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Eugen Spiro: Mary Virginia Foreman, New York 1944 (Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Artur Schnabel Archive).

Artur Schnabel

Walking Freely on Firm Ground

Letters to Mary Virginia Foreman 1935–1951

Edited by Werner Grünzweig, Lynn Matheson, and Anicia Timberlake

Letters and images are held at the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Artur Schnabel Archive

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PAUL HINDEMITH

String Quartet

in E flat

(1943)

Middle of the Budapest String Quartet)

(Rock)

Hindemith sent a copy of his new string quartet in E flat to Artur Schnabel with the following dedication: "For Artur as a symbol (flat!) of love and as an inadequate and belated attempt to do justice to the puns of last summer. / Paul / Christmas 1944."

Printed in U. S. A.

Schnabel had regularly been sending Paul Hindemith "a bag full" of *Schüttelreime* (spoonerisms), his "favorite among puns," as he wrote in his letter from 21 August 1944 (Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Artur Schnabel Archive).

Preface

Werner Grünzweig

From 1935 until his death in 1951. Artur Schnabel wrote more than 400 letters to Mary Virginia Foreman, a former music student who was 26 years his junior. The letters document a relationship that lasted until the end of Schnabel's life, but they are much more than personal letters: like a diary, they chronicle Schnabel's career, the catastrophe of World War II and its bitter consequences, and his ideas about the arts, politics, and the academic research of his time. The issues that occupied him seem astonishingly relevant to the present-day reader: the survival of the arts in an environment defined almost exclusively by economic considerations; the goals of education; how the individual can define his/her position in a globalizing world; the relationship between the individual and the masses in a democratic society; how to stay unique and human in a world that favors predictable, streamlined characters. There is no doubt that the relationship was important to Schnabel. It rejuvenated him and gave him energy to live during a time when he viewed political, social, and artistic developments in an increasingly negative light. On the other hand, he took a great interest in the personal development of the young woman, and she was clearly eager to learn from him.

This book reproduces those parts of the letters that are of general interest. Since English was not Schnabel's native language, we have edited the selections, but have attempted to remain as faithful to Schnabel's original diction as possible.

Mary Virginia Foreman was born in 1908 in Des Moines, Iowa, and grew up in Minneapolis, Minnesota. She was a graduate of the University of Minnesota and held a B.A. degree with a major in music. At that time, women generally became teachers if they worked at all; her degree had given her the training to become a piano teacher. Her first en-

counter with Schnabel was in 1933, when he played a concert with the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra and Eugene Ormandy that made a lasting impression on her.1 Together with her mother, she went backstage to talk to Schnabel after the concert. A year later, equipped with a recommendation from the university's music director and supported by her parents, she went to New York to study with Edwin Hughes (1884-1965), who like Schnabel had been a former student of Theodor Leschetizky's in Vienna. When Schnabel performed in New York during his 1934–35 U.S. tour, Ms. Foreman went backstage again, and to her surprise, Schnabel remembered her. She told him about the lessons with Hughes, which had been a disappointment. They met for tea to discuss her further piano studies, Schnabel invited her to a recital he was performing, they went out for dinner, and from then on they met and exchanged letters regularly. Ms. Foreman stayed in New York by herself, taught piano privately, and later held a job in a bookshop. Her refusal to follow the usual tracks of getting married and having children led to tensions with her parents. After Schnabel's death she left her native country for Europe.

*

Schnabel sensed very precisely how much the European situation as a whole deteriorated after the Nazis came to power. But he still chose to move from Nazi Germany to Tremezzo, in fascist Italy, in May 1933.²

¹ This was Schnabel's first U.S. tour after a 10-year hiatus. Only in 1933 did Steinway agree to provide instruments for Schnabel's American concerts. Previously, they had refused to do so, because he insisted on playing on Bechstein instruments and not Steinway when in Europe, leaving him without adequate instruments when touring the U.S.; Schnabel had always preferred Bechstein pianos, which he also used for his recordings in London; Bechstein pianos, however, were not generally available in U.S. concert halls.

