus.²²⁰ Furthermore, its concert in Ludwigshafen was presented in the concert hall of the local BASF works, a German chemical company that was at the time working on a new medium for recording, namely a form of tough cellulose tape coated with iron-oxide. Part of the London Philharmonic's concert was recorded using this new technology, and thus became one of the first orchestral recordings ever made on tape.²²¹

Based on contemporary accounts of the orchestra's first day in Germany, it was immediately clear that the Nazis saw a very different "value" in the orchestra exchange than the British. Writing from Berlin on the eve of the London Philharmonic's first concert in the Third Reich, the *New York Times* correspondent Otto Tolischus called the orchestra exchange "perhaps the first musical barter deal in history." He explained that the British pounds earned by the

²¹⁸ Berta Geissmar, *Two Worlds of Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975), 200.

²¹⁹ John Lucas, *Thomas Beecham: An Obsession with Music* (Woodridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2008), 231.

²²⁰ Levi, "Appeasing Hitler," 31; Russell, *Philharmonic Decade*, 44.

²²¹ Lyndon Jenkins, liner notes to *The Formative Years: Pioneering Sound Recordings from the 1930s*, London Philharmonic Orchestra and Sir Thomas Beecham (CD, London Philharmonic Ltd., EMI Records Ltd. © and © 2009).

Dresden Opera from its performances in London were in fact to be used to pay for the London Philharmonic's tour of Germany. More importantly, Tolischus reported that

In conformity with the National Socialist idea about the totalitarian scope of politics, the German welcomers stressed the political significance of this musical exchange, and although Sir Thomas confined himself to celebrating Germany as music's oldest home, the Germans will insist on hearing a "hands-across-the-Channel" motif in his harmony.²²²

The London Philharmonic's German tour opened on 13 November at the Philharmonie in Berlin. With Hitler, Goebbels, Rudolph Hess and other senior Nazi officials in attendance, Beecham and his orchestra presented a programme that included Dvorak's Rhapsody No. 3 in A-flat major; Haydn's Symphony No. 5 in A major, Hob.I.5; the Overture to Berlioz's *Le Carnaval romain*; the Handel-Beecham ballet-suite *The Gods Go a-Begging*; and Elgar's *Enigma Variations*.²²³ Following the concert, a Berlin correspondent for the London *Times* reported that "Berlin's response to the happy idea of Herr von Ribbentrop...of inviting Sir Thomas Beecham and the orchestra to play in Germany was to make of to-night a striking Anglo-German occasion." The Berlin audience was apparently "enormously" pleased with the London Philharmonic's performance, and the sole English work on the programme, Elgar's *Enigma Variations*, garnered the most interest from the audience.²²⁴

In keeping with the newspaper's politically-impartial stance, however, the *Times*' correspondent avoided the political connotations of the "striking Anglo-German occasion" in his or her comments. The degree to which the Nazis emphasized the political significance of concert—and indeed the entire tour—was more explicitly reported by a Berlin correspondent for

²²² Otto D. Tolischus, "Berlin Greets British Orchestra," *New York Times*, 13 November 1936, 1.

²²³ Geissmar, *Two Worlds of Music*, 203. Geissmar mistakenly identified Haydn's Fifth Symphony as being in D major, not A major.

²²⁴ "London Philharmonic in Berlin—An Anglo-German Occasion," *Times* (London), 14 November 1936, 12.

the *New York Times*. After reporting that Beecham had been received by the Führer at the Reich Chancellery prior to the concert, the correspondent noted that “Hitler’s presence at the concert had both musical and diplomatic grounds.” More to the point, it was reported that the “honors paid to Sir Thomas here are undoubtedly appreciated in Britain, particularly in the ranks of the aristocracy and London society. And it is on the social side that the Reich’s diplomatic efforts have been concentrated.”²²⁵

Indeed, both the tour’s participants and international observers of the tour were aware of its political exploitation by the Nazis. For members of the orchestra, the constant emphasis on the “social side” of the exchange became increasingly overbearing as the tour progressed. Russell later recalled that the overzealous post-concert receptions hosted by the Nazis each night eventually worked against their intended purpose: “The propaganda object of our tour became more and more obvious as one town followed another, but the lack of subtlety rendered most of it useless and some of us returned with stronger feelings against the Nazis than ever.”²²⁶ The tour’s political implications were certainly not lost on the English conductor. Halfway through the tour, the British consul in Munich reported to Sir Eric Phipps (1875-1945), the British ambassador to Germany, informing him that Beecham was fed up with the experience:

He was a musician and he wished to be regarded and his orchestra to be regarded from a strictly musical point of view, instead of which it appeared that they were no more than objects of political propaganda and living instances of “Anglo-German cultural relations.” All the emphasis in the press has been laid on this side of the tour and far too little on the musical side. He had wished, when in Munich, to see the town again and meet some old friends in the musical world—this had been denied to him. He had seen Prime Ministers,

²²⁵ “Hitler at Berlin Concert of London Philharmonic,” *New York Times*, 14 November 1936, 22.

²²⁶ Russell, *Philharmonic Decade*, 44.

Lord Mayors and Gauleiters and had had hardly time to rehearse. His orchestra was being ruined by festivities that lasted half the night.²²⁷

Although it was clear to everyone involved that the Nazis' were using Beecham and the London Philharmonic as "objects of political propaganda," the exact nature of that propaganda was equivocal. On the one hand, the Nazis took advantage of the international spotlight that accompanied the orchestra exchange to demonstrate the greatness of "New Germany." Evidence to this point was provided in a personal account of the tour by London Philharmonic bass clarinetist Richard Savage. In the January 1937 edition of the *Monthly Musical Record* he reported that anything predating 1924 "was merely mentioned," and that "the greatest pains were taken to convince us that this 'New Germany' was the most wonderful thing ever created."²²⁸ Further to that point, the Nazis may have also seen potential in the orchestra exchange for domestic propaganda. As I noted in Chapter 1, many renowned foreign performers had either left or boycotted Germany since 1933. Consequently, the appearance of Beecham and the London Philharmonic in Germany constituted an opportunity for the Nazis to offer its citizens proof that musical life in the Third Reich was not descending into a xenophobic cultural vacuum. German audiences certainly responded favourably to the visit: tickets to each of the London Philharmonic's nine concerts sold out.²²⁹

Domestic motivations aside, a closer examination of the Nazis' foreign policy towards Great Britain reveals the degree of importance placed on cultural exchanges with the British. As I stated above, the difference between how the orchestra exchange was received by the British

²²⁷ Consul General D. St Clair Gainer's monthly report to Sir Eric Phipps, 27 November 1936, cited in Lucas, *Thomas Beecham*, 233-234.

²²⁸ R. Temple Savage, "The London Philharmonic Orchestra in Germany," *Monthly Musical Record* 67, no. 783 (January 1937): 10. Why Savage specified 1924 is not exactly clear. It may have been a reference to 20 December 1924, the day that Hitler was released on parole following the Nazis' failed "Beer Hall Putsch" in November 1923.

²²⁹ Geissmar, *Two Worlds of Music*, 177.

and how it was received by the Nazis—musico-centric versus political—was prefigured by the difference between the two parties responsible for organizing each half of the exchange. On the British side, officials from neither the government nor the monarchy had any involvement in bringing the Dresden Opera to London. The German company was invited by Holt solely as a musical enterprise, and, to the best of my knowledge, at no point did British diplomats acknowledge any political significance of the orchestra exchange.

On the Nazis' side, however, the political implications of the London Philharmonic's German tour were clear from its inception. The Nazi official who invited the British orchestra to Germany, Ribbentrop, had in fact been entrusted with Anglo-German diplomatic relations by Hitler in the spring of 1934. He was given his own office, the Dienststelle Ribbentrop (Ribbentrop Bureau), and was tasked with the "execution of special missions in foreign policy, the authority for which would derive not from [Minister of Foreign Affairs Konstantin von] Neurath or [Permanent State Secretary Bernhard von] Bülow but from the chancellor himself."²³⁰ Working under the title Reich Ambassador-at-Large, Ribbentrop's authority bypassed that of the German Foreign Office, whose conservative foreign policies and traditional diplomatic methods Hitler believed had been responsible for the injustices of the Treaty of Versailles and Weimar Republic.²³¹ Thus, while a detailed examination of Anglo-German relations in the 1930s is beyond the scope of this thesis, a concise overview is nevertheless necessary in order to better understand the political significance of the London Philharmonic's German tour.

²³⁰ G.T. Waddington, "'An idyllic and unruffled atmosphere of complete Anglo-German misunderstanding': Aspects of the Operations of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop in Great Britain, 1934-1939," *History* 82, 265 (January 1997): 47.

²³¹ Andrew Winston Craig, "The Limits of Success: Joachim von Ribbentrop and German Relations with Great Britain, 1934-1939" (PhD diss., Bowling Green State University, 1982), 24.

The extent to which Hitler desired an alliance with Britain during the 1930s has been the subject of a considerable amount of debate in current scholarship. Most historians agree that, in reaction to Britain's continuing resistance to Hitler's "overtures for a bilateral arrangement with London," by the autumn of 1937 the Führer had abandoned any hope of securing such an alliance.²³² But the nature of the Nazis' foreign policy towards Britain in the years immediately preceding 1937 has been interpreted in different ways. Historian Gerhard Weinberg has argued that Germany's relations with Britain after 1934, including the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935, amounted to little more than a series of conciliatory gestures behind which Hitler held no real intention of achieving an Anglo-German alliance.²³³ Other historians such as Christian Leitz and G.T. Waddington have argued that, until 1937, Hitler actively sought to achieve an alliance with Britain.²³⁴ Waddington has demonstrated how the Dienststelle Ribbentrop carried out a series of foreign exchanges with Britain aimed at securing an "Anglo-German friendship" on Hitler's behalf. One of the first such exchanges involved the British Legion. Upon an invitation from Ribbentrop's office, in July 1935—a month after the signing of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement—official representatives of the Legion visited Germany for the first

²³² G.T. Waddington, "Hassgegner: German Views of Great Britain in the Later 1930s," *History* 81, no. 261 (January 1996): 22.

²³³ The Anglo-German Naval Agreement was signed on 18 June 1935. Its terms stipulated that Britain was to allow Germany to rebuild its navy to up to thirty-five per cent of the strength of the British navy. Germany was also allowed to maintain the same number of submarines as the British navy. See Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, 629. According to Weinberg, however, only months after signing the Anglo-German Naval Agreement, the Germans began building battleships and aircraft carriers whose size were in direct violation of the Naval Agreement. See Gerhard L. Weinberg, "Hitler and England, 1933-1945: Pretense and Reality," *German Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (May 1985): 299-301.

²³⁴ Christian Leitz, *Nazi Foreign Policy, 1933-1941: The Road to Global War* (London: Routledge, 2004), 32-61; Waddington, "An idyllic and unruffled atmosphere."

time since the end of the Great War.²³⁵ In celebration of the Legion delegates' visit, on 15 July Hitler and Hanns Oberlindober, head of the Nationalsozialistische Kriegsoferversorgung (the National Socialist party's veteran association) held a luncheon in their honor at the Hotel Kaiserhof in Berlin. During the luncheon, Ribbentrop gave a speech in which he exalted the occasion as proof that "[n]o differences of any kind now existed between Germany and England..."²³⁶

For the delegates of the British Legion, however, the purpose of their German visit had not been satisfactorily fulfilled. Instead of providing a friendly, non-partisan opportunity for former enemies to reconcile, Ribbentrop had turned the Legion delegates' visit into an opportunity to promote the virtues of National Socialism. One example of such blatant appropriation occurred during the delegation's visit to Munich, where Ribbentrop had planned and publicly advertised—without their consent—a ceremony during which they were to lay a wreath at a Nazi monument. Concerned about the “political overtones” of the planned ceremony, the Legion delegates refused to follow through with the engagement.²³⁷

Following the visit, Major Francis Fetherstone-Godley, the Legion Chairman who led the delegates to Germany, privately reported to Sir Alfred Davies (1902-1979) that although the trip had been “interesting and has perhaps done some good,” there had not been time set aside to meet with German ex-combatants other than those currently belonging to Nazi organizations.

²³⁵ The role of the British Legion in Nazi propaganda is also examined in Niall Barr, “The Legion that Sailed but Never Went’: The British Legion and the Munich Crisis of 1938,” in *The Great War and Veterans’ Internationalism*, eds. Julia Eichenberg, and John Paul Newman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 32-52.