² Schnabel played his last concert in Berlin on 26 April 1933. With today's Europe in mind, one can easily overlook how much physical and bureaucratic effort, as well as financial means, it must have taken for him and his family to transfer their domicile across borders in 1933—he left Nazi Germany because he was Jewish—and what it must have meant when they had to give up their new home again by the end of 1938 after their Austrian citizenship had gone up in smoke due to Austria's Anschluss to the German Reich.

This was understandable given the beauty of Lago di Como and the vicinity of his beloved Alps, but politically Schnabel must have been acting against his better judgment: through all the years covered in this volume, he was a sober and realistic commentator on political events. When many were still hoping that a war could be avoided, he was sure of the imminence of an armed conflict in the 1930s, and he was convinced that the war would be of international dimensions: "Twice in a lifetime world wars, for that is what is threatening, it is too much," he wrote (4 July 1937). In September 1938 he noted again that war was near. And on 29 June 1939, he wrote: "I think it will come to a war, soon, and I would almost welcome one. Is there any other solution of the hopelessly complicated and poisoned problems?" Never before and never again did he express that a war was "almost welcome" to him; we can only interpret this thought as a sign of his utmost depression and frustration with the entire political situation.

Schnabel foretold that the Nazi regime would have severe consequences for all of Europe, marking the "decline of Europe's creative strength" and a "degradation to a lower level of society": not only because of the war itself, but also because of the loss of many of Europe's best individuals (16 January 1939). It was certainly the time when the old continent gave up its dominant position in world politics. Accordingly, the reports about his early experiences in America were very positive. He felt that America was the "future" (3 April 1935), while Europe depressed him to "extreme pessimism" (26 October 1936). And when looking forward to seeing Ms. Foreman again, the United States even became the "United Souls and Senses" to him (5 December 1937). He particularly appreciated the fact that in the United States "foreigners are unknown": everyone could become an American, whereas in Europe "one remains a foreigner even after acquisition of citizenship" (3 January 1937).³

But the deeper Schnabel looked into the mechanics of political and cultural life in America, the more critical he became. The undisputed leading role of the economy even in the arts disgusted him, and in 1949

³ Interestingly enough, he did not mention racism against people of color in America, although he realized that anti-Semitism had survived the transplantation and mixing of peoples after their relocation to the other side of the Atlantic.

he wrote from California (using one of his typical puns): "I like California even less than the other parts of the United Salesmen Angels. California is one of the most advanced sections of that Insanitarium into which we are more and more rapidly developing [...]" (8 September 1949). Schnabel was convinced that profit should not be the incentive for an individual to become an active and useful member of society. Just as earlier generations had seen the meaning of life in serving God, Schnabel wanted to serve music. He viewed the works of the greatest composers as spiritual entities that could never be fully "mastered" by a musician—as he famously put it: "Great music is always better than it can be played."⁴ Trying to understand the innermost meaning of the master works remained a life-long duty, with the certain knowledge that the goal could never be reached.⁵ But if such works of art—or, in Schnabel's words, "values"—are used to make a profit, in Schnabel's conviction, they would be falsified (4 August 1940).⁶

Schnabel felt that one of the ideal ways to engage with music was through master classes, which he had started in Tremezzo⁷ and continued at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Schnabel had had many students in Berlin, privately and at the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik* from 1925 to 1931. However he was able to realize his ideal only in the master classes, where students learned not only from their teacher but also from each other; the classes represented something like a model of a society he would have liked to design. He described on several occasions

⁴ Artur Schnabel. Musiker Musician. 1881–1951, ed. Werner Grünzweig (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 2001), 7.

⁵ This is one of the reasons for Schnabel's limited repertoire in his later years: the older he grew, the more he wanted to play only those pieces that remained fresh even after a lifetime of study.

⁶ When discussing such matters, Schnabel frequently used the term "values." This term is taken from German idealism, where *Werte* form the basis from which mankind should seek answers to its most fundamental questions. *Werte* can be ideals, cultural products, or moral and ethical standards that humans strive to achieve. They can also be discerned in nature, and Schnabel's ardent love for alpine regions has to do with his belief that the confrontation with nature can teach the individual something about his/her place (or role) in the world.