²³⁶ Waddington, “An idyllic and unruffled atmosphere,” 49.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

More concerning was the fact that “the real objective of building a non-political link for the promotion of mutual understanding and the safeguarding of peace was not achieved.”²³⁸

Fetherstone-Godley’s report bears a striking resemblance to Beecham’s above-cited report from Munich the following year. Indeed, viewed within the context of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop’s political agenda, the London Philharmonic’s 1936 German tour was but another cultural exchange organized with the intention of bringing together the two nations. According to Berta Geissmar (1892-1949), General Secretary to Beecham and the London Philharmonic, the Nazis did not hesitate to violate a fundamental ideological principle of National Socialism in pursuit of that goal. Geissmar had been in a put in a unique position during preparations for the tour; less than a year earlier the Nazis had forced her to resign from her position as secretary to Furtwängler and the Berlin Philharmonic due to her Jewish heritage.²³⁹ Shortly thereafter, in early 1936 Beecham offered her the General Secretary position in London, which she ultimately accepted and served until shortly before her death in 1949. Geissmar had therefore been absent from Germany less than a year when Ribbentrop extended his invitation to Beecham and the London Philharmonic.

Although the Dienststelle Ribbentrop oversaw the planning of extra-musical activities, such as after-concert receptions, all aspects of the London Philharmonic’s tour itself—dates, venues, staffing, etc.—were organized by the staff of the Berlin Philharmonic, who were genuinely “delighted with the idea of running the tour for their English colleagues.”²⁴⁰ Ironically, the London Philharmonic’s liaison during the planning stage of its tour was Geissmar, and in

²³⁸ Ibid., 50.

²³⁹ Geissmar, *Two Worlds of Music*, 132-147.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 177.

June 1936 she found herself travelling to Berlin on Beecham's behalf to discuss the tour with her former colleagues. She was understandably concerned about returning to her homeland, from which she had been exiled barely six months earlier. As she later recalled, however, at that time "friendship with England at all costs was the password of Nazi politics," and upon her arrival in Berlin she witnessed firsthand the Nazis hypocritical willingness to accommodate her services now that she represented a member of the British musical royalty:²⁴¹

[I]f it suited Nazi aims, they could subjugate their ostensible principles to sanction something that had been *untragbar* since 1933. A great German musician [Furtwängler] had not been allowed to retain my services, and yet, before the wishes of a prominent Englishman, they were sycophantic enough to bow down and accept the situation.²⁴²

As Waddington notes, it was primarily through the "upper echelons of British society" that the Dienststelle Ribbentrop attempted to cultivate Anglo-German relations.²⁴³ Ribbentrop's ignorance of British democratic politics led him to erroneously believe that Beecham and other prominent figures of British society were in a position to influence British foreign policy towards Germany.²⁴⁴ According to Beecham biographer John Lucas, Ribbentrop mistakenly believed that the conductor was on close terms with the newly crowned King Edward VIII, whose "reputed Nazi sympathies, Hitler hoped, would lead to an Anglo-German entente."²⁴⁵ As such, the Nazis readily compromised a fundamental ideological principle in order to accommodate the Jewish Geissmar and, in the process, ensure that great foreign conductor's requests were duly fulfilled.

Even Goebbels, who detested Ribbentrop and was apparently unconvinced about the diplomatic value of the orchestra exchange, seems to have nevertheless lent his position as

²⁴¹ Ibid., 174-175.

²⁴² Ibid., 175.

²⁴³ Waddington, "An idyllic and unruffled atmosphere," 51.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 51-52.

²⁴⁵ Lucas, *Thomas Beecham*, 230.

Propaganda Minister towards ensuring the tour was a significant “Anglo-German occasion.”

Following his attendance at the London Philharmonic’s performance in Berlin, Goebbels privately reviewed the concert in his personal diary:

Beecham conducts in a very vain and disagreeable way, and what’s more its superficial. His orchestra’s strings sound very thin, lacking precision and clarity. Putting Beecham in the same class as Furtwängler is like comparing Kannenberg [Hitler’s chef who sang popular songs and played accordion] with [renowned Italian tenor Beniamino] Gigli. Only Berlioz’s *Roman Carnival* and a Dvorak Rhapsody made any impression; the Haydn symphony seemed downright boring. The evening dragged on. It was painful, as one had to clap out of politeness. Also the Führer was very discontented. How high Germany’s musical culture stands in contrast, what with the Berlin Philharmonic and Furtwängler!²⁴⁶

Despite his contempt for the London Philharmonic’s performance, however, Goebbels concluded the entry by noting that he was at that moment “working on the press—no tearing to shreds!”²⁴⁷ Indeed, most of the reviews that appeared in German newspapers the following day were “overwhelming enthusiastic.”²⁴⁸ Notably, one German newspaper review was accompanied by a photo of Beecham in the Führer’s box with Hitler, Goebbels, Neurath, Blomberg and other senior Nazi officials that had been supposedly been taken during the concert’s intermission. According to Geissmar, the photo was in fact a fabrication: Beecham had not left the artists’ room at all during the intermission, and Hitler had not been among those who went down to visit him there.²⁴⁹ Although he didn’t explicitly state as much in his above-cited diary entry, in his capacity as Propaganda Minister Goebbels would likely have overseen the production of the doctored photo or, at the least, have approved of its publication—this in spite of his personal

²⁴⁶ Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels*, ed. Jana Richter, Part 1, 1923-1941, Volume 3/2, March 1936 – February 1937 (München: K.G. Saur Verlag GmbH, 2001), 250-251, cited in Lucas, *Thomas Beecham*, 233.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ This assertion is made in Lucas, *Thomas Beecham*, 233. I was not able to gain access to contemporary German newspaper reviews during research for this thesis.

²⁴⁹ Geissmar, *Two Worlds of Music*, 204.

disdain for the British orchestra and its conductor. Thus, while such a detail may seem anecdotal, when considered within the context that I have thus far discussed in this chapter it gains significance as a striking example of how far the Nazis went in their attempt to present the façade of Anglo-German “friendship” through Beecham and the London Philharmonic.