⁷ The courses in Tremezzo were held from 1933 through 1938. In 1947 Schnabel's son Karl Ulrich resumed the tradition—very much to his father's delight—together with his wife Helen, who herself had been a participant in the master classes before the war.

how the participants were absorbed by music, "forgetting the ego, the disorder on the outside, jealousies and career, conventions and dogmatics [sic], breathing in freedom," and, especially, putting aside all considerations of money (11 July 1937). The master classes were also the model for his concept of education, or Bildung—he preferred to use the German term, which has no real equivalent in English. Schnabel himself had not had conventional schooling in Vienna, so it is no wonder that he was skeptical about strict school and university curricula. For him, love, ideals, personal experience, and the individual's self-determination were the key ingredients to successful and lasting learning, whereas an education that was imposed on students could result in the opposite. something he called "confusion industry" and "endarkment" (7 July 1948). He discussed these matters with high-ranking university representatives such as Robert Hutchins, who was the president of the University of Chicago from 1929 to 1945. He also had very clear ideas about music education, arguing that the academic approach was not suitable for dealing with music, which has a direct way of communicating: academics, instead, "have to first build doors before arriving at space which has been open all the time" (20 October 1945).

In contrast, Schnabel praised the openness of "uneducated" people who were able to react spontaneously when hearing Beethoven's music for the first time, whereas the "educated" were often so intimidated by "Beethoven" or "classical music" that they were unable simply to enjoy it. In his eyes, education was very often an instrument to "frustrate discrimination, or the relation of facts to each other, to oppress normal intelligence, to preserve infantilism" (7 September 1942), leading to the elimination of "all elements that remain exclusive" (19 August 1943). The price to be paid for making an "exclusive" work of art, one of the works that can never be adequately realized, available to the "masses" without a corresponding personal effort on their side was the work's very destruction. Playing a Mozart piano concerto at a huge open-air

⁸ This position is not "elitist": Schnabel was convinced that everyone should have the opportunity to approach a work of art, and several times during his life he helped organize concerts for audiences that previously had no access to "classical" music. But the listeners have to be willing to try to lift themselves to the level of the music, instead of (mis-)treating it as something to be easily heard and forgotten—for example

festival like Ravinia seemed to Schnabel like a sin against the spirit of Mozart, who demands much of the listener and "belongs among human beings, independent of fashions, of technique, of publicity" (20 February 1944). He felt the development of musical life in Australia to be promising, because people there, although provincial, were also modest, respectful, and ready for higher ambitions. In contrast, the U.S. could boast an "abundance of money" and a large number of excellent musicians—yet Schnabel found "almost none with ideals and character" (3 July 1939). The attempt to incorporate idealism into materialism he characterized as "poison to civilization" (22 September 1940). What would bring mankind forward, as he saw it, was a love for higher values; the "love upwards" was an expression he used frequently, probably a direct translation of the German phrase *Die Liebe zum Höheren*. To "make a living" should be but a byproduct (24 August 1938).

The older Schnabel became, the more he regretted not being a fulltime composer: although he had written a considerable number of aesthetically progressive solo and chamber music works, he had always supported himself through performing and teaching.9 During the war years, he spent the summers in the mountains, as he had done in Europe. Now, however, he used this time to write music, devoting himself to works of a larger scale. His stays at retreats such as Gascon Ranch, New Mexico, also prompted some penetrating commentary about the other guests; for example, he found the "simple" people who worked there "fairly normal, and the white (upper) middle class unbearable" (21 August 1941). He looked critically at those who called President Roosevelt a dictator and their preference for Charles Lindbergh, who had expressed sympathies for the Nazis. He described how he himself was considered arrogant because he was not familiar with the daily gossip distributed through newspapers and the radio, whereas people who had never heard of the existence of Fidelio were considered completely

as background music for open-air picnics. Schnabel felt that sacrificing music's quality and depth so that it could be heard by a maximum number of uninterested listeners was not "democratic," but rather stultifying: it showed a profound lack of respect for both music and public.