For the Nazis, Beecham was an ideal foreign cultural ambassador.²⁵⁰ He was one of the few internationally-renowned conductors from “non-friendly” countries who had first performed in Germany during the Weimar Republic and continued to return—with great success—after Hitler was appointed Chancellor on 30 January 1933. Between 1930 and 1938 Beecham appeared regularly in the country to conduct numerous German ensembles, including the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and Berlin State Opera, the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, and local opera companies in Wiesbaden, Hamburg, and Cologne. One of his biggest achievements in Germany during the Nazi years was his historic direction of the first complete recording (without the dialogue) of Mozart’s *Zauberflöte* with the Berlin Philharmonic. The recording was made for HMV label at the Beethovensaal between November 1938-March 1938.²⁵¹ Until he finally stopped accepting all invitations from Germany in 1938, only once did he decline to perform in the Third Reich for political reasons. This occurred in 1933, when Winifred Wagner approached

²⁵⁰ Even Savage recalled that, during the London Philharmonic’s 1936 German tour, Beecham “looked like an ambassador and spoke like an ambassador—dignified, witty and imperturbable,” and that he “not only won what he so fully deserved—the thunderous plaudits of every audience—but covered himself with glory by his tactful and humorous reaction to the innumerable official receptions, always making a great impression on our hosts. His bearing at these functions was worthy of the best traditions of our diplomatic corps.” In Savage, “The London Philharmonic Orchestra in Germany,” 10.

²⁵¹ Dominic Fyfe, liner notes to *Mozart: Die Zauberflöte (The Magic Flute)*, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, and Sir Thomas Beecham (Berlin 1937, CD, Prima Voce, 2RA.2416-2439.2447-2459), 11-19.

him about replacing Toscanini for that year's Bayreuth Festival after the controversy described in Chapter 1.²⁵²

To be sure, Beecham was criticized for his decision to take the London Philharmonic Orchestra on a tour of Nazi Germany.²⁵³ When Geissmar reported to Phipps shortly before the tour, he informed her that the distinguished former British Foreign Secretary Sir Austen Chamberlain “made no secret of the fact that he did not wholly approve of Sir Thomas’ visit to Germany with his Orchestra.” In response, Geissmar assured Phipps that Beecham “was going purely as an artist. He wanted the British Orchestra to show its quality in places renowned for their own old and famous orchestra tradition.”²⁵⁴ Russell expressed a similar perception of Beecham, later recalling that “[wrapped] up as he was in the cares and details of an artistic life, scornful of most forms of orthodox government, and ready to scoff at official cultural pretensions, he merely recognised that the tour would add lustre to the reputations of his Orchestra.”²⁵⁵ Perhaps more alluring for Beecham was the opportunity to demonstrate to Germany once and for all “what das Land ohne Musik could produce in the way of an orchestra.”²⁵⁶

Of course, no such Anglo-German entente—much less an alliance—would materialize in the years leading up to the Second World War. As evidenced by the afore-cited reports in both the *London Times* and *New York Times*, at the time of the London Philharmonic’s German tour the international community was certainly under the impression that an Anglo-German “agreement” was a priority for Nazi foreign policy. Research by historians such as Waddington and Leitz has

²⁵² Lucas, *Thomas Beecham*, 299.

²⁵³ Geissmar, *Two Worlds of Music*, 200.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 197.

²⁵⁵ Russell, *Philharmonic Decade*, 40.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

convincingly demonstrated how that policy was implemented under the auspices of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop. Within that context, the available evidence points to the orchestra exchange between the Dresden State Opera and the London Philharmonic as a particularly high-profile example of Ribbentrop's method of cultural rapprochement with Britain.

4.2 Foreign policy and ideology: The Håkan von Eichwald Orchestra at the Femina-Palast in Berlin, February 1939

To the best of my knowledge, scholars have yet to examine Nazi records relating to the London Philharmonic orchestra exchange, if any are in fact extant. But in the case of another orchestra exchange, records held in the Performance Permit Collection offer an illuminating view of the Nazis' hypocritical willingness to disregard ideological principles in service of real political benefits. As I will explain, in February 1939 the RMK was informed that so-called *Entartete Musik* was being performed by the Swedish jazz orchestra of Håkan von Eichwald (1908-1964) during a month-long guest residency at the Femina-Palast in Berlin. Instead of preventing its further performance, however, the records of the Performance Permit Collection indicate that the RMK not only acknowledged the fact that Eichwald's orchestra continued to perform music which had been otherwise deemed *unerwünscht* (undesirable) in the Third Reich, but in fact rewarded them for their work following the completion of their residency.

Håkan von Eichwald was a Swedish musician of Finnish birth. Although trained as a classical pianist, he formed the first modern big band in Sweden in 1930, called the Kaos Orchestra, after the jazz club for which it was formed.²⁵⁷ After producing numerous recordings

²⁵⁷ Björn Englund, "Håkan von Eichwald: Hade flera vitt skilda musikaliska karriärer," *Orkester Journalen* 43, no. 12 (1975): 12.

as the conductor of the ensemble, Eichwald formed his own dance orchestra in 1936 with some of Sweden's leading jazz musicians, among them Åke Johansson-Jangell (trumpet), Karl Zilas Görling (tenor saxophone), John Fredrik ("Willy") Forsell (saxophone), Karl Erik Albert "Charlie" Norman (piano), and Åke Ragnar Emil Brandes (drums). Known simply as the Håkan von Eichwald Orchestra, the ensemble toured throughout Europe between 1936 and its disbanding in 1940, during which time they also produced numerous recordings in both Sweden and Germany.²⁵⁸

In accordance with the RMK's ordinance concerning the employment of foreign musicians, on 17 January 1939 two representatives from the Femina submitted a performance permit application to the RMK on behalf of Eichwald and fifteen members of his orchestra.²⁵⁹ According to the Femina's application, Eichwald and his orchestra were to be hired for a month-long residency between 1-28 February of that year. To ensure RMK officials that they had not employed a disproportionate number of foreigners, the Femina reported that, in the previous twelve months, the venue had employed a total number of 544 *Reichsdeutsche* (native Germans), and only 87 foreigners. Notably, the Femina also indicated that the engagement was to be part of an orchestra exchange with Sweden that was organized by the Zentral-Stellen-Vermittlung für Unterhaltungs-Kappellen der Reichsmusikkammer (Central Employment Agency for Entertainment Ensembles of the Reich Music Chamber). In exchange for Eichwald and his orchestra's performances in Berlin, the popular German ensemble of Heinz Wehner (1910-1944) was to perform at the Fenix-Kronprinsen in Stockholm. The Femina's application was received

²⁵⁸ Erik Kjellberg, and Lars Westin, "Von Eichwald, Håkan," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, accessed 29 October 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/J469200>.