⁹ See Anouk Jeschke, Artur Schnabel. Werkverzeichnis (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 2003). Today, all of Schnabel's compositions are available in new editions from Peermusic Classical.

mainstream (23 July 1941). He concluded sarcastically that in this environment "having a good time is the peak of ambitions and accomplishments" (21 August 1941). But he had also encountered the cultural prejudices of the "educated" in places with older traditions. He reported to Ms. Foreman the expression or eilles latines that he had first heard in French-speaking Geneva; people with such ears were said to be unable to digest too "heavy" (German?) music. In 1937 he canceled a recital in Paris because the French manager objected to Beethoven's Diabelli Variations as being "intolerable for French audiences" (21 September 1937). He doubted the supposed natural musicality of the famous music centers of Italy and Vienna, whereas he thought that England was wrongly seen as being less enthusiastic about music (3 June 1946). In the United States, he deplored the generally low appreciation of the arts, reflected in the way artists were treated, or—a very frequent complaint—in the poor quality and condition of the instruments he was given to play in concerts. He also found that the studio work was of a lower quality than in England, where almost all of his records were produced: "The care and conscientiousness with which the recording work is done here [in London] is, to be true, quite different from what I experienced in the U.S.A., where, obviously, the relation of *quality* is not as much burdened with traditions as here, where the relations to quantity are not as far advanced as there" (8 June 1946).

The recording business plays a significant role in Schnabel's letters: it was the activity that guaranteed his financial independence. He never mentioned this fact, perhaps in order not to mix art with business. Nevertheless, he gradually came to depend on it, even though he had objected to the very idea of making records since the beginning of his recording career. In theory he believed that music could only really be communicated in concerts. But after the war, despite his overwhelming success when returning to the European concert stage in 1946, his discomfort with the performer's life and all the social obligations involved grew so strong that he negotiated a recording contract for the next couple of years, just to avoid the necessity of playing in public. His dislike

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¹⁰ French: Latin ears.

¹¹ See Schnabel's letter to his wife Therese from 26 March 1932, in: *Artur Schnabel. Musiker Musician*, 124.

was based on two emerging character traits, signs of a changing personality in his later years: he became very sensitive to large crowds and impatient with the many people who wanted to talk to him, and he saw life on the stage as a circus unsuitable for a mature man. Sometimes he seemed almost hostile towards the public: for example, he wrote that as a performer, one experiences a physical collision with one's "spiritual enemies" (20 February 1944). At one point he wrote that he was beginning to agree more and more with his old teacher Leschetizky, who had once told him that he would never be a pianist because he was a musician (28) April 1946). In such moments he envied his friends Paul Hindemith and Ernst Krenek, who primarily worked as composers and were therefore not as often directly confronted with their public. He hoped that in the future he would also be able to spend more time composing, the only activity (besides teaching) of which he never tired, although he was very realistic about the fact that he would never hear many of his pieces in concert

After the war, Schnabel became friends with the French cellist Pierre Fournier, whom he held in high regard both as a musician and as an individual. In 1949, Fournier came under suspicion of having been a collaborator in Nazi-occupied France. Schnabel refused to believe that there was any truth to these claims—he thought the question itself irrelevant—turning instead against the self-righteousness he felt to be behind the accusations. His own point of view was much more nuanced, and privileged morality over sensationalism. He spoke critically about Germany in public, but never with hatred, and he would never have condemned a French musician for having continued to play under Nazi rule. He was willing to talk to those people who may have been too weak to refuse passive collaboration with the Nazi regime, as long as there could be no doubt about their political beliefs.

It is therefore no surprise that the harshest criticism of a German can be found in Schnabel's description of his meetings with Wilhelm Furtwängler in 1946 and 1947. Although Schnabel himself related only a few details about his talks with the former principal conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic in August 1946, we can gain some insight into what was discussed during this meeting from Schnabel's former secretary and friend Peter Diamand, who was present, as was Richard Strauss:

Furtwängler was extremely nervous, Strauss not at all. Without even being asked or provoked, Furtwängler immediately started to assert that he had been treated unfairly. At that time, he did not have permission to conduct in the countries controlled by the Allies, but he was allowed to conduct in Switzerland. He said he had never mixed politics with the arts. His business was exclusively to make music and nothing else. Politics, Nazis, communists—it didn't matter to him. In the end this indifference was why he remained in Germany.

Schnabel asked Furtwängler about a measure that had been taken against Jews very early. Furtwängler was embarrassed and replied: "You know, what you say is of course correct. But in reality it was never put into practice. I was able to suppress it so it never really took effect." I think it was about music instruction. Strauss, who had listened only with one ear, flared up: "What are you saying, Furtwängler?" Furtwängler, who wanted to drop the topic quickly, answered: "No, no, Schnabel asked me something." Strauss: "Yes, what?" Furtwängler had to repeat the question. Strauss answered with astonishment: "And you say that you didn't put this into practice?"—"No."—Strauss continued: "Do you know, Furtwängler, that I hear for the first time that this wasn't put into practice? After all, I was the president of the *Reichsmusikkammer* at the time!"—Hereupon Schnabel said: "Well, you know, Strauss, it is a bit late to argue about it. Forgive poor Furtwängler for not informing you at the time. There is nothing you can do about it now." 12

Extreme irony was, obviously, the only possible way to prevent a scandal. In 1947, after another meeting with Furtwängler, Schnabel summed up his view of the conductor's desperate self-defense: "What a confusion! Poor creature; he would love to do away, with some magic, with that whole spook—*after* it had failed" (29 July 1947).

In 1944, Schnabel predicted that the U.S. would emerge from the war as the leading power in the world, and that the Americans would have a hard time accepting this new responsibility. He was not optimistic about the post-war era, believing that though times of war may be stressful on the individual's "emotion and physique," peacetime would be the greater test of "character and intelligence" (29 September 1944). He foresaw certain post-war developments very accurately: a "wild rush

^{12 &}quot;Peter Diamand im Gespräch mit Albrecht Dümling, 27. März 1992," in: *Musica Reanimata. Mitteilungen* Nr. 27 (April 1998), 18. Translated from the German.

on money"; the beginning of an "age of 'information'"; and "happiness all around" that would be "scientifically secured," not achieved by the individual (15 August 1945). The one thing he was wrong about, though, was that Hitler's atrocities would soon be forgotten: although Schnabel understood that the economy was stronger than morality and idealism and that its powers pushed aside anything in its way, he did not fathom that Hitler and everything he stood for would be marketed for decades to come. Hitler sells—until today. Schnabel's conclusion about how an individual was supposed to react to the growing monetization of culture was—far from being political—formulated in terms of the highest idealism: "More than ever have we, of the 'ivory towers,' to guard our unpopular precincts, have to resist seduction, or intimidation. We can survive, if we want. We are not so numerous that business would suffer by our aloofness from it—, but protests and criticism and despair should not come from us—, nothing negative, no lie, just let us stick to our level" (15 August 1945).

Pictures of the Schnabels' apartment in Berlin-Charlottenburg show walls full of books. Schnabel, who in prewar times was a member of the Wiener Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft (Vienna Bibliophile Society), was interested in so many fields outside of music that his books were certainly not merely a decorative element. Nevertheless, for a long time it was not clear if, and how much, Schnabel actually read. Some people believed that he just picked up information from his many intellectual friends (among them such diverse figures as the economic historian John U. Nef and the physicist Max Born, to mention just two), with whom he liked to discuss a wide variety of topics. However, we can see from his letters to Mary Virginia Foreman that he read quite a bit himself, and his choice of books showed his growing anxiety about the development of Western society. He must have followed forthcoming books closely, as he often mentioned recent publications, some of them by authors he knew personally (like Edward Crankshaw and Robert Hutchins). Among these were Crankshaw's Joseph Conrad: Some Aspects of the Art of the Novel (1936), Hutchins' No Friendly Voice and The Higher Learning (both 1936), Aldous Huxley's The Perennial Philosophy (1945), Arnold Toynbee's Civilization on Trial (1948) and Harold Laski's The American Democracy (1948). He also read American classics like Henry Adams' The

Education of Henry Adams (1905), Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), as well as R. L. Duffus' study of Veblen, *The Innocents at Cedro* (1944). There were probably not many émigré artists who participated in the intellectual life of their adopted countries as seriously as Schnabel did.