²⁵⁹ Auftrittsgenehmigung for Håkon von Eichwald, 17 January 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frames 1102-1104.

by the RMK on 18 January, and on 23 January the RMK's central office issued formal permission for Eichwald and his orchestra to perform.²⁶⁰

As I explained in Chapter 2, the RMK did not ask for a repertoire list from foreign musicians seeking permission to perform in the Third Reich, and no such list is included amongst the records of the Performance Permit Collection. According to a memo received by the RMK on 6 February 1939—a week into Eichwald's residency at the Femina—Nazi officials had apparently discovered that his orchestra was performing so-called “Jewish” jazz numbers. Writing on 6 February 1939, the RMK's Berlin Landesleiter informed the RMK's central office that “despite advice from the employment agency in Stockholm that non-Aryan music is not desired in Germany,” 48 of 120 numbers being performed by Eichwald and his orchestra were “new Jewish publications.”²⁶¹ It was further reported that the “undesired numbers” were “explicitly pointed out” to the bandleader, but at no point does it indicate that any sort of concrete measures were taken to prevent Eichwald from continuing to perform them. The “discovery” was likely made by an RMK control officer, whose primary duty was to patrol German nightlife in search of musicians violating RMK ordinances and procedures.²⁶²

A little over a week later, on 15 February an official from the RMK's central office in Berlin sent a follow-up letter to the RMK's Berlin Landesleiter. He inquired as to whether the orchestra was still performing “Jewish jazz” numbers, and whether or not Eichwald himself had

²⁶⁰ Der Präsident der RMK to Femina-Gaststätten G.m.b.h., 23 January 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frames 1100-1101.

²⁶¹ M. Andress to the Präsident der RMK, 6 February 1939 (Ibid.), frame 1106.

²⁶² Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 109. According to Kater, the real role of the RMK control officers was that of henchmen, who were assigned with “[intimidating] musicians in all bars and dance establishments into not playing jazz by confiscating their sheet music, arresting them on minor charges, and generally being a nuisance.” See Kater, *Different Drummers*, 46.

been informed that such numbers were considered “undesirable” in Germany.²⁶³ The RMK’s Berlin Landesleiter responded a week after that, reporting on 22 February that a follow-up inspection from 20 February 1939 revealed that Eichwald had not removed the Jewish numbers from his repertoire, and that “during a 2 ¾ hour performance, only one German number was performed, whereas the other pieces...were all of Jewish origin.” To support his point, he cited an easy target in Eichwald’s repertoire for Nazi racial censors: Ella Fitzgerald’s arrangement of the American nursery rhyme “A-Tisket, A-Tasket.”²⁶⁴ The RMK’s Berlin Landesleiter then concluded his response by reporting that Eichwald “clearly identified” all non-Aryan numbers to the RMK control officer who carried out the inspection at the Femina.²⁶⁵

Despite having admitted to the Nazi officials that they were in fact performing “undesirable” Jewish music, the final memo in the Performance Permit Collection gives no indication that further measures were taken to ensure Eichwald’s orchestra discontinued its performance of this music. On the contrary: with only a week remaining in the orchestra’s contract at the Femina, on 24 February the RMK’s Berlin Landesleiter wrote to the RMK’s Gaupropagandaamt (Regional Propaganda Office) in Berlin requesting tickets for Eichwald and the members of his orchestra to an auto exhibition, the Reich sports fields, as well as an opera or theatre performance in Berlin. “The Central Employment Agency of the Reich Music Chamber,” he wrote, “feels that for reasons of propaganda...the present foreign orchestra exchange with the

²⁶³ Pg. Stietz to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 15 February 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1118.

²⁶⁴ Ella Fitzgerald (1917-1996) and her musical collaborators conveniently fit the Nazis’ racist conception of “Jewish” jazz: Fitzgerald was of African-American descent; her collaborator on “A-Tisket, A-Tasket,” the American big band arranger and composer Al Feldman (b. 1915, who now goes by the name Van Alexander), is Jewish; and the tune’s publisher, Robbins Music Corporation, was run by the Polish Jew Jack Robbins (born Jacob Rabinowitch). See Sternfeld, *Jazz Echoes*, 388.

²⁶⁵ Wallmeyer to the Präsident der RMK, 22 February 1939 (Ibid.), frame 1120.

Swedish orchestra of Håkan von Eichwald should conclude with a tour of Berlin.”²⁶⁶ No further information exists regarding the purpose of the exchange is included in the Performance Permit Collection. I believe that an examination of the economic relationship between Sweden and Germany during the 1930s may elucidate the reasons why a foreign jazz ensemble was permitted to perform music that was otherwise banned in Germany.

At the time of the orchestra exchange between Sweden and Germany, Hitler was in the process of preparing for an invasion of Poland. Hitler was aware that his planned invasion of Poland would likely provoke a military response from England and France, and he therefore paid particular attention to foreign policy during the first half of 1939. As Weinberg observes, in addition to exploring the possibility of an alliance with the Soviet Union, the Nazis’ foreign policy in the first half of 1939 also focused on securing the allegiance of smaller European countries “whose acquiescence in German plans might not make a difference individually but whose collective joining with the British-French front against Germany would not only cause diplomatic difficulties but would seriously affect Germany’s economic ability to wage anything but a very short war.”²⁶⁷

Of Nordic countries, Sweden was of particular importance. Since the late nineteenth-century, the import of Swedish iron ore became increasingly important for Germany’s production of steel.²⁶⁸ In turn, Swedish industry came to rely on imports of coal from Germany, and during World War One the two nations established an important trading relationship based

²⁶⁶ Wallmeyer to the Gaupropagandaamt, 24 February 1939 (Ibid.), frame 1122.

²⁶⁷ Gerhard L. Weinberg, *The Foreign Policy of Hitler’s Germany: Starting World War II, 1937-1939* (New Jersey: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1994), 581.

²⁶⁸ Patrick Salmon, “British Plans for Economic Warfare against Germany 1937-1939: The Problem of Swedish Iron Ore,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 16, no. 1 (January 1981): 57.

on those two commodities.²⁶⁹ Although exports of Swedish iron ore to Germany waned during the years of the Depression, they were resumed with a new intensity after the Nazis' assumption of power in 1933.²⁷⁰ The reason for this has been well-documented.²⁷¹ In the years leading up to the Second World War, German factories in the Ruhr relied quite heavily on Swedish iron ore in their production of steel.²⁷² According to historian Patrick Salmon, by 1938 Sweden supplied Germany with nearly nine million tons of iron ore annually, which encompassed approximately sixty per cent of Germany's total iron ore imports and roughly forty-five per cent of the nation's total requirements.²⁷³

The iron ore imported from Sweden thus served an essential role in Germany's rearmament process. As such, the Nazis paid particular attention to foreign relations with Sweden to ensure that they would continue to receive the essential imports after the impending war began.²⁷⁴ Their efforts, aided by Sweden's need to continue receiving German coal imports for their own economic stability, were ultimately successful. Swedish iron ore continued to be shipped to Germany for most of the Second World War, until political pressure put on Sweden by the Allies put an end to its export in August 1944.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁹ Martin Fritz and Birgit Karlsson, "Dependence and National Supply: Sweden's Economic Relations to Nazi-Germany," in *Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust: A Survey of Research*, eds. Klas Åmark, Stig Ekman and John Toler, trans. David Kendall (Stockholm: Swedish Research Council, 2003), 116-117.

²⁷⁰ Salmon, "British Plans for Economic Warfare," 58.

²⁷¹ This issue is discussed at length in Martin Fritz, *German Steel and Swedish Iron Ore, 1939-1945*, trans. Allan Green and Eva Green (Kungsbacka, SE: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1974). See also Fritz and Karlsson, "Dependence and National Supply," 116-120; Salmon, "British Plans for Economic Warfare," 53-72; Weinberg, *Starting World War II*, 585.

²⁷² Fritz, "Dependence and National Supply," 117.

²⁷³ Salmon, "British Plans for Economic Warfare," 58.

²⁷⁴ Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims: The Establishment of the New Order* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1974), 401.

²⁷⁵ Fritz, *German Steel and Swedish Iron Ore*, 54-55. The relationship between Sweden and Nazi Germany was, of course, far more complex than can be described here. Numerous essays examining various facets of Sweden's relationship with Nazi Germany are found in Klas Åmark, Stig Ekman and John Toler, eds., *Sweden's Relations with Nazism, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust: A Survey of Research*, trans. David Kendall (Stockholm: Swedish

Seen in this context, the available evidence strongly suggests that the exchange of orchestras between Sweden and Germany was likely organized as part of the Nazis' propaganda effort towards maintaining friendly relations with Sweden. Such an arrangement would account for the RMK's seemingly nonchalant response to the fact that Eichwald had been performing so-called "Jewish jazz." In other words, Nazi leaders decided that it was in their interest to overlook a major ideological principle—the proscription of "degenerate" music—in order to maintain a relationship with a country whose resources were deemed essential to the future expansion of the Third Reich.

The role that Wehner's performances in Stockholm played in the success of the orchestra exchange must also be considered. Upon their arrival in Stockholm, Wehner and his orchestra were initially approached by locals with skepticism; the first question asked of them by many Swedes was, "Are you a Hitler loyalist, or a German?"²⁷⁶ According to clarinetist Franz "Teddy" Kleindin (1914-2007), who performed with Wehner's orchestra in Stockholm, Swedish audiences were surprised at the fact that a German orchestra could play jazz with such "swinging" quality, particularly because of the widespread belief in Sweden that such music had been banished from Germany by the Nazis.²⁷⁷ The Swedish hosts were not wrong. Throughout their residency at the Fenix-Kronprinsen, Wehner and his orchestra performed many jazz tunes that had been banned by the RMK, among them the 1932 Yiddish Tin Pan Alley hit "Bei Mir Bist Du Schoen," which had reputedly been Goebbels' "most hated jazz title."²⁷⁸ It is ironic,

Research Council, 2003). See also Klaus Wittmann, *Schwedens Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zum Dritten Reich 1933-1945* (Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1978).

²⁷⁶ Gerhard Conrad, *Heinz Wehner: Eine Bio-Discographie* (Menden, DE: Der Jazzfreund, 1989), 58.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Gerhard Conrad, "Klarinettenzauber Franz 'Teddy' Kleindin," *International Association of Jazz Record Collectors Journal* 41, no. 4 (December 2006): 25.

then, to consider the fact that part of the orchestra exchange's success was due to the fact that, unbeknownst to the Nazis, the orchestra representing Germany achieved a positive reception in Sweden by performing music that had been otherwise banned in Germany itself.

Both orchestra exchanges discussed in this chapter provide two contrasting examples of the ways in which the Nazis appropriated cultural exchanges with foreign orchestras in their foreign relations efforts during the 1930s. On the one hand, the Nazis' unabashedly used the occasion of the London Philharmonic's 1936 German tour as an opportunity to promote an imagined friendship between Germany and Britain. The Nazis' emphasis on the political significance of the tour was readily apparent to both the international community and the orchestra itself. In the end, of course, the Dienststelle Ribbentrop's efforts to achieve an agreement with Great Britain proved fruitless. On the other hand, the 1939 Swedish-German orchestra exchange was undertaken in pursuit of real, not imagined, political benefits. As the RMK's confidential correspondence contained within the Performance Permit Collection reveals, the Nazis were not only willing to disregard the fact that a foreign orchestra was performing "undesirable" jazz in Berlin, but deemed the political value of the orchestra exchange important enough to honor the Swedish orchestra following their successful month-long residency at the Femina-Palast. Unlike the Anglo-German exchange three years earlier, the Swedish-German orchestra exchange in February 1939 contributed to a successful Nazi foreign policy campaign, one which directly benefited Germany's military operations later that year.

CONCLUSION

I began this thesis by posing three interrelated questions: First, who were the foreign musicians who continued to perform in Germany during the first six years of the Third Reich? Second, in the face of increasing xenophobia amongst their German colleagues, how did foreign musicians navigate Germany's unstable musical employment market? Finally, how did the Nazis deal with foreign musicians, and what margin of manoeuvre were they given to carry out their craft? As I have shown in Chapter 1, the outside world was certainly not oblivious to the Nazis' persecution of Jewish and other "non-Aryan" musicians in Germany during this period. Many foreign musicians responded to the Nazis' barbarous treatment of their colleagues by boycotting the Third Reich entirely. But, as the records of the Performance Permit Collection show, many foreign musicians continued to work in pre-war Nazi Germany. While some undoubtedly took advantage of the Nazis' discriminatory cultural policies for their own personal gain—evidence of which I did not find in the Performance Permit Collection—it would be wrong to simply assume that all foreign musicians who performed in Germany were complicit in the Nazis' crimes. For instance, *Unterhaltungsmusiker* such as Teddy Stauffer, Franz Chladek and Håkan von Eichwald likely saw the opportunity to perform at the Femina-Palast in Berlin as an opportunity to perform at one of the most vibrant entertainment venues in Central Europe.