In the last months of his life, many things came together—on top of his fragile health—which depressed him deeply; for him, who had always been so full of energy, positive attitudes, and interests, life almost didn't seem worthwhile any more. He feared the outbreak of another war in 1948, writing that "I believe that the few anonymous masters of the U.S.A. [...] want a 'preventive' war" (2 August 1948), and he saw this fear justified with the outbreak of the Korean War, which he called "the dirtiest affair" which had occurred during his lifetime—"and in this lifetime there was no scarcity of horrors" (16 July 1950). For him, the term "Western" became "almost identical with dishonesty as the guiding principle" (31 July 1950); he feared that human relations and lives would be taken over by economic pressures (11 September 1950). In June 1950, he spoke up against McCarthvism in a public radio statement.¹³ He fully sympathized with the family's old friend Herta Kröhling, who maintained in 1950 that she preferred the war-damaged city of Hamburg over Zurich and London (11 September 1950). That the "only remedy for social and political menaces [is] the continued expansion of production and inventions," as President Truman had argued, resembles the mantra twenty-first century politicians repeat in times of crisis (15 July 1949). "This is just middle-class hope and resignation, utterly naïve and disarming, a sedative for one night," Schnabel commented. The sedative had no effect on him: he felt that the emerging new world proved his terrifying diagnosis that things were going utterly wrong, and he could think of no remedy. However, he didn't give up completely. He kept looking for answers in studies by contemporary philosophers and sociologists. For his very last birthday in April 1951, he asked Ms. Foreman for three books: Caryl P. Haskins' Of Societies and Men (1951), James B. Conant's Science and Common Sense (1951) and Bertrand Rus-

¹³ See letter from 25 June 1950.

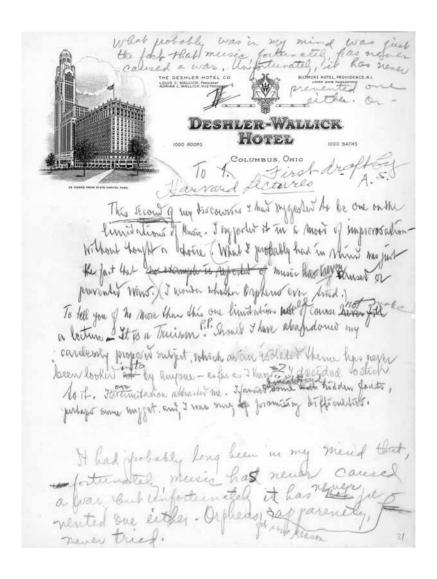
sell's *Unpopular Essays* (1950). He probably had not enough time left to read them.

*

After Schnabel's death, Mary Virginia Foreman moved to France. In Paris, in 1956, she met Yves Le Garrec (1890-1979), a distinguished French gentleman 18 years her senior who had served as a pilot in World War I and was active in the Resistance movement during World War II. They were married in 1965 and remained together until his death. She never hid from her husband how important Schnabel was in her life. Around 1970 she wrote two books as private memoirs, Artur Schnabel Remembered and History of a Love Affair. Monsieur Le Garrec translated Artur Schnabel Remembered into French. The letters she had received from Schnabel were her most precious possession: the correspondence was displayed prominently on her Bechstein grand piano, each year tied with a red ribbon. Madame Foreman-Le Garrec constantly re-read the letters in the decades from Schnabel's death until her own, and kept annotating them even after she had donated the originals to the Berlin Akademie der Künste in 2002. She was a more than generous supporter and sponsor of all activities surrounding Schnabel's artistic legacy, from the recordings of Schnabel's chamber and symphonic music to publications and projects by the Akademie. She died in September 2012 at the age of 104 in Biarritz, France. Schnabel's expression "to walk freely on firm ground" was both a metaphor for music performance,14 and served to characterize his ideal for their relationship. Most of his letters to her he signed with just this symbol:



¹⁴ See Konrad Wolff, Schnabel's Interpretation of Piano Music, 2nd edition (New York: Norton, 1979), 173.



In 1949, Mary Virginia Foreman assisted Schnabel in preparing his Harvard Lectures "Music—its Function and Limitations." The lectures were published in the volume *Music and the Line of Most Resistance* (Wolke: Hofheim 2007), 85–107. The sentence at the top of the page in Ms. Foreman's handwriting reads: "What probably was in my mind was just the fact that music, fortunately, has never caused a war. Unfortunately, it has never prevented one, either."



Excerpt from Schnabels letter from 10 February 1935. When travelling, Schnabel used the hotel stationary for his communications (Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Artur Schnabel Archive).