From the Nazis' perspective, the performance permit applications submitted to the RMK on behalf of these musicians demonstrates how truly arbitrary their policies were when it came to dealing with the "Foreigner Question." Motivated by their perversely racist ideology, the Nazis used these applications as a legal façade to deal with foreign musicians in whatever way suited their purposes. This included attacks on foreign musicians for the most trivial of reasons. In the

case of Die 5 Coronados Mex. Marimba Kapelle, the RMK denied its members permission to perform based solely on an entirely arbitrary interpretation of its own ordinance against the use of “foreign sounding” ensemble names. In other cases, foreign musicians such as Chladek were subjected to extensive investigations based on Nazis paranoia over their questionable political or racial “reliability.” The records of the Performance Permit Collection also offer evidence of how performances by foreign musicians were exploited by the Nazis. With regards to the Swedish-German jazz orchestra exchange in February 1939, Nazi administrators overlooked their own ideological principles concerning so-called “degenerate music” in favor of foreign policy objectives.

As I have shown, the Performance Permit Collection offers valuable evidence of how the RMK dealt with foreign musicians in the years immediately preceding World War Two. As I explained in Chapter 2, however, the Collection’s limited scope leaves many questions unanswered. Was foreign musical performance as closely monitored in *Gaue* outside of Berlin? Did the RMK subject *ernste Musiker* to the same scrutiny that they did *Unterhaltungsmusiker*? For instance, how did foreign orchestral and operatic musicians fare in Nazi Germany’s xenophobic cultural milieu? Furthermore, how did foreign composers deal with the incoherent and contradictory aesthetic prescriptions put forth by Nazi cultural leaders? In order to begin answering these questions, I believe that the extant “Auftrittsgenehmigungen für Ausländer” records housed in the German Bundesarchiv will serve as an essential primary source for future research into this area.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: *Auftrittsgenehmigung* application for Primo Angeli, Fredy's Bar to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 3 March 1939 (page 1 of 2)²⁷⁹

- 9. März 1939

DUPLIKAT

Eingegangen
 Zgl. Nr. 7194
 Weitergeleitet an RMK - 9. März 1939

Nur für Dienstvermerke Besch. Zeichen

Auftrittsgenehmigung

vom bis erteilt.

Berlin, am 1937 (Umschrift)

An den aa
 Herrn Präsidenten
 der
Reichsmusikkammer
 über
 den Herrn
Landesleiter für Musik

Berlin-Musikreferat
 Am Rindowweg 33 (Der Mitterhof)
 Fernruf 80 65 88, Kap. 29

Name des Unternehmens Fredys Bar

Ort und Straße der Betriebsstätte Berlin W62 Bayreutherstr. 44

Sämtliche Inhaber des Unternehmens Gerhard Alfred Voigt

Betrifft: Beschäftigung ausländischer Musiker.

Ich beabsichtige, in meinem Unternehmen die umstehend aufgeführten ausländischen Musiker zu beschäftigen.

1. Dauer der Beschäftigung vom 1. April 39 bis ca. 3 Monate

2. Leiter der Kapelle: als Pianisten Primo Angeli

3. a) Treten die ausländischen Musiker als geschlossene Kapelle auf? Ja — nein.
 b) Werden reichsdeutsche Musiker hinzugezogen? Ja — nein
 c) Wieviel Ausländer? 1 Wieviel Deutsche? 1

4. Unter welcher Bezeichnung soll die Kapelle in der Öffentlichkeit bekannt gemacht werden?
XXXXXXXXXX wird an zwei Flügeln gespielt

5. Ist an dem Zustandekommen des Vertrages eine in- oder ausländische Vermittlungseinrichtung oder ein in- oder ausländischer Vermittler beteiligt? nein Wer?

6. Wieviel Musiker sind von Ihnen in den letzten 12 Monaten vor Einreichung dieser Anzeige beschäftigt worden?

	Musiker insgesamt	Beschäftig.-Dauer insges. in Monaten	Bruttogehalt insgesamt	Bemerkungen
a) Reichsdeutsche	3	18	8500.-	
b) Ausländer	<u>keine</u>			

7. Welche Gründe veranlassen Sie, die ausländischen Musiker zu beschäftigen?
meine Bar wird viel von Italienern besucht

8. Sollen deutsche Musiker gegen diese ausländischen Musiker ausgetauscht werden? Ja — nein.
 Austauschland: nein

Welche deutsche Kapelle bzw. Musiker? XXXXXXXXXX

²⁷⁹ Auftrittsgenehmigung für Primo Angeli, 3 March 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1142.

Appendix 2: *Auftrittsgenehmigung* application for Primo Angeli, Fredy's Bar to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 3 March 1939 (page 2 of 2)²⁸⁰

9. Angaben zur Person der ausländischen Musiker:

	Familien- und Vorname	Geburtsort, -ort und -staat	Staatsangehörigkeit	Religion	Fam.-stand	Ein-Strament	Werts in Deutschland tätig gewesen	Von / bis
1	Angeli, Primo	b. J. Ob Montland	Stad.	keine	led.	keine	von	Jan 37
2							von	
3							von	
4							von	
5							von	
6							von	
7							von	
8							von	
9							von	
10							von	

10. Es ist mir bekannt, daß jüdische Musiker in Deutschland nicht auftreten dürfen. Ich versichere, daß ich mich über die nichtjüdische Abstammung der unter 9 aufgeführten Personen, die ich zu beschließen beabsichtige, vergewissert habe.

11. Ich bitte im Auftrage der oben genannten Personen um Erteilung der Auftrittsgenehmigung. Die Beiträge der oben aufgeführten Personen auf Erteilung der Auftrittsgenehmigung liegen bei: Rückzustellbares Instrument.

12. Mir ist bekannt, daß ich verpflichtet bin, der Reichsmusikkammer nach, jederzeit beliebige Angaben zu machen, und daß die Befähigung der oben genannten Personen erst nach Erhalt der schriftlichen Befähigung und der Auftrittsgenehmigung durch den Vorsitzenden der Reichsmusikkammer erfolgen darf. (Bestätigung des Vorsitzenden der Reichsmusikkammer vom 26. September 1937, Amtliche Mitteilungen Nr. 222, S. 27, Reichsanzeiger Nr. 282 vom 6. Oktober 1937, Amtsblätter Reichsanzeiger Nr. 282 vom 6. Oktober 1937.)

7) Hochachtungsvoll
 Reichsmusikkammer (Schriftverkehr) durch den
 Vorsitzenden des jüdischen Landeskomitees auf Grund
 der Genehmigung des Herrn Reichsarbeitsministers vom
 28. Jan. 33 (RMBl. I, S. 28) erstellt sein.

Fredy's Bar
 Jnh. Gerhard Voigt
 3. März 1939

²⁸⁰ Auftrittsgenehmigung für Primo Angeli, 3 March 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1143-1144.

Appendix 3: RMK central office to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 15 March 1939²⁸¹

Reichsmusikkammer ⁷¹⁹⁴ Berlin, am 15.3.39 1939
Baynburger Str. 19
18.482.7239
Geschäftsz.Nr. Id/A 4422/38 S1

An den
Herrn Landesleiter Gau Berlin
Ihr Aktz.: 7194

Betr. Beschäftigung ausländischer Musiker
Anliegend erhalten Sie mit der Bitte um Weiterleitung:


1.) 1 Auftrittsgenehmigungen für die ausländischen Musiker:
Primo A n g e l i
für die Zeit vom 1.4. bis 30.6.39. Die in deren Besitz befindlichen Ausweise sind einzuziehen und an mich zu übersenden.

2.) Aufforderungen an die ausländischen Musiker
zum urkundlichen Nachweis der Abstammung. Die in deren Besitz befindlichen Ausweise sind zu belassen.

3.) 2 Bestätigungen der Beschäftigungsanzeige für das Unternehmen ~~im~~ **Fredys Bar** Berlin W 62, Bayreuther Str.44.

3 Anlagen- Auf Anordnung:

Ep. 353
Außendienst 0048


Wv *[Signature]*

²⁸¹ Der Präsident der RMK to the RMK Berlin Landesleiter, 15 March 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1150.

Der Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer
Id/A 4422/38 Sp.

Herrn
Gerhard Alfred Voigt
Berlin W 62
Bayreuther Str. 44

Berlin SW 11, den 15.3.39 19
Bernburgerstr. 19

Ihre Anzeige vom 3.3.39 wegen Beschäftigung der ausländischen Musiker:
Angeli Primo, geb-6-5-06


in der Zeit vom 1. April bis 30.6.39 wird hiermit bestätigt. Sie erhalten beiliegend die Auftrittsgenehmigungen. Es wird besonders darauf hingewiesen, daß eine Auftrittsgenehmigung ihre Gültigkeit verliert, wenn sie nicht spätestens innerhalb der ersten 5 Tage nach Beginn des Auftretens oder des laufenden Monats von der zuständigen Ortsmusikerschenschaft abgestempelt ist.

Für die Beschäftigung der ausländischen Musiker bedürfen Sie vor der Einstellung noch der Beschäftigungsgenehmigung, die Sie beim zuständigen Arbeitsamt beantragen müssen; die ausländischen Musiker müssen im Besitz einer Arbeitserlaubnis oder des Befreiungsscheines sein. Sofern die ausländischen Musiker noch nicht im Besitze eines Arbeitsbuches sind, ist es bei dem zuständigen Arbeitsamt zu beantragen. Außerdem ist gegebenenfalls noch eine Devisengenehmigung erforderlich, die bei der zuständigen Devisenstelle zu beantragen ist.

Im Auftrag:
gez. Stietz

Beglaubigt:
Stietz

Reichsmusikkammer
Weichmullerbaumstr.
38



Rp. 321

²⁸² Der Präsident der RMK to Gerhard Alfred Voigt, 15 March 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1146.

Der Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer

Berlin SW 11, am 1. Februar 1939
Sternburger Str. 19
Geschäftszeichen: Id/A. 3583/38 Sp1/Lp.

Auftrittsgenehmigung
für ausländische Musiker.

Auf den Antrag vom 21. November 1938 erteile ich
Herrn Primo Angeli in Disseldorf
geb. am 6.5.06 in Mailand
für die Zeit vom 1. März 1939 bis zum 31. März 1939
die nach Maßgabe meiner Anordnung vom 29. Sept. 1937 (Amtl. Mit. S. 67) erforderliche Auftrittsgenehmigung
in dem Unternehmen "Tabaris" Disseldorf, Königs-Allee 66

Diese Genehmigung bedarf zu ihrer Gültigkeit der monatlichen Abstempelung durch die für die Betriebsstätte zuständige Ortsmusikerkasse, die nur für den vorgenannten Zeitraum erfolgen darf. Die Abstempelung erfolgt gegen Entrichtung einer monatlichen Verwaltungs- und Kontrollgebühr. Die Auftrittsgenehmigung verliert ihre Gültigkeit, wenn sie nicht spätestens innerhalb der ersten 5 Tage nach Beginn des Auftretens oder des laufenden Monats von der Ortsmusikerkasse abgestempelt ist.

Kp. 322

Bitte beachten!


²⁸³ Auftrittsgenehmigung für Primo Angeli, 1 February 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1148.

Appendix 6: *Auftrittsgenehmigung* for Primo Angeli, 1 February 1939 (page 2 of 2)²⁸⁴

Für die Dauer der Auftrittsgenehmigung sind Sie gemäß § 9 der ersten Durchführungsverordnung zum Reichskulturkammergesetz vom 1. November 1933 (RGBl. I S. 797) von der Mitgliedschaft zur Reichsmusikkammer befreit. Diese Befreiung ist Vollzieh- und Kontrollbeamten jedergelt auf Verlangen vorzuweisen.

Im Auftrag:

Stic
Beurlaubt.



Angeli
Raum für Wertmarken:

1939	1939	1939	1939	1939	1939	1939	1939
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

1939 1 APR. 39

Eine Arbeitsausübung darf nur erfolgen, wenn der Inhaber dieser Auftrittsgenehmigung im Besitze einer Arbeitslaubnis oder des Befreiungsscheines und eines Arbeitsbuches ist. Die Arbeitsbuchausgabe oder der Befreiungsschein ist bei der zuständigen Ortspolizeibehörde, das Arbeitsbuch bei dem zuständigen Arbeitsamt zu beantragen.

²⁸⁴ Auftrittsgenehmigung für Primo Angeli, 1 February 1939 (National Archives Microfilm Publication, RG 242, A3339-RKK-Z033), frame 1149.

